UNITED STATES



OF AMERICA

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 76th CONGRESS FIRST SESSION

VOLUME 84—PART 1

JANUARY 3, 1939, TO FEBRUARY 6, 1939 (PAGES 3 TO 1178)



ASIMEMA TO

SITATE CITTING

# Congressional Accord

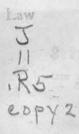
PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 76'' CONGRESS

VOLUME 84-PART 1

ANUARY E, TELEFORE TO THRUDARY & TELEFORE (STILL OF A SECOND )

26585

record that sover experience the collect water water water and



UNITED STATES



OF AMERICA

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 76th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

# SENATE

TUESDAY, JANUARY 3, 1939

The 3d of January being the day prescribed by the Constitution of the United States for the annual meeting of Congress, the first session of the Seventy-sixth Congress commenced this day.

The Senate assembled in its Chamber at the Capitol.

JOHN N. GARNER, of Texas, Vice President of the United States, called the Senate to order at 12 o'clock meridian.

The Chaplain, Rev. ZeBarney T. Phillips, D. D., of the city of Washington, offered the following

Eternal God and Heavenly Father, who art the help and the hope of all who turn to Thee, forgive whatever is amiss in these poor human lives-our sins, our ignorances, and our oft misusings of Thy grace-that with pure hearts and clear minds we may at this the threshold of another year rededicate curselves to Thee.

Send Thou Thy strength on hearts that pray to Thee for strength to serve Thee still, that, in pure devotion to our country, we may spend ourselves for others' greater need and never count the cost. Let Thy choicest blessings be upon our President, our Vice President, the Members of the Senate. all others in authority, and upon every citizen of our beloved America. And now, O Ruler of the destinies of nations, Thou mighty unbeginning God, from the deeps of whose silent, joyful rest love o'erflowed into the lap of time, brood with Thy Spirit upon the face of the world, that love again may overflow, 'til, like the sudden chiming of a bell, joy wells up in the hearts of men and peace on earth becomes the heavenly antiphon forever and forever. We ask it in the name of Him who is the Prince of Peace, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

SENATOR FROM CALIFORNIA—RESIGNATION OF SENATOR M'ADOO

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the secretary to former Senator McAdoo, of California, which, with the accompanying letter of resignation of Mr. McAdoo, was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Los Angeles, Calif., December 14, 1938.

Col. EDWIN A. HALSEY,
Secretary of the Senate, Washington, D. C.
MY DEAR COLONEL HALSEY: Senator McAdoo has directed me to
send you a copy of his letter of resignation as United States Senator,
dated November 9, 1938, which you will find enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

ALICE DALTON, Secretary to W. G. McAdoo.

[Copy] UNITED STATES SENATE

NOVEMBER 9, 1938. MY DEAR GOVERNOR: I hereby resign the office of United States Senator, to take effect immediately. In surrendering the commission which the people of California gave me in 1932, I desire to take advantage of the opportunity now

presented to express my deep appreciation of the honor they conferred on me to represent California in the Senate of the United

My resignation is prompted by the fact that the Maritime Commission at Washington has invited me to become chairman of the board of directors of the round-the-world steamship line formerly known as the Dollar Line—the name of which has recently been changed to American President Lines. I cannot assume the duties of this position without surrendering my commission as United States Senator; and, as those duties demand my immediate attention, I feel obliged to retire now.

It has been a pleasure, my dear Governor, to cooperate with you during your term of office in many important matters affecting the welfare of California, which have required action at Washington.

With best wishes, I am,

Cordially yours,

W. G. McADOO.

Hon. Frank F. Merriam, Governor of California, Sacramento, Calif.

# CREDENTIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT. Senators, the Chair is going to take the liberty of asking permission, in the interest of saving time, that the credentials of the newly elected Senators and a Senator-designate be printed in the RECORD without the formality of being read by the clerk. Is there objection?

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I was requested by the Democratic leader to make that request, but, inasmuch as it has been made by the Vice President. I heartily concur in the suggestion.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The credentials were ordered to be placed on file and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

For the term ending January 2, 1939

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that, on the 9th day of November 1938,
Thomas M. Storke was duly appointed a Senator from the State
of California to represent said State in the Senate of the United
States for the term expiring January 3, 1939, vice William Gibbs McAdoo, resigned.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the great seal of the State of California to be affixed at Sacramento, Calif., this 9th day of November 1938.

FRANK F. MERRIAM, Governor of California. FRANK C. JORDAN, Secretary of State.

[SEAL]

# CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION

STATE OF OREGON. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Know ye, that it appearing from the official convass of the vote cast at the regular general election held within and for the State of Oregon, on Tuesday, the 8th day of November A. D. 1938, that Alex. G. Barry, of Multinomah County, State of Oregon, received the highest number of votes cast for the office of United States Senator in Congress (to fill vacancy in term ending January 3, 1939) at said election. at said election.

Now, therefore, I, Charles H. Martin, Governor of the State of Oregon, by virtue of the authority vested in me under the laws of the State of Oregon, do hereby grant this certificate of election and declare said Alex. G. Barry, of Multnomah County, State of Oregon, to be duly elected to the office of United States Senator in Congress for the State of Oregon for the term ending January 3, 1939

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the State of Oregon to be hereto affixed. Done at the capitol at Salem, Oreg., this 1st day of December A. D. 1938.

By the Governor:

[SEAL]

CHARLES H. MARTIN, Governor. EARL SNELL, Secretary of State.

### CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938, at a general election held throughout said State, Gladys Pyle was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of South Dakota to the office of United States Senator for the unexpired term expiring January 3, 1939.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of said State to be affixed at Pierre, the capital, this 8th day of December 1938.

By the Governor:

[SEAL]

LESLIE JENSEN, Governor. Secretary of State.

# For the term ending January 2, 1941

CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION

THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:
This is to certify that on November 8, 1938, W. Warren Barbour was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of New Jersey a Senator from the said State, to represent the said State in the Senate of the United States to fill the vacancy caused by the resig-

nation of A. Harry Moore.

In testimony whereof the great seal is hereunto affixed.

Witness the hand of His Excellency our Governor, A. Harry Moore, at Trenton, this 6th day of December A. D. 1938. By the Governor:

A. HARRY MOORE, Governor.

Attest: [SEAL]

THOMAS A. MATHIS, Secretary of State.

# For the term ending January 2, 1943

To the President of the Senate of the United States:
This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938, at the general election held, A. T. Stewart was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Tennessee a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the unexpired term of Nathan L. Bachman, deceased (4 years), beginning on the 3d day of January 1939, and he is duly entitled to have and to enjoy said office, together with all muniments and emoluments thereto pertaining for and during such unexpired term.
Witness: His Excellency Gordon Browning, Governor of Tennessee.

Witness: His Excellency Gordon Browning, Governor of Tennessee; Roy H. Beeler, attorney general of Tennessee; and our seal hereto affixed at the State capitol on this 13th day of December

A. D. 1938.

GORDON BROWNING, Governor of Tennessee. ROY H. BEELER, Attorney General of Tennessee.
A. B. BROADBENT, Secretary of State of Tennessee.

[SEAL]

For the term ending January 2, 1945

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 ALVA
B. Adams was chosen by the qualified electors of the State of
Colorado a Senator from said State to represent said State in
the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, beginning
on the 3d day of January 1939.

Witness: His Excellency our Governor, Teller Ammons, and our

seal hereto affixed at Denver this 5th day of December A. D. 1938.

By the Governor:

[SEAL]

TELLER AMMONS, Governor. GEORGE E. SAUNDERS. Secretary of State.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:
This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Alben W.
Barkley was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of
Kentucky a Senator from said State to represent said State in the
Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, beginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

Witness: His Excellency our Governor, Chandler, and our seal hereto affixed at Frankfort this 8th day of December A. D. 1938. By the Governor:

[SEAL]

A. B. CHANDLER. Governor. CHARLES D. ARNETT, Secretary of State.

STATE OF WASHINGTON, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

Olympia.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:
This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Homer T. Bone was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Washington a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, beginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the State of Washington to be affixed at Olympia this 8th day of December A. D. 1938.

By the Governor:

Clarence D. Martin. Governor.

CLARENCE D. MARTIN, Governor. BELLE REEVES, Secretary of State.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Hattie W. Caraway was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Arkansas a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, beginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

Witness: His Excellency our Governor, Carl E. Bailey, and our seal hereto affixed at Little Rock, Ark., this 8th day of December A. D. 1938.

By the Governor:

CARL E. BAILEY, Governor. E. G. HALL, Secretary of State.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, STATE OF MISSOURI, Jefferson City.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Bennett C. Clark was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Missouri a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years,

beginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

Witness: His Excellency our Governor, Lloyd C. Stark, and our seal hereto affixed at Jefferson City this 15th day of December

A. D. 1938. By the Governor:

[SEAL]

LLOYD C. STARK, Governor. DWIGHT H. BROWN, Secretary of State.

> STATE OF IDAHO, DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

To the President of the Senate of the United States: To the PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 D. Worth Clark was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Idaho a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, beginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

In testimony whereof I, Barzilla W. Clark, Governor of the State of Idaho, here hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the great seal of the State of Idaho at Boise, the capital, this 5th day of December A. D. 1938.

day of December A. D. 1938.

BARZILLA W. CLARK, Governor.

IRA H. MASTERS, Secretary of State.

STATE OF CONNECTICUT, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:
This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 John
A. Danaher was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State
of Connecticut a Senator from said State to represent said State
in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, beginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

Witness: His Excellency our Governor, Wilbur L. Cross, and our seal hereto affixed at Hartford, this 30th day of November A. D.

[SEAL]

WILBUR L. CROSS, Governor. C. JOHN SATTI, Secretary,

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Sherdan Downer was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of California a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, beginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of California to be affixed this 19th day of December A. D. 1938.

FRANK F. MERRIAM, Governor of California.

Attest: [SEAL]

FRANK C. JORDAN,
Secretary of State.
By Chas. J. Hagerty, Deputy Secretary of State.

IN THE NAME AND BY AUTHORITY OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, GOVERNOR'S OFFICE.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 James
J. Davis was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of
Pennsylvania a Senator from said State to represent said State
in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, begin-

in the Senate of the United States for the term of 5 years, beginning on the 3d day of January, 1939.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal of the State, at the city of Harrisburg, this 29th day of December A. D. 1938, and of the Commonwealth the one hundred and sixty-third.

By the Governor:

[SEAL]

GEORGE H. EARLE.
DAVID L. LAWRENCE,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

STATE OF GEORGIA, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

Atlanta.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Hon.

Walter F. George was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the
State of Georgia, a Senator from said State to represent the said
State of Georgia in the Senate of the United States for a term of
6 years, beginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the
great seal of the State of Georgia to be affixed at the capitol, in
the city of Atlanta, on the 23d day of November A. D. 1938, and of
the independence of the United States of America the one hundred
and sixty-second.

and sixty-second. By the Governor:

E. D. RIVERS.

Governor. JOHN B. WILSON Secretary of State.

STATE OF VERMONT.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Ernest
W. Gisson was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State
of Vermont a Senator from said State to represent said State in
the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, beginning
on the 3d day of January 1939.

Witness: His Excellency our Governor, George D. Aiken, and our
seal hereto affixed at Montpelier, this 25th day of November A. D.

1938 By the Governor:

[SEAL]

GEORGE D. AIKEN, Governor! RAWSON C. MYRICK,

Secretary of State.

CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION

STATE OF IOWA, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

To Guy M. Gillette, greeting:

It is hereby certified that at an election holden on the 8th day of November A. D. 1938, you were elected to the office of United States Senator of said State, for the term of 6 years, beginning at noon on the 3d day of January A. D. 1939.

Given at the seat of government, Des Moines, Iowa, this 7th day of December A. D. 1938.

NELSON G. KRASCHEL, Governor

Attest: [SEAL]

ROBERT E. O'BRIAN, Secretary of State.

CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938, at a general election held throughout said State, Chan Gurney was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of South Dakota to the office of United States Senator for the term of 6 years be-

ginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of said State to be affixed at Pierre, the capital, this 8th day

of December 1938, By the Governor:

[SEAL]

LESLIE JENSEN, Governor. GOLDIE WELLS, Secretary of State. EXECUTIVE OFFICE, STATE HOUSE,

Phoenix, Ariz., November 28, 1938.
To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Carl Hayden was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Arizona a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years beginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

Witness: His Excellency our Governor, R. C. Stanford, and our seal hereto affixed at Phoenix this 14th day of November A. D. 1938.

By the Governor:

R. C. STANFORD, Governor of Arizona. JAMES H. KERBY, Secretary of State.

[SEAL]

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 LISTER HILL was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Alabama a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years beginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

Witness: His Excellency our Governor, Bibb Graves of Alabama, and our seal hereto affixed at the capitol in the city of Montgomery this November 18, 1938.

By the Governor:

BIBB GRAVES, Governor.

[SEAL]

HOWELL TURNER Secretary of State.

CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION

STATE OF OREGON. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Know ye, that it appearing from the official canvass of the vote cast at the regular general election held within and for the State of Oregon, on Tuesday, the 8th day of November A. D. 1938, that Rufus C. Holman, of Multinomah County, State of Oregon, received the highest number of votes cast for the office of United States Senator in Congress at said election:

New therefore I. Cherter H. Martin. Congress of the State of the control of the Con

Now, therefore, I, Charles H. Martin, Governor of the State of Oregon, by virtue of the authority vested in me under the laws of the State of Oregon, do hereby grant this certificate of election and declare said Rufus C. Holman, of Multinomah County, State of Oregon, to be duly elected to the office of United States Senator in Congress for the State of Oregon for the term beginning January 3, 1939 3, 1939

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the State of Oregon to be hereto affixed.

Done at the capitol at Salem, Oreg., this 1st day of December A. D. 1938. By the Governor:

[SEAL]

CHARLES H. MARTIN, Governor. EARL SNELL, Secretary of State.

STATE OF ILLINOIS.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:
This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Scott W.
Lucas was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of
Illinois, a Senator from said State, to represent said State in the
Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, beginning on
the 3rd day of January 1939

the 3rd day of January, 1939.

Witness: Lieutenant Governor and acting His Excellency our Governor, John Stelle, and our seal hereto affixed at Springfield,

His 14th day of December A. D. 1938.

By the Lieutenant Governor and Acting Governor:

[SEAL]

JOHN STELLE, Acting Governor. EDWARD J. HUGHES, Secretary of State.

STATE OF NEVADA, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that a general election held in the State of Nevada on Tuesday, the 8th day of November 1938, Patrick A. Mc-Carran was duly elected by the qualified electors of the State of Nevada a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, beginning on the 3d day of January 1939, having received the highest number of votes cast for said office at said election, as appears by the certificate of the duly constituted and qualified board of canvassers now on file in the office of the secretary of state, at Carson City, Nev. Witness: His Excellency our Governor, Richard Kirman, Sr., and the great seal of the State of Nevada hereto affixed at Carson City. To the President of the Senate of the United States:

the great seal of the State of Nevada hereto affixed at Carson City, this 19th day of December A. D. 1938.

By the Governor:

[SEAL]

RICHARD KIRMAN, Governor. MALCOLM MCEACHIN, Secretary of State. STATE OF NORTH DAKOTA, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 GERALD P. Nye was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of North Dakota a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, begin-

ning on the 3d day of January 1939.

Witness: His Excellency our Governor, William Langer, and our seal hereto affixed at Bismarck, N. Dak., this 16th day of November

D. 1938.
By the Governor:

WILLIAM LANGER, Governor.

Attest: [SEAL]

JAMES D. GRONNA, Secretary of State.

> STATE OF LOUISIANA, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:
This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 John
H. Overton was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State
of Louisiana a Senator from said State to represent said State in
the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, beginning
at noon on January 3, 1939.

Witness: His Excellency our Governor, Richard W. Leche, and our
seal hereto affixed at Baton Rouge, this 22d day of November A. D.
1938.

By the Governor:

[SEAL]

R. W. LECHE, Governor. E. A. CONWAY, Secretary of State.

STATE OF FLORIDA, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Tallahassee.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Hon.

CLAUDE Pepper was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the
State of Florida a Senator from said State to represent said State
in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, begin-

ning on the 3d day of January 1939.

Witness: His Excellency our Governor, Fred P. Cone, and our seal hereto affixed at Tallahassee this 10th day of November A. D.

By the Governor:

FRED P. CONE. Governor.

Attest: [SEAL]

R. A. GRAY, Secretary of State.

# CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Clyde
M. Reed was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of
Kansas a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years beginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

Witness: His Excellency our Governor, Walter A. Huxman, and our seal hereto affixed at Topeka, Kans., this 5th day of December

By the Governor:

WALTER A. HUXMAN. Governor.

[SEAL]

FRANK J. RYAN, Secretary of State.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA. DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

To the PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 ROBERT R. REVNOLDS was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of North Carolina a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years beginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

Witness: His Excellency our Governor, Clyde R. Hoey, and our seal hereto affixed at Raleigh this 8th day of December A. D. 1938.

By the Governor:

By the Governor:

[SEAL]

CLYDE R. HOEY, Governor. THAD EURE,

Secretary of State.

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA. DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Columbia.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:
This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Hon.
Ellison D. Smith was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the
State of South Carolina a Senator from said State to represent
said State in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years beginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

Witness: His Excellency our Governor, Olin D. Johnston, and our seal hereto affixed at Columbia, this 9th day of December

[SEAL]

OLIN D. JOHNSTON, Governor. W. P. BLACKWELL, Secretary of State.

### CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION, UNITED STATES SENATOR

STATE OF OHIO.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:
This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Robert A.
Taft was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Ohio a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, beginning on the 3d day

of January 1939.
Witness: His Excellency our Governor, Martin L. Davey, and our seal hereto affixed at Columbus, Ohio, this 22d day of November

A. D. 1938. By the Governor:

[SEAL]

MARTIN L. DAVEY, Governor. WILLIAM J. KENNEDY, Secretary of State.

STATE OF UTAH, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Elbert D.

Thomas was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Utah a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, beginning on the

3d day of January 1939.
Witness: His Excellency our Governor, Henry H. Blood, and our seal hereto affixed at Salt Lake City this 28th day of November

By the Governor:

HENRY H. BLOOD, Governor. E. E. Monson, Secretary of State.

STATE OF OKLAHOMA, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER. Oklahoma City.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:
This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Elmer
Thomas, of Medicine Park, Okla., was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Oklahoma a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the term

of 6 years, beginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

In witness whereof I, E. W. Marland, the Governor of the State of Oklahoma, have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the great seal of the State of Oklahoma on this, the 21st day of November 1938.

By the Governor of the State of Oklahoma:

E. W. MARLAND.

Attest: [SEAL]

F. C. CARTER, Secretary of State. By KATHERINE MANTON, Assistant Secretary of State. STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Charles
W. Tobey was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of
New Hampshire a Senator from said State to represent said State
in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, beginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

Witness: His Excellency our Governor, Francis P. Murphy, and our seal hereto affixed this 29th day of November A. D. 1938.

By the Governor, with advice of the council.

FRANCIS P. MURPHY. Governor.

[SEAL]

ENOCH D. FULLER Secretary of State.

THE STATE OF MARYLAND, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

I, Harry W. Nice, Governor of the State of Maryland, and having I, Harry W. Nice, Governor of the State of Maryland, and having control of the great seal thereof, do hereby certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Millard E. Tydings was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Maryland a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, beginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and have caused to be hereto affixed the great seal of the State of Maryland at Annapolis, Md., this 1st day of December A. D. 1938.

By the Governor:

By the Governor:

[SEAL]

H. W. NICE. E. RAY JONES, Secretary of State. THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF INDIANA.

The Governor of the State of Indiana.

To all who shall see these presents, greeting:

Know ye that Frederick Van Nuys having been duly elected to the office of United States Senator within and for the State of Indiana, I therefore in the name and by the authority of the State of Indiana do hereby commission him, Frederick Van Nuys, United States Senator, and do authorize and empower him to execute and fulfill the duties of that office according to law. To have and to hold the said office with all the rights and emoluments thereto legally pertaining for his elective term and until his successor shall have been duly elected and qualified to office.

Given under my hand at the city of Indianapolis this 19th day of November A. D. 1938.

M. CLIFFORD TOWNSEND.

M. CLIFFORD TOWNSEND. Governor.

Attest: [SEAL]

AUGUST G. MUELLER Secretary of State.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Robert F. Wagner was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of New York a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, beginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

Witness: His Excellency our Governor, Herbert H. Lehman, and our seal hereto affixed at Albany, this 7th day of December A. D. 1938.

By the Governor:

HERBERT H. LEHMAN, Governor. EDWARD J. FLYNN, Secretary of State.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE STATE OF WISCONSIN, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 Alexander Wiley was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Wisconsin a Senator from said State to represent said State in Senate of the United States for the term of 6 years, beginning

on the 3d day of January 1939.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the great seal of the State of Wisconsin to be affixed. the city of Madison, this 5th day of December A. D. 1938. By the Governor:

PHILLIP F. LA FOLLETTE, Governor. THEODORE DAMMANN, Secretary of State.

[SEAL]

# ADMINISTRATION OF OATH

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call, in groups, the names of the newly elected Senators, and, if they will present themselves at the desk, the oath will be administered.

The Chief Clerk (John C. Crockett) called the names of Mr. Adams, Mr. Barbour, Mr. Barkley, Mr. Bone, and Mrs.

These Senators (with the exception of Mr. Bone), escorted by Mr. Johnson of Colorado, Mr. Smathers, Mr. Logan, and Mr. MILLER, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to them by the Vice President.

The Chief Clerk called the names of Mr. CLARK of Idaho, Mr. CLARK of Missouri, Mr. DANAHER, Mr. DOWNEY, and Mr. DAVIS.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. Borah, Mr. Truman, Mr. MALONEY, Mr. JOHNSON of California, and Mr. GUFFEY, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to them by the Vice President.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I respectfully request that the President of the Senate indicate to the occupants of the galleries that while the oath is being administered to the newly elected Senators quiet should be maintained in the galleries so that the oath may be heard.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator's point is well taken. The occupants of the galleries, who are the guests of the Senate, will refrain from any audible conversation while the oath of office is being administered.

The clerk will call the next names on the list of newly elected Senators.

The Chief Clerk called the names of Mr. George, Mr. GIBSON, Mr. GILLETTE, and Mr. GURNEY.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. Russell, Mr. Austin, Mr. HERRING, and Mr. Bulow, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to them by the Vice President.

The Chief Clerk called the names of Mr. HAYDEN, Mr. HILL, Mr. Holman, and Mr. Lucas.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. Ashurst, Mr. Bankhead, Mr. McNary, and Mr. Lewis, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to them by the Vice President.

The Chief Clerk called the names of Mr. McCarran, Mr.

NYE, Mr. OVERTON, and Mr. PEPPER.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. PITTMAN, Mr. FRAZIER, Mr. BARKLEY, and Mr. Andrews, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to them by the Vice President.

The Chief Clerk called the names of Mr. REED, Mr. REYN-

olds, Mr. Smith, Mr. Stewart, and Mr. Taft.

These Senators (with the exception of Mr. STEWART), escorted by Mr. Capper, Mr. Balley, Mr. Byrnes, and Mr. Dona-HEY, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to them by the Vice President.

The Chief Clerk called the names of Mr. Thomas of Oklahoma, Mr. Thomas of Utah, Mr. Tobey, Mr. Tydings, Mr.

VAN NUYS, Mr. WAGNER, and Mr. WILEY.

These Senators (with the exception of Mr. Thomas of Oklahoma), escorted by Mr. King, Mr. Bridges, Mr. Rad-cliffe, Mr. Minton, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. La Follette, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to them by the Vice President.

Mr. LEWIS. I announce that the Senator-elect from Oklahoma [Mr. Thomas], who is en route to Washington, has been unable to reach here in time to be present today. He expects to be present and to take the oath tomorrow.

### LIST OF SENATORS BY STATES

Alabama.-John H. Bankhead and Lister Hill. Arizona.-Henry F. Ashurst and Carl Hayden. Arkansas.-Mrs. Hattie W. Caraway and John E. Miller. California.-Hiram W. Johnson and Sheridan Downey. Colorado.-Alva B. Adams and Edwin C. Johnson. Connecticut.—Francis T. Maloney and John A. Danaher. Delaware .- John G. Townsend, Jr., and James H. Hughes. Florida.—Charles O. Andrews and Claude Pepper. Georgia.—Walter F. George and Richard B. Russell. Idaho.-William E. Borah and D. Worth Clark. Illinois.—J. Hamilton Lewis and Scott W. Lucas. Indiana.—Frederick Van Nuys and Sherman Minton. Iowa.-Guy M. Gillette and Clyde L. Herring. Kansas.—Arthur Capper and Clyde M. Reed. Kentucky.-Alben W. Barkley and M. M. Logan. Louisiana.-John H. Overton and Allen J. Ellender. Maine.-Frederick Hale and Wallace H. White, Jr. Maryland.-Millard E. Tydings and George L. Radcliffe. Massachusetts.—David I. Walsh and Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. Michigan.—Arthur H. Vandenberg and Prentiss M. Brown. Minnesota.—Henrik Shipstead and Ernest Lundeen. Mississippi.—Pat Harrison and Theodore G. Bilbo. Missouri.—Bennett Champ Clark and Harry S. Truman. Montana.—Burton K. Wheeler and James E. Murray. Nebraska.-George W. Norris and Edward R. Burke. Nevada.—Key Pittman and Patrick A. McCarran New Hampshire.—H. Styles Bridges and Charles W. Tobey. New Jersey.-William H. Smathers and W. Warren Barbour.

New Mexico.-Carl A. Hatch and Dennis Chavez. New York.-Robert F. Wagner and James M. Mead. North Carolina.-Josiah William Bailey and Robert R. Reynolds.

North Dakota.-Lynn J. Frazier and Gerald P. Nye. Ohio.-Vic Donahey and Robert A. Taft. Oklahoma.-Elmer Thomas\* and Josh Lee. Oregon.—Charles L. McNary and Rufus C. Holman. Pennsylvania.—James J. Davis and Joseph F. Guffey.

<sup>\*</sup>Not sworn

Rhode Island.—Peter G. Gerry and Theodore Francis Green.

South Carolina.—Ellison D. Smith and James F. Byrnes.
South Dakota.—W. J. Bulow and Chan Gurney.
Tennessee.—Kenneth McKellar and A. Tom Stewart.\*
Texas.—Morris Sheppard and Tom Connally.
Utah.—William H. King and Elbert D. Thomas.
Vermont.—Warren R. Austin and Ernest W. Gibson.
Virginia.—Carter Glass and Harry Flood Byrd.

Washington,-Homer T. Bone\* and Lewis B. Schwellen-bach.

West Virginia.—Matthew M. Neely and Rush D. Holt.
Wisconsin.—Robert M. La Follette, Jr., and Alexander
Wiley.

Wyoming.—Joseph C. O'Mahoney and Harry H. Schwartz.

Mr. BARKLEY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.
The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.
The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Davis	King	Reynolds
Andrews	Donahey	La Follette	Russell
Ashurst	Downey	Lee	Schwartz
Austin	Ellender	Lewis	Schwellenbach
Bailey	Frazier	Logan	Sheppard
Bankhead	George	Lucas	Smathers
Barbour	Gerry	Lundeen	Smith
Barkley	Gibson	McCarran	Taft
Bilbo	Gillette	McKellar	Thomas, Utah
Borah	Glass	McNary	Tobey
Bridges	Green	Maloney	Townsend
Brown	Guffey	Miller	Truman
Bulow	Gurney	Minton	Tydings
Burke	Harrison	Murray	Vandenberg
Byrd	Hatch	Neely	Van Nuys
Byrnes	Hayden	Norris	Wagner
Capper	Herring	Nye	Walsh
Caraway	Hill	O'Mahoney	Wheeler
Chavez	Holman	Overton	White
Clark, Idaho	Holt	Pepper	Wiley
Clark, Mo.	Hughes	Pittman	The state of the s
Connally	Johnson, Calif.	Radcliffe	
Danaher	Johnson, Colo.	Reed	TO BE THE REST OF A S

Mr. WALSH. I announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. Lodge] because of illness.

Mr. AUSTIN. I announce the necessary absence of the Senator from Maine [Mr. Hale] and the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Shipstead].

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eight-nine Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

# NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BARKLEY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 1), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That a committee consisting of two Senators be appointed to join such committee as may be appointed by the House of Representatives to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that a quorum of each House is assembled and that the Congress is ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.

The VICE PRESIDENT appointed Mr. Barkley and Mr. McNary the committee on the part of the Senate.

# NOTIFICATION TO THE HOUSE

Mr. McNARY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 2), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary inform the House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is assembled and that the Senate is ready to proceed to business.

# HOUR OF DAILY MEETING

Mr. LEWIS submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 3), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the hour of daily meeting of the Senate be 12 o'clock meridian unless otherwise ordered.

INVESTIGATION OF SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES AND USE OF GOVERNMENTAL FUNDS (REPT. NO. 1)

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I know that ordinarily bills are not introduced and reports and resolutions are not

presented on the opening day of a session. However, I am directed by Senate Resolution 283 of the last Congress to present on the opening day of this session the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Senatorial Campaign Expenditures and Use of Governmental Funds. I now present the report in two parts, part 1 covering generally the committee's investigation of senatorial campaign expenditures and use of governmental funds in 1938, and part 2 comprising a summary by States and including miscellaneous cases.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The report will be printed.

### DEATH OF SENATOR COPELAND

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, we were all profoundly shocked when, shortly after the adjournment of the last session of the Congress, we learned of the death of my late colleague, Senator COPELAND. By his death the country lost one of its really great statesman, and we, his colleagues, in addition to losing an associate of great ability, were bereft of a devoted friend, and his family of a devoted husband and father. I know that opportunity will be afforded me on some later occasion to pay a well-deserved tribute to this truly great and good man.

At this time I submit a resolution, for the consideration of which I ask unanimous consent.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 4) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. Royal S. Copeland, late a Senator from the State of New York.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

### SENATOR FROM NEW YORK

Mr. WAGNER presented the credentials of James M. Mead, of New York, elected a Senator from that State for the unexpired term of Royal S. Copeland, deceased, ending on the 2d day of January 1941, which were read, as follows:

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November 1938 James M. Mead was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of New York a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the unexpired term of Royal S. Copeland, deceased.

Witness: His Excellency our Governor, Herbert H. Lehman, and our seal hereto affixed at Albany, this 7th day of December A. D. 1938.

By the Governor:

[SEAL]

HERBERT H. LEHMAN, GOVETNOT. EDWARD J. FLYNN, Secretary of State.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The credentials will be placed on file.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, my colleague from New York is present and desires to take the oath of office.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If the Senator-elect will present himself at the desk, the oath will be administered to him.

Mr. Mead, escorted by Mr. Wagner, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to him by the Vice President.

# ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I wish to announce for the benefit of Senators, that while the standing committees of the Senate will not have been made up tomorrow, we shall meet, as usual, at 12 o'clock, and at 1 o'clock assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives, where the President of the United States will deliver his annual message. We shall, therefore, be in session for some time before we proceed to the House Chamber, and during that time there will be a morning hour, in which Members of the Senate may introduce bills and present resolutions to be appropriately referred.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of our late colleague, Senator Coreland, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, January 4, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

<sup>\*</sup>Not sworn.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, JANUARY 3, 1939

The third day of January being the day prescribed by the Constitution for the meeting of the Seventy-sixth Congress, the Members-elect of the House of Representatives met in their Hall and at 12 o'clock noon was called to order by Hon. South Trimble, Clerk of the last House.

Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., Chaplain of the Seventy-fifth Congress, offered the following

### PRAYER

Eternal God and Father of Mankind, in these waiting moments breathe upon us Thy holy spirit; may we be deeply conscious of the truth and reality of the divine presence. Forgive our selfish and ignoble ambitions and inspire us with a broad comprehension of the public service. Quicken us with that deathless faith that lifts beyond the stars. We praise Thee for that love which sanctifies the home, that insures the perpetuity of our Nation and makes the world akin. May every wistful hope and lingering desire find fruition in the spirit of the Master. Thou who holdest in Thy heart the secret of human life and destiny, hear every prayer; speak in every tongue in all the earth to the noble army of the distressed and unfortunate. Oh, stay Thou the tragic sufferings which follow in the train of war. We fervently pray that our President may be attended by the richest blessings of grace, mercy, and good health. Sustain in the folds of Thy fatherly care our distinguished Speaker, and may brotherly love, patriotism, and statesmanship prevail among all Members. Graciously remember all others who are associated in any way with the Congress. Open Thou our lips as we pray our Saviour's prayer:

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever. Amen.

The CLERK. Representatives-elect, this is the day fixed by the Constitution of the United States for the meeting of the Seventy-sixth Congress of the United States of America. The Clerk of the House of Representatives of the Seventy-fifth Congress will call the names of those present whose credentials show that they were regularly elected as Representatives in accordance with the laws of their respective States or of the United States.

As the names are called, following the alphabetical order of the States, Representatives-elect will please answer "present" to determine whether a quorum is present.

The Clerk will proceed with the call.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members answered to their names:

	[1	Roll No. 1]	el and and and
		ALABAMA	The state of the s
Boykin Grant Steagall	Hobbs Starnes	Jarman Bankhead	Sparkman Patrick
1000		ARIZONA Murdock	
	UVF	ARKANSAS	
Gathings Mills	Ellis Cravens	Terry Norrell	Kitchens
	C	ALIFORNIA	
Lea Englebright Buck Havenner Welch	Carter Tolan Anderson Gearhart Elliott	Hinshaw Voorhis Kramer Ford, Thomas F, Costello	Ford, Leland M. Geyer Eaton Sheppard Izac
	3 1	COLORADO	
Lewis	Cummings	Martin	Taylor
	co	NNECTICUT	
Miller Ball	Shanley Monkiewicz	Austin	Smith
		DELAWARE	
		Williams	

Dotamon		ORIDA	Was dulaka
Peterson Green	Caldwell	Cannon	Hendricks
	DAY SEE	CORGIA	EL CALL
Peterson Cox	Owen Ramspeck	Tarver Gibbs	Whelchel Brown
Pace	Vinson	DAHO	
	White	Dworshak	
	(46.5000.50)	LINOIS	1000
Mitchell	McAndrews	Chiperfield	Fries
McKeough Kelly	Church Reed	Dirksen Arends	Schaefer Arnold
Beam	Mason	Sumner	Parsons
Sabath Schuetz	Allen Johnson	Wheat Barnes	Keller Smith
Kocialkowski			7
Schulte	Gillie	DIANA Landis	Springer
Halleck	Harness	Boehne	Ludlow
Grant	Johnson	Crowe	
Martin		OWA	Cilebriat
Jacobsen	Talle LeCompte	Dowell Jensen	Gilchrist Harrington
Gwynne	In a complete the	ANSAS	
Lambertson	Winter	Houston	Норе
Guyer	Rees	Carlson	ACCEPTED TO
	70.00	TUCKY	
Gregory Vincent	O'Neal Spence	Chapman May	Bates Robsion
VIIICEII		JISIANA	RODSION
Fernandez	Mouton	Mills	DeRouen
Maloney	Brooks	Griffith	Allen
		AINE	
Oliver	Smith	Brewster	
		RYLAND	-
Goldsborough	D'Alesandro	Kennedy	Byron
Treadway	Rogers	Luce	Wigglesworth
Clason	Bates	Tinkham	Martin
Casey Holmes	Connery	Flaherty McCormack	Gifford
		CHIGAN	
Tenerowicz	Blackney	Bradley	Lesinski
Michener Shafer	Wolcott Crawford	Hook McLeod	Dondero
Hoffman	Engel	Rabaut	
Mapes	Woodruff	Dingell	
Andreson A II	Maas	NESOTA Knutson	Pittenger
Andresen, A. H. Ryan	Youngdahl	Andersen, H. Carl	
Alexander	MTS	SISSIPPI	
Rankin	Whittington		McGehee
Doxey	Ford	Colmer	
		SSOURI	40004000000
Romjue Nelson	Bell Short	Cannon Zimmerman	Anderson Cochran
Duncan	Williams	Hennings	Caramana and m
	the same of the sa	NTANA	
		O'Connor	
W-1-1-		BRASKA	G-#
Heinke McLaughlin	Stefan	Curtis	Coffee
		EVADA	
		ugham	
	NEW H		
	Jenks		
Wolverton	Eaton	JERSEY Osmers	Norton
Jeffries	McLean	Hartley	Hart
Sutphin Powers	Thomas Seger	Vreeland Kean	
	NEW	MEXICO	
	De De	mpsey	
		7 YORK	
	NEW		
Hall	Dickstein	Gamble	Taber
Hall Barry	Dickstein Sullivan	Fish	Cole
Hall Barry Pfeifer Cullen	Dickstein Sullivan Sirovich Kennedy, Michae	Fish Rockefeller d Byrne	Cole O'Brien Wadsworth
Hall Barry Pfeifer Cullen Evans	Dickstein Sullivan Sirovich	Fish Rockefeller el Byrne Cluett	Cole O'Brien Wadsworth Andrews
Hall Barry Pfeifer Cullen Evans Somers Delaney	Dickstein Sullivan Sirovich Kennedy, Michae Fay Barton Bloom	Fish Rockefeller el Byrne Cluett Crowther Pierce	Cole O'Brien Wadsworth Andrews Harter Schwert
Hall Barry Pfeifer Cullen Evans Somers Delaney O'Toole	Dickstein Sullivan Sirovich Kennedy, Michae Fay Barton Bloom Marcantonio	Fish Rockefeller el Byrne Cluett Crowther Pierce Culkin	Cole O'Brien Wadsworth Andrews Harter Schwert Reed
Hall Barry Pfeifer Cullen Evans Somers Delaney O'Toole Keogh Celler O'Leary	Dickstein Sullivan Sirovich Kennedy, Michae Fay Barton Bloom	Fish Rockefeller el Byrne Cluett Crowther Pierce	Cole O'Brien Wadsworth Andrews Harter Schwert

	NORT	H CAROLINA	
Warren	Cooley	Clark	Bulwinkle
Kerr	Folger	Burgin	Weaver
Barden	Durham	Doughton	
	NOR	TH DAKOTA	
	Lemke	Burdick	
	Demino	4	
and provide the	C200000 W.O.	OHIO	AND A TRANSPORTED TO
Elston	Brown	White	Kirwan
Hess Routzohn	Smith Hunter	Harter Secrest	Sweeney Crosser
Jones	Jenkins	Seccombe	Bolton
Clevenger	Claypool	Ashbrook	Bender
Polk	Vorys	Lewis	Marshall
	0	KLAHOMA	
Disney	Boren	Johnson	Ferguson
Nichols	Monroney	Massingale	Rogers
Cartwright		SALEM ST	
		OREGON	
Mott	Pierce	Angell	
	PEN	NSYLVANIA	TON THE PLEATHER
Sacks	Boland	Jarrett	Rodgers
McGranery	Flannery	The state of the s	Corbett
Bradley	Fenton	Gross	McDowell
Daly	Moser	Van Zandt	Eberharter
Gartner	Rutherford	Snyder	McArdle
Myers Wolfenden	Rich	Faddis Graham	Dunn
Gerlach	Simpson	Tibbott	TON THE PARTY AND ADDRESS OF THE PARTY AND ADD
Kinzer	Kunkel	Allen	
200	RH	ODE ISLAND	N S STEWN
200	Risk	Sandager	STATE OF THE STATE
		AND A PROPERTY OF A PARTY OF A PA	
		TH CAROLINA	management and the same
McMillan, Thos Fulmer	Bryson	Richards	McMillan, John L
Funner		TH DAKOTA	
		Case	was a world
		ENNESSEE	
Reece	Gore	Turner	Cooper
Taylor	Byrns	Pearson	Chandler
McReyonlds	The same of the	TEXAS	Professional Contract
Patman	Johnson, Luth		Garrett
Dies	Patton	Gossett	Jones
Beckworth	Thomas	Kleberg	Mahon
Rayburn	Mansfield	West	Kilday
Sumners	Johnson, Lynd	ion Thomason	South .
Villa (72.1)	144	UTAH	
		Robinson	
		VERMONT	
		Plumley	
			72 22 2
The Control of the Co		VIRGINIA	
Bland	Drewry	Woodrum	Smith
Darden Satterfield	Burch	Robertson	Flannagan
Batterneid	w.	ASHINGTON	prof. Fire service
Magnuson	Smith	Leavy	Coffee
Wallgren	Hill	A THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY OF	
S22220 S377.		ST VIRGINIA	10 4 A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A
Schiffler	Edmiston	Kee	Smith
Randolph	Johnson		
	The second secon	VISCONSIN	
Bolles	Schafer	Murray	Hull
Hawks	Thill Keefe	Johns	Gehrmann
Griswold		WYOMING	
	tion in	Touton	

The CLERK. The roll call discloses the presence of 422 Members. A quorum is present.

Credentials, regular in form, have been filed showing the election of Anthony J. Dimond as Delegate from the Territory of Alaska and Samuel W. King as Delegate from the Territory of Hawaii.

Since the regular election to the Seventy-sixth Congress one change has occurred as a result of which a vacancy now exists in the Fifth Congressional District of the State of Maryland, occasioned by the death of the late Honorable STEPHEN W. GAMBRILL.

# ELECTION OF SPEAKER

The next business in order is the election of a Speaker. Nominations will now be received.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Clerk, by direction of the Democratic caucus I have the honor to place in nomination for the office of Speaker of this honorable body one whose emi-

nent fairness is recognized by all, the eloquent, the able, the sincere, the distinguished gentleman from Alabama, Hon. William B. Bankhead. [Applause.]

The CLERK. Are there further nominations?

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, by direction and authority of the Republican conference, representing the minority party in this House, I nominate for the office of Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Seventy-sixth Congress an equally distinguished and able gentleman, Hon. Joseph W. Martin, Jr., a Representative-elect from the State of Massachusetts. [Applause.]

The CLERK. Are there any further nominations? There being no further nominations, the Clerk appoints the gentleman from New York [Mr. Cullen], the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Mouton], the gentlewoman from Illinois [Miss Sumner], and the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Osmers] to act as tellers to tally the vote for Speaker. The tellers will take their places at the desk in front of the Speaker's rostrum.

The tellers having taken their places, the House proceeded to vote viva voce for Speaker. The following is the vote in detail:

# [Roll No. 2] BANKHEAD

BANKHEAD				
Allen, La.	Dies	Kennedy, Md.	Ramspeck	
Allen, Pa.	Dingell	Kennedy, Michael		
Anderson, Mo.	Disney	Keogh	Rankin	
Arnold	Doughton	Kerr	Rayburn	
Ashbrook	Doxey	Kilday	Richards	
Barden	Drewry	Kirwan	Robertson	
	Duncan	Kitchens	Robinson, Utah	
Barnes	Dunn			
Barry	Durham	Kleberg	Rogers, Okla.	
Bates, Ky.		Kocialkowski	Romjue	
Beam	Eberharter	Kramer	Ryan	
Beckworth	Edmiston	Lea	Sabath	
Bell	Elliott	Leavy	Sacks	
Bland	Ellis	Lesinski	Satterfield	
Bloom	Evans	Lewis, Colo.	Schaefer, Ill.	
Boehne	Faddis	Ludlow	Schuetz	
Boland	Fay	McAndrews	Schulte	
Boren	Ferguson	McArdle	Schwert	
Boykin	Fernandez	McCormack	Scrugham	
Bradley, Pa.	Fitzpatrick	McGehee	Secrest	
Brooks	Flaherty	McGranery	Shanley	
Brown, Ga.	Flannagan	McKeough	Sheppard	
Bryson	Flannery	McLaughlin	Sirovich	
Buck	Folger	McMillan, John L		
Buckler, Minn.	Ford, Miss.	McMillan, Thos. S		
Buckley, N. Y.	Ford, Thomas F.	McReynolds	Smith, Va.	
Bulwinkle	Fries	Magnuson	Smith, Wash.	
Burch	Fulmer	Mahon	Smith, W. Va.	
Burgin	Garrett	Maloney	Snyder Snyder	
	Gathings	Mansfield		
Byrne, N. Y.			Somers, N. Y.	
Byrns, Tenn.	Gavagan	Martin, Colo.	South	
Byron	Geyer, Calif.	Massingale	Sparkman	
Caldwell	Gibbs	May	Spence	
Cannon, Fla.	Goldsborough	Merritt	Starnes, Ala.	
Cannon, Mo.	Gore	Mills, Ark.	Steagall	
Cartwright	Gossett	Mills, La.	Sullivan	
Casey, Mass.	Grant, Ala.	Mitchell	Sumners, Tex.	
Celler	Green	Monroney	Sutphin	
Chandler .	Gregory	Moser	Sweeney	
Chapman	Griffith	Mouton	Tarver	
Clark	Hare	Murdock, Ariz.	Taylor, Colo.	
Claypool	Harrington	Myers	Tenerowicz	
Cochran	Hart	Nelson	Terry	
Coffee, Nebr.	Harter, Ohio	Nichols	Thomas, Tex.	
Coffee, Wash.	Havenner	Norrell	Thomason	
Collins	Healey	Norton	Tolan	
Colmer	Hendricks	O'Connor	Turner	
Connery	Hennings	O'Day	Vincent, Ky.	
Cooley	Hill	O'Leary	Vinson, Ga.	
Cooper	Hobbs	O'Neal	Voorhis, Calif.	
Costello	Hook	O'Toole	Wallgren	
Cox	Houston	Owen	Walter	
Cravens	Hunter	Pace	Warren	
Crosser	Izac	Parsons	Weaver	
Crowe	Jacobsen	Patman	West	
Cullen	Jarman	Patrick	Whelchel	
Cummings	Johnson, Okla.	Pearson	White, Idaho	
D'Alesandro	Johnson, W. Va.	Peterson, Fla.	Whittington	
Daly	Johnson, Luther A	Peterson Ge	Williams, Mo.	
Darden	Johnson, Lyndon	Pfeifer	Woodrum, Va.	
Delaney	Jones, Tex.	Pierce, Oreg.	Zimmerman	
Dempsey	Kee	Poage		
DeRouen	Keller	Polk		
Derronen	AMULICI	LUIL		

# MARTIN of Massachusetts

Rabaut

ı	Alexander	Andresen, A. H.	Austin	Bender
ı	Allen, Ill.	Andrews	Ball	Blackney
Г	Andersen, H. Carl	Angell	Barton	Bolles
ı	Anderson, Calif.	Arends	Bates, Mass.	Bolton

Dickstein

Bradley, Mich. Brewster Brown, Ohio Burdick Carlson Carter Case, S. Dak. Chiperfield Church Clason Clevenger Cluett Cole, N. Y. Corbett Crawford Crowther Culkin Curtis Dirksen Ditter Dondero Douglas Dowell Dworshak Eaton, Calif. Eaton, N. J. Elston Engel Englebright Fenton Fish Ford, Leland M. Gamble Gartner Gearhart Gerlach Gifford

Gilchrist

Gillie Graham Grant, Ind. Griswold Guyer, Kans. Gwynne Hall Halleck Hancock Harness Harter, N. Y. Hartley Hawks Heinke Hess Hinshaw Hoffman Holmes Hope Horton Jarrett Jeffries Jenkins, Ohio Jenks, N. H. Jensen Johns Johnson, Ill. Johnson, Ind. Jones, Ohio Kean Keefe Kinzer

Knutson

Lambertson Landis

LeCompte

Kunkel

Lemke Lewis, Ohio Lord Luce McDowell McLean McLeod Mapes Marcantonio Marshall Martin, Iowa Mason Michener Miller Monkiewicz Mott Mundt Murray O'Brien Oliver Osmers Pierce, N. Y. Pittenger Plumley Powers Reece, Tenn. Reed, Ill. Reed, N. Y. Rees, Kans. Rich Risk Robsion, Ky. Rockefeller Rodgers, Pa. Rogers, Mass. Routzohn Rutherford

Sandager Schafer, Wis. Schiffler Seccombe Seger Shafer, Mich. Short Simpson Smith, Maine Smith, Ohio Springer Stearns, N. H. Stefan Sumner, III. Taber Talle Taylor, Tenn. Thill Thomas, N. J. Thorkelson Tibbott Tinkham Treadway Van Zandt Vorys, Ohio Vreeland Wadsworth Welch Wheat White, Ohio Wigglesworth Williams, Del. Winter Wolcott Wolfenden, Pa. Wolverton, N. J. Woodruff, Mich. Youngdahl

GEHRMANN

Hull

HULL Gehrmann

ANSWERED "PRESENT"

Martin, Mass.

The CLERK. The tellers agree in their tally.

The total number of votes cast is 420, of which Hon. WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD has received 249 votes, Hon. Joseph W. MARTIN, JR., has received 168 votes, Hon. BERNARD J. GEHRMANN has received 1 vote, Hon. MERLIN HULL has received 1 vote. One Member voted "present."

Therefore Hon. WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD, a Representativeelect from the State of Alabama, having received a majority of all the votes cast, is duly elected Speaker of the House of

Representatives for the Seventy-sixth Congress.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Martin], the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Rayburn], the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Taylor], the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Taylor], the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Rabaut], and the gentleman from New York [Mr. Barton] will please conduct the Speaker-elect to the chair.

# PRESENTATION OF THE SPEAKER-ELECT

The committee appointed by the Clerk escorted Mr. Bank-

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. My colleagues, it is seldom one finds consolation in defeat, but I find considerable comfort today, when I look over on my left and see the fairly well filled Republican benches, and I visualize what may happen in 1940. [Laughter and applause.]

Gracious custom has given me a pleasant duty to perform this afternoon. I am privileged to present to you a colleague for whom I have a great personal affection; one who is a really great American. [Applause.] He is one of the real stars that has fallen on Alabama. Fourteen years ago when I first came to this House, he was an outstanding Member and he has been a conspicuous and able Member during this entire period. Ten years ago I was honored with a place on the Rules Committee. There I came to know him intimately, and there an affection formed which has grown as the years have passed. I have found him to be a man of great intellectual attainment; skilled in parliamentary knowledge; one with a thorough knowledge of the great national problems, and a fine patriot. He has performed his work solely with regard to the welfare of his country. It is a fine privilege to present today a great American, my personal friend, the new Speaker of the House of Representatives, Hon. WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD, of Alabama. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. Mr. Minority Leader and Members of the first session of the Seventy-sixth Congress, I have, of course, been very profoundly touched and gratified not only by the very generous words of praise uttered in my behalf by our new distinguished minority leader, but also by the very generous manifestations from the floor of the approval of my election as Speaker of this Congress.

I want to thank Joe MARTIN-and I am assuming the liberty of calling him by his first name—for those most generous and praiseful words. I appreciate them, coming as I am sure they are, as a sincere expression of the sentiment upon the minority side of this House. [Applause.] I am glad that that gentleman from Massachusetts has been elevated to the position of party responsibility which he now occupies. [Applause.] I feel that by virtue of his long service here, of his disinterested and effective work in behalf not only of his party but of the country, he has fully justified this expression of confidence upon the part of his Republican colleagues. But, being somewhat of a sentimental "cuss," I cannot refrain-and Joe will understand this, of coursefrom expressing my very deep regret at not seeing over there in charge of the minority my dear friend. Bert Snell, of New York [applause], a man who through almost a quarter of a century of illustrious service in the House of Representatives has not only captivated, but deserved, the respect and confidence of the Members upon both sides of the aisle. [Applause.] In his voluntary departure from the scene of public and political activity, although I do not see-yes; there is Bert sitting back there. I had not seen him before. We want you to know that you will carry away with you to private life the universal respect, confidence, and affection not only of the Members upon your own side but of the Democrats who sit on this side as well.

At the expense of being somewhat repetitious and incurring the censure of Mr. Shakespeare's quotation about a Twice-Told Tale, I feel justified, however, not only in view of my admiration for Joe Martin and of his distinguished ability to which I have referred, but as a mark of my confidence and esteem, in expressing the hope that for many years he will be the leader of the minority party. [Applause.] The gentleman, of course, in his spirit of temporary political jubilation has made reference to the fact that there is a considerable accretion to the number of the Members sitting to the left of the chair; but being somewhat of a statistical turn of mind I will recall to the gentleman that there are still a good many vacancies on the left side of the chair. [Laughter.]

Now, gentlemen, having spoken in these terms of pleasantry, and possibly with some facetiousness, in conclusion, I desire to utter a rather serious note. I express to my Democratic colleagues again, as I undertook to do in our party conference upon yesterday, my unmeasured and indescribable gratitude for this further mark of your confidence and your esteem. This is the third time-possibly somewhat of an unparalleled fact in the annals of our Government-a third time that I have been unanimously nominated for this great position by my party associates without opposition; and I trust that this is an evidence, as I am sure it is, of the fact that despite my infirmities, despite all of the acknowledged limitations of my intellectual capacities, you have seen fit again to express your confidence at least in my character and in my desire to serve my party and to serve my country, and for this I am again most grateful.

May I say to the minority Members, many of them new men who have come here, that I have never yet seen a man who occupied this distinguished position who showed by his rulings, by his presiding over the House of Representatives, or by his spirit and soul any possible disposition to be unfair to the Members of the minority, whichever party might be in the majority in this House; and, looking back upon my career as your Speaker since June 1936, I take some satisfaction and gratification from the fact that to the very best of my ability I have undertaken to carry out those noble and disinterested

mental attainments and desires of my predecessors, and I promise you a continuance as long as I am Speaker of the

House. [Applause.]

I imagine I have already spoken too long. This is an eventful Congress. On the 4th day of March coming, gentlemen, we will celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the meeting of the first Congress of the United States under our Constitution, an event of great historical significance, and one that, in my opinion, should be adequately celebrated by some memorial service upon the floor of this House. I come into this Chamber sometimes alone and let my mind and my imagination meditate upon the debates that have taken place in this Chamber and upon the great American intellects which in the decades and the eras past have contended upon the floor of this House, upon the great and noble traditions that those great Americans have handed down under our system of representative government to those who sit in these seats today. It ought to be stimulating to all of us, old and new Members alike, to reflect upon the dignity and the opportunity we have through our service here to carry out these magnificent traditions of the men who have served here before.

I am sure that that spirit will animate this body, and because I am almost in political conduct as much a partisan as any man living, I hope you will not blame me for that. as I do not blame you gentlemen for having inherited or acquired some of your political leanings. But speaking under the spirit of this occasion, under the aegis of this flag and in the presence of that eagle, under the dome of our great Capitol, dedicated to constitutional freedom and representative government for a great people [applause], down in our hearts, despite this imaginary partisan line, I know that my beloved Democratic brethren on this side of the aisle, as well as my respected, and in many instances beloved, brethren on the other side of the aisle, can well afford here today, all of us, in the spirit I have suggested, to reconsecrate our brain, our energy, our heart, our intellect, and our purposes as a great representative body of the American people to do those things which in our collective judgment will best subserve the safety and security of the future and guaranteed perpetuity of our representative institutions. [Applause,]

I am now prepared to take the oath of office as Speaker and I request that the gentleman from Illinois, the Honorable Adolph J. Sabath, dean of this House in point of service, administer to me the oath of office. [Applause.]

Mr. SABATH then administered the oath of office to the Speaker.

# SWEARING IN OF THE MEMBERS

The SPEAKER. Some years ago a precedent which had theretofore existed of having the oath administered to Members by States was discontinued and a precedent set whereby all Members took the oath of office at one and the same time. In order to avoid confusion the Chair thinks it best to follow the latter precedent, and the Chair asks each Member of the House and each Delegate to rise in his place while the Chair administers the oath of office.

The Members-elect and the Delegates rose, and the Speaker administered the oath of office.

# ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution, which I send to the Clerk's desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That South Trimble, of the State of Kentucky, be, and he is hereby chosen the Clerk of the House of Representatives; That Kenneth Romney, of the State of Montana, be, and he is hereby, chosen the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives; That Joseph J. Sinnott, of the State of Virginia, be, and he is hereby, chosen Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives; That Finis E. Scott, of the State of Tennessee, be, and he is hereby, chosen Postmaster of the House of Representatives; and That Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., of the District of Columbia, be, and he is hereby, chosen Chaplain of the House of Representatives.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the resolution be divided, and that a separate vote be taken upon the office of Chaplain, and that that vote be taken first, after which I will submit a substitute for the pending resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan demands a division of the resolution, and, under the rules, he is clearly

entitled to a division.

The resolution was divided; the question was taken, and Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., was elected Chaplain of the House of Representatives for the Seventy-sixth Congress.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I offer a substitute resolution for the resolution offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack], which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read the substitute resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That William Tyler Page, of the State of Maryland, be, and he is hereby, chosen Clerk of the House of Representatives;
That W. F. Russell, of the State of Pennsylvania, be, and he is hereby, chosen Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives;
That John Andrews, of the State of Massachusetts, be, and he is hereby, chosen Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives; and That Frank W. Collier, of the State of Wisconsin, be, and he is

hereby, chosen Postmaster of the House of Representatives.

The substitute resolution was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the original resolu-

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. South Trimble, Mr. Kenneth Romney, Mr. Joseph J. Sinnott, Mr. Finis E. Scott, and the Reverend James Shera Montgomery, D. D., appeared at the bar of the House and the oath of office was administered to them by the Speaker. HON. JOAQUIN M. ELIZALDE, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER OF THE PHILIPPINES TO THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the President of the United States:

OCTOBER 31, 1938.

The SPEAKER House of Representatives.

My Dear Mr. Speaker: I transmit herewith a communication from the President of the Philippines, dated September 29, 1938, advising of the appointment by him of the Honorable Joaquin M. Elizalde as Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

MALACANAN PALACE Manila, September 29, 1938. His Excellency the Honorable Franklin D. Roossvelt. President of the United States,

Washington, D. C.

Mr. President: I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that pursuant to the provisions of the act of Congress approved March 24, 1934, and of the Constitution of the Philippines, I have duly appointed the Honorable Joaquin M. Elizalde Resident Commissioner to the United States. Having full confidence in his ability, zeal, and fidelity, and knowing his sincere desire to promote to the fullest extent the friendly relations now existing between the United States and the Philippines, I sincerely hope that he will render himself acceptable to Your Excellency and to the Government of the United States. Washington, D. C. ment of the United States.

With expressions of my respect and esteem, I beg to remain, Very respectfully,

MANUEL L. QUEZON.

By the President:

GEORGE B. VARGAS Secretary to the President.

Mr. ELIZALDE appeared at the bar of the House and took the oath of office.

NOTIFICATION OF SENATE OF ORGANIZATION OF THE HOUSE Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution. The Clerk read as follows:

# House Resolution 2

Resolved, That a message be sent to the Senate to inform that body that a quorum of the House of Representatives has assembled; that William B. Bankhead, a Representative from the State of Alabama, has been elected Speaker; and South Trimble, a citizen of the State of Kentucky, Clerk of the House of Representatives. atives of the Seventy-sixth Congress.

The resolution was agreed to.

# MAJORITY AND MINORITY FLOOR LEADERS

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Democratic caucus, I desire to notify the House and my colleagues officially of the election as majority leader of the Seventy-sixth Congress of our distinguished colleague the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN]. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Republican conference. I officially notify the House that the Honorable Joseph W. Martin, Jr., a Representative-elect from the State of Massachusetts, was selected by the conference as the minority leader. [Applause.]

COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

### House Resolution 3

Resolved, That a committee of three Members be appointed by the Speaker on the part of the House of Representatives to join with the committee on the part of the Senate to notify the President of the United States that a quorum of each House has been assembled, and that Congress is ready to receive any communication that he may be pleased to make.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN], the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Doughton], and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN].

NOTIFICATION OF ELECTION OF SPEAKER AND CLERK

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution. The Clerk read as follows:

# House Resolution 4

Resolved, That the Clerk be instructed to inform the President of the United States that the House of Representatives has elected William B. Bankhead, a Representative from the State of Alabama, Speaker, and South Trimble, a citizen of the State of Kentucky, Clerk of the House of Representatives of the Seventy-sixth Congress.

The resolution was agreed to.

# MINORITY EMPLOYEES

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I have a substitute resolution including the minority employees of the

Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution that the minority em-

ployees of the House be elected at this time.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry. Would it not be proper for the gentleman from Michigan to offer a resolution with respect to minority Members as an amendment to the resolution of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack]?

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. I may say to the gentleman the gentleman from Michigan offered it as an amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman offered it as an amend-

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. The gentleman from Michigan offered it as an amendment, Mr. Speaker, when he first

The SPEAKER. The Chair is of the opinion he should be more particularly informed of the resolution. Will the gentleman withhold that for just a moment?

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. I withhold it. Mr. Speaker.

# MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had adopted the following resolutions:

# Senate Resolution 1

Resolved, That a committee consisting of two Senators be appointed to join such committee as may be appointed by the House of Representatives to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that a quorum of each House is assembled and that the Congress is ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.

The message also announced that in accordance with the foregoing resolution the Vice President appointed Mr. BARK-LEY and Mr. McNary as members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

### Senate Resolution 2

Resolved, That the Secretary inform the House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is assembled and that the Senate is as the Senate is a senate is a senate in the Senate in the Senate is a senate in the Senate is a senate in the Senate in the Senate is a senate in the Senate in the Senate is a senate in the Senate in the Senate is a senate in the Senate in the Senate in the Senate is a senate in the Senate in t ate is ready to proceed to business.

### Senate Resolution 4

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. ROYAL S. COPELAND, late a Senator from the State of New York.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the

family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

### RECESSES OF THE HOUSE

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent, notwithstanding the rules of the House, that it may be in order to move a recess of the House during the remainder of the week.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

# RULES OF THE HOUSE

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

# House Resolution 5

Resolved, That the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Seventy-fifth Congress be adopted as the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Seventy-sixth Congress with the following amendments:

(1) Clause 24, rule XI: Strike out the language of the clause

(1) Clause 24, The Al. Solide out the language of the clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"To the pensions of all the wars of the United States and peacetime service, other than the Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, Boxer Rebellion, and World War—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions."

(2) Clause 25, rule XI: Strike out the language of the clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"To the pensions of the Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, and Boxer Rebellion—to the Committee on Pensions."

(3) Clause 40, rule XI: Strike out the language of the clause

and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"To war-risk insurance of soldiers, sailors, and marines, and other persons in the military and naval service of the United States during or growing out of the World War, the United States Veterduring or growing out of the World War, the United States Veter-ans' Bureau, the compensations, allowances, and pensions of such persons and their beneficiaries, and all legislation affecting them other than civil service, public lands, adjusted compensations, and private claims—to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legisla-

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, the resolution provides changes in clauses 24, 25, and 40 of rule XI of the last Congress, and this change of rule XI is proposed upon the urgent request of the chairmen of the three Pension Committees. I am satisfied this will expedite the work of the House and simplify the reference of bills to the respective committees.

Mr. O'CONNOR and Mr. SWEENEY rose.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the gentleman from Illinois to yield for a question?

Mr. SABATH. I yield for a question only.

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to submit a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The question I wish to propound to the gentleman from Illinois is whether or not I may, at this time, propose an amendment to the rules as submitted.

Mr. SABATH. The gentleman from Montana has the right to offer his resolution, and I can assure the gentleman from Montana that the resolution will receive due consideration at the hands of the Rules Committee.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I realize that the gentleman from Illinois has the floor and I am speaking only through his courtesy, but does the gentleman deny me the right to offer now an amendment to the rules?

Mr. SABATH. I am not denying the gentleman anything, but I am saying that the gentleman will have the right to introduce his resolution, and I only yielded for a question at this time.

Mr. MAPES and Mr. SWEENEY rose.

Mr. SABATH. Does the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MAPES] desire to propound a question?

Mr. MAPES. Yes, Mr. Speaker; I would like to ask the gentleman from Illinois a question.

For the purpose of the Record I think it would be well if the gentleman would tell the House more clearly and more in detail how his proposed amendments would change the rules as they are now. Let me say further to the gentleman that knowing his long record as an advocate of a liberalization of the rules, as well as being a 100-percent supporter of the administration, I am somewhat surprised to find him offering amendments to the rules without bringing in an amendment changing the number required on a discharge petition from 218 to 150 or 145.

Mr. SABATH. I yielded to my colleague for a question.

Mr. MAPES. I am coming to my question.

Mr. SABATH. I appreciate the gentleman's remarks, as well as the compliment the gentleman pays me, and if the gentleman from Michigan desires to ask a question I shall endeavor to answer it. If the gentleman desires any additional information about these proposed amendments I shall be delighted to explain them.

Mr. MAPES. I am coming to the question but let me say to the gentleman that I hate to see him, as his first act as prospective chairman of the Rules Committee, spoil his record as an advocate of a liberalization of the rules. The question I wish to ask the gentleman, inasmuch as he is a 100-percent supporter of the administration, is whether it is the policy of the administration not to change the discharge rule?

Mr. SABATH. I am indeed grateful to my colleague from Michigan who has always been my friend and who gives me credit for the liberal principles for which I have fought and still stand. I am also grateful for the compliment he pays me on my loyalty to the administration which stands, as he knows, for justice, humanity, and real principles of democracy.

The gentleman from Michigan has been a member of our distinguished committee long enough to know that the rules can only be changed by the membership of the House itself.

I repeat what I have stated to the gentleman from Montana that he or any other Member will be given the fullest courtesy of our committee.

As to the consideration of the resolution today, the gentleman in his long service here realizes that the House does not legislate on the opening day of the session.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi for a question.

Mr. RANKIN. I was going to answer the question of the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the gentleman one further question?

The SPEAKER. To whom does the gentleman from Illinois yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan, a member of the Rules Committee.

Mr. MAPES. My understanding of the proposed amendments to the rules which the gentleman has introduced, is that they more clearly define the jurisdiction of these three committees.

Mr. SABATH. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. MAPES. And that the amendments will avoid, perhaps, some duplication which now exists.

Mr. SABATH. The gentleman is again correct.

Mr. MAPES. While that is true generally, in the amendment proposed to clause 40 of rule XI, I notice that the word "pension" is inserted. It has not been in the rule heretofore, and I would like to inquire of the gentleman whether it is contemplated that in this Congress that committee shall consider legislation to give pensions to veterans of the World War.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?
The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Illinois yield to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN]?

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi, who is the chairman of one of these committees, and who recommended many of the changes in this rule.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the World War Veterans' Committee, I desire to say that we have no idea of changing the policy that we have followed heretofore.

Mr. MAPES. That is the only change of substance in the rule that I can see.

Mr. RANKIN. Except that it does define the jurisdiction of the various committees, and let me say to the gentleman from Michigan that we have come to the point where bills involving legislation having to do with veterans of various wars, indiscriminately, I will say, are referred to the various committees. This is to define the jurisdiction and to place all World War veterans' legislation under the jurisdiction of the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

Mr. MAPES. What is the purpose of inserting the word

"pensions" in the proposed amendment?

Mr. RANKIN. So that all bills that involve World War veterans' legislation may be properly referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation. Otherwise they would be referred to some pension committee.

Mr. MAPES. Does the gentleman contemplate that his committee will during this Congress consider legislation to award pensions to the veterans of the World War?

Mr. RANKIN. No. It is our purpose to follow the policy pursued heretofore, and where those bills are referred to our committee, they will be considered on the basis of compensation.

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman for a question.

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman for a question. Mr. SWEENEY. In view of the fact that many Members of this House on both sides of the aisle made obligations before they were elected to vote, if given the opportunity, to change the discharge petition rule, I ask the gentleman now, as chairman of the Committee on Rules—undoubtedly he will be—and whose resolution is pending on the Speaker's desk, whether we will be given that opportunity to vote on the question of a change in the rules governing the action of this body during the Seventy-sixth Congress?

Mr. SABATH. I assure the gentleman that as one of the members of the Committee on Rules, I shall give the gentleman or try to obtain consent of the committee to give him

and others a hearing on that resolution.

Mr. SWEENEY. I thank the gentleman very much.
Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the
gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. Yes.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Is the power of the World War Veterans' Committee in any way endangered by this rule?

Mr. SABATH. No; it is not.

Mr. RAYBURN. The jurisdiction of that committee is protected by this resolution.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. And also the pensions and the claims of veterans of all of the other wars?

Mr. RAYBURN. It makes the jurisdiction of this committee better.

Mr. DOWELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. Yes.

Mr. DOWELL. The gentleman has stated that he will use his influence to see that the House has an opportunity to vote on the discharge rule.

Mr. SABATH. Oh, no. I said I would use my influence with the Committee on Rules.

Mr. DOWELL. The gentleman can have that opportunity now to give the House an opportunity to vote on the discharge rule, and I ask whether he will give us that opportunity.

Mr. SABATH. Oh, that is not a proper question.

Mr. DOWELL. It is a very important question. And may I ask if the gentleman will give the House the opportunity to vote on this discharge rule?

Mr. SABATH. I repeat and assure the gentleman from Iowa that any Members interested in that resolution or any other resolution will receive courteous treatment at the hands of our committee.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution. The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to was laid on the table.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE TO WAIT UPON THE PRESIDENT

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, your committee appointed to join a similar committee of the Senate to notify the President of the United States that the two Houses of Congress are organized and ready for business, have performed that function. The President of the United States requested the committee to state that it would be pleasing to him to communicate with the Senate and House in joint session, and appear in person, tomorrow, at 1 o'clock p. m.

### DAILY HOUR OF MEETING

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolution offered by Mr. SABATH:

House Resolution 6

Resolved, That until otherwise ordered, the daily hour of meeting of the House of Representatives shall be at 12 o'clock meridian.

The resolution was agreed to.

## SPECIAL CLERK TO THE MINORITY

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolution offered by Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts:

House Resolution 7

Resolved, That under authority of the act making appropriations for the legislative establishment for the fiscal year 1939, William F. Russell is hereby named a special clerk to the minority of the House, as successor to George P. Darrow, effective January 3, 1939

The resolution was agreed to.

JOINT SESSION OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 3), which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

# House Concurrent Resolution 3

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Wednesday, the 4th day of January 1939, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of receiving such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

The House concurrent resolution was agreed to. A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

# PRINTING AND BINDING

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

# House Resolution 8

Resolved, That the standing committees of the House of Representatives and the floor leaders are hereby authorized to have such printing and binding done as may be actually necessary for the transaction of their official business during the Seventy-sixth Congress.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MEMBERSHIP OF COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS AND COMMITTEE ON RULES

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 9), which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

# House Resolution 9

Resolved, That during the Seventy-sixth Congress the Committee on Appropriations shall be composed of 40 members; and The Committee on Rules shall be composed of 14 members.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PREAMBLES FOR BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to propound a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state the parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I do this in order to try to be helpful to all of us.

A custom has grown up in this House that when resolutions or bills are to be presented, in many instances a preamble is inserted preceding the resolution or bill, which preamble states that several or many Members are cosponsors or coauthors of the bill. If that is correct parliamentary procedure and good practice, we would like to know it, and I propound the inquiry to the Speaker, if that is the proper way in which to present a bill or resolution to the House?

The SPEAKER. The Chair is prepared to answer the parliamentary inquiry of the gentleman from Texas. This matter was brought to the attention of the Chair during the last session of Congress, but it was not thought propitious at that time, for certain reasons, to develop it. It is a matter of considerable concern to all Members, and the Chair will read a prepared answer to the inquiry propounded by the gentleman from Texas.

The question as to the right of two or more Members to jointly introduce bills, petitions, and resolutions was decided adversely by the House in agreeing to a report from a select committee appointed by Mr. Speaker Cannon in 1909 to inquire into that question. That committee in its report stated:

While the rule itself does not in express terms prohibit the attaching of the name of more than one Member to a bill or resolution when it is delivered to the Clerk or to the Speaker, as the case may be, for reference, attention is called to the second clause, requiring that under certain conditions the bill "shall be returned to the Member from whom it was received." The House, however, in the conduct of its business, is not controlled, nor is the business conducted merely in accordance with the express rules of the House. There are many situations not specifically covered by the written rules, which are, nevertheless, regulated definitely by the procedure which has come down from time immemorial and which procedure is essential to the orderly conduct of the business of the House.

Rule XLIV, which was first adopted in 1837, provides that "the rules of the parliamentary practice in Jefferson's Manual shall govern the House in all cases to which they are applicable and in which they are not inconsistent with the standing rules and orders of the House and the joint rules of the Senate and the House of Representatives."

A casual examination of rule XXII does not disclose any inhibition against the attachment of more than a single name to a bill or resolution. Examined in the light of the evolution of the rules and practice relating to the presentation of bills, however, and bearing in mind the purpose sought to be accomplished by the changes made from time to time resulting finally in the introduction of all bills without the formality of recognition, it seems clear to the committee that the underlying principle of individual recognition still prevails and that the presentation of a bill involves such recognition.

Possible abuses from the continuance of the practice are not discussed, since the committee is unanimously of the opinion that under the true and proper construction of the rule the attaching of the name of more than one Member to a bill or resolution is unauthorized.

Since the adoption of that report there have been no instances in the House where two or more Members have jointly introduced a bill or resolution.

During the Seventy-fifth Congress a question arose privately as to whether a Member introducing a bill or resolution could attach thereto a preamble in which was included the names of a number of other Members as coauthors and cosponsors of the bill or resolution. In two instances bills having preambles which had in them the names of coauthors and cosponsors were introduced and referred to committees before notice was had of this unusual practice. Subsequently, several Members of the House privately raised the question with the Speaker and the Parliamentarian as to whether this was a proper legislative practice. Since that time the Speaker has given careful and diligent study to the question and has arrived at these conclusions:

A preamble is an introduction prefixed to a statute, reciting the intention of the legislature in framing it, or the evils which led to its enactment. It is no more than a recital of some inconveniences, which does not exclude any other, for which a remedy is given by the enacting part of the statute. It was pointed out in Green v. Neal (6 Pet. U. S. 301) that a preamble is said to be the key of a statute, to open the minds of the makers as to the mischiefs which are to be remedied and the objects which are to be accomplished by the provisions of the statute. The Speaker, in his study of the question, has found no instances where a preamble was used for the purpose of stating coauthorship or cosponsorship of a statute.

It will be seen from the above that the practice of including coauthors and cosponsors in the preamble to a bill or resolution is unprecedented in the House, and considering this question in the light of the report of the special committee in 1909 it will be observed that the practice is in violation of the spirit of the rules and practices of the House of Representatives. As was pointed out in the report of the special committee adopted in 1909 that "there are many situations not specifically covered by the written rules which are nevertheless regulated definitely by the procedure which has come down from time immemorial and which procedure is essential to the orderly conduct of the business of the House" it would seem that the practice of Members introducing bills and resolutions having preambles which include the names of coauthors and cosponsors should not be permitted.

Under certain circumstances as provided in rule XXII of the House the Speaker may cause to be returned to a Member a bill or resolution which does not conform to the practice therein stated. The Speaker thinks that that rule could be a proper guide for him in the future where two or more Members jointly introduce a bill or resolution or where a Member introducing a bill or resolution includes in the preamble thereto the names of coauthors and cosponsors. The Speaker, therefore, in the future, where that practice is indulged in, will return such bills and resolutions to the Member introducing them.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. McCORMACK. For the purpose of definiteness, is my understanding correct that the Speaker's opinion confines itself only to a preamble where there are named coauthors and not to preambles in general?

The SPEAKER. Under the construction of the spirit, and the Chair feels under the letter of the view just announced by the Speaker, it would include an inhibition against the naming of cosponsors and nothing else.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker-

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Pennsylvania rise?

Mr. RICH. To make an inquiry of the Chair.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. RICH. Is my interpretation of the Speaker's ruling correct that such bills will not go to the Public Printer, will not be dealt with by the Committee on Printing at all, but that the Speaker himself will return such bills to their

The SPEAKER. The Chair, under the interpretation just made, which the Chair feels is fortified by reason and precedent, would only return the bill to the Member offering it, in order that he might make such corrections as would conform to the ruling of the Chair.

COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution. The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. McCormack submitted the following: House Resolution 10

Resolved, That the following Members be, and they are hereby, elected members of the standing committee of the House of Representatives on Ways and Means: Robert L. Doughton (chairman), North Carolina; Thomas H. Cullen, New York; Christopher D. Sullivan, New York; John W. McCormack, Massachusetts; Jere Cooper, Tennessee; John W. Boehne, Jr., Indiana; Wesley E. Disney, Oklahoma; Frank H. Buck, California; Richard M. Duncan, Missouri; John D. Dingell, Michigan; A. Willis Robertson, Virginia.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution. The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Doughton submitted the following:

House Resolution 11

Resolved, That the following Members be, and they are hereby, elected members of the standing committee of the House of Representatives on Appropriations: Edward T. Taylor (chairman), Colorado; Clarence Cannon, Missouri; Clifton A. Woodrum, Virginia; Louis Ludlow, Indiana; Thomas S. McMillan, South Carolina; Mal-Louis Ludiow, Indiana; Thomas S. McMilian, South Carolina; Maircolm C. Tarver, Georgia; Jed Johnson, Oklahoma; J. Buell Snyder, Pennsylvania; James McAndrews, Illinois; Emmet O'Neal, Kentucky; George W. Johnson, West Virginia; James G. Scrugham, Nevada; James M. Fitzpatrick, New York; Louis C. Rabaut, Michigan; Joachim O. Fernandez, Louisiana; Millard F. Caldwell, Florida; David D. Terry, Arkansas; John M. Houston, Kansas; J. Burrwood Daly, Bennsylvanie, Los Starnes, Alabama; Boss A. Collins, Missis Daly, Pennsylvania; Joe Starnes, Alabama; Ross A. Collins, Mississippi; Charles H. Leavy, Washington; Joseph E. Casey, Massa-

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution:

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MARTIN submitted the following:

House Resolution 12

Resolved. That the following members be, and they are hereby, Resolved, That the following members be, and they are hereby, elected to the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, to wit: John Taber, of New York; Richard B. Wigglesworth, of Massachusetts; William P. Lambertson, of Kansas; D. Lane Powers, of New Jersey; J. William Ditter, of Pennsylvania; Albert E. Carter, of California; Robert F. Rich, of Pennsylvania; Charles A. Plumley, of Vermont; Everett M. Dirksen, of Illinois; Albert J. Engel, of Michigan.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolution offered by Mr. Taylor of Colorado:

House Resolution 13

Resolved, That the Committee an Appropriations and the subcommittees thereof be authorized to sit during the sessions and recesses of the Seventy-sixth Congress.

The resolution was agreed to.

# RESIGNATION OF MEMBER

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication, which was read:

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 2, 1938.

Hon. W. B. BANKHEAD,

Speaker of the House of Representatives,

Jasper, Ala.

Dear Mr. Speaker: I beg leave to inform you that I have this day transmitted to the Governor of Iowa my resignation as a Representative in the Congress of the United States from the First District of Iowa

It is a matter of great regret to me that the foregoing action on ny part terminates automatically my tour of duty as a member of the Temporary National Economic Committee. I shall always be grateful to you for the confidence you reposed in me when you designated me for service with this very important committee.

With kindest regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD C. EICHER.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resignation will be accepted.

There was no objection.

SPECIAL JOINT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

The SPEAKER. On August 13, 1938, a vacancy was created on the Special Joint Committee to Investigate the Tennessee Valley Authority due to the resignation of Hon. William J. Driver. The Chair, pursuant to the authority conferred upon him by Public Resolution 83, Seventy-fifth Congress, and the order of the House of June 15, 1938, empowering him to appoint commissions and committees authorized by law or by the House, did on August 23, 1938, appoint Hon. GRAHAM A. BARDEN as a member of the Special Joint Committee to Investigate the Tennessee Valley Authority to fill the vacancy, and notified the Clerk of the House of his action.

### NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

The SPEAKER. On December 2 a vacancy was created on the Temporary National Economic Committee due to the resignation of Hon. EDWARD C. EICHER. The Chair, pursuant to the authority conferred upon him by Public Resolution 113 of the Seventy-fifth Congress and the order of the House of June 15, 1938, empowering him to appoint commissions and committees authorized by law or by the House, did on December 9, 1938, appoint Hon. CLYDE WILLIAMS as a member of the Temporary National Economic Committee to fill the vacancy, and notified the Clerk of the House of his action.

### SWEARING IN OF MEMBER

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

# House Resolution 14

Whereas George P. Darrow, a Representative-elect from Pennsylvania from the Seventh District thereof, has been unable from sickness to appear in person to be sworn as a Member of the House, and there being no contest or questions as to his election:

Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Speaker, or a deputy named by him, be, and
he is hereby, authorized to administer the cath of office to said
George P. Darrow at Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania,
and that the said oath be accepted and received by the House as the oath of office of the said GEORGE P. DARROW.

The resolution was agreed to.

### COMMITTEE ON WILDLIFE CONSERVATION

The SPEAKER laid before the House a report from the Committee on Wildlife Conservation, which was read, and, with accompanying papers, referred to the Union Calendar and ordered to be printed.

### COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

The SPEAKER laid before the House a report from the Committee on Un-American Activities, which was read and referred to the Union Calendar and ordered to be printed.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record, and I ask that that privilege may be extended to two extensions of my own remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. Mansfield and Mr. Celler asked and were given permission to extend their own remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a radio talk made by myself in my congressional district, together with a brief newspaper editorial comment on my record as a Representative.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, may I ask the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. MARTIN] or the majority leader, if it is going to be the policy of the majority leader and the administration that has the majority in the House to grant permission to insert editorials of this kind in the RECORD?

Mr. RAYBURN. I may say to the gentleman that until there is an agreement entered into by the Joint Committee on Printing with reference to a rule that will apply to both the Senate and House of Representatives, I am not going to object to Members of the House inserting things in the RECORD. If we do object, the next day we see it appear in the RECORD, placed therein by another body. I am not going to take this responsibility. I do not think it is fair to my colleagues on either side of the aisle.

Mr. RICH. I appreciate that, but the majority leader may have some influence with the Senate. He may be able to have them reach an agreement whereby we could have the LXXXIV-2

RECORD confined to acts of Congress and not to speeches of every Tom, Dick, and Harry all over the United States.

Mr. RAYBURN. I have been suggesting for 2 years that the committee of which the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich] is a distinguished member, meet with the committee of the body on the other side and try to come to some arrangement about this matter, but I have had no report therefrom.

Mr. RICH. May I say to the majority leader that the gentleman from Pennsylvania has endeavored to reach an agreement with the Senate, but has had no luck? I cannot get them to act. Now, I thought the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN] might take some action and we would probably get results. I am looking forward to the gentleman. convincing not only the Democratic Members of the House but the Democratic Members of the Senate to get some action.

Mr. RAYBURN. If I did that, I would not be able to convince the Republican Members of the House and Senate.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I would like to have the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RICH] understand that the editorial in question refers only to my record as a Representative.

Mr. RICH. I may say to the gentleman from Colorado, I do not want to prevent any Member of the House extending his own remarks. I want to be fair to all Members of the House, whether they be Democrats or Republicans, but it seems to me we ought to do what some Members of the House would like to have done; however, I do not want to assume that responsibility. I am like the majority leader. I think it is unfair that we eliminate this privilege as far as the Members of the House are concerned and let the Senate go ahead and put everything in. After consent has been refused in the House the matter is taken over to the Senate and the Senate agrees to put anything in the RECORD it sees fit. That is not right.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by placing in the Record a radio address delivered by our distinguished Speaker last night over a Nation-wide hook-up.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

# HON. EDWARD W. CREAL

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution. The Clerk read as follows:

# House Resolution 15

Whereas Edward W. Creal, a Representative from the State of Kentucky, from the Fourth District thereof, has been unable from sickness to appear in person to be sworn as a Member of the House, and there being no contest or question as to his election: Therefore he is

Resolved, That the Speaker, or a deputy named by him, be, and he is hereby, authorized to administer the oath of office to said EDWARD W. CREAL at Louisville, in the State of Kentucky, and that the said oath, when administered as herein authorized, shall be accepted and received by the House as the oath of office of the said EDWARD W. CREAL.

The resolution was agreed to.

# HON. WILLIAM P. COLE, JR.

Mr. GOLDSBOROUGH. Mr. Speaker, I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Cole.]

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include therein the remarks I made at Lowell, Mass., at a great mass meeting which was held December 30 to protest against the abuse of the minorities and the atrocities perpetrated upon them by the countries under dictatorship. I also wish to include in my remarks a resolution passed at that meeting.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I further ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record in respect of a bill I have introduced that asks for the help and assistance of the people who suffered as a result of the hurricane in Massachusetts and in all New England.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record by inserting therein an address by former Senator Gore on the life of our late colleague, W. A. Rodenberg, of Illinois.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

Mr. Brewster asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the Record.

Mr. IGLESIAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the government of Puerto Rico.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the Commissioner from Puerto Rico?

There was no objection.

### HON. A. F. MACIEJEWSKI AND HON. JOHN C. MARTIN

Mr. Sabath. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make an announcement. Fortunately or unfortunately, two of my Illinois colleagues, although present, could not answer to their names when they were called due to the fact that they were not in a position to be sworn in, the reason being that my colleague, Hon. A. F. Maciejewski, is the treasurer of Cicero, Ill., and is obliged to sign thousands of dollars worth of bonds that are being issued by that city. He has been advised by attorneys that a legal question might be raised should he be sworn in as a Member before the bonds are signed, and for that reason he was reluctantly obliged to postpone being sworn in as a Member of Congress of the Sixth Congressional District of Illinois.

My other colleague, Hon. John C. Martin, is the State treasurer of Illinois and has been unable to complete all his duties, sign all of the documents and papers up to now. There again legal questions might arise had he been sworn in today. Although both of my colleagues have been present in attendance, due to these technical reasons they have been obliged to postpone taking their oaths of office. However, I am informed by both of these gentlemen that within a few days they will be ready to fully qualify as Member of this House.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include therein a brief letter to the President of the United States, signed by some 68 farmers.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Idaho?

There was no objection.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record by including therein a radio speech by me.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

# LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. Green, for an indefinite period, on account of illness of father.

To Mr. Wood (at the request of Mr. Cannon of Missouri), on account of illness.

### THE LATE SENATOR ROYAL S. COPELAND

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution.
The Clerk read as follows:

### House Resolution 16

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. ROYAL S. COPELAND, a Senator of the United States from the State of New York.

Resolved. That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The resolution was agreed to.

### THE LATE REPRESENTATIVE JOHN J. BOYLAN

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a further resolution. The Clerk read as follows:

### House Resolution 17

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. John J. Boylan, a Representative from the State of New York.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The resolution was agreed to.

THE LATE REPRESENTATIVE STEPHEN W. GAMBRILL

Mr. GOLDSBOROUGH. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution. The Clerk read as follows:

### House Resolution 18

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. Stephen W. Gamerill, a Representative from the State of Maryland.

State of Maryland.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The resolution was agreed to.

### THE LATE REPRESENTATIVE ROBERT L. BACON

Mr. CROWTHER. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution. The Clerk read as follows:

# House Resolution 19

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. Robert L. Bacon, a Representative from the State of New York.

Resolved. That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The resolution was agreed to.

THE LATE REPRESENTATIVE ALLARD H. GASQUE

Mr. FULMER. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution. The Clerk read as follows:

# House Resolution 20

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. Allard H. Gasque, a Representative from the State of South Carolina.

Resolved. That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The resolution was agreed to.

# RECESS

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, as a further mark of respect for these deceased colleagues, I move that the House recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 33 minutes p. m.) the House stood in recess until tomorrow, Wednesday, January 4, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

# EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the report of the board appointed to report upon the need for purposes of national defense of additional submarine, destroyer, mine, and naval air bases on the coasts of the United States, its Territories and possessions (H. Doc. No. 65); to the Committee on Naval Affairs and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, transmitting a report of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation covering its operations for the first quarter of 1938 and for the period from the organization of the Corporation on February 2, 1932, to March 31, 1938,

inclusive (H. Doc. No. 62); to the Committee on Banking

and Currency and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, transmitting a report of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, covering the operations of the Corporation for the second quarter of 1938 and for the period from the organization of the Corporation on February 2, 1932, to June 30, 1938, inclusive (H. Doc. No. 63); to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed.

4. A letter from the Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, transmitting a report of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation covering its operation for the third quarter of 1938 and for the period from the organization of the Corporation on February 2, 1932, to September 30, 1938, inclusive (H. Doc. No. 64); to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed.

5. A letter from the Administrator of the Federal Housing Administration, transmitting a copy of the Fourth Annual Report of the Federal Housing Administration; to the

Committee on Banking and Currency.

6. A letter from the Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting chapters I and II of the Commission's report on its study of investment trusts and investment companies, made pursuant to section 30 of the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935 (H. Doc. No. 70); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and ordered to be printed, with illustrations.

7. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a statement in duplicate consisting of five schedules of costs, cancelations, and other data with respect to Indian irrigation projects as compiled to the end of the fiscal year June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

8. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a report of designs, aircraft, aircraft parts, and aeronautical accessories purchased by the Navy Department during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

9. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting two reports showing statements Nos. 34 and 35 covering sales of vessels and materials of the Navy during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

10. A letter from the Acting Secretary of Commerce, transmitting part 2 of the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Lighthouses for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

11. A letter from the Chairman of the United States Maritime Commission, transmitting a report on claims arbitrated or settled between October 16, 1937, and October 15, 1938; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

12. A letter from the President of the Commission on Licensure Healing Arts Practice Act, District of Columbia, transmitting a report showing the activities of the Commission for the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

13. A letter from the Chairman of the Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia, transmitting a report of the official activities of the Commission for the fiscal year ended December 31, 1937; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

14. A letter from the Secretary of Commerce, transmitting the Annual Report of the Department of Commerce for the fiscal year 1938; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign

Commerce.

15. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a statement of the fiscal affairs of all Indian tribes for whose benefit expenditures from public or tribal funds were made during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

16. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the Annual Report of the American Red Cross for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

17. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a certified volume of the acts of the first special

session of the Fourteenth Legislature of Puerto Rico, August 10 to 23, 1938; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

18. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to extend the public-land laws of the United States to certain lands, consisting of islands, situated in the Red River in Oklahoma; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

19. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Croix and approved by the Acting Governor of the Virgin Islands; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

20. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting one copy of legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John and approved by the Governor of Virgin Islands; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

21. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting one copy of legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Croix and approved by the Acting Governor of the Virgin Islands; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

22. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting one copy of legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John and approved by the Governor of the Virgin Islands; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

23. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting one copy of legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John and approved by the Governor of the Virgin Islands; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

24. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting one copy of legislation which was passed by the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John on June 25, 1938, and not having been returned by the Governor to the Municipal Council within the prescribed 30 calendar days, became law without his approval; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

25. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of the legislation which was passed by the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John on September 2, 1938, and approved by the Governor of the Virgin Islands; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

26. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting one copy of legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Croix and approved by the Governor of the Virgin Islands; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

27. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting one copy of legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Croix, and approved by the Governor of the Virgin Islands; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

28. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting one copy of legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John on August 11, 1938, and approved by the Governor of the Virgin Islands; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

29. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting one copy of legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John and approved by the Governor of the Virgin Islands; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

30. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of Municipal Council bills Nos. 118 and 120, second session, 1938, of the Virgin Islands, reported by the Governor to the Secretary of the Interior and by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior to the Congress; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

31. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of municipal council bill No. 115, second session, 1938, of the Virgin Islands, reported by the Governor to the Secretary of the Interior and by the Secretary of the Interior to the Congress; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

32. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of a resolution of the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John to authorize the Governor of the Virgin Islands to sell the property matriculated as Little

St. Thomas, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, and file a deed therefor; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

33. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Croix and referred by the Governor to the Secretary of the Interior and by the Acting Secretary of the Interior to the Congress; said legislation being with reference to certain excise taxes, advances from the public and trust funds of the municipality of St. Croix, an amendment to the ordinance to control the entry into the municipality of persons afflicted with communicable diseases, and to amend the ordinance known as the police regulations for St. Croix; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

34. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a complete set of the laws enacted by the municipal council of St. Croix, by the municipal council of St. Thomas and St. John, in connection with the requirement contained in the last sentence of the provisions of section 16 of the Organic Act of the Virgin Islands of the United States relating to the publication of the laws annually as a public document (H. Doc. No. 67); to the Committee on Insular

Affairs.

35. A letter from the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, transmitting the Annual Report of the Federal Trade Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

36. A letter from the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, transmitting the report of the Federal Trade Commission, dated June 27, 1938, on antidumping legislation and other import regulations in the United States and foreign countries as a supplement to a report on the same subject prepared by the Commission in 1934 and printed as Senate Document No. 112, Seventy-third Congress, second session; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

37. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to change the manner of appointment of probation officers; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

- 38. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend the statutes providing punishment for transmitting threatening communications; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.
- 39. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Croix and reported by the Governor to the Secretary of the Interior and by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior to Congress relative to light and power for the municipality; to impose certain excise taxes; legal holidays; and budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.
- 40. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John, reported by the Governor to the Secretary of the Interior and by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior to the Congress relative to the budget for the municipality of St. Thomas and St. John for the fiscal years 1938 and 1939; to regulate the operation of motor vehicles in St. Thomas; an electoral ordinance for St. Thomas and St. John; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

41. A letter from the Acting Secretary of War, transmitting a copy of Resolution No. 102, adopted on April 8, 1938, by the National Assembly, Commonwealth of the Philippines, with copies of the letter of the United States High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands, and its enclosure, transmitting the resolution in question to the Bureau of Insular Affairs of this Department; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

42. A letter from the Acting Attorney General, transmitting a report showing the special assistants employed under the appropriation "Pay of special assistant attorneys, United States courts," as required by the Department of Justice Appropriation Act for the current fiscal year, approved April 27, 1938; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

43. A letter from the Clerk of the House of Representatives, transmitting copy of letter from Hon. Harcourt A. Morgan, Chairman of the Board, Tennessee Valley Author-

ity, Knoxville, Tenn., dated June 24, 1938, in which he indicated certain changes that should be made in his report; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

44. A letter from the Acting Secretary of War, transmitting, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph (m), section 10, of the act approved July 2, 1926 (44 Stat. 787, title 10, sec. 310 (m), U. S. C., supp. VI), a report of designs, aircraft parts, and aeronautical accessories purchased by the War Department pursuant to section 10 of said act during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, the prices therefor, and the reason for the award in each case; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

45. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Croix and reported by the Governor to the Secretary of the Interior and by the Secretary of the Interior to the Congress relative to filing applications for Federal

loans; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

46. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to provide a uniform, simple, and adequate measure of damages to be applied in trespass cases involving timber and other forest products upon lands of the United States; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

47. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill entitled "A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell or otherwise dispose of certain animals inhabiting the national parks and national monuments, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

48. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to provide for the establishment of Green Mountain National Park in the State of Vermont, and for other purposes; to the Committee on

Public Lands.

49. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to accept donations of land, interests in land, buildings, or other property for the extension of national parks, national monuments, battlefield sites, national military parks, and other areas administered by the National Park Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

50. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting in accordance with the requirements of section 6 of the act approved July 10, 1935 (49 Stat. 477), the report covering the fiscal year 1938 is submitted for the National Park Trust Fund Board; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

51. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the draft of a bill which is identical with H. R. 4890, Seventy-fifth Congress, as it passed the House June 9, 1937, relative to the disposition of the public lands of the United States situated in the State of Oklahoma between the Cimarron base line and the true north boundary of the panhandle part of Texas; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

52. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain property to Washington County, Utah, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

53. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill entitled "A bill to authorize the addition to Glacier National Park, Mont., of certain property acquired for the establishment and operation of a fish hatchery, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

54. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to add certain lands of the Front Royal Quartermaster Depot Military Reservation, Va., to the Shenandoah National Park, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

55. A letter from the Secretary of Commerce, transmitting a report that papers weighing approximately 24,433 pounds

have been sold, and the revenue derived therefrom amounted to \$63.85; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

56. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of a bill to provide relief directly to Charles E. Naghel, former special disbursing agent of the Department of the Interior, at Juneau, Alaska, and indirectly to Kammeyer and Medack; to the Committee on Claims.

57. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting in compliance with the requirements of the act of May 1, 1920 (Rev. Stat. sec. 228), a statement of appropriations of the preceding fiscal year (1938) for the War Department showing the amount appropriated under each specific head of appropriation, the amount expended under each head, also the amount covered into the surplus fund of the Treasury which is not required for expenditure, the balance in the Treasury and in the hands of disbursing officers on June 30, 1938, together with the estimated outstanding obligations against such balances and the estimated unobligated balance as of June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

58. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting one copy of a letter signed by the Assistant Secretary to the President of the Philippines enclosing a letter of the Secretary of the World War Veterans, insular force, and a resolution relative to the subject of adjusted compensation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

59. A letter from the Secretary of Commerce, transmitting a report on expenditures authorized for air navigation facilities under Public, 153, Seventy-fifth Congress; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

60. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated July 29, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustration, on reexamination of Ouachita River and tributaries, Arkansas and Louisiana, with particular reference to plan for a dam and reservoir for flood control, power development, and other purposes at the Blakely Mountain site, requested by resolution of the Committee on Flood Control, House of Representatives, adopted May 11, 1938 (H. Doc. No. 69); to the Committee on Flood Control and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

61. A letter from the Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, transmitting the Twenty-second Annual Report of the United States Tariff Commission (H. Doc. No. 15); to the Committee on Ways and Means and ordered to be printed.

62. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a report of the names of vessels stricken from the Navy Register during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

63. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting one copy of legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Croix and approved by the Acting Governor of the Virgin Islands; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

64. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill for the relief of Mabel Foote Ramsey, widow of Willia R. Ramsey, Jr., late special agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice; to the Committee on Claims.

65. A letter from the Acting Secretary of State, transmitting a copy of a circular for the information of the House of Representatives with reference to selections for the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

66. A letter from the Clerk of the House of Representatives, transmitting list of reports to be made to Congress by public officers during the Seventy-sixth Congress (H. Doc. No. 42); to the Committee on Accounts and ordered to be printed.

67. A letter from the Chairman of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission, transmitting the final report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission (H. Doc. No. 71); to the Committee on the Library and ordered to be printed, with illustrations.

68. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting 780 reports of inspections of disbursements made by officers of the Army, which inspections were made by the Inspector General's Department during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

69. A letter from the National Capital Park and Planning Commission, transmitting a list of land acquisitions for parks, parkways, and playgrounds, cost of each tract, and method of acquisition for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

70. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, in duplicate, a report covering expenditures made from the appropriation "Education of natives of Alaska, 1938-39" for relief of destitution of natives of Alaska during the fiscal year 1938; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

71. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend the Judicial Code by conferring on circuit courts of appeals jurisdiction to revise sentences in criminal cases; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

72. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to provide for the taking of depositions by the prosecution in criminal cases; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

73. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a bill to repeal the provision of law which provides that the failure of the defendant in a criminal case to testify shall not create any presumption against him; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

74. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to permit appeals by the United States to the circuit courts of appeals in certain criminal cases; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

75. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a bill to permit the defendant in a criminal case to waive prosecution by indictment and consent to prosecution by information; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

76. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting the Annual Report of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, prepared by the Commissioner of Narcotics, for the calendar year ended December 31, 1937; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

77. A letter from the Tennessee Valley Authority, transmitting the Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed, with illustrations.

78. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting a list of suits arising under the act of March 9, 1920, authorizing suits against the United States in admiralty involving merchant vessels, in which final decrees were entered against the United States, exclusive of cases on appeal; to the Committee on Claims.

79. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting a list of suits arising under the Public Vessel Act in which final decrees were entered, exclusive of cases on appeal; to the Committee on Claims.

80. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the Annual Report of the Department of Justice for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

81. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to provide for a change in the time for holding court at Rock Hill and Spartanburg, S. C.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

82. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to provide for the registration of small arms, the taxation of the transfers thereof, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

83. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to extend the privilege of retirement to the judges of the district court for the district of Alaska, the district court of the United States for Puerto Rico, the district court of the Virgin Islands, the United States District

Court for the District of the Canal Zone, and the United States Court for China; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

84. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to provide that records certified by the Court of Claims to the Supreme Court, in response to writs of certiorari, may include material portions of the evidence, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

85. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to provide for the confiscation of firearms in possession of persons convicted of felony and disposition thereof; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

86. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend the National Stolen Property Act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

87. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to confer jurisdiction upon certain United States commissioners to try petty offenses committed on Federal reservations; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

88. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend section 224 of the Criminal Code so as to penalize the making of false claims for the loss of insured mail matter; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

89. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend section 798 of the Code of Law for the District of Columbia, relating to murder in the first degree; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

90. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to regulate the presentation of the defense of alibi in criminal cases; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

91. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the temporary appointment of a special judge for the district court of the Virgin Islands: to the Committee on the Judiciary.

92. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend the judicial code in respect to claims against the United States for just compensation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

93. A letter from the National Chickamauga Celebration, transmitting the original charter, amended charter, bylaws, statement of receipts, and statement of disbursements of the National Chickamauga Celebration; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

94. A letter from the Gorgas Memorial Institute, transmitting the report of the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938 (H. Doc. No. 68); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

95. A letter from the National Legislative Committee of the American Legion, transmitting the proceedings of the Twentieth Annual National Convention of the American Legion held in Los Angeles, Calif., September 19–22, 1938 (H. Doc. No. 40); to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation and ordered to be printed, with illustrations.

96. A letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting report of the Acting Comptroller General of the United States of officers and administrative offices delinquent in rendering or transmitting accounts; and officers delinquent in payment of final balances, for the fiscal year 1938; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

97. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting annual report covering the disposal of surplus property in the possession of the War Department within the United States, as shown in reports received from the various field agencies during the period October 15, 1937, to October 15, 1938, inclusive; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

98. A letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting Annual Report of the Acting Comptroller General of the United States for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

# REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII,

Mr. ROBERTSON: Committee on Wildlife Conservation. Report of the committee on wildlife resources pursuant to House Resolution 11, Seventy-fifth Congress; without amendment (Rept. No. 1). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. DIES: Committee on Un-American Activities. A report of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities and Propaganda in the United States; without amendment (Rept. No. 2). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

# PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. PATMAN:

H. R. 1. A bill providing for an excise tax on retail stores; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HENDRICKS:

H. R. 2. A bill to provide for and promote the general welfare of the United States by supplying to the people a more liberal distribution and increase of purchasing power, retiring certain citizens from gainful employment, improving and stabilizing gainful employment for other citizens, stimulating agricultural and industrial production and general business, and alleviating the hazards and insecurity of old age and unemployment; to provide a method whereby citizens shall contribute to the purchase of and receive a retirement annuity; to provide for the raising of the necessary revenue to operate a continuing plan therefor; to provide for the appropriation and expenditure of such revenue; to provide for the proper administration of this act; to provide penalties for violation of the act; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CELLER:

H.R.3. A bill to amend the Revenue Act of 1936 with respect to capital gains and losses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LUDLOW:

H. R. 4. A bill to create a Federal Industrial Commission to aid in the stabilization of employment in industry, agriculture, and commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. RANKIN:

H. R. 5. A bill to amend the act approved June 28, 1934, to compensate widows and children of persons who died while receiving monetary benefits for disabilities directly incurred in or aggravated by active military or naval service in the World War, as amended; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H.R.6. A bill to amend section 907 (b) of the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PARSONS:

H.R. 7. A bill to promote interstate and foreign commerce, to improve the navigability of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Waterway, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. BARRY:

H.R.S. A bill to reduce the rate of interest on obligations of home owners to the Home Owners' Loan Corporation; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BEAM:

H.R.9. A bill to prohibit false transportation charges in connection with the sale of motor vehicles; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GREEN:

H.R. 10. A bill for the completion of the construction of the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal across Florida; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

# By Mr. SHEPPARD:

H. R. 11. A bill to be known as the "General Welfare Act," to provide for and promote the general welfare of the United States by supplying to the people a more liberal distribution and increase of purchasing power, enabling certain aged citizens to retire from gainful employment, improving and stabilizing gainful employment for other citizens, stimulating agricultural and industrial production and general business, and alleviating unemployment and the hazards and insecurity of old age; to provide a method whereby citizens shall contribute, directly or indirectly, to the purchase of and receive a retirement annuity; to provide for the raising of the necessary revenue to be placed in a "General Welfare Fund" to operate a continuing plan therefor; to provide for the appropriation and expenditure of such revenue; to provide for the proper administration of the act; to provide penalties for violations of the act; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

### By Mr. SMITH of West Virginia:

H.R. 12. A bill to provide revenue; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

### By Mr. DIRKSEN:

H. R. 13. A bill to repeal the Silver Purchase Act of 1934; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 14. A bill to provide that foreign trade agreements must be ratified by the Senate; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 15. A bill to provide for the adoption of a uniform system of motor-vehicle traffic regulations by States receiving aid under the provisions of the Federal Highway Act, as amended; to the Committee on Roads.

### By Mr. BLAND:

H. R. 16. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay subcontractors for material and labor furnished in the construction of Government buildings at Fort Myer, Va.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

H. R. 17. A bill to provide for a preliminary examination and survey of Finneys Creek, Accomac County, Va., and the channel connecting with Wachapreague Inlet and the Atlantic Ocean; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

H. R. 18. A bill to provide for the addition of certain lands to the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park in the State of Virginia; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H.R. 19. A bill to provide for the erection of a building for use and accommodation of the post office, deputy collector of customs, and United States Public Health Service at Reedville, Va.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

H. R. 20. A bill to provide for the erection of a post-office and Coast Guard headquarters building at Chincoteague Island, Va.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

H. R. 21. A bill to permit antique furniture to be entered at certain ports; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 22. A bill for the relief of warrant officers of the Army Mine Planter Service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 23. A bill to create a World War Memorial Commission to prepare plans and estimates for the erection of suitable memorials, monuments, or buildings at ports or cities in the United States from which American forces embarked for World War service in foreign countries and to which American forces returned after such service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 24. A bill relating to buildings to be erected for use by the District of Columbia for inspection stations of motor vehicles, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H.R. 25. A bill providing for the erection of a memorial commemorative of the first battle in the history of the world between ironclad vessels; to the Committee on the Library.

### By Mr. BOYKIN:

H.R. 26. A bill for the care and maintenance of "Confederate Rest" Cemetery, Mobile, Ala.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 27. A bill to extend the benefits of the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended, to deputy marshals of the United States; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H.R.28. A bill to amend section 404 of the Tariff Act of 1930; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

# By Mr. CANNON of Missouri:

H. R. 29. A bill for the relief of certain classes of former enlisted members of Navy and Marine Corps; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R.30. A bill to regulate the manufacture and sale of stamped envelopes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H.R.31. A bill to restore benefits for veterans of the World War, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

### By Mr. CURLEY:

H.R.32. A bill to fix and regulate the salaries of coal passers, firemen, firemen-custodians, assistant engineer-custodians, and engineer-custodians who are engaged in the operation, maintenance, and repair of steam boilers and mechanical equipment and the supervision of custodial work in the public schools of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H. R. 33. A bill to amend the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, limiting employment of labor and loans of Federal funds to citizens of the United States; to the Committee on Appropriations.

H. R. 34. A bill to provide for the construction of four vessels for the Coast Guard designed for ice-breaking and assistance work; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 35. A bill for the better assurance of the protection of persons within the several States from mob violence and lynching, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R.36. A bill to exempt from punishment for contempt of court any editor, news reporter, correspondent, journalist, or publisher who refuses to reveal the source of any confidential information obtained for publication; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. COLE of New York:

H. R. 37. A bill to amend the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, 1925, approved February 28, 1925, and acts amendatory and supplementary thereto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. DOWELL:

H. R. 38. A bill to authorize the erection of additional facilities at the existing Veterans' Administration facility, Des Moines, Iowa; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

# By Mr. EBERHARTER:

H. R. 39. A bill to amend the United States Housing Act of 1937; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

# By Mr. FITZPATRICK:

H. R. 40. A bill to amend the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933; to reduce the rate of interest on home loans to 4 percent; and to extend the amortization period to 30 years; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 41. A bill to provide for the honorary designation of St. Paul's Church, together with the churchyard and the village green associated therewith, in the town of Eastchester, Westchester County, State of New York, as a national shrine; to the Committee on the Library.

H.R. 42. A bill to amend the Social Security Act so as to provide for the payment of benefits to permanently and totally disabled individuals; to the Committee on Ways and Means

H.R. 43. A bill to amend an act of Congress approved March 4, 1927, as amended by the act of May 23, 1928; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 44. A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to lease the Fort Schuyler Military Reservation, N. Y.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 45. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to extend the time for awarding decorations to participants of the World War; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

# By Mr. FULMER:

H. R. 46. A bill providing for Federal crop insurance, imposing a tax therefor, and providing an appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 47. A bill to promote the general welfare through the appropriation of funds to assist the States and Territories in providing more effective programs of public education; to the Committee on Education.

H. R. 48. A bill to limit appointments hereafter made to the Interstate Commerce Commission so that not more than one individual from any one Federal land-bank district shall serve thereon; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 49. A bill to regulate interstate shipments of cotton, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 50. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act authorizing the Director of the Census to collect and publish statistics of cottonseed and cottonseed products, and for other purposes," approved August 7, 1916; to the Committee on the Census.

H. R. 51. A bill authorizing and directing the Secretary of Agriculture to establish and maintain a tobacco experiment and demonstration station in Sumter County, S. C.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 52. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to procure bagging not to exceed the product of 100,000 bales of cotton and to sell such bagging for covering bales of cotton to be sold on a net-weight basis; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 53. A bill to establish and maintain a pecan experiment station at or near the city of Orangeburg, S. C.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 54. A bill to require that bidders for star-routeservice contracts be residents of the State within which the route originates; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H.R.55. A bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 56. A bill to make it a crime to advocate or promote the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 57. A bill to provide for the use of net weights in interstate and foreign commerce transactions in cotton; to provide for the standardization of bale covering for cotton; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. GUYER of Kansas:

H. R. 58. A bill to amend the act approved June 28, 1934, as amended, to compensate widows and children of persons who died while receiving monetary benefits for disabilities directly incurred in or aggravated by active military or naval service in the World War, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 59. A bill to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws, and to punish the crime of lynching; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 60. A bill for the relief of officers and soldiers of the Volunteer service of the United States mustered into service for the War with Spain and who were held in service in the Philippine Islands after the ratification of the treaty of peace, April 11, 1899; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. HOFFMAN:

H. R. 61. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the protection and preservation of domestic sources

of tin," approved February 15, 1936; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

# By Mr. KLEBERG:

H. R. 62. A bill to exempt certain retailers from the occupational tax on the sale of oleomargarine, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 63. A bill to permit Members of Congress to enter into agreements under agricultural programs; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 64. A bill prohibiting the shipment in interstate commerce of adulterated oleomargarine; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 65. A bill for the taxation of oleomargarine containing any foreign-grown or foreign-produced fat or oil ingredient; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 66. A bill to correlate certain governmental functions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 67. A bill to amend the Commodity Exchange Act, to extend its provisions to wool and wool tops; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 68. A bill to amend section 13 of the Migratory Bird Conservation Act of February 18, 1929; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 69. A bill to amend the act of March 16, 1934, relating to the migratory bird hunting stamp, as amended by the act of June 15, 1935; to the Committee on Agriculture.

### By Mr. LEMKE:

H.R. 70. A bill to liquidate and refinance agricultural indebtedness at a reduced rate of interest by establishing an efficient credit system, through the use of the Farm Credit Administration and the Federal Reserve banking system; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 71. A bill to provide revenue, to regulate commerce with foreign countries, and to protect American agriculture, labor, and industry; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 72. A bill giving judgment debtors, mortgagors, and subsequent lien holders the right of redemption from a sale of real estate in the District of Columbia by a judgment creditor or mortgagee after execution or foreclosure sale; fixing the amount of commission allowed to mortgage companies for management of encumbered real estate; and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H.R. 73. A bill prohibiting the making of any form of vaccination or inoculation a condition precedent to admission to any public or private school or college, or the exercise and enjoyment of any right or privilege, in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

# By Mr. MAAS:

H.R.74. A bill to amend section 300 of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, so as to provide Government insurance protection for Reserve officers and members of the enlisted Reserves ordered to active duty for training purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 75. A bill to liberalize the laws providing pensions for veterans and the dependents of veterans of the Regular Establishment for disabilities or deaths incurred or aggravated in line of duty other than in wartime; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 76. A bill to promote the efficiency of the Navy by establishing a General Staff of the Navy, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 77. A bill to authorize the erection of a domiciliary building and to provide appurtenances thereto at the existing Veterans' Administration facility, Fort Snelling, Minn.; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 78. A bill to provide flight training for certain retired officers of the Navy and Marine Corps; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 79. A bill to keep America out of war by repealing the so-called Neutrality Act of 1937 and by establishing and enforcing a policy of actual neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

H.R. 80. A bill to establish a Board of Civil Service Appeals; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H.R. 81. A bill to amend the distribution of rank in the line of the Marine Corps; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 82. A bill to provide for the application of the 2-cent rate on first-class mail matter for delivery within the confines of any incorporated city and to contiguous cities; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 83. A bill to confer certain benefits on commissioned officers and enlisted men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, Geodetic Survey, or Public Health Service of the United States who are placed on the retired list for physical disability as result of an airplane accident; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 84. A bill to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the original establishment and founding of the city of St. Paul, Minn., as a settlement, following treaties with the Sioux Indians; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

H.R.85. A bill to provide for the construction by the Secretary of the Navy of a Federal building for use as a Naval Reserve and Marine Corps Reserve armory of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 86. A bill granting compensation for death of Reserve officers and Reserve enlisted men by aviation accidents; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 87. A bill to amend section 3 of the act entitled "An act to authorize the construction and procurement of aircraft and aircraft equipment in the Navy and Marine Corps, and to adjust and define the status of the operating personnel in connection therewith," approved June 24, 1926 (44 Stat. 764); to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 88. A bill to provide for the appointment of a Director of Aviation of the United States Marine Corps; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 89. A bill to provide for the appointment of midshipmen in the Naval Academy through civil-service examination; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 90. A bill to authorize the appointment of cadets at the Military Academy through civil-service examination; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 91. A bill to extend the benefits of retirement for physical disability to all officers of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard incapacitated for active service during war as the result of an incident of the service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 92. A bill prohibiting officers of the Navy from serving more than 4 years out of any consecutive 8 years on duty in the Navy Department, Washington, D. C.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 93. A bill to create a National Defense Commission on Inventions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MALONEY:

H. R. 94. A bill to require that personal endorsements of articles by radio be accompanied by a statement that the endorsement is paid for; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 95. A bill to prohibit a maximum age limit on eligibility to appointment in the classified civil service; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. MARTIN of Colorado:

H. R. 96. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the general welfare by establishing a system of Federal old-age benefits, and by enabling the several States to make more adequate provision for aged persons, blind persons, dependent and crippled children, maternal and child welfare, public health, and the administration of their unemployment compensation laws; to establish a Social Security Board; to raise revenue; and for other purposes," approved August 14, 1936; to the Committee on Ways and Means

H.R. 97. A bill to amend paragraph (1) of section 4 of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended February 28, 1920 (U.S. C., title 49, sec. 4); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 98. A bill to protect producers, manufacturers, and consumers from the unrevealed presence of substitutes and mixtures in spun, woven, or knitted or felted fabrics and in garments or articles of apparel or other articles made therefrom, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 99. A bill to add certain lands to the Pike National Forest in the State of Colorado; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H.R. 100. A bill to add certain lands to the San Isabel National Forest in the State of Colorado; to the Committee

By Mrs. O'DAY:

on the Public Lands.

H. R. 101. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the general welfare by establishing a system of oldage benefits, and by enabling the several States to make more adequate provision for aged persons, blind persons, dependent and crippled children, maternal and child welfare, public health, and the administration of their unemployment compensation laws, to establish a Social Security Board; to raise revenue; and for other purposes" (Public, No. 271, 74th Cong.), approved August 14, 1935, by including under its unemployment and old-age provisions employees in non-profit organizations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 102. A bill to authorize State courts to designate officers to conduct preliminary hearings upon petitions for naturalization; to facilitate final action upon such petitions; to insure certificates of citizenship; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 103. A bill to extend the definition of an alien veteran, for naturalization purposes only, so as to include certain alien enemies and nationals of Turkey and Bulgaria who rendered active service in United States armed forces with personal record of loyalty to the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. PARSONS:

H. R. 104. A bill to create the White County Bridge Commission; defining the authority, power, and duties of said commission; and authorizing said commission and its successors and assigns to purchase, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Wabash River at or near New Harmony, Ind.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H. R. 105. A bill to provide for direct Federal old-age assistance; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts:

H. R. 106. A bill to provide for a survey of the Merrimack River and its tributaries with a view to preventing their pollution; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

H.R. 107. A bill to extend the Foreign Service retirement and disability system to certain widows of Foreign Service officers or of retired Foreign Service officers; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

H.R. 108. A bill to authorize the payment of the sum of \$2,500 to the dependents of the officers and men who lost their lives on the submarine S-4; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SHANNON:

H. R. 109. A bill to provide for the establishment and maintenance of a procedure for cost accounting and cost reporting for Federal agencies; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. SUMNERS of Texas:

H.R. 110. A bill to change the time of the appointment of Presidential electors; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

H. R. 111. A bill to provide for trials of and judgments upon the issue of good behavior in the case of certain Federal judges; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TERRY:

H. R. 112. A bill to facilitate control of soil erosion and flood damage on lands within the Ozark and Ouachita National Forests in Arkansas; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. THOMASON:

H.R. 113. A bill to amend section 10 (G) of the Federal Employees' Compensation Act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. VOORHIS of California:

H.R. 114. A bill to provide for the general welfare by establishing a cooperative home board and a system of cooperative home associations; to charter and purchase capital stock of and make grants to cooperative home associations; to insure the security of installment payments made by members to cooperative home associations; and for other purposes benefiting the living conditions of aged persons; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H. R. 115. A bill to create a Public Works Finance Corporation; to provide for an orderly and sound use of the credit of the Government of the United States; to increase employment; to provide accurate accounting of Government expenditures and national assets; and for other purposes; to

the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H. R. 116. A bill to require the registration of civilian military organizations; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 117. A bill to provide for the deportation of aliens who advocate fealty to other governments; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 118. A bill to extend to all citizens an equal right to employment in the service of the Government of the United States, irrespective of age; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H. R. 119. A bill to amend the Social Security Act, and to amend the Federal retirement laws, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WALTER:

H.R. 120. A bill to regulate the exercise of the powers of senior circuit and district judges; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 121. A bill to reduce the rate of interest on loans secured from the Government on Government life-insurance policies; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 122. A bill to provide for the refund of interest paid by veterans on loans secured by adjusted-service certificates, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 123. A bill to provide for prompt imposition of sentence in criminal cases; to the Committee on the Judiciary. By Mr. WIGGLESWORTH:

H.R. 124. A bill for the protection of laborers and mechanics on public buildings or public works of the United States; to the Committee on Labor.

H. R. 125. A bill to amend the law granting credit to certain postal employees for time served in the military, marine, or naval service of the United States during the World War; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 126. A bill authorizing appointments to the United States Military Academy and United States Naval Academy of sons of soldiers, sailors, and marines wounded in action during the World War; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ARENDS:

H.R. 127. A bill to amend section 5 of title I of the act entitled "An act to maintain the credit of the United States Government," approved March 20, 1933; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 128. A bill to provide service connection of certain diseases in the case of World War veterans; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 129. A bill to authorize the erection of additional facilities at the existing Veterans' Administration facility.

Dwight, Ill.; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 130. A bill to raise the American standard of living; to relieve unemployment; to raise additional revenue; to provide for the registration of aliens; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BLAND:

H.R. 131. A bill to amend sections 712 and 902 (a) of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, relative to the requisitioning of vessels; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 132. A bill authorizing the use of condemned Government vessels for breakwater purposes; to the Committee

on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 133. A bill authorizing the transfer to and conversion, equipment, and use by the Secretary of Commerce of certain Government-owned vessels for fishery research purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 134. A bill to liberalize the retirement law for members of the former Life Saving Service; to the Committee on

Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 135. A bill to provide for lighter-than-air craft for the use of the Coast Guard; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 136. A bill to authorize contingent expenditures, United States Coast Guard Academy; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 137. A bill to provide for recognizing the services rendered by civilian officers and employees in the construction and establishment of the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 138. A bill to authorize the construction of certain vessels for the Coast and Geodetic Survey, Department of Commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 139. A bill to amend paragraph (1) of section 96 of title 2 of the Canal Zone Code, relating to method of computing annuities; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 140. A bill to provide for a 5-year building program for the United States Bureau of Fisheries; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 141. A bill to amend the Canal Zone Code so as to provide for 30-year optional retirement; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 142. A bill to amend the Canal Zone Code so as to provide for widows' annuities; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. BUCK:

H.R. 143. A bill to exempt college fraternities and sororities from the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 144. A bill to amend the Social Security Act with respect to the meaning of the term "agricultural labor"; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. EDMISTON:

H. R. 145. A bill to prohibit and to prevent the trade practices known as "compulsory block-booking" and "blind selling" in the leasing of motion-picture films in interstate commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. IGLESIAS:

H. R. 146. A bill to amend the act of August 14, 1935, entitled "Social Security Act," to extend titles V and VI to Puerto Rico; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 147. A bill to make Puerto Rico an incorporated Territory of the United States; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

H.R. 148. A bill to amend section 40 of the act of March 2, 1917, entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

H.R. 149. A bill to amend section 38 of the act of March 2, 1917, entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

H. R. 150. A bill to extend the provisions of the act entitled "An act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in wildlife-restoration projects, and for other purposes," approved September 2, 1937, to the District of Columbia or any Territory or possession of the United States; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 151. A bill authorizing the Secretary of War to transfer to the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Puerto Rico certain real estate in the city of San Juan, P. R.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 152. A bill to authorize and direct the United States Commissioner of Fisheries to undertake fish-cultural and related activities in Puerto Rico, making appropriations therefor, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON:

H.R. 153. A bill to transfer jurisdiction over commercial prints and labels, for the purpose of copyright registration, to the Register of Copyrights; to the Committee on Patents.

H. R. 154. A bill to provide more effective registration and protection of trade-marks used in commerce, subject to lawful regulation or control by the Congress; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. KING:

H. R. 155. A bill to provide for the issuance of certificates of citizenship to citizens of the United States residing in the Territory of Hawaii; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 156. A bill to enable the people of Hawaii to form a constitution and State government to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States; to the Committee on the Territories.

H.R. 157. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to extend the provisions of certain laws to the Territory of Hawaii," as amended, extending the provisions of the Federal Highway Act to the Territory of Hawaii; to the Committee on the Territories.

H. R. 158. A bill to authorize an appropriation for the purpose of establishing a national cemetery at Honolulu, T. H.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 159. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act relating to naturalization of certain women born in Hawaii," approved July 2, 1932; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 160. A bill to permit alien wives of American citizens who were married prior to the approval of the Immigration Act of 1924 to enter the United States; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 161. A bill to amend section 73 of the Hawaiian Organic Act, approved April 30, 1900, as amended; to the Committee on the Territories.

H.R. 162. A bill to make effective in the district court for the Territory of Hawaii rules promulgated by the Supreme Court of the United States governing pleading, practice, and procedure in the district courts of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LUDLOW:

H. R. 163. A bill to establish the neutrality of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ALLEN of Illinois:

H. R. 164. A bill to provide for the construction of a postoffice building at Amboy, Ill.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

H.R. 165. A bill amending the act entitled "An act to regulate the business of loaning money on security of any kind by persons, firms, corporations other than national banks, licensed brokers, trust companies, savings banks, building and loan associations, and real estate brokers in the District of Columbia," approved February 4, 1913, as amended; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H.R. 166. A bill to authorize a preliminary examination and survey of the Galena River, also known as Fever River, in Illinois and Wisconsin, with a view to control of floodwaters: to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. CURLEY:

H. R. 167. A bill to create United States Civil Service Board of Appeals; to the Committee on the Civil Service. By Mr. IZAC:

H.R. 168. A bill to add to the Cleveland National Forest, Calif., certain contiguous lands of the United States which can be most effectively and economically protected and administered as parts of said national forest; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H.R. 169. A bill to facilitate the control of soil erosion and/or flood damage originating upon lands within the exterior boundaries of the Cleveland National Forest in San Diego County, Calif.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. KNUTSON:

H. R. 170. A bill to amend section 601 of the Revenue Act of 1932, as amended, to provide for an excise tax on poultry, eggs, and egg products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 171. A bill to extend the time for making payments on certain crop loans; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 172. A bill to amend the Social Security Act by providing for grants to States for furnishing aid to needy individuals who are physically handicapped; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 173. A bill to provide reamortization of Land Bank Commissioner loans which have heretofore been made by the Land Bank Commissioner and which provide for liquidation of principal and interest in a 10- or 13-year period; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 174. A bill to amend the Social Security Act with respect to its application to employees of fraternal beneficiary societies, orders, and associations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 175. A bill to provide for the use in motor fuels of alcohol manufactured from agricultural products grown in the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 176. A bill to regulate the level of water in certain reservoirs at the headwaters of the Mississippi River; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

H.R. 177. A bill to authorize owners of resort property to secure from the home-loan banks loans secured by mortgages and to authorize such banks to lend to members on the security of such mortgages; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 178. A bill to repeal section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, and to terminate all foreign-trade agreements entered into thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 179. A bill to prohibit American citizens from accepting presents or titles of any kind from kings, princes, or foreign governments; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. IZAC:

H. R. 180. A bill authorizing negotiations and providing for the construction, maintenance, and operation of an interoceanic canal over Nicaraguan territory, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. MITCHELL:

H.R. 181. A bill to provide for the manner in which appointing officers shall designate the sex of the person about to be appointed in the classified civil service; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H. R. 182. A bill to amend the Transportation Act (U. S. C., title 49, sec. 3 (1)), so as to prohibit the segregation of interstate passengers on account of race, color, or religion; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 183. A bill to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws, and to punish the crime of lynching; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 184. A bill to provide for appointments in the classified civil service of the United States of persons making the highest grade in competitive examinations and denying to appointing officers power or discretion to pass over the name of a person highest on the eligible list established as result of such competitive examinations; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H.R. 185. A bill to create an Industrial Commission on

Negro Affairs; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 186. A bill to prohibit the President of the United States and the United States Civil Service Commission, or any branch thereof, from requiring, as a condition precedent to the taking of an examination for a position in the classified civil service or as a condition precedent to an appointment in such service, a photograph of applicants for such examinations; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. RAMSPECK:

H.R. 187. A bill to provide for the appointment of an additional district judge for the northern district of Georgia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 188. A bill to amend section 1, paragraph 5, of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended; to the Committee

on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 189. A bill to amend section 811 (b) (1) and section 907 (c) (1) of the Social Security Act (Public, No. 271, 74th Cong.) to further define the words "agricultural labor"; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 190. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with the States or political subdivisions thereof in the development, operation, and maintenance of recreational areas within national forests and on lands owned by the said States or the political subdivisions thereof; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 191. A bill to provide for the right of election by employees subject to the provisions of the Civil Service Retirement Act of a joint and survivorship annuity upon retirement; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. KNUTSON:

H.R. 192. A bill to reduce the internal-revenue tax on beer and other malt liquors; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H.R. 193. A bill to provide for redemption of certain cotton certificates issued under the Bankhead Cotton Act; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 194. A bill relating to the ownership of preferred stock, common stock, capital notes, and debentures of banks the deposits of which are insured under the provisions of section 12B of the Federal Reserve Act, as amended; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 195. A bill providing for Government ownership of the 12 Federal Reserve Banks, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. PIERCE of Oregon:

H. R. 196. A bill to provide for the general welfare by conserving and protecting the agricultural resources of the United States through control and eradication of noxious weeds; to empower the Secretary of Agriculture to construct and operate an electrochemical plant for the manufacture of alkali chlorates and to distribute these herbicides at cost to States carrying out programs for the control and eradication of noxious weeds; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BLAND:

H. R. 197. A bill to amend section 4197 and section 4200 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended by Public Law No. 656, Seventy-fifth Congress, third session, relating to the clearance of vessels; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 198. A bill to amend section 4148 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (U. S. C., 1934 edition, title 46, sec. 71) relative to the measurement of vessels; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 199. A bill to amend section 10 (b), (c), and (d) of the act of June 26, 1884, as amended (U. S. C., 1934 edition,

title 46, sec. 599), relative to the allotment of wages by seamen; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 200. A bill to amend section 4370 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (U.S.C., 1934 edition, title 46, sec. 316); to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 201. A bill authorizing and providing for the construction of additional facilities on the Panama Canal Zone for the purpose of national defense and to increase the capacity of the Panama Canal, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 202. A bill authorizing negotiations and providing for the construction, maintenance, and operation of an interoceanic canal over Nicaraguan territory, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. BOREN:

H.R. 203. A bill to prevent discrimination in Federal income taxes, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 204. A bill to authorize the erection of a United States Veterans' Administration hospital for the Philadelphia, Pa., area; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. BARRY:

H.R. 205. A bill to allow the Home Owners' Loan Corporation to extend the period of amortization of home loans from 15 to 30 years; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 206. A bill to abolish personal and deficiency judgments that have been taken by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation in foreclosures and to forbid the taking of said judgments in the future; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H. R. 207. A bill to provide a 2-year moratorium on foreclosures of Home Owners' Loan Corporation mortgages; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. CANNON of Missouri:

H.R. 208. A bill to amend the Revenue Act of 1936 by extending the time for filing claims for refund of processing taxes to July 1, 1939; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CARTWRIGHT:

H.R. 209. A bill to regulate the times and places of holding court in Oklahoma; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CELLER:

H.R. 210. A bill to reduce certain fees in naturalization proceedings, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 211. A bill to renew appointments to regular positions in the Government service; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

H.R. 212. A bill to provide for the naturalization of certain veterans of the World War; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 213. A bill to encourage inventive genius by amending the income-tax laws with respect to the incomes of inventors; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 214. A bill to amend the act of March 2, 1929 (45 Stat., ch. 536); to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 215. A bill to amend the Revenue Act of 1936 with respect to the surtax on undistributed profits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 216. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act: to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H. R. 217. A bill to regulate interstate commerce in the products of child labor, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor.

H. R. 218. A bill to provide that the United States shall have no right to redeem after a foreclosure sale to satisfy a lien prior to that of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 219. A bill to regulate foreign commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 220. A bill to repeal the special tax on retail dealers in oleomargarine, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 221. A bill to assure to certain aliens asylum within the United States; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 222. A bill to provide for the furnishing of artificial limbs and apparatus for resection, or the money value thereof, to certain former members of the military and naval forces; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

H. R. 223. A bill to amend section 2 of the act approved June 30, 1879, so as to permit women to serve on juries in the courts of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 224. A bill to secure compensation to certain World War veterans at a cumulative degree of disability, where such disability originated prior to the World War, while such World War veteran was in active military or naval service in line of duty; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 225. A bill providing for the refund of certain taxes paid by State and municipal officers and employees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 226. A bill to terminate the tax imposed by section 601 (c) (7) of the Revenue Act of 1932; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 227. A bill to provide a municipal self-government for the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. COCHRAN:

H. R. 228. A bill to provide for a building in which to store Government records; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

H. R. 229. A bill to provide for the preservation, as historic naval relics, of the *Constitution*, the *Constellation*, the *Hartford*, the *Olympia*, and the *America*; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 230. A bill to provide for the use of the U.S. S. Olympia as a memorial to the men and women who served the United States in the War with Spain; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 231. A bill to provide for the appointment of two additional circuit judges for the Eighth Judicial Circuit; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 232. A bill to provide for the appointment of one additional United States district judge for the eastern district of Missouri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CELLER:

H. R. 233. A bill to protect veterans' preference under the civil service laws; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H. R. 234. A bill to establish a United States Administrative Court to expedite the hearing and determination of controversies with the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 235. A bill to provide for the promotion of janitors, cleaners, elevator operators, watchmen, and firemen helpers in the Post Office Department of the United States; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 236. A bill to promote the general welfare by means of financial assistance to the several States and Territories for the purpose of enabling them to provide extended opportunities for public education and educational services; to the Committee on Education.

H. R. 237. A bill to provide for the promotion of employees in the Post Office Department; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 238. A bill to exempt certain articles from the tax on furs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 239. A bill to authorize equitable compensation for circuit court and district court judges; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 240. A bill to authorize the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to furnish a firing squad to fire the customary salute for any ex-service man; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 241. A bill to amend Public Law No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, entitled "An act to maintain the credit of the United States Government," and Public Law No. 78, Seventy-third Congress, entitled "An act making appropriations for the Executive Office and sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, and offices for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1934, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 242. A bill to provide adequate compensation for dependents of agents and inspectors of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CULKIN:

H.R. 243. A bill to prohibit the interstate transportation of goods produced or mined by children under 18 years of age; to the Committee on Labor.

H. R. 244. A bill to prevent the obstruction of and burdens upon interstate trade and commerce in copyrighted motion-picture films, and to prevent restraint upon free competition in the production, distribution, and exhibition of copyrighted motion-picture films; (a) by prohibiting the compulsory block booking of copyrighted motion-picture films; (b) to compel the furnishing of accurate synopses of all pictures offered to theater operators before the same have been released and reviewed; and (c) to amend section 2 of the Clayton Act to make it apply to license agreements and leases as well as sales in interstate commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 245. A bill for the taxation of eleomargarine; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 246. A bill to promote the health of the people of the United States and to encourage the dairy industry in the interest of the general welfare; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 247. A bill to provide for the construction of a Coast Guard vessel designed for ice breaking and assistance work on Lake Huron and Lake Superior; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 248. A bill to appropriate \$5,000,000 for the relief of the Chinese civilian population in the war-torn area of China; to the Committee on Appropriations.

H.R. 249. A bill to permit member banks of the Federal Reserve System to deposit up to 75 percent of the required Federal Reserve deposit, bearer obligations of the United States Government; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H. R. 250. A bill to protect the motion-picture industry against unfair trade practices and monopoly; to provide just settlement of complaints of unfair dealings; to provide for the manufacture of wholesome motion pictures, both silent and talking, at the sources of production; to create a Federal Motion Picture Commission, to define its power; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 251. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages by radio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 252. A bill to prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages by radio, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 253. A bill to prohibit the transportation in interstate commerce of advertisements of intoxicating liquors, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 254. A bill to amend the Social Security Act with respect to grants to States for old-age assistance; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 255. A bill to reimburse manufacturers for extra cost of manufacturing due to deepening of Oswego and Erie Canals, New York State; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

H. R. 256. A bill to authorize appropriations for construction at Madison Barracks, N. Y.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 257. A bill to authorize appropriation for construction at Pine Camp, N. Y.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 258. A bill to authorize the erection on the battle-field of Sackets Harbor, N. Y., of a monument to Maj. Gen. Jacob Brown; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 259. A bill to provide for the commemoration of the Battle of Sackets Harbor, in the State of New York; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 260. A bill to authorize appropriations for construction at Fort Ontario, N. Y.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 261. A bill declaring the policy of the United States with respect to irrigation and reclamation; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

H.R. 262. A bill to amend section 19 of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 263. A bill to provide for Senate ratification of foreign-trade agreements; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

# By Mr. CROWTHER:

H. R. 264. A bill to repeal certain provisions relating to compensation paid to officers and employees of corporations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

# By Mr. DITTER:

H. R. 265. A bill to protect the right of secrecy in pending applications for patents; to the Committee on Patents.

# By Mr. HARTLEY:

H.R. 266. A bill to establish special rates of postage for samples of merchandise; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

# By Mr. MERRITT:

H.R. 267. A bill to promote on the emergency officers' retired list officers who held Reserve commissions; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 268. A bill to restore without premiums the benefits of United States Government life insurance to certain officers of the United States Army, Navy, and Marine Corps; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 269. A bill to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in connection with the world's fair to be held in the city of New York, State of New York, in 1939 in commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the inauguration of the first President of the United States of America and of the establishment of the Federal Government in the city of New York; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

H.R. 270. A bill to promote on the retired list Army officers retired for wounds received in battle; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 271. A bill to promote on the retired list Army officers retired for wounds received in battle; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 272. A bill for the better assurance of the protection of persons within the several States from mob violence and lynching, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. SMITH of Virginia:

H. R. 273. A bill to authorize and direct the deportation of criminal aliens; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization

H. R. 274. A bill defining and prohibiting unfair sales, providing remedies for violations thereof, and establishing penalties therefor in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H.R. 275. A bill to exempt certain agricultural cooperatives and the members thereof from the District of Columbia business-privilege tax; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H. R. 276. A bill to require reports of receipts and disbursements of certain contributions; to require the registration of persons engaged in attempting to influence legislation; to prescribe punishments for violation of this act; and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 277. A bill to establish a commercial airport in the vicinity of the National Capital; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

H. R. 278. A bill to regulate the practice of optometry in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

# By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee:

H. R. 279. A bill to authorize the prompt deportation of criminals and certain other aliens; to guard against the separation from their families of certain law-abiding aliens; to further restrict immigration into the United States; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 280. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Labor to deport aliens whose presence in the United States is inimical to the public interest; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 281. A bill to reimburse veterans of the Spanish-American War and others; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 282. A bill to make it a crime to advocate, abet, encourage, or otherwise promote the overthrow or the destruction of the Government of the United States by force or violence, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 283. A bill to amend an act known as the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933 so as to provide that the Tennessee Valley Authority reimburse certain counties on account of loss of taxable values and keep equalized the county indebtedness therein; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 284. A bill to provide for the general welfare by establishing a system of Federal subsidies which will enable each State to better cooperate in a Nation-wide program of soil conservation and preservation; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 285. A bill to amend sections 1 and 2 of the act entitled "An act to establish a retirement system for employees of carriers subject to the Interstate Commerce Act, and for other purposes," approved August 29, 1935, as amended; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 286. A bill to authorize the appropriation of \$100,-000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to locate and construct through the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and West Virginia, and the District of Columbia a highway to be known as the Eastern National Park-to-Park Highway; to the Committee on Roads.

H.R. 287. A bill granting a pension to widows and dependent children of World War veterans; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 288. A bill to amend Public Law No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, entitled "An act to maintain the credit of the United States Government"; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

# By Mr. SMITH of Washington:

H.R. 289. A bill for the relief of officers and soldiers of the Volunteer service of the United States mustered into service for the War with Spain and who were held in service in the Philippine Islands after the ratification of the treaty of peace, April 11, 1899; to the Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 290. A bill for the relief of officers and soldiers of the Volunteer service of the United States mustered into service for the War with Spain and who were held in service in the Philippine Islands after the ratification of the treaty of peace, April 11, 1899; to the Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 291. A bill granting a pension to widows of Spanish-American War veterans; to the Committee on Pensions.
H. R. 292. A bill granting a pension to widows of Spanish-

H. R. 292. A bill granting a pension to widows of Spanish American War veterans; to the Committee on Pensions.

# By Mr. SWEENEY:

H.R. 293. A bill to provide for the appointment and promotion of substitute postal employees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. CULKIN:

H.R. 294. A bill to authorize the acquisition for military and other purposes of a certain small tract of land adjoining the reservation of Madison Barracks, in the State of New York; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PARSONS:

H. R. 295. A bill to create a division of water-pollution control in the United States Public Health Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. DOXEY:

H.R. 296. A bill for the erection of a public building at Sardis, Panola County, Miss.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

H. R. 297. A bill for the erection of a public building at Senatobia, Tate County, Miss.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

H. R. 298. A bill to reduce interest rates on mortgage loans made by Federal land banks and by the land bank commissioner, and on loans made by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to drainage and similar districts; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 299. A bill to authorize the acquisition of forest lands adjacent to and over which highways, roads, or trails are constructed or to be constructed wholly or partially with Federal funds in order to preserve or restore their natural beauty, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 300. A bill to promote sustained-yield forest management in order thereby (a) to stabilize communities, forest industries, employment, and taxable forest wealth; (b) to assure a continuous and ample supply of forest products; and (c) to secure the benefits of forests in regulation of water supply and stream flow, prevention of soil erosion, amelioration of climate, and preservation of wildlife; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BLAND:

H. R. 785. A bill to exempt from the Officers' Competency Certificate Convention, 1936, all American vessels under 200 tons; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. LUDLOW:

H. R. 786. A bill to provide for reciprocal taxation of compensation for services rendered to the Federal and State Governments; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 787. A bill to define the crime of lynching; to prescribe punishment therefor; and to authorize the Federal Bureau of Investigation to investigate the facts in connection with lynchings; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 788. A bill to repeal the undistributed-profits tax imposed by the Revenue Act of 1938; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BUCK:

H. R. 789. A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act by providing that the shipper shall not be liable for charges in certain cases; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 790. A bill to amend sections 210 (b) and 811 (b) of the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BURDICK:

H. R. 791. A bill authorizing payment to the Devils Lake Band of Sioux Indians of the Devils Lake (N. Dak.) Indian Reservation, at the Fort Totten (N. Dak.) Indian Agency, for 64,000 acres of land of which said band of Indians was deprived by the erroneous survey made by the United States Government under the treaty of February 19, 1867, between the Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands of Sioux Indians and the United States (15 Stat. L. 505), ratified April 15, 1867; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 792. A bill authorizing payment to the Devils Lake Band of Sioux Indians, of the Devils Lake (N. Dak.) Indian Reservation, at the Fort Totten (N. Dak.) Indian Agency, for damages for wood and timber used and destroyed by the armies of the United States while maintaining a military post at Fort Totten, N. Dak., between the years 1867 and 1890, and for which damages the said Indians have not been heretofore compensated; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H.R. 793. A bill authorizing payment to the Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands of Sioux Indians for certain lands ceded by them to the United States by a treaty of July 23, 1851; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H.R. 794. A bill conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, examine, determine, and render final judgment on any and all claims of whatsoever nature any Indian nation, tribe, band, or communal group of American Indians may have against the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H.R. 795. A bill for the relief of the Indians of the Fort Berthold Reservation, N. Dak.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 796. A bill providing old-age pensions for Indians of the United States under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 797. A bill providing that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and local superintendents shall be approved by a vote of Indians themselves; providing for the removal of local superintendents; and providing for the manner of calling elections; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 798. A bill referring the claims of the Turtle Mountain Band or Bands of Chippewa Indians of North Dakota to the Court of Claims for adjudication and settlement; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 799. A bill to provide for the control of flood waters of the Missouri Valley; to improve navigation of the Missouri River; to provide for irrigation of arid and semiarid lands, divert the floodwaters of the Missouri River to receding or receded natural lake beds; to provide for the restoration and preservation of the water level of the Missouri Valley; to protect the fertility of the soil of the Missouri Valley; to provide for the generation, distribution, and sale of electricity; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. FULMER:

H. R. 800. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to enter into cooperative agreements with farmers, with States, and with counties, townships, municipalities, and other political subdivisions of States to lease forest lands and submarginal lands not primarily suited to agricultural purposes for forestation and other forestry purposes, to insure the quantity and quality of the future timber supply, to provide constructive emergency work and the increasing of the purchasing power of farmers and wage earners; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. GAVAGAN:

H.R. 801. A bill to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State due process of law and equal protection of the laws, and to prevent the crime of lynching; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JENKINS of Ohio:

H.R. 802. A bill to authorize payment of claims for unauthorized emergency treatment of disabled veterans; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 803. A bill to provide that payment of adjustedservice credit may be made to the dependent brothers and sisters of the veteran; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 804. A bill to reduce the rate of interest on loans secured from the Government on Government life-insurance policies; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. LESINSKI:

H. R. 805. A bill to extend further time for naturalization to alien veterans of the World War under the act approved May 25, 1932 (47 Stat. 165), to extend the same privileges to certain veterans of countries allied with the United States during the World War, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. MARTIN of Colorado:

H.R. 806. A bill to appropriate the sum of \$2,000,000 for the construction of Caddoa Reservoir, near Lamar, in the State of Colorado; to the Committee on Appropriations. By Mr. BLAND:

H. R. 879. A bill to compensate Prince William County, Va., and York County, Va., for certain of their public roads and highways seized by the United States for the use of a permanent Marine Corps post at Quantico, Va., and a Navy mine depot at or near Yorktown, Va.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CURLEY:

H.R. 880. A bill to provide for the erection of a monument to the memory of Gouverneur Morris; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 881. A bill to authorize the location, establishment, construction, installation, and equipment of a naval station in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 882. A bill to provide for the construction and operation of a vessel for use in research work with respect to fisheries of the Pacific Ocean, Bering Sea, and the waters of Alaska and Hawaii; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 883. A bill to protect and preserve the salmon fishery of Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. MOTT:

H. R. 884. A bill to add certain lands to the Siuslaw National Forest in the State of Oregon; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H. R. 885. A bill authorizing the establishment of a Coast Guard station on the coast of Oregon, at or near Taft, Oreg.; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. PIERCE of Oregon:

H. R. 886. A bill to authorize the construction of the Umatilla Dam in the Columbia River, Oreg. and Wash.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

H. R. 387. A bill to provide for the acquisition of certain lands for and the addition thereof to the Deschutes National Forest, in the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts:

H. R. 888. A bill authorizing appropriation for purchase of land at Fort Devens, Mass.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 889. A bill authorizing the construction of a new hospital and diagnostic center at or near Boston, Mass.; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona:

H. R. 890. A bill to authorize the establishment of a fishcultural station in the State of Arizona; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 891. A bill to authorize the erection of additional facilities to the existing United States Veterans' Administration facility at Tucson, Ariz.; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. BOREN:

H. R. 892. A bill to extend to custodial-service employees employed by the Post Office Department certain benefits applicable to postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. SHAFER of Michigan:

H. R. 893. A bill to provide that officers and men of the National Guard shall be entitled to pensions for disabilities incurred in training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 894. A bill changing the name of Camp Custer, in Calhoun and Kalamazoo Counties, Mich., to Fort Custer; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 895. A bill to extend to custodial-service employees employed by the Post Office Department certain benefits applicable to postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona:

H. R. 896. A bill to provide for the erection of a monument or plaque as a memorial to Anson H. Smith, in a suitable

public place, at the site of Boulder Dam, in Mohave County, Ariz.; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. DALY:

H.R. 897. A bill to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws by discouraging, preventing, and punishing the crime of lynching; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona:

H. R. 398. A bill to authorize credits to taxpayers against the 1937 tax under title IX of the Social Security Act for contributions to State unemployment funds for the year 1937; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HOOK:

H. R. 899. A bill to provide for the establishment of a Coast Guard station on Grand Traverse Bay, Mich.; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. MAAS:

H. R. 900. A bill to provide for the retention of certain officers on the active list of the Navy or Marine Corps; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 901. A bill to exempt resident inmates of the United States Soldiers' Home, Washington, D. C., and the Naval Home, Philadelphia, Pa., from pension reduction, as prescribed by Veterans' Regulation No. 6-series; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH of Washington:

H. R. 902. A bill to provide hospitalization for certain employees in the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation of the Department of Commerce and for licensed local pilots of the United States; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. HILL:

H. R. 903. A bill to provide for the further improvement of the Columbia River at Umatilla Rapids and the improvement of the Snake River between its mouth and Lewiston; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. SUTPHIN:

H. R. 904. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act for the improvement and protection of the beaches along the shores of the United States," approved June 26, 1936; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

H. R. 905. A bill for the better assurance of the protection of persons within the several States from mob violence and lynching, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 906. A bill to authorize the acquisition of land and buildings for cemeterial purposes in the vicinity of Tennent, Monmouth County, N. J., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 907. A bill to amend section 601 of the Revenue Act of 1932, as amended, to prohibit the importation of egg products into the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 908. A bill to amend an act to maintain the credit of the United States Government; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. CARTWRIGHT:

H.R. 909. A bill providing for the purchase by the United States of the segregated coal and asphalt deposits in Oklahoma from the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes of Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 910. A bill granting a pension to the regularly commissioned United States deputy marshals of the United States District Court for the Western District of Arkansas, including the Indian Territory, now the State of Oklahoma, and to their widows and dependent children; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 911. A bill to provide for the restoration of forfeited rights under veterans' compensation and pension laws, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. DOXEY:

H. R. 912. A bill to establish and promote the use of standard methods of grading cottonseed; to provide for the collec-

tion and dissemination of information on prices and grades of cottonseed and cottonseed products; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 913. A bill to prohibit the unauthorized use of the name or insignia of the 4-H clubs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. GIFFORD:

H. R. 914. A bill to liberalize the retirement law for members of the former Life Saving Service; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON:

H. R. 915. A bill to require insurance companies to designate agents for service of process in States in which they do business; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ALLEN of Louisiana:

H. R. 916. A bill to provide for an appropriation of \$100,000 with which to continue the survey of the old Indian trail, known as the Natchez Trace, through Louisiana and Texas, with a view of constructing a national road on this route, to be known as the Natchez Trace Parkway; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee:

H. R. 917. A bill to amend Public Law No. 190 of the Sixtysixth Congress; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JOHN L. McMILLAN:

H.R. 918. A bill for the erection of a public building at Lake City, S. C., and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

H.R. 919. A bill for the erection of a public building at Myrtle Beach, S. C., and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona:

H. R. 920. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to provide for aid to Indians; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts:

H. R. 921. A bill to repeal section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, and to terminate all foreign-trade agreements entered into thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SPENCE:

H. R. 922. A bill to create a division of water pollution control in the United States Public Health Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. TREADWAY:

H. R. 923. A bill to limit the President's authority in proclaiming modifications of existing tariff duties in connection with foreign trade agreements, and to provide for the submission of such agreements to the Congress for approval; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CULKIN:

H.R. 924. A bill to prohibit the transportation in interstate commerce of advertisements of alcoholic beverages, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CONNERY:

H. R. 925. A bill to increase the grants to States for oldage assistance; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DALY:

H.R. 926. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to amend and consolidate the acts respecting copyright," approved March 4, 1909, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. DINGELL:

H. R. 927. A bill to exempt from income tax under prior revenue acts compensation received by certain officers and employees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GUYER of Kansas:

H.R. 928. A bill to aid the several States in making, or for having made, certain toll bridges on the system of Federal-aid highways free bridges, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Roads.

H.R. 929. A bill to extend the provisions of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, approved May 19, 1924, to

certain persons employed in the Postal Service with the American Expeditionary Forces in Europe and with American troops in Asia; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HOOK:

H.R. 930. A bill to amend the Wisconsin Chippewa Jurisdictional Act of August 30, 1935 (49 Stat. L. 1049); to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H.R. 931. A bill for the acquiring of lands in the Ottawa National Forest and other lands to safeguard the public interest in certain lands in Baraga, Gogebic, Houghton, Iron, and Ontonagon Counties, in the State of Michigan; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 932. A bill to provide for a basic-data survey of the power development and natural resources of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan; to the Committee on the Public

Lands.

H.R. 933. A bill providing for the elimination of unemployment; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 934. A bill to prohibit the importation of copper; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H.R. 935. A bill authorizing the expansion of the aviation reserves of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, and the aviation divisions of the Coast Guard and the National Guard; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H.R. 936. A bill to promote the general welfare through the appropriation of funds to assist the States in establishing and developing demonstration centers in adult civic education during a 3-year period; to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. TARVER:

H. R. 937. A bill providing for the refund of taxes collected under Public Law No. 169, Seventy-third Congress, known as the Bankhead Act; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 938. A bill to make it a crime to advocate or promote the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 939. A bill to provide for the paving of the Government road, known as the Glass Mill Road, commencing in the city of Chickamauga, Ga., and extending to Stotts Mill, constituting an approach road to Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park; to the Committee on Roads.

H.R. 940. A bill to amend the Liquor Enforcement Act of 1936; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. VOORHIS of California:

H.R. 941. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products yielding exportable surpluses; to prevent unfair competition by forbidding the purchase of such products from producers for less than cost of production; to fix the value of money therein; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to set up emergency reserves from, and to make loans on, certain export percentages; to authorize debentures for processed and manufactured agricultural products for export; to provide for the general welfare; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan:

H. R. 942. A bill to provide relief from taxation on certain transactions by reorganized banks; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KNUTSON:

H. R. 943. A bill granting an additional pension of \$25 per month to widows of officers or enlisted men who served in the armed forces of the United States and who are now or who may hereafter become, on account of age or physical or mental disabilities, helpless or blind or so nearly helpless or blind as to need or require the regular aid and attendance of another person; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. MARTIN of Colorado:

H.R. 944. A bill to protect producers, manufacturers, distributors, and consumers from the unrevealed presence of

substitutes and mixtures in spun, woven, knitted, felted, or otherwise manufactured wool products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

# By Mr. SUTPHIN:

H. R. 945. A bill to lease an unused portion, useless for military purposes, of the Fort Hancock Military Reservation to the State of New Jersey for a public aquatic park and pleasure ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people of the United States and its visitors; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 946. A bill to amend the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933, as amended, to reduce the rate of interest to 3 percent, to extend the time of maturity to 25 years, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. SEGER: H. R. 947. A bill to exempt from the provisions of Draft Convention No. 53 of the International Labor Conference Treaty of 1936 all American vessels under 200 tons; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 948. A bill for the better assurance of the protection of persons within the several States from mob violence and lynching, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. KENNEDY of Maryland:

H.R. 949. A bill to provide for the construction by the Secretary of the Treasury of a Federal building for use as a Naval Reserve armory in Baltimore, Md.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

H. R. 950. A bill to exempt from the provisions of Draft Convention No. 53 of the International Labor Conference Treaty of 1936 all American vessels under 200 tons; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

# By Mr. CASE of South Dakota:

H. R. 951. A bill to provide for the punishment of persons transporting stolen animals in interstate commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 952. A bill for the relief of Indians who have paid taxes on allotted lands for which patents in fee were issued without application by or consent of the allottees and subsequently canceled, and for the reimbursement of public subdivisions by whom judgments for such claims have been paid; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H.R. 953. A bill to liquidate the liability of the United States for the massacre of Sioux Indian men, women, and children at Wounded Knee on December 29, 1890; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 954. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to increase grants to States for aid to dependent children; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 955. A bill to make crop, feed, and seed loans from the Farm Credit Administration refundable by 10-year installment contracts; to the Committee on Agriculture.

# By Mr. MURDOCK of Utah:

H.R. 956. A bill to grant the right to cut timber in national forests for the construction of a railroad from Craig, Colo., or from Springville, Utah, to Ouray, Utah, or to a point on Green River near Ouray, Utah, or from Craig, Colo., to Springville, Utah; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

# By Mr. THOMAS F. FORD:

H.R. 957. A bill to amend section 3 (a) of the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 958. A bill to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws, and to punish the crime of lynching; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. JOHN L. McMILLAN:

H.R. 959. A bill for the erection of a public building at Florence, S. C., and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

# By Mr. RAMSPECK:

H. R. 960. A bill extending the classified executive civil service of the United States; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

# By Mr. DUNCAN:

H.R. 961. A bill to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1921; to the Committee on Agriculture.

# By Mr. JOHN L. McMILLAN:

H. R. 962. A bill for the erection of a public building at Loris, S. C., and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

# By Mr. SACKS:

H.R. 963. A bill to amend the Criminal Code so as to prohibit the importation and interstate transmission of gambling devices; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts:

H.R. 964. A bill making appropriations in furtherance of the fire hazard reduction operations of the Department of Agriculture and the timber salvaging operations conducted by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, Northeastern Timber Salvage Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

# By Mr. TOLAN:

H.R. 965. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the disposition, control, and use of surplus real property acquired by Federal agencies, and for other purposes," approved August 27, 1935 (Public, No. 351, 74th Cong.), and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

H.R. 966. A bill to authorize the acquisition of lands in the city of Oakland, county of Alameda, State of California, as a site for a naval supply depot and to authorize the construction and installation of facilities for a naval supply depot thereon; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 967. A bill providing for an additional Naval Academy in the San Francisco Bay area in the State of California, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

# By Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan:

H.R. 968. A bill to aid in the orderly marketing and in the control and disposition of the surplus of agricultural commodities; to provide for the issuance of export debentures; to secure to farmers a price for their commodities at least equal to the cost of production; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 969. A bill to amend subdivisions (a) and (b) of section 400 of the Revenue Act of 1926, as amended, relating to taxes on cigars and cigarettes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 970. A bill to increase the maximum monthly payment made by States to individuals for old-age assistance which will be matched by the Federal Government; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 971. A bill to protect domestic producers of sugar beets and sugarcane and to encourage the domestic production thereof by the regulation of foreign and interstate commerce in sugar; to provide for the fixing and revision of yearly quotas of sugar that may be imported into, transported to, or received in continental United States; to maintain a continuous and stable supply of sugar in continental United States for the benefit of both producers and consumers; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

# By Mr. ALLEN of Pennsylvania:

H. R. 972. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act relating to the liability of common carriers by railroad to their employees in certain cases," approved April 22, 1908; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. ASHBROOK:

H. R. 973. A bill granting pensions to World War veterans, their widows, and dependents; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

# By Mr. BLOOM:

H. R. 974. A bill to amend the act of May 29, 1930 (46 Stat. 349), for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service and in certain positions in the legislative branch of the Government, to include all employees in the Colum-

bia Institution for the Deaf; to the Committee on the Civil

H.R. 975. A bill to authorize the board of directors, of the Columbia Institution for the Deaf, to dedicate a portion of Mount Olivet Road NE., and to exchange certain lands with the Secretary of the Interior, to dispose of other lands, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. BOEHNE:

H. R. 976. A bill to amend section 3340 of the Revised Statutes, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BUCK:

H. R. 977. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. CRAWFORD:

H.R. 978. A bill to amend the Rural Electrification Act, approved May 20, 1936; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 979. A bill to prohibit the exportation of pig iron, scrap iron, and scrap steel except under license from the Secretary of Commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 980. A bill to provide for the recognition of the services of the civilian officials and employees, citizens of the United States, engaged in and about the construction of the Panama Canal; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. CROWTHER:

H. R. 981. A bill to provide a preliminary examination and survey of Bellows Pond and Canada Lake drainage area, Fulton County, N. Y., with a view to the control of the floodwaters of the Mohawk River; to the Committee on Flood Control.

H.R. 982. A bill to terminate certain foreign-trade agreements and to terminate the authority to enter into them; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FADDIS:

H.R. 983. A bill to repeal the act of August 12, 1935, providing for the establishment of additional Army Air Corps stations, depots, and bases; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 984. A bill to decease unemployment; to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act; and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H.R. 985. A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to furnish certain markers for certain graves; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 986. A bill to decrease unemployment; to amend the Pay Adjustment Act of 1922; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 987. A bill to provide for the common defense by acquiring certain commodities essential to the manufacture of supplies for the armed forces in time of an emergency, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GEHRMANN:

H. R. 988. A bill to enable farmers who are unable to pay emergency seed and feed loans in full when due to work out the amounts due thereon; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. KEOGH:

H.R. 989. A bill to assist and encourage the States in establishing fair labor standards, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor.

H. R. 990. A bill to provide retirement annuities for certain former employees; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H.R. 991. A bill for postal employees' longevity; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H.R. 992. A bill to amend section 3466 of the Revised Statutes to subordinate tax claims of the United States to wage claims in State insolvency proceedings; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 993. A bill to provide that a general assignment for benefit of creditors shall not constitute an act of bankruptcy

unless connected with some other act of bankruptcy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 994. A bill granting annual and sick leave to postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H.R. 995. A bill to provide study periods for post-office clerks, terminal and transfer clerks; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 996. A bill granting leave of absence to postal employees on account of death in family; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H.R. 997. A bill granting holidays to postal employees in States where holidays are a State law; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 998. A bill to authorize the construction and use of underground pneumatic-tube service; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. PACE:

H. R. 999. A bill to deny admittance into the United States to all immigrants and to deport all aliens; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. RANKIN:

H. R. 1000. A bill to provide payment of adjusted-service credit to sisters, brothers, and estates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 1001. A bill to restore certain service-connected benefits to World War veterans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 1002. A bill to authorize the construction of a waterway connecting the Tennessee River with the Tombigbee River, Miss.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. STEAGALL:

H.R. 1003. A bill to provide for the subscription by Reconstruction Finance Corporation of the stock of a corporation which is hereby created to finance self-liquidating public works which will create additional facilities for national defense, aid in air navigation, furnish employment for citizens now on relief, decrease unemployment, stimulate business recovery, and promote public safety, to define the powers and limitations of such corporation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. SMITH of Connecticut:

H.R. 1004. A bill to amend an act to provide for placing educational orders to familiarize private manufacturing establishments with the production of munitions of war of special or technical design, noncommercial in character; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WELCH:

H. R. 1005. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of a graving dock on San Francisco Bay in the city and county of San Francisco, Calif.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 1006. A bill to adjust the rate of pension to soldiers of the Indian wars who served 90 days or more in active service against hostile Indians, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1007. A bill to extend the time for applying for and receiving benefits under the act entitled "An act to provide means by which certain Filipinos can emigrate from the United States," approved July 10, 1935; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 1008. A bill to confer to certain persons who served in the Quartermaster Corps or under the jurisdiction of the Quartermaster General during the War with Spain, the Philippine Insurrection, or the China Relief Expedition the benefits of hospitalization and the privileges of the soldiers' homes; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1009. A bill to grant to the State of California a retrocession of jurisdiction over certain rights-of-way granted to the State of California over a certain road about to be constructed in the Presidio of San Francisco Military Reservation; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1010. A bill to authorize operating subsidy contracts for vessels engaged in the intercoastal commerce of the

United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 1011. A bill to provide for the acquisition of drydock facilities for the United States Maritime Commission on San Francisco Bay, in the city and county of San Francisco, and to authorize the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes; to the Committee or Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

# By Mr. CELLER:

H. J. Res. 1. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to taxes on incomes, inheritances, and gifts; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. LUDLOW:

H. J. Res. 2. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. J. Res. 3. Joint resolution to prohibit the shipment of arms, ammunition, and implements of war from any place in the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

H. J. Res. 4. Joint resolution prohibiting the manufacture, and sale of rum by any activity financed by funds from the United States Treasury; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. J. Res. 5. Joint resolution to make more adequate provisions for social security, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

### By Mr. DOWELL:

H. J. Res. 6. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to taxes on certain incomes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

### By Mr. GUYER of Kansas:

H.J.Res. 7. Joint resolution to implement the Kellogg-Briand Pact for World Peace; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

### By Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON:

H. J. Res. 8. Joint resolution to redeem certain exemption or ginning certificates issued under the Bankhead Act; to the Committee on Agriculture.

# By Mr. LEMKE:

H. J. Res. 9. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the initiative of legislative measures by electors; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. MAAS:

H. J. Res. 10. Joint resolution providing for the display of the United States flag on days of national thanksgiving; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. MARTIN of Colorado:

H. J. Res. 11. Joint resolution directing the Federal Trade Commission to investigate the methods employed by the manufacturers of motor-vehicle tires; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

# By Mr. REED of Illinois:

H. J. Res. 12. Joint resolution to commemorate the invention of the first steel plow by John Lane in the winter of 1833-34 and to authorize the erection and placing of suitable memorials or memorial plaques; to the Committee on Agriculture.

# By Mr. VOORHIS of California:

H. J. Res. 13. Joint resolution to restrict the sale of bonds and securities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

# By Mr. ALLEN of Illinois:

H. J. Res. 15. Joint resolution authorizing an appropriation for expenditure under the direction of the Secretary of State to pay expenses of return from China to the United States of citizens financially unable to pay their return expenses; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

# By Mr. KNUTSON:

H. J. Res. 16. Joint resolution to prohibit the exportation of arms, ammunition, or implements or materials of war to any foreign country when the President finds a state of war to exist between or among two or more foreign states or be-

tween or among two or more opposing forces in the same foreign state; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

H. J. Res. 17. Joint resolution to enable farmers to pay off their seed and feed loans by working on farm-to-market roads; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. J. Res. 18. Joint resolution stating whether coastwise traffic should be subject to governmental regulation under the Interstate Commerce Commission; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

# By Mr. LESINSKI:

H. J. Res. 19. Joint resolution to provide for the preparation, printing, and distribution of pamphlets containing the history of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski, Revolutionary War hero, on occasion of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski, on October 11, 1929, with certain biographical sketches and explanatory matter; to the Committee on Printing.

# By Mr. CARTWRIGHT:

H. J. Res. 20. Joint resolution authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue of the United States to return to the State of Oklahoma an amount of money to be deducted from the amount of income taxes paid to the United States from the State of Oklahoma, each fiscal year, until the amount of loss or detriment sustained by the State of Oklahoma from November 16, 1907, to and including June 30, 1937, on account of the exemption of restricted Indian lands from ad valorem taxation and the exemption of oil and gas and other minerals extracted from such lands from taxation, shall have been discharged; and providing the method of ascertaining the total amount of such loss by a joint committee on Indian affairs of the Senate and of the House of Representatives of the United States; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

### By Mr. COCHRAN:

H. J. Res. 21. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to taxes on certain incomes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. DALY:

H. J. Res. 22. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to article III, sections 1 and 2, of the Constitution of the United States, relating to the number, tenure in office, and compensation of the judges of the Supreme and inferior courts and defining and limiting their power in the matter of nullifying acts of the Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. DOXEY:

H. J. Res. 23. Joint resolution to provide for the printing, with illustrations, and binding in cloth of 125,000 copies of the Special Report on the Diseases of Cattle; to the Committee on Printing.

# By Mr. KENNEDY of Maryland:

H. J. Res. 24. Joint resolution to create a Federal Highway Safety Authority, composed of representatives of the Federal Government, to be designated by the President, and representatives of national organizations, to be designated in the same manner; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. J. Res. 25. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. HILL:

H. J. Res. 26. Joint resolution requesting the President to proclaim October 9 as Leif Erickson Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. GUYER of Kansas:

H. J. Res. 27. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. LESINSKI:

H. J. Res. 28. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11, 1939, General Pulaski's Memorial Day for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary. By Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona:

H. J. Res. 29. Joint resolution authorizing the issuance of a special stamp commemorating the four hundredth anniversary of the coming of the first white man, Fray Marcos de Niza, into the southwestern part of the United States; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H. J. Res. 30. Joint resolution to provide for the erection of memorial to the memory of Newton D. Baker; to the Committee on the Library.

H. J. Res. 31. Joint resolution proposing that the Secretary of Labor shall investigate the effects of technological changes on the employment of labor; to the Committee on Labor.

H. J. Res. 32. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide for a republican form of government and representation in the Congress for the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SMITH of Virginia:

H. J. Res. 33. Joint resolution to provide for the printing with illustrations and binding in cloth of 110,000 copies of the Special Report on the Diseases of the Horse; to the Committee on Printing.

H. J. Res. 34. Joint resolution to provide for the printing with illustrations and binding in cloth of 110,000 copies of the Special Report on the Diseases of Cattle; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. TREADWAY:

H. J. Res. 35. Joint resolution establishing a Federal Tax Commission, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. J. Res. 36. Joint resolution authorizing an appropriation for full payment of the approved schedules of prices for salvaged timber products purchased or to be purchased by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, Northeastern Timber Salvage Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. TARVER:

H. J. Res. 37. Joint resolution proposing to amend the Constitution of the United States to exclude aliens in counting the whole number of persons in each State for apportionment of Representatives among the several States; to the Committee on the Judic'ary.

By Mr. ASHBROOK:

H. J. Res. 38. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution relating to the power of the Congress to declare war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CULKIN:

H. J. Res. 39. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to taxes on certain incomes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. J. Res. 40. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States changing the term of President and Vice President from 4 to 6 years and making them ineligible for reelection; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

H.J. Res. 41. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, limiting the power of Congress to increase the number of Associate Justices of the Supreme Court; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CRAWFORD:

H. J. Res. 42. Joint resolution providing for an embargo on scrap iron and pig iron under Public Resolution No. 27 of the Seventy-fifth Congress; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CROWTHER:

H. J. Res. 43. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution relating to the terms of President and Vice President; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. FADDIS:

H. J. Res. 44. Joint resolution to repeal the Neutrality Act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. RICH:

H.J.Res. 45. Joint resolution directing the President of the United States to suspend commercial relations with the Empire of Japan during the occupation of Chinese territory by Japanese armed troops; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SHANLEY:

H. J. Res. 46. Joint resolution designating May 28, 1939, National Aviation Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan:

H. J. Res. 47. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11, 1939, General Pulaski's Memorial Day for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BOEHNE:

H. J. Res. 48. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to taxes on certain incomes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SMITH of Connecticut:

H. J. Res. 49. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to enable the United States to lay and collect taxes on income derived from securities issued and salaries paid by any State, and to enable each State to lay and collect taxes on income derived by residents from securities issued and salaries paid under authority of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McLEAN:

H. J. Res. 50. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States fixing the term of the President and Vice President; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. LUDLOW:

H. Con. Res. 1. Concurrent resolution declaring it to be the sense of Congress that the United States of America should take the lead in a suspension of naval construction by the leading powers and should call a conference on limitation of armaments; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. KNUTSON:

H. Con. Res. 2. Concurrent resolution requesting the President of the United States to call a conference of the naval powers of the world to consider a reduction in naval construction and armaments; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BLOOM:

H. Con. Res. 4. Concurrent resolution to commemorate the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the First Congress of the United States under the Constitution; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. FULMER:

H. Res. 21. Resolution providing for the printing of 2,000 copies of the Soil Survey for certain counties in South Carolina; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. KNUTSON:

H. Res. 22. Resolution pertaining to the negotiation of reciprocal-trade agreements; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MAAS:

H. Res. 23. Resolution to amend rules X and XI of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. O'CONNOR:

H. Res. 24. Resolution adopting rules of Seventy-fifth Congress and making them the rules of the Seventy-sixth Congress, as amended; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. BURDICK:

H. Res. 25. Resolution providing for the appointment of a select committee on futures trading to investigate and report to the House its findings and recommendations for further legislation as to futures trading in contract markets, especially as to short selling and margin requirements and as to alleged violations of the Commodity Exchange Act, with reference especially, but not exclusively, to wash sales,

cross trades, accommodation trades, and fictitious sales; providing an appropriation therefor; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. DIES:

H. Res. 26. A resolution authorizing the Special Committee to Investigate un-American Activities, appointed under authority of House Resolution 282, Seventy-fifth Congress, to continue its investigations during the Seventy-sixth Congress; to the Committee on Rules.

H. Res. 27. A resolution authorizing the Special Committee to Investigate un-American Activities, appointed under authority of House Resolution 282, Seventy-fifth Congress, to continue its investigations during the Seventy-sixth Congress, and to provide \$150,000 for such investigation; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. ROBERTSON:

H. Res. 28. A resolution authorizing the Special Committee on Wildlife Conservation, appointed under authority of House Resolution 237, Seventy-third Congress, continued under authority of House Resolution 44, Seventy-fourth Congress, and House Resolution 11, Seventy-fifth Congress, to continue its investigations during the Seventy-sixth Congress; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. CULKIN:

H. Res. 29. A resolution asking investigation of the Margarine Institute, its source of revenue and character of disbursement; to the Committee on Rules.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ARENDS:

H.R. 301. A bill for the relief of Artie D. Lakin; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 302. A bill for the relief of Clifford Wilcox, a minor;

to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 303. A bill making eligible for retirement, under the same conditions as now provided for officers of the Regular Army, A. Richard Hedstrom, chaplain, an officer of the United States Army during the World War, who incurred physical disability in line of duty; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 304. A bill granting a pension to Frank B. Oatman;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 305. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary Warman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 306. A bill granting a pension to Lester Nevada Hays; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 307. A bill granting a pension to Tabitha Biglow; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BLAND:

H. R. 308. A bill for the relief of James E. Haynes; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 309. A bill for the relief of the estate of Dr. David O. Clements, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 310. A bill for the relief of John P. Shorter; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 311. A bill for the relief of A. K. Ward; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 312. A bill for the relief of Roland P. Winstead; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 313. A bill to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear and determine the claim of the legal representatives of Henry H. Sibley, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

H.R. 314. A bill for the relief of the heirs of Thomas G. Wright; to the Committee on War Claims.

H.R. 315. A bill granting a pension to Annie Wright; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 316. A bill granting a pension to Laura E. Myers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 317. A bill granting a pension to Neva Dobbins; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 318. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emily Semple Wood; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 319. A bill granting a pension to William Turner; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 320. A bill granting a pension to Barbara Oertel; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R.321. A bill for the relief of James T. Moore; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 322. A bill for the relief of Thomas D. Ferguson; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 323. A bill to provide for the advancement on the retired list of the Navy of Russell H. Quynn, lieutenant, United States Navy, retired; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 324. A bill for the relief of Walter Lee Brown; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 325. A bill granting a pension to Edna P. Welsh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 326. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary W. Osterhaus; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 327. A bill to authorize and direct the reinstatement in the United States Army of Richard C. Martin and retirement as master sergeant; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 328. A bill for the relief of W.C. and James Latane; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BOYKIN:

H. R. 329. A bill for the relief of R. L. Scott; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BUCK:

H. R. 330. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth Halsey; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 331. A bill granting a pension to Ella Cahill; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BUCKLEY of New York:

H.R. 332. A bill for the relief of Irving H. Elentuch; to the Committee on Claims,

H. R. 333. A bill reviving and renewing patent No. 1,313,-378, serial No. 274427; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. BURCH:

H.R. 334. A bill for the relief of Thomas G. Abbitt; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CANNON of Missouri:

H.R. 335. A bill granting a pension to Walter Lloyd Hutcherson; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 336. A bill granting a pension to Inez Duncan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R.337. A bill granting a pension to Louise Eberle; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 338. A bill for the relief of Roy Hesselmeyer; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 339. A bill granting a pension to Katie F. Alderson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 340. A bill granting a pension to Hattie B. Roberts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CLUETT:

H. R. 341. A bill granting a pension to Louise Stockwell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 342. A bill granting a pension to Margaret M. Crane; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 343. A bill granting a pension to James C. Riley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 344. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emma A. Trumble; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 345. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary C. Hoyt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 346. A bill granting an increase of pension to Kate M. Farrell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 347. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Scarritt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 348. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary B. Kaiser; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 349. A bill granting an increase of pension to Jennie Everson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 350. A bill granting an increase of pension to Margaret Corcoran; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R.351. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah Simpson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 352. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary Devine; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 353. A bill granting an increase of pension to Louise E. Van Norden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 354. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ella S. T. Witbeck; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 355. A bill granting an increase of pension to Georgiana P. Nichols; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 356. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sophia Rawlins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 357. A bill granting an increase of pension to Hulda Bennett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CURLEY:

H. R. 358. A bill for the relief of Mario Sigismondo Nascinovich and his wife, Vittoria Nascinovich; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 359. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth Agnes Axson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DOWELL:

H. R. 360. A bill granting a pension to Jemima E. Trow-bridge; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 361. A bill granting an increase of pension to Belle C. Taylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 362. A bill granting an increase of pension to Maggie A. Foster; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 363. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Cline; to the Committee on Inval'd Pensions.

H. R. 364. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ida Young; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R.365. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eliza J. Rowland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 366. A bill granting an increase of pension to Nancy J. Halterman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 367. A bill for the relief of Mary P. Fairfield; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 368. A bill granting an increase of pension to Flora

Gifford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H.R. 369. A bill granting a pension to Glennie Edwinson;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 370. A bill granting a pension to Pearl F. Warren;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 371. A bill granting a pension to David A. Huckel-

berry; to the Committee on Pensions. H. R. 372. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lydia

H. R. 372. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lydia Todhunter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 373. A bill granting an increase of pension to Alice J. Robinson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 374. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ma-

tilda E. Richards; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 375. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah

J. Jacob; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
H. R. 376. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary

H. R. 376. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Simpson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. EDMISTON:

H.R. 377. A bill for the relief of Harry Bryan and Alda Duffield Mullins, and others; to the Committee on Claims. By Mr. FITZPATRICK:

H. R. 378. A bill to authorize the presentation to Andrew J. McLean of a Distinguished Service Cross; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 379. A bill for the relief of Anthony Fornabaio and others; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 380. A bill granting a pension to Harry Miller; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 381. A bill for the relief of Samuel D. Singer; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 382. A bill for the relief of Gus Roth; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 383. A bill for the relief of John F. O'Neil; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 384. A bill for the relief of Herluf F. J. Ravn; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 385. A bill granting an increase of pension to Clara W. Barrett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 386. A bill for the relief of Albert M. Zellner; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 387. A bill for the relief of Thomas Alexander Patterson; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 388. A bill for the correction of the naval record of officers and sailors who served on the *St. Louis*, the *Harvard*, and the *Yale* during the Spanish War; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. FULMER:

H. R. 389. A bill for the relief of the trustees of St. Stephen's Church, of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of South Carolina, of Lexington, S. C.; to the Committee on War Claims.

H.R. 390. A bill for the relief of the Ladies' Ursuline Community of Columbia, at Columbia, S. C.; to the Committee on War Claims.

H.R. 391. A bill for the relief of Richard A. Chavis; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 392. A bill for the relief of Addie T. Caughman and Grace Roberts; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 393. A bill granting a pension to Hattie R. Sonntag; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 394. A bill granting a pension to Mamie Loon Irby; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GWYNNE:

H. R. 395. A bill granting a pension to Ada M. Huffman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 396. A bill granting a pension to Margaret Ledgerwood; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 397. A bill granting a pension to Belle Harmon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 398. A bill granting a pension to Lydia A. Havens; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 399. A bill granting a pension to May Tuffree; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GUYER of Kansas:

H. R. 400. A bill granting a pension to Margaret Ann Canatsey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 401. A bill for the relief of Florence L. Sheppard; to the Committee on Claims,

H. R. 402. A bill granting a pension to Ellen Crouse; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 403. A bill granting a pension to Eliza G. Johnson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 404. A bill granting a pension to Mattie E. Fruit; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 405. A bill granting an increase of pension to Martha J. Judd; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 406. A bill granting an increase of pension to Victoria Gould; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 407. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emma Clark; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 408. A bill granting a pension to Hubert L. Anderson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 409. A bill granting an increase of pension to Frances Edna Morrow; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 410. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth J. Winklepleck; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 411. A bill granting an increase of pension to Annie

Trader; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 412. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emma R. Steel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 413. A bill granting a pension to Ruth P. Kerns; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 414. A bill granting a pension to Isabelle Scott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 415. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Hart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 416. A bill granting a pension to Alice L. Calderhead; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 417. A bill granting a pension to Elmer B. Williams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HALLECK:

H.R. 418. A bill granting a pension to Viola Shively; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 419. A bill granting a pension to Mabelle Birch Wallis; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 420. A bill granting a pension to Mira W. Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 421. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth Morehead; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 422. A bill granting a pension to Maggie A. Bernethy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 423. A bill granting a pension to Mary Long; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 424. A bill granting an increase of pension to Hester A. Walmer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 425. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emma Chapman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 426. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elmira J. Douglass; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 427. A bill granting an increase of pension to Harriet S. Garbison; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 428. A bill for the relief of Edward Workman; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HOUSTON:

H. R. 429. A bill granting a pension to Georgiana Garthwaite: to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 430. A bill granting a pension to Lillie Z. Devin; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 431. A bill granting a pension to Mary E. Carroll; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 432. A bill granting a pension to Millard C. Helm; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HOPE:

H. R. 433. A bill granting a pension to Canzada Minton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 434. A bill granting a pension to Alvesta Otto; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 435. A bill granting a pension to Virgie Bell McKee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 436. A bill granting a pension to John P. Matthews; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 437. A bill for the relief of John Alexander Harmon;

to the Committee on Military Affairs. H. R. 438. A bill granting an increase of pension to Nancy V. Hazell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 439. A bill granting a pension to Sadie Hainline; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 440. A bill granting a pension to Olieda Irene Hansen; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 441. A bill granting a pension to Agnes Baker Currey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 442. A bill granting a pension to Rosa M. Green; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 443. A bill granting a pension to Maxmilla Cowan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 444. A bill for the relief of Jack C. Collins; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 445. A bill granting a pension to Lizzie E. Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 446. A bill granting a pension to Addaline Collins; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 447. A bill granting an increase of pension to George Webb, Jr.; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 448. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ella M. Tansey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 449. A bill for the relief of Victor B. Tate; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 450. A bill for the relief of Arthur A. Rohe; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 451. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Stout; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HOUSTON:

H. R. 452. A bill granting a pension to Lizzie A. Colwell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 453. A bill granting a pension to S. J. Claypool; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 454. A bill granting a pension to Hulda S. Dick: to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 455. A bill granting a pension to Azelle V. Crawford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 456. A bill granting a pension to Frances Engler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 457. A bill granting a pension to Martha Ella Downing; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 458. A bill granting a pension to Lovina B. Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 459. A bill granting a pension to Jessie M. Warner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 460. A bill granting an increase of pension to Margaret A. Bradshaw; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 461. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eva Yost; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 462. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mathilda Danielson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 463. A bill granting an increase of pension to Anna E. Crawford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 464. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary Hawk; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 465. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ida Davey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 466. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary C. Snyder; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 467. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eliza Robinson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 468. A bill granting an increase of pension to Miriam A. Williams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 469. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emma Webb; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 470. A bill for the relief of Amos F. Westerfield; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 471. A bill for the relief of Zachara T. Edwards; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 472. A bill for the relief of Donald Lee Hinshaw: to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 473. A bill for the relief of Lewis H. Miller; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. JARMAN:

H. R. 474. A bill granting an increase of pension to Grizelda Hull Hobson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JENKINS of Ohio:

H. R. 475. A bill extending the benefits of the Emergency Officers' Retirement Act to Charles Stanley Mechem; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 476. A bill granting the Distinguished Service Cross to Claude M. Nichols, United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 477. A bill for the relief of Perry W. Heldman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 478. A bill granting an increase of pension to Rachel Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 479. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary Virginia Salisbury; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 480. A bill granting an increase of pension to Caroline Webb; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 481. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emma Ridgeway; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 482. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth S. Primm; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 483. A bill granting an increase of pension to Judah A. Stewart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 484. A bill granting an increase of pension to Violet S. Woodward; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 485. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lillie E. Wells; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 486. A bill granting an increase of pension to Caroline Rupe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 487. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Russell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 488. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Derry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 489. A bill granting an increase of pension to Rosannah Davis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 490. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. DeWitt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 491. A bill granting an increase of pension to Alice Dunfee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 492. A bill granting an increase of pension to Melissa Endicott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 493. A bill granting an increase of pension to Henrietta H. Eator; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 494. A bill granting an increase of pension to California Farmer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 495. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eliza L. Grover; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 496. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary C. Keneff; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 497. A bill granting an increase of pension to Susan Lambert; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 498. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary L. Martin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 499. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sophie M. Swigert; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 500. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary C. Arthur; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 501. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eva Barlow; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 502. A bill granting an increase of pension to Pheba J. Bell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 503. A bill granting an increase of pension to Agnes

Bentley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 504. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ada-

belle Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 505. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

beth Board; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 506. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah

J. Collins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 507. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary

Conaway; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 508. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah

A. Daugherty; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
H. R. 509. A bill granting an increase of pension to Julina

Crabtree; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 510. A bill granting a pension to Lewis Congrove; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 511. A bill granting a pension to Wilson Branch Cook; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 512. A bill granting a pension to Charles Younger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 513. A bill granting a pension to Clara B. Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 514. A bill granting a pension to Samuel Warner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 515. A bill granting a pension to Michael Thomas Tippie; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 516. A bill granting a pension to Otto Nance; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 517. A bill granting a pension to Priscilla Phillips; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 518. A bill granting a pension to Leslie D. Hood; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 519. A bill granting a pension to Everett Horton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 520. A bill granting a pension to Minnie B. Leonard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 521. A bill granting a pension to Harriett A. Litten; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 522. A bill granting a pension to Mary Ann Melvin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 523. A bill granting a pension to Lucy C. Montgomery; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 524. A bill granting a pension to Jennie Jackson Tewksbury; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 525. A bill granting a pension to Ella Carl; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 526. A bill granting a pension to William Long; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 527. A bill granting a pension to Eva Miller; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 528. A bill granting a pension to Merrill T. Bryant; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 529. A bill granting a pension to Ted Spires; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 530. A bill granting a pension to Thomas A. O'Leary; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 531. A bill granting a pension to John Henry; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON:

H. R. 532. A bill for the relief of W. J. Hance; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 533. A bill authorizing the President to reappoint and honorably discharge David J. Sawyer, second lieutenant, National Army, as of May 11, 1919; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 534. A bill for the relief of Hallie H. Woods; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

H.R. 535. A bill granting a pension to Emma Sears Ferguson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 536. A bill for the relief of Thomas W. Jones; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 537. A bill for the relief of Dr. H. R. Allmon; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 538. A bill for the relief of Etta Pippin; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 539. A bill granting a pension to Mary Quirk; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KING:

H. R. 540. A bill for the relief of Chun Buck; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 541. A bill for the relief of John Toko; to the Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 542. A bill for the relief of Anna Elizabeth Watrous; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 543. A bill for the relief of Imogene Enley; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KLEBERG:

H. B. 544. A bill for the relief of Llewellyn B. Griffith; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 545. A bill for the relief of Robinson W. Fullerton; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. LEMKE:

H.R. 546. A bill for the relief of Otto C. Asplund; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R.547. A bill for the relief of Alex Oshanyk; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LUDLOW:

H.R. 548. A bill for the relief of Patricia Swan; to the Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 549. A bill for the relief of John S. Sherman; to the Committee on Claims

H. R. 550. A bill granting an increase of pension to Hannah Sims; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 551. A bill for the relief of Claribel Moore; to the Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 552. A bill to correct the military record of Thomas J. Parrott; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 553. A bill granting an increase of pension to Florence S. McGinnis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 554. A bill for the relief of Meta De Rene McLoskey; to the Committee on War Claims.

H.R. 555. A bill for the relief of Mary V. L. Sterling; to the Committee on War Claims.

H.R. 556. A bill for the relief of Homer J. Williamson; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 557. A bill to provide commutation of quarters in cases of certain World War officers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 558. A bill for the relief of Virgil H. Heise; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 559. A bill granting a pension to Mary Ellen Johnson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 560. A bill granting a pension to Norah D. Neal; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 561. A bill granting a pension to Lottle Denny; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 562. A bill granting a pension to Callie J. Feaster; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 563. A bill granting a pension to Bertine B. Boswell; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 564. A bill granting a pension to Gussie Dawson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 565. A bill granting a pension to Eva B. Griggs; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 566. A bill granting a pension to Flora Bailey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 567. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eliza A. Washington; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 568. A bill granting a pension to Annie Lanagan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MALONEY:

H. R. 569. A bill granting a pension to Delia Porter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 570. A bill granting a pension to Rose Anderson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MANSFIELD:

H. R. 571. A bill granting a pension to Sidonia B. Rice; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MASON:

H. R. 572. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary A. West; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 573. A bill granting an increase of pension to Charity West; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 574. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah Alice Belrose; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 575. A bill granting a pension to Eva Case; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 576. A bill for the relief of Ida L. Funston; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 577. A bill granting an increase of pension to Laura S. Gage; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 578. A bill granting a pension to Clara S. Hopple; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 579. A bill for the relief of John August Johnson; to the Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 580. A bill for the relief of Arthur L. Johnson; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. S81. A bill granting a pension to Anna Milholland;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H.R. 582. A bill granting a pension to Mabel McBratney;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H.R. 583. A bill granting an increase of pension to Agnes

B. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
H. R. 584. A bill granting an increase of pension to Martha

Thorson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 585. A bill granting a pension to Martha Weiss; to

the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McREYNOLDS:

H.R. 586. A bill granting a pension to Sarah Hall Swafford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 587. A bill granting a pension to Sallie Jordan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 588. A bill granting a pension to Editha Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 589. A bill granting a pension to Bell D. Qualls; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 590. A bill for the relief of Macey N. Bevan; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mrs. O'DAY:

H.R. 591. A bill for the relief of Pietro Di Giacinto; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 592. A bill for the relief of Sol Silver; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 593. A bill for the relief of Rose Hausman Weidman (nee Reisla Hausman); to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 594. A bill for the relief of Joseph Harris (Joseph Hersh); to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 595. A bill for the relief of Hyman Lederman; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 596. A bill for the relief of Luzier Rubenstein or Louis Rubin; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. PARSONS:

H.R. 597. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Freeman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 598. A bill granting an increase of pension to Margaret J. Maiden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 599. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Morris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 600. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah B. Cratsinger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 601. A bill granting a pension to Flossie M. Ramsey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 602. A bill granting an increase of pension to Susan B. Hill; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 603. A bill granting a pension to Hannah D. Warren; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 604. A bill granting a pension to Stella M. Webster; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 605. A bill granting a pension to Mary C. Severs; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 606. A bill granting a pension to Claud Stine; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 607. A bill granting a pension to Mary A. Proudfit; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 608. A bill granting a pension to Mary A. Salyards; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 609. A bill granting a pension to James Edward Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 610. A bill granting a pension to Nancy C. Parrish; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 611. A bill granting a pension to Chester D. Green; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 612. A bill granting a pension to James Hord; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 613. A bill granting a pension to Ellen Edwards; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 614. A bill granting a pension to Josie Greathouse; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. POLK:

H. R. 615. A bill granting an increase of pension to Nancy A. Russell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 616. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary C. Thorp; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 617. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah King; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 618. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary Clemons; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 619. A bill granting an increase of pension to Anna M. Parish; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 620. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 621. A bill granting an increase of pension to Carrie

F. Bloom; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
H. R. 622. A bill granting an increase of pension to Jerucia.

S. Platter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 623. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lizzie Boehm; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 624. A bill granting an increase of pension to Fannie J. Barber; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 625. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sallie A. Guthrie; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 626. A bill granting a pension to Hester A. Bradford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 627. A bill granting a pension to Pearl Wittenmyer; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 628. A bill granting a pension to Gus Brunner; to the Committee on Pensions,

H.R. 629. A bill granting a pension to Blanche Acton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 630. A bill granting a pension to Levi Copas; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 631. A bill for the relief of Harry E. Conn; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 632. A bill granting a pension to Samuel Evans; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 633. A bill granting a pension to Theresa Donaldson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 634. A bill for the relief of Lackey N. Hatcher; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 635. A bill granting a pension to Bertha T. Hastings; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 636. A bill granting a pension to Roscoe Martin; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 637. A bill granting a pension to Ivy Pitzer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 638. A bill granting a pension to Carl H. Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 639. A bill to authorize the presentation to William A. Pummill of a Distinguished Service Medal; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 640. A bill for the relief of Richard Taylor; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 641. A bill to authorize the presentation to Harold L. Stewart of a Distinguished Service Medal; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky:

H. R. 642. A bill granting a pension to Sarah Nantz; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 643. A bill granting a pension to Nancy M. Pierce; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 644. A bill granting a pension to Phina McCrary; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 645. A bill granting an increase of pension to Malisa

Morris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 646. A bill granting a pension to Joseph Jones; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 647. A bill granting a pension to Celia Ledford; to

the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 648. A bill granting a pension to Lucy Jones; to the

Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 649. A bill granting a pension to Charles E. King; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 650. A bill granting a pension to John Powell; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 651. A bill granting a pension to Laura B. Poore; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 652. A bill granting a pension to Ada Simpson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 653. A bill granting a pension to Katherine Slusher; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 654. A bill granting a pension to Walter J. Shadoan; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 655. A bill granting a pension to Mollie Sigmon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 656. A bill for the relief of Joe H. Ross; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 657. A bill granting a pension to Nettie Saylor and Noel Junior Saylor; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 658. A bill for the relief of Dr. B. L. Pursifull, Grace Pursifull, Eugene Pursifull, Ralph Pursifull, Bobby Pursifull, and Dora Little; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 659. A bill granting a pension to Howard Henderson Richardson; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 660. A bill for the relief of James R. Slusher; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 661. A bill granting a pension to Cleston E. Slusher; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 662. A bill for the relief of Susie R. Stone; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 663. A bill for the relief of Willis F. Spradlin; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 664. A bill granting an increase of pension to James W. Taylor; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 665. A bill granting a pension to Ella Taylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 666. A bill for the relief of Joseph Warren; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 667. A bill for the relief of Eaph Toler; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 668. A bill granting an increase of pension to Joseph Woods; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 669. A bill granting a pension to Ida Webb; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 670. A bill for the relief of Esaw Wright; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 671. A bill granting a pension to Mumzell Wooldridge; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 672. A bill granting a pension to Jesse F. Crawford; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 673. A bill granting a pension to James Combs; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 674. A bill granting a pension to George E. Cornelius; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 675. A bill granting a pension to Tandy Clark; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 676. A bill granting a pension to Francis Collins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 677. A bill for the relief of William F. Catching; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 678. A bill for the relief of Robert Chadwell; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 679. A bill granting a pension to Elige Caldwell; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 680. A bill granting a pension to John C. Camden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 681. A bill granting an increase of pension to Leo V. Burchett; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 682. A bill granting a pension to Allie Burnett; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 683. A bill granting a pension to Louvisa Brewer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 684. A bill granting a pension to Mary E. Brummett; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 685. A bill granting a pension to John H. Botner; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 686. A bill for the relief of Thomas H. Bowlin; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 687. A bill granting a pension to Daniel Blanton; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 688. A bill granting a pension to Mary Bolton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 689. A bill granting a pension to Cora Arlena Ballard: to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 690. A bill for the relief of Elmer Blair; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 691. A bill granting a pension to Charles Alcorn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 692. A bill for the relief of Luther M. Anderson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 693. A bill granting a pension to James A. Hoskins; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 694. A bill granting a pension to Frank House; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 695. A bill granting a pension to Millard C. Helm; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 696. A bill granting a pension to Addie Higgin-botham; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 697. A bill granting a pension to Richard B. Hammer; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 698. A bill granting a pension to Edgar W. Hatfield; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 699. A bill granting a pension to Rachel Fuson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 700. A bill for the relief of Jordan B. Gross; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 701. A bill granting a pension to Carrie Clarkson; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 702. A bill for the relief of T.R. Flinchum: to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 703. A bill granting an increase of pension to Rhoda Ellis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 704. A bill granting a pension to John B. Ellis; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 705. A bill granting a pension to Delia DeRossett; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 706. A bill granting a pension to Bettie Dick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 707. A bill granting a pension to Henry Davenport; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 708. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary C. Davis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 709. A bill granting a pension to Millard Pittman; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 710. A bill for the relief of Jackson Howard; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ROCKEFELLER:

H. R. 711. A bill granting an increase of pension to Julietta Waltermire; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts:

H. R. 712. A bill granting a pension to Harriett G. Flynn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 713. A bill for the relief of the Franco-American Construction Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 714. A bill for the relief of Joseph Gorman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 715. A bill for the relief of Lawrence Dziegiel; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 716. A bill for the relief of Barbara Healy; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 717. A bill for the relief of George H. Lowe, Jr.; tothe Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 718. A bill for the relief of Albert Pina Afonso, a minor; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 719. A bill for the relief of Francis G. McDougall;

to the Committee on Claims. H. R. 720. A bill reviving and renewing patents Nos. 955,-

130 and 955,131; to the Committee on Patents. H. R. 721. A bill for the relied of Joseph Edward Richards;

to the Committee on Naval Affairs. H.R. 722. A bill for the relief of Joseph Mastine Keefe;

to the Committee on Naval Affairs. H.R. 723. A bill for the relief of Michael J. Day; to the

Committee on Military Affairs. H. R. 724. A bill for the relief of James H. McCarty; to

the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 725. A bill for the relief of Emile Beaudoin; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 726. A bill to place William W. Wade on the retired list of the United States Army as a major; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 727. A bill for the relief of Charles Dancause and Virginia P. Rogers; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 728. A bill for the relief of Catherine Ward; to the Committee on Claims. H. R. 729. A bill granting a pension to Emma Dailey; to

the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 730. A bill for the relief of Eugene Michael Doran; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 731. A bill granting a pension to Hattie G. Badger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 732. A bill granting a pension to Lucy Avery; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROGERS of Oklahoma:

H. R. 733. A bill for the relief of S. A. Rourke; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. REED of Illinois: H. R. 734. A bill granting a pension to Josephine (Jessie) Campbell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 735. A bill granting a pension to Lena Keating Wagner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 736. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims of the United States to hear, consider, and render judgment on the claims of Joliet National Bank, of Joliet, Ill., and Commercial Trust & Savings Bank, of Joliet, Ill., arising out of loans to the Joliet Forge Co., of Joliet, Ill., for the providing of additional plant facilities and material for the construction of steel forgings during the World War; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 737. A bill granting a pension to Olive M. Hunt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 738. A bill for the relief of Oscar Avery Bates: to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 739. A bill for the relief of Paul Smith, alias John O'Brien; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 740. A bill for the relief of Clement Ildrum Shackley; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 741. A bill for the relief of William J. Bartush: to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 742. A bill for the relief of Capt. Roger H. Young; to the Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 743. A bill for the relief of Eva C. Netzley, William G. Stuff, Lois Stuff, and Harry E. Ridley; and the estates of Clyde C. Netzley and Sarah C. Stuff; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SABATH:

H.R. 744. A bill for the relief of Stanislaw Pasko and Ksavery Frances Pasko (nee Fyalowna); to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 745. A bill for the relief of Soterios G. Stamoulis; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. SHANNON:

H. R. 746. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Bridges; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 747. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Ozenberger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 748. A bill granting a pension to Charles Arthur Collins; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 749. A bill for the relief of Carl A. Barzen; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 750. A bill granting a pension to Joseph Ladish; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 751. A bill granting an increase of pension to Christine Hounshell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 752. A bill granting a pension to James Joseph Monahan; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 753. A bill granting a pension to Jesse E. Lampkin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 754. A bill for the relief of Mike Prkovich; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 755. A bill granting a pension to Edward A. Price; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 756. A bill granting a pension to Salina Jane Slaughter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 757. A bill granting a pension to Lena S. Ricketts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 758. A bill granting a pension to George W. Wormington; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 759. A bill for the relief of George W. Wormington; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 760. A bill for the relief of Albert P. Dunbar; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 761. A bill granting a pension to Katie Cummings; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SOMERS of New York:

H. R. 762. A bill to correct the military record of Arthur R. Adair; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 763. A bill for the relief of Edward Lasky; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 764. A bill to correct the military record of Edward Lasky; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 765. A bill to change the naval record of Henry M. Moss (alias Sidney Harry Price); to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 766. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Fairfax Ayres; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 767. A bill for the relief of Benjamin Weisenberg; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 768. A bill granting a pension to Henrietta Zeno; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 769. A bill for the relief of Celia Gladstone; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 770. A bill granting an increase of pension to Georgiana Furey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. THOMASON:

H. R. 771. A bill for the relief of R. L. Tankersley; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 772. A bill for the relief of J. H. Marchbanks; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 773. A bill for the relief of Martin N. Lettunich; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 774. A bill for the relief of John T. O'Hearn; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TERRY:

H.R. 775. A bill for the relief of W. M. Hurley; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 776. A bill for the relief of Joe Whitson; to the Committee on Claims,

By Mr. WALTER:

H.R. 777. A bill for the relief of Banks Business College; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 778. A bill to confer the Medal of Honor on Wilbert E. Bruder for services in the World War; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 779. A bill for the relief of William Hammond; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WIGGLESWORTH:

H. R. 780. A bill for the relief of Agatha Milauskas Yakavonis (nee Agatha Milauskas); to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 781. A bill granting a pension to Mary Spear; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 782. A bill granting a pension to Dora B. Mann; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 783. A bill granting a pension to Sarah M. H. Nickerson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 784. A bill granting a pension to Bertha L. Wade; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BURDICK:

H. R. 807. A bill for the relief of the Upham Telephone & Electric Co., Upham, N. Dak.; to the Committee on Claims. By Mr. CANNON of Florida:

H.R. 808. A bill for the relief of Zook Palm Nurseries, Inc., a Florida corporation; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 809. A bill for the relief of Mike L. Blank; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 310. A bill for the relief of George Mutchler; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 811. A bill to extend the benefits of the United States Employees' Compensation Act of September 7, 1916, as amended, to the dependent beneficiaries of John H. Erickson; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 812. A bill granting a pension to Walter L. Mitchell; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 813. A bill for the relief of Mrs. A. Burr; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 814. A bill for the relief of Dr. Hugh G. Nicholson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FULMER:

H.R. 815. A bill for the relief of the Washington Street Methodist Episcopal Church South, of Columbia, S. C.; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. LESINSKI:

H.R. 816. A bill for the relief of Lawrence Campeau; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 817. A bill for the relief of Charles Molnar; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 818. A bill for the relief of Ettore Cordovado; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 819. A bill granting a pension to Rosanna Jarvis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MAPES:

H. R. 820. A bill granting an increase of pension to John W. Zibble; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 821. A bill granting an increase of pension to Catherine Field; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 822. A bill granting an increase of pension to Frances A. Carter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 823. A bill granting an increase of pension to Jane F. Hope; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 824. A bill granting an increase of pension to Frances A. Fulkerson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H.R. 825. A bill granting a pension to Maryette Sweet; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 826. A bill granting a pension to Alice C. Waters; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 827. A bill granting a pension to Mary G. Sherwood; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 828. A bill granting a pension to Hannah Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 829. A bill granting a pension to Anna J. Russell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 830. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth Schubert; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 831. A bill granting a pension to Lawrence O. Meyer; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 832. A bill granting a pension to Charles Pique, Jr.; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 833. A bill granting a pension to Mildred Currie; to the Committee on Pensions,

H.R. 834. A bill granting a pension to Myra Krauskopf; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 835. A bill granting a pension to Anna Lisa Bjork; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 836. A bill granting a pension to Martha Buffington; to the Committee on Inval'd Pensions.

H.R. 837. A bill for the relief of William Dean McCoy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 838. A bill for the relief of the estate of Mrs. Ray E. Nies; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 839. A bill for the relief of Hasip Kassouf; to the

Committee on Military Affa'rs.
H. R. 840. A bill for the relief of James J. McBarnes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R.841. A bill for the relief of Lewis Marion Hall; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 342. A bill for the relief of Charles E. Hopkins; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 843. A bill for the relief of Samuel Hooper Lane, alias Samuel Foot; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 844. A bill for the relief of Charles Albert Goetz; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 845. A bill for the relief of Ernest Eppinga; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 846. A bill for the relief of William H. Estabrook; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 847. A bill for the relief of Homer P. Cota; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 848. A bill for the relief of Fay A. Cushman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 849. A bill for the relief of Lee Cook; to the Com-

mittee on Military Affairs. H.R. 850. A bill for the relief of Stewart Lanier Cook; to

the Committee on Military Affairs. By Mr. McANDREWS:

H.R. 851. A bill to provide for the reappointment of Maj. Harry A. Musham, retired, to the active list of the Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MOTT:

H.R. 852. A bill for the relief of John H. Ballah; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 853. A bill granting an increase of pension to Caroline Rhude; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 854. A bill granting an increase of pension to Esther Ann Hill Morgan; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 855. A bill granting a pension to Rhoda H. Lozier; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 856. A bill granting a pension to John R. Gamble; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 857. A bill granting a pension to Matilda E. A. Horn-back; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 858. A bill granting a pension to Willie D. Nelson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 859. A bill granting a pension to Rose Berry; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PIERCE of Oregon:

H. R. 860. A bill for the relief of Lofts & Sons; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. RICH:

H.R. 861. A bill granting a pension to Orvey Raymond Fry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 862. A bill granting a pension to Maud Phillips; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 863. A bill granting a pension to Ella V. Bellinger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 864. A bill granting a pension to Chester Wheeler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 865. A bill granting a pension to Anna L. Harman;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
H. R. 866. A bill granting a pension to Thomas W. Cook;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
H. R. 867. A bill granting a pension to Lulu Maude Wil-

liams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 868. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah

Harer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 869. A bill granting an increase of pension to Katie

Wykoff; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H.R. 870. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary

E. Grange; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
H. R. 871. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eliza-

H. R. 871. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth S. Simpson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 872. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Sturm; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 873. A bill to refund to Lewis H. Frantz income taxes erroneously and illegally collected; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 874. A bill for the relief of the West Branch Bank & Trust Co. of Williamsport, Pa., executors of the estate of James Walton Bowman; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 875. A bill for the relief of Okie May Fegley; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 876. A bill for the relief of James T. Crowley; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H. R. 877. A bill granting an increase of pension to Julia A. Poust; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 878. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Catlin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ALLEN of Illinois:

H. R. 1012. A bill granting an increase of pension to Henry Friedrick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1013. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ada Plattenberger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1014. A bill granting an increase of pension to Maria A. Houston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1015. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Snyder; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1016. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Diehl; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1017. A bill granting an increase of pension to Martha C. Howe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1018. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ernestine Singer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1019. A bill granting an increase of pension to Anna Flint; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1020. A bill granting an increase of pension to Florence A. Clarkson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 1021. A bill granting an increase of pension to Georgiana M. De Groff; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1022. A bill granting an increase of pension to Catherine J. Rodden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1023. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary R. Schreiber; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

- H. R. 1024. A bill granting an increase of pension to Cathrine A. Wheeler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1025. A bill granting a pension to Lizzie May Schaber; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1026. A bill granting a pension to Emma Wood; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1027. A bill granting a pension to Sarah A. King; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1028. A bill granting a pension to Ethel S. Ferguson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1029. A bill for the relief of Edna M. Satterly; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1030. A bill for the relief of Frances O. Sperry; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ALLEN of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 1031. A bill to provide for the refund of certain processing taxes; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1032. A bill to adjust payments to the Mount Pleasant Township public schools in lieu of taxes on lands of the Westmoreland Homesteads; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ANDREWS:

H. R. 1033. A bill granting a pension to Barney Lucas; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1034. A bill for the relief of John Tatko; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1035. A bill for the relief of John C. Shay; to the Committee on Military Affairs,

H. R. 1036. A bill for the relief of Lloyd G. Young; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1037. A bill for the relief of Howard Whiles; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1038. A bill for the relief of Jewett & Co., Buffalo, N. Y.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1039. A bill for the relief of Alexander Stanley Lazik; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1040. A bill for the relief of Raymond C. Warner; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1041. A bill for the relief of Charles E. Strouse; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1042. A bill for the relief of John Pellet; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1043. A bill for the relief of William Francis Daniels; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 1044. A bill for the relief of Walter L. Shelley; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ARNOLD:

H.R. 1045. A bill granting a pension to Clarence Leslie Skipper; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1046. A bill granting a pension to Martha J. Rhodes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ASHBROOK:

H. R. 1047. A bill granting an increase of pension to Linda May Hyatt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1048. A bill granting an increase of pension to Rose Hazlett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1049. A bill granting an increase of pension to Catherine Logsdon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1050. A bill granting an increase of pension to Amelia J. Kyle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1051. A bill granting an increase of pension to Etta Bloomer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1052. A bill granting an increase of pension to Amelia Matheny; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1053. A bill granting an increase of pension to Maria J. Anderson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1054. A bill granting an increase of pension to Francena Brokaw; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1055. A bill for the relief of Charles T. Buell; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1056. A bill for the relief of William Jennings Baker; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1057. A bill granting a pension to Ida H. Burch; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1058. A bill granting a pension to Lucretia Beer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1059. A bill to provide for the reappointment of Wilbur B. Carpenter as a captain in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1060. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah M. Beaumont; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1061. A bill granting an increase of pension to Missouri E. McCrum; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1062. A bill granting an increase of pension to Laura E. Hancock; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1063. A bill granting an increase of pension to Laura S. D'Yarnett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1064. A bill granting an increase of pension to Rebecca Hankinson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1065. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lizzle D. Rodman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

D. Rodman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
H. R. 1066. A bill granting an increase of pension to Julia A.

Dunaway; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1067. A bill granting an increase of pension to Nancy

McClay: to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

McClay; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 1063. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mar-

garet V. Myers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, H. R. 1069. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary

A. Secrist; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions,
H. R. 1070. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary

E. Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1071. A bill granting an increase of pension to Viola.

E. Whitten, to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

S. Whitten; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
 H. R. 1072. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ruth
 A. Schooley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1073. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ida M. Stough; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1074. A bill granting an increase of persion to Adella L. Welch; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1075. A bill for the relief of Franz J. Feinler; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1076. A bill for the relief of Floyd Gatton; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1077. A bill for the relief of Thomas J. McKim; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1078. A bill for the relief of Lester Cooley; to the Committee on Military Affairs,

H.R. 1079. A bill for the relief of Wilson D. Wilkinson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1080. A bill for the relief of Charles Schilliger; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1081. A bill granting a pension to Bertha E. Fleming; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1082. A bill for the relief of Second Lt. Charles E. Upson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1083. A bill granting a pension to Lenora B. Easterday; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1084. A bill granting a pension to Lena Leota Evans; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1085. A bill granting a pension to Margaret E. Pryce; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1086. A bill granting a pension to Agnes Metcalf; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1087. A bill granting a pension to Alice R. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1088. A bill granting a pension to Dessie Priest; to the

Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1089. A bill granting a pension to Parmelia J. Wood-

ward; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1090. A bill granting a pension to Francis Sipe; to the

Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1091. A bill granting a pension to Roberta Thornton:

H. R. 1091. A bill granting a pension to Roberta Thornton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1092. A bill granting a pension to Adele M. Troutman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1093. A bill authorizing the Secretary of War to appoint Anthony J. Flynn a warrant officer in the United States Army and then place him on the retired list; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BATES of Kentucky:

H. R. 1094. A bill granting a pension to Minnie Allen Lacy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1095. A bill granting a pension to Martha J. Lawson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1096. A bill granting a pension to Ollie Hamilton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1097. A bill granting a pension to Ned Johnston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1098. A bill granting a pension to Nancy Jane Branham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1099. A bill granting a pension to Henry Patrick

Dyer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1100. A bill granting a pension to Dora McCallister; to

the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1101. A bill granting a pension to Daniel W. Perkins;

to the Committee on Pensions. H.R. 1102. A bill granting a pension to Jesse Johnson; to

the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1103. A bill granting a pension to Lettie Creed: to the

Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1104. A bill granting a pension to Pharis Johnson;

to the Committee on Pensions. H. R. 1105. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth McGuire;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 1106. A bill granting a pension to Louise Workman;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 1107. A bill granting a pension to Cordie Branden-

burg; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1108. A bill granting a pension to Mima Turner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1109. A bill granting a pension to Lavina Watts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1110. A bill granting an increase of pension to Kate P. Shannon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1111. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary Cooksey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1112. A bill granting an increase of pension to William O. Scott; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1113. A bill granting an increase of pension to William Hays; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1114. A bill granting a pension to Nancy S. Oldham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1115. A bill granting a pension to Julia Reeves; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1116. A bill granting an increase of pension to Harlan C. Allen; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1117. A bill granting an increase of pension to William Hargis; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1118. A bill granting an increase of pension to Fred Faulkner; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1119. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lovena Triplett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1120. A bill granting a pension to Carrie Stidham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1121. A bill granting a pension to Dicey Terry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1122. A bill granting a pension to Lewis Stamper; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1123. A bill for the relief of Robert Fraley; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1124. A bill granting an increase of pension to Caroline Hockley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BLOOM:

H. R. 1125. A bill for the relief of Sidney Silverman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BOEHNE:

H.R. 1126. A bill for the relief of Hattie Stout Hood; to the Committee on War Claims.

H.R. 1127. A bill for the relief of Martin E. Crowe; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1128. A bill for the relief of Louis Bender; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1129. A bill for the relief of Henry N. Heironimus and Edwin D. Miller; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1130. A bill for the relief of William Pierce; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1131. A bill granting a pension to Helen H. Sly; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1132. A bill granting a pension to Josie Siessly; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1133. A bill granting a pension to Sallie Hutchens; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1134. A bill granting a pension to Ethel K. Massie; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1135. A bill granting a pension to Charles E. Curl; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1136. A bill granting a pension to Fannie Conrad; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1137. A bill granting an increase of pension to Helen N. Peckinpaugh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1138. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary L. Carlisle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1139. A bill granting an increase of pension to Zetta Webb; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1140. A bill granting an increase of pension to Amanda A. Sibrel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1141. A bill granting an increase of pension to John O. White; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1142. A bill granting an increase of pension to John S. Nixon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1143. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lyda Powell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1144. A bill granting an increase of pension to John

G. Hawkins; to the Committee on Pensions.
H. R. 1145. A bill granting an increase of pension to Kate

Harris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1146. A bill granting an increase of pension to Alfred

McClellan; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1147. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ernest Killian; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1148. A bill granting an increase of pension to Margaret Huffines; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1149. A bill granting an increase of pension to Quessie Burns; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1150. A bill granting an increase of pension to Martha J. Beard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1151. A bill granting an increase of pension to Rebecca Berry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1152. A bill granting an increase of pension to Fredericke Bredenkamp; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1153. A bill granting an increase of pension to Martha Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BREWSTER:

H. R. 1154. A bill granting an increase of pension to Maria B. Thompson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1155. A bill granting an increase of pension to Dorothea Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1156. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emma C. Orr; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1157. A bill granting an increase of pension to Abbie S. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1158. A bill granting an increase of pension to Rachel A. Bosworth; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1159. A bill granting an increase of pension to Leonice T. Holmes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1160. A bill granting an increase of pension to Annie S. Nealley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BUCKLEY of New York:

H. R. 1161. A bill for the relief of Alice Scott and Alice Gertrude Scott; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CONNERY:

H.R. 1162. A bill for the relief of Francesco Sapienza; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 1163. A bill for the relief of Jacob Labovitz; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. CARTER:

H. R. 1164. A bill granting a pension to Minerva Lipe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1165. A bill for the relief of Toney Lemon; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1166. A bill granting an increase of pension to Anna Wright; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CASE of South Dakota:

H. R. 1167. A bill for the relief of the Black Hills Methodist Hospital of Rapid City, S. Dak.; to the Committee on Claims. H. R. 1168. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Glen Kresha; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CARTWRIGHT:

H.R. 1169. A bill granting a pension to Nely Keller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1170. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Lee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1171. A bill granting a pension to Georgia L. Spelce; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1172. A bill granting a pension to Joseph Oklahombi; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1173. A bill granting a pension to Ella C. Maddux; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1174. For the relief of Euel Caldwell; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1175. A bill for the relief of Milton J. Byars; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1176. A bill for the relief of Reuben Owen; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CASE of South Dakota:

H.R. 1177. A bill for the relief of Bessie Bear Robe; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1178. A bill for the relief of Lester R. Taylor; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CHAPMAN:

H.R. 1179. A bill granting a pension to Gilbert Walton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1180. A bill for the relief of the legal representatives of James H. Holaday; to the Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 1181. A bill for the relief of the heirs of George Washington Roberts; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1182. A bill for the relief of Henry T. Paton; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1183. A bill for the relief of Ben L. Kessinger and M. Carlisle Minor; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1184. A bill granting an increase of pension to John Middleton; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. COCHRAN:

H. R. 1185. A bill for the relief of Franklin H. Wentworth; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1186. A bill for the relief of John and Olga Rath; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1187. A bill granting a pension to Sarah Stephenson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CRAWFORD:

H. R. 1188. A bill for the relief of Earl Friend; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1189. A bill granting an increase of pension to Cora D. Barger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1190. A bill granting an increase of pension to Maria S. Everest; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1191. A bill for the relief of the estate of John Richard Yockey; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1192. A bill granting a pension to Eleanor R. Gage; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1193. A bill granting a pension to Pearl Brentlinger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1194. A bill granting a pension to Ethelyn Palmer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1195. A bill granting a pension to Orvilla Finton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CREAL:

H. R. 1196. A bill granting a pension to Nancy Ann Laird; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1197. A bill for the relief of Jesse O. Horning; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1198. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mildred C. Sexton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1199. A bill granting an increase of pension to Martha J. Blacketer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1200. A bill granting a pension to Nancy A. Scott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1201. A bill granting a pension to Mattie L. Stults; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1202. A bill granting a pension to Mary E. Sutherland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1203. A bill granting a pension to Simpson Pennington; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1204. A bill granting a pension to Jim Merideth; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1205. A bill granting a pension to George Merideth; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1206. A bill granting an increase of pension to Louise

F. Mansfield; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1207. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary

Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1208. A bill granting a pension to Frances Vaughn;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1209. A bill granting a pension to Rebecca J. Tilley;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
H. R. 1210. A bill granting a pension to Lafie A. Stewart;

to the Committee on Pensions.

H B 1211 A bill granting a pension to Apple Peterson: to

H. R. 1211. A bill granting a pension to Annie Peterson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1212. A bill granting a pension to Mary J. Hanks; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1213. A bill granting a pension to Alfred Daugherty; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1214. A bill granting a pension to Mattie Bumgardner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1215. A bill granting a pension to Alwilda Brooks; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1216. A bill granting a pension to Mary J. Logsdon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1217. A bill granting a pension to Julia Lyon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1218. A bill granting a pension to Martha Kasinger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1219. A bill granting a pension to William H. Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1220. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sallie Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CROWTHER:

H. R. 1221. A bill for the relief of Sigmund W. Makuszewski; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1222. A bill for the relief of Arthur Reid; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1223. A bill granting a pension to Anthony Tomasello; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1224. A bill granting a pension to Rosella Milliman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1225. A bill granting a pension to Maude Harriman

Sanford; to the Committee on Pensions. H. R. 1226. A bill granting an increase of pension to Julia

Woods; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 1227. A bill for the relief of Nazzareno Candeloro; to

the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.
H. R. 1228. A bill granting a pension to Anna T. Walsh; to

the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1229. A bill for the relief of Edwin L. Wade; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1230. A bill for the relief of Maj. Lyman S. Frasier; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1231. A bill renewing and extending patent No. 1,224,108; to the Committee on Patents.

H.R. 1232. A bill for the purpose of having the war service of Maybelle Helen LeBrun (Mirhige) credited as active naval service under her rating of yeomanette, first class, United States Naval Reserve Forces, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. CULKIN:

H. R. 1233. A bill granting an increase of pension to Addie M. Sheldon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1234. A bill granting a pension to Agnes Crawford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1235. A bill granting a pension to Mary P. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1236. A bill granting a pension to Cora Dawson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1237. A bill granting an increase of pension to Margaret Van Dresar: to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1238. A bill granting an increase of pension to Louise Newton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1239. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary Delane; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1240. A bill granting an increase of pension to Etta L. Tifft; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1241. A bill granting an increase of pension to Selena M. Combs; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1242. A bill granting an increase of pension to Anna M. Curtis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1243. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eunice A. Collins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1244. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary H. Ackley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1245. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eliza Pickard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1246. A bill granting an increase of pension to Cora A. Townsend; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1247. A bill granting an increase of pension to Kate Riker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1248. A bill granting an increase of pension to Henrietta Peavey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1249. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Starkweather; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1250. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ella E. Terryll; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1251. A bill granting an increase of pension to Frances M. Cooley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1252. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ellen M. Ensworth; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1253. A bill granting an increase of pension to Martha J. Brownell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1254. A bill granting an increase of pension to Cyrena Reed; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1255. A bill granting an increase of pension to Laura Joles; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1256. A bill granting an increase of pension to Erzelia A. Lackey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1257. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary W. Hannaford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1258. A bill granting an increase of pension to Etta A. Johnson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1259. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ann J. Gregg; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1260. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ella A. Hart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1261. A bill granting an increase of pension to Jane M. French; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1262. A bill granting an increase of pension to Catherine Grunert; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1263. A bill granting an increase of pension to Addie M. Eggleston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1264. A bill granting an increase of pension to Nancy E. Fish; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1265. A bill granting an increase of pension to Cornelia F. Percy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

LXXXIV—4

H. R. 1266. A bill granting an increase of pension to Anna M. Dennison; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1267. A bill granting an increase of pension to Margaret J. Merrill; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1268. A bill granting an increase of pension to Nellie Pettengill; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1269. A bill granting an increase of pension to Annie Kelly; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1270. A bill granting an increase of pension to Catherine Lockwood; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1271. A bill granting an increase of pension to Madie C. Gilbert; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1272. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth M. Scott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1273. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah Zufelt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1274. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth A. Hayes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1275. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lenora D. Stone; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1276. A bill granting an increase of pension to Harriet E. Schram; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1277. A bill granting a pension to Katie Roch; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1278. A bill granting an increase of pension to Bertha Gates; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DELANEY:

H.R. 1279. A bill to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claims of the Italian Star Line, Inc., against the United States; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1280. A bill for the relief of William F. Shanley; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1281. A bill for the relief of Brajna Migdal; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 1282. A bill for the relief of Joseph Daniel Gigante; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 1283. A bill for the relief of Oscar Forster; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DIES:

H.R. 1284. A bill for the relief of Sophrania Holmes; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1285. A bill for the relief of Ernest S. Frazier; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1286. A bill granting a pension to James P. Stone; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1287. A bill to provide for the appointment of John D. A. Hogan as captain, Medical Administrative Corps, United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1288. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Clyde Thatcher and her two minor children, Marjorie Thatcher and Bobby Thatcher; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1289. A bill for the relief of Sam G. Cruse; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1290. A bill for the relief of Julia Lee Frugia, a minor; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DITTER:

H. R. 1291. A bill to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear and determine the claim of the Publicker Commercial Alcohol Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DOXEY:

H.R. 1292. A bill for the relief of the estate of David D. Smith, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DUNCAN:

H. R. 1293. A bill for the relief of Bruce Bros. Grain Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1294. A bill for the relief of S. L. Claypole and Bertha Wrisinger; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1295. A bill for the relief of Joseph J. McMahon; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FITZPATRICK:

H. R. 1296. A bill for the relief of Abraham Dritz; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1297. A bill for the relief of Ludwig Benstem; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. THOMAS F. FORD:

H. R. 1298. A bill granting a pension to Bessie Baldwin; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GAMBLE:

H. R. 1299. A bill for the relief of Bertram Lee Schoonmaker; to the Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 1300. A bill for the relief of Chester J. Babcock; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H. R. 1301. A bill for the relief of John J. Trimble; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1302. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth H. Camp; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GAVAGAN:

H.R. 1303 (by request). A bill for the relief of Jona Sheftel Bloch; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 1304. A bill for the relief of Sarah Antokoletz Weintraub; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 1305. A bill for the relief of Joaquin Hierro Zaragoza; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 1306. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Peter (Maria) Koutumas; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 1307. A bill for the relief of Arthur J. Williams; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1308. A bill for the relief of the city of New York; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. GIFFORD:

H. R. 1309. A bill granting a pension to Fannie L. Leonard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1310. A bill granting a pension to Mary Banks Fuller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1311. A bill granting a pension to Agnes E. Barnhardt; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1312. A bill granting a pension to Ernest Francis White; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1313. A bill granting a pension to Carrie M. Poole; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1314. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. George H. Pierce; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1315. A bill granting a pension to Frank E. Rose, alias Frank E. Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HANCOCK:

H.R. 1316. A bill for the relief of the dependents of Clarence L. Henry, deceased; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1317. Granting a pension to Nettie J. Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1318. A bill for the relief of Benjamin Solari, alias Benjamin Lauri; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1319. A bill for the relief of Harriet DeLarm, widow of Nelson DeLarm; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1320. A bill for the relief of Anthony O'Hara; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1321. A bill for the relief of Victor Oscar Gokey; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 1322. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emma Goldsmith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1323. A bill granting an increase of pension to F. Emma Bates; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1324. A bill granting an increase of pension to Catherine B. McCarthy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1325. A bill granting an increase of pension to Caroline Appelt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1326. A bill granting an increase of pension to Carrie H. Wood; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1327. A bill granting a pension to Minnie Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1328. A bill granting an increase of pension to Harriet E. Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1329. A bill granting an increase of pension to Jennie V. Myers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1330. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Seager; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1331. A bill granting a pension to Mary Metzger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1332. A bill granting an increase of pension to Frances Eggleston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1333. A bill granting an increase of pension to Matilda A. Button; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HARTLEY:

H. R. 1334. A bill for the relief of the Bolinross Chemical Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1335. A bill for the relief of Capt. Malcolm K. Beyer; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 1336. A bill for the relief of G. Goldberg & Sons; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HOOK:

H. R. 1337. A bill for the relief of William Lintz; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1338. A bill granting an increase of pension to Nellie Flynn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JENKINS of Ohio:

H. R. 1339. A bill granting a pension to Hattie Simpson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1340. A bill granting an increase of pension to Carrie Smeltzer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1341. A bill granting a pension to Alexander Lane; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LESINSKI:

H. R. 1342. A bill for the relief of Charles Faxon Gough; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1343. A bill for the relief of John Demas; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KELLY:

H. R. 1344. A bill granting a pension to Joseph J. Mann; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Maryland:

H. R. 1345. A bill for the relief of the city of Baltimore; to the Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 1346. A bill exempting from taxation the property of the School Sisters of Notre Dame; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. KEOGH:

H. R. 1347. A bill for the relief of Emil John Geiser; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1348. A bill granting a pension to Calvin P. Carll; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1349. A bill for the relief of Thomas F. Kenney; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1350. A bill for the relief of Leroy Livingstone, Alexander Fonal, Henry Roth, and Millie Roth; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1351. A bill for the relief of John C. Kruger (John C. Cruger); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1352. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth Petty; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1353. A bill for the relief of Harold Edward Rice; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 1354. A bill for the relief of Jadie Coulter; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1355. A bill for the relief of Robert Gabriel; to the

Committee on Naval Affairs. H. R. 1356. A bill granting a pension to Mary Hutcheson;

to the Committee on Pensions. By Mr. KNUTSON:

H. R. 1357. A bill granting a pension to Rose Hyson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1358. A bill granting a pension to Jeanette Nelson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1359. A bill for the relief of the Cold Spring Brewing Co., of Cold Spring, Minn., a corporation; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1360. A bill for the relief of Agnes Brodahl; to the Committee on War Claims.

H.R. 1361. A bill for the relief of Henry Fischer; to the Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 1362. A bill for the relief of Ray Hale; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1363. A bill for the relief of George Houston; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1364. A bill for the relief of John F. Patterson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1365. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ellen Jackson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1366. A bill granting an increase of pension to Anna Lowell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1367. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to purchase certain lands from Andrew P. Jorgenson; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 1368. A bill for the relief of Pokegama Sanatorium; to the Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 1369. A bill for the relief of Carrie Thompson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1370. A bill granting a pension to William R. Ross; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1371. A bill granting a pension to Hilder Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1372. A bill granting a pension to Rose Williams; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H.R. 1373. A bill for the relief of Abraham Salutsky, alias Mordche Smigelsky; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 1374. A bill for the relief of Isaac Limonsky; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 1375. A bill for the relief of Lazer Limonsky, alias Louis Meerowitz; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 1376. A bill for the relief of David Limonsky, alias David Binder; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. McGRANERY:

H.R. 1377. A bill granting a pension to Esther Bingham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1378. A bill for the relief of Stewart A. McDowell; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1379. A bill granting a pension to Timothy A. Linehan; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1380. A bill granting a pension to Jeannette C. Rutherford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JOHN L. McMILLAN:

H.R. 1381. A bill for the relief of Ellen Matthews; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MERRITT:

H. R. 1382. A bill for the relief of Robert H. Leys; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1383. A bill for the relief of Capt. Ralph E. Fleischer, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1384. A bill to correct and complete the naval record of Robert Prentice Crowe; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. MICHENER:

H. R. 1385. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ellen Jondro; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1386. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary Frost; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1387. A bill granting a pension to Stella Billings; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MITCHELL:

H. R. 1388. A bill for the relief of the heirs of Prof. William H. H. Hart, principal of the Hart Farm School and Junior Republic for Dependent Children; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1389. A bill for settlement of claim of Allen Holmes; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1390. A bill to provide for the recognition of the heroic conduct and devotion to duty of Matthew A. Hensen, one of the survivors of the polar expedition of Admiral Peary, and to provide a life pension for the said Matthew A. Hensen; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. MOTT:

H. R. 1391. A bill granting a pension to Marion Van Natta; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona:

H. R. 1392. A bill for the relief of Mesa Motors, Inc.; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1393. A bill for the relief of John Mulhern; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1394. A bill for the relief of the legal representatives of John T. Brickwood, deceased; Edward Gaynor; Theodore Gebler; Lee W. Mix; Arthur L. Peck; Thomas D. Casanega; Joseph de Lusignan; and Joseph H. Berger; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1395. A bill for the relief of Haldor S. Dever and the heirs-at-law of Gilda Lipp and Eleanor Dalrymple, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1396. A bill granting an increase of pension to Winnie Alexander; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MURDOCK of Utah:

H.R. 1397. A bill for the relief of B. N. Reddington; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1398. A bill granting a pension to Margaret Harrison; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1399. A bill granting a pension to Kate O'Neill Briggs; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1400. A bill granting a pension to J. H. Mathews; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1401. A bill granting a pension to Jacob A. Tuft; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NELSON:

H. R. 1402. A bill granting a pension to Hattie Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1403. A bill granting a pension to G. E. Sandbach; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1404. A bill granting a pension to Susan Eudora Gwinn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1405. A bill granting a pension to Mattie Mayo; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1406. A bill granting a pension to Amanda Napier; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1407. A bill granting a pension to Lillian LaMotte; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1408. A bill granting a pension to Margaret Scofield; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1409. A bill granting a pension to Emma J. Rose; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1410. A bill granting a pension to Samantha Midgett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1411. A bill granting a pension to Mary T. Bowers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1412. A bill granting a pension to Rebecca Leonhardt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions,

H. R. 1413. A bill granting a pension to Arline McAdow; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1414. A bill granting a pension to Samuel L. Poe; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1415. A bill granting a pension to Louisa M. Alcorn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1416. A bill granting a pension to Margaret Wallace; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1417. A bill granting a pension to William J. Day; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1418. A bill granting a pension to Bettie C. Cunning-

ham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 1419. A bill for the relief of the A. P. Carr Motor Co.,

California, Mo.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1420. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary

F. Hudgens; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
 H. R. 1421. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mamie
 F. Presley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1422. A bill granting an increase of pension to Dora

Reynolds; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1423. A bill granting an increase of pension to Martha

E. Humphreys; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
 H. R. 1424. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary
 A. Borts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1425. A bill granting an increase of pension to Catherine Weltner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1426. A bill granting an increase of pension to Florence A. Suess; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1427. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Huffman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PATRICK:

H. R. 1428. A bill for the relief of First Lt. Samuel E. Williams; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1429. A bill for the relief of William C. Reese; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1430. A bill for the relief of Hyman Ginsberg; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. RAMSPECK:

H. R. 1431. A bill authorizing the Secretary of War to bestow the Silver Star upon Charles H. Drayton, William J. Cordes, James D. DeLoache, Jr., Hulon G. Campbell, Eric B. Logan, Frank A. Gibson, George W. Drake, Henry T. Boman, Luther M. Kiger, Ellis F. Dikeman, George R. Brock, William J. Smith, Charles C. Ingram, and Merrill S. Brown; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H.R. 1432. A bill for the relief of Irene R. Brooks; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1433. A bill for the relief of Mary S. Arthur as executrix of the estate of Richard M. Arthur, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1434. A bill granting a pension to Margaret A. Srout; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. REED of New York:

H. R. 1435. A bill for the relief of A. S. Tait; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1436. A bill for the relief of William H. Keesey; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1437. A bill granting a pension to Addie J. Wheeler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1438. A bill granting a pension to Grace H. Lyon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1439. A bill granting a pension to Evelyn C. Devereaux; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1440. A bill granting a pension to Kittle Grace Bozard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1441. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emily Turner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1442. A bill granting an increase of pension to Susan C. Stanley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1443. A bill granting an increase of pension to Estella
 D. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1444. A bill granting an increase of pension to Anna Ryan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1445. A bill granting an increase of pension to Susie F. Rowe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1446. A bill granting an increase of pension to Martha F. Reynolds; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1447. A bill granting an increase of pension to Alice M. Price; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1448. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emma Pierce; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1449. A bill granting an increase of pension to Betsey A. Noble; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1450. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ella G. Millspaugh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1451. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eliza M. Matthews; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1452. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lorena M. Haskins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1453. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eva K.

Franklin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
H. R. 1454. A bill granting an increase of pension to Jenet-

tie E. Evans; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 1455. A bill granting an increase of pension to Miriam

E. Crampton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROBERTSON:

H. R. 1456. A bill for the relief of Maj. Herbert A. Jacob; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky:

H. R. 1457. A bill granting a pension to Abijah Wombles; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SACKS:

H.R. 1458. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to bestow a gold medal on David Goldman; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1459. A bill for the relief of Joseph Pasquarello; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1460. A bill for the relief of certain purchasers of properties in the city of Philadelphia, Pa.; to the Committee on Claims

H. R. 1461. A bill for the relief of Ciro Maglione; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 1462. A bill for the relief of Gus Piscitelli; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1463. A bill for the relief of Bernard Joseph McDermott; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. SEGER:

H.R. 1464. A bill for the relief of Dr. J. Reuben Budd; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1465. A bill for the relief of Walter H. Richardson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1466. A bill for the relief of Reuben M. Wright; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHAFER of Michigan:

H. R. 1467. A bill to provide for the bestowal of the Silver Star decoration upon Alton C. Britton; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1468. A bill granting a pension to Sylvia Campbell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1469. A bill granting a pension to Robert Berg; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1470. A bill granting a pension to Harry M. Snow; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1471. A bill granting a pension to Ida Green; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1472. A bill granting a pension to Maude Holmes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1473. A bill granting a pension to George Thomas Webster; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1474. A bill granting a pension to Lena P. Riddick; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1475. A bill for the relief of the A. W. Walsh Co; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1476. A bill for the relief of John W. Barnum; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1477. A bill for the relief of Maj. Charles B. Dunphy, United States Army, retired; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1478. A bill for the relief of Lee S. Robbins; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SIMPSON:

H. R. 1479. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Johnston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1480. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Mearkle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1481. A bill granting an increase of pension to Margaret E. Laidig; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1482. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah J. Hood; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1483. A bill granting an increase of pension to Hannah Treece; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 1484. A bill granting an increase of pension to Agnes

Auman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
H. R. 1485. A bill granting an increase of pension to Fannie

H. R. 1485. A bill granting an increase of pension to Fannie Stevens; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1486. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary

J. Meiser; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1487. A bill granting an increase of pension to Bachel.

H. R. 1487. A bill granting an increase of pension to Rachel A. Norris: to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1488. A bill granting a pension to W. Grant Mellott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1489. A bill granting a pension to Jacob Franklin Dale; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1490. A bill granting a pension to Lillie Haupt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1491. A bill granting a pension to Mary C. Simon; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1492. A bill granting a pension to Minnie G. Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1493. A bill granting a pension to Sylvia I. Whiteman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1494. A bill granting a pension to Edna B. Hartley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1495. A bill granting a pension to Sadie E. Goshorn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1496. A bill granting a pension to Lucretia E. Barton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1497. A bill granting a pension to William Cloyd Fisher; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH of Connecticut:

H. R. 1498. A bill for the relief of John P. Mahoney; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SWEENEY:

H.R. 1499. A bill for the relief of Frederick L. Herlihey; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. TARVER:

H. R. 1500. A bill for the relief of James A. Henderson; to the Committee on Claims,

H.R. 1501. A bill for the relief of Karl J. Howe; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1502. A bill granting a pension to Mary H. Auch; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1503. A bill granting a pension to William James Stanley; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1504. A bill granting a pension to Ella Haney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1505. A bill granting a pension to Nola Forrester; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1506. A bill granting a pension to Mary F. Shields; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1507. A bill granting a pension to John R. Longwith; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1508. A bill granting a pension to Thomas W. Yarbrough; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1509. A bill granting a pension to Albert E. Wells; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1510. A bill granting a pension to Julia Bush; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1511. A bill for the relief of Rosa F. Wood; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1512. A bill to carry into effect the findings of the Court of Claims, House Document No. 230, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, in the matter of compensation due the estate of Wellborn Echols, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee:

H. R. 1513. A bill granting an increase of pension to Van Letsinger; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1514. A bill granting an increase of pension to Thomas G. Pardue; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1515. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Avery McDaniel; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1516. A bill for the relief of Thomas Green; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1517. A bill for the relief of Willie Brackett; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1518. A bill for the relief of James W. Webster; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1519. A bill for the relief of M. E. Parmalee; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1520. A bill for the relief of Drs. W. S. Davis, P. A. Palmer, H. S. Oakes, and J. M. Ousley; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1521. A bill for the relief of Dewey V. Bates; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1522. A bill for the relief of Nancy Ann Bishop; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1523. A bill for the relief of O. C. Ousley; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1524. A bill for the relief of William Andrew Johnson; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1525. A bill for the relief of Samuel H. Kesterson; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1526. A bill for the relief of Frank Adrian; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1527. A bill for the relief of Mrs. C. A. Lee; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1528. A bill for the relief of Augusta Brassil; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1529. A bill for the relief of Harvey R. Cooper; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1530. A bill for the relief of Joseph Crisp; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1531. A bill for the relief of William J. Murr; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1532. A bill for the relief of Dr. Benjamin B. Cates; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1533. A bill for the relief of George Rayfield; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1534. A bill for the relief of George Baker; to the Com-

mittee on Claims.

H. R. 1535. A bill for the relief of the Guamoco Mining Co.;

to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1536. A bill for the relief of William Allen; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1537. A bill granting pensions to Martha Baker Mitchell and Patsy Pendleton Mitchell; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1538. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Tennessee to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of Frank W. Goans; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1539. A bill granting an increase of pension to Harvey E. Rogers; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1540. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to appoint Corp. Robert Slover as a first lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps and place him on the retired list; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1541. A bill granting an increase of pension to James L. Phillips; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1542. A bill granting an increase of pension to Louisiana Cabe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1543. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Guy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1544. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Powell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1545. A bill granting an increase of pension to Nannie

A. Bell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
H. R. 1546. A bill granting an increase of pension to Linda

Paul; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1547. A bill granting an increase of pension to Bailey

Carson; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1548. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ebb

Hundley; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1549. A bill granting an increase of pension to Luchen

N. Patterson; to the Committee on Pensions.
H. R. 1550. A bill granting an increase of pension to Chris-

topher C. Popejoy; to the Committee on Pensions,

H.R. 1551. A bill for the relief of the New Amsterdam Casualty Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1552. A bill for the relief of Frank Stirk Hailey; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 1553. A bill for the relief of Thomas Andy Williams; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1554. A bill for the relief of Harvey T. Wilson; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1555. A bill for the relief of Luke DeArmond; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1556. A bill for the relief of Charles Willoughby; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1557. A bill for the relief of H. Greeley Harris; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1558. A bill for the relief of J. R. Harper; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1559. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Tennessee to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of William D. Bowling; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1560. A bill for the relief of Elbert Martin; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1561. A bill for the relief of Jacob Wane Hammel; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 1562. A bill for the relief of John Albert Farne; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1563. A bill for the relief of William Clevenger; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1564. A bill for the relief of Howard Hollis Hammack; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1565. A bill for the relief of William W. Perryman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1566. A bill for the relief of Bob Quillen; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1567. A bill granting a pension to Sarah J. Green; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1568. A bill granting a pension to Lassie L. Rogers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1569. A bill granting a pension to Samuel Allen; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1570. A bill granting a pension to Jane Davis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1571. A bill granting a pension to Hannah T. Heaton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1572. A bill granting a pension to Christine Ledford; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1573. A bill granting a pension to Clellia S. Irvin; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1574. A bill granting a pension to Hiram M. Graves; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1575. A bill granting a pension to Adam Anderson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1576. A bill granting a pension to Hettie Prewitt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1577. A bill granting a pension to Maggie Allen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1578. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth Tuttle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1579. A bill granting a pension to Angle Armstrong; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1580. A bill granting a pension to Dicie Overbey; to

the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1581. A bill granting a pension to Garfield Hampton; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1582. A bill granting a pension to Carl D. Waters; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1583. A bill granting a pension to Luticia C. Anderson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1584. A bill granting a pension to Phoebe Fite; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1585. A bill granting a pension to Anna Dabney; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1586. A bill granting a pension to Horace V. White; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1587. A bill granting a pension to Lena M. Burnett; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1588. A bill granting a pension to Zubie Owens; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1589. A bill granting a pension to Betsy Ann Boles; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1590. A bill granting a pension to Louisa Weaver; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1591. A bill granting a pension to Susan Elizabeth Jeffers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1592. A bill granting a pension to Spurgeon C. Portwood; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1593. A bill granting a pension to Allie M. Walker;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1594. A bill granting a pension to Lizzie Wilshire; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1595. A bill granting a pension to Belle Cannon; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1596. A bill granting a pension to Martha Wyatt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1597. A bill granting a pension to Jenny L. Cole; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1598. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth Tuttle Buttram; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1599. A bill granting a pension to Katherine White; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1600. A bill granting a pension to Francis Van Guy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1601. A bill granting a pension to Hannah E. Koontz; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1602. A bill granting a pension to Henry A. Settle; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1603. A bill granting a pension to Rebecca Fields; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1604. A bill granting a pension to Rufus Harvey Grant; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1605. A bill granting a pension to Andrew J. Cross; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1606. A bill granting a pension to William D. Kerr; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1607. A bill granting a pension to Katherine Fox Baxter; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1608. A bill granting a pension to Ben Harrison Martin; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1609. A bill granting a pension to Laura A. Thompson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1610. A bill granting a pension to Anna Dabney; to

the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1611. A bill granting a pension to Annie McBillings-ley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1612. A bill granting a pension to Vada Cross; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1613. A bill granting a pension to James L. Roberts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1614. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth Fields; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1615. A bill granting a pension to Robert David Mc-Clain; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TINKHAM:

H. R. 1616. A bill for the relief of George Russel Thorson; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 1617. A bill for the relief of Edward S. Ryan; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1618. A bill for the relief of Joseph L. Plouffe; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1619. A bill for the relief of the heirs of Thomas McGovern, deceased member of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1620. A bill for the relief of Frank P. Guevin; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1621. A bill granting a pension to Alice M. Ransom; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1622. A bill granting a pension to Agnes M. Jackman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1623. A bill to place William H. Clinton on the retired list of the Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1624. A bill for the relief of Joseph Hovey; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1625. A bill for the relief of Michael F. Clark; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1626. A bill for the relief of Ray Funcannon; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. TOLAN:

H.R. 1627. A bill for the relief of Sarah Lee Dorsey; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1628. A bill for the relief of Mary G. Person; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. WADSWORTH:

H. R. 1629. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims of the United States to hear, adjudicate, and enter judgment on the claim of Carl G. Allgrunn against the United States for the use of his invention in rifling guns during the war and thereafter by the Symington-Anderson Co. at Rochester, N. Y., said invention being shown and described in his Letters Patent No. 1,311,107, issued by the Patent Office of the United States on or about July 22, 1919; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. WELCH:

H. R. 1630. A bill to extend the benefits of the Employees' Compensation Act of September 7, 1916, to John F. Considine, a former employee of the United States under the Reclamation Service, Department of the Interior, at Yuma, Ariz.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1631. A bill for the relief of Max Weinrib; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 1632. A bill granting a pension to Julius Hansen; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1633. A bill for the relief of George H. Hutchinson, deceased; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1634. A bill for the relief of Ernst Nussbaum; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. WHELCHEL:

H. R. 1635. A bill awarding the Distinguished Service Medal to Capt. Edgar B. Dunlap, Infantry, Eighty-second Division; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan:

H. R. 1636. A bill granting a pension to Esther Critchell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1637. A bill granting a pension to William Gage; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LUDLOW:

H. J. Res. 14. Joint resolution conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear and determine the claim of Guy D. Sallee; to the Committee on Claims.

## PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1. By Mr. MERRITT: Resolution of the Holy Name Society of the church of St. Gregory the Great, Bellerose, Long Island, stating that this society desires that the work of the Dies congressional committee appointed by Congress be continued and that any measures taken to hamper the work of this committee by this session of Congress be defeated; to the Committee on Rules.

2. Also, resolution of the American Association of Port Authorities, opposing taxation by the Federal Government of securities heretofore issued by the States, their municipalities or agencies, unless consent of the States is first obtained through a constitutional amendment; and then only provided that said constitutional amendment will prohibit the taxation of outstanding securities and Federal taxation of the revenues of the States, their municipalities or agencies, and will permit the reciprocal taxation of Federal securities by the States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3. Also, resolution of the American Association of Port Authorities, requesting that congressional legislation be adopted at this session of Congress of the United States, expressly limiting any taxation of the salaries of officers and employees of the States, their municipalities or agencies, to salaries which they receive in the future; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4. Also, resolution of the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Amsterdam, N. Y., petitioning the Congress that the National Labor Relations Act be amended so as to actually carry out the intent of Congress and provide a medium by which friction and industrial strife might be prevented; to the Committee on Labor.

5. Also, resolution of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association of New York City, urging all representatives in the Senate and House of Representatives to support a bill to prevent the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

## SENATE

## WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 4, 1939

The Chaplain, Rev. Z@Barney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Father of infinite love, by whose power alone we are enabled to lift our thoughts above the trivial cares and paltry hopes of life: Quiet our minds of their fretting and send Thou some word of Thine to make a highway to our hearts that truth may dawn upon us. Thou bindest us to life by sweet and tender ties, loved ones, and friends who inspire us to be our noblest, truest selves; for these priceless gifts we thank Thee. And, as we pause to pay reverent tribute to the memory of our gallant friend and late companion, whose kind and courteous ways were known to all, we pray that Thou will give to each one of us in the days that lie ahead the grace to refrain alike from the unkind word and the unkind silence in our relations with each other. We ask it in the Saviour's name and for His sake. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Barkley, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, January 3, 1939, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

ADMINISTRATION OF OATH TO SENATOR THOMAS OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, my colleague from Oklahoma [Mr. Thomas] is present and ready to take the oath of office.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The oath will be administered to the Senator-elect from Oklahoma if he will present himself at the desk.

Mr. Thomas of Oklahoma, escorted by Mr. Lee, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to him by the Vice President.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Calloway, one of its reading clerks, informed the Senate that a quorum of the House of Representatives had assembled, that William B. Bankhead, a Representative from the State of Alabama, had been elected Speaker, and that South Trimble, a citizen of the State of Kentucky, had been elected Clerk of the House of Representatives of the Seventy-sixth Congress.

The message also informed the Senate that a committee of three Members had been appointed by the Speaker, on the part of the House of Representatives, to join with the committee on the part of the Senate to notify the President of the United States that a quorum of each House had assembled and that Congress was ready to receive any communication that he might be pleased to make, and that the Speaker had appointed Mr. Rayburn, Mr. Doughton, and Mr. Martin of Massachusetts the members of the committee on the part of the House of Representatives.

The message transmitted to the Senate the resolutions of the House of Representatives adopted as a tribute to the memory of Hon. Royal S. Copeland, late a Senator from the State of New York.

The message communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. John J. Boylan, late a Representative from the State of New York, and transmitted the resolutions of the House thereon.

The message also communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. Stephen W. Gambrill, late a Representative from the State of Maryland, and transmitted the resolutions of the House thereon.

The message further communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. Robert L. Bacon, late a Representative from the State of New York, and transmitted the resolutions of the House thereon.

The message also communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. Allard H. Gasque, late a Representative from the State of South Carolina, and transmitted the resolutions of the House thereon.

The message announced that the House had agreed to a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 3), in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Wednesday, the 4th day of January 1939, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of receiving such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

#### NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Barkley and Mr. McNary advanced in the center aisle and Mr. Barkley said: Mr. President, the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to act in conjunction with a similar committee on the part of the House to notify the President that the Congress is now in session and ready for business has discharged its duty, and the President has indicated that he will address a joint session of the Congress later in the day.

#### JOINT MEETING OF THE TWO HOUSES

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a concurrent resolution from the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 3) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Wednesday, the 4th day of January 1939, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of receiving such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

### NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR COMMISSION

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair appoints the Senator from New York [Mr. Mead] as a member on the part of the Senate of the New York World's Fair Commission, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Hon. Royal S. Copeland.

#### INVESTIGATION OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair appoints the Senator from New York [Mr. Mead] as a member on the part of the Senate of the Special Joint Congressional Committee to Investigate the Tennessee Valley Authority, to fill the vacancy caused by the expiration of the term of service of Hon. Fred H. Brown, a former Senator from New Hampshire.

# INVESTIGATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair desires to announce that during the recess of the Seventy-fifth Congress he appointed the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Balley] as a member of the Special Committee to Investigate Conditions in the American Merchant Marine, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Hon. Royal S. Copeland, late a Senator from New York.

#### ADDRESS BY RT. HON. ANTHONY EDEN, M. P.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I have in my hand an address delivered by Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden at the annual congress of the National Association of Manufacturers held in New York City on the 9th of December 1938. I have read this address with interest; in fact, I enjoyed hearing its delivery over the radio. I think it is one of the ablest expositions of democracy and a comparison of the ideology of democratic governments and totalitarian governments that I have ever read. The address was in excellent taste; it was splendidly received throughout the country; in fact, I may take the liberty to say that I have never known a foreigner coming to our country unofficially who has been more cordially received than has Capt. Anthony Eden. I ask unanimous consent of the Senate that this address be published in the Record as a part of these remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Recorp, as follows:

Though in years gone by I have visited Canada and, indeed, have been fortunate enough to cross that Dominion from Quebec to Vancouver, to view its scenic beauties and witness its industrial life, I have only once before, and that for a few hours at Hawaii, set foot

on the soil of the United States. You will note, then, how much my education has been neglected, and pardon, I hope, my consequent

shortcomings.

Before turning to the immediate subject matter of my speech there is one reference I must make. We are all, I feel sure, glad that a trade agreement has been signed between our two countries. This is neither the time nor the place to discuss its details, but it is all to the good that a step should have been taken which will free and further the flow of commerce in this troubled world. Greencredit seems to me to be due, if I may say so, to the two Governments and to the negotiators for the pertinacity with which they have pursued their objective. The outcome must be particularly satisfying to the President and to Mr. Hull, who have, despite all difficulties, for so long maintained their confidence in this policy of trade agreements.

difficulties, for so long maintained their confidence in this policy of trade agreements.

I hope as the outcome of this visit to the United States, all too short, unfortunately though it must be, to learn something of your outlook on world affairs. Nothing is more stimulating to any mind than to view an old problem from a new angle, and so I have come to your great country to listen and to learn much more than to speak. Tonight, however, I appreciate that it is my turn to do my part of the bargain. Though therefore what I can tell you is much less valuable than what you could teach me, I am asked to speak to you tonight of the problems that confront democracy in this modern world, and I must perforce do my best.

In what I say to you I shall seek to put before you what I believe to be the point of view of the average Englishman upon the world problems of today. For though there are differences between us at home, even important differences, as there must be in any free community, yet there are certain fundamentals upon which we are all agreed. I belong, as do so many of you in this room tonight, to the war generation, to a generation which is sometimes referred to in my country as the missing generation. It is a generation which has, quite literally, been decimated. Almost every family has suffered, some have suffered severely, and as inevitably happens, we have lost our best. Yet perhaps the survivors of that generation have a special right to give their message to the world, to the vigorous combative new world which is taking shape around us at this hour. What was it that some 20 years ago we and you both fought to achieve? Men spoke of the war to end war, and even if that seemed to some a goal beyond immediate human reach, we did have faith that the power of arrogant militarism would be destroyed, as we hoped, forever. It was our ambittion that the nations should enter

that the power of arrogant militarism would be destroyed, as we hoped forever. It was our ambition that the nations should enter hoped, forever. It was our ambition that the nations should enter upon an era of peaceful relations, when barriers to trade and intercourse between peoples would be broken down; when, in the words later embodied in the Kellogg Pact—which bears the name of one of your own statesmen—the nations of the world would renounce war "as an instrument of national policy." Tolerance and justice, we hoped, not force and greed, would rule. Twenty years after we can reflect ruefully how remote we are from the goal of our hopes. We could spend a long time discussing how this has come about. The blame does not lie upon one government alone, nor upon one nation alone. But such jobbing backward is a vain pursuit, nor is there time for it now. The realities that face us demand all our energy and all our concentration. What are these realities? They are blunt and grim. National animosities have not been exorcised; on the contrary, they appear to have been intensified under the ban-

energy and all our concentration. What are these realities? Incy are blunt and grim. National animosities have not been exorcised; on the contrary, they appear to have been intensified under the banner of rival ideologies. Nor has the way to peace been made plain. Whatever else the world may now have been made, it has plainly not been made safe for democracy. Other systems of government, deriving authority from a totally different philosophy, throw out their strident challenge.

These seem to us in our own country to be the forces that confront us. These forces, and the events which they have let loose, have affected England very closely, perhaps even more closely, they have done so in a different way. Faced with such a challenge, we are acutely conscious of the need to defend ourselves, both materially and spiritually, from the gathering storms, to make sure where we stand, and what it is we stand for, and, having made sure, to stand firm. In any self-examination, if it be honest and thorough, we cannot but be conscious of many defects, of many benefits that we have perhaps taken for granted, of many traditions to which we have been content to pay lip service, of a spiritual capital which we have inherited from our fathers, and to which we have not perhaps added our quota.

That is one side of the picture, and a side to which we must not

That is one side of the picture, and a side to which we must not shut our eyes if self-examination is to serve any useful purpose. A false complacency is the worst calamity that can befall any nation in critical times. To realize then the extent of the challenge that confronts us, and to be conscious of our own shortcomings, are both confronts us, and to be conscious of our own shortcomings, are both necessary. But to be conscious of shortcomings is not to proclaim that we are faint-hearted, still less to suggest that we are decadent. Let me say this with all emphasis. I am convinced, from my own experience of what men and women in Britain are thinking and feeling today, that the British people are just the same people as they have been in the greatest moments of their history; that they have the same beliefs, the same conceptions of life and society. The Great War and its aftermath have not shaken the fundamental faiths, nor undermined the qualities of our people. We do still care deeply, strongly, and for the same thing.

It is quite true that we criticize one another sometimes; we have always done so, and I suppose we always shall. In itself this is no unhealthy sign in any free community, but this does not alter the fact that at heart we all want the same things; we all want to

the fact that at heart we all want the same things; we all want to preserve our liberties; we all want freedom and security, not only

for ourselves but for our children, and for our children's children. We all want peace, however much we may differ as to the method we think best to follow in order to win the common goal. There is a unity of outlook deeper than all the more superficial disunities of expression. What a nation has in common is what matters most. The still waters of community of outlook sometimes run so deep that they are less noticeable than the controversial ripples on the surface, but they matter more.

surface, but they matter more.

It is the essence of democracy that it provides constant schooling in this endless adventure which is the art of government. Democracy is a university in which we learn from one another. It can never be a barracks, where blind obedience is the first essential.

In our university, then, we must be constantly reexamining our political faith and applying it to the conditions of the modern world. Every political system, be it democratic or autocratic, must continually evolve, and in the last resource the survival of democracy must depend upon the faith which it inspires and the results. continually evolve, and in the last resource the survival of democracy must depend upon the faith which it inspires and the results which, through faith, it can achieve. We have to make sure that the way we practice democracy is the most likely way, in the changing circumstances of the world, to guarantee the best and freest life for the members of the community to which we belong. Democracy must have the strength of the best-tempered steel, not rigid but supple. It must have the strength of the highest form of discipline—self-discipline. It must have the courage to recognize mistakes and injustices, as well as to stand firm for what is right and what is just. This is a high ideal, but without an ideal, man will never give of his best. We have to choose what we believe to be the true ideal and, having chosen it, hold to it and work for it. work for it.

The differences in my country and yours are many and varied; indeed, I am prepared to discover many more such differences in these next few days than I have been conscious of hitherto. Yet these next few days than I have been conscious of hitherto. Yet despite them all our conception of the state in our society is very much the same, and, what is more important, I believe it is the right conception, a just conception, and one that gives the best scope for human progress. I believe, too, that if we are determined that it shall survive, it will survive; but if we are not so determined, it may well perish. The clock of human progress will then be set back, and we shall not be faithful trustees of what we have inherited, and we shall leave a legacy of strife and confusion to those who come after us.

to those who come after us.

I am not going to atterms. I am not going to attempt to define democracy. There are many forms and shades of it in many countries, just as there are many forms and shades of dictatorship. I would therefore concern myself only with what is common to all forms of democracy, and what is the most important aspect of it to those who live under

it, what, in fact, we in England and you in America cherish most.

We and you stand for democracy because we stand for the rights of the individual; because our purpose is to assure freedom for the expression of thought; to encourage conditions in which the individual human personality can live and grow. Man was not, in our view, made for the state. The state was made for man. The art of government consists in striking a just balance between the claims of the individual and those of the state to which he owes allegiance.

allegiance.

We are living through an attempt to persuade man to reverse his faith. After centuries of endeavor, he is threatened by the state he has himself created. Man's purpose in creating that state was to enable him to live in order and security; to guarantee to him the opportunity to exercise his faculties freely. It would indeed be the greatest irony in human history if mankind were to allow all progress to be stifled by the setting up of a new form of idolatry, the worship of the state, to which all men must bow down, and to which they must sacrifice their freedom of faith, of speech, of worship. Yet such is now the doctrine in many lands, and it has passionate and ruthless devotees. "Man," said Pascal, "is an incomprehensible creature." "is an incomprehensible creature."

No believer in democracy could ever accept such a state of affairs. It is not that we, to whom has been handed down this heritage of freedom, have a false conceit of ourselves. We in Britain know full well that we are no paragons. We acknowledge, of course, that there are many checkered pages in our long history. One of the worst concerns our dealings with you 160 years ago.

Yet, admitting all this, we know that there are certain standards in which we believe and which we will not yield up.

In our conception a modern democratic state must be based upon

In our conception, a modern democratic state must be based upon In our conception, a modern democratic state must be based upon racial and religious toleration. Each citizen must enjoy individual liberty, all must be equal before the law. The rights of minorities and majorities alike must be honored and respected. These beliefs are, we are convinced, the basis of all progress. As an Englishman addressing this great American audience tonight, I tell you that these are the beliefs of our English people still and that they will hold to them in the years that lie ahead.

Let us, then, sum up, and in so doing let us seek to look into

the future What do we see?

We see a world vigorous and vital but ruthless and challenging-

a world where force is for many the only instrument of policy.

In such conditions we know that we must believe in ourselves to live. We know that we must champion our ideals and the faiths to which we hold with an equal strength, or others which we abhor will take their place.

We know that this endeavor will once again tax our strength and our endurance to the uttermost. For all this in spirit we are pre-paring. Nor are we calling out for help to others, nor seeking to

lure others to pull our chestnuts from the fire. We have no such

We know that we are destined, in our land and in our generation, to live in a period of emergency of which none can see the end. If throughout that testing time, however long or short it be, we hold fast to our faith, cradle it in stone, and set steel to defend it, we can yet hand on our inheritance of freedom, intact, to the generations that are to come.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE SENATOR COPELAND-ADDRESS BY SENATOR VANDENBERG

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, when the Senate ended its session last evening, it adjourned out of respect to the memory of the late Senator ROYAL S. COPELAND, of New York. Last July there was a very beautiful memorial service held at Dexter, Mich., the little home town where Senator COPELAND was born. I was permitted the privilege at that time of delivering a memorial address. As a further mark of respect to our late colleague, whom we all loved and revered, I ask unanimous consent that my address upon that occasion may be printed in the body of the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The address is as follows:

It is with mingling sorrow and gratitude that I come today to Dexter to join with you in memorializing your great son, the late senior Senator from New York, who was stricken in the prime of his patriotism and his humanities. Sorrow flows from the loss of a superb citizen and an intimately cherished friend. Gratitude springs from the heritage of a record and an example which spell Christianity and Americanism in their most practical realities. Sorrow lays its wreath upon an honored tomb which marks the long, lest home of one whom we can jilly sparse. Gratitude lights its torch

Sorrow lays its wreath upon an honored tomo which marks the long, last home of one whom we can illy spare. Gratitude lights its torch with the fires of his inspiration, which beckon us to the emulation of his virtues and his loyalties. It is good for men and women to meet together in the presence of such a benediction.

ROYAL S. COPELAND was one of the great men of his time. You may test him by many standards and in many fields of action; you will not find him wanting. You may follow him from the humble Michigan farmstead which gave him birth to the proud prestige of his three-commissioned Sepatorship from the largest and richest his thrice-commissioned Senatorship from the largest and richest his thrice-commissioned Senatorship from the largest and richest State in the Union, and every inch of the way you will find a trail or honor, industry, service, friendliness, and achievement. But of all his sterling characteristics, none ever impressed me more than his tenacious love of his native State of Michigan and his devotion his tenacious love of his hardy base of michigan and his devolution to the village of Dexter, which he ever looked upon as "home, sweet home." He may sleep upon the countryside of his adopted Commonwealth, in whose name he died upon the battle line of public service, but his heart sleeps here in Dexter, where it lived throughout his nearly 70 years of fruitful life.

No stranger can tell you what you meant to him. You know. It is written in the story of this community. It permeates the air you breathe. It is present in his gifts. It is part of your endowment. Never was he so happy and so carefree as when he would cross over to my Senate desk and tell me, as he did repeatedly each year, that he was "leaving for Dexter" in a few hours. Nothing could be more appropriate than that Dexter should gather round his memory this afternoon and for years to come as at a precious shrine. You honor yourselves when you honor him, because no

his memory this afternoon and for years to come as at a precious shrine. You honor yourselves when you honor him, because no community in America ever had a greater friend or a worthier son.

I hope that I may speak of him as you would speak of him, because that would be his wish. Perhaps I can, in some small degree, because we had a complete and never-tarnished bond of confidence and trust. All things considered, I think he was probably my closest associate throughout the 10 years of my own tenure in the Senate. If I linger on the personal note and speak of myself in these connections, I beg that you forgive me. It is only because I feel his passing as intimately as you. It is only because I thus may indicate that I know whereof I speak when I testify to his character and his achievements.

For 10 years we sat and served together on the great Senate

and his achievements.

For 10 years we sat and served together on the great Senate Committee on Commerce, over which he ably presided as chairman since 1933. Although we were theoretically in opposite political parties, I do not recall more than one single occasion when we disagreed in his committee throughout this decade. I saw the indefatigable industry of the man at first hand and I marveled at his capacity for effective work. I saw his relentless loyalty to clean principles of government and to sound political economy, and I always found inspiration in his leadership. I saw his natural friendliness, his good humor, his common touch, all of them an incalculable factor in composing committee differences among his colleagues. I saw him champion his committee's reports in the forum of an always critical Senate and in the difficulties of debate, and I doubt if any of his colleagues can match his performance in

forum of an always critical Senate and in the difficulties of debate, and I doubt if any of his colleagues can match his performance in the matter of results conclusively obtained.

In the larger fields of action, involving great fundamental principles of government, more than once I saw him under acid test. For the sake of principle I saw him forced to part company with his own political associates and to disagree with erstwhile friends. But I never knew him to desert a principle when once an issue came to grips with what he believed to be the destiny of constitutional democracy. In such circumstances he was always first to

accept the challenge; and, having enlisted in a cause, he never knew the meaning of truce or of surrender. You will search the records of the Senate in vain for any sustained example of greater bravery or of greater willingness to face the bitterness of conflict.

bravery or of greater willingness to face the bitterness of conflict.

He loved America and the American system. He really believed in
the Declaration of Independence and the true Thomas Jefferson.
He personified the living spirit of the Constitution of the United
States. When the Constitution faced its greatest crisis since the
dark days of Civil War, he waited for nothing and for nobody in
standing forward to defend the integrity of an independent Supreme
Court. He left no doubt as to his resition from the first hour man. Court. He left no doubt as to his position from the first hour when this desperate issue was joined. He fought for the faith of his fathers and with the rugged tenacity of the inherited Pilgrim blood fathers and with the rugged tenacity of the inherited Pigrim blood that coursed sturdily through his veins. He fought in the Senate. He fought outside upon the public rostrum. He never fathered. He neither asked for quarter nor gave it. Thanks be to God that he lived long enough to see his cause victorious; and prayer be to God that others like him may be found at the sentry posts of the Republic if and when the spirit of the Constitution again be called to battle for its life.

But that is far from all. I never knew any practical legislative proposal to lack his vigorous support if it sought to serve the welfare of the unfortunate, the lowly, or the underprivileged. He believed in social justice; and he practiced what he preached. True to his professional dedications as a great physician, he was particularly eager to promote the public health. He was unique in his dual qualities as a medical statesman; and this is a better, safer country in which to live as a result. One of the last official acts of his life was which to live as a result. One of the last clinical acts of his life was to successfully pilot a new Pure Food and Drug Act to the statute books after 5 painful years of effort. Here again it almost seems as though a discerning Providence kept him upon a major task until the task was done, and permitted him to close his eyes upon a monumental, finished work.

His legislative record is so long and so complex—to say nothing of the intimate service always cheerfully rendered to all of his con-stituents, however humble—that the necessary limitations of these observations cannot hope remotely to encompass them. But as a striking example of the amazing breadth of interest which he developed in the life and livelihood of the Nation, I add this exhibit. He oped in the life and livelihood of the Nation, I add this exhibit. He was the greatest expert in the Senate on maritime law; and he was the greatest exponent of an adequate American merchant marine. He knew the problem of ships and shipping from crow's-nest to keel; and again it is a solemn and significant coincidence, if nothing else, that he should have completed his latest Maritime Act just a comparatively few days before his untimely death.

He was a powerful member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, the vividly important Senate group which passes upon every bill involving the billions of dollars that flow from the Public Treasury. He was specially charged with responsibility for handling the approprlations of the War Department. The American Army knows precisely what I mean—as does the village of Dexter—when I say that it, too, has lost a great and steadfast friend.

I served with him for 2 years on a special Senate committee which

I served with him for 2 years on a special Senate committee which investigated law and order problems in the United States pursuant to a resolution of which he was the author; and a new code of effective Federal cooperation in society's war upon the criminal world was the result. At the time of his passing I was again serving with him on another special Senate committee, again pursuant to one of his resolutions to investigate subversive influences which may be undermining America at sea. Eternal vigilance was the watchword of his action, even as it is in the price of liberty.

The broad extent of his interest in public problems was such that scarcely any of them escaped his tremendous capacity for productive study and research. Indeed, the final entries on his Senate record

study and research. Indeed, the final entries on his Senate record tell this tale more eloquently than words. In the hard, hot days preceding the last congresisonal adjournment he was chairman simul-taneously of seven different conference committees, representing House and Senate, charged with the responsibility of composing differences between the two branches in respect to important legislation.

It was an inhuman burden to put upon any man. But he who repeatedly warned the rest of us to take care and watch out lest we tax ourselves beyond endurance, he uncomplainingly taxed himself beyond endurance and 24 hours after the curtain fell upon the Congress it fell upon his mortal career. A notable patriotic organization in New York proposed for him this epitaph: "He died at work." Indeed, he did! But I would add one illuminating phrase: "He died at work for his fellow men."

These labors for the commonweal, for the uplift and betterment of humankind, were by no means confined to the jurisdiction of his Senate statesmanship. That was but the fitting climax of a keen, constructive, effective interest in public affairs and of a willingness to give richly of himself in this behalf, began back yonder in the yesterdays when he was a citizen of Michigan. He was mayor of neighboring Ann Arbor at the age of 33, and it was there that I first knew him when I was a college youth. At different times he was president of Ann Arbor's board of education and of its board of park commissioners. He was a force and power in all of his city's civic, educational, and religious life. He was active in the Methodist Episcopal Church and he lived the religion he professed. He was ever the good samaritan along life's highways. He was ever loyal to every interest and to every assignment which he touched in his long colorful career. Thus, for example, he cherished a deep attachment for the University of Michigan. It was his alma mater. Later he served upon its teaching staff. Though other significant academic honors came to him in later life, through degrees conferred These labors for the commonweal, for the uplift and betterment

upon him upon other campuses, the collegiate affection of his life attached itself forever to the yellow and the blue. The University of Michigan richly shared the resources of his great friendship and his unfailing loyalty. Those two treasured words, friendship and loyalty, will cling to him so long as memory survives.

But all this as yet takes no account of the professional career which preceded and subsequently paralleled his public life. He gave himself to medicine with the fine spirit, the same industry, the same effectiveness, the same humanity which trade-marked every act of his life. He was—and he deserved to be—one of the best and most favorably known physicians in the United States. Indeed, I venture the assertion that his expert hands and his helpful words touched more lives than did those of any of the professional contemporaries of his time. He loved his calling, and he justified its finest ideals. Whether he was Mayor Copeland or Senator Copeland, or whatever other of the many honorable titles he won unto himself in his long and varied activities, he was always Dr. Copeland, and I suspect he loved that title best. Somehow, as I think of him, it seems best to fit his gentleness, his kindly ways, his heartfulness, his human sympathies. He became dean of the New York Homeopathic College and Director of Flower Hospital. He became the tremendously effective health commissioner of metropolitan New York. The "country doctor" scaled the helphts of his profession. He went from the bottom to the top. Dr. Copeland had never lived.

Truly, we inadequately portray an amazing man. Not often can the story of one life reveal so many interests and a record of

Truly, we inadequately portray an amazing man. Not often can the story of one life reveal so many interests and a record of achievement in so many fields. And if we were to lift the curtain on his home and family, the portrait would be no less superb. I dare not invade this sacred hearthstone where his empty chair marks the most poignant of all sorrows that attend his passing. But it has been my privilege to look behind that curtain and to see the husband and the father at their best. He was never so happy as in the midst of his own kin; and he was never more generous than in serving their pleasures and their needs. To him, "home" was the sweetest word in the lexicon of worth-while 'home"

I have attempted, in these brief and wholly insufficient words, to paint the high-lights of the brilliant story of a great American who made his own irresistible way from the humble farmhouse a few males from Dexter where he was born on November 7, 1863, to an honored, influential seat among the rulers of the Republic where he died on June 17, 1938. It is an epic in American tradition and opportunity transparently clear proof that here beneath the Stars and Stripes which he loved and served so well, there is always the opportunity transparently clear proof that here beneath the Stars and Stripes which he loved and served so well, there is always the beckoning privilege of high service, high adventure, and high achievement for those who have high purpose in their souls. It is the story of constant loyalty to great ideals whether tested in the crucibles of professional medicine or of statesmanship or of the humanities. It is a record of courage to sustain these ideals at any cost whenever the bugles of duty sounded the reveille that called him to their defense. It is a rare contemplation in popular confidence, whether the confidence of sufferers who trusted his healing advice, or the confidence of more than 10,000,000 people in an electorate that sent him three times to the Senate of the United States, or the confidence of his congressional colleagues who, regardless of differing opinions, deeply believed in him. It is a tribute to that indefatigable industry which works through sheer love of service, which masters multiple tasks through the relentless concentrations of a rugged and receptive mind, and which counts no hours too long, no effort too great, to reach a worthy goal. It is the story of reciprocal human attachments whether in this village of his youth, or in the neighboring city of his early manhood, or in the metropolis of his maturity, or in the National Capitol of his beloved country which never half-masted its flags more sorrowfully to mark the passing of a dependably devoted patriot.

I conclude reluctantly, my fellow citizens of Michigan and of America. It is my final opportunity, my last privilege, to bring the "red carnation" of my affection to the memorial shrine of a great and precious friend. I cannot even yet, myself, realistically understand that I shall never meet him again, and warm to his hearty handclasp and take strength and inspiration from his sympathetic understanding; never again upon this mortal earth. He was so virile, so dynamic, that one thought of him as always living on and on. But inevitably the great accounting comes for all of us. Fortunate are we indeed if we may approach the judgment seat with so complete and so deserved an assurance of the eternal benediction which must have greeted him with the finality of all rewards: "Well done, good and faithful servant; enter, thou, into the kingdom of heaven."

#### FELICITATIONS FROM SENATE OF CHILE

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a cablegram dated July 5, 1938, from the Senate of Chile, felicitating the Senate of the United States on the occasion of the national anniversary of the independence of the United States, which was ordered to lie on the table.

## PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following concurrent memorial of the Legislature of the State of Arizona, which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys:

House Concurrent Memorial 2

Concurrent memorial on the granting of public land for the maintenance of a colony for crippled children

To the President and Congress of the United States:
Your memorialist respectfully represents:

Your memorialist respectfully represents:

The State of Arizona has no institution or other adequate means for caring for, treating, rehabilitating, and educating her crippled children, many of whom are so situated as to require public support or assistance, and the responsibility rests upon the Government of providing adequate security for this class of unfortunates.

Within the State of Arizona the Federal Government has reserved, in round figures, for Indian reservations, some 20,000,000 acres, and for national forests and parks more than 13,000,000 acres, while there remains of the public domain, unreserved and unappropriated, about 14,000,000 acres.

about 14,000,000 acres.

about 14,000,000 acres.

Wherefore your memorialist, the House of Representatives of the State of Arizona, the senate concurring, respectfully requests:

1. That legislation be enacted providing for a grant to the State of Arizona of 5,000,000 acres of the unreserved, unappropriated, nonmineral public land lying within its borders, conditioned upon the proceeds from the sale of said land being placed in an inviolable fund, the income from which, together with the proceeds of the rental of said land, shall be used for the maintenance of a colony for crippled children.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate the following joint and concurrent memorials of the Legislature of the State of Arizona, which were referred to the Committee on Finance:

#### House Joint Memorial 1

A joint memorial relating to old-age assistance

A joint memorial relating to old-age assistance

To the President and Congress of the United States of America.

Your memorialist respectfully represents:

The Federal-State cooperative acts governing the dispensing of funds to aged persons have been in force in Arizona for almost 15 months. Experience from their operation discloses the advisability of amending these laws. Since the benefits awarded under this program are limited to the amount needed by each beneficiary, a large force of investigators, clerks, stenographers, auditors, and statisticians are now required. This causes large sums of money, which ought to go to the beneficiary, to be spent on such overhead.

In determining the need of an applicant for old-age assistance a very annoying investigation often cannot be avoided, even when the investigator endeavors to make such examination as agreeable

the investigator endeavors to make such examination as agreeable as possible to the aged client. When, however, an investigator lacks tact or wantonly harasses the applicant or is inclined to show favoritism there results discord, dissatisfaction, and ill feeling throughout the entire community in which this takes place. The aforesaid experience reveals this to be too frequently the reaction of the population generally both in Arizona and all the other States, and thus substitutes hatred, friction, and discord for domestic tranquillity.

It is the opinion of your memorialist, the Legislature of the State of Arizona, that this can be corrected only by the granting of a flat amount to each eligible person, by being less rigid in the requirements of evidence to substantiate an application, and by making such grant as a pension to everyone reaching the required minimum age and meeting other qualifications, rather than a mere dole to the

needy.

It is further the belief of your memorialist that properly caring for aged citizens in accordance with American ideals and American standards unequivocally demands this change in the aforesaid acts. Wherefore your memorialist, the Legislature of the State of Ari-

That the Federal Old Age Assistance Act be amended (a) to make That the Federal Old Age Assistance Act be amended (a) to make the Federal grant a flat amount of not less than the present maximum of \$15 to each qualified person, such sum to be matched by an equal amount by the States; (b) to make the rules of evidence less strict for substantiation of applications; and (c) to make such grants a pension for every qualified person reaching the minimum age rather than a mere dole to the needy.

## House Concurrent Memorial 1

Concurrent memorial relating to aged and disabled persons and their eligibility for old-age assistance under the Social Security Act

To the President and Congress of the United States of America:
Your memorialist respectfully represents:
Throughout the State of Arizona, especially in the numerous mining districts, are many totally and permanently disabled persons between the ages of 60 and 65 years whose needs are even

sons between the ages of 60 and 65 years whose needs are even greater than those of able-bodied persons over the age of 65 years, and who must be cared for in some way.

States which provide pensions or other forms of relief for such totally and permanently disabled persons under the age of 65 years receive no aid from the Federal Government, under the provisions of the old-age assistance division of the Social Security Act of the Inited States United States.

With the limited State moneys for relief the support of such persons is a burden which the States are unable to bear without aid, and the condition of such persons is deplorable. Wherefore your memorialist, the House of Representatives of the

State of Arizona, the senate concurring, prays:
That legislation be enacted to enable States which furnish financial assistance to totally and permanently disabled persons over 60 years but under 65 years of age, who are otherwise eligible, to receive aid from the Federal Government on the same basis as States now receive such aid for assistance to persons over 65 years of age under title I of the Social Security Act of the United States, relating to grants to States for old-age assistance.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Council of the City of Dearborn, Mich., favoring a reduction in the rate of interest charged small home owners by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the board of directors of the Atlantic City (N. J.) Chamber of Commerce, favoring the acquisition by the Government of the New Jersey State Inland Waterway and its extension to Delaware Bay and the Shrewsbury River, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the annual convention of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast, favoring the maintenance of an embargo on shipments of helium to Germany and her allies, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the annual convention of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast protesting against the enactment of legislation inimicable to the interests of maritime employees, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate the memorial of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia, Washington, D. C., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation relating to assault with a dangerous weapon, which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the annual convention of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast reaffirming support of the National Labor Relations Act, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Steel Workers' Independent Union, Inc., of East Chicago, Ind., protesting against any dictatorship over the workingmen of America, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the general convention of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association at Chicago, Ill., endorsing President Roosevelt's recovery program, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by employees of Weirton (W. Va.) Steel Co., favoring an investigation of the exclusion of counsel for the Weirton Steel Co. from proceedings before a trial examiner of the National Labor Relations Board, which were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Portland Industrial Union Council of Portland, Oreg., favoring a 30-hour workweek for industry, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by Local Union No. 1706, United Mine Workers of America, of Cle Elum, Wash., favoring the enactment of legislation requiring employers of labor securing Government contracts to comply with the National Labor Relations Act, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the annual convention of the Louisiana Teachers' Association at Baton Rouge, La., favoring the making of the National Youth Administration a permanent department or bureau of the Government, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the Boards of Supervisors of Nevada, Orange, Plumas, Stanislaus, and Santa Clara Counties, in the State of California, favoring the enactment of the so-called Townsend General Welfare Act, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by Townsend Club, No. 1, of Muscatine, Iowa, protesting against the operation of the Social Security Act and favoring the adoption of the so-called Townsend national recovery plan. which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted at the annual meeting of the Puerto Rico Farmers' Association, San Juan, P. R., favoring the granting of subsidies for the production of coffee in Puerto Rico and Hawaii, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the annual convention of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast, favoring the enactment of legislation to prevent pensioners from competing with other workers in the labor market, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate petitions of sundry citizens of Ponce and Bayamon, P. R., favoring payment of claims for services performed during the period of the World War, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Council of the City of Akron, Ohio, favoring the enactment of legislation prohibiting the retroactive taxation of State and municipal employees, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Workers' Alliance of Pomona, Calif., favoring the enactment of legislation to provide further relief for the unemployed. which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the annual conference of the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners, favoring extension of the act providing for Federal aid in wildlife restoration, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the United States High Commissioner to the Philippines, with an accompanying resolution adopted by World War veterans, Insular Force, U. S. N., Caridad, Cavite, P. I., favoring the payment of adjusted compensation to members of the Insular Force, U. S. N., serving in the Philippines during the World War, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of War, transmitting copy of a letter from the United States High Commissioner to the Philippines, with an accompanying resolution adopted by the National Assembly of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, favoring the enactment of legislation to remedy the depressed situation of the Philippine coconut industry, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted at St. Paul, Minn., by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, favoring the making of a treaty with the Dominion of Canada for the development of certain lands on the boundary between Minnesota and Ontario, Canada, as a national peace memorial, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the annual convention of the Arizona Wool Growers' Association at Flagstaff, Ariz., reaffirming opposition to the ratification of the Argentina Sanitary Convention, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the National Convention of the American Gold Star Mothers of the World War, Inc., at Washington, D. C., favoring the holding of patriotic exercises throughout the United States during the period in 1939 known as Flag Week, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Community Council of the Northeast Bronx, State of New York, favoring the enactment of legislation providing for the admission into the United States of refugees from Germany, which was referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also laid before the Senate the memorial of Fritz J. Kuhn, of the German-American Bund of New York, N. Y., remonstrating against certain alleged statements made before

the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities (House of Representatives), which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the American Legion, favoring the trial and deportation of Harry Bridges, the enactment of legislation to exclude and expel aliens who advocate the overthrow of the Government, and also the investigation of officials in the Labor Department for alleged failure to comply with existing immigration laws, which were referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by Creighton Local, Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America, of Tarentum, Pa., protesting against any reduction in the wages of railroad employees, which was referred to the

Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate petitions of members of the Branson Baptist Sunday School and Trinchera Union Sunday School, in the State of Colorado, praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages, which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate petitions of sundry citizens of the States of Illinois, Michigan, and Pennsylvania, praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages, which were referred to the Committee on

Interstate Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the common council of Milwaukee, Wis., protesting against the enactment of legislation to prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate a petition of sundry citizens of Washington, D. C., praying for the enactment of legislation providing representation in Congress for the District of Columbia, which was referred to the Committee on

the Judiciary.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the annual convention of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast, favoring the granting of a pardon by the Governor of California to Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Washington Newspaper Guild, of Washington, D. C., relating to the activities of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities (House of Representatives), which was

referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the General Society of Mayflower Descendants of New York City, favoring the enactment of legislation requiring registration and report to the Government by any organization that may be devoted to the purpose of overthrowing the American form of government, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, at Des Moines, Iowa, protesting against the erection of a monument to Gen. Robert E. Lee in the Arlington National Cemetery, which was referred to the Committee on Military

He also laid before the Senate the petition of William J. Jackson, of Lewiston, Maine, praying for the enactment of legislation providing additional recognition of inventors, which was referred to the Committee on Patents.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the annual conference of the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners favoring the preservation of Yellowstone National Park as a wildlife sanctuary and protesting against its development or exploitation for commercial purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

Mr. HATCH presented resolutions adopted by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Albuquerque, and by a joint meeting of the Home and Foreign Missionary Societies of the Methodist Episcopal Churches (North and South), of Albuquerque and Sante Fe, N. Mex., favoring the enactment of legislation to prohibit the advertisement of alcoholic beverages, which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce

#### PETITIONS-THE MIGRANCY PROBLEM

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, on behalf of certain citizens of the State of California, numbering over a hundred thousand, I desire to present petitions relating to the so-called migrancy problem. That problem is one that affects intimately the economic life of the State of California. and these petitions are for the purpose of directing the attention of this body to it, in the hope that some way may be found for its alleviation or its cure by the Federal Government.

In presenting these petitions, I do not wish to take any time at all. However, I ask that the letter accompanying the petitions may be printed in the RECORD as part of the offer of the petitions.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from California has asked unanimous consent that a certain letter may be printed in the Record in connection with the petitions which he presents to be referred to a committee. Is there objection to his request? The Chair hears none.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I ask that the petitions be referred to the appropriate committee.

There being no objection, the petitions were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, and the accompanying letter, with its enclosure, was also referred to that committee and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> CALIFORNIA CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION, Bakersfield, Calif., December 22, 1938.

Hon. HIRAM W. JOHNSON,

United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: We have this day expressed to your office in Washington the petitions voluntarily circulated by people interested in the migrant situation.

I am enclosing a copy of a report summarizing our activities and the migrant situation, which I hope you will find helpful.

Sincerely yours,

THOS. W. McManus, Secretary.

A PRESENTATION OF PERTINENT FACTS CONCERNING THE PROBLEM OF MIGRANCY AND THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CALIFORNIA CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION

BAKERSFIELD, CALIF., December 10, 1938

#### THE CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION-WHY?

The California Citizens' Association—why?

The California Citizens' Association was organized first as a local protest and later as a State-wide expression of California's indignation at special Federal policies which applied to California alone tend to make this State the dumping ground of the Nation's poor and impoverished. As a result of the association's activity in giving wide publicity to the migrant problem, some amelioration is noticeable: The influx has decreased from 10,000 to about 3,600 families monthly, and the Farm Security Administration has begun to warn marginal people against coming to California. It is to be noted, however, that the F. S. A. blames California growers with advertising for cheap labor, claiming they are interested in creating in the State an oversupply of labor so that farm wages may be depressed. This accusation is without grounds. The Federal Farm Placement Bureau, which polices California growers and labor contractors, knows of but one or two instances in the past several years where such circulars have been issued by unscrupulous years where such circulars have been issued by unscrupulous contractors, and in every instance disciplinary action has been taken, one such contractor having been sentenced to prison.

While the California Citizens' Association fully recognizes that the forces of dislocation that have been working during the depression years causing an unprecedented movement of the domestic working population may continue for some time in those depressed areas where living is supported inadequately we believe that current Federal policies as applied to California by the Farm Security Administration and by the Works Progress Administration are contrary to the public interest; that such policies are not humanitarian, since these destitute people can be taken care of more adequately in their home States, where they have legal residence, are acclimated, and have roots in local communities, than in California, where neither jobs nor proper housing is available. Accordingly, this association circulated a petition throughout California requesting remedial action by the Federal Government. The petition, addressed to members of California's delegation in the Congress, has been presented to California's senior Senator. It requests that all agencies of the Federal Government provide relief for marginal people in their home communities; that information be disseminated at the source of the influx by the Federal Government that there will be no relief available to nonresidents in California; and, finally, that the Federal Government encourage and aid the pression years causing an unprecedented movement of the domestic and, finally, that the Federal Government encourage and aid the return to their homes of the idle thousands now here who have neither lost legal residence in their home communities nor achieved residence in California.

#### FACTUAL BACKGROUND

1. The indigent migrants, 300,000 of whom have come to California with their families in the last 2 years, are not migratory farm workers such as have been for years an integral part of California's labor set-up, moving north with the season, but are displaced farm, sharecrop, and hill-country families pauperized by drought, depression, and crop curtailment, migrating now probably for the first time. This differentiation is essential to any consideration of the problem. Failure to se differentiate is reproposible for much of the problem. Failure to so differentiate is responsible for much of the confused thinking on this problem current at the present time.

2. The migrants seek a fresh start on the land or in farm employ-

ment in a new country, further opening of which depends on the development of water, with all visible resources now utilized, and on the perfection of a national marketing and distributing system that will absorb disastrous overproduction, such as now causes in the San Joaquin Valley alone, curtailment of cotton acreage by 40 per-

San Joaquin Valley alone, curtailment of cotton acreage by 40 percent, and pro rata programs for grapes, 700,000 tons of which will find no market this year, and for tomatoes, potatoes, apricots, citrus and other produce. Agricultural overproduction, necessitating curtailment and proration programs, so seriously limits job opportunities that further absorption of migrant families is impossible.

3. These migrants are confusingly called "Dust Bowlers" while, as a matter of fact, only a part of them are from the true Dust Bowl of western Kansas and the Panhandles of Oklahoma and Texas. A much larger part is from the Ozark Plateau of Oklahoma, Missouri, and Arkansas—people who were formerly able to eke out an existence by supplementing the harvest from the thin cherty soil of that region by tie-cutting, stave-making, and hunting; from the impoverished submarginal stratum of the East Texas Cotton Belt; and from the upper reaches of the Mississippi embayment that includes the swamp areas of southeast Missouri and northeast Arkansas that have been denuded of vast cypress forests, partially drained and have been denuded of vast cypress forests, partially drained and devoted principally to cotton—an area notorious for misery among sharecroppers. Generally speaking, social and welfare agencies and others of us who have directly investigated, find these people come from the subsistence level, the lowest economic competitive group

in their home States.

4. The counties of California operate under a law which provides that indigents who are unemployable and who need permanent care must have lived in the State for 3 years without assistance before they achieve legal residence. In giving relief to those in need because of unemployment the State relief administration requires a 12-month residence in this State. Relief standards here are in keeping with living standards. Some States have no unemployment

keeping with living standards. Some States have no unemployment relief and in others it is as low as from \$5 to \$10 a month for each family. Agricultural wages in California have been from two to four times as high as in most of the agricultural States of the Nation. All Federal relief agencies pay more in California than in any other State in the Nation.

5. These conditions encourage many families to leave their home State where the lot of the indigent and near indigent is less favorable. Thus we are concerned with the possibility of building up an indigent population out of all proportion to the population of California. The added cost to the people of California would be impossible to carry. Relief is only part of this cost; medical care must be provided and hospitals must be built, as most county hospitals are now overcrowded; schools are overcrowded and more must be provided—a State-wide survey by the State P. T. A. is now being conducted on this problem; public health and policing costs are increased.

6. In addition to the direct costs enumerated above, the migra-

6. In addition to the direct costs enumerated above, the migration is exacting of labor a tremendous price. The Federal Farm Placement Service reports farm wages are now off 5 to 10 cents an hour throughout the State. Migrants, accustomed to a subsistence level of living, offer their services in oil fields, where the going wage is \$6, for as little as \$1 a day, and encroach upon the skilled trades by offering to work as lathers, carpenters, shinglers, and mechanics for as little as \$2, a day.

for as little as \$2 a day.

This situation jeopardizes the economic stability of the State and the security of every California resident; and, with the recent curtailment of W. P. A. funds, constitutes a double threat by throwing additional thousands of employable persons onto an already

glutted labor market.
7. At present the Farm Security Administration is ministering relief to migrant families, maintaining a few in migrant camps and relief to migrant families, maintaining a few in migrant camps and enabling a multitude to maintain themselves in squatter camps of unbelievable filth by giving them a weekly dole of groceries. It is pertinent to note that the migratory labor camps maintained by the F. S. A. were originally proposed to alleviate housing distress among bona fide migratory workers at peak harvest periods. This goal was laudable but short-lived; the camps have become more or less a permanent abode of migratory families, who are permitted to remain in the camps up to 1 year. We believe this policy encourages families to migrate to California and enables them to remain here until they have achieved a legal claim upon the State for relief.

for relief.
8. The Works Progress Administration, under special authoriza-8. The Works Progress Administration, under special authorization from Washington, is now putting 4,000 heads of migrant families at work on W. P. A. jobs—this despite the refusal of State authorities to certify the relief eligibility of these nonresidents, and despite the further fact that 60,000 eligible resident unemployed certified to the W. P. A. have not been assigned to jobs. Our investigations lead us to believe that if this is permitted some of this W. P. A. money will go to the depressed areas of other States to finance the migration of relatives.

9. We cannot help asking—and in this we are joined by more

9. We cannot help asking—and in this we are joined by more than 100,000 California citizens and by organizations, such as

chambers of commerce, civic and service clubs, and other groups, among which are the California State Federation of Labor and the State American Legion convention, representing hundreds of thousands of members—what will happen to these people when special Federal consideration is no longer available? They will become charges of the State and counties, many of which are already acutely pressed in meeting the constantly increasing burden of public assistance and kindred activities.

#### GROWING DEMAND FOR RELIEF

While this association has devoted its entire effort in seeking a solution of the migrant influx, it should be noted that migrancy is but one phase of the general relief problem. Relief is now a permanent institution in California. The State relief adminis-

permanent institution in California. The State relief adminis-tration states that more than 900,000 persons are living on some kind of public bounty in California—county, State, Federal. This is more than 16 percent of the State's population.

Since the beginning of this organization 5 months ago, the number of persons receiving aid has increased by 100,000, or 12.5 percent. If this rate of increase continues—and with winter com-ing on it is entirely probable—the proportionate annual increase will be 30 percent. will be 30 percent.

#### PUBLICITY

The activities of the California Citizen's Association, in giving publicity to the migrant situation and so arousing an intelligent public opinion, have met with great success, not only in California but in other States as well, and numerous magazines have given attention to the problem, among which is the Saturday Evening Post. Following is a list of newspapers which have printed favor-able editorials relative to the migrant situation:

Altadena Press, Antioch Ledger, Arlington Times, Artesia News, Atwater Signal;

Bakersfield Californian, Bakersfield Kern Herald, Beaumont Ga-

Bakersheid Californian, Bakersheid Kern Herald, Beaumont Gazette, Benicia Herald, Berkeley Gazette;
Beverly Hills Bulletin, Beverly Hills Citizen, Biggs Weekly News,
Brawley News, Blythe Palo Verde Valley Times;
Brentwood News, Calexico Chronicle, Calipatria Herald, Campbell

Press. Chico Record:

Chino Champion, Chula Vista Star, Coachella Submarine, Coalinga Record, Compton News-Tribune;
Concord Diablo Beacon, Corning Observer, Coronado Citizen, Coronado Journal, Culver City Star-News;
Delano Record, Dinuba Alta-Advocate;

East Los Angeles Belvedere Citizen, El Centro Press, Elk Grove Citizen, El Monte Independent, Encinitas Coast Dispatch, Eureka

Standard, Exeter Sun;

Standard, exeter Sun;
Fairfax Gazette, Fallbrook Enterprise, Fall River Mills Tidings,
Fresno Bee, Fullerton News-Tribune;
Garberville Redwood Record, Gilroy Dispatch, Glendale NewsPress, Grass Valley Union, Gridley Herald;
Half Moon Bay Review, Hawthorne Lennox Advertiser; Hayward
Review, Hynes Clearwater Journal;
Lido Date Palm.

Indo Date Palm; Kerman News, King City Rustler-Herald;

Lakeport Press, Lamanda Park Herald, Pasadena, Lancaster Leader-Gazette, Larkspur Corte Madera News, Long Beach Press-Telegram, Long Beach Sun, Los Angeles Examiner, Los Angeles Florence and S. E. Messenger, Los Angeles Herald and Express, Los Angeles Times,

Los Angeles Westwood Hills News-Press, Los Molinas Herald;
Madera News, Martinez Gazette, Marysville Appeal-Democrat,
Maxwel Tribune, Manlo Park Recorder, Modesto Journal, Monrovia
News-Post, Morgan Hill Times, Mountain View Register Leader; Napa Register, Newhall Signal, Novato Advance;

Oakland Fruitvale Journal, Oakland Tribune, Ontario Weekly Herald, Orange News, Oroville Butte County News, Oxnard Press; Pacific Grove Tide, Pacific Rural Press, San Francisco, Palo Alto

Pacific Crove Inde, Facinic Rural Fress, San Francisco, Pato Airo Mayfield Citizen, Pasadena Post, Pasadena Star-News, Paso Robles Press, Perris Enterprise, Pittsburg Independent, Pixley Enterprise, Placerville Republican, Placerville Times, Porterville Recorder, Portola Recorder, Puente Journal;

Randsburg Times, Redlands Facts, Redondo Beach Reflex, Red-

wood City Standard, Redwood City Tribune, Richmond Independent,

Riverdale Free Press; Sacramento Bee, Sacramento Union, Salinas Independent, Sausa-lito News, Shafter Press, Sonora Independent, Sonora Union Democrat, South Pasadena Review, Stockton Record, San Anselmo Herald, San Bernardino Telegram, San Fernando Valley Reporter, San Fran-San Bernardino Telegram, San Fernando Valley Reporter, San Francisco Argonaut, San Francisco Chronicle, Haight Ashbury Progress, San Francisco, San Francisco Commercial News, San Francisco Eureka District-News, San Francisco Examiner, San Francisco News, San Francisco Haight Star Ledger, San Francisco Sunset Dispatch, San Jacinto Valley Register, San Jose Mercury Herald, San Jose News, San Leandro Recorder, San Mateo Times, San Pablo Bee, San Rafael Independent, Santa Barbara News-Press, Santa Cruz News, Santa Monica Outlook;

Tristin News, Tulare Advance Register, Tulare Times, Tuolumne

Tristin News, Tulare Advance Register, Tulare Times, Tuolumne Prospector; Upland News;

Vacaville Reporter, Vailejo News, Vallejo Times-Herald, Visalia Morning Delta and Times-Delta;

Walnut Creek Courier-Journal, Waterford Rural Press and News, Watsonville Register-Pajaronian, Watsonville Sun, Watts Adver-tiser-Review, West Los Angeles Independent, Westmoreland Mail, Williams Farmer, Woodlake Echo;

Yolo County Independent, Woodland, Yuba City Independent

A great many organizations have endorsed the petition of the California Citizens' Association, or have adopted resolutions of their own embracing the cardinal objectives of this organization. Perhaps the most important of these resolutions were adopted by the American Legion, Department of California, and by the California State Federation of Labor. Other organizations which have endorsed the petition follow:

Alhambra: Soroptimist Club.

Altadena: Chamber of Commerce.

Anaheim: Anaheim Realty Board.

Arcadia: Glenn Dyer Post, American Legion.

Auburn: Auburn Chamber of Commerce.

Azusa: Canyon City Post, No. 180, American Legion.

Bakersfield: Chamber of Commerce; Lions Club; Parlor No. 42, Native Sons of the Golden West; Realty Board; Business and Pro-

Bakersfield: Chamber of Commerce; Lions Club; Parlor No. 42, Native Sons of the Golden West; Realty Board; Business and Professional Women's Club; Brotherhood of Railroad Engineers; Carpenters' Union; Cirgonian Club; Frank S. Reynolds Post, No. 26, American Legion; Insurance Board; Kern County Building Trades Council; Kern County Chamber of Commerce; Kern County Board of Supervisors; Kern County Farm Bureau; Kiwanis Club; Lathers' Union; Millworkers' Union; Painters' Union; Plasterers' Union; 20–30 Club; Soroptimist Club; Stage Employees' Union; United Spanish War Veterans; Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Balboa: Newport Harbor Chamber of Commerce.
Banning: Banning Post, No. 129, American Legion; Chamber of Commerce.

Commerce.

Barstow: Chamber of Commerce.

Barstow: Chamber of Commerce.
Beaumont: Chamber of Commerce.
Bellflower: Los Nietos Valley Realty Board.
Beverly Hills: American Legion Post, No. 253.
Brentwood: Roy Frerichs Post, No. 202, American Legion.
Bridgeport: Mark Twain Post, No. 454, American Legion.
Burlingame: Lions Club.
Buttonwillow: Kern County Pomona Grange.
Calexies: Kiwanis Club.

Calexico: Kiwanis Club. Cambria: Chamber of Commerce.

Cambria: Chamber of Commerce.
Carpinteria: Carpinteria Valley Chamber of Commerce.
Centerville: Chamber of Commerce.
Coachella: Taxpayers' Defense League of Riverside.
Colton: Business and Professional Women's Club.
Colusa: Chamber of Commerce, Junior Chamber of Commerce,
Lions Club, Rotary Club.
Compton: Kiwanis Club, Realty Board.
Concord: Lions Club.
Corona: Business and Professional Women's Club.
Cotati: Post No. 103, American Legion.
Crockett: Lions Club.
Culver City: Chamber of Commerce.
Downey: Business and Professional Women's Club.

Downey: Business and Professional Women's Club. Dunsmuir: Lions Club. Delano: 20–30 Club.

Belano: 20-30 Citto.
El Centro: Kiwanis Club.
El Monte: Realty Board.
Encinitas: Dieguito Post, No. 416, American Legion.
Escondido: Chamber of Commerce, Realty Board.
Eureka: Fort Humboldt Post, No. 212, American Legion; Business and Professional Women's Club; Carpenters' Union, No. 1040;

ness and Professional Women's Club; Carpenters' Union, No. 1040; Insurance Board.

Exeter: Kiwanis Club.
Fellows: Fellows Post, No. 63, American Legion.
Fillmore: Business and Professional Women's Club.
Fresno: Chamber of Commerce, 20-30 Club.
Gilroy: Business and Professional Women's Club.
Hanford: Business and Professional Women's Club.
Hemet: Hemet Post, American Legion.
Hollister: San Benito Post, No. 69, American Legion.
Huntington Park: Robert T. McColley Post, No. 87, American Legion; Southeast Insurance Agents Association; Kiwanis Club; Realty Board.
Indio: Indio Post, American Legion.

Indio: Indio Post, American Legion. Inglewood: Chamber of Commerce. Isabella: Kern River Veterans Club. Kingsburg: Kiwanis Club.

Lodi: Carpenters' Local, No. 1418.

Long Beach: Long Beach Insurance Association; Kiwanis Club; Realty Board.

Realty Board.

Los Angeles: Cheviot Hills Post, No. 501, American Legion; Board of Health Commissioners; Board of Supervisors; Susan M. Dorsey Business and Professional Women's Club; Central Labor Council; Los Angeles County District Council of Carpenters; Los Angeles Downtown Optimist Club; Culinary Workers' Union.

Martinez: Chamber of Commerce; Kiwanis Club.

Merced: Chamber of Commerce; Merced County Farm Bureau.

Millbrae: Millbrae Post, No. 417, American Legion.

Monrovia: Monrovia Chamber of Commerce.

Monterey: Kiwanis Club.

Mountain View: Chamber of Commerce.
Niles: Chamber of Commerce; Association of Insurance Agents.
North Hollywood: Kiwanis Club.
Oakland: Chamber of Commerce; Kiwanis Club; Oakland Real

Estate Board.

Osland: Tomma A. Thompson Post, No. 141, American Legion. Oceanside: Business and Professional Women's Club; Kiwanis

Orange: Orange Post, No. 132, American Legion; Orange Farm

Oroville: Carpenters' Union, No. 1241; Soroptomist Club. Pacific Beach: Carpenters Local, No. 1358; Chamber of Com-

Palo Alto: Kiwanis Club; Lions Club; 20–30 Club.
Pasadena: Business and Professional Women's Club; Carpenters' Union, No. 769; Kiwanis Club.
Paso Robles: Business and Professional Women's Club.
Piedmont: Post No. 514, American Legion.

Pixley: Pixley Grange.
Placerville: El Dorado County Farm Bureau; Lions Club.
Pleasanton: Lions Club.

Pomona: Business and Professional Women's Club; Pomona Valley Realty Board.
Porterville: Business and Professional Women's Club; Porterville Farm Bureau; Lions Club.
Redding: Kiwanis Club.

Redding: Kiwanis Ciub.

Redondo Beach: Business and Professional Women's Club; Carpenters' Union, No. 1478; Chamber of Commerce; Lions Club.

Redwood City: Redwood City Post, No. 105, American Legion;
Business and Professional Women's Club; Kiwanis Club; Lions

Club.
Richmond: Lions Club.
Richmond: Lions Club.
Ripon: Ripon Post, American Legion; Chamber of Commerce.
Riverside: Riverside Insurance Association, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Local No. 1959.
Roseville: Carpenters, Local No. 1147.
Sacramento: Business and Professional Women's Club, Chamber of Commerce, Lions Club, Soroptimist Club.
Salinas: Salinas Post, American Legion; Soroptimist Club.
Sierra Madre: Chamber of Commerce.
Sonora: Chamber of Commerce.

Sierra Madre: Chamber of Commerce.
Sonora: Chamber of Commerce.
Stockton: Karl Ross Post, No. 16, American Legion; Associated
Business Council of Stockton, Kiwanis Club.
Susanville: Business and Professional Women's Club.
San Bernardino: Business and Professional Women's Club, Cham-

ber of Commerce, Lions Club.

San Diego: San Diego Farm Bureau, Hillcrest Lions Club, North Park Lions Club.

San Fernando: Chamber of Commerce.
San Fernando: Chamber of Commerce.
San Francisco: C. C. Thomas Navy Post, No. 244, American Legion; Insurance Post, No. 404, American Legion; Three Hundred and Sixty-third Infantry Post, No. 408, American Legion; Business and Professional Women's Club, Insurance Board of San Francisco, Real Estate Board, Soroptimist Club, Marine Home Owners' Protective Association.

San Gabriel: Associated Chambers of Commerce.

San Jose: Memory Post, No. 399, American Legion; Carpenters Union, No. 316, San Jose Lions Club, Soroptimist Club.
San Leandro: Business and Professional Women's Club, Kiwanis

Club.

San Mateo: Insurance Board, Kiwanis Club.

San Mateo: Insurance Board, Kiwanis Club.
San Pedro: Kiwanis Club.
San Rafael: Lions Club, Marin County Farm Bureau.
Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Post, No. 49, American Legion,
Santa Barbara County Farm Bureau.
Santa Monica: Association of Insurance Agents.
Santa Paula: Business and Professional Women's Club.
Santa Rosa: Business and Professional Women's Club.

Taft: Taft Chamber of Commerce.
Torrance: Business and Professional Women's Club.
Tracy: Insurance Board.

Truckee: Truckee Post, No. 439, American Legion, Truckee Lions Club.

Tujunga: Tujunga Post, 250 Ltd., American Legion.
Tulare: Business and Professional Women's Club, Carpenters'
nion, No. 1578, Chamber of Commerce, Tulare-Kings County
ssociation of Insurance Agents, Tulare-Pomona Grange.
Tuolumne: Lumber and Sawmill Workers, Local No. 2810.

Upland: Chamber of Commerce.
Vallejo: Chamber of Commerce.
Van Nuys: Van Nuys Insurance Association, Kiwanis Club.
Ventura: Business and Professional Womens Club, Soroptimist

Club. Visalia: Visalia Post, No. 18, American Legion, Business and Pro-fessional Women's Club, Chamber of Commerce, Visalia Farm

Bureau. Watsonville: Association of Insurance Agents. Whittier: Carpenters' Union, No. 1497, Lions Club. Willowbrook: Chamber of Commerce.

Winters: Winters Post, No. 242, American Legion. Woodland: Business and Professional Women's Club.

#### PETITIONS

Circulation of petitions was a voluntary effort, representative of persons in every walk of life. Following is a list of the 457 cooperating cities and towns which participated:

Acampo, Alameda, Albany, Alhambra, Alta Loma, Allensworth, Alpaugh, Altadena, Alvarado, Anaheim, Anderson, Antioch, Arcadia, Arlington, Arroyo Grande, Artesia, Arvin, Ashland, Atascadero, Atherton, Atwater, Auburn, Avenal, Azusa;

Bakersfield, Balboa, Baldwin Park, Banning, Banta, Barstow, Beaumont, Bell, Bell Ridge, Belliflower, Belmont, Berkeley, Beverly Hills, Big Creek, Big Oak Flat, Bishop, Bloomington, Blythe, Bodfish, Bonita, Bonsall, Boonville, Boron, Brawley, Brentwood, Bridgeport, Brown, Buena Park, Burbank, Burlingame, Buttonwillow;

Cabazon, Calexico, Caliente, Calipatria, Calwa City, Cambria, Camino, Campbell, Camp Chester, Cantil, Cardiff, Carlotta, Carmel, Carpinteria, Casa Loma, Caysey, Centerville, Chandlers Ridge, Chino, Cholame, Chowchilla, Chula Vista, Claremont, Clearwater, Coachella, Coalinga, Coleville, Coloma, Colton, Columbia, Colusa, Compton, Concord, Cordelia, Cool, Corcoran, Corona, Costa Mesa, Cotati, Courtland, Covina, Crockett, Cucamonger, Culver City, Cutler:

Daly City, Davis, Day, Delano, Del Ray, Diamond Springs, Dinuba, Dominguez, Dos Palos, Downey, Ducor, Dunsmuir; Earlemart, El Cajon, El Centro, El Cerrito, El Dorado, El Monte, El Nido, El Rock, El Segundo, Eldredge, Elmwood, Emeryville, Encinitas, Escondido, Esposito, Etiwanda, Eureka, Exeter; Fairfax, Fairfield, Fallbrook, Famosa, Farmersville, Fellows, Fillmore, Folsom, Fontana, Fortuna, Frazier, French Camps, Fresno, Envitwed Englisher.

more, Folsom, Fontana, Fortuna, Frazier, French Camps, Fresno, Fruitvale, Fullerton;
Garden Grove, Gardena, Gaviota, Georgetown, Gilroy, Girard, Glendale, Glennville, Goleta, Gorman, Grandview, Grapevine, Greenfield, Greenville, Grimes, Gustine;
Half Moon Bay, Hanford, Harbor City, Havilah, Hawthorne, Hayward, Heber, Hemet, Hercules, Hermosa, Hermosa Beach, Highland, Highland Park, Highway Highlands, Hillsborough, Hinckley, Hollywood, Holtville, Homewood, Huntington Beach, Huntington Park,

Idyllwild, Imperial, Indio, Inglewood, Inverness, Inyokern, Irvington, Isabella;

Jamestown, Janesville, Johannesburg, June Lake; Keene, Kelsey, Kentfield, Kenwood, Kerman, Kernville, Kinsbury,

La Canada, La Crescenta, Lafavette, La Habra, La Jolla, Lake

La Canada, La Crescenta, Lafayette, La Habra, La Jolla, Lake Hughes, Lakeside, Lamont, Lancaster, Larkspur, Le Grand, Lebec, Lincoln, Lindsay, Litchfield, Littlerock, Livermore, Livingston, Lockwood, Lodi, Lolita, Lomita, Lompoc, Lone Pine, Los Altos, Los Angeles, Los Gatos, Lost Hills, Lotus;

Madera, Manhattan Beach, Manteca, Maricopa, Martinez, Maywood, McFarland, McKittrick, Mecca, Manlo Park, Merced, Millbrae, Mill Valley, Modesto, Mojave, Moneta, Mono Lake, Monolith, Monrovia, Monterey, Monterey Park, Montezuma, Montebello, Monticello, Montrose, Moorpark, Mount Eden, Mount Shasta, Mountain View;

Montrose, Moorpark, Mount Eden, Mount Shasta, Mountain View;
Napa, Newark, Newcastle, Newhall, Newport Beach, Nicasio, Niles,
Norco, North Hollywood, Norwalk;
Oakland, Oakley, Ocean Park, Oceano, Oceanside, Oil Center, Oildale, Ojai, Old River, Olivi, Olive View, Ontario, Onyx, Orange,
Orinda, Orland, Oroville, Oxnard;
Pacific Beach, Pacific Grove, Pacific Palisades, Pacoima, Pakley,
Palmdale, Palms, Palm Spring, Palo Alto, Palos Verdes Estates,
Pasadena, Pasadena Glen, South Pasadena, Paso Robles, Penngrove,
Petaluma, Pico, Piedmont, Pinole, Piru, Pismo Beach, Pixley, Placerville, Planada, Pleasanton, Pomona, Porterville, Posey, PG20, Puente;
Onince:

Ramona, Randsburg, Red Bluff, Redding, Redlands, Redonda, Beach, Redwood City, Reedley, Rescue, Reseda, Richgrove, Rich-mond, Rio Vista, Rapon, Rivera, Riverdale, Riverside, Riverview, Rodeo, Rohnerville, Rosamond, Roscoe, Rosedale, Rosemead, Rose

Rodeo, Rohnerville, Rosamond, Roscoe, Rosedale, Rosemead, Rose Station, Roseville;
Sacramento, Salinas, Samuel Springs, San Anselmo, San Bernardino, San Carlos, San Diego, San Dimas, San Fernando, San Francisco, San Gabriel, San Geronimo, San Jose, San Leandro, San Luis Obispo, San Marcos, San Marlin, San Martin, San Mateo, San Pablo, San Pedro, San Rafael, San Salvador, San Quentin, Sanger, Santa Ana, Santa Barbara, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, Santa Maria, Santa Monica, Santa Paula, Santa Rosa, Santa Susana, Santie, Saranap, Saratoga, Saugus, Sausalito, Scotia, Seal Beach, Sebastapol, Seeley, Shafter, Shingle, Sierra Madre, Signal Hill, Smith Flat, Snelling, Solana Beach, Solvang, Sonora, Soulsbyville, South Gate, Soquel, Springville, Stacy, Standard, Standish, Stockdale, Stockton, Strathmore, Suisun, Sunnyvale, Sunol, Sunset Beach, Susanville;

Taft, Tahoe, Tahoe City, Tarzana, Tehachapi, Termo, Terra Bella, Thermal, Tipton, Torrance, Trona, Truckee, Tujunga, Tulare, Tuolunge, Turlock, Tustin;

Upland:

Vacaville, Vallejo, Valley Center, Venice, Ventura, Verdugo City,

Virgilia, Visalia, Vista, Vista Park.
Walnut Creek, Waltoria, Wasco, Watsonville, Weldon, West Los
Angeles, Westport, Wheeler Ridge, Whittier, East Whittier, Willow,
Wilmington, Winston, Winters, Woodland; Yorba Linda.

PETITION OF GEORGE L. BERRY-SALARIES AND EMOLUMENTS OF SENATORS

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, there has been presented to the Committee on Privileges and Elections a petition in the nature of a memorial by former Senator George L. Berry raising substantially one question, and that is the validity of the existing act of the Congress under which the salary of a Senator elected to fill up an unexpired term in the Senate commences from the date of the election. No question is raised touching the validity of the election held in the State of Tennessee. The sole question is the validity of the act under which the disbursing officer of the Senate is now required to disburse salaries to Senators.

I ask the privilege of sending this petition in the nature of a memorial to the Committee on the Judiciary, because that committee properly has jurisdiction of the subject matter.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Georgia? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

#### BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

#### By Mr. PITTMAN:

S. 1. A bill to provide for deferring the payment of construction charges falling due during the calendar year 1938 on the Newlands reclamation project in the State of Nevada; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

S. 2. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain land to the State of Nevada to be used for the purposes of a public park and recreational site and other public purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands and

Surveys.

#### By Mr. PEPPER:

S.3. A bill to provide for and promote the general welfare of the United States by supplying to the people a more liberal distribution and increase of purchasing power, retiring certain citizens from gainful employment, improving and stabilizing gainful employment for other citizens, stimulating agricultural and industrial production and general business, and alleviating the hazards and insecurity of old age and unemployment; to provide a method whereby citizens shall contribute to the purchase of and receive a retirement annuity; to provide for the raising of the necessary revenue to operate a continuing plan therefor; to provide for the appropriation and expenditure of such revenue; to provide for the proper administration of this act; to provide penalties for violation of the act; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

## By Mr. HAYDEN:

- S. 4. A bill to prohibit the mailing of certain classes of unsolicited merchandise; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads
- S. 5. A bill to grant certain lands to the Arizona State Elks Association Hospital;
- S. 6. A bill to return a portion of the Grand Canyon National Monument to the public domain; and
- S. 7. A bill to revise the boundaries of the Saguaro National Monument; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.
- S. 8. A bill for the relief of James P. Liakopulos: to the Committee on Military Affairs.
- S. 9. A bill for the relief of the endorsers of certain checks drawn to the order of James Brown and negotiated subsequent to his death by Katie Bell Brown;
- S. 10. A bill for the relief of the Fred Harvey Transportation Department;
  - S. 11. A bill for the relief of Hubert H. Clark;
  - S. 12. A bill for the relief of Dica Perkins;
  - S. 13. A bill for the relief of John Mulhern;
  - S. 14. A bill for the relief of the Phoenix-Tempe Stone Co.;
- S. 15. A bill for the relief of the legal representatives of John T. Brickwood (deceased), Edward Gaynor, Theodore Gebler, Lee W. Mix, Arthur L. Peck, Thomas D. Casanega, Joseph de Lusignan, and Joseph H. Berger; and
- S. 16. A bill for the relief of C. Y. Webb; to the Committee on Claims.
- S. 17. A bill to amend the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Finance.
- S. 18. A bill authorizing payment to the San Carlos Apache Indians for the lands ceded by them in the agreement of February 25, 1896, ratified by the act of June 10, 1896, and reopening such lands to mineral entry; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.
- S. 19. A bill to establish a National Resources Board; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. TOWNSEND:

S. 20. A bill to amend section 601 of the Revenue Act of 1932, as amended, to provide for an excise tax on poultry, eggs, and egg products; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. MURRAY:

S. 21. A bill relating to the citizenship of Harry Ray Smith; and

S. 22. A bill to provide for the naturalization of certain native-born citizens of the United States who lost their citizenship involuntarily; to the Committee on Immigration.

S. 23. A bill to provide for holding terms of the district court of the United States in Miles City, Mont.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 24. A bill granting an increase of pension to Anna J. Skillin; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. TRUMAN:

S. 25. A bill prohibiting the operation of motor vehicles in interstate commerce by unlicensed operators; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. WHEELER:

S. 26. A bill to empower the President of the United States to create new national forest units and make additions to existing national forests in the State of Montana; and

S. 27. A bill to aid in the development of certain mineralized areas located within the exterior boundaries of the national forests, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

S. 28. A bill to provide for the erection of a public historical museum in the Custer Battlefield National Cemetery, Mon-

tana; to the Committee on the Library.

S. 29. A bill to authorize the use of certain facilities of national parks and national monuments for elementary school purposes; and

S. 30. A bill granting certain public lands to the State of Montana for the use and benefit of the Northern Montana Agricultural and Manual Training School; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. LOGAN:

S. 31. A bill to amend the Federal Reserve Act, to restore and maintain a stable price level, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency;

S. 32. A bill to provide public educational facilities for certain chidren where adequate educational facilities are lacking; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

S. 33. A bill to establish uniform requirements affecting Government contracts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 34. A bill for the relief of the Louisville Varnish Co.;

S. 35. A bill for the relief of J. U. Schickli & Bros.;

S. 36. A bill for the relief of A. M. Marret, administrator and trustee of the estate of W. F. Woodruff, deceased; and S. 37. A bill for the relief of the Cedar Supply & Lumber

Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 38. A bill for the relief of Curtis Jett;

S. 39. A bill for the relief of the heirs of T. J. Kinser;

S. 40. A bill for the relief of Thomas Salleng;

S. 41. A bill for the relief of Mack Skaggs;

S. 42. A bill to authorize the award of a decoration for distinguished service to John C. Reynolds;

S. 43. A bill to authorize the erection within the Canal Zone of a suitable memorial to the builders of the Panama Canal and others whose distinguished services merit recognition by the Congress;

S. 44. A bill for the relief of certain members of local or district boards, of legal advisory boards, and of medical advisory boards appointed under the provisions of the selective service law of May 18, 1917; and

S.45. A bill to previde flying pay to Air Corps Reserve officers for risks incurred in authorized training flights when not on active duty; to the Committee on Military Affairs. S.46. A bill granting a pension to Roscoe Johnson; to the

Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CLARK of Missouri:

S. 47. A bill to amend the Revenue Act of 1926 so as to authorize the use of accounting, and registering devices for collecting certain revenue taxes;

S. 48. A bill providing for deposits in the unemployment

trust fund to the credit of certain States; and

S. 49. A bill to amend section 1101 of the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 50. A bill to provide for recognizing the services rendered by civilian officers and employees in the construction and establishment of the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone; to the Committee on Interoceanic Canals.

S. 51. A bill to amend section 91 of the Judicial Cede, as amended, to provide for holding terms of the District Court of the United States for the Eastern District of Missouri at

Moberly; and

S. 52. A bill to amend the act of June 30, 1906, entitled "An act creating a United States Court for China and prescribing the jurisdiction thereof"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 53. A bill to regulate interstate commerce in goods, wares, and merchandise manufactured, produced, or mined by persons under — years of age, and for other purposes; and

S. 54. A bill to regulate interstate commerce in goods, wares, and merchandise with respect to State enactments governing working conditions, maximum hours, and minimum wages, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

S.55. A bill confirming to Louis Labeaume, or his legal representatives, title to a certain tract of land located in St. Charles County, in the State of Missouri; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

S. 56. A bill relating to the rank and retired pay of certain persons who have been awarded a Congressional Medal of Honor; and

S. 57. A bill for the relief of Anton C. Miller; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 58. A bill for the relief of Walter Weston Pierce; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 59. A bill to provide for the establishment and maintenance of a procedure for cost accounting and cost reporting for Federal agencies; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 60. A bill for the relief of Dierks Lumber & Coal Co.;

S. 61. A bill for the relief of Ella Ragotski;

S. 62. A bill for the relief of Daniel B. Meador;

S. 63. A bill for the relief of Hugo S. Elsenrath; and

S. 64. A bill for the relief of Minnie D. Hines; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 65. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Thomas H. Jackson:

S. 66. A bill granting an increase of pension to Helen Dorsey; and

S. 67. A bill granting a pension to Mabel Forrer; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ASHURST and Mr. HAYDEN:

S. 68. A bill for the relief of the San Francisco Mountain Scenic Boulevard Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ELLENDER:

S. 69. A bill relating to the apportionment of shares of the sugar crop for 1939 and 1940; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. HARRISON:

S. 70. A bill to amend section 90 of the Judicial Code, as amended, with respect to the terms of the Federal District Court for the Northern District of Mississippi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ADAMS:

S. 71. A bill to repeal the act entitled "An act relating to Philippine currency reserves on deposit in the United States"; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 72. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act conferring jurisdiction upon the United States Court of Claims to hear, examine, adjudicate, and render judgment on any and all claims which the Ute Indians or any tribe or band thereof may have against the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 28, 1938; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. WHITE:

S. 73. A bill granting a pension to Casper D. Boynton; and S. 74. A bill granting a pension to Charles Knowlton; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 75. A bill for the relief of Joseph L. Mealy; and

S. 76. A bill for the relief of J. A. Greenleaf & Sons Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 77. A bill for the relief of Wilfred Therrein; and

S. 78. A bill for the relief of Alfred P. Paquin; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 79. A bill for the relief of John E. Folsom;

S. 80. A bill granting a pension to Essie M. Cotton;

S. 81. A bill granting a pension to Mary A. Hayes;

S. 82. A bill granting a pension to John Dudley;

S. 83. A bill granting a pension to Addie A. Hasselbrock;

S. 84. A bill granting an increase of pension to Edward L. Hayes; and

S. 85. A bill granting pensions to male nurses who served under contract between April 21, 1898, and February 2, 1901; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FRAZIER:

S. 86. A bill to provide for the purchase and sale of farm products; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

S. 87. A bill for the relief of Leslie Truax; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 88. A bill referring the claims of the Turtle Mountain Band or Bands of Chippewa Indians of North Dakota to the Court of Claims for finding of fact and recommendations to the Congress; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. McCARRAN:

S. 89. A bill for postal employees' longevity; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

S. 90. A bill to provide for the punishment of persons transporting stolen animals in interstate commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 91. A bill to provide for Senate ratification of foreign-

trade agreements; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 92. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents for certain lands to certain settlers in the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, Nev.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. BULOW:

S. 93. A bill granting a pension to James E. Rush; to the Committee on Pensions.

S. 94. A bill to amend section 13 of the Classification Act of 1923, as amended;

S. 95. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 22, 1920, as amended, to extend retirement to certain employees of certain Indian schools; and

S. 96. A bill to repeal section 204 of the Economy Act and amend the Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, granting under certain circumstances extensions beyond the statutory retirement age; to the Committee on Civil Service.

By Mr. LEWIS:

S. 97. A bill for the relief of Bernard Foley; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. Schwellenbach, Mr. McNary, and Mr. Clark of Idaho:

S. 98. A bill to provide for the further improvement of the Columbia River at Umatilla Rapids, and the improvement of the Snake River between its mouth and Lewiston, Idaho; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. JOHNSON of California:

S. 99. A bill authorizing the Postmaster General to cooperate in a national automobile safety campaign; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. LEE:

S. 100. A bill to promote farm ownership by amending the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act to provide for Government-insured loans to farmers; to encourage sale of farms held by absentee owners to farm tenants; and to enable

tenant farmers to become owners of farm homes through long-term, low-interest-rate loans on farms, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. MALONEY:

S. 101. A bill to regulate the issuance of commemorative coins; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 102. A bill for the relief of Lewis Leonard Wood and Winifred Wood; to the Committee on Immigration.

S. 103. A bill for the relief of Lt. William J. Wholean;

S. 104. A bill for the relief of Dr. A. F. McDonald;

S. 105. A bill for the relief of Willard Twitchell;

S. 106. A bill for the relief of James E. Breslin;

S. 107. A bill making income from United States securities subject to the income-tax laws of the United States; and

S. 108. A bill for the relief of Joseph Arcysesky; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 109. A bill for the relief of Lewis W. Bryant; and

. S. 110. A bill for the relief of William J. Roper; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 111. A bill for the relief of Ensign Stanley Harrison; S. 112. A bill for the relief of George Anthony Francis Olshefsky;

S. 113. A bill for the relief of Horace Franklin McMahon;

S. 114. A bill for the relief of Peter Joseph Costigan;

S. 115. A bill for the relief of Albert Ralphaiel Anastasio;

S. 116. A bill for the relief of Antonio Passafume; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 117. A bill for the relief of Lulu M. Peiper;

S. 118. A bill for the relief of Joseph H. Sheridan;

S. 119. A bill for the relief of Helen M. Crowley; and

S. 120. A bill for the relief of Charles H. Weldon; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 121. A bill granting a pension to Ida D. Fletcher;

S. 122. A bill granting an increase of pension to George B. Sheldon;

S. 123. A bill granting a pension to Jane A. Britton;

S. 124. A bill granting a pension to Louis Zeller; and

S. 125. A bill granting a pension to Frank C. Comstock; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

S. 126. A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, with respect to charges for transportation of property between different freight-rate territories, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

S. 127. A bill authorizing negotiations and providing for the construction, maintenance, and operation of an interoceanic canal over Nicaraguan territory, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interoceanic Canals.

By Mr. AUSTIN:

S. 128. A bill for the relief of Fred H. Beauregard; and

S. 129. A bill for the relief of Howard Arthur Beswick; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 130. A bill granting an increase of pension to May S. King:

S. 131. A bill granting a pension to Janafarah W. Palmer;

S. 132. A bill granting an increase of pension to Helen Mehitable Sawyer; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GEORGE:

S. 133. A bill granting pensions and increases of pensions to needy war veterans; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 134. A bill providing for continuing retirement pay, under certain conditions, of officers and former officers of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps of the United States, other than officers of the Regular Army, Navy, or Marine Corps who incurred physical disability while in the service of the United States during the World War, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 135. A bill granting pensions to veterans of wars and campaigns who are permanently and totally disabled, not the result of their own felonious misconduct; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GEORGE and Mr. RUSSELL:

S. 136. A bill to establish a national land policy, and to provide homesteads free of debt for actual farm families; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. BANKHEAD:

S. 137. A bill to amend sections 3 and 15 (a) of part I of the Interstate Commerce Act; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. WALSH:

S. 138. A bill to amend section 2 of the United States Warehouse Act; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

S.139. A bill for the relief of Maria Bartolo; to the Committee on Immigration.

S. 140. A bill for the relief of Hector H. Perry; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 141. A bill for the relief of Lt. (Jr. Gr.) Svend J. Skou, United States Navy, retired;

S. 142. A bill for the relief of Jack Lecel Haas;

S. 143. A bill for the relief of William Forest Jackson; and S. 144. A bill for the relief of Lewis Alfred Dearborn; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 145. A bill for the relief of Elizabeth B. Dayton;

S. 146. A bill for the relief of J. Aristide Lefevre;

S. 147. A bill for the relief of Capt. Francis H. S. McKeon;

S. 148. A bill for the relief of Francis G. McDougall;

S. 149. A bill for the relief of Lottie A. Abbott, the legal representative and administratrix of the estate of James D. Felley, deceased; and

S. 150. A bill to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of the Union Iron Works; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 151. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth Damon Jones;

S. 152. A bill granting a pension to Teresa F. Boyle;

S. 153. A bill granting a pension to Alice L. Tourtellotte; and

S. 154. A bill granting a pension to Velma G. Rose; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

S. 155. A bill for the relief of the Continental Petroleum Co. of Delaware; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. VANDENBERG:

S. 156. A bill to amend the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HILL:

S. 157. A bill for the relief of Samuel L. Dwyer; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 158. A bill to amend section 1, paragraph 5, of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

S. 159. A bill for the relief of Thomas E. Grier; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 160. A bill granting an increase of pension to Rosalie Hood; and

S. 161. A bill granting a pension to Grizelda Hull Hobson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SCHWARTZ:

S. 162. A bill to protect producers, manufacturers, distributors, and consumers from the unrevealed presence of substitutes and mixtures in spun, woven, knitted, felted, or otherwise manufactured wool products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

S. 163. A bill directing the Secretary of the Interior to issue to Albert W. Gabbey a patent to certain lands in the State of Wyoming; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. NYE:

S. 164. A bill to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the peaceful and friendly relations which have existed between the United States and Canada, and in commemoration of the founding of the International Peace Garden at the international boundary line between the United States and Canada in the Turtle Mountains of North Dakota and Manitoba; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 165. A bill authorizing the naturalization of certain aliens; and

S. 166. A bill for the relief of Nathan Kaplan; to the Committee on Immigration.

S. 167. A bill to amend clause (4b) of subsection (b) of section 203 of the Motor Carrier Act, 1935; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

S. 168. A bill to protect the public health by regulating the importation of dairy products into the United States;

S. 169. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to provide for an increase in the funds contributed by the United States for aid to dependent Indian children who are wards of the United States;

S. 170. A bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended; S. 171. A bill to provide for the payment under section 602 of the Revenue Act of 1936 of claims placed in the mails prior to January 1, 1937;

S. 172. A bill for the relief of Erick Keck;

S. 173. A bill for the relief of Walter L. Monson; and

S. 174. A bill for the relief of Walter A. Libby; to the Committee on Finance.

S.175. A bill to regulate the formation and activities of private military forces in the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 176. A bill to regulate election expenditures; to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

S. 177. A bill for the relief of Edla H. Fyten;

S. 178. A bill for the relief of Otto C. Asplund;

S. 179. A bill for the relief of John Haslam;

S. 180. A bill for the relief of Burt E. Stewart; and

S. 181. A bill for the relief of the Morgan Decorating Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ASHURST:

S. 182. A bill for the relief of Edward Hagenson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 183. A bill for the relief of Donald F. Bell, of Camp Verde, Ariz.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 184 (by request). A bill to provide for the taking of depositions in criminal proceedings, and for other purposes;

S. 185 (by request). A bill to amend section 224 of the Criminal Code so as to penalize the making of false claims for the loss of insured mail matter;

S. 186 (by request). A bill to amend section 798 of the Code of Law for the District of Columbia, relating to murder in the first degree;

S. 187 (by request). A bill to regulate the defense of alibi in criminal cases;

S.188 (by request). A bill to provide for the administration of the United States Courts, and for other purposes;

S. 189 (by request). A bill to provide for the confiscation of firearms in possession of persons convicted of felony and disposition thereof;

S. 190 (by request). A bill to authorize the temporary appointment of a special judge for the District Court of the Virgin Islands;

S. 191 (by request). A bill to extend the privilege of retirement to the judges of the District Court for the District of Alaska, the District Court of the United States for Puerto Rico, the District Court of the Virgin Islands, the United States District Court for the District of the Canal Zone, and the United States Court for China;

S. 192 (by request). A bill to permit appeals by the United States to the circuit courts of appeals in certain criminal cases;

S. 193 (by request). A bill to amend the Judicial Code by conferring on circuit courts of appeals jurisdiction to revise sentences in criminal cases;

S. 194 (by request). A bill to repeal the provision of law which provides that the failure of the defendant in a criminal case to testify shall not create any presumption against him;

S. 195 (by request). A bill to change the manner of appointment of probation officers;

S.196 (by request). A bill to amend the National Stolen Property Act;

S. 197 (by request). A bill to amend the Judicial Code in respect to claims against the United States for just compensation:

S. 198 (by request). A bill to provide that records certified by the Court of Claims to the Supreme Court, in response to writs of certiorari, may include material portions of the evidence, and for other purposes;

S. 199 (by request). A bill to confer jurisdiction upon certain United States commissioners to try petty offenses committed on Federal reservations; and

S. 200 (by request). A bill to amend the statutes providing punishment for transmitting threatening communications; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KING:

S. 201. A bill to provide for allocation of funds to the States to provide relief and work relief; to the Committee on Appropriations.

S. 202. A bill to provide for the protection of watersheds in and adjacent to national forests; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

S. 203. A bill to repeal the Neutrality Act of August 31, 1935, as amended; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

S.204. A bill to repeal the Miller-Tydings Resale Price Maintenance Act; and

S. 205. A bill to empower the courts to remit or mitigate forfeitures of automobiles used for the purpose of introducing, or attempting to introduce, intoxicants into the Indian country; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 206. A bill for the relief of Chris Barkas and Mabel Barkas; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 207. A bill to provide that land in national game preserves shall be subject to prospecting and location under the United States mining laws; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

S. 208. A bill to amend the act approved March 3, 1927, entitled "An act granting pensions to certain soldiers who served in the Indian wars from 1817 to 1898, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Pensions.

S. 209. A bill to establish a branch of the Department of the Interior in one of the public-land States, to transfer to such branch certain bureaus and offices of the Department of the Interior, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. HATCH:

S. 210. A bill to authorize the purchase of certain lands for the Apache Tribe of the Mescalero Reservation, N. Mex.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

S. 211. A bill relating to the funeral costs and transportation of bodies of certain deceased veterans; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 212. A bill prohibiting certain employees of the Federal Government from engaging in political activities;

S.213. A bill to prevent pernicious political activities; to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

S. 214. A bill to prohibit the acquisition by the United States of any land located in any State without the consent of such State; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

S. 215. A bill for the relief of Anna Hathaway;

S. 216. A bill for the relief of A. C. Williams, administrator of the estate of his wife, Julia F. Williams;

S. 217. A bill for the relief of Charles B. Payne;

S. 218. A bill for the relief of Manuel D. A. Otero as administrator of the estate of Teresita S. Otero, deceased; and S. 219. A bill for the relief of Emma Gomez; to the Com-

mittee on Claims.

By Mr. BARKLEY:

S. 220. A bill granting a pension to Joseph P. Flanders; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BURKE:

S. 221. A bill for the relief of Anthony Coniglio; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BARBOUR:

S. 222. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to provide for grants to States for direct relief and work relief; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. SMATHERS:

S. 223. A bill providing for exempting certain vessels of the United States from the requirements of the Officers' Competency Certificates Convention, 1936; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. McNARY:

S. 224. A bill to amend section 9 of the act of May 22, 1928, authorizing and directing a national survey of forest resources:

S. 225. A bill to amend the provisions of the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937;

S. 226. A bill to promote sustained-yield forest management in order thereby (a) to stabilize communities, forest industries, employment, and taxable forest wealth; (b) to assure a continuous and ample supply of forest products; and (c) to secure the benefits of forests in regulation of water supply and stream flow, prevention of soil erosion, amelioration of climate, and preservation of wildlife:

S. 227. A bill to amend section 4 of the Rural Electrification Act of 1936:

S. 228. A bill to stabilize communities, farm income, forest industries, employment, and taxable forest wealth; to assure a continuous and ample supply of forest products; and to secure the benefits of forests in regulations of water supply and stream flow, prevention of soil erosion, and amelioration of climate;

S. 229. A bill to authorize the withdrawal of national-forest lands for the protection of watersheds from which water is obtained for municipalities, and for other purposes;

S. 230. A bill to provide for the acquisition of certain lands for and the addition thereof to the Deschutes National Forest in the State of Oregon; and

S. 231. A bill to authorize the acquisition of forest lands adjacent to and over which highways, roads, or trails are constructed or to be constructed wholly or partially with Federal funds in order to preserve or restore their natural beauty, and for other pusposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

S. 232. A bill to reduce the rate of interest on loans made under section 32 of the Emergency Farm Mortgage Act of 1933, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 233. A bill to amend certain laws relating to employees of the Lighthouse Service;

S. 234. A bill to amend the Inland Waterways Corporation Act, approved June 3, 1924, as amended, authorizing the Secretary of War to extend the services and operations of the Inland Waterways Corporation to the Columbia River;

S. 235. A bill to authorize the periodic construction of channels for fishing purposes in the Siltcoos and Takenitch Rivers, in the State of Oregon;

S. 236. A bill authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to convey a certain tract of land to the State of Oregon for use as a public park and recreational site;

S. 237. A bill to provide a preliminary examination and survey of Neskowin Creek, Oreg., with a view to the control of its floodwaters;

S. 238. A bill to authorize the construction of the Umatilla Dam in the Columbia River, Oreg. and Wash.;

S. 239. A bill to provide for the further improvement of the Columbia and Snake Rivers in Oregon and Idaho; and

S. 240. A bill to fix the definition and application of certain terms used in the navigation and steamboat-inspection laws with reference to the fishing industries and the vessels employed therein, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 241. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to convey a certain tract of land to the State of Oregon to be used for public-park purposes;

S. 242. A bill relating to the disposition of funds derived from the Coos Bay Wagon Road grant lands;

S. 243. A bill to extend the provisions of the Forest Exchange Act to lands adjacent to the national forests in the State of Oregon; and

S. 244. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to dispose of certain isolated and fractional tracts of land formerly embraced in the Coos Bay Wagon Road grant; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

S. 245. A bill to amend the Social Security Act with respect to its application to employees of fraternal beneficiary societies, orders, and associations;

S. 246. A bill to provide for the free importation of flaxscutching machinery; and

S. 247. A bill to exempt from Federal admission taxes certain fees collected in the course of administration of the national park system; to the Committee on Finance,

S. 248. A bill to authorize the distribution to persons admitted to citizenship of the patriotic poster entitled "Look the Truth in the Face"; to the Committee on Immigration.

S. 249. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to cooperate with the State of Oregon in the preservation and maintenance of the battleship *Oregon* as a national memorial; and

S. 250. A bill authorizing an appropriation for the development of a naval air base at Tongue Point, Oreg.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 251. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to establish a Civilian Conservation Corps, and for other purposes," approved June 28, 1937; and

S. 252. A bill providing for the cancelation of certain charges against the Klamath Drainage District of Klamath County, Oreg., and charging such unpaid balance to the unentered public lands within the district; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

S. 253. A bill to authorize the leasing of certain Indian lands subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

S. 254. A bill to amend paragraph (14) of subsection (a) of section 203 of the Motor Carrier Act, 1935; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

S. 255. A bill authorizing the Secretary of War to convey to the port of Cascade Locks, Oreg., certain lands for municipal purposes; and

S. 256. A bill for the relief of Lester D. Petteys; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 257. A bill granting a pension to Josephine Boyd;

S. 258. A bill granting a pension to Mary Greer;

S. 259. A bill for the relief of veterans of the Spanish-American War, including the Philippine Insurrection, and Chinese Boxer Rebellion;

S. 260. A bill granting an increase of pension to James S. Blankenship; and

S. 261. A bill granting a pension to Jennie Alexander; to the Committee on Pensions.

S. 262. A bill for the relief of Lenore Embree Beckett;

S. 263. A bill for the relief of George R. Morris;

S. 264. A bill for the relief of W. G. Wertz;

S. 265. A bill for the relief of the Castilloa Rubber Plantation Co.;

S. 266. A bill for the relief of R. Thomas Carter and Alice E. Carter;

S. 267. A bill for the relief of R. Thomas Carter;

S. 268. A bill for the relief of Minnie B. LaBarre and Harrie A. LaBarre;

S. 269. A bill for the relief of Benson Allen;

S. 270. A bill for the relief of Lofts & Son:

S. 271. A bill for the relief of Jack Mattson;

S. 272. A bill for the relief of Stella Quine;

S. 273. A bill for the relief of Allie F. Muth;

S. 274. A bill for the relief of the estate of Ralph R. Fraley;
S. 275. A bill for the relief of the estates of Edwin G. Scott,

Clyde R. Dindinger, and Ralph R. Fraley;

S. 276. A bill for the relief of the Portland Iron Works; S. 277. A bill for the relief of Multnomah County, Oreg.;

S. 278. A bill for the relief of Dr. R. C. Field; and

S. 279. A bill for the relief of Pherne Miller; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. NEELY:

S. 280. A bill to prohibit and to prevent the trade practices known as "compulsory block-booking" and "blind selling" in the leasing of motion-picture films in interstate and foreign commerce; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

S. 281. A bill to amend further the Civil Service Retirement

Act, approved May 29, 1930; and

S. 282. A bill to provide that State employees employed in connection with programs carried on with the assistance of the Federal Government be selected in accordance with a nonpolitical civil-service plan; to the Committee on Civil Service.

S. 283. A bill for the relief of William Lester Taylor; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 284. A bill to place Harold Staats, formerly captain, Officers' Reserve Corps, on the emergency officers' retired list; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 285. A bill granting a pension to Herman Meikle; and S. 286. A bill to impose taxes on fuel oil; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 287. A bill for the relief of Ruth Floyd Jacokes;

S. 288. A bill for the relief of Tarring W. Heironimus;

S. 289. A bill for the relief of the West Virginia Co.;

S. 290. A bill for the relief of O. C. Stewart; and

S. 291. A bill for the relief of E. W. Jones; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 292. A bill granting a pension to Joseph J. McNeal

S. 293. A bill granting a pension to Laura Ricketts;

S. 294. A bill granting a pension to William Runyon;

S. 295. A bill granting a pension to Gertrude M. Thomas;

S. 296. A bill granting an increase of pension to Susan E. Watts;

S. 297. A bill granting an increase of pension to Isabel Gammon;

S. 298. A bill granting a pension to George W. Criss;

S. 299. A bill granting a pension to Anna Marie Flautt;

S. 300. A bill granting a pension to Clara V. Crossland;

S. 301. A bill granting a pension to Wesley William Faulk-well; and

S. 302. A bill granting a pension to Martha E. Irvin; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GEORGE:

S. 303. A bill for the relief of the Ocilla Star; to the Committee on Claims.

(Mr. Capper introduced Senate bills 304 and 305, which were referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. CLARK of Missouri:

S. 306. A bill to provide for including periods of service while in the armed forces of the United States during the World War for the purposes of the Railroad Retirement Acts; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. TOWNSEND:

S. J. Res. 1. Joint resolution providing for the appointment of a special joint committee to investigate the silver program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. CLARK of Missouri:

S. J. Res. 2. Joint resolution providing for consideration of a recommendation for decoration of Sgt. Fred W. Stockham, deceased; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. J. Res. 3. Joint resolution authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to make an investigation of laborsaving and labor-displacing machinery, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

S. J. Res. 4. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for a referendum on war and conscription of citizens for military duty abroad; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. J. Res. 5. Joint resolution to transfer jurisdiction of the Legislative Reference Service to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on the Library.

- S. J. Res. 6. Joint resolution to provide for establishing a territorial form of civil government for the District of Columbia; to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs,
- By Mr. TOWNSEND, Mr. BURKE, and Mr. GIBSON: S. J. Res. 7. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GIBSON:

S. J. Res. 8. Joint resolution to provide for a study of traffic conditions in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

- S. J. Res. 9. Joint resolution conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims concerning a claim of the Continental Petroleum Co. of Delaware; to the Committee on the
- S. J. Res. 10. Joint resolution for the relief of the Continental Petroleum Co. of Delaware; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. AUSTIN:

S. J. Res. 11. Joint resolution directing the Comptroller General to readjust the account between the United States and the State of Vermont; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. VANDENBERG:

S. J. Res. 12. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to disapproval of items in general appropriation bills; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WALSH:

S. J. Res. 13. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11, 1939, General Pulaski's Memorial Day for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ANDREWS:

S. J. Res. 14. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to section 1, article III, of the Constitution of the United States relating to the Judiciary; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURKE:

S. J. Res. 15. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the term of office of President; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McNARY:

S. J. Res. 16. Joint resolution authorizing the erection of a memorial building to commemorate the winning of the Oregon country for the United States; to the Committee on the Library

By Mr. MALONEY:

S. J. Res. 17. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11, 1939, General Pulaski's Memorial Day for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KING:

- S. J. Res. 18. Joint resolution requesting the President to call a conference of representatives of the Federal and State Governments to consider certain questions relative to Federal and State taxation; to the Committee on Finance.
- S. J. Res. 19. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States to call an international conference to formulate measures for the reduction of armaments; to the table.

By Mr. WHEELER:

S. J. Res. 20. Joint resolution providing for the cancelation of certain crop-production and harvesting loans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. NYE:

- S. J. Res. 21. Joint resolution to prohibit the shipment of arms, ammunition, and implements of war from any place in the United States: to the Committee on Foreign Relations.
- S. J. Res. 22. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the sale and marketing of agricultural commodities; and
- S. J. Res. 23. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing for the requisition of property in time of war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

- S. J. Res. 24. Joint resolution relative to the establishment of title of the United States to certain submerged lands containing petroleum deposits; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.
- (Mr. Frazier introduced Senate Joint Resolution 25, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and appears under a separate heading.)
- (Mr. Capper introduced Senate Joint Resolution 26, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and appears under a separate heading.)

## PROHIBITION OF WAR

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President, I introduce a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting war; and I ask unanimous consent to have printed as part of my remarks a letter signed by the officials of the Women's Peace Union, with headquarters in New York, favoring the amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from North Dakota? The Chair hears none. and it is so ordered.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 25) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting war was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The letter presented by Mr. Frazier is as follows:

WOMEN'S PEACE UNION,
New York, January 2, 1939.

Dear Senator Frazier: On the eve of the opening of the Seventysixth Congress, the Women's Peace Union urges you once again to
introduce the independent disarmament amendment which will
make war and all preparation for war illegal under our Constitution.

We believe the passage of this proposed amendment, conceived
in a time of peace and calm judgment, is our great opportunity to
avoid war for ourselves and perhaps for the world. Without its
passage we see little hope of preserving our civilization.

Since 1926, when you bravely took the leadership in the cause
of independent disarmament, you and we have contended in season and out that war for any purpose is wrong in principle and

son and out that war for any purpose is wrong in principle and disastrous in practice. Because war is the slaughter of human beings on as large a scale as possible, we have branded it the crime against humanity—humanity which can never win, no matter who the declared conqueror, but must lose always and forever to the only possible gainers in any modern armed conflict—death, inhuman suffering, disease, increased unemployment, moral and financial

bankruptcy, political chaos.

We hope that the discussion of this proposed amendment in Congress this year will give inspiration and stamina to the people of every country who opposed and probably prevented war in September 1938, and are now resisting, as best they can, the hysterical armament race of their governments.

"The cutstanding social and international development in the world today, news of which is being disparaged or suppressed by dictators—military, political, and financial—is the rising peace sentiment among the mass of citizens in each country. Peoples everywhere want peace. They not only want it; they are determined to bring it about. It is this fact alone—the rising tide of peace—which, in the face of the terrifying armaments that have been piled up by all governments, still prevents a so-called spontaneous out-break of war. Even the most ruthless protagonists of the doctrine break of war. Even the most ruthless protagonists of the doctrine that the battlefield is the supreme court of nations today realize that arms alone do not spell victory, and that the people widely have ceased to believe in war as a means of redressing national grievances; they do not want to take the lives of others or to lay down their own; they do not want war.

"War is everywhere regarded as a catastrophe, and the ability to promote measures looking toward peace, to maintain peace, has become the test of a government's fitness and popularity."—From Elias Tobenkin in The Peoples Want Peace, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York.

Sons, New York.

If we disarm, other nations may follow our lead. It is said that in Sweden—a mere step from Germany—40,000 men and women have united to urge a policy of independent disarmament as an example to other nations. Everywhere, even in the countries under dictators, there is an undercurrent of mass opposition to war. Everywhere, even in the countries under dictators, there is an undercurrent of mass opposition to war. where there is the desire to find peaceful methods of settling international problems

But whether other countries follow our example in disarmament or not, we are convinced the United States will be safer unarmed in

an armed world than it now is, armed.

Armament and so-called preparedness do not mean safety. They mean the constant danger of our being involved in war for policies and programs which, even if honestly undertaken, will result in the destruction of life, not its defense; in the violation, not the preservation, of our American ideals. That danger is far greater than the menace of foreign invasion.

We in the United States should be immune to the madness of imported war hysteria. We should call no nation our enemy. Cruelty, injustice, war itself are our enemies and they cannot be conquered by violent means.

Skillful propagandists and sincere idealists alike, seizing upon our natural indignation over the conquest of helpless peoples and the persecution of minorities, are arousing in us the deadly, negative emotions of hate and fear. The emotional tension thus caused must find some rational moral outlet or our Nation may be led into the frenzied activity of war.

Thus, before it is too late, let us turn our hatred of cruelty and oppression, our scorn of dictatorship, into constructive action. Let us prove our good will. Let us disarm. Then, and then only, can we help our tragic world to economic and racial adjustment. Then, because we have shown ourselves fearless, with spiritual and moral integrity, we can employ the technique of nonviolent resistance as the sane and valid substitute for bloodshed.

If the United States disarms now it will furnish the world with an example of a gallant nation devoted to the preservation, not the destruction, of civilization. In the words of a modern poet, Jessie

Wallace Hughan:

"... To cast aside the weight of battle-gear,
To dare to stand alone, with dauntless cheer,
To pass the old forebodings calmly by— May we be first the uncharted course to try! The world has longed too many a trembling year For valiant hearts!"

After the introduction of this amendment it will be the duty of Congress to decide whether it has the moral right to hold the amendment in committee, hidden from the people. At previous sessions of Congress hearings have been held on this amendment sessions of Congress hearings have been held on this amendment—three in all—and many peace groups have joined with the Women's Peace Union in requesting that the amendment be reported favorably to Congress. We ask that Congress pass the amendment and let the people decide whether or not it should be ratified. That action would mean the triumph of democracy. Surely the people know what values, what principles they hold dear.

We cannot tell you how much the Women's Peace Union honors your energy and courage in introducing this measure. It is our conviction that you are making history.

Sincerely yours.

Sincerely yours,

THE WOMEN'S PEACE UNION, By ELINOR BYRNS. MARGARET GARDNER HULST. TRACY D. MYGATT. FRANCES WITHERSPOON. OLIVIA DUNBAR TORRENCE. FRIEDA L. LAZARUS. MARY B. ORR.

#### INTEREST AND PRINCIPAL OF AGRICULTURAL LOANS

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I propose an amendment to the Federal Farm Loan Act which would provide that interest rate on Federal land bank mortgages shall be reduced to 3 percent, the reduction to be effective until June 30, 1943.

Under an act passed by the Seventy-fifth Congress, the interest rate on Federal land bank mortgages is fixed at 31/2

percent until June 30, 1940.

The need for this lower interest rate seems to me to be practically self-evident. Under present prices of farm products and while agriculture continues to receive such a small proportion of the national income, farmers cannot afford, and should not be required, to pay a higher rate of interest than 3 percent on Federal land bank mortgages.

The companion measure would require the interest rate on land-bank commissioner loans, which, practically, are distress loans, to be reduced to 3 percent. The established rate is 5 percent; but the Seventy-fifth Congress, as an emergency measure, made a reduction to 4 percent, effective until June 30, 1940. The same argument applies to this measure as to the one to provide 3 percent interest on land-bank mortgages.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bills of the Senator from Kansas will be received and appropriately referred.

The bills were read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, as follows:

S. 304. A bill relating to the rate of interest on loans by Federal land banks; and

S. 305. A bill to reduce the rate of interest on certain loans made by the land-bank commissioner, to extend the time for payment of the principal of such loans, and for other purposes.

TAXATION OF FEDERAL AND STATE SECURITIES AND EMPLOYEES

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I am introducing a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution which would empower the United States to collect taxes on income from any securities issued by States and their political subdivisions after the adoption of the amendment without discrimination in favor of securities issued by the United States. The corresponding power would be given to the States to collect taxes on income derived from securities issued by the United States without discrimination in favor of the State or local issues.

The proposed amendment also would place all public employees, Federal, State, and local, on the same basis as employees in private business, so far as Federal and State income taxes are concerned. At the present time Federal employees are not subject to State income taxes; State and local government employees are not subject to Federal income taxes. The present system creates a favored class exempt from taxes required of the ordinary citizen. I propose to remove this discrimination and hope that it will be done.

I consider that it also would be in the public interest to end the issuance of tax-exempt securities by Federal, State, and local governments, as this amendment proposes. I understand there are at present some \$65,000,000,000 worth of tax-exempt securities in existence. This also tends to create and continue a favored class by exempting their income from taxes paid by others. The issuance of tax-exempt securities not only allows many persons and estates with large incomes to escape taxes; it also tends to drive into Government securities capital that would be better employed in private industry. At the same time, the tax-exempt securities encourage governmental extravagance through cheaper capital.

I believe the country as a whole favors the adoption of this or some similar amendment, and I expect to do everything in my power to have this amendment submitted to the States by

this Congress and at this session.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 26) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to taxes on certain incomes was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### REFUND OF TOBACCO PENALTIES

Mr. GEORGE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to a bill relating to a refund of tobacco penalties, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and ordered to be printed.

## COMMITTEE ON WORLD WAR VETERANS' LEGISLATION

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I present a notice to be read at the desk.

The notice was read, as follows:

In compliance with the terms of rule XL of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice that it is my intention to offer a resolution to amend rule XXV of the standing rules of the Senate by adding after the paragraph in said rule reading as follows:

"Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, to consist of 17 Senators."

A new paragraph reading as follows:
"Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation, to consist of 17 Senators.'

#### AMENDMENT OF THE RULES-EX OFFICIO MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. PITTMAN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 5), which was referred to the Committee on Rules:

Resolved, That rule XVI be amended by striking out the period at the end of section 6, substituting a semicolon, and adding the following: "and that three members of the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, to be selected by said committee, shall be ex officio members of the Committee on Appropriations, to serve on said committee when the items pertaining to the Department of the Interior are being considered by the Committee on Appropriations to the literature of the committee on Appropriations for the Department of the committee on the committee on the committee on the committee of the committee on the committee on the committee on the committee of the committee on th tions in the bill making appropriations for the Department of the Interior, and at least one member of the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys shall be a member of any conference committee appointed to confer with the House when the items pertaining to the Department of the Interior are being considered in the bill making appropriations for the Department of the Interior."

## COMMITTEE ON CIVIL AERONAUTICS

Mr. BYRD submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 6), which was referred to the Committee on Rules:

Resolved, That rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is hereby amended by inserting after the seventeenth line of paragraph 1 thereof the following:
"Committee on Civil Aeronautics, to consist of 12 Senators."

#### COMMITTEE ON OPERATIONS

Mr. MURRAY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 7), which was referred to the Committee on Rules:

Resolved, That rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is hereby amended by inserting after "Committee on Naval Affairs, to consist of 17 Senators;" the following:

"Committee on Operations, to consist of 7 Senators;".

#### DAILY PRAYER IN THE SENATE

Mr. NEELY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 8), which was referred to the Committee on Rules:

Resolved, That the Chaplain shall open each calendar day's session of the Senate with prayer.

#### COMMITTEE ON CIVIL AVIATION AND AERONAUTICS

Mr. McCARRAN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 9), which was referred to the Committee on Rules:

Resolved, That rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate be, and the same is hereby, amended by inserting, on page 30, after the third line of paragraph 1, the following:

"Committee on Civil Aviation and Aeronautics, to consist of 12 Senators '

#### ADMINISTRATION OF SUGAR ACT OF 1937

Mr. ELLENDER submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 10), which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

Whereas the Sugar Act of 1937 provides for the fixing of quotas for the different sugar-producing areas of the United States, and further provides that the Secretary of Agriculture shall determine for the farms in each such area their proportionate share of the sugar beets or sugarcane to be planted to meet the quota for such area; and

Whereas the estimated amount of sugarcane needed to fill the quota for the mainland cane-sugar area for 1939 is approximately 75 percent of the estimated production for 1938 and is substantially less than the quota for 1938; and

Whereas prior to the determination on October 6, 1938, of such

estimated amount and of the proportionate shares of the 1939 crop for the farms in such area an acreage approximately equal to the amount of the shares of such farms for 1938 had already been planted to sugarcane on many of such farms; and

Whereas any substantial reduction in the amount of the shares of such farms for the 1939 crop below the shares for the 1938 crop will require the plowing up of large quantities of sugarcane planted prior to October 1, 1938, or result in substantial inequalities for planters who planted after such date; and

Whereas the allotment as to acreage for sugarcane as determined in 1937 for the 1938 crop met with general satisfaction, and the farmers arranged their planting schedules for a 3-year period (sugarcane is planted once every 3 years, generally): Therefore be it Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that in the administration of the Sugar Act of 1937 the proportionate share (expressed

in terms of planted acreage) for any farm, as determined by the Secretary pursuant to the provisions of section 302 of such act, of the quantity of the crop of sugar beets or sugarcane for the calendar years 1939 and 1940 required to be processed to enable the area in which such crop of sugar beets or sugarcane is grown to meet the quota (and provide a normal carry-over inventory) shall be so fixed or adjusted that the share of such crop for such farm shall be an amount not less than the amount of the share of the 1938 crop for such farm.

#### ASSISTANT CLERK, COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE COMMERCE

Mr. WHEELER submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 11), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Interstate Commerce is hereby authorized to employ for the remainder of the Seventy-sixth Congress an assistant clerk, to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at the rate of \$2,000 per annum.

## HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE COMMERCE

Mr. WHEELER submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 12), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Interstate Commerce, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths and to employ a stenographer at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee of the senate of th mittee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

#### HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON INTEROCEANIC CANALS

Mr. CLARK of Missouri submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 13) which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Interoceanic Canals, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the com-mittee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate

#### ASSISTANT CLERK, COMMITTEE ON INTEROCEANIC CANALS

Mr. CLARK of Missouri submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 14), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Interoceanic Canals hereby is authorized to employ during the Seventy-sixth Congress an assistant clerk to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate at the rate of \$2,000 per annum.

### HEARINGS REFORE COMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE

Mr. BULOW submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 15), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Civil Service, or any subcom-Resolved, That the Committee on Civil Service, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be held in connection with any subject which may be before said committee, the expenses thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate.

#### HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS

Mr. GEORGE submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 16), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per 100 words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

#### HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS

Mr. BAILEY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 17), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Claims, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per 100 words, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be before said committee, the expenses thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during sessions or recesses of the Senate.

## ASSISTANT CLERK, COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS

Mr. LOGAN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 18), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Claims hereby is authorized to employ an assistant clerk to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at the rate of \$1,800 per annum and \$1,800 additional so long as the position is held by the first incumbent appointed under this authority.

#### HELEN C. HORNE

Mr. GEORGE submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 19), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate to Helen C. Horne, widow of William W. Horne, late enrolling clerk of the Senate, a sum equal to 6 months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

DEFAULTS ON BOND ISSUES BY SOUTH AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS

Mr. McNARY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 20), which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized and directed to make a full and complete investigation of the extent to which bonds issued by South American governments for sale to investors in the United States are in default and the causes of any such defaults. The committee shall report to the Senate, as soon as practicable, the results of its investigation, together with its recommendations.

For the purposes of this resolution the committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Senate in the Seventy-sixth Congress, to employ such clerical and other assistants, to require by subpena or otherwise, the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, to have such printing and binding done, and to make such expenditures, as it deems advisable. The cost of stenographic services to report such hearings shall not be in excess of 25 cents per hundred words. The expenses of the committee, which shall not exceed \$10,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman.

## PROBLEMS OF THE SOUTH-ADDRESS BY SENATOR BYRNES

[Mr. Bankhead asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered by Senator Byrnes at the fifty-third annual dinner of the New York Southern Society, in New York City, December 7, 1938, on the subject The Problems of the South Will Not Be Solved by Politics or Politicians, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### CORRUPTION AND THE W. P. A .- STATEMENT BY SENATOR HOLT

[Mr. Holt asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a statement by himself entitled "Corruption and the W. P. A.," which appears in the Appendix.]

#### ATTORNEY GENERAL MURPHY

[Mr. Bridges asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an article from the New York Herald Tribune of January 3, 1939, entitled "How Murphy Vetoed Court Order Is Recalled As He Is Elevated," which appears in the Appendix.]

# POLITICS IN RELIEF-EDITORIAL FROM PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

[Mr. Bridges asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer of January 4, 1939, entitled "Politics in Relief a Scandal—End It," which appears in the Appendix.]

The VICE PRESIDENT. The morning business is concluded. There is no calendar.

### RECES

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess until 12:40 p. m., and that it reassemble at that time in order to proceed to the Hall of the House of Representatives.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kentucky?

There being no objection, the Senate (at 12 o'clock and 18 minutes p. m.) took a recess until 12:40 o'clock p. m., when it reassembled, and the Vice President resumed the chair.

# CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. BARKLEY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.
The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.
The enrolling clerk (Darrell St. Claire) called the roll, and
the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Byrnes	Gibson	Johnson, Colo.
Andrews	Capper	Gillette	King
Ashurst	Caraway	Glass	La Follette
Austin	Chavez	Green	Lee
Bailey	Clark, Idaho	Guffey	Lewis
Bankhead	Clark, Mo.	Gurney	Logan
Barbour	Connally	Harrison	Lucas
Barkley	Danaher	Hatch	Lundeen
Bilbo	Davis	Hayden	McCarran
Borah	Donahey	Herring	McKellar
Bridges	Downey	Hill	McNary
Brown	Ellender	Holman	Maloney
Bulow	Frazier	Holt	Mead
Burke	George	Hughes	Miller
Byrd	Gerry	Johnson, Calif.	Minton

Murray	Radcliffe	Smith	Vandenberg
Neely	Reed	Taft	Van Nuys
Norris	Reynolds	Thomas, Okla.	Wagner
Nye	Russell	Thomas, Utah	Walsh
O'Mahoney	Schwartz	Tobey	Wheeler
Overton	Schwellenbach	Townsend	White
Pepper	Sheppard	Truman	Wiley
Pittman	Smathers	Tydings	10 mm (10 mm)

Mr. WALSH. I announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. Lodge] because of illness.

Mr. AUSTIN. I announce the necessary absence of the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] and the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Shipstead].

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety-one Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

JOINT MEETING OF THE TWO HOUSES-ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the joint meeting of the two Houses the Senate stand adjourned until tomorrow.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kentucky? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

In accordance with the concurrent resolution previously agreed to, the Senate will now proceed to the Hall of the House of Representatives to participate in a joint meeting of the two Houses to receive the annual message from the President of the United States.

The Senate, preceded by its Sergeant at Arms (Chesley W. Jurney), its Secretary (Edwin A. Halsey), and the Vice President, proceeded to the Hall of the House of Representatives.

# ANNUAL MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The annual message of the President of the United States was this day delivered by him to the joint meeting of the two Houses of Congress.

(The full text of the message will be found in the proceedings of the House, p. 74.)

#### ADJOURNMENT

At the conclusion of the joint meeting (at 1 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.), under the order previously entered, the Senate stood adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, January 5, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 4, 1939

(Legislative day of Tuesday, January 3, 1939)

# AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker at 12 o'clock noon.

### SWEARING IN OF MEMBERS

Mr. LARRABEE and Mr. LANHAM appeared in the Well of the House and took the oath of office as prescribed by law.

## HON, EDWARD W. CURLEY

Mr. CULLEN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

# House Resolution 31

Whereas Edward W. Curley, a Representative from the State of New York, from the Twenty-second District thereof, has been unable from sickness to appear in person to be sworn as a Member of the House, and there being no contest or question as to his election: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Speaker, or a deputy named by him, be, and he is hereby, authorized to administer the oath of office to said EDWARD W. CURLEY at New York City, in the State of New York, and that the said oath when administered as herein authorized shall be accepted and received by the House as the oath of office of the said EDWARD W. CURLEY.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the resolution just adopted, the Chair appoints the Honorable John E. McGeehan, justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, to administer the oath of office to the Honorable EDWARD W. Curley.

#### HON, REUBEN T. WOOD

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### House Resolution 32

Whereas Reuben T. Wood, a Representative from the State of Missouri, from the Sixth District thereof, has been unable from sickness in his family to appear in person to be sworn as a Member of the House, and there being no contest or question as to his election: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Speaker, or a deputy named by him, be, and he is hereby, authorized to administer the oath of office to said REUBEN T. Wood at Springfield, in the State of Missouri, and that the said oath when administered as herein authorized shall be accepted as the oath of office of the said REUBEN T. Wood.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the authority of the resolution just adopted, the Chair appoints the Honorable James F. Fulbright, judge of the Court of Appeals of Springfield, Mo., to administer the oath of office to the Honorable Reuben T. Wood.

#### HON. EDWARD W. CREAL

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to House Resolution 15, Seventy-sixth Congress, the Chair appoints the Honorable Elwood Hamilton, judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Louisville, Ky., to administer the oath of office to the Honorable Edward W. Creal.

#### THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### House Resolution 33

Resolved, That the following Members be, and they are hereby, elected to the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, to wit: Allen T. Treadway, of Massachusetts; Frank Crowther, of New York; Harold Knutson, of Minnesota; Daniel A. Reed, of New York; Roy O. Woodruff, of Michigan; Thomas A. Jenkins, of Ohio.

The resolution was agreed to.

#### RECESS

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 8 minutes p. m.) the House stood in recess to meet at the call of the Speaker.

#### AFTER RECESS

At 12 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m., the House was called to order by the Speaker.

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had concurred, without amendment, in a concurrent resolution of the House of the following title:

H. Con. Res. 3. Concurrent resolution providing for a joint session of Congress for the purpose of receiving the President's message.

# JOINT SESSION OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE

At 12 o'clock and 51 minutes, the Doorkeeper, Mr. Joseph J. Sinnot, announced the Vice President of the United States and the Members of the United States Senate.

The Vice President of the United States and the Members of the United States Senate entered the Chamber and took the seats assigned to them.

At 12 o'clock and 53 minutes p. m., the Doorkeeper, Mr. Joseph J. Sinnot, announced the Cabinet of the President of the United States.

The Members of the Cabinet of the President of the United States entered the Chamber and took the seats reserved for them in front of the Speaker's rostrum.

The SPEAKER. On behalf of the House the Chair appoints the following committee to conduct the President into the Chamber: Mr. RAYBURN, Mr. DOUGHTON, Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts.

The VICE PRESIDENT. On the part of the Senate the Chair appoints as a like committee the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Barkley], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Pittman], and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNary].

At 1 o'clock p. m., the President of the United States, escorted by the committee of Senators and Representatives, entered the Hall of the House and stood at the Clerk's desk, amid prolonged applause.

The SPEAKER. Senators and Representatives of the Seventy-sixth Congress, I have the distinguished honor of presenting the President of the United States.

#### MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, in reporting on the state of the Nation, I have felt it necessary on previous occasions to advise the Congress of disturbance abroad and of the need of putting our own house in order in the face of storm signals from across the seas. As this Seventy-sixth Congress opens, there is need for further warning.

A war which threatened to envelop the world in flames has been averted, but it has become increasingly clear that peace is not assured.

All about us rage undeclared wars—military and economic. All about us grow more deadly armaments—military and economic. All about us are threats of new aggression—military and economic.

Storms from abroad directly challenge three institutions indispensable to Americans, now as always. The first is religion. It is the source of the other two—democracy and international good faith.

Religion, by teaching man his relationship to God, gives the individual a sense of his own dignity and teaches him to respect himself by respecting his neighbors.

Democracy, the practice of self-government, is a covenant among free men to respect the rights and libertles of their fellows.

International good faith, a sister of democracy, springs from the will of civilized nations of men to respect the rights and liberties of other nations of men.

In a modern civilization, all three—religion, democracy, and international good faith—complement each other.

Where freedom of religion has been attacked, the attack has come from sources opposed to democracy. Where democracy has been overthrown, the spirit of free worship has disappeared. And where religion and democracy have vanished, good faith and reason in international affairs have given way to strident ambition and brute force.

An ordering of society which relegates religion, democracy, and good faith among nations to the background can find no place within it for the ideals of the Prince of Peace. The United States rejects such an ordering, and retains its ancient faith.

There comes a time in the affairs of men when they must prepare to defend not their homes alone but the tenets of faith and humanity on which their churches, their governments, and their very civilization are founded. The defense of religion, of democracy, and of good faith among nations is all the same fight. To save one we must now make up our minds to save all.

We know what might happen to us of the United States if the new philosophies of force were to encompass the other continents and invade our own. We, no more than other nations, can afford to be surrounded by the enemies of our faith and our humanity. Fortunate it is, therefore, that in this Western Hemisphere we have, under a common ideal of democratic government, a rich diversity of resources and of peoples functioning together in mutual respect and peace.

That hemisphere, that peace, and that ideal we propose to do our share in protecting against storms from any quarter. Our people and our resources are pledged to secure that protection. From that determination no American flinches.

This by no means implies that the American republics disassociate themselves from the nations of other continentsit does not mean the Americas against the rest of the world. We as one of the republics reiterate our willingness to help the cause of world peace. We stand on our historic offer to take counsel with all other nations of the world to the end that aggression among them be terminated, that the race of armaments cease and that commerce be renewed.

But the world has grown so small and weapons of attack so swift that no nation can be safe in its will to peace so long as any other single powerful nation refuses to settle its grievances at the council table.

For if any government bristling with implements of war insists on policies of force, weapons of defense give the only safety

In our foreign relations we have learned from the past what not to do. From new wars we have learned what we must do.

We have learned that effective timing of defense, and the distant points from which attacks may be launched, are completely different from what they were 20 years ago.

We have learned that survival cannot be guaranteed by arming after the attack begins—for there is new range and speed to offense.

We have learned that long before any overt military act, aggression begins with preliminaries of propaganda, subsidized penetration, the lossening of ties of good will, the stirring of prejudice, and the incitement to disunion.

We have learned that God-fearing democracies of the world which observe the sanctity of treaties and good faith in their dealings with other nations cannot safely be indifferent to international lawlessness anywhere. They cannot forever let pass, without effective protest, acts of aggression against sister nations—acts which automatically undermine all of us.

Obviously they must proceed along practical, peaceful lines. But the mere fact that we rightly decline to intervene with arms to prevent acts of aggression does not mean that we must act as if there were no aggression at all. Words may be futile, but war is not the only means of commanding a decent respect for the opinions of mankind. There are many methods short of war, but stronger and more effective than mere words, of bringing home to aggressor governments the aggregate sentiments of our own people.

At the very least, we can and should avoid any action, or any lack of action, which will encourage, assist, or build up an aggressor. We have learned that when we deliberately try to legislate neutrality, our neutrality laws may operate unevenly and unfairly—may actually give aid to an aggressor and deny it to the victim. The instinct of self-preservation should warn us that we ought not to let that happen any more.

And we have learned something else—the old, old lesson that probability of attack is mightily decreased by the assurance of an ever-ready defense. Since 1931 world events of thunderous import have moved with lightning speed. During these 8 years many of our people clung to the hope that the innate decency of mankind would protect the unprepared who showed their innate trust in mankind. Today we are all wiser—and sadder.

Under modern conditions what we mean by "adequate defense"—a policy subscribed to by all—must be divided into three elements. First we must have armed forces and defenses strong enough to ward off sudden attack against strategic positions and key facilities essential to insure sustained resistance and ultimate victory. Secondly, we must have the organization and location of those key facilities so that they may be immediately utilized and rapidly expanded to meet all needs without danger of serious interruption by enemy attack.

In the course of a few days I shall send you a special message making recommendations for those two essentials of defense against danger which we cannot safely assume will not come

If these first two essentials are reasonably provided for, we must be able confidently to invoke the third element, the underlying strength of citizenship—the self-confidence, the ability, the imagination, and the devotion that give the staying power to see things through.

A strong and united nation may be destroyed if it is unprepared against sudden attack. But even a nation well armed and well organized from a strictly military standpoint may, after a period of time, meet defeat if it is unnerved by self-distrust, endangered by class prejudice, by dissension between capital and labor, by false economy, and by other unsolved social problems at home.

In meeting the troubles of the world, we must meet them as one people—with a unity born of the fact that for generations those who have come to our shores, representing many kindreds and tongues, have been welded by common opportunity into a united patriotism. If another form of government can present a united front in its attack on a democracy, the attack must be met by a united democracy. Such a democracy can and must exist in the United States.

A dictatorship may command the full strength of a regimented nation. But the united strength of a democratic nation can be mustered only when its people, educated by modern standards to know what is going on and where they are going, have conviction that they are receiving as large a share of opportunity for development, as large a share of material success and of human dignity as they have a right to receive.

Our Nation's program of social and economic reform is therefore a part of defense as basic as armaments themselves.

Against the background of events in Europe, in Africa, and in Asia during these recent years, the pattern of what we have accomplished since 1933 appears in even clearer focus.

For the first time we have moved upon deep-seated problems affecting our national strength and have forged national instruments adequate to meet them.

Consider what the seemingly piecemeal struggles of these 6 years add up to in terms of realistic national preparedness.

We are conserving and developing natural resources—land, water, power, forests.

We are trying to provide necessary food, shelter, and medical care for the health of our population.

We are putting agriculture—our system of food and fiber supply—on a sounder basis.

We are strengthening the weakest spot in our system of industrial supply—its long-smouldering labor difficulties.

We have cleaned up our credit system so that depositor and investor alike may more readily and willingly make their capital available for peace or war.

We are giving to our youth new opportunities for work and education.

We have sustained the morale of all the population by the dignified recognition of our obligations to the aged, the help-less, and the needy.

Above all, we have made the American people conscious of their interrelationship and their interdependence. They sense a common destiny, and a common need of each other. Differences of occupation, geography, race, and religion no longer obscure the Nation's fundamental unity in thought and in action.

We have our difficulties, true; but we are a wiser and a tougher Nation than we were in 1929 or 1932.

Never have there been 6 years of such far-flung internal preparedness in our history. And all this has been done without any dictator's power to command, without conscription of labor or confiscation of capital, without concentration camps, and without a scratch on freedom of speech, freedom of the press, or the rest of the Bill of Rights.

We see things now that we could not see along the way. The tools of government which we had in 1933 are outmoded. We have had to forge new tools for a new role of government in democracy—a role of new responsibility for new needs and increased responsibility for old needs, long neglected.

Some of these tools had to be roughly shaped and still need some machining down. Many of those who fought bitterly against the forging of these new tools welcome their use today. The American people, as a whole, have accepted them. The Nation looks to the Congress to improve the new machinery which we have permanently installed, provided that in the process the social usefulness of the machinery is not destroyed or impaired

All of us agree that we should simplify and improve laws if experience and operation clearly demonstrate the need. For instance, all of us want better provision for our older people under our social security legislation. For the medically needy we must provide better care.

Most of us agree that for the sake of employer and employee alike we must find ways to end factional labor strife and employer-employee disputes.

Most of us recognize that none of these tools can be put to maximum effectiveness unless the executive processes of government are revamped—reorganized, if you will—into more effective combination. And even after such reorganization it will take time to develop administrative personnel and experience in order to use our new tools with a minimum of mistakes. The Congress, of course, needs no further information on this.

With this exception of legislation to provide greater Government efficiency, and with the exception of legislation to ameliorate our railroad and other transportation problems, the past three Congresses have met in part or in whole the pressing needs of the new order of things.

We have now passed the period of internal conflict in the launching of our program of social reform. Our full energies may now be released to invigorate the processes of recovery in order to preserve our reforms, and to give every man and woman who wants to work a real job at a living wage.

But time is of paramount importance. The deadline of danger from within and from without is not within our control. The hourglass may be in the hands of other nations. Our own hourglass tells us that we are off on a race to make democracy work, so that we may be efficient in peace and therefore secure in self-defense.

This time element forces us to still greater efforts to attain the full employment of our labor and our capital.

The first duty of our statesmanship today is to bring capital and manpower together.

Dictatorships do this by main force. By using main force they apparently succeed at it—for the moment. However we abhor their methods, we are compelled to admit that they have obtained substantial utilization of all their material and human resources. Like it or not they have solved, for a time at least, the problem of idle men and idle capital. Can we compete with them by boldly seeking methods of putting idle men and idle capital together and, at the same time, remain within our American way of life, within the Bill of Rights, and within the bounds of what is, from our point of view, civilization itself?

We suffer from a great unemployment of capital. Many people have the idea that as a nation we are overburdened with debt and are spending more than we can afford. That is not so. Despite our Federal Government expenditures, the entire debt of our national economic system, public and private together, is no larger today than it was in 1929, and the interest thereon is far less than it was in 1929.

The object is to put capital—private as well as public—to

We want to get enough capital and labor at work to give us a total turn-over of business, a total national income, of at least \$80,000,000,000 a year. At that figure we shall have a substantial reduction of unemployment, and the Federal revenues will be sufficient to balance the current level of cash expenditures on the basis of the existing tax structure. That figure can be attained, working within the framework of our traditional profit system.

The factors in attaining and maintaining that amount of national income are many and complicated.

They include more widespread understanding among businessmen of many changes which world conditions and technological improvements have brought to our economy over the last 20 years—changes in the interrelationship of price and volume and employment, for instance, changes of the kind in which businessmen are now educating themselves

through opportunities like the so-called monopoly investigation.

They include a perfecting of our farm program to protect farmers' income and consumers' purchasing power from alternate risks of crop gluts and crop shortages.

They include wholehearted acceptance of new standards of honesty in our financial markets.

They include reconcilement of enormous, antagonistic interests—some of them long in litigation—in the railroad and general transportation field.

They include the working out of new techniques—private, State, and Federal—to protect the public interest in and to develop wider markets for electric power.

They include a revamping of the tax relationships between Federal, State, and local units of government, and consideration of relatively small tax increases to adjust inequalities without interfering with the aggregate income of the American people.

They include the perfecting of labor organization and a universal ungrudging attitude by employers toward the labor movement, until there is a minimum of interruption of production and employment because of disputes, and acceptance by labor of the truth that the welfare of labor itself depends on increased balanced output of goods.

To be immediately practical, while proceeding with a steady evolution in the solving of these and like problems, we must wisely use instrumentalities, like Federal investment, which are immediately available to us.

Here, as elsewhere, time is the deciding factor in our choice of remedies.

Therefore, it does not seem logical to me, at the moment we seek to increase production and consumption, for the Federal Government to consider a drastic curtailment of its own investments.

The whole subject of government investing and government income is one which may be approached in two different ways.

The first calls for the elimination of enough activities of government to bring the expenses of government immediately into balance with income of government. This school of thought maintains that because our national income this year is only \$60,000,000,000, ours is only a \$60,000,000,000 country; that government must treat it as such; and that without the help of government it may some day, somehow, happen to become an \$80,000,000,000 country.

If the Congress decides to accept this point of view, it will logically have to reduce the present functions or activities of government by one-third. The Congress will have to accept the responsibility for such reduction; and the Congress will have to determine which activities are to be reduced.

Certain expenditures we cannot possibly reduce, such as the interest on the public debt. A few million dollars saved here or there in the normal or in curtailed work of the old departments and commissions will make no great saving in the Federal Budget. Therefore, the Congress would have to reduce drastically some of certain large items, such as aids to agriculture and soil conservation, veterans' pensions, flood control, highways, waterways and other public works, grants for social and health security, Civilian Conservation Corps activities, relief for the unemployed, or national defense.

The Congress alone has the power to do all this, as it is the appropriating branch of the Government.

The other approach to the question of Government spending takes the position that this Nation ought not to be and need not be only a \$60,000,000,000 nation; that at this moment it has the men and the resources sufficient to make it at least an \$80,000,000,000 nation. This school of thought does not believe that it can become an \$80,000,000,000 nation in the near future if Government cuts its operations by one-third. It is convinced that if we were to try it, we would invite disaster—that we would not long remain even a \$60,000,000,000 nation. There are many complicated factors with which we have to deal, but we have learned that it is unsafe to make abrupt reductions at any time in our net expenditure program.

By our common sense action of resuming Government activities last spring, we have reversed a recession and started the new rising tide of prosperity and national income which

we are now just beginning to enjoy.

If Government activities are fully maintained, there is a good prospect of our becoming an \$30,000,000,000 country in a very short time. With such a national income, present tax laws will yield enough each year to balance each year's expenses.

It is my conviction that down in their hearts the American public—industry, agriculture, finance—wants this Congress to do whatever needs to be done to raise our national income

to \$80,000,000,000 a year.

Investing soundly must preclude spending wastefully. To guard against opportunist appropriation, I have on several occasions addressed the Congress on the importance of permanent long-range planning. I hope, therefore, that following my recommendation of last year a permanent agency will be set up and authorized to report on the urgency and desirability of the various types of Government investment.

Investment for prosperity can be made in a democracy.

I hear some people say, "This is all so complicated. There are certain advantages in a dictatorship. It gets rid of labor trouble, of unemployment, of wasted motion, and of having to do your own thinking."

My answer is, "Yes; but it also gets rid of some other things which we Americans intend very definitely to keep—and we

still intend to do our own thinking."

It will cost us taxes and the voluntary risk of capital to attain some of the practical advantages which other forms

of government have acquired.

Dictatorship, however, involves costs which the American people will never pay: The cost of our spiritual values. The cost of the blessed right of being able to say what we please. The cost of freedom of religion. The cost of seeing our capital confiscated. The cost of being cast into a concentration camp. The cost of being afraid to walk down the street with the wrong neighbor. The cost of having our children brought up not as free and dignified human beings, but as pawns molded and enslaved by a machine.

If the avoidance of these costs means taxes on my income; if avoiding these costs means taxes on my estate at death, I would bear those taxes willingly as the price of my breathing and my children breathing the free air of a free country, as

the price of a living and not a dead world.

Events abroad have made it increasingly clear to the American people that dangers within are less to be feared than dangers from without. If, therefore, a solution of this problem of idle men and idle capital is the price of preserving our liberty, no formless selfish fears can stand in our way.

Once I prophesied that this generation of Americans had a rendezvous with destiny. That prophecy comes true. To

us much is given; more is expected.

This generation will "nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth. \* \* \* The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud and God must forever bless."

At 1 o'clock and 46 minutes p. m., the President of the United States retired from the Hall of the House.

The SPEAKER dissolved the joint session of the Senate and House

Thereupon the Vice President and the Members of the Senate returned to their Chamber.

At 1 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m., the House was called to order by the Speaker.

## SWEARING IN OF A MEMBER

Mr. ABE MURDOCK, a Representative-elect from the State of Utah, appeared at the bar of the House and took the oath of office.

# THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the message of the President be referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed.

The motion was agreed to.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 52 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, January 5, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

99. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting reports from the Department of Commerce, Department of the Interior, United States Housing Authority, Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, and the War Department relative to money received during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which was not paid into the general fund of the United States Treasury; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

100. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a report showing refunds of internal revenue during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on

Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

101. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a report of the receipts and expenditures made during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938, from the working fund established for the operation of the industrial activities at the United States Public Health Service Hospital, Lexington, Ky.; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

102. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a report of rental collections on account of public buildings and sites, privileges, and ground rent under the control of the Treasury Department, outside of the District of Columbia, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

103. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting an itemized report of expenditures made in connection with Pershing Hall in Paris, France; to the Committee

on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

104. A letter from the Quartermaster General, transmitting the proceedings of the stated convention of the Fortieth National Encampment of the United Spanish War Veterans, held at Portland, Oreg., September 11 to 15, 1938 (H. Doc. No. 38); to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed, with illustrations.

105. A letter from the Disabled American Veterans of the World War, transmitting the minutes of the Eighteenth National Convention of the Disabled American Veterans, held at Grand Rapids, Mich., August 13 to 20, inclusive, 1938 (H. Doc. No. 36); to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation and ordered to be printed, with illustrations.

106. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a draft of a bill to authorize credit in the accounts of certain disbursing officers of the Army of the United States and for the settlement of individual claims approved by the War De-

partment; to the Committee on Claims.

107. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a proposed bill with a list of names of officers and enlisted men on the active list of the Army for whom foreign decorations have been received in the State Department; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

108. A letter from the Chairman of the National Mediation Board, transmitting the Fourth Annual Report of the National Mediation Board; to the Committee on Interstate and

Foreign Commerce.

109. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior transmitting a draft of a proposed bill which would provide relief for certain employees of the United States who suffered losses of personal property when fire destroyed Government buildings located at Kwethluk, Alaska, and Point Barrow, Alaska; to the Committee on Claims.

110. A letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report and recommendation to Congress concerning the claim of the Atlas Powder Co. against the United States; to the Committee on Claims.

111. A letter from the Postmaster General, chairman of the board of trustees, transmitting the report of operations of the Postal Savings System for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938 (H. Doc. No. 16); to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads and ordered to be printed.

112. A letter from the President of the Electric Home and Farm Authority, transmitting the third annual report, prepared by direction of the board of trustees of Electric Home and Farm Authority, covering operations from July 1, 1937, to June 30, 1938, inclusive; to the Committee on Banking and

113. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the annual report of the activities of the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice, for the fiscal year 1938; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

114. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to issue the Navy Expeditionary Medal to certain Army and civilian personnel; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

115. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill authorizing the President to present the Navy Cross to Capt. Frank N. Roberts, United States Army: to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

116. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to provide an additional sum for the payment of a claim under the act entitled "An act to provide for the reimbursement of certain officers and enlisted men or former officers and enlisted men of the Navy and Marine Corps for personal property lost, damaged, or destroyed as a result of the earthquake which occurred at Managua, Nicaragua, on March 31, 1931," approved January 21, 1936 (49 Stat. 2212); to the Committee on Claims.

117. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill for the relief of Lt. Malcolm A. Hufty, United States Navy; to the Committee on Claims.

118. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the First Annual Report of the Bonneville Administrator (H. Doc. No. 86); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with illustrations.

119. A letter from the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, transmitting the Annual Report of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938 (H. Doc. No. 11); to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation and ordered to be printed.

120. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a deficiency estimate of appropriation for the legislative establishment, House of Representatives, for the fiscal year 1938, in the amount of \$11,000 (H. Doc. No. 72); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

121. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the General Accounting Office for the fiscal year 1939, amounting to \$150,000 (H. Doc. No. 73); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

122. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for salaries and administrative expenses, Export-Import Bank of Washington, for the fiscal year 1939 amounting to \$20,000 (H. Doc. No. 74); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

123. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for salaries and expenses, Federal Housing Administration, for the fiscal year 1939, amounting to \$5,000,000 (H. Doc. No. 75); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

124. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the payment of personal or property damage claims for the fiscal year 1939, for the Post Office Department, amounting to \$30,000 (H. Doc. No. 76); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

125. A communication from the President of the United States transmitting estimates of appropriations for the District of Columbia for the fiscal year 1938 in the amount of \$11,872.25, and supplemental estimates of appropriations for the fiscal year 1939 in the amount of \$85,983.71, in all, \$97,855.96 (H. Doc. No. 77); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

126. A communication from the President of the United States transmitting two supplemental estimates of appropriations for the Navy Department, for the fiscal year 1939, for ship construction, aggregating \$36,500,000 (H. Doc. No. 78); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

127. A communication from the President of the United States transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the United States Employees' Compensation Commission for the fiscal year 1939, amounting to \$2,000,000 (H. Doc. No. 79); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

128. A communication from the President of the United States transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations for the Treasury Department for the fiscal year 1939 amounting to \$3,604,400, together with drafts of proposed provisions pertaining to existing appropriations (H. Doc. No. 80); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

129. A communication from the President of the United States transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations for the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year 1939, in the amount of \$1,395,043 (H. Doc. No. 81); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

130. A communication from the President of the United States transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations for the fiscal year 1939 amounting to \$192,500, and draft of a proposed provision pertaining to an existing appropriation, for the Department of State (H. Doc. No. 82); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

131. A communication from the President of the United States transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation amounting to \$191,000, for the fiscal year 1939, to remain available until June 30, 1940, for the War Department, together with two drafts of proposed provisions pertaining to existing appropriations of that Department (H. Doc. No. 83); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

132. A communication from the President of the United States transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission for the fiscal year 1939 in the amount of \$75,000 (H. Doc. No. 84); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

133. A communication from the President of the United States transmitting four supplemental estimates of appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, for the Department of Labor amounting in the aggregate to \$1,074,-220 (H. Doc. No. 85); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

# PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BREWSTER:

H. R. 1638. A bill to repeal the authority to enter into certain foreign-trade agreements and to terminate agreements heretofore concluded; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 1639. A bill providing for exempting United States vessels under 200 tons from the requirements of the Officers' Competency Certificates Convention, 1936; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. BARRY:

H. R. 1640. A bill to amend the Home Owners' Loan Act by reducing the rate of interest on obligations of home owners, by extending the period of amortization on home loans, by abolishing certain deficiency judgments, and by providing a moratorium on foreclosures; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BATES of Massachusetts:

H. R. 1641. A bill to exempt certain vessels of the United States from the provisions of the Officers' Competency Certificates Convention, 1936; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. COLLINS:

H. R. 1642. A bill to authorize the appropriation to the Government of the Virgin Islands of the United States of taxes collected under the internal revenue laws of the United States on articles produced in the Virgin Islands and transported to the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 1643. A bill to amend the Social Security Act, approved August 14, 1935 (Public, No. 271, 74th Cong.), to provide for the payment to States of \$15 per month per capita for all recipients of old-age assistance, under the several State plans, who are 65 years of age or older and not inmates of a public institution; to the Committee on Ways

and Means.

H. R. 1644. A bill to create five regional national libraries and to amend section 12 of the act entitled "An act to amend and consolidate the acts respecting copyright," approved March 4, 1909, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Library.

H. R. 1645. A bill to provide for additional clerk hire in the House of Representatives, and for other purposes; to the

Committee on Accounts.

H. R. 1646. A bill to provide for a survey of the old Jackson Military Road and the establishment of a national parkway along the route thereof, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H.R. 1647. A bill to assist and promote elementary and secondary education conducted in and by the several States and Territories, and for other purposes; to the Committee on

Education.

By Mr. CROWE:

H. R. 1648. A bill to provide for the refund or credit of the internal-revenue tax paid on spirits lost or rendered unmarketable by reason of the floods of 1936 and 1937 where such spirits were in the possession of the original taxpayer or rectifier for bottling or use in rectification under Government supervision as provided by law and regulations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DICKSTEIN:

H. R. 1649. A bill to provide for the loss of United States citizenship in certain cases; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 1650. A bill to deny United States citizenship to persons who believe in any form of government for the United States contrary to that now existing in the United States; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 1651. A bill to protect the artistic and earning opportunities in the United States for American actors, singers, dancers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. DOXEY:

H. R. 1652. A bill to amend section 90 of the Judicial Code, as amended, with respect to the terms of the Federal District Court for the Northern District of Mississippi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. THOMAS F. FORD:

H.R. 1653. A bill to prevent the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GREEN:

H. R. 1654. A bill to authorize the acquisition of lands at Camp Foster, in the vicinity of Jacksonville, Fla., as a site for a naval air station and to authorize the construction and installation of a naval air station thereon; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. HANCOCK:

H.R. 1655. A bill to authorize the taxation of the compensation of Federal employees in those States which authorize

the taxation of State employees by the Federal Government; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HULL:

H. R. 1656. A bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 and the tariff rates on imported dairy products mentioned therein; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 1657. A bill to amend paragraphs 722 and 728 of the Tariff Act of 1930; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JOHNSON of West Virginia:

H.R.1658. A bill to complete the Point Pleasant Battle Monument, Point Pleasant, W. Va.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. JONES of Texas:

H. R. 1659. A bill to promote farm ownership by amending the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act to provide for Government-insured loans to farmers; to encourage sale of farms held by absentee owners to farm tenants; and to enable tenant farmers to become owners of farm homes through long-term low-interest-rate loans on farms; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 1660. A bill to facilitate the extension of agricultural credit at lower interest rates by providing for the issue of certain bank notes, to encourage the ownership of farm homes, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. KIRWAN:

H. R. 1661. A bill granting the consent of Congress to the city of Youngstown, Ohio, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Mahoning River at or near Marshall Street, Youngstown, Ohio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LANHAM:

H.R. 1662. A bill to provide for the completion of the 25-mile spacing of horizontal and vertical control surveys in the State of Texas; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 1663. A bill to aid engineering and industrial research in connection with colleges and schools of engineering in the several State and Territorial universities and colleges, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 1664. A bill to authorize a special rate of postage on periodicals when sent by public libraries; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 1665. A bill relating to filing of petitions with the Board of Tax Appeals; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LESINSKI:

H. R. 1666. A bill granting pensions and increase of pensions to widows, former widows, and children of certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MAPES:

H. R. 1667. A bill to require the registration of motor vehicles in the District of Columbia, to prescribe registration fees based upon the weight of such motor vehicles, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H.R. 1668. A bill to provide for the taxation of incomes in the District of Columbia, and to repeal certain provisions of law relating to the taxation of intangible personal property in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H. R. 1669. A bill to increase the motor-vehicle fuel tax in the District of Columbia, and to provide for the better administration thereof; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H.R.1670. A bill to provide for a tax on the transfers of estates of decedents; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H. R. 1671. A bill relating to the contributions of the United States toward defraying the expenses of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H. R. 1672. A bill for the better assurance of the protection of persons within the several States from mob violence and lynching, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 1673. A bill to amend the Social Security Act by exempting from its provisions those pin boys in bowling alleys who were casually employed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

# By Mr. PETERSON of Florida:

H. R. 1674. A bill to provide for the recognition of the services of the civilian officials and employees, citizens of the United States, engaged in and about the construction of the Panama Canal; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

## By Mr. PETERSON of Georgia:

H. R. 1675. A bill to establish a national land policy, and to provide homesteads free of debt for actual farm families; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

## By Mr. POWERS:

H. R. 1676. A bill for the better assurance of the protection of persons within the several States from mob violence and lynching, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 1677. A bill to prohibit discrimination on account of maximum age in employment directly and indirectly under the United States; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H. R. 1678. A bill to provide for the establishment of one infantry battalion of Negro troops as a part of the National Guard of the State of New Jersey; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1679. A bill to amend the Air Commerce Act to provide for the safety of passengers in aircraft; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 1680. A bill imposing an excise tax with respect to the importation of certain earthenware and chinaware; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 1681. A bill to provide adequate compensation for dependents of agents and inspectors of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. RAMSPECK:

H. R. 1682. A bill to amend the Civil Service Act of January 16, 1883 (22 Stat. 403); to the Committee on the Civil Service. By Mr. WALTER:

H. R. 1683. A bill to increase the punishment for espionage; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## By Mr. COLLINS:

H. J. Res. 51. Joint resolution to equalize the application and enforcement of certain provisions of the revenue acts; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. J. Res. 52. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States fixing the terms of office of Representatives in Congress; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

H. J. Res. 53. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. J. Res. 54. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. J. Res. 55. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. J. Res. 56. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### By Mr. JENKS of New Hampshire:

H. J. Res. 57. Joint resolution to provide for the completion of the Navy and Marine Memorial; to the Committee on the

# By Mr. LUDLOW:

H. J. Res. 58. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11, 1939, General Pulaski's Memorial Day for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## By Mr. MAPES:

H. J. Res. 59. Joint Resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to taxes on certain incomes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. J. Res. 60. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to taxes on certain incomes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## By Mr. SNYDER:

H. J. Res. 61. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to taxes on certain incomes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

## By Mr. BROWN of Georgia:

H. R. 1684. A bill for the relief of the legal representatives of the estate of John H. Christy; to the Committee on Claims. H. R. 1685. A bill for the relief of F. C. Pennington; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1636. A bill to authorize the award of the Congressional Medal of Honor to Tom Silver; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

#### By Mr. CANNON of Florida:

H. R. 1687. A bill for the relief of Zook Palm Nurseries, Inc., a Florida corporation; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1688. A bill for the relief of Mike L. Blank; to the Committee on Claims.

#### By Mr. COLLINS:

H.R. 1689. A bill to provide compensation for Brig. Gen. George E. Leach for the risk and hazard involved in aerial flights performed in the execution of his duties; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

# By Mr. CUMMINGS:

H. R. 1690. A bill granting a pension to Robert C. Humphrey; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1691. A bill for relief of Mr. and Mrs. John C. Johnson; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1692. A bill granting a pension to Margaret M. Boardman; to the Committee on Claims.

## By Mr. DUNCAN:

H. R. 1693. A bill for the relief of certain claimants who suffered loss by flood in, at, or near Bean Lake in Platte County, in the State of Missouri, during the month of March 1934; to the Committee on Claims.

# By Mr. THOMAS F. FORD:

H. R. 1694. A bill for the relief of Bozzani Motors, Ltd.; to the Committee on Claims.

# By Mr. JENKS of New Hampshire:

H. R. 1695. A bill granting a pension to Bertha C. Keith; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1696. A bill granting a pension to Ida B. Hunt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

# By Mr. JOHNSON of West Virginia:

H. R. 1697. A bill granting a pension to Herman Meikle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1698. A bill granting a pension to Robert Melvin Palmer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1699. A bill granting an increase of pension to Orrie S. McCutcheon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1700. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Stagg; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1701. A bill for the relief of Sol J. Hyman; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1702. A bill for the relief of Charles E. Bryant; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1703. A bill granting a pension to Clara L. Dolman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1704. A bill granting a pension to Hosea F. Dearth; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1705. A bill granting a pension to Maria J. Way; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1706. A bill granting a pension to John D. Pearson; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1707. A bill granting an increase of pension to Isabell Postlethwait; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1708. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mack C. Ratcliff; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 1709. A bill for the relief of John H. Gatts; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1710. A bill for the relief of Walling Oswald Naumann; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1711. A bill granting a pension to Margaret E. Clutts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1712. A bill granting a pension to J. E. Barrows; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1713. A bill for the relief of William Lester Taylor; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1714. A bill for the relief of Robert R. Trosper; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1715. A bill to place Harold Staats, formerly captain, Officers' Reserve Corps, on the emergency officers' retired list; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1716. A bill granting a pension to Luther R. Drum; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1717. A bill for the relief of George Yusko; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1718. A bill for the relief of Robert C. Chaney; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1719. A bill granting back pay to Auguste C. Loiseau; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1720. A bill granting an increase of pension to Isabel Gammon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1721. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah Roush; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1722. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eddie L. Fetty; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1723. A bill granting an increase of pension to America E. Dye; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1724. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emily L. Watkins; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1725. A bill for the relief of E. W. Jones; to the

Committee on Claims. H. R. 1726. A bill for the relief of O. C. Stewart; to the

Committee on Claims.
H. R. 1727. A bill for the relief of James L. Barnett; to the

Committee on the Civil Service. H. R. 1728. A bill for the relief of Sherman W. White; to

the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1729. A bill for the relief of James Monroe Caplinger;

to the Committee on Claims. H. R. 1730. A bill granting a pension to Charles Lycans; to

the Committee on Pensions.
H. R. 1731. A bill granting a pension to Araminta Webb;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1732. A bill granting a pension to Ruby McIntosh; to

the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
H. R. 1733. A bill granting a pension to James R. Gibbs;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1734. A bill granting a pension to Mamie Cartmell;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1735. A bill granting a pension to Unoca Ferguson; to

the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1736. A bill granting a pension to Albert B. McDaniel;

to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1737. A bill granting a pension to Henry B. Lyons;

to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1738. A bill granting a pension to Harold A. Staats; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1739. A bill granting a pension to Mary Chapman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1740. A bill granting a pension to Juna Vista Murphy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1741. A bill granting a pension to William W. Parsons; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KINZER:

H.R. 1742. A bill granting a pension to Frances C. Strickler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 1743. A bill granting a pension to Bertha R. Ettner; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1744. A bill granting a pension to Ella E. McMichael; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

## By Mr. LANHAM:

H. R. 1745. A bill to amend and correct application for copyright filed by Effie Canning Carlton on February 10, 1915, with the register of copyrights and bearing renewal registration No. 6,384, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Patents.

H. R. 1746. A bill granting a pension to Samuel D. Russell; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1747. A bill granting a pension to Robert C. Wood; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1748. A bill for the relief of Virgil Buzard; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1749. A bill for the relief of S. V. Schup; to the Committee on Claims.

#### By Mr. McCORMACK:

H. R. 1750. A bill to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of the Union Iron Works; to the Committee on Claims.

#### By Mr. MAAS:

H. R. 1751. A bill for the relief of the present leader of the United States Navy Band and officer in charge of the Navy School of Music; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

## By Mr. MACIEJEWSKI:

H. R. 1752. A bill granting a pension to Sophie M. Peterson; to the Committee on Pensions.

# By Mr. POWERS:

H. R. 1753. A bill granting a pension to Rebekah E. R. Ramsey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1754. A bill granting a pension to Mary Tiger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1755. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth H. Nichols; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1756. A bill granting a pension to Mary Quirk; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1757. A bill for the relief of Theodore Rosenberg; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 1758. A bill for the relief of Agnes M. Allsop; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1759. A bill for the relief of Mamie Adams; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1760. A bill for the relief of Maxwell S. Turner; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

## By Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky:

H.R. 1761. A bill granting an increase of pension to Millie Wells; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

# By Mr. SCHAEFER of Illinois:

H. R. 1762. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Straube; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions,

H. R. 1763. A bill granting a pension to Mary J. Woolridge; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1764. A bill granting a pension to Sarah E. Linder; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1765. A bill granting a pension to Minnie Mancell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1766. A bill granting a pension to Martha Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1767. A bill granting a pension to Nettie E. Campbell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1768. A bill granting a pension to Antonia Kuehn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

## By Mr. SNYDER:

H. R. 1769. A bill granting an increase of pension to Martha J. Ansel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1770. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth M. Honsaker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1771. A bill granting a pension to James F. Hugh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1772. A bill granting a pension to Eva E. Hugh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SWEENEY:

H. R. 1773. A bill for the relief of Steve Mejak; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

# PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

6. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Free Federation of Labor of San Juan, Puerto Rico, petitioning consideration of their resolution, House Concurrent Resolution No. 3, dated August 22, 1938, with reference to the Fair Labor Standards Act; to the Committee on Labor.

7. Also, petition of the Kiwanis International, of Chicago, Ill., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated June 30, 1938, with reference to the difference between labor and capital: to the Committee on Labor.

8. Also, petition of the Alabama Merchants' Association, of Birmingham, Ala., petitioning consideration of their resolution in reference to proposed chain-store legislation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

9. Also, petition of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, of Huntsville, Ala., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated November 9, 1938, with reference to welfare; to the Committee on Labor.

10. Also, petition of the United Spanish War Veterans, Birmingham, Ala., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the medical and contact unit in Birmingham; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

11. Also, petition of the International Association of Fire Fighters, Anniston, Ala., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Revenue Act of 1936; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

12. Also, petition of the International Association of Fire Chiefs, New York, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the income-tax law; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

13. Also, petition of the Regular Republican Club, New York, petitioning consideration of their resolution dated November 4, 1938, with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

14. Also, petition of the General Society of Mayflower Descendants, New York, petitioning consideration of their resolution dated October 21, 1938, with reference to the Diescommittee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

15. Also, petition of the American Gold Star Mothers of the World War, Inc., Richmond Hill, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated September 26 to 29, 1938, with reference to friendly international relations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

16. Also, petition of the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners, San Francisco, Calif., petitioning consideration of their resolutions passed September 1 and 2, 1938, with reference to Federal aid in the Wildlife Restoration Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

17. Also, petition of the Straight Forward Lodge, 1196, Brackenridge, Pa., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to wage cuts; to the Committee on Labor.

18. Also, petition of the Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America, Tarentum, Pa., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated August 28, 1938, with reference to wage cuts; to the Committee on Labor.

19. Also, petition of the Maine Independent Oil Dealers' Association, Portland, Maine, petitioning consideration of their resolution dated September 9, 1938, with reference to the Monopoly Investigating Committee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

20. Also, petition of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, Lodge No. 1236, Pennsylvania, Beaver, Pa., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated September 22, 1938, with reference to wage cuts; to the Committee on Labor.

21. Also, petition of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, Lodge No. 1236, Pennsylvania, Beaver,

Pa., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated September 22, 1938, with reference to the old-age pension; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

22. Also, petition of the Western Pennsylvania Unity Conference, Tarentum, Pa., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated August 1938, with reference to Federal low-cost housing; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

23. Also, petition of the Western Pennsylvania Unity Conference, Tarentum, Pa., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated August 28, 1938, with reference to wages and hours; to the Committee on Labor.

24. Also, petition of Clyde C. Cleveland, president, Local No. 817, Carpenters Union of America, Bessemer, Ala., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated August 17, 1938, with reference to the Wages and Hours Act; to the Committee on Labor.

25. Also, petition of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, New Castle, Pa., petitioning consideration of their resolution adopted August 28, 1938, with reference to cuts in the wages of its workers; to the Committee on Labor.

26. Also, petition of the city of Milwaukee, Wis., petitioning consideration of their resolution adopted November 28, 1938, with reference to the use of signs advertising the sale of beer and ale; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

27. Also, petition of the Grand Army of the Republic, Los Angeles, Calif., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated September 1938, with reference to the erection of an equestrian statue of Gen. Robert E. Lee in the Arlington National Cemetery; to the Committee on the Library.

28. Also, petition of B. J. Smith, county clerk, Santa Ana, Calif., petitioning consideration of a resolution adopted by the board of supervisors of Orange County, Calif., with reference to old-age benefits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

29. Also, petition of Kenneth Meiklejohn, on behalf of delegates to the National Antiwar Congress, held in Washington, May 28 to 30, 1938, petitioning consideration of their petition with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

30. Also, petition of the Steel Workers' Independent Union, Inc., East Chicago, Ind., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Wagner Labor Relations Act and the Walsh-Healey Act; to the Committee on Labor.

31. Also, petition of the Weirton Steel Employees' Security League, Strip Steel Unit, Weirton, W. Va., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated July 11, 1938, with reference to the National Labor Relations Board; to the Committee on Labor.

32. Also, petition of employees' representatives of the Weirton Steel Co., Weirton, W. Va., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated July 12, 1938, with reference to the National Labor Relations Board; to the Committee on Labor.

33. Also, petition of the American Newspaper Guild, New York, petitioning consideration of their resolution dated June 13 to 17, 1938, with reference to Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

34. Also, petition of the Arizona Wool Growers Association, Phoenix, Ariz., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated July 13 and 14, 1938, concerning the separation of the Forest Service from the Department of Agriculture; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

35. Also, petition of Charles H. Gifford, 6 Lorraine Terrace, Allston, Mass., petitioning consideration of documents with reference to the United States district court at Boston, in the State of Massachusetts; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

36. Also, petition of the National Association of Manufacturers, New York, petitioning consideration of the final results of a survey made by the National Association of Manufacturers on the sentiment of investors toward the investment of new capital; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

37. Also, petition of the Central Committee of the Southern Coast, Puerto Rico, petitioning consideration of a request to

secure a bonus by backing a bill to be introduced in Congress by our Resident Commissioner, the Honorable Santiago Iglesias; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

38. Also, petition of the National Farm Loan Association, Decatur, Ala., petitioning consideration of their resolution adopted August 8 and 9, 1938, with reference to interest rate on loans: to the Committee on Agriculture.

39. Also, petition of the United Mine Workers of America, Morrisdale, Pa., petitioning consideration of their resolution adopted by the members of Local Union No. 6240, with reference to imported oil, hydroelectricity, and natural gas; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

40. Also, petition of the Northern Baptist Convention, New York, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated May 26 to 31, 1938, with reference to the international armament race; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

41. Also, petition of D. G. Esslinger, Jasper, Ala., petitioning consideration of his plan relative to employment of men and women; to the Committee on Labor.

42. Also, petition of Hollywood Anti-Nazi League for the Defense of American Democracy, Hollywood, Calif., petitioning consideration of their resolution approved August 24, 1938, with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Pules

43. Also, petition of the National Farm Loan Association, Cullman, Ala., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated August 23, 1938, with reference to interest rates; to the Committee on Agriculture.

44. Also, petition of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association, Washington, D. C., petitioning consideration of their Resolution No. 1, by Local Union No. 28, New York City, with reference to President Roosevelt's recovery program; to the Committee on Appropriations.

45. Also, petition of Labor's Non-Partisan League, Detroit, Mich., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated August 26, 1938, with reference to the Dies committee; to the

Committee on Rules.

46. Also, petition of the American Legion Post No. 13, Brooklyn, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated December 5, 1938, with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

47. Also, petition of Mrs. Carrie Jones, Winfield, Ala., petitioning to hold the Wagner Labor Relations Act as it is at

present; to the Committee on Labor.

48. Also, petition of the Louisiana Teachers Association, Batch Rouge, La., petitioning consideration of their resolution passed November 19, No. 139, with reference to the National Youth Administration; to the Committee on Education.

49. By Mr. RICH: Petition from Union No. 1, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Jersey Shore, Pa., asking the Congress to pass legislation to prevent the advertising of alcoholic beverages by press and radio; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

50. Also, petition from businessmen of Williamsport, Pa., asking that the National Labor Relations Act be revised; to the Committee on Labor.

# SENATE

# THURSDAY, JANUARY 5, 1939

The Chaplain, Rev. Z@Barney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Loving Father of mankind, who hast revealed the vastness of the universe in the blue depths of the sky, whose immensities are lit by shining stars beyond the strength of mind to follow, enable us, as we bow before Thy glory, to realize Thy wonderful nearness to us, for we are Thy spirit-born children linked by nature, love, and choice to Thy mighty being. May this vision make all fears to fade and a divine strength to pulse within, that we may bring courage to our exacting duties and a sweet reasonableness to every day's most quiet need. To think of Thee is rest, to know Thee is eternal life, to see Thee is the end of all desire, and

to serve Thee is perfect freedom and everlasting joy. Thus we commit ourselves, O gracious Father, into Thy holy keeping. In the spirit of Him whom heaven and earth adore, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Barkley, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, January 4, 1939, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

#### CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. MINTON. I suggest the absence of a quorum.
The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.
The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Donahey	La Follette	Russell
Andrews	Downey	Lee	Schwartz
Austin	Ellender	Lewis	Schwellenbach
Bailey	Frazier	Logan	Sheppard
Bankhead	George	Lucas	Smathers
Barbour	Gerry	Lundeen	Smith
Barkley	Gibson	McCarran	Taft
Bilbo	Gillette	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Borah	Glass	Maloney	Thomas, Utah
Bridges	Green	Mead	Tobey
Brown	Guffey	Miller	Townsend
Bulow	Gurney	Minton	Truman
Burke	Harrison	Murray	
			Tydings
Byrd	Hatch	Neely	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Hayden	Norris	Van Nuys
Capper	Herring	Nye	Wagner
Caraway	Hill	O'Mahoney	Walsh
Chavez	Holman	Overton	Wheeler
Clark, Idaho	Holt	Pepper	White
Clark, Mo.	Hughes	Pittman	Wiley
Connally	Johnson, Calif.	Radcliffe	
Danaher	Johnson, Colo.	Reed	
Davis	King	Reynolds	
Davis	Tring	recymorus	

Mr. BARKLEY. I announce that the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Ashurst] is absent, attending the session of the Supreme Court.

Mr. AUSTIN. I announce that the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNary] is temporarily absent from the Senate, being engaged in the Supreme Court of the United States.

I further announce that the Senator from Maine [Mr. Hale] and the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Shipstead] are necessarily absent.

Mr. WALSH. I announce the absence of my colleague [Mr. Longe] because of illness.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-nine Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

## REGENT OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under authority of section 5581 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (U. S. C., title 20, ch. 3, sec. 43), the Chair reappoints the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Barkley] as a member of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

# GOLDEN GATE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION COMMISSION

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair appoints the Senator from California [Mr. Downey] as a member on the part of the Senate of the United States Golden Gate International Exposition Commission, established by Public Resolution 52, approved July 9, 1937, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Hon. Wm. G. McAdoo.

# COLUMBIA INSTITUTION FOR THE DEAF

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under authority of section 4863 of the Revised Statutes, the Chair appoints the Senator from Utah [Mr. King] as a director of the Columbia Institution for the Deaf.

# JOINT COMMITTEE ON FORESTRY

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under authority of Senate Concurrent Resolution 31 of the Seventy-fifth Congress, the Chair appoints the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CLARK] as a member on the part of the Senate of the Joint Committee on Forestry,

to fill the vacancy caused by the expiration of the term of service of Hon, James P. Pope.

FINAL REPORT OF ADVISORY COUNCIL ON SOCIAL SECURITY (S. DOC. NO. 4)

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, in May 1937 the Senate Finance Committee appointed a subcommittee, consisting of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Vandenberg], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. Byrd], and myself, to act in cooperation with the Social Security Board in the designation of an advisory council consisting of experts from various sections of the country to study the Social Security Act, with a view to making certain recommendations, if necessary, as to changes in that law. The advisory council made their report some 10 days ago. It is very interesting, and most illuminating, and I am sure that the Members of the Senate and the House, as well as the people of the country generally, would like to read it and study it. I ask that the report be printed as a Senate document.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none and it is so ordered.

#### THE BUDGET

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying document, referred to the Committee on Appropriations, as follows:

(For Budget message, see House proceedings, p. 117.)

APPROPRIATIONS FOR RELIEF (H. DOC. NO. 67)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read and referred to the Committee on Appropriations, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

In my message of April 14, 1938, I presented to the Congress certain recommendations covering programs for the Works Progress Administration, for public works, and for housing, which were designed to increase the purchasing power of the Nation, to stimulate business activity, and to provide increased employment. Subsequently, in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, approved June 21, 1938, the Congress appropriated to the Works Progress Administration the sum of \$1,425,000,000, together with certain balances of previous allocations to that Administration which remained unobligated on June 30, 1938. By other legislation, \$23,000,000 of this appropriation was reserved for specific purposes and therefore was not available for the Works Progress Administration program. In section 2 of the act, the Congress provided that the available funds should be apportioned over the first 8 months of the fiscal year 1939, and further authorized me to modify that apportionment in the event of an extraordinary emergency or unusual circumstance which could not be anticipated at the time the apportionment was made.

Since the enactment by the Congress of legislation providing funds for the programs recommended in my message, substantial business and industrial improvement has occurred throughout the country. However, during the period prior to the adoption of this legislation, when unemployment was increasing, the increase in the number employed on the Works Progress Administration program did not keep pace with the need for employment because the Works Progress Administration had funds to employ only part of those who were out of jobs

In addition, in a period of increasing unemployment there is a lag before the impact of the jobless reaches the Works Progress Administration. This is because workers who lose their jobs exhaust their private resources before applying for relief. Furthermore, the time intervening between the loss of private jobs and the need for Works Progress Administration employment is now considerably greater than heretofore because of the operation of the unemployment-compensation program.

Therefore, with the passage of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, the Works Progress Administration

expanded its program in an effort more nearly to meet the needs of the unemployed. While, beginning in July 1938, 125,000 to 150,000 workers were voluntarily leaving Works Progress Administration projects each month, it was necessary to add from 200,000 to 300,000 others monthly to the rolls in order to meet the needs of those whose personal resources or compensation benefits had become exhausted, and to take back, as required by section 12 of the act, those who had left the Works Progress Administration for private employment and whose employment had been terminated through no fault of their own.

The demands upon the Works Progress Administration appropriation were increased by two additional factors. The critical foreign situation has had an adverse effect upon American business and industrial employment in this country, and has been an unexpected deflationary force affecting the prices of commodities entering into world markets, such as certain of our important agricultural commodities. This has accentuated relief problems in important areas in the country. In addition, the hurricane which devastated large areas of New England last September seriously dislocated industry and trade in the northeastern section of the country and added to the relief burden in that area.

As a result of the foregoing factors, the employment provided from the Works Progress Administration appropriation increased from 2,900,000 at the beginning of July 1938 to a peak of 3,350,000. During the past few weeks the number has been declining. On December 24, 1938, the total had fallen to 3,112,000, and it is expected that the employment during the month of January will approximate 3,000,000. The foregoing figures include employment provided with funds transferred by the Works Progress Administration to other Federal agencies under the authority of section 3 of the act. An average of 90,000 persons are thus employed under conditions entirely similar to those pertaining in the

main Works Progress Administration program.

Under the conditions outlined above, the funds appropriated to the Works Progress Administration will be barely adequate to finance the operations of that agency through the month of January 1939. Therefore, in accordance with the authority contained in section 2 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1939, I have apportioned those funds to be used during the first 7 months of the fiscal year.

It is believed that sufficient funds should now be appropriated to the Works Progress Administration for the balance of the current fiscal year to employ an average of 3,000,000 workers in February and March, and a diminishing number beginning in April which would reach a figure of 2,700,000 in June. This would include the numbers to be employed with funds transferred to other Federal agencies. The employment proposed for February and March, which is the same number that is expected to be reached in January, is justified by seasonal factors and the lag in outside construction operations which always occurs on account of weather conditions. In fact, there is normally an increase in the need for employment during these winter months, and the funds available to the Works Progress Administration have not been sufficient to enable it to assign to its program a large number of employable persons who have been certified as in need of relief.

The Works Progress Administration program is at present being conducted at an average Federal cost of approximately \$61 per worker per month, of which only \$2 is overhead administrative expense. Therefore to provide the employment set forth above, a deficiency appropriation of \$875,-000,000 will be required, and this is the amount which I recommend to the Congress. In view of the fact previously mentioned, that the funds now available are barely sufficient to finance the Works Progress Administration through the month of January 1939, I urge speedy action on the part of the Congress to provide these additional funds in order to prevent disruption of the program and consequent suffering and want on the part of the unemployed.

I realize that the Congress may wish to prescribe by legislation the manner in which funds appropriated to the Works Progress Administration, and other appropriations, shall be distributed. However, the problem of distributing work relief funds is a complicated one involving factors not only of population but of economic and unemployment conditions in various sections of the country. The hasty adoption of legislative provisions, to be immediately effective, which radically change the present method of distributing Works Progress Administration funds would greatly complicate the administration of the program in the coming months. I therefore believe that the Congress should make this question the subject of study and hearings, with a view to determining a policy to obtain in the fiscal year 1940, but that the appropriation recommended in this message should be made on the same terms as that for the first part of the fiscal year 1939.

No one wishes more sincerely than I do that the program for assisting unemployed workers shall be completely free from political manipulation. However, any one who proposes that this result can be achieved by turning the administration of a work program over to local boards is either insincere or is ignorant of the realities of local American politics.

It is my belief that improper political practices can be eliminated only by the imposition of rigid statutory regulations and penalties by the Congress, and that this should be done. Such penalties should be imposed, not only upon persons within the administrative organization of the Works Progress Administration but also upon outsiders who have in fact in many instances been the principal offenders in this regard. My only reservation in this matter is that no legislation should be enacted which will in any way deprive workers on the Works Progress Administration program of the civil rights to which they are entitled in common with other citizens.

In connection with the above, I invite your attention to the fact that under the provisions of Executive Order No. 7916 the administrative employees of the Works Progress Administration, with the exception of a relatively small number of positions, will be brought under the civil service on February 1, 1939.

It is my intention to transmit to the Congress, probably in the month of April, a supplemental estimate covering the appropriation which will be required to provide work relief for persons in need in the fiscal year 1940.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 5, 1939.

#### NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of State, transmitting copy of a circular issued by the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament relative to the proposal of candidates for the 1939 Nobel peace prize, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

#### REPORT OF FEDERAL BUREAU OF NARCOTICS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics for the year ended December 31, 1937, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Finance.

# REPORT OF NATIONAL FOREST RESERVATION COMMISSION (S. DOC. NO. 7)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of War, as president ex officio of the National Forest Reservation Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and ordered to be printed, with the accompanying illustration.

# REPORT OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the annual report of the Department of Justice for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# SUITS ARISING UNDER PUBLIC VESSEL ACT

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Attorney General, transmitting, pursuant to law, a list of suits arising under the Public Vessel Act of March 3, 1925, in which final decrees were entered, exclusive of cases on appeal, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### SUITS IN ADMIRALTY AGAINST THE UNITED STATES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Attorney General, transmitting, pursuant to law, a list of suits arising under the act of March 9, 1920, authorizing suits against the United States in admiralty involving merchant vessels, in which final decrees were entered against the United States, exclusive of cases on appeal, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### SPECIAL ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS, DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Attorney General, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report showing the special assistants employed under the appropriation "Pay of special assistant attorneys, United States courts," together with the rates of compensation, the amounts paid, and a description of their duties, from January 1, to July 1, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### VESSELS STRICKEN FROM NAVY REGISTER

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report giving the names of the vessels stricken from the Navy Register during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

## SALES OF CONDEMNED NAVAL VESSELS AND MATERIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting, pursuant to law, two reports covering sales of vessels and materials of the Navy during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, showing sales of condemned property and lists of purchases of such condemned property, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

## AIRCRAFT PURCHASES BY THE NAVY (S. DOC. NO. 6)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on designs, aircraft, aircraft parts, and aeronautical accessories purchased by the Navy Department during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, together with the prices paid therefor and the reasons for awards in each case, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs and ordered to be printed.

#### CHARLES E. NAGHEL AND OTHERS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation for the relief of Charles E. Naghel and others, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

#### INDIAN IRRIGATION PROJECTS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a statement consisting of five schedules of costs, cancelations, and other data with respect to Indian irrigation projects for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

# PERSONAL PROPERTY DESTROYED BY FIRE IN ALASKA

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide relief for certain employees of the United States who suffered losses of personal property when fire destroyed Government buildings located at Kwethluk and Point Barrow, Alaska, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Claims.

# REPORT OF NATIONAL PARK TRUST FUND BOARD

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the National Park Trust Fund Board for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

#### ADDITION OF LANDS TO SHENANDOAH NATIONAL PARK

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to add certain lands of the Front Royal Quartermaster Depot Military Reservation, Va., to the Shenandoah National Park, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

## PUBLIC LANDS AND NATIONAL PARKS, INTERIOR DEPARTMENT

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate letters from the Secretary and Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting drafts of proposed legislation pertaining to public lands and the national parks, which, with the accompanying papers, were referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, as follows:

Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to sell or dispose of surplus animals inhabiting national parks and monuments;

Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to accept donations of land, interests in land, buildings, or other property for the extension of areas administered by the National Park Service:

Providing a measure of damages for trespass involving timber and other forest products upon lands of the United States:

Extending the public-land laws of the United States to certain lands, consisting of islands, situated in the Red River in Oklahoma;

Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain property to Washington County, Utah;

Authorizing the addition to Glacier National Park, Mont., of certain property acquired for the establishment and operation of a fish hatchery;

Relating to the disposition of the public lands of the United States situated in the State of Oklahoma between the Cimarron base line and the true northern boundary of the Panhandle part of Texas; and

Providing for the establishment of the Green Mountain National Park in the State of Vermont.

#### LAWS ENACTED BY LEGISLATURE OF PUERTO RICO

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a certified volume comprising the acts of the first special session of the Fourteenth Legislature of Puerto Rico, which, with the accompanying document, was referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

## LAWS OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate 22 letters from the Secretary and Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of legislation passed by the Municipal Councils of St. Croix and St. Thomas and St. John, respectively, which, with the accompanying papers, were referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a complete set of all the laws enacted by municipal councils of the Virgin Islands since the approval of the organic act of June 22, 1936, which, with the accompanying documents, was referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

## PAYMENTS UNDER AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting, in response to Senate Resolution 265 (74th Cong., 2d sess.), further information concerning payments of \$10,000 or more under the agricultural adjustment programs, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law,

his annual report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

#### AIR NAVIGATION AIDS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report showing contracts entered into prior to July 1, 1938, for the purchase, construction, and installation of additional air navigation aids, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

#### REPORT OF ACTING COMPTROLLER GENERAL

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the work of the General Accounting Office (in three volumes) for the fiscal year 1938, together with recommendations for the enactment of certain legislation deemed necessary to facilitate the prompt and accurate rendition and settlement of accounts, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

#### DELINQUENT ACCOUNTS OF FEDERAL OFFICERS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report showing officers and administrative offices of the Government delinquent in rendering or transmitting their accounts to the proper offices in Washington during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, and whether the delinquency was waived, together with a list of officers who, upon final settlement of their accounts, were found to be indebted to the Government and had failed to pay the same into the Treasury of the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Claims.

#### CLAIM OF ATLAS POWDER CO.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report and recommendation concerning the claim of the Atlas Powder Co. against the United States, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Claims.

# REPORT OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the Commission for the year ended October 31, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

FINAL VALUATION OF PROPERTIES OF PIPE-LINE COMPANIES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, final valuations of properties of certain pipe-line companies (carriers), which, with the accompanying documents, was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

# REPORT OF NATIONAL MEDIATION BOARD

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Chairman of the National Mediation Board, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the Board for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, including the report of the National Railroad Adjustment Board, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

# REPORT OF FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

# REPORT ON ANTIDUMPING LEGISLATION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, transmitting a supplemental report on Antidumping Legislation and Other Import Regulations in the United States and Foreign Countries, prepared under section 6 (h) of the Federal Trade Commission Act, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Finance.

#### REPORT OF THE TARIFF COMMISSION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Finance.

#### EMBROIDERED WOOL KNIT GLOVES AND MITTENS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, transmitting, in response to Senate Resolution 270 (74th Cong.), a report of an investigation ordered under section 336 of the Tariff Act of 1930, with respect to differences in costs of production of embroidered wool knit gloves and mittens dutiable under paragraph 1529 (a) of that act, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

## REPORT OF THE VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the activities of the Veterans' Administration for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Finance.

#### REPORT OF FEDERAL SURPLUS COMMODITIES CORPORATION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the President of the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the Corporation for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

# REPORT OF TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the secretary of the Tennessee Valley Authority, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the activities of that Authority for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

## REPORT OF ELECTRIC HOME AND FARM AUTHORITY

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the president of the Electric Home and Farm Authority, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of that Authority, covering operations from July 1, 1937, to June 30, 1938, inclusive, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## CLAIMS SETTLED BY MARITIME COMMISSION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Chairman of the United States Maritime Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on claims arbitrated or settled by the Commission for the period from October 16, 1937, to October 15, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

## JUDGMENTS OF THE COURT OF CLAIMS (S. DOC. NO. 5)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Chief Clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting, pursuant to law, a statement of judgments rendered by the Court of Claims for the year ended December 3, 1938, the amount thereof, the parties in whose favor rendered, and a amount thereof, the parties in whose favor rendered, and the accompanying statement, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

# COMMISSION ON LICENSURE, HEALING ARTS PRACTICE ACT, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the President of the Commission on Licensure, Healing Arts Practice Act of the District of Columbia, transmitting,

pursuant to law, a report of the Commission's activities for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

#### NATIONAL SOCIETY OF DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution for the year ended April 1, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Printing.

#### REPORT OF THE GORGAS MEMORIAL LABORATORY

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter, from the president of the Gorgas Memorial Institute of Tropical and Preventive Medicine, Inc., transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Interoceanic Canals.

#### NATIONAL CHICKAMAUGA CELEBRATION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the treasurer of the National Chickamauga Celebration (commemorating the battles of Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, and Lookout Mountain and also the one hundredth anniversay of the removal from Tennessee of the Cherokee Indians), held during the period September 18 to 24, 1938, transmitting copies of the records of the celebration, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on the Library.

#### DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE PAPERS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate letters from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, lists of papers and documents in the files of the Department of the Interior, the Civil Service Commission, the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal Housing Administration, the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, the Panama Canal, and the United States Maritime Commission, which are not needed in the conduct of business and have no permanent value or historical interest, and requesting action looking to their disposition, which, with the accompanying papers, were referred to a Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Papers in the Executive Departments.

The VICE PRESIDENT appointed Mr. Barkley and Mr. Gibson members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

## PETITION AND MEMORIAL

Mr. WAGNER presented a resolution adopted by Helderberg Post, No. 977, the American Legion, of Altamont, N. Y., favoring the location of a contemplated veterans' facility hospital in or near the village of Altamont, N. Y., which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. WAGNER. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record and appropriately referred a memorial of the community of the city of Nyack, protesting against the persecution of the Jewish race in Germany.

There being no objection, the memorial was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

We, the citizens of Nyack, gathered as a community on this Lord's Day in His house to return thanks to Him for His unspeakable goodness to us during the past year, lift up our voices in prayer and supplication for our Jewish brethren who live across the seas. We abominate the race hatred which stalks rampant through those lands. We pray that the excesses committed against that people may cease.

We feel that it is our duty as citizens of a free country to register our protest against those who have violated the fundamental rights of man in the persecution of a race whose history has proved it a stable and helpful unit in any nation: Now, therefore he it.

Resolved, That this assembly make known this our formal protest of those acts of persecution against our Jewish brethren, sanctioned and abetted by the German leaders, and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Honorable ROBERT F.

Wagner, Senator of the State of New York, and a copy published

in the Nyack Evening Journal News.

First Reformed Church, Nyack, N. Y., by William Neely Ross, pastor; Hugh M. Brush, vice president, consistory; First Presbyterian Church, Nyack, N. Y., by J. Edward Hamilton, pastor; John Acken; First Baptist Church, Nyack, N. Y., Glen G. Vought, pastor; Marion J. Beasley, secretary of the board of trustees; Temple Israel, Nyack, N. Y., by Abraham H. Israelitan, rabbi; Isaac Neisner, trustee of Temple Israel, of Nyack, N. Y.

#### BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. BAILEY:

S. 307. A bill to encourage travel in the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. AUSTIN:

S. 308. A bill to prevent persons whose compensation, or any part thereof, is paid from funds appropriated to provide relief or work relief from engaging in certain pernicious political activities; to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

By Mr. GREEN:

S. 309. A bill for the relief of Charles M. Boyd, Frank M. Eshleman; Boston Safe Deposit & Trust Co. and Channing Williams, executors under the will of Joseph S. Williams; and Henry L. Taylor and Katherine R. Williams, executors under the will of Gardner B. Williams; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GIBSON:

S. 310. A bill to amend the Canal Zone Code; to the Committee on Interoceanic Canals.

By Mr. SMATHERS:

S. 311. A bill requiring clerks in consulates to be citizens of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Relations. By Mr. SMITH:

S. 312. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Western District of South Carolina to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of Mrs. William G. Sirrine; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FRAZIER:

S. 313. A bill to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Lester P. Barlow against the United States: to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MALONEY:

S. 314. A bill for the relief of Stefano Pagliaro; to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 315. A bill to provide for a 5-year building program for the United States Bureau of Fisheries; to the Committee on

S. 313. A bill to authorize and direct the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to set aside the trial-board conviction of Policemen David R. Thompson and Ralph S. Warner and their resultant dismissal, and to reinstate David R. Thompson and Ralph S. Warner to their former positions as members of the Metropolitan Police Department; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. TOWNSEND:

S. 317. A bill to amend the civil-service law to permit certain employees of the legislative branch of the Government to qualify for positions under the competitive classified civil service; to the Committee on Civil Service.

S. 318. A bill granting a pension to Raymond J. Coffin:

S. 319. A bill granting a pension to Keturah Jane Pool Long

S. 320. A bill granting a pension to Augusta S. Skelly; and S. 321. A bill granting a pension to Nettie LaTour Welcome; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

S. 322. A bill to regulate the times and places of holding court in Oklahoma; to the Committee on the Judiciary,

S. 323. A bill for the relief of E. C. Beaver, who suffered loss on account of the Lawton, Okla., fire, 1917; and

S. 324. A bill for the relief of S. A. Rourke; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 325. A bill granting compensation to Robert E. Hatridge; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr SHEPPARD:

S. 326. A bill for the payment of awards and appraisals heretofore made in favor of citizens of the United States on claims presented under the General Claims Convention of September 8, 1923, United States and Mexico; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado:

S. 327. A bill to amend the Social Security Act, as amended, to increase the contribution by the Federal Government for old-age assistance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. DAVIS:

S. 328. A bill to amend sections 1 and 2 of the act entitled "An act to establish a retirement system for employees of carriers subject to the Interstate Commerce Act, and for other purposes," approved August 29, 1935, as amended; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. SCHWELLENBACH:

S. 329. A bill to admit Josip Laurenc Mrsan permanently to the United States; to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. O'MAHONEY and Mr. BORAH:

S. 330. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce by prescribing the conditions under which corporations may engage in such commerce, to provide for and define additional powers and duties of the Federal Trade Commission, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. VANDENBERG:

S. 331. A bill granting an increase of pension to Inez Clair Bandholtz; to the Committee on Pensions.

S. 332. A bill to provide that manuscripts of authors' works may be carried in the mails as third-class or fourth-class matter; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. BARBOUR:

S. 333. A bill providing for exempting certain vessels of the United States from the requirements of the Officers' Competency Certificates Convention, 1936; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. BORAH:

S. 334. A bill authorizing the naturalization of Samuel F. Swayne; to the Committee on Immigration.

S. 335. A bill relative to Members of Congress acting as attorneys in matters where the United States has an interest; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 336. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to appoint Thomas C. Neibaur, late of Company M, Sixteenth Infantry, United States Army, as a major in the United States Army and then place him on the retired list; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 337. A bill for the relief of C. W. Pearce; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

By Mrs. CARAWAY:

S. 338. A bill to amend the Social Security Act with respect to grants to States for old-age assistance; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 339. A bill for the relief of Benjamin H. Southern;

S. 340. A bill for the relief of Henry Brown; and

S. 341. A bill making eligible for retirement under the same conditions as now provided for officers of the Regular Army Capt. Oliver A. Barber, an officer of the United States Army during the World War, who incurred physical disability in line of duty; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 342. A bill for the relief of L. L. Stokes;

S. 343. A bill for the relief of Frank R. Garner, formerly second lieutenant, United States Army;

S. 344. A bill for the relief of James F. Dubberly;

S. 345. A bill for the relief of Samuel H. McAlexander;

S. 346. A bill providing for reimbursement of the St. Louis Southwestern Railway Co. for expenditure in revetment work on the Arkansas River during the flood of 1927;

S. 347. A bill for the relief of Jack Chestnutt:

S. 348. A bill for the relief of Abner E. McGuire:

- S. 349. A bill for the relief of C. F. Cooley, administrator of the estate of Charles F. Cooley, Jr.;
- S. 350. A bill for the relief of Jordan Roberts;
- S. 351. A bill for the relief of Warren J. Fox;
- S. 352. A bill for the relief of H. M. Gregory;
- S. 353. A bill for the relief of Sue F. Melton;
- S. 354. A bill for the relief of Lark Simms, Elliott Burnett, and G. W. Simms:
- S. 355. A bill for the relief of Guss Berry and Ernest Dewberry:
  - S. 356. A bill for the relief of Mrs. W. Spear Harris;
  - S. 357. A bill for the relief of Sadie McElroy; and
- S. 358. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Emmett Turner; to the Committee on Claims.
  - S. 359. A bill granting a pension to Lillie R. Willmore;
  - S. 360. A bill granting a pension to Theta B. Spring;
  - S. 361. A bill granting a pension to Anna J. Darby;
  - S. 362. A bill granting a pension to Edward H. Wolff;
  - S. 363. A bill granting a pension to Roy A. Ault;
  - S. 364. A bill granting a pension to Robert Johnson;
  - S. 365. A bill granting a pension to Ernest J. Hollis;
  - S. 366. A bill granting a pension to E. Corinne Miller;
  - S. 367. A bill granting a pension to Jennie Railey;
  - S. 368. A bill granting a pension to Norfleet Hughes;
  - S. 369. A bill granting a pension to Ernest McCord; and
- S. 370. A bill granting a pension to Florence L. Bailey; to the Committee on Pensions.
  - By Mr. CAPPER:
- S. 371. A bill to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the late Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood, United States Army; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.
- S. 372. A bill to relinquish concurrent jurisdiction to the State of Kansas to prosecute Indians or others for offenses committed on Indian reservations; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.
  - S. 373. A bill granting a pension to Josephine Morton;
- S. 374. A bill granting an increase of pension to Hattie L. Aimes:
  - S. 375. A bill granting a pension to Mary E. Bordwell;
- S. 376. A bill granting an increase of pension to Amanda J. Branch:
- S. 377. A bill granting an increase of pension to Reginah J. Brown (with accompaying papers);
- S. 378. A bill granting a pension to Carrie Taylor Chouteau;
- S. 379. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mattie F. Colebaugh;
- S. 380. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Cramer;
  - S. 381. A bill granting a pension to Minnie O. Draper;
  - S. 382. A bill granting a pension to Mary E. Farrar;
  - S. 383. A bill granting a pension to Lucy W. Farwell;
- S. 384. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Faught;
  - S. 385. A bill granting a pension to Lottie Flint;
  - S. 386. A bill granting a pension to Roy Joyce;
  - S. 387. A bill granting a pension to Ella Kahler;
- S. 388. A bill granting an increase of pension to Esther A. Kenworthy;
- S. 389. A bill granting a pension to Louis Lange (with accompanying papers);
  - S. 390. A bill granting a pension to Eliza Lightle;
  - S. 391. A bill granting a pension to Addie M. Mandeville;
  - S. 392. A bill granting a pension to Belle McGary;
- S. 393. A bill granting an increase of pension to Jane A. McNelly;
- S. 394. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. O'Brien:
- S. 395. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eliza A. Perry:
- S. 396. A bill granting a pension to Alma Blanche Shipman;
- S. 397. A bill granting a pension to Clarence Edward Shipman;

- S. 398. A bill granting an increase of pension to Nancy J. Walker:
- S. 399. A bill granting an increase of pension to Drusilla Wright;
  - S. 400. A bill granting a pension to Lydia C. Wark;
  - S. 401. A bill granting a pension to Emma Williams; and
- S. 402. A bill granting a pension to Alice Wright; to the Committee on Pensions.
- (Mr. REYNOLDS introduced Senate bills 403, 404, and 405, which were referred to the Committee on Finance and appear under a separate heading.)
- (Mr. Reynolds introduced Senate bill 406, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and appears under a separate heading.)
- (Mr. Reynolds introduced Senate bills 407, 408, 409, 410, and 411, which were referred to the Committee on Immigration and appear under a separate heading.)
  - By Mr. VANDENBERG:
- S. 412. A bill placing the position of postmaster in first-, second-, and third-class offices in the competitive classified service, and for other purposes essential to the establishment of the Post Office Department on a nonpolitical career basis; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.
  - By Mr. HILL:
- S. J. Res. 27. Joint resolution to amend joint resolution of January 30, 1925 (ch. 120, 43 Stat. 801; U. S. C., title 49, sec. 55); to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.
- (Mr. Sheppard introduced Senate Joint Resolutions 28 and 29, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and appear under a separate heading.)
  - By Mr. VANDENBERG:
- S. J. Res. 30. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting child labor; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### PROHIBITION-PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

- Mr. SHEPPARD. I introduce for appropriate reference two joint resolutions proposing amendments to the Constitution with reference to prohibition. One provides for immediate establishment of Nation-wide prohibition. The other empowers Congress to deal with the liquor question from time to time as it deems best.
- The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolutions will be received and appropriately referred.
- The joint resolutions were each read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as follows:
- S. J. Res. 28. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to intoxicating liquors; and
- S. J. Res. 29. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to intoxicating liquors.

### BILLS INTRODUCED BY SENATOR REYNOLDS

- Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I desire to introduce a number of bills, and I should like to have the privilege of reading the titles of the bills to the Members of the Senate for the reason that we are greatly interested in the national defense. Some of these bills pertain to national defense, and I shall take only a moment to read the titles.
- I am introducing five bills pertaining to the deportation of alien criminals from this country, and the restriction of crime, which bills are greatly concerned with our program of national defense.
  - The title of one of the bills is as follows:
- To provide for the national defense by the registration of aliens in the United States, and for other purposes.
  - The title of another bill is:
- To protect American labor and stimulate the employment of American citizens on American jobs.
  - The title of another bill is:
- To further reduce immigration, to authorize the exclusion of any alien whose entry into the United States is inimical to the public interest, to prohibit the separation of families through the entry of aliens leaving dependents abroad, and for other purposes.

The title of another bill is as follows:

To provide for the deportation of aliens inimical to the public interest.

The title of another bill is:

To provide for the deportation of aliens subsisting on relief under certain circumstances.

In addition to the five bills to which I have referred, Mr. President. I desire to introduce a bill for the relief of a friend of mine in North Carolina, Mr. Joe McIntosh, whom I know very well, and for whom I have a great deal of respect.

The next bill is to provide for the payment of the amounts due under the United States Government life-insurance contract of Plato Spurgeon Freeman, who is a good friend of mine.

The next bill is for the relief of a friend of mine by the name of Ire E. Rhinehardt, of Asheville, N. C., to which I have heretofore referred so frequently as the Little Gem City of the Mountains, and one of the most beautiful cities in the State of North Carolina.

The next bill which I desire to introduce proposes to extend the period for filing claims on insurance contracts under the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, as requested by some friends of mine who cannot take advantage of the act unless this amendment is made. I therefore take this opportunity of saying that I trust that the members of the committee to which the bill is referred will pass favorably on it for the benefit of my friends.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President-

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. I desire to ask a question of the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I shall be very happy to answer it. Mr. PEPPER. I should like to ask the Senator whether he had occasion in his recent campaign to discuss any of the issues embodied in the bills which he is introducing.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I did, most frequently and most fully, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bills introduced by the Senator from North Carolina will be received and appropriately referred.

The bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred as indicated below:

S. 403. A bill to extend the period for filing claims on insurance contracts under the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended:

S. 404. A bill for the relief of Ire E. Rhinehardt; and

S. 405. A bill to provide for the payment of the amounts due under the United States Government life-insurance contract of Plato Spurgeon Freeman; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 406. A bill for the relief of Joe McIntosh; to the Com-

mittee on Military Affairs.

S. 407. A bill to further reduce immigration, to authorize the exclusion of any alien whose entry into the United States is inimical to the public interest, to prohibit the separation of families through the entry of aliens leaving dependents abroad, and for other purposes;

S. 408. A bill to provide for the national defense by the registration of aliens in the United States, and for other

purposes:

S. 409. A bill to protect American labor and stimulate the employment of American citizens on American jobs;

S. 410. A bill to provide for the deportation of aliens sub-

sisting on relief under certain circumstances; and S. 411. A bill to provide for the deportation of aliens inimical to the public interest; to the Committee on Immigration.

## STATUE OF THE LATE WILL ROGERS

Mr. THOMAS of Okahoma submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 1), which was referred to the Committee on the Library:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Will Rogers Memorial Commission be, and it is

hereby, authorized to place temporarily in the rotunda of the Capitol a statue of the late Will Rogers, of Oklahoma, and to hold ceremonies in the rotunda on said occasion; and that the Architect of the Capitol be, and he is hereby, authorized to make the necessary arrangements therefor.

#### MARELLE REA

Mr. GLASS submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 21), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate to Mabelle Rea, widow of Kennedy F. Rea, late clerk of the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate, a sum equal to 1 year's com-pensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

#### HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. GLASS. I submit the customary resolution with respect to hearings before the Committee on Appropriations, and ask for its immediate consideration.

There being no objection, the resolution (S. Res. 22) was read, considered, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Appropriations, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths,
and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents
per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on
any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid
out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

Mr. BYRNES subsequently said: Mr. President, a moment ago a resolution was presented by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS]. That resolution was agreed to. Since that action was taken I have discussed the matter with the Senator from Virginia. Under the rules the resolution must go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, just as similar resolutions introduced today. The Senator from Virginia has no objection to moving to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. GLASS. That is agreeable. I move that the vote by which the resolution was agreed to be reconsidered, and that the resolution be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Virginia.

The motion was agreed to.

## MAGDALENA BOYD

Mr. McNARY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 23), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate to Magdalena Boyd, widow of George W. Boyd, late special officer under supervision of the Secretary of the Senate, a sum equal to 6 months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

## ARLENE E. ARMITAGE

Mr. BILBO submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 24), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate to Arlene E. Armitage, widow of Philip H. Armitage, late clerk in the office of Senator Bilbo, a sum equal to 6 months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allow-

#### SELECT COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

Mr. BYRNES submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 25), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That during the Seventy-sixth Congress the Select Committee on Government Organization, created by Senate Resolution 69 of the Seventy-fifth Congress, be continued and have authority to perform the duties and exercise the powers contained in said resolution.

HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

Mr. WAGNER submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 26), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Banking and Currency, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized to sit during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Seventy-sixth Congress, at such times and places as it may deem advisable, to make investiat such times and places as it may deem advisable, to make investigations into all matters within its jurisdiction, and to compile and prepare statistics and documents relating thereto as directed from time to time by the Senate and as may be necessary, and to report in due course to the Senate the result thereof; to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths, and to employ such expert stenographic, clerical, and other assistance as may be necessary; and all the expenses incurred in pursuance hereof shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate; and the committee is sutherized to order such printing and blinding as may be necessary. authorized to order such printing and binding as may be necessary for its use.

# HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

Mr. THOMAS of Utah submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 27), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Education and Labor, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be before said committee, the expenses thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during sessions or recesses of the Senate. mittee thereof, may sit during sessions or recesses of the Senate.

HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS AND SURVEYS

Mr. ADAMS submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 28), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, or Resolved, That the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

# ASSISTANT CLERK, COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

Mr. THOMAS of Utah submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 29), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved. That the Committee on Education and Labor hereby is authorized to employ, beginning January 3, 1939, for the duration of the Seventy-sixth Congress, an assistant clerk, to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at the rate of \$2,000 per annum, and an assistant clerk to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at the rate of \$1,800 per annum.

ASSISTANT CLERK, COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

Mr. CONNALLY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 30), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That Resolution No. 111, Seventy-third Congress, agreed Resolved, That Resolution No. 111, Seventy-third Congress, agreed to January 19, 1934, and continued by subsequent resolutions through the Seventy-fifth Congress, authorizing the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds to employ an assistant clerk to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at the rate of \$2,000 per annum, hereby is continued in full force and effect until the end of the Seventy-sixth Congress.

## COMMITTEE ON WORLD WAR VETERANS' LEGISLATION

Mr. SHEPPARD, pursuant to notice given by him yesterday, submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 31), which was referred to the Committee on Rules:

Resolved, That rule XXV of the standing rules of the Senate be, and the same hereby is, amended by adding after the paragraph reading as follows: "Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, to consist of 17 Senators," a new paragraph reading as follows: "Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation, to consist of

17 Senators."

# HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

Mr. SHEPPARD submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 32), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs or any sub-committee thereof is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Con-

gress, to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and employ a stenographer at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee or any subcommittee thereof may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate.

#### ASSISTANT CLERK, COMMITTEE ON ENROLLED BILLS

Mrs. CARAWAY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 33), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Enrolled Bills hereby is authorized to employ for the remainder of the present session an assistant clerk to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at the rate of \$1,800 per annum.

#### AMENDMENT OF THE RULES-RIVER AND HARBOR PROJECTS

Mr. VANDENBERG submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 34), which was referred to the Committee on Rules:

Resolved, That the standing rules of the Senate be, and they are hereby, amended by adding after rule XX a new rule, relating to river and harbor projects, as follows:

"Rule XXI. When a rivers and harbors authorization bill is pending, a point of order may be made against the authorization of any project in any form not formally recommended to the Congress in an official report of the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors."

# KEEPING OUT OF WAR-ARTICLE BY SENATOR CLARK, OF MISSOURI

[Mr. NyE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article, entitled "How Can We Keep Out of War?" by Senator CLARK of Missouri, published in the Country Gentleman of January 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### THE HEART OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY-ADDRESS BY SENATOR DAVIS

[Mr. McNary asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address, entitled "The Heart of American Democracy," delivered by Senator Davis before the Pennsylvania Society of New York at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York City, December 17, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

## PRESIDENTIAL THIRD TERM-STATEMENT BY SENATOR SMATHERS

[Mr. Guffey asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a statement by Senator Smathers with respect to a Presidential third term, published in Paul Mallon's column in the Philadelphia Inquirer, Thursday, December 29, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### FISCAL DOCTRINE OF 1933-PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE OF MARCH 10. 1933

[Mr. Vandenberg asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record the message on fiscal matters transmitted by the President of the United States to Congress on March 10. 1933, which appears in the Appendix.]

# WAGES, HOURS, AND PROFITS-ADDRESS BY B. M. ANDERSON, JR.

[Mr. Bailey asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address on the subject of wages, hours, and profits, delivered by B. M. Anderson, Jr., economist, before the Chamber of Commerce of Kansas City, Mo., which appears in the Appendix.]

# CONTROL OF FLOODS IN THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER VALLEY

[Mr. Overton asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD resolutions adopted by the Mississippi Valley Flood Control Association at New Orleans, La., December 16, 1938. which appear in the Appendix.]

## EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CLARK of Idaho in the chair), as in executive session, laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations.

Mr. BARKLEY. As in executive session, I ask unanimous consent that all nominations sent to the Senate today be referred to the appropriate committees.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

# PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS TO CABINET POSITIONS

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, referring to the recent appointments to the Cabinet by the President of the United States, which are soon to occupy the attention of this body, I think that prior to the action of the Senate on the confirmation of the nominations of Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Murphy in particular, from time to time it might be well that various expressions appearing in the public prints and various statements made by citizens be presented for the attention of the

The President in his appointments to date seems to have made a specialty of naming "lame duck" candidates who have been repudiated by the people of their own States and districts. But in the case of Mr. Hopkins he has gone one better. He has appointed as Secretary of Commerce a man who has been repudiated by the people of the entire Nation because of his mismanagement of relief, which was one of the outstanding issues in the last campaign. So I think it is just as well, before Mr. Hopkins' name comes before this body, that we should survey his qualifications to see what kind of a man is being appointed to direct the business and industrial activities of this country.

Here we have the appointment of a man who has never himself met a pay roll, whose entire career has been spent working for social organizations, and for various governmental divisions, in helping to spend money, and at that he

is an expert.

Recently the statement was made that Mr. Hopkins had said that his philosophy and belief was to "spend and spend and tax and tax and elect and elect." That is said to be the philosophy and the belief of the man whom the President has appointed Secretary of Commerce.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President-

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from New Hampshire yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. BRIDGES. Certainly.

Mr. BARKLEY. I think, in fairness to the Senator from New Hampshire and also to Mr. Hopkins, it ought to be stated that Mr. Hopkins denied having made that statement. I myself know nothing about it, but I do know that he categorically denied ever having said that.

Mr. BRIDGES. I thank the distinguished Senator from Kentucky for his statement. Because of his statement I should like to place in the RECORD a dispatch printed in the Boston Post, which is headed, "Denies he misquoted Hopkins. Krock says disputed words were thrice printed." It is an Associated Press dispatch and is dated "New York, November 25." I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the RECORD as part of my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. CONNALLY. Reserving the right to object, Mr. President, let me inquire what is the matter which the Senator wants unanimous consent to have printed?

Mr. BRIDGES. The article is by Arthur Krock. The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Boston Post of November 26, 1938]

DENIES HE MISQUOTED HOPKINS-KROCK SAYS DISPUTED WORDS WERE THRICE PRINTED

New York, November 25.—Arthur Krock, New York Times Washington correspondent, tonight amplified a reply he made yesterday to a charge by Harry Hopkins, W. P. A. Administrator, that Krock had misquoted him.

Krock in a dispatch quoted Hopkins as using the words "Spend and spend, and tax and tax, and elect and elect."

# PRINTED FIRST SEPTEMBER 25

Hopkins wrote the Times yesterday denying the statement. Krock replied that not only had he checked the statement before using it, but also that it had been printed before, with no denial from

Krock added tonight:

"The first reference I saw to the quotation by Mr. Hopkins was published September 25, 1938—not in the New York Times, but in many other newspapers.

"It mentioned his 'comments, etc., on the subject of spending and taxes and elections.

## AGAIN ON OCTOBER 14

"The second publication was October 14, 1938—not in the New York Times, but in many other newspapers. This was specific, viz:

'If he (Mr. Hopkins) hadn't been excitedly telling acquaintances that we are going to "spend and spend and spend, and tax and tax and tax, and elect and elect and elect \* \* \*."'

"Days passed. Mr. Hopkins made no denial. I naturally assumed he had none to make and therefore did not apply to him; but, conceiving the quotation to be important and a crystallization of his political philosophy as I understood it, I made inquiries at the source. I verified substantially the quotation—and the belief that it was seriously uttered-before making any use of it. I then used it twice, but Mr. Hopkins took no notice until November 21, after election day.

#### SAID NOTHING ON THAT DAY

"I submit I showed Mr. Hopkins unusual consideration in seeking verification before reprinting, despite the fact he had long made no denial of the nationally published direct attribution. Actually, I saw him on November 13, the very day of the publication to which he now so violently objects, and he said nothing about it at all. "The friend who quoted Mr. Hopkins as substantially repeated is of excellent repute and not at all hard of hearing. He is at liberty to reveal himself if he so desires. I learned his identity in confidence, and that confidence—unless I am released—I shall maintain." "I submit I showed Mr. Hopkins unusual consideration in seeking

maintain.'

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, let me ask the Senator if he does not realize that this nomination will go to a committee in the regular course? Why does not the Senator go before the committee and tell the committee what objections he has to Mr. Hopkins?

Mr. BRIDGES. I may do that; but I desire to exercise the same right as that which the Senator from Texas has.

Mr. CONNALLY. There is no doubt that the Senator has the right and the physical power to do as he is doing, of course; but why does the Senator want to break in on this otherwise peaceful and inconspicuous morning by "jumping the gun" and beating all the other Senators who want to kick Mr. Hopkins around? Is it simply because the Senator wants to be the first to hit Mr. Hopkins? Why does he not go before the committee in the regular course?

Mr. BRIDGES. I appreciate the concern which the distinguished Senator from Texas has shown in this matter. Undoubtedly I may appear before the committee. However, I think it is just as well that certain matters should appear in the RECORD relative to Mr. Hopkins' qualifications.

Mr. Hopkins has been very much in the limelight. He has been an issue in almost every State in the Union. As a part of my remarks, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Record an editorial appearing in the Block newspapers entitled "Appointment of the Right Secretary of Commerce of Utmost Importance."

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Copy of a recent editorial published in the Block newspapers] APPOINTMENT OF THE RIGHT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE

Reports from Washington declare that Harry L. Hopkins is certain to be appointed Secretary of Commerce.

We are inclined to disbelieve this statement, though we are probably wrong. It seemed impossible to us that a man like Hugo Black would be appointed to the United States Supreme Court, but we were wrong about that.

Never before in our history has the country had greater need for a capable Secretary of Commerce. Ten million persons are still unemployed. Real cooperation between government and industry might go far toward helping to correct this tragic condition. It is for this reason that a man with business experience, and especially one who has the confidence of business and industry and can work with them, is vital in the Commerce post.

Mr. Hopkins does not fit the position. His experience before he became W. P. A. Administrator was entirely in welfare work. There is no doubt that he is able in that field. But for Secretary of Commerce he is probably among the last in the country who should

be chosen.
Further than not understanding business, he has been reported

Further than not understanding business, he has been reported as being antagonistic to it. He belongs to that little coterie of men surrounding the President who, it is said, are opposed to the capitalistic system; that is, they are opposed to free business enterprise. To choose such a man as Secretary of Commerce is an action almost incredible. It would be very unfortunate in the eyes of the general public, which hopes that the President will abandon his policy of fighting business and will instead cooperate with it in every way.

Only through such action can reemployment in private industry take place.

PAUL BLOCK, Publisher.

Mr. BRIDGES. There is a great similarity between the appointment of Mr. Hopkins-

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BRIDGES. I yield. Mr. WAGNER. Is the article to which the Senator referred as having been written by Mr. Arthur Krock the one that he just introduced?

Mr. BRIDGES. No; that was the Boston Post article.

Mr. WAGNER. In justice to Mr. Hopkins, did the Senator also introduce the letter which Mr. Hopkins sent to the New York Times in which he denied having made the statement attributed to him, or would that spoil the Senator's speech?

Mr. BRIDGES. No; I should be glad to introduce that letter, or have the Senator from New York introduce it. I do not have it in my possession at the present time.

Mr. WAGNER. The Senator did not regard that letter as very important?

Mr. BRIDGES. I assumed that Mr. Arthur Krock was one of the outstanding correspondents of the country, and I took his word as being accurate. Of course, others may, but I do not, question the word of Mr. Krock. I consider him to be an honest man and a good newspaperman.

Mr. WAGNER. I do not desire to make too much of an article of that kind; but, as I recall the article, Mr. Arthur Krock stated that he received the information from another gentleman who he thought was reliable, so it was not firsthand information. If the Senator wanted both sides presented, I think he ought also to have presented the letter in which Mr. Hopkins denied ever having made any such assertion.

Mr. BRIDGES. I should be very happy to have one of the sponsors of Mr. Hopkins in this body present the letter referred to. If I had it in my possession, I should present it myself, but I do not happen to have it. So far as accuracy is concerned-

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. BRIDGES. Certainly.

Mr. CONNALLY. I think what has just transpired illustrates vividly what the Senator from Texas had in mind. Before the committee we could have both the prosecution and the defense. What the Senator from Texas objects to is an ex parte hearing, without benefit of counsel and without the benefit of statements contradictory to the course which the Senator from New Hampshire is pursuing.

I again urge on the Senator that the more orderly, the more statesmanlike, and the more judicial method is to go before the committee, where both sides may be represented, instead of undertaking to smear Mr. Hopkins all over the lot in advance of his opportunity to have a hearing of his own.

Mr. BRIDGES. I appreciate the Senator's concern for Mr. Hopkins. He needs the Senator's help. As I have said, in due course I may appear before the committee. However, I should like to produce for the RECORD one or two more articles of interest.

I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the RECORD as a part of my remarks an editorial from the Chicago Daily Tribune of Wednesday, January 4, 1939, entitled "Mr. Roosevelt's Appointments."

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The editorial is as follows:

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune of January 4, 1939] MR. ROOSEVELT'S APPOINTMENTS

Mr. Roosevelt's appointments to public office are nearly all of one pattern. He has something of Mussolini's instinctive and also calculated avoidance of persons whose attainments and abilities could be regarded as distinguished. The same is true of Hitler and Stalin. These rulers have very good reasons for stopping the development of other careers. They are not only opposed to distributing honors and credit but they are afraid. A one-man government cannot permit a challenge to arise. All greatness must be embodied in the one man. The old injunction to the usurper is to cut off all the tallest heads.

Anyone would be stumped to name Mr. Hopkins' qualifications for the Department of Commerce, and the same goes for former Governor Murphy, of Michigan, who has been nominated for the Department of Justice. He probably has an engaging personality, but his public career has given him small chance to equip himself for the post of Attorney General, and his recent official acts as Governor were to prevent the enforcement of court orders for the protection of individual rights under the law.

Those acts were not offensive to the morals and principles of the New Deal, but in a more scrupulous administration it would be thought that a man oddly proved his fitness as a law enforcer by

using his authority to obstruct enforcement.

Mr. BRIDGES. I think the appointments of the President to his Cabinet are the concern of every man, woman, and child in the United States. Ordinarily, I believe a President should have wide latitude in the selection of his personal Cabinet, unless there is some outstanding reason why that should not be so. I think such a reason exists in Mr. Hopkins' case. I believe Mr. Hopkins is well known to the people of the United States. His record is also well known. As I have said, he stands before the people today repudiated in nearly every State in the Union, either as a result of the Democratic primary campaigns or as a result of the election campaign which ended on November 8 last.

I am interested in the deep concern shown in this body today for Mr. Hopkins. I believe that the committee to which his nomination is referred may well take into account the characteristics of the gentleman, his past history, and his past career. At this time, by bringing up the name of Mr. Hopkins along with that of Mr. Murphy, it is my desire to invite the attention of the Members of this body to his utter disqualification for the position to which he is appointed, and to ask the Members of this body to give earnest and serious consideration to his nomination. I also desire to call the attention of the people of the country, who need no reminder, to the record of Mr. Hopkins.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The morning business is con-

#### DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE ROBERT L. BACON

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following resolution (H. Res. 19) from the House of Representatives, which was read:

Resolved. That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. ROBERT L. BACON, a Representative from the State of New York.

Resolved. That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the

Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution, which I ask to have read, and for which I ask present consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read. The resolution (S. Res. 35) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. ROBERT L. BACON, late a Representative from the State of New York.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

## DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE JOHN J. BOYLAN

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following resolution (H. Res. 17) from the House of Representatives, which was read:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. John J. Boylan, a Representative from the State of New York.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. WAGNER. I offer the resolution which I send to the desk and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 36) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. John J. BOYLAN, late a Representative from the State of New York.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

## DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE STEPHEN W. GAMBRILL

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following resolution (H. Res. 18) from the House of Representatives, which was read:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. Stephen W. Gambrill, a Representative from the State of Maryland.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I submit a resolution and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 37) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. Stephen W. Gamerill, late a Representative from the State of Maryland.

Representative from the State of Maryland.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

#### DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE ALLARD H. GASQUE

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following resolution (H. Res. 20) from the House of Representatives, which was read:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. Allard H. Gasque, a Representative from the State of South Carolina.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I offer a resolution, and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution submitted by the Senator from South Carolina will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 38) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. Allard H. Gasque, late a Representative from the State of South Carolina.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

## RECESS TO MONDAY

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representatives, I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 3 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until Monday, January 9, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

# NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 5, 1939
Attorney General

Frank Murphy, of Michigan, to be Attorney General, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Homer S. Cummings, resigned.

## SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

Harry L. Hopkins, of New York, to be Secretary of Commerce, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Daniel C. Roper, resigned.

# ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT

Felix Frankfurter, of Massachusetts, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, vice Benjamin N. Cardozo, deceased.

# DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

The following-named persons for appointment to the offices in the Foreign Service of the United States, to which they were appointed during the last recess of the Senate, as follows:

John C. Wiley, of Indiana, lately a Foreign Service officer of class 1 and consul general at Vienna, Germany, to be En-

voy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Latvia and Estonia.

Orsen N. Nielsen, of Wisconsin, now a Foreign Service officer of class 3 and lately a consul, to be a consul general of the United States of America.

The following to be Foreign Service officers (unclassified), vice consuls of career, and secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America:

William Belton, of Oregon.
William H. Cordell, of Arkansas.
Robert T. Cowan, of Texas.
Philip M. Davenport, of Maryland.
Vernon L. Fluharty, of Ohio.
A. David Fritzlan, of Kentucky.
John Goodyear, of New York.
Robert Grinnell, of New York.
Parker T. Hart, of Massachusetts.
Franklin Hawley, of Michigan.

Carl F. Norden, of New York. David T. Ray, of California. David M. Smythe, of Tennessee. Philip D. Sprouse, of Tennessee.

The following-named persons for promotion in the Foreign Service of the United States, effective as of August 17, 1938, to the offices to which they were appointed during the last recess of the Senate, as follows:

From Foreign Service officer of class 7 to Foreign Service officer of class 6:

LaVerne Baldwin, of New York.
Robert L. Buell, of New York.
John M. Cabot, of Massachusetts.
Augustus S. Chase, of Connecticut.
Oliver Edmund Clubb, of Minnesota.
Raymond A. Hare, of Iowa.
Bertel E. Kuniholm, of Massachusetts.
Rufus H. Lane, Jr., of Virginia.
John H. Lord, of Massachusetts.

Stuart Allen, of Minnesota.

William T. Turner, of Georgia.

From Foreign Service officer of class 8 to Foreign Service officer of class 7:

John M. Allison, of Nebraska. Gordon L. Burke, of Georgia. Edmund J. Dorsz, of Michigan. Dorsey Gassaway Fisher, of Maryland. Frederic C. Fornes, Jr., of New York. Bernard Gufler, of Washington. Monroe B. Hall, of New York. Thomas A. Hickok, of New York. Robert Janz, of Oklahoma. Robert P. Joyce, of California, Hervé J. L'Heureux, of New Hampshire. Thomas J. Maleady, of Massachusetts. Ralph Miller, of New York. Sheldon T. Mills, of Oregon. Harold B. Minor, of Kansas. Gerald A. Mokma, of Iowa.

Walter N. Walmsley, Jr., of Maryland. From Foreign Service officer, unclassified, to Foreign Service officer of class 8:

Sherburne Dillingham, of New Jersey.
C. Burke Elbrick, of Kentucky.
William E. Flourney, Jr., of Virginia.
Harrison Lewis, of California.
F. Ridgway Lineaweaver, of Pennsylvania.
Joseph E. Newton, of Pennsylvania.
Maurice Pasquet, of New York.
Guy W. Ray, of Alabama.
Arthur L. Richards, of California.
Laurence W. Taylor, of California.
Clare H. Timberlake, of Michigan.
Jay Walker, of the District of Columbia.
Lee Worley, of Washington.

## JUDGES OF UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURTS OF APPEALS

Charles E. Clark, of Connecticut, to be judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, to fill an existing vacancy.

Hon. Otto Kerner, of Illinois, to be a judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit. (He is now serving under a recess appointment.)

## UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGES

Hon. Michael L. Igoe, of Illinois, to be United States district judge for the northern district of Illinois. (He is now serving under a recess appointment.)

Hon. Harry E. Kalodner, of Pennsylvania, to be United States district judge for the eastern district of Pennsylvania. (He is now serving under a recess appointment.)

Hon. James V. Allred, of Texas, to be United States district judge for the southern district of Texas.

Hon. Floyd H. Roberts, of Virginia, to be United States district judge for the western district of Virginia. (He is now serving under a recess appointment.)

#### UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS

William J. Campbell, of Illinois, to be United States attorney for the northern district of Illinois, vice Michael L. Igoe.

Lemuel R. Via, of West Virginia, to be United States attorney for the southern district of West Virginia. (He is now

# UNITED STATES MARSHALS

serving under a recess appointment.)

James H. Patterson, of Alaska, to be United States marshal for the third division of the Territory of Alaska.

Chester S. Dishong, of Florida, to be United States marshal for the southern district of Florida. (He is now serving under a recess appointment.)

William H. McDonnell, of Illinois, to be United States marshal for the northern district of Illinois. (He is now serving in this office under an appointment which expired June 18, 1938.)

George E. Proudfit, of Nebraska, to be United States marshal for the district of Nebraska. (He is now serving under a recess appointment.)

Lonnie B. Ormes, of Tennessee, to be United States marshal for the middle district of Tennessee. (He is now serving under a recess appointment.)

## CIVIL AERONAUTICS AUTHORITY

Clinton M. Hester, of Montana, to be Administrator in the Civil Aeronautics Authority.

Harllee Branch, of Georgia, to be a member of the Civil Aeronautics Authority for the term expiring December 31, 1944

Robert H. Hinckley, of Utah, to be a member of the Civil Aeronautics Authority for the term expiring December 31, 1943.

Oswald Ryan, of Indiana, to be a member of the Civil Aeronautics Authority for the term expiring December 31, 1942.

G. Grant Mason, Jr., of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Civil Aeronautics Authority for the term expiring December 31, 1941.

Edward J. Noble, of Connecticut, to be a member of the Civil Aeronautics Authority for the term expiring December 31, 1940.

To be members of the Air Safety Board within the Civil Aeronautics Authority:

Sumpter Smith, of Alabama, for the term expiring December 31, 1944.

Thomas O. Hardin, of Texas, for the term expiring December 31, 1942.

# MARITIME LABOR BOARD

To be members of the Maritime Labor Board for terms expiring June 22, 1941:

Robert W. Bruere, of New York. Louis Bloch, of California. Claude E. Seehorn, of Colorado.

## TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

James P. Pope, of Idaho, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the remainder of the term expiring 9 years after May 18, 1933, vice Arthur E. Morgan.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD

Ellen S. Woodward, of Mississippi, to be a member of the Social Security Board for the remainder of the term expiring August 13, 1943, to which office she was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Mary W. Dewson, resigned.

## SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION

Edward C. Eicher, of Iowa, to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the remainder of the term expiring June 5, 1940, vice John W. Hanes, resigned.

#### FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD

Franklin W. Hancock, Jr., of North Carolina, to be a member of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board for a term of 6 years from July 22, 1938, vice William F. Stevenson, term expired.

#### FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION

Forrest F. Hill, of New York, to be Governor of the Farm Credit Administration, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice William I. Myers, resigned.

## TREASURY DEPARTMENT

Preston Delano, of Massachusetts, to be Comptroller of the Currency, in place of J. F. T. O'Connor, resigned.

John W. Hanes, of North Carolina, to be Under Secretary of the Treasury, in place of Roswell Magill, resigned.

These officers are now serving under temporary commissions issued during the recess of the Senate.

# DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Francis Wilton Reichelderfer, of Indiana, to be Chief of the Weather Bureau of the Department of Agriculture, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Willis R. Gregg, deceased.

# UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Passed Asst. Surg. William W. Nesbit to be surgeon, to rank as such from July 1, 1938.

Passed Asst. Surg. John R. Murdock to be surgeon, to rank as such from July 6, 1938.

Passed Asst. Surg. Joseph F. Van Ackeren to be surgeon, to rank as such from July 3, 1938.

Passed Asst. Surg. Roy R. Jones to be surgeon, to rank as such from July 3, 1938.

Passed Asst. Surg. Elmer A. Carberry to be surgeon, to rank as such from July 3, 1938.

Passed Asst. Surg. Anthony P. Rubino to be surgeon, to rank as such from July 15, 1938.

Passed Asst. Surg. Jacob P. Eberhardt to be surgeon, to rank as such from August 1, 1938.

Dr. Mark P. Schultz to be surgeon, to rank as such from June 27, 1938.

Dr. Bruce D. Forsyth to be assistant dental surgeon, to rank as such from July 1, 1938.

Dr. Harold Martin Graning to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 15, 1938.

Dr. Vernam Terrell Davis to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 8, 1938.

Dr. Karl Habel to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 15, 1938.

Dr. Francis Theodore Zinn to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 9, 1938.

Dr. Ralph Erhart Wenzel to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 11, 1938.

Dr. Robert Tedford Hewitt to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 8, 1938.

Dr. Lawrence William Brown to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 25, 1938.

Dr. Harold Tycho Castberg to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 16, 1938.

Dr. Robert Roland Smith to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 11, 1938.

Dr. Donald Roland Auten to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 9, 1938.

Dr. Murray Allen Diamond to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 19, 1938.

Dr. Max Rudolph Kiesselbach to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 9, 1938.

Dr. James Allen Grider, Jr., to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 8, 1938.

Dr. Frank Lewis Price to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 7, 1938.

Dr. Weldon Algenon Williamson to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 11, 1938.

Dr. Robert Dean Wright to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 25, 1938.

Dr. Aaron William Christensen to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 8, 1938.

Dr. Carl Vincent Morrison to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 15, 1938.

Dr. Nobel W. Guthrie to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 8, 1938.

Passed Assistant Sanitary Engineer Judson L. Robertson, Jr., to be sanitary engineer, to rank as such from July 1, 1938.

Passed Asst. Sanitary Engineer Charles T. Wright to be sanitary engineer, to rank as such from July 1, 1938.

Passed Assistant Sanitary Engineer John J. Bloomfield to be sanitary engineer, to rank as such from July 1, 1938.

Passed Assistant Sanitary Engineer Henry A. Johnson to be sanitary engineer, to rank as such from July 3, 1938.

Senior Surg. Grover A. Kempf to be medical director, to rank as such from August 16, 1938.

Asst. Surg. Eric C. Johnson to be passed assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 1, 1938.

Asst. Surg. Erwin C. Drescher to be passed assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 1, 1938.

Asst. Surg. John B. Hozier to be passed assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 1, 1938.

Asst. Surg. Virgil J. Dorset to be passed assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 1, 1938.

to rank as such from July 1, 1938.

Asst. Surg. Earl L. White to be passed assistant surgeon,

to rank as such from July 1, 1938.

Asst. Surg. Curtis R. Chaffin to be passed assistant surgeon,

to rank as such from July 1, 1938.

Asst. Surg. Paul T. Erickson to be passed assistant surgeon,

to rank as such from July 1, 1938.

Asst. Surg. William E. Graham to be passed assistant

surgeon, to rank as such from July 1, 1938.

Asst. Surg. Jonathan Zoole to be passed assistant surgeon,

to rank as such from July 1, 1938.

Asst. Surg. Eugene W. Green to be passed assistant surgeon,

to rank as such from July 8, 1938.

Asst. Surg. Fred J. Black to be passed assistant surgeon,

Asst. Surg. Fred J. Black to be passed assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 16, 1938.

Asst. Surg. Hugh L. C. Wilkerson to be passed assistant surgeon, to rank as such from July 22, 1938.

Asst. Surg. Charles F. Blankenship to be passed assistant

surgeon, to rank as such from September 16, 1938.

Surg. Lynne A. Fullerton to be senior surgeon, to rank as such from July 9, 1938.

Surg. Ralph E. Porter to be senior surgeon, to rank as such from July 15. 1938.

Surg. Joseph W. Mountin to be senior surgeon, to rank as such from July 17, 1938.

Asst. Dental Surg. Bruce D. Forsyth to be passed assistant dental surgeon, to rank as such from July 2, 1938.

Passed Asst. Surg. Frank S. Fellows to be surgeon, to rank as such from September 24, 1938.

Passed Asst. Surg. Ralph B. Snavely to be surgeon, to rank as such from September 24, 1938.

Passed Asst. Surg. William Hendon Gordon to be surgeon, to rank as such from November 1, 1938.

Dr. Albert Gallatin Love, Jr., to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from December 1, 1938.

Dr. Waldron Morton Sennott to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from December 1, 1938.

Dr. Kenneth Martin Joye to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from December 1, 1938.

Dr. John Patrick Turner to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from December 1, 1938.

Dr. Walter Eugene Sharpe to be assistant surgeon, to rank as such from December 1, 1938.

Asst. Surg. Frederick J. Krueger to be passed assistant surgeon, to rank as such from October 15, 1938.

These officers are now serving under temporary commissions issued during the recess of the Senate.

#### COAST GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES

Commander Thomas A. Shanley to be captain, to rank as such from July 1, 1938.

Lt. (Jr. Gr.) William H. Snyder to be lieutenant, to rank as such from September 24, 1937.

Lt. (Jr. Gr.) Richard D. Schmidtman to be lieutenant, to rank as such from March 1, 1938.

Lt. (Jr. Gr.) John T. Stanley to be lieutenant, to rank as such from March 1, 1938.

Ensign Clayton M. Opp to be lieutenant (junior grade), to rank as such from May 27, 1938.

Ensign Loren E. Brunner to be lieutenant (junior grade), to rank as such from May 27, 1938.

Ensign Charles E. Columbus to be lieutenant (junior grade), to rank as such from May 27, 1938.

Ensign William L. Sutter to be lieutenant (junior grade), to

rank as such from May 27, 1938.

Ensign Gilbert R. Evans to be lieutenant (junior grade), to

rank as such from May 27, 1938.

Ensign Wallace L. Hancock, Jr., to be lieutenant (junior

Ensign Wallace L. Hancock, Jr., to be lieutenant (junior grade), to rank as such from May 27, 1938.

Ensign Adrian F. Werner to be lieutenant (junior grade), to rank as such from May 27, 1938.

Ensign Woodrow W. Vennel to be lieutenant (junior grade), to rank as such from May 27, 1938.

Commander (Engineering) Martin A. Doyle to be captain (engineering), to rank as such from August 1, 1938.

Lt. Comdr. Raymond T. McElligott to be commander, to rank as such from July 1, 1938.

Lt. Francis C. Pollard to be lieutenant commander, to rank as such from July 1, 1938.

Radio Electrician Glen R. Bush to be chief radio electrician, to rank as such from September 14, 1938.

Commander (Engineering) Norman B. Hall to be captain (engineering), to rank as such from September 23, 1938.

These officers are now serving under temporary commissions issued during the recess of the Senate.

# APPOINTMENTS IN THE REGULAR ARMY

#### To be major generals

Brig. Gen. William Henry Wilson, United States Army, from October 1, 1938, vice Maj. Gen. Fox Conner, United States Army, retired September 30, 1938.

Brig. Gen. Robert McCandlass Beck, Jr., United States Army, from November 1, 1938, vice Maj. Gen. Frank R. Mc-Coy, United States Army, retired October 31, 1938.

# To be brigadier generals

Col. Edmund Leo Daley, Corps of Engineers, from October 1, 1938, vice Brig. Gen. William H. Wilson, United States Army, who accepted appointment as major general October 1, 1938.

Col. Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, Cavalry, from November 1, 1938, vice Brig. Gen. Robert McC. Beck, Jr., United States Army, who accepted appointment as major general November 1, 1938.

Col. Adna Romanza Chaffee, Cavalry, from November 1, 1938, vice Brig. Gen. Joseph P. Tracey, United States Army, retired October 31, 1938.

Col. Daniel Isom Sultan, Corps of Engineers, from December 1, 1938, vice Brig. Gen. William K. Naylor, United States

Army, retired November 30, 1938.

Col. Maxwell Murray, Field Artillery, from December 1, 1938, vice Brig. Gen. John W. Gulick, United States Army, retired November 30, 1938.

Col. William Edgar Shedd, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps, from December 1, 1938, vice Brig. Gen. Edwin S. Hartshorn, United States Army, retired November 30, 1938.

To be Chief of the Air Corps, with the rank of major general, for the period of 4 years beginning September 29, 1938, with rank from September 22, 1938

Brig. Gen. Henry Harley Arnold, Assistant to the Chief of the Air Corps, vice Maj. Gen. Oscar Westover, Chief of the Air Corps, died September 21, 1938.

To be Assistant to the Chief of the Air Corps, with the rank of brigadier general, for the period of 4 years beginning September 30, 1938, with rank from September 29, 1938

Col. Walter Glenn Kilner (lieutenant colonel), Air Corps, vice Brig. Gen. Henry H. Arnold, Assistant to the Chief of the Air Corps, who accepted appointment as Chief of the Air Corps, September 29, 1938.

APPOINTMENTS TO TEMPORARY RANK IN THE AIR CORPS

To be wing commanders, with the rank of brigadier general

Col. Walter Hale Frank (lieutenant colonel), Air Corps, from September 30, 1938, vice Brig. Gen. Barton K. Yount, wing commander, who accepted appointment as Assistant to the Chief of the Air Corps.

Col. Herbert Arthur Dargue (lieutenant colonel), Air Corps, from October 13, 1938, vice Brig. Gen. George H. Brett, wing commander, who vacated appointment.

## To be colonel

Lt. Col. John Bernard Brooks, Air Corps, from January 1, 1939.

# To be lieutenant colonels

Maj. Idwal Hubert Edwards, Air Corps, from June 17, 1938.

Maj. George Stewart Warren, Air Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Early Edward Walters Duncan, Air Corps, from September 2, 1938.

Maj. William Downing Wheeler, Air Corps, from September 2, 1938.

Maj. Armin Ferdinand Herold, Air Corps, from September 10, 1938.

Maj. Charles Addison Pursley, Air Corps, from October 8, 1938.

Maj. George Luke Usher, Air Corps, from November 20,

Maj. Joseph Henry Davidson, Air Corps, from January 1, 1939.

## To be majors

Capt. Everett Sanford Davis, Air Corps, from January 1, 1939.

Capt. Francis Bassett Valentine, Air Corps, from June 27, 1938.

Capt. Don McNeal, Air Corps, from June 27, 1938.

Capt. Hobart Reed Yeager, Air Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Ronald Austin Hicks, Air Corps, from July 1, 1938. Capt. James Edmund Parker, Air Corps, from August 5,

Capt. Augustine Francis Shea, Air Corps, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Nathan Farragut Twining, Air Corps, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Ralph Francis Stearley, Air Corps, from September 3, 1938.

Capt. Russell Lowell Williamson, Air Corps, from September 3, 1938.

LXXXIV-7

Capt. Adolphus Rankin McConnell, Air Corps, from September 28, 1938.

Capt. Kenneth Newton Walker, Air Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Oscar Leslie Rogers, Air Corps, from October 8, 1933. Capt. Edgar Theodore Selzer, Air Corps, from October 16, 1938.

Capt. Edward Alton Hillery, Air Corps, from November 21, 1938.

#### FIELD ARTILLERY

To be first lieutenant of Field Artillery with rank from July 1, 1920

First Lt. John William Beck, United States Army, retired.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS

Milton Irving Wallace, of Winthrop, Mass., to be second lieutenant with rank from July 19, 1938.

Roy Tinsley Dodge, of Gadsden, Ala., to be second lieutenant with rank from July 30, 1938.

To be second lieutenants with rank from July 1, 1938

Second Lt. John Ernest Walker, Corps of Engineers Reserve. Second Lt. Charles Albert Armstrong, Corps of Engineers Reserve.

Second Lt. Robert Joseph Chandler, Corps of Engineers

Second Lt. Stanley Robert Kelley, Corps of Engineers Reserve.

First Lt. John Burhyte Wilmot Corey, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Rollie Neel Blancett, Corps of Engineers Reserve. First Lt. Horace Malcolm Witbeck, Coast Artillery Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Charles Benjamin Schweizer, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. Alfred Matthew Eschbach, Corps of Engineers
Reserve.

Second Lt. Robert Dashiell Hatcher, Corps of Engineers Reserve.

Second Lt. Harold Kenneth Howell, Coast Artillery Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. William Brennan Stelzenmuller, Corps of Engineers Reserve.

Second Lt. Wilmer Kersey Benson, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Charles Thomas Bagley, Corps of Engineers Reserve.

Second Lt. Harry Ellsworth Skinner, Corps of Engineers Reserve.

Second Lt. Myron Ellsworth Page, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Carroll Hilton Dunn, Corps of Engineers Reserve. Second Lt. Judson Woodring Wark, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. John Chris Pappas, Coast Artillery Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Gilbert Byron Hall, Corps of Engineers Reserve. Second Lt. Edmund Mortimer Fry, Jr., Field Artillery Reerve.

Second Lt. Harry George Woodbury, Jr., Infantry Reserve. Second Lt. William Chipman Holley, Corps of Engineers Reserve.

Second Lt. George Wright Bennett, Corps of Engineers Reserve.

First Lt. Joseph Ernest Veale, Coast Artillery Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Robert Nendel Anderson, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. Herbert Evans Brown, Coast Artillery Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Andrew Olaf Lerche, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. John Claude Potter, Jr., Corps of Engineers Reserve.

Second Lt. William John Ellison, Jr., Signal Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Frank Milner, Field Artillery Reserve.

Second Lt. R. Ernest Leffel, Corps of Engineers Reserve.

First Lt. Perry Bradbury Hackett, Field Artillery Reserve.

Second Lt. Frederick Zitzer, Corps of Engineers Reserve. Second Lt. James Russell Rorabaugh, Corps of Engineers Reserve.

Second Lt. James Henderson Beddow, Corps of Engineers Reserve.

Second Lt. Earl Carpenter Paules, Infantry Reserve. Second Lt. Andrew Vaiden Inge, Corps of Engineers Re-

#### SIGNAL CORPS

To be second lientenants with rank from July 1, 1938 Second Lt. Carolus Adams Brown, Signal Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Winfred Alban Ross, Signal Corps Reserve.

CHEMICAL WARFARE SERVICE To be second lieutenant with rank from July 1, 1938 Second Lt. Jack Emerson Babcock, Chemical Warfare Service Reserve.

#### CAVALRY

To be second lieutenants with rank from July 1, 1938 Second Lt. Perry Elmer Conant, Cavalry Reserve. Second Lt. Leland Waynes Cramer, Cavalry Reserve. Second Lt. Elwin Thomas Knight, Cavalry Reserve.

#### FIELD ARTILLERY

To be second lieutenants with rank from July 1, 1938 Second Lt. John Vincent Roddy, Field Artillery Reserve. Second Lt. Clifton Ferdinand von Kann, Field Artillery Reserve.

Second Lt. Murray Elroy Sparks, Field Artillery Reserve.

Second Lt. James Robert Wergin, Field Artillery Reserve. Second Lt. Frank George White, Field Artillery Reserve.

Second Lt. Gregory Leo Higgins, Field Artillery Reserve. Second Lt. Leo Bernard Burkett, Field Artillery Reserve.

Second Lt. Joseph Harold Stangle, Field Artillery Reserve.

Second Lt. Meredith Ernest Allen, Field Artillery Reserve.

#### COAST ARTILLERY CORPS

To be second lieutenants with rank from July 1, 1938 Second Lt. Herman Huebner Hauck, Coast Artillery Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. John Dudley Wood, Coast Artillery Corps Re-

Second Lt. Aaron Alexander Abston, Coast Artillery Corps

Second Lt. Willard Jefferson Hodges, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Jerome Stanley Byrne, Coast Artillery Corps Reserve.

### INFANTRY

To be second lieutenants with rank from July 1, 1938

Second Lt. Lloyd Hilary Gomes, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. Felix Moses Hardison, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. Melvin Charles Helfers, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. Edward Bruce Bissell, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. M. Griffith Berg, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. George Ellis Deshon, Infantry Reserve. Second Lt. Amos George Johnson, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. John Harris Griffith, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. William Raymond Peers, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. John Edwin Jarmin, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. William Morgan Summers, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. Laverne Arthur Parks, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. Robert Peter Hagen, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. Charles Peter Stone, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. Arthur Theodore Sauser, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. Samuel McGraw Swearingen, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. Wayne Gill Springer, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. Thomas Patrick Bell, Infantry Reserve.

Second Lt. Elton Woodrow Ringsak, Infantry Reserve.

# AIR CORPS

To be second lieutenants with rank from July 1, 1938 Second Lt. Howard Monroe Means, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Leland Gordon Fiegel, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Thomas Danville Brown, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Harry Philip Leber, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. James Warren Phelps, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. McClellan Ferguson Stunkard, Jr., Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. John Richardson Alison, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Michael Joseph Coffield, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Steele Roy Patterson, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Waymond Austin Davis, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Thornton Kise Myers, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Lloyd Henry Dalton, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. John Ray Kilgore, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Henley Vedder Bastin, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Edwin Shepard Chickering, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Guy Leonard Hudson, Jr., Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Wallace Embry Nau, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Henry Gordon Barrett, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Robert Carl Orth, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Donald Harry Kauffman, Air Corps Reserve.

To be second lieutenants with rank from October 1, 1938

Second Lt. Francis Henry MacDuff, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Harold Lewis Jones, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Arman Peterson, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Herbert Madison West, Jr., Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Francis Dodge Shoemaker, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Alvin Roubal Luedecke, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Henry Russell Spicer, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Willard Van Deman Brown, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. William Ray Boutz, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. William Haldane Councill, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Kenneth Ray Kreps, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Peter Havens Remington, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Patrick William McIntyre, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Donald William Haarman, New York National Guard.

Second Lt. Blaine Ballif Campbell, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Morris Henry Shedd, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Kermit Arthur Tyler, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Mayhue Delbert Blaine, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Howard Fish Nichols, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Philip Beeton Klein, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Marion Malcolm, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Frederick Lawrance Moore, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Charles Emlen Marion, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Ben Ivan Funk, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Follett Bradley, Jr., Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Richard William Simons, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. James Britt League, Jr., Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. John Spencer Hardy, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Thomas Scott Algert, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Harry Louis Donicht, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Charles Harold Stockdale, Air Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Ladson Green Eskridge, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Francis Harry Matthews, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Ryder Waldo Finn, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Robert Franklin Hardy, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. William Waring Miller, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Paul Wietzel Zehrung, Air Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Arthur Jenkins Pierce, Air Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Robert Francis Worden, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Roy William Osborn, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. James Bradford Baker, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. William Grover Benn, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Herbert Reed Volin, Air Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Allan Thomas Bennett, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Henry Garfield Thorne, Jr., Air Corps Reserve.

First Lt. William Albert Hatcher, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Baskin Reid Lawrence, Jr., Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Sam Philippe Triffy, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Earl Bernard Young, Air Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Robert Alva Ping, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. William Mason Reid, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. James Thomas Connally, Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Jack Lincoln Schoch, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Bernard Adolf Schriever, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Harold Ernest Watson, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Cy Wilson, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Craven Clark Rogers, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. William Lewis Curry, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Audrin Rotha Walker, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Calvin Ely Peeler, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. James Oldham Ellis, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Sven Harold Ecklund, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Robert Kay Martin, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. John Beverly Montgomery, Air Corps Reservo. Second Lt. John Hitt Eakin, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. John Allen Way, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. James Ferguson, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. William Brewer Keese, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Joseph Frederick Hunker, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Martin Ansel Bateman, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Robert Curtis Sexton, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. William Bell David, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Robert Francis Burnham, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Clyde Box, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Edward William Ketcham, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Chris Henry William Rueter, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Horace Armor Shepard, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Don Louis Wilhelm, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Herbert Morgan, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Franklin Kendall Paul, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Ben Allen Mason, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Raleigh Hunter Macklin, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Graeme Stewart Bond, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Marcus Fleming Cooper, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Raymond Victor Schwanbeck, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Robert Melville Caldwell, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Joseph Abbott Thomas, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Elbert David Reynolds, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Ralph Sheldon Garman, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Ernest Frederick Wackwitz, Jr., Air Corps Re-

Second Lt. Marvin Christian Demler, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Cecil Hampton Childre, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Jacob Jerval Brogger, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Irvine Alfred Rendle, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Junius Waldo Dennison, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. James Linn Travis, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Frank Claveloux Parker, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Ernest Wilbur Keating, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. George Sutton Brewer, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Irving Lewis Branch, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. George Wilson Hazlett, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Roy Edward Warren, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. James Rembert DuBose, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Arthur Charles Carlson, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. William Eades, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Donald William Eisenhart, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Sam Maddux, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Karl Lewis Polifka, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Robert Reed Stewart, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. William Klahr McNown, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Ted Sinclair Faulkner, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. John Howard Payne, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Robert William Ryder, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Wilbur Danner Camp, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Morris Pelham, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Avelin Paul Tacon, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Conrad Joe Herlick, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Evart Wilbur Hedlund, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Paul Franklin Helmick, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. John Mark Ferris, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Robert Loughery Johnston, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. James John Roberts, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Lloyd Atwood Walker, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Arthur William Schmitt, Jr., Air Corps Reserve.

Second Lt. Norris Perry, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Kenneth Ray Martin, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Maurice Edward Glaser, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Leroy Alex Rainey, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Francis Eastham Brenner, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Edgar Milton Wittan, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Robert Franklin Strickland, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Ansley Watson, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Edward Gerald Hillery, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Thomas Ewing Margrave, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Bela Alan Harcos, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Henry Ovide Bordelon, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Edward Lewis Reid, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Clyde Charles Harris, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Jean Rogers Byerly, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Herman Francis Lowery, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Boyd David Wagner, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Edward George Kiehle, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Earl Eugene Bates, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Arch Graham Campbell, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. David Wade, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. J. Francis Taylor, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Edward Wilford Maschmeyer, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Neel Earnest Kearby, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Leonard Muir Rohrbough, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Ray Hamilton Martin, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Frederick John Sutterlin, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Murray Alston Bywater, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Delmer Edward Wilson, Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. Joshua Thomas Winstead, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Charles Duncan Jones, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Ernest Haywood Beverly, Air Corps. Reserve. Second Lt. Jess Anders Smith, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. George Edward Schaetzel, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Frederic Grenville Huish, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Claude Edwin Putnam, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Donald Root Strether, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Dale Leroy Anderson, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Eugene Carl Woltz, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Kenneth Wilbur Lawver, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Elliott Hartley Reed, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Frank Edwin Rouse, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Richard Frederick Lorenz, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Vernon Lake Stintzi, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Clarence Theodore Edwinson, Air Corps Re-Second Lt. Theodore Stanley Proxmire, Jr., Air Corps Reserve. First Lt. James Carroll Cochran, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Richard Powers Schumacher, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Arthur Harold Rogers, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Whitmell Tompkins Rison, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Donald Ellis Ridings, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Leslie Ethridge Martin, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Preston Patton Pender, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Gwen Grover Atkinson, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Harold Micheal Keeffe, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Charles Wesseler Bicking, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Harry Willson Markey, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Henry Clay Godman, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Howell Galen Crank, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. John Harold Cheatwood, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Thomas Kerns Hampton, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Francis Bernard Gallagher, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. Clarence Kinney Longacre, Air Corps Reserve. Second Lt. William Reynolds Stark, Air Corps Reserve. MEDICAL CORPS To be first lieutenants with rank from July 1, 1938

First Lt. Jackson Franklin Morehead, Medical Corps Re-

First Lt. John Henry Voegtly, Medical Corps Reserve. First Lt. John Austin Booth, Medical Corps Reserve. First Lt. Herbert Downing Edger, Medical Corps Reserve. First Lt. Ernest Martin Nielsen, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Robert McAllister Davis, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. George Andrew Rader, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Edwin Wayne Hakala, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. William Clinton White, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. William Enloe Strozier, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Robert Sexton Higdon, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Fred James Fielding, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Oswald Raymond Jensen, Medical Corps Reserve.

To be first lieutenants, with rank from September 21, 1938

First Lt. Andrew Fredrick Scheele, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Joseph Francis Linsman, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Eldred La Monte Gann, Medical Corps Reserve. First Lt. Michael Louis Sheppeck, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Merrill Clark Davenport, Medical Corps Reserve.

Capt. John Washington Simpson, Medical Corps Reserve.

To be first lieutenants, with rank from November 1, 1938
First Lt. Frederick James Knoblauch, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. John William Linfesty, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Thomas Earl Patton, Medical Corps Reserve.

To be first lieutenants, with rank from December 1, 1938

First Lt. John Meredith Burgin, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Arthur Thomas Jones, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Homan Elfred Leech, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. John Beardsley Wallace, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. John Randall McBride, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Robert William Lloyd, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Rollin Farrington Bunch, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Oscar Elliott Ursin, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Charles Raymond Sharp, Medical Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Dan Beville Searcy, Medical Corps Reserve.

#### DENTAL CORPS

To be first lieutenants with rank from July 8, 1938

First Lt. Lawrence Carlton Radford, Dental Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Donald Charles Hudson, Dental Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Leon Guin McConnell, Dental Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Winlaw Archiebald Priebe, Dental Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Benjamin Walter Dunn, Dental Corps Reserve.

To be first lieutenants with rank from December 1, 1938

First Lt. Charles Sidney Winston, Dental Corps Reserve.

First Lt. William Foster Perkins, Jr., Dental Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Clarence Ellwyn Sheets, Jr., Dental Corps Reserve.

First Lt. William Paxton Fly, Jr., Dental Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Herbert Lester Gullickson, Dental Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Gerald Arthur McCracken, Dental Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Jerome Joseph Hiniker, Dental Corps Reserve. First Lt. Douglas Monroe Beebe, Dental Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Kenneth David Eye, Dental Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Theodore Emmett Fischer, Dental Corps Reserve.

First Lt. Virgil Gordon Walker, Dental Corps Reserve.

## VETERINARY CORPS

First Lt. Stephen Grieve Asbill, Veterinary Corps Reserve, to be first lieutenant with rank from September 8, 1938.

First Lt. Robert James Brown, Veterinary Corps Reserve, to be first lieutenant with rank from October 1, 1938.

First Lt. Karl Harry Willers, Veterinary Corps Reserve, to be first lieutenant with rank from November 1, 1938.

Capt. Frank Arnold Todd, Veterinary Corps Reserve, to be first lieutenant with rank from December 1, 1938.

## CHAPLAINS

Rev. John Allen DeVeaux, of Williamsport, Pa., to be chaplain with the rank of first lieutenant, with rank from August 24, 1938.

Chaplain (First Lt.) John Kenneth Connelly, Chaplains' Reserve, to be chaplain with the rank of first lieutenant, with rank from December 29, 1938.

Chaplain (Capt.) Lexington Odett Sheffield, Chaplains' Reserve, to be chaplain with the rank of first lieutenant, with rank from December 29, 1938.

APPOINTMENTS, BY TRANSFER, IN THE REGULAR ARMY

TO ADJUTANT GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT

Capt. Leland Stuart Smith, Coast Artillery Corps, September 22, 1938, with rank from August 1, 1935.

#### TO QUARTERMASTER CORPS

Lt. Col. James Fred Byrom, Infantry, September 8, 1938, with rank from October 1, 1935.

Lt. Col. James Albert Gillespie, Field Artillery, June 17, 1938, with rank from August 1, 1935.

Maj. Francis Sylvester Conaty, Field Artillery, with rank from August 1, 1935.

Maj. Harry Adamson, Infantry, August 24, 1938, with rank from October 1, 1934.

Maj. Milo Clair Calhoun, Field Artillery (promoted major Field Artillery, during the recess of the Senate), October 3, 1938, with rank from July 22, 1938.

Maj. David Henry Finley, Infantry, July 26, 1938, with rank from August 1, 1935.

Maj. Charles Robert Hall, Field Artillery, October 13, 1938, with rank from August 1, 1935.

Maj. Joseph Aloysius St. Louis, Infantry, September 21, 1938, with rank from August 1, 1935.

Maj. Alfred Timothy Wright, Infantry, September 2, 1938, with rank from August 1, 1935.

Capt. Charles Cavelli, Jr., Field Artillery, July 26, 1938, with rank from August 1, 1925

with rank from August 1, 1935. Capt. William Jesse Deyo, Jr., Infantry, October 24, 1938,

with rank from June 12, 1936.

Capt. Wilber Russell Ellis, Coast Artillery Corps, August 8,

1938, with rank from August 1, 1935.
Capt. Leon Eugene Lichtenwalter, Infantry, November 3,

1938, with rank from August 1, 1935.

Capt. James Bryan McDavid, Infantry, September 7, 1938,

with rank from December 1, 1932.

Capt. Charles Richardson Smith, Infantry, October 31,

1938, with rank from October 1, 1934.

Capt. Fred Leroy Thorpe, Infantry, October 27, 1938, with rank from June 14, 1937.

Capt. Calvin Louis Whittle, Infantry, August 26, 1938, with rank from June 14, 1937.

# TO FINANCE DEPARTMENT

Maj. Castle Hobart Farish, Infantry (promoted major, Infantry, during the recess of the Senate), November 29, 1938, with rank from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Wallace Chace Steiger, Cavalry, November 30, 1938, with rank from August 1, 1935.

Capt. Moses Alexander, Infantry, December 6, 1938, with rank from October 1, 1934.

Capt. Ord Gariche Chrisman, Infantry, October 5, 1938, with rank from August 1, 1935.

Capt. William Adrian Enos, Field Artillery, December 13, 1938, with rank from September 1, 1934.

Capt. Frank Gilbert Fraser, Cavalry, October 31, 1938, with rank from August 1, 1935.

Capt. Lester Erasmus Gruber, Infantry, November 21, 1938, with rank from October 1, 1934.

Capt. David Best Latimer, Coast Artillery Corps, December 20, 1938, with rank from August 1, 1935.

Capt. Kenneth Sharp Olson, Infantry, November 22, 1938, with rank from August 1, 1935.

Capt. Grover Adlai Summa, Infantry, December 10, 1938, with rank from October 1, 1934.

First Lt. Jacob George Reynolds, Coast Artillery Corps, November 23, 1938, with rank from October 1, 1934.

## TO CORPS OF ENGINEERS

First Lt. Thomas Allen Glass, Coast Artillery Corps, October 12, 1938, with rank from June 13, 1936.

# TO CHEMICAL WARFARE SERVICE

Capt. George Joseph Deutermann, Field Artillery, October 29, 1938, with rank from August 1, 1935.

#### TO CAVALRY

First Lt. James Ellison Glattly, Infantry, October 21, 1938, with rank from August 1, 1935.

First Lt. Thomas Robert Starratt, Air Corps, September 1, 1938, with rank from October 1, 1934.

Second Lt. Thomas Walker Chandler, Infantry, November 12, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1936.

Second Lt. Leonard Copeland Shea, Field Artillery, July 5, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1936.

## TO FIELD ARTILLERY

First Lt. Frank Carter Norvell, Air Corps, September 13, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. John Harold Daly, Cavalry, July 21, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1936.

## TO COAST ARTILLERY CORPS

First Lt. William Hammond Waugh, Jr., Infantry, August 8, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

#### TO INFANTRY

First Lt. Louis Lee Ingram, Coast Artillery Corps, with rank from June 12, 1937, effective March 28, 1939.

Second Lt. Frank Pattillo Norman, Jr., Signal Corps, November 12, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1936.

#### TO AIR CORPS

First Lt. Charles John Bondley, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

First Lt. Robert Merrill Lee, Cavalry, October 6, 1938, with rank from August 1, 1935.

First Lt. John Trueheart Mosby, Infantry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1938.

First Lt. Eugene Nall, Cavalry, with rank from June 12, 1938.

First Lt. Henry Agnew Sebastian, Infantry, with rank from August 1, 1938.

Second Lt. Edwin Borden Broadhurst, Field Artillery, with

rank from June 12, 1937. Second Lt. Colin Purdie Kelly, Jr., Infantry, with rank from

June 12, 1937.
Second Lt. Sam Wilkerson Agee, Jr., Field Artillery, October

1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.
 Second Lt. Richard Risley Barden, Signal Corps, October

6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. John Francis Batjer, Field Artillery, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Donald Bowen Brummel, Quartermaster Corps, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. William Joseph Cain, Jr., Infantry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Jack Edward Caldwell, Infantry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Alan Doane Clark, Coast Artillery Corps, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. William Ray Clingerman, Jr., Corps of Engineers, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Render Dowdell Denson, Infantry, October 6,

1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.
Second Lt. Conrad Henry Diehl, Jr., Field Artillery, October

1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.
 Second Lt. Jack Norman Donohew, Corps of Engineers, Oc-

tober 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Harvey Charles Dorney, Cavalry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Woodrow William Dunlop, Infantry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Jasper Newton Durham, Infantry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Walter Eckman, Corps of Engineers, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. John Gordon Eriksen, Field Artillery, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Richard William Fellows, Cavalry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Marshall Randolph Gray, Infantry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Horace Greeley, Infantry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Malcolm Green, Jr., Infantry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Samuel Charles Gurney, Jr., Cavalry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Richard Hilton Hackford, Coast Artillery Corps, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Harry Edwin Hammond, Field Artillery, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Robert Hensey Herman, Coast Artillery Corps, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. William Grover Hipps, Cavalry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. George Lawrence Holcomb, Corps of Engineers, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Thomas Alexander Holdiman, Quartermaster Corps, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Bruce Keener Holloway, Cavalry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. William Kienle Horrigan, Field Artillery, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Richard Phillip Klocko, Corps of Engineers, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Gordon Custer Leland, Infantry, October 6, 1938,

with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Curtis Raymond Low, Coast Artillery Corps,
October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Morton David Magoffin, Infantry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Whiteford Carlisle Mauldin, Signal Corps, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. William Emmett McDonald, Cavalry, October 6. 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Ivan Wilson McElroy, Field Artillery, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Joseph Alfred Miller, Jr., Infantry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Nils Olaf Ohman, Corps of Engineers, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Floyd Joaquin Pell, Cavalry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. James Theo Posey, Infantry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Thomas Everett Powell, Infantry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Maurice Arthur Preston, Cavalry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Charles Louis Robbins, Coast Artillery Corps, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Alvord Rutherford, Coast Artillery Corps, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Kenneth Oliver Sanborn, Infantry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Lawrence Augustus Spilman, Cavalry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Charles Andrews Sprague, Cavalry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Charles William Stark, Jr., Infantry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. John Dudley Stevenson, Corps of Engineers, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Wilbur Harvey Stratton, Cavalry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Robert Taylor, 3d, Coast Artillery Corps, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. John Russell Ulricson, Cavalry, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Harry Francis van Leuven, Field Artillery, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Kenneth Sayre Wade, Signal Corps, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Charles Bainbridge Westover, Field Artillery, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

Second Lt. Harold Bell Wright, Corps of Engineers, October 6, 1938, with rank from June 12, 1937.

# PROMOTIONS IN THE REGULAR ARMY

#### To be colonels

- Lt. Col. Jacob Loucks Devers, Field Artillery, from July 1, 1938.
  - Lt. Col. Ph.lip Hayes, Field Artillery, from July 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Francis August Doniat, Field Artillery, from July 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Carl Adolph Baehr, Field Artillery, from July 1, 1938.
  - Lt. Col. George Smith Patton, Jr., Cavalry, from July 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Edward Luke Kelly, Coast Artillery Corps, from July 1, 1938.
  - Lt. Col. James Garesche' Ord, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Thruston Hughes, Adjutant General's Department, from July 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Wallace Copeland Philoon, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Charles Bartell Meyer, Coast Artillery Corps, from July 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. James Rowland Hill, Quartermaster Corps, from July 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Frederick Arthur Mountford, Coast Artillery Corps, from July 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Horace Hayes Fuller, Field Artillery, July 1, 1938, subject to examination required by law.
- Lt. Col. Delos Carleton Emmons (brigadier general, wing commander), Air Corps, from July 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Arnold Norman Krogstad (brigadier general, wing
- commander), Air Corps, from July 1, 1938.

  Lt. Col. Eley Parker Denson, Infantry, from August 1, 1938.

  Lt. Col. Henry Dersoy Farnandis Munnikhuysen, Quarter-
- Lt. Col. Henry Dorsey Farnandis Munnikhuysen, Quartermaster Corps, from August 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Philip Stearns Gage, Coast Artillery Corps, from August 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Robert Lawrence Eichelberger, Infantry, from August 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Monte Jackson Hickok, Coast Artillery Corps, from August 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Robert Charles Frederick Goetz, Field Artillery, from August 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Edwin Forrest Harding, Infantry, from August 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Theodore Mosher Chase, Coast Artillery Corps, from August 12, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Arthur Rutledge Underwood, Infantry, from August 18, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Robert Sears, Ordnance Department, from September 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Lee Dunnington Davis, Infantry, from September 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Edwin Russell Van Deusen, Field Artillery, from September 1, 1938.

  Lt. Col. Merl Paul Schillerstrom, Infantry, from September
- Lt. Col. Merl Paul Schillerstrom, Infantry, from September 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Carlin Curtis Stokely, Infantry, from September 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Louis Philip Ford, Infantry, from September 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. John May McDowell, Field Artillery, from September 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Clifford Bluemel, Infantry, from September 1, 1938. Lt. Col. William Hood Simpson, Infantry, from Septem-
- ber 1, 1938.
  Lt. Col. William Charles Koenig, Coast Artillery Corps, from September 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. John Charles Fremont Tillson, Jr., Cavalry, from September 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Vernon George Olsmith, Infantry, from September 13, 1938.

- Lt. Col. Ralph Ernest Jones, Infantry, from September 22, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Willis Shippam, Coast Artillery Corps, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Frank Dexter Applin, Signal Corps, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Rollin Larrabee Tilton, Coast Artillery Corps, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Raymond Eliot Lee, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938, subject to examination required by law.
- Lt. Col. Louis Blaine Bender, Signal Corps, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Francis Page Hardaway, Coast Artillery Corps, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Frederic Alton Price, Coast Artillery Corps, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Edward Prescott Noyes, Coast Artillery Corps, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. William David Frazer, Coast Artillery Corps, from October 1, 1938
- October 1, 1938.

  Lt. Col. George Fleming Moore, Coast Artillery Corps, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. George Lane Van Deusen, Signal Corps, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Cuthbert Powell Stearns, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Courtney Hicks Hodges, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Rollo Curtin Ditto, Chemical Warfare Service, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Charles Carter Reynolds, Quartermaster Corps, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Frederick Martin Armstrong, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Isaac Joshua Nichol, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. William Patrick Kelleher, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Robert Menees Milam, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Herbert Joseph Wild, Corps of Engineers, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Alvin Colburn, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Sheppard Blunden Philpot, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.
  - Lt. Col. Shields Warren, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Drury Kemp Mitchell, Quartermaster Corps, from October 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. George Francis Lemon, Ordnance Department, from November 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Francis Marion Maddox, Infantry, from November 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. LeRoy Reeves, Judge Advocate General's Department, from November 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Charles Stephen Buck, Infantry, from November 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Theodore Hall, Judge Advocate General's Department, from November 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Alfred Wainwright Bloor, Infantry, from November 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Walter Michael Krimbill, Judge Advocate General's Department, from November 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Frank Wade Halliday, Judge Advocate General's Department, from November 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Clarence McCain McMurray, Infantry, from December 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Guy Ichabod Rowe, Quartermaster Corps, from December 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. John Magruder, Field Artillery, from December 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Per Ramee, Infantry, from December 1, 1938.
- Lt. Col. Harrison Cressy Browne, Infantry, from December 1, 1938.

Lt. Col. Harley Cleveland Dagley, Cavalry, from December

Lt. Col. William Nichols Porter, Chemical Warfare Service, from December 1, 1938.

Lt. Col. George Howard Brett, Air Corps (temporary colonel, Air Corps), from January 1, 1939.

Lt. Col. Maurice Benjamin Willett, Chemical Warfare Service, from January 1, 1939.

Lt. Col. Robert Edward Jones, Infantry, from January 1, 1939.

Lt. Col. Alexander Warner Cleary, Infantry, from January 1, 1939.

Lt. Col. George Marshall Parker, Jr., Infantry, from January 1, 1939.

Lt. Col. John Herman Hood, Coast Artillery Corps, from January 1, 1939.

Lt. Col. Christopher Dudley Peirce, Coast Artillery Corps, from January 1, 1939.

Lt. Col. Joseph Fredrick Cottrell, Coast Artillery Corps, from January 1, 1939.

Lt. Col. Wallace Loring Clay, Ordnance Department, from January 1, 1939.

#### To be lieutenant colonels

Maj. Harold Chittenden Mandell, Cavalry, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Truman Smith, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Lester Atchley Sprinkle, Cavalry, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Robert Walker Grow, Cavalry, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Joseph William George Stephens, Quartermaster Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Richard Kerens Sutherland, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Emil Watson Leard, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Terrill Eyre Price, Cavalry, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Walter Frank Adams, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. William Henry Kasten, Finance Department, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Sereno Elmer Brett, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. William Alexander, Field Artillery, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Harry Langdon Reeder, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Jay Edward Gillfillan, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Richard Jaquelin Marshall, Quartermaster Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Leon Edward Ryder, Signal Corps, from July 1, 1938. Maj. Jay Drake Billings Lattin, Signal Corps, from July 1,

Maj. James Donald MacMullen, Coast Artillery Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Ralph Townsend Heard, Field Artillery, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Charles Wright Bundy, Coast Artillery Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Charles Douglas Yelverton Ostrom, Coast Artillery Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Turner Mason Chambliss, Infantry, from July 1, 1938. Maj. Richard Lawrence Creed, Cavalry, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. James Cobb Hutson, Coast Artillery Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. John Frederick Ehlert, Infantry, from July 1, 1938. Maj. Theron Gray Methyen, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Robert Whiting Daniels, Ordnance Department, from July 1, 1938.

Maj. Francis Arnold Hause, Coast Artillery Corps, from July 3, 1938.

Maj. Paul Lewis Ransom, Infantry, from August 1, 1938.

Maj. Roderick Random Allen, Cavalry, from August 1, 1938.
Maj. Edward Elliott MacMorland, Ordnance Department, from August 1, 1938.

Maj. Adolphus Worrell Roffe, Cavalry, from August 1, 1938.

Maj. Manton Sprague Eddy, Infantry, from August 1, 1938.
Maj. Henry Benjamin Holmes, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps, from August 1, 1938.

Maj. Gabriel Thornton Mackenzie, Infantry, from August 1, 1938. Maj. John Stevenson Winslow, Field Artillery, from August 12, 1938.

Maj. Stuart Adams Hamilton, Chemical Warfare Service, from August 18, 1938.

Maj. Barnwell Rhett Legge, Infantry, from August 28, 1938. Maj. Thomas Troy Handy, Field Artillery, from September 1, 1938.

Maj. Edward Mallory Almond, Infantry, from September 1, 1938.

Maj. Charles Paul Stivers, Infantry, from September 1, 1938.

Maj. Robert Campbell Van Vliet, Jr., Infantry, from September 1, 1938.

Maj. Oliver Lincoln Haines, Cavalry, from September 1,

Maj. Oscar Irvin Gates, Field Artillery, from September 1,

Maj. Gerald Butz Robison, Coast Artillery Corps, from September 1, 1938.

Maj. Percy William Clarkson, Infantry, from September 1, 1938.

Maj. Gerald Evans Brower, Air Corps, from September 1, 1938.

Maj. Robert Chapin Candee, Air Corps, from September 1, 1938

Maj. William John Jones, Field Artillery, from September 1, 1938.

Maj. Yarrow Daniel Vesely, Field Artillery, from September 1, 1938.

Maj. Lee Saunders Gerow, Infantry, from September 1, 1938.

Maj. Paul Hills French, Coast Artillery Corps, from January 1, 1939.

Maj. Sidney Sohns Eberle, Infantry, from January 1, 1939. Maj. Joseph Nicholas Dalton, Adjutant General's Department, from January 1, 1939.

Maj. David Wilson Craig, Field Artillery, from January 1, 1939.

Maj. Edmund Maginness Barnum, Cavalry, from January 1, 1939.

Maj. Charles Nash Stevens, Infantry, from January 1, 1939.

Maj. Thomas Gannt Dobyns, Cavalry, from January 1, 1939.

Maj. John Thomas Minton, Cavalry, from January 1, 1939.
Maj. Horace Lincoln Whittaker, Quartermaster Corps, from January 1, 1939.

Maj. Gordon de Lanney Carrington, Coast Artillery Corps, from January 1, 1939.

Maj. Shuey Earl Wolfe, Coast Artillery Corps, from September 2, 1938.

Maj. Joseph Leon Philips, Cavalry, from September 2, 1938. Maj. Frank Jarvis Atwood, Ordnance Department, from September 13, 1938.

Maj. Harry Innes Thornton Creswell, Infantry, from September 22, 1938, subject to examination required by law.

Maj. Lloyd Harlow Cook, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.
Maj. Kenneth McCatty, Coast Artillery Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Carl C. Terry, Ordnance Department, from October 1,

Maj. Henry Burr Parker, Field Artillery, from October 1,

Maj. Edward Aloysius Murphy, Ordnance Department, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Harold Holmes Ristine, Field Artillery, from October 1,

Maj. Charles Timothy Senay, Infantry, from October 1,

Maj. Egmont Francis Koenig, Infantry, from October 1,

Maj. Theodore Woodward Wrenn, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Harold Whitaker Rehm, Ordnance Department, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Peter Kenrick Kelly, Infantry, from October 1, 1938. Maj. Kramer Thomas, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. James Randlett Finley, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938.
Maj. Lawrence John Ingram Barrett, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Clifford Hildebrandt Tate, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Dale Durkee Hinman, Coast Artillery Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Oliver Patton Echols, Air Corps, from October 1, 1938. Maj. Willard Stratton Wadelton, Cavalry, from October 1,

Maj. John Murray Jenkins, Jr., Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Frank Lewis Culin, Jr., Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Beverly Hare Coiner, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938. Maj. Albert Dewitt Chipman, Coast Artillery Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Robert Edgar Turley, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Ralph Corbett Smith, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.
Maj. William Moses Goodman, Coast Artillery Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Arthur Henry Truxes, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Gordon Joseph Fred Heron, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Thomas Seelye Arms, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Archelaus Lewis Hamblen, Infantry, from October 1, 938.

Maj. Paul Whitten Mapes, Infantry, from October 1, 1938. Maj. Robert Chauncey Macon, Infantry, from October 1, 938.

Maj. Stanley Bacon, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Samuel Victor Constant, Cavalry, from October 1

1938.

Maj. William Curtis Chase, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938. Maj. John Dunham Townsend, Infantry, from October 1,

Maj. Norman Edgar Fiske, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938. Maj. Wilson Tarlton Bals, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Cyrus Jenness Wilder, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. Harold Charles Fellows, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938. Maj. George Lester Kraft, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Maj. John Singleton Switzer, Jr., Infantry, from October 16, 1938.

Maj. Robert Ellsworth Phillips, Coast Artillery Corps, from November 1, 1938.

Maj. Allen Frederick Kingman, Infantry, from November 1, 1938.

Maj. Abraham Tabachnik, Infantry, from November 1, 1938.

Maj. William Robert Stewart, Coast Artillery Corps, from November 1, 1938.

Maj. Leander Russell Hathaway, Infantry, from November 1, 1938.

Maj. John Theodore Pierce, Cavalry, from November 1, 1938.

Maj. Vincent Bargmant Dixon, Air Corps, from November 1, 1938.

Maj. Constant Louis Irwin, Infantry, from November 1, 1938.

Maj. Thomas Forrest Limbocker, Cavalry, from November 1, 1938.

Maj. Wilmer Stanley Phillips, Coast Artillery Corps, from November 1, 1938.

Maj. Leven Cooper Allen, Infantry, from November 1, 1938.
Maj. Cornelius Martin Daly, Cavalry, from November 1, 1938.

Maj. Richard Brogdon Trimble, Cavalry, from November 1, 1938.

2

Maj. Oliver Arlington Hess, Infantry, from November 1, 1938.

Maj. Edward Amende Allen, Signal Corps, from November 1, 1938.

Maj. Frank Lawrence Whittaker, Cavalry, from November 10, 1938.

Maj. Edgar Harrison Underwood, Coast Artillery Corps, from December 1, 1938.

Maj. Jedediah Huntington Hills, Adjutant General's Department, from December 1, 1938.

Maj. Donald Strong Perry, Cavalry, from December 1, 1938.
Maj. Edwin Eugene Schwien, Cavalry, from December 1, 1938.

Maj. Dan Dunbar Howe, Infantry, from December 1, 1938, subject to examination required by law.

Maj. John Eubank Copeland, Infantry, from December 1,

Maj. Frederick Reid Lafferty, Cavalry, from December 1, 1938.

Maj. Carl Humphrey Strong, Cavalry, from December 1, 1938.

Maj. Joseph LeTourneau Lancaster, Infantry, from December 1, 1938.

Maj. David Renwick Kerr, Infantry, from December 1, 1938.

Maj. Arthur Titman Lacey, Cavalry, from December 20,

#### To be majors

Capt. William Seymour Gravely, Air Corps, from June 2, 1938.

Capt. Harlan Ware Holden, Air Corps, from June 19, 1938. Capt. John Francis Somers, Infantry, from June 23, 1938. Capt. Melville Stratton Creusere, Field Artillery, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Harry Ruhl Lebkicher, Chemical Warfare Service, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Clarence Flagg Murray, Field Artillery, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Perry Cole Ragan, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Ernest Stratton Barker, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.
Capt. Joseph Leonard Stromme, Air Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Robal Alphonzo Johnson, Infantry, from July 1, 1938. Capt. James Palmer Blakeney, Infantry, from July 1, 1938. Capt. Glen Ray Townsend, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. James Cave Crockett, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Woodbern Edwin Remington, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Maxwell Gordon Oliver, Infantry, from July 1, 1938. Capt. John Edward Nolan, Quartermaster Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Frederick Harrison Koerbel, Quartermaster Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Linton Yates Hartman, Coast Artillery Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Charles Richard Sargent, Infantry, from July 1, 1938. Capt. Charles Carroll Knight, Jr., Field Artillery, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Thomas Martin Tiernan, Finance Department, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Joseph Vincent Thebaud, Infantry, from July 1, 1938. Capt. Russell Conwell Akins, Infantry, from July 1, 1938. Capt. Henry Hapgood Fay, Quartermaster Corps, from

July 1, 1938.

Capt. Mark Histand Doty, Field Artillery, from January 1, 1939.

Capt. Charles Peter Prime, Air Corps (temporary major, Air Corps), from January 1, 1939.

Capt. Pete Turney Heffner, Jr., Infantry, from January 1, 1939.

Capt. Otto Rudolph Stillinger, Cavalry, from January 1, 1939.

Capt. Murray Charles Wilson, Field Artillery, from January 1, 1939. Capt. Bruce Craighill Hill, Corps of Engineers, from January 1, 1939.

Capt. Edwin Douglass McCoy, Infantry, from January 1, 1939.

Capt. Dewitt Talmage Mullett, Infantry, from January 1, 1939.

Capt. Hugh Gibson Culton, Cavalry, from January 1, 1939. Capt. Paul Allen Reichle, Field Artillery, from January 1, 1939.

Capt. Gerald Bradford Devore, Infantry, from January 1, 1939.

Capt. Walter Bedell Smith, Infantry, from January 1, 1939. Capt. Osgood Cook McIntyre, Field Artillery, from January 1, 1939.

Capt. James Emerson Bush, Field Artillery, from January 1, 1939.

Capt. Morris Barnett DePass, Jr., Infantry, from January 1, 1939.

Capt. Charles Ennis, Infantry, from January 1, 1939.

Capt. Rudolph William Propst, Air Corps, from July 1, 1938. Capt. Peter LeToney, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Robert Louis Renth, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Clyde Henry Plank, Infantry, from July 1, 1938. Capt. Joel DeWitt Pomerene, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Daniel Bern Floyd, Field Artillery, from July 1, 1938. Capt. John Orn Roady, Quartermaster Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Abraham Lincoln Bullard, Coast Artillery Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Adolphus Bernard Pence, Infantry, from July 1, 1938. Capt. William Lincoln Hamilton, Cavalry, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Walter Leui Kluss, Field Artillery, from July 1, 1938. Capt. Ralph Brittin Watkins, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. George Willis Morris, Signal Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Eugene Lawrence Brine, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. John Edward Adamson, Quartermaster Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Dennis Patrick Murphy, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.
Capt. Chauncey Alfred Gillette, Coast Artillery Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Frank Denis Hackett, Air Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Melvin Ray Finney, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Alfred Percy Kitson, Field Artillery, from July 1, 1938. Capt. Preston Ballard Waterbury, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Verne Clair Snell, Coast Artillery Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Ira Augustus Hunt, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Waine Archer, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Aaron Edward Jones, Air Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Paul Parker Logan, Quartermaster Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. William Harris Irvine, Infantry, from July 1, 1938. Capt. William Harold Roberts, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Richard Woodhouse Johnson, Quartermaster Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Jesse James France, Field Artillery, from July 1, 1938. Capt. George Sesco Pierce, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Robin Alexander Day, Air Corps, from July 1, 1938. Capt. Walter Emery Smith, Infantry, from July 1, 1938. Capt. William Branch Leitch, Field Artillery, from July 1, 938

Capt. Paul Gerhardt Balcar, Judge Advocate General's Department, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Charles William Moffett, Judge Advocate General's Department, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. John Henry Corridon, Judge Advocate General's Department, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Roy William Grower, Corps of Engineers, from July

Capt. Harold Alfred Willis, Ordnance Department, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Thomas Florence McCarthy, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Rexford Shores, Infantry, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. George Samuel Beatty, Infantry, from July 3, 1938. Capt. Kenneth Clarke Bonney, Coast Artillery Corps, from August 1, 1938.

Capt. William Melton Tow, Infantry, from August 1, 1938. Capt. Armand Sherman Miller, Field Artillery, from August 1, 1938.

Capt. Grover Elmer Hutchinson, Infantry, from August 1, 1938.

Capt. Rufus Arthur Parsons, Infantry, from August 1, 1938.

Capt. Miguel Montesinos, Infantry, from August 1, 1938. Capt. Thomas Henry, Infantry, from August 1, 1938.

Capt. John Y. York, Jr., Air Corps, from August 1, 1938. Capt. Walter Hey Reid, Air Corps, from August 1, 1938.

Capt. John Bellinger Patrick, Air Corps, from August 1, 1938.

Capt. Edward Joseph Curren, Jr., Infantry, from August 10, 1938.

Capt. LeRoy Edmund McGraw, Infantry, from August 10, 1938.

Capt. Earl Hamlin DeFord, Air Corps, from August 12, 1938.

Capt. Byron Adrian Falk, Signal Corps, from August 18, 1938.

Capt. Glen Teter Strock, Infantry, from August 28, 1938. Capt. Peter Powell Rodes, Field Artillery, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Harvey Irvin Cassedy, Infantry, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. William Harold Collette, Infantry, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Herbert Becker Laux, Infantry, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Charles Stevenson Denny, Coast Artillery Corps, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Thomas Reed Willson, Field Artillery, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Arthur Penick Moore, Field Artillery, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Clifford Gordon Kershaw, Infantry, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Harry Daniels Scheibla, Infantry, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Edmund Mortimer Gregorie, Infantry, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Robert Virgil Laughlin, Judge Advocate General's Department, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. James Harold McDonough, Infantry, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Lewis Sheppard Norman, Infantry, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Hamilton Folts Searight, Field Artillery, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Ira Woodruff Black, Infantry, from September 1, 1938. Capt. Geerge Jacob Forster, Infantry, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. John Cawley MacArthur, Chemical Warfare Service, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Lloyd Raymond Wolfe, Quartermaster Corps, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Otto Montrose Low, Quartermaster Corps, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Benjamin Arthur Thomas, Cavalry, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Joseph Kenneth Creamer, Infantry, from September 1, 1938.

Capt. Robert Sharp, Infantry, from September 2, 1938.

Capt. Frank Martin Smith, Adjutant General's Department, from September 2, 1938.

Capt. Doyle Overlton Hickey, Field Artillery, from September 13, 1938.

Capt. Glenn Earl Carothers, Infantry, from September 19, 1938.

Capt. Ernest Edmund Tabscott, Infantry, from September 22, 1938.

Capt. Ralph Bamford Walker, Air Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Edward Clay Atkinson, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Lloyd Nelson Winters, Infantry, from October 1, 1938. Capt. Francis Michael Flanagan, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. William Windom Dixon, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Clarence Beaver Lober, Air Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Alexander Leroy Haggart, Coast Artillery Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Joseph Alexander Stuart, Infantry, from October 1, 1938

Capt. Edward Perry Passailaigue, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Richard Hamlin Bacon, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Eric Alexander Erickson, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Harry Leigh Lewis, Infantry, from October 1, 1938. Capt. Sterling Manley Crim, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. John James Honan, Judge Advocate General's Department, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Louis Verne Jones, Infantry, from October 1, 1938. Capt. Lawrence John Ferguson, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Harry Knight, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Harvey Henry Smith, Infantry, from October 1, 1938. Capt. Albert Gallatin Phillips, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Claude Onias Burch, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938.
Capt. John Carl Cook, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.
Capt. Russell Raymond Louden, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. John Kenneth Cannon, Air Corps, from October 1, 1938, subject to examination required by law.

Capt. A. Y. Culton, Quartermaster Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Hiram Barricklow Turner, Finance Department, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. James Gordon Cooper, Jr., Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Marcus Butler Boulware, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Harry Henry, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Walter Ray Goodrich, Coast Artillery Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Homer Price Dittemore, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Chester Darlington Haisley, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Milton Abram Hill, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Albert Lossen Lane, Corps of Engineers, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Howard Alton Boone, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938. Capt. Arthur John Melanson, Air Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Theodore Joseph Koenig, Air Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Lee Malcolm Hester, Infantry, from October 1, 1938. Capt. Horace McParlin Woodward, Jr., Chemical Warfare Service, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Frank Elwin Kauffman, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Clifford Pennington Chapman, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Grandison Gardner, Air Corps, from October 1, 1938. Capt. Alvan Cleveland Kincaid, Air Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Edward Palmer Earle, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.
Capt. Raymond William Bryant, Quartermaster Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Oliver Hazzard Prizer, Infantry, from October 1, 1938. Capt. Benners Brasfield Vail, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Thomas Francis Joyce, Infantry, from October 1, 1938. Capt. Walter Bingham Cochran, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Boyce Manly James, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Omer Osmer Niergarth, Air Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Pierce Horton Camp, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.
Capt. Roy Alphonso Carter, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Thomas Edmund Mahoney, Quartermaster Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Frank Seymoure Ross, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.
Capt. Frank Adolphus Hollingshead, Coast Artillery Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Pearne Clark Wilders, Infantry, from October 1, 1938. Capt. Edward Harleston de Saussure, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Volney Winfield Wortman, Coast Artillery Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. John Farmer Brinson, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.
Capt. Edward Page Lukert, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.
Capt. Ernest Thomas Hayes, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Allen Bonham Hicklin, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Cortlandt Knickman Krams, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Charles W. Fake, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Clifford Durward Overfelt, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. George Van Studdiford, Finance Department, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. William Byron Walters, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. James Notestein, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Robert Henry Knapp, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Harold Jackson Guernsey, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. John Glenn Brackinridge, Adjutant General's Department, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Francis Gerard Brink, Infantry, from October 1, 1938. Capt. Easom Jackson Bond, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Gilbert Procter, Infantry, from October 1, 1938. Capt. Fabius Henry Kohloss, Corps of Engineers, from Oc-

tober 1, 1938.

Capt. Garland Thomas Rowland, Ordnance Department, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Ambrose Franklin White, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Ray Homer Larkins, Finance Department, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Harry Louis Vitzthum, Signal Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Lee Caraway Bizzell, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.
Capt. Marion Milton Pharr, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. George Frye Herbert, Infantry, from October 1, 1938. Capt. James Victor Gagne, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938. Capt. Carnes Lee, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. James Courtney Browne, Quartermaster Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Paul McDonald Robinett, Cavalry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Polk Johnson Atkinson, Field Artillery, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Frank Norman Mallory, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Edmund Rucks Shugart, Infantry, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Ulmont William Holly, Infantry, from October 1, 1938. Capt. Clough Farrar Gee, Quartermaster Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. Truman Casper Thorson, Infantry, from October 1,

Capt. George Irving Back, Signal Corps, from October 1, 1938.

Capt. John Monroe Hamilton, Field Artillery, from October 16, 1938.

Capt. Norman Earl Hartman, Coast Artillery Corps, from November 1, 1938.

Capt. Clarence Turner Davis, Infantry, from November 1, 1938.

Capt. Frank Rate Williams, Infantry, from November 1, 1938

Capt. Harvey John Thornton, Field Artillery, from November 1, 1938.

Capt. Harold Joseph LaCroix, Infantry, from November 1, 1938.

Capt. George Joseph Engelthaler, Infantry, from November 1, 1938.

Capt. Ralph Cobb Benner, Chemical Warfare Service, from November 1, 1938.

Capt. Chester Eugene Sargent, Field Artillery, from November 1, 1938.

Capt. Joseph Phillip Donnovin, Field Artillery, from November 1, 1938.

Capt. Roy Lawrence Dalferes, Field Artillery, from November 1, 1938.

Capt. Andre Leonard Violante, Quartermaster Corps, from November 1, 1938.

Capt. Leighton Nicol Smith, Finance Department, from November 1, 1938.

Capt. Charles Wilbur Pence, Infantry, from November 1, 1938.

Capt. Jerome Grigg Harris, Infantry, from November 1, 1938.

Capt. Henry Eaton Kelly, Infantry, from November 1, 1938. Capt. Claude Bayles Mickelwait, Judge Advocate General's Department, from November 1, 1938.

Capt. William Barmore Sharp, Infantry, from November 1, 1938.

Capt. Marcus Ellis Jones, Cavalry, from November 10, 1938.
Capt. Harold Patrick Hennessy, Coast Artillery Corps, from November 12, 1938.

Capt. Walter Asbury Bigby, Infantry, from November 20, 1938.

Capt. Fred E. Gaillard, Infantry, from November 25, 1938.
Capt. Robert Robinson, Signal Corps, from December 1, 1938.

Capt. Herman Odelle Lane, Infantry, from December 1, 1938.

Capt. Aubrey Hornsby, Air Corps, from December 1, 1938.
Capt. Lawrence Lofton Cobb, Infantry, from December 1, 1938.

Capt. William Havely McKee, Infantry, from December 1, 1938.

Capt. Garnett Hamilton Wilson, Cavalry, from December 1, 1938.

Capt. William Arthur Beiderlinden, Field Artillery, from December 1, 1938.

Capt. Edwin Moore Burnett, Cavalry, from December 1, 1938.

Capt. Royal Leonard Gervais, Field Artillery, from December 1, 1938.

Capt. Harold Mark Reedall, Ordnance Department, from December 1, 1938.

Capt. Richard Hawley Slider, Field Artillery, from December 1, 1938.

Capt. Allan Louis Stowell, Signal Corps, from December 1, 1938.

Capt. Richard Turner Schlosberg, Signal Corps, from December 1, 1938.

Capt. Andrew Ed Forsyth, Cavalry, from December 1, 1938.
Capt. John Andrew Smith, Jr., Field Artillery, from December 16, 1938.

Capt. David Goodwin Barr, Infantry, from December 20, 1938.

To be first lieutenants with rank from August 1, 1938

Second Lt. Opal Ellis Henderson, Air Corps.

Second Lt. Daniel Ira Moler, Air Corps.

Second Lt. Lawrance Owen Brown, Air Corps.

Second Lt. Henry Bishop Fisher, Air Corps.

Second Lt. Clayton Baxter Claassen, Air Corps.

Second Lt. William Thomas Hudnell, Jr., Air Corps. Second Lt. Harold Lawrence Kreider, Air Corps.

Second Lt. John Oman Neal, Air Corps.

Second Lt. Henry Agnew Sebastian, Infantry.

Second Lt. Harrison Schermerhorn Markham, Infantry.

# MEDICAL CORPS

# To be colonel

Lt. Col. Luther Raymond Poust, Medical Corps, from July 8, 1938.

#### To be lieutenant colonels

Maj. Leland Elder Dashiell, Medical Corps, from July 4, 1938.

Maj. George William Reyer, Medical Corps, from July 4, 1938.

Maj. Oscar Thweatt Kirksey, Medical Corps, from July 6, 1938.

Maj. Byron Johnson Peters, Medical Corps, from July 13, 1938.

Maj. Joseph Rogers Darnall, Medical Corps, from July 15, 1938.

Maj. Leland Oliver Walter Moore, Medical Corps, from July 23, 1938.

Maj. Henry William Meisch, Medical Corps, from July 24, 1938.

Maj. Alexander Palmer Kelly, Medical Corps, from August

19, 1938.
 Maj. Francis William Gustites, Medical Corps, from August

31, 1938.

Maj. William Samuel Prout, Medical Corps, from Septem-

ber 1, 1933.

Maj. Walter Fleming Hamilton, Medical Corps, from Sep-

tember 3, 1938.

Maj. Frank Tenny Chamberlin, Medical Corps, from September 6, 1938.

Maj. Harry Ripley Melton, Medical Corps, from September 8, 1938.

Maj. Howard Joseph Hutter, Medical Corps, from September 21, 1938.

Maj. Irwin Bradfield Smock, Medical Corps, from September 27, 1938.

Maj. David Loran Robeson, Medical Corps, from October 8, 1938.

Maj. Joseph Ignatius Martin, Medical Corps, from October 8, 1938.

Maj. Thomas Randolph McCarley, Medical Corps, from October 12, 1938.

Maj. Alfred Mordecai, Medical Corps, from October 23, 1938.

Maj. William Presley Dingle, Medical Corps, from October 23, 1938.

Maj. James Frank Brooke, Medical Corps, from October 23, 1938.

Maj. Lester Eastwood Beringer, Medical Corps, from October 24, 1938.

Maj. David Lloyd Stewart, Medical Corps, from October 30, 1938.

Maj. John Moorhaj Tamraz, Medical Corps, from November 2, 1938.

Maj. Charles Francis Shook, Medical Corps, from January 17, 1939.

#### To be majors

Capt. William Berry Wilson, Medical Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Henry Bennett Lavery, Medical Corps, from July 1, 1938.

Capt. Clifford Andrew Gray, Medical Corps, from July 5, 1938.

Capt. Arthur John Redland, Medical Corps, from July 16, 1938.

Capt. William Lenoir Wilson, Medical Corps, from July 16, 1938.

Capt. Carlton Duncan Goodiel, Medical Corps, from July 16, 1938.

Capt. August Wesley Spittler, Medical Corps, from August 1, 1938.

Capt. Robert Francis Bradish, Medical Corps, from August 1, 1938.

Capt. Horace Page Marvin, Medical Corps, from August 1, 1938.

Capt. Leonard Dudley Heaton, Medical Corps, from August 1, 1938.

Capt. William Riney Craig, Medical Corps, from August 1, 1938.

Capt. Thomas William Ellsworth Christmas, Medical Corps,

from August 1, 1938.
Capt. Harold Willard Glattly, Medical Corps, from August

1, 1938.

Capt. Francis Elbert Council, Medical Corps, from August 1, 1938.

Capt. John Presly Bachman, Medical Corps, from August 1, 1938.

Capt. John Buist Chester, Medical Corps, from August 1, 1938.

Capt. George Barnard Moore, Jr., Medical Corps, from August 1, 1938.

Capt. Hugh Richmond Gilmore, Jr., Medical Corps, from

August 25, 1938.
Capt. Herbert Ellsworth Tomlinson, Medical Corps, from

August 25, 1938.

Capt. Clarence Albert McIntyre, Medical Corps, from

Capt. Rawley Ernest Chambers, Medical Corps, from September 3, 1938.

#### To be captains

First Lt. Dell Fred Dullum, Medical Corps, from May 12, 1938.

First Lt. Richard Leland Bohannon, Medical Corps, from May 12, 1938.

First Lt. Ralph Moody Patterson, Medical Corps, from May 12, 1938.

First Lt. Charles Francis Haughey, Medical Corps, from June 15, 1938.

First Lt. Robert Stuart Nelson, Medical Corps, from July 1, 1938.

First Lt. Bruno Jastremski, Medical Corps, from July 1, 1938.

First Lt. Arnold Lorentz Ahnfeldt, Medical Corps, from January 11, 1939.

First Lt. Donald Edward Casad, Medical Corps, from January 15, 1939.

First Lt. Raymond Edward Duke, Medical Corps, from

January 16, 1939.

First Lt. Beverly Dixon Holland, Medical Corps, from

January 22, 1939.

First Lt. Theodore Moffett Carow, Medical Corps, from July

First Lt. Theodore Moffett Carow, Medical Corps, from July 1, 1938.

First Lt. James Polk Sullivan, Medical Corps, from July 5, 1938.

First Lt. David Wanless Clotfelter, Medical Corps, from July 13, 1938.

First Lt. George Frederick Baier, 3d, Medical Corps, from July 13, 1938.

First Lt. Louis Kenneth Mantell, Medical Corps, from July 13, 1938.

First Lt. John Harry King, Jr., Medical Corps, from July 13, 1938.

First Lt. Robert White DuPriest, Medical Corps, from July 22, 1938.

First Lt. Hyman Richard Osheroff, Medical Corps, from July 25, 1938.

First Lt. William Edgar Wilkinson, Medical Corps, from August 1, 1938.

First Lt. Edwin Stewart Kagy, Medical Corps, from August 5, 1938.

First Lt. Charles Harden Schutt, Medical Corps, from August 8, 1938.

First Lt. Benjamin Anderson Strickland, Jr., Medical Corps, from August 8, 1938.

First Lt. Howard Hansen, Medical Corps, from August 17, 1938.

First Lt. Edwin Matthew Goyette, Medical Corps, from August 22, 1938.

First Lt. Harold Allen Myers, Medical Corps, from September 6, 1938.

First Lt. Merrill John Reeh, Medical Corps, from September 19, 1938.

First Lt. Joe Harrell, Medical Corps (appointed during the recess of the Senate), from September 21, 1938.

First Lt. Joseph Milton Rom, Medical Corps (appointed during the recess of the Senate), from September 21, 1938.

first Lt. Louis Keller Pohl, Medical Corps (appointed during the recess of the Senate), from September 21, 1938.

First Lt. Hartwin Adolph Schulze, Medical Corps (appointed during the recess of the Senate), from September 22, 1938.

First Lt. Frank Hiram Van Wagoner, Medical Corps, from October 1, 1938.

First Lt. Clarence Asa Tinsman, Medical Corps, from October 1, 1938.

First Lt. Donald Bullen Peterson, Medical Corps, from October 1, 1938.

First Lt. Myron Jewell Tremaine, Medical Corps, from October 1, 1938.

First Lt. Henry George Moehring, Medical Corps, from October 14, 1938.

First Lt. Raymond McKinley Williams, Medical Corps, from November 1, 1938.

First Lt. Lloyd Ethan Gould, Medical Corps, from November 1, 1938.

First Lt. Henry Armand Kind, Medical Corps, from November 12, 1938.

First Lt. Charles Bateman Perkins, Medical Corps, from November 19, 1938.

First Lt. Robert Joseph Benford, Medical Corps, from November 28, 1938.

First Lt. James Peter Pappas, Medical Corps, from December 9, 1938.

First Lt. Paul Owen Wells, Medical Corps, from December 16, 1938.

#### DENTAL CORPS

# To be colonels

Lt. Col. Charles DeWitt Deyton, Dental Corps, from July 5, 1938.

Lt. Col. Herman Stanton Rush, Dental Corps, from November 11, 1938.

Lt. Col. Lester Caris Ogg, Dental Corps, from November 12, 1938.

#### To be lieutenant colonels

Maj. John Samuel Ross, Dental Corps, from July 4, 1938.

Maj. Elmer Henry Nicklies, Dental Corps, from July 13, 1938.

Maj. Clarence Walter Johnson, Dental Corps, from August 7, 1938.

Maj. Walter Duncan Love, Dental Corps, from August 14, 1938.

Maj. Egbert Wesley van Delden Cowan, Dental Corps, from September 3, 1938.

Maj. Arthur Edmon Brown, Dental Corps, from September 8, 1938.

Maj. Robert Clyde Craven, Dental Corps, from September 18, 1938.

Maj. Melville Alexander Sanderson, Dental Corps, from September 19, 1938.

Maj. Earl George Gebhardt, Dental Corps, from September 20, 1938.

Maj. Frank Alf Crane, Dental Corps, from September 22, 1938.

Maj. Arne Sorum, Dental Corps, from September 23, 1938. Maj. Vivian Z. Brown, Dental Corps, from November 1, 1938. Maj. Henry Allen Winslow, Dental Corps, from November

14, 1938.

Maj. Ernest Frank Sharp, Dental Corps, from November 16, 1938.

Maj. Clarence Roy Benney, Dental Corps, from November 21, 1938.

Maj. Arthur Benedict McCormick, Dental Corps, from January 1, 1939.

Maj. Clarence Constantin Olson, Dental Corps, from January 10, 1939.

To be major

Capt. Dale Bowlby Ridgely, Dental Corps, from July 15, 1938.

To be captains

First Lt. Marion Lawerance Mills, Dental Corps, from August 5, 1938.

First Lt. Robert Donald Johnson, Dental Corps, from August 25, 1938.

First Lt. Edgar Gunther, Dental Corps, from August 28, 1938.

First Lt. Bernard Charles Hammon, Dental Corps, from October 1, 1938.

First Lt. Stanley Foster Steele, Dental Corps, from January 17, 1939.

First Lt. Jack Monroe Hawkins, Dental Corps, from January 21, 1939.

First Lt. Charles Max Farber, Dental Corps, from January 23, 1939.

VETERINARY CORPS

To be lieutenant colonels

Maj. Harry Lawrence Watson, Veterinary Corps, from July 18, 1938.

Maj. Gardiner Bouton Jones, Veterinary Corps, from August 11, 1938.

Maj. Nathan Menzo Neate, Veterinary Corps, from November 24, 1938.

To be major

Capt. Stanley McLeod Nevin, Veterinary Corps, from August 4, 1938.

To be captains

First Lt. Thomas Carlyle Jones, Veterinary Corps, from July 24, 1938.

First Lt. Edwin Louis Millenbruck, Veterinary Corps, from July 26, 1938.

First Lt. Lloyd Christopher Tekse, Veterinary Corps, from September 30, 1938.

First Lt. Wayne Devere Shipley, Veterinary Corps, from October 22, 1938.

First Lt. Walter Tederoff Carll, Veterinary Corps, from December 4, 1938.

MEDICAL ADMINISTRATIVE CORPS

To be captains

First Lt. Paul Estabrooke Zuver, Medical Administrative Corps, from November 28, 1938.

First Lt. Orion Victor Kempf, Medical Administrative Corps, from December 26, 1938.

First Lt. Kindrick Ownby, Medical Administrative Corps, from December 26, 1938.

First Lt. Robert Lee Black, Medical Administrative Corps, from December 26, 1938.

To be first lieutenants

Second Lt. Carrol Conrad Barrick, Medical Administrative Corps, from July 13, 1938.

Second Lt. Thomas Raymond Jones, Medical Administrative Corps, from July 13, 1938.

Second Lt. Cornelius John Curran, Medical Administrative Corps, from July 13, 1938.

Second Lt. Gerard Adrien Belanger, Medical Administrative Corps, from July 13, 1938.

Second Lt. Guy Wycoff Harlow, Medical Administrative Corps, from July 13, 1938.

CHAPLAINS

To be chaplain with the rank of colonel

Chaplain Wallace Hubbard Watts (lieutenant colonel), United States Army, from September 23, 1938.

To be chaplains with the rank of lieutenant colonel

Chaplain Mariano Vassallo (major), United States Army, from July 19, 1938.

Chaplain Benjamin Joseph Tarskey (major), United States Army, from August 8, 1938.

Chaplain John Francis Monahan (major), United States Army, from August 8, 1938.

Chaplain Luther Deck Miller (major), United States Army, from August 15, 1938.

Chaplain William Donoghue Cleary (major), United States Army, from August 16, 1938.

Chaplain Edmund Charles Sliney (major), United States Army, from September 10, 1938.

Chaplain Hal Coleman Head (major), United States Army, from September 26, 1938.

Chaplain Walter John Donoghue (major), United States Army, from September 26, 1938.

Chaplain Oscar Whitefield Reynolds (major), United States Army, from October 6, 1938.

Chaplain John MacWilliams (major), United States Army, from October 31, 1938.

Chaplain Roy Hartford Parker (major), United States Army, from November 7, 1938.

Chaplain Willis Timmons Howard (major), United States Army, from December 25, 1938.

Chaplain Perry Orlando Wilcox (major), United States Army, from January 20, 1939.

To be chaplains with the rank of captain

Chaplain Paul Judson Maddox (first lieutenant), United States Army, from September 25, 1938.

Chaplain Joseph Calvin Sides (first lieutenant), United States Army (appointed during the recess of the Senate), from October 1, 1938.

Chaplain Harold Henry Schulz (first lieutenant), United States Army, from November 1, 1938.

Chaplain Aubrey John O'Reilly (first lieutenant), United States Army, from November 8, 1938.

PROMOTION IN THE PHILIPPINE SCOUTS

Lt. Col. Charles Herbert Lantz, Philippine Scouts, to be colonel from December 1, 1938.

OFFICERS' RESERVE CORPS OF THE ARMY

GENERAL OFFICERS

To be brigadier general, Inactive Reserve

Brig. Gen. John Ross Delafield, Inactive Reserve, from October 25, 1938.

Brig. Gen. Samuel McRoberts, Inactive Reserve, from September 27, 1938.

Appointments in the National Guard of the United States general officers

To be major general, National Guard of the United States
Maj. Gen. Ralph Emerson Truman, Missouri National
Guard, from November 30, 1938.

To be brigadier general, Adjutant General's Department, National Guard of the United States

Brig, Gen. William Leslie Hornor, Adjutant General's Department. West Virginia National Guard, from November 15, 1938.

To be brigadier generals, National Guard of the United States Brig. Gen. Alexander Edward Anderson, New York National Guard, from September 22, 1938.

Brig. Gen. Richard Eugene Mittelstaedt, California National Guard, from November 10, 1938.

Brig. Gen. Diller Slyder Myers, Illinois National Guard, from September 6, 1938.

Brig, Gen. Edward Clark Rose, New Jersey National Guard, from September 8, 1938.

Brig. Gen. Leonard Fish Wing, Vermont National Guard, from September 6, 1938.

Brig. Gen. Ralph Maxwell Immell, Wisconsin National Guard.

Brig. Gen. Walter Braxton Pyron, Texas National Guard.

### PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS IN THE NAVY

The following-named captains to be rear admirals in the Navy, to rank from the 23d day of June 1938:

Stanford C. Hooper (an ad-

John H. Newton

Wilhelm L. Friedell

John W. Wilcox, Jr.

ditional number in grade)

Chester W. Nimitz Albert T. Church (an additional number in grade)

William R. Furlong Arthur B. Cook

Harold G. Bowen (an additional number in grade)

The following-named commanders to be captains in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

Clifford E. Van Hook, June 1, 1938. Augustine H. Gray, June 8, 1938. Walter E. Brown, June 23, 1938. James R. Barry, June 23, 1938.

Franklin S. Steinwachs, June 23, 1938.

Earle C. Metz, June 23, 1938.

Frederick C. Sherman, June 23, 1938. Lyal A. Davidson, June 23, 1938.

Donald B. Beary, June 23, 1938. Charles J. Moore, June 23, 1938.

Thomas Moran, June 23, 1938.

Frank H. Kelley, June 23, 1938.

James A. Logan, June 23, 1938.

James T. Alexander, June 23, 1938.

Spencer S. Lewis, June 23, 1938. Walden L. Ainsworth, June 23, 1938.

Charles A. Pownall, June 23, 1938.

James G. Ware, June 23, 1938.

Lawrence F. Reifsnider, June 23, 1938.

Marc A. Mitscher, June 23, 1938.

George L. Weyler, June 23, 1938.

Clarkson J. Bright, June 23, 1938.

Stewart A. Manahan, June 23, 1938.

Charlton E. Battle, Jr., June 23, 1938.

Walter W. Webster (an additional number in grade), June 23, 1938.

Robert M. Griffin, June 23, 1938.

Roger W. Paine (an additional number in grade), June 23, 1938.

Ellis S. Stone, June 23, 1938.

Francis S. Craven, June 23, 1938.

Lybrand P. Smith (an additional number in grade), June 23, 1938.

William D. Chandler, Jr., June 23, 1938.

Harry W. Hill, June 23, 1938.

Bernhard H. Bieri, June 23, 1938.

Oscar C. Badger, June 23, 1938.

Edward B. Lapham, September 1, 1938.

Edward W. Hanson, September 8, 1938.

Daniel J. Callaghan, October 1, 1938.

Frank J. Lowry, November 2, 1938.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

George William Johnson, April 1, 1938.

Henry E. Thornhill, April 1, 1938.

Jerauld Wright, June 2, 1938.

Charles D. Leffler, Jr., June 2, 1938. Graeme Bannerman, June 8, 1938.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders in the Navy, to rank from the 23d day of June 1938:

grade)

George T. Owen

Loverne A. Pope

Fred C. Dickey

Alfred M. Pride

grade)

James R. Allen (an addi-

tional number in grade)

Leslie C. Stevens (an addi-

tional number in grade)

Frank C. Fake (an addi-

tional number in grade)

Raymond D. MacCart (an

additional number in

John D. H. Kane George R. Henderson Theodore C. Lonnquest (an additional number in

James W. Whitfield Peter K. Fischler

Herbert B. Knowles John J. Twomey

George L. Harriss Frank L. Worden

Kenneth M. Hoeffel Frederick S. Holmes

Ion Pursell

William H. Hartt, Jr. Victor C. Barringer, Jr.

Henry S. Kendall Olton R. Bennehoff

Arthur T. Moen Ross P. Whitemarsh

Ralph H. Henkle Gordon B. Woolley Elmer E. Duvall, Jr.

Walter L. Taylor Ellis H. Geiselman

Jack H. Duncan Watson O. Bailey

Proctor M. Thornton Leland P. Lovette Wallace M. Dillon

Leroy W. Busbey, Jr. Malcolm A. Deans

Ralph S. Riggs Carlos W. Wieber Edwin D. Gibb

John M. Haines William A. S. Macklin

Charles G. Moore, Jr. Mays L. Lewis

Stanley C. Norton Chauncey R. Crutcher

William K. Phillips Gordon B. Sherwood Ralph C. Alexander

Willis M. Percifield Samuel H. Hurt

Henry Hartley (an additional number in grade)

Curry E. Eason Charles F. Fielding

Chester L. Nichols Leland D. Webb (an addi-

tional number in grade) Arthur R. Ponto

Harry L. Thompson

Rico Botta (an additional number in grade)

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders in the Navy to rank from the 1st day of July 1938: Adolph O. Gieselmann (an Jeffrey C. Metzel

additional number in grade)

Festus F. Foster (an additional number in grade) James J. Graham

David H. Clark (an additional number in grade)

Ralph H. Roberts The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy to rank from the date stated opposite

Edgar A. Cruise, February 3, 1938. George D. Cooper, March 1, 1938.

Walter S. Diehl (an additional number in grade) Robert P. McConnell

Lester T. Hundt Harold J. Wright William Wakefield

Harry L. Dodson (an additional number in grade) Roy W. Bruner (an addi-

tional number in grade) Duane L. Taylor (an additional number in grade)

Roger F. McCall (an additional number in grade) Louis Dreller (an additional

number in grade) Malcolm F. Schoeffel Thomas G. W. Settle

Ralph A. Ofstie Rex L. Hicks Herbert M. Scull Matthias B. Gardner

Howard W. Fitch Winfield A. Brooks (an additional number in grade)

Ernest E. Herrmann William E. Hilbert Hugh W. Olds Albert T. Sprague, Jr. Hobart A. Sailor

William M. Callaghan Harold L. Challenger Thomas P. Jeter

William B. Holden (an additional number in grade), May 5, 1938.

Herschel A. Smith, May 5, 1938. Leon P. Pawley, June 2, 1938. William B. Ault, June 2, 1938. Howard L. Jennings, June 2, 1938. Alvin L. Becker, June 2, 1938. John E. French, June 2, 1938. Thomas T. Beattie, June 2, 1938. George R. Cooper, June 8, 1938.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy to rank from the 23d day of June 1938:

Valvin R. Sinclair Harry Keeler, Jr. Augustus D. Clark Charles O. Comp Horatio D. Smith Jesse G. Coward Sherman R. Clark Howard B. Hutchinson Halstead S. Covington Horace B. Butterfield John P. Cady Edwin E. Woods Hubert W. Chanler Edward H. Pierce Raymond H. Tuttle John E. Murphy Frank Akers Charles O. Humphreys Edward R. Durgin Frederick J. Eckhoff Leon J. Manees Robert A. Knapp Rudolf L. Johnson Anthony R. Brady Henry E. Eccles George Van Deurs Thomas O. Cullins, Jr. Christopher Noble John W. Harris William G. Eaton William W. Cone Charles F. Greber Charles S. Alexander Albert L. Toney Clarence L. C. Atkeson, Jr. John Connor Russell G. Sturges Robert McC. Peacher William S. Campbell George T. Boldizsar Vernon Huber William R. Terrell Arthur L. Pleasants, Jr. Roland P. Kauffman Harry B. Jarrett Worthington S. Bitler Alexander F. Junker Delbert S. Cornwell Hugh W. Hadley Byron S. Anderson Robert A. J. English Karl A. Thieme Ralph Earle, Jr. John L. Pratt

Charles W. Crawford

John Y. Dannenberg

Albert K. Morehouse

Kenmore M. McManes

Thomas D. Wilson

George L. Menocal

John P. W. Vest

Joseph B. Dunn

Francis B. Johnson William V. Saunders Daniel W. Harrigan Francis J. Mee Kenneth M. McLaren (an additional number in grade) John B. Pearson, Jr. (an additional number in grade) Frank T. Ward, Jr. Harry Sanders John W. King Frederic S. Withington Selden B. Spangler (an additional number in grade) Edward C. Loughead Thomas C. Evans Richard G. McCool Albert C. Murdaugh Merrall K. KirkPatrick William V. O'Regan John G. Crommelin, Jr. William B. Ammon Roland N. Smoot Neil K. Dietrich McFarland W. Wood William H. von Dreele Alfred C. Olney, Jr. Harry H. Keith William A. Riley Elliott B. Strauss James H. Thach, Jr. John M. Ocker Harold D. Krick Arleigh A. Burke LeMerton E. Crist, Jr. Church A. Chappell Harold N. Williams Elbert L. Fryberger Gordon J. Crosby Robert L. Dennison Roland M. Huebl Daniel F. J. Shea Arthur A. Ageton Stanhope C. Ring Charles F. Coe Thayer T. Tucker Thomas B. Williamson Claude H. Bennett, Jr. George W. Welker, Jr. William T. Rassieur Aaron P. Storrs, 3d John M. McIsaac Frederick M. Trapnell William L. Hoffheins, Jr. William K. Mendenhall, Jr. Richard M. Scruggs Frederick A. Edwards Peter W. Haas, Jr. Joseph L. Kane Donald S. MacMahan

John D. Kelsey

Henry C. Johnson John S. Keating Fred W. Walton (an additional number in grade) Thomas B. Birtley, Jr. Harry D. Felt Percival E. McDowell John M. Will Karl G. Hensel Robert H. Rodgers Henry G. Moran Frank E. Shoup, Jr. Frederick Moosbrugger Francis M. Hughes William R. Thayer Edwin R. Peck George A. Dussault

Curtis S. Smiley Murvale T. Farrar Louis A. Reinken Joseph E. Chapman Balch B. Wilson, Jr. Howard L. Young Marvin M. Stephens Olin Scoggins Joseph A. Briggs Robert P. Wadell Thomas E. Boyce William M. Haynsworth, Jr. Pleasant D. Gold, 3d Arthur L. Maher Henry M. Cooper **Burton Davis** 

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

Walter C. Holt, June 24, 1938. Daniel N. Cone, Jr., July 1, 1938. Paul B. Koonce, July 1, 1938. Frank Monroe, Jr., July 1, 1938. Thomas J. Casey, July 1, 1938. John V. Peterson, July 1, 1938. William P. McCarty, July 1, 1938. Samuel P. Comly, Jr., July 1, 1938. John L. Brown, July 1, 1938. Joseph B. Renn, July 1, 1938. Robert M. Morris, July 1, 1938. Alvin D. Chandler, July 1, 1938. Frederick J. Nelson, August 1, 1938. James C. Guillot, September 1, 1938. William H. Hamilton, September 1, 1938. William D. Anderson, September 1, 1938. William M. Hobby, Jr., October 1, 1938. Philip R. Coffin, October 1, 1938. Wells L. Field, October 1, 1938. Horace C. Robison, October 1, 1938.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

William W. Shea, April 1, 1937. Robert R. Craighill, February 3, 1938. Charles E. McCombs, April 1, 1938. Royal L. Rutter, May 1, 1938. James S. Clarkson, May 5, 1938. Horatio A. Lincoln, May 19, 1938. Russell R. Ross, June 1, 1938.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy, to rank from the 2d day of June 1938:

Richard J. H. Conn Lafayette J. Jones James G. Lang Harry P. Badger Frederick W. Laing Raymond N. Sharp David A. Harris Leo G. May William C. Thomas
Richard C. D. Hunt, Jr.
William W. Lowrey
Elonzo B. Grantham, Jr.
Montgomery L. McCullough, Jr.

Frederic C. Lucas, Jr. Walter G. Ebert

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

Charles T. Mauro, Jr., June 8, 1938. Samuel D. Dealey, June 24, 1938. David D. Hawkins, June 28, 1938.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy, to rank from the 30th day of June, 1938:

Dana B. Cushing
James W. Coe
Walter T. Jenkins
Elvin Hahn
Francis E. Wilson
John B. Bowen, Jr.

Herbert H. Marable Robert A. Rosasco Ellis K. Wakefield Thaddeus J. Van Metre Douglas B. Brokenshire William E. Ellis

Richard G. Jack

Allan B. Roby Alston M. Boyd, Jr. Milton D. Fairchild Royce L. Gross Raymond L. Mayo William S. Post, Jr. Harmon V. Briner William T. Doyle, Jr. Harry J. Verhoye Everett M. Block Philip T. Smith, Jr. Thomas B. Hutchins, 3d Lyle L. Koepke Henry G. Sanchez Bowen F. McLeod Josephus A. Robbins John B. Azer Oliver DeM. T. Lynch Edson H. Whitehurst William H. Sanders, Jr. Charles L. Westhofen William H. Farmer Joshua J. Nix Walter C. Wingard, Jr. John B. Dimmick Arthur E. Owen Richard D. McGlathery Francis M. Carter Harry Smith John G. Howell Elias B. Mott, 2d William L. Harmon Robert F. Jennings James H. Newsome Norwood A. Campbell Thomas S. Webb Robert W. Germany, Jr. John F. Flynn Joseph A. Ruddy, Jr. John M. Bristol William W. Wilbourne Burton S. Hanson, Jr. Doyle M. Coffee Ian C. Eddy Elmer J. Dunn Kelvin L. Nutting Harry C. Stevenson Baylies V. Clark Davis W. Olney Edwin O. Wagner Macpherson B. Williams

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy, to rank from the 1st day of July 1938:

enants in the Navy, to re Berton A. Robbins, Jr. Thomas J. Greene Edwin B. Hooper Wayne F. Gibson William W. Hollister

William B. Braun
James M. Wood
Hazlett P. Weatherwax
Ralph W. Elden
John L. Chew

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

Lee A. Ellis, July 24, 1938.

Eugene Tatom, August 1, 1938.
Ashton B. Jones, Jr., September 1, 1938.

Damon M. Cummings, September 1, 1938.

Merrill S. Holmes, September 1, 1938.

Robert E. Lockwood, September 1, 1938.

Walter P. Schoeni, September 8, 1938.

Donald J. MacDonald, October 1, 1938.

Rudolph J. Fabian, November 1, 1938.

Ensign John C. Morgan to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy, to rank from the 29th day of May 1937.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy, to rank from the 6th day of June 1938:

Henry S. Wygant, Jr. William T. Woodard Arthur F. Spring Byron B. Newell Harold E. Duryea Royal A. Wolverton Nicholas A. Lidstone William A. Moffett, Jr. George R. Over Charles R. Gilliam Wreford G. Chapple Laurance O. Mathews, Jr. Frederick M. Reeder Joseph C. Clifton Roscoe L. Newman John E. Edwards William C. Kaiser Paul F. Heerbrandt Charles C. Howerton Thomas K. Wright James O. Vosseller Arthur J. Barrett, Jr. Ray R. Conner Thomas D. Tyra Alexander C. Veasey Horacio Rivero, Jr. Allan L. Reed John B. Colwell Thomas W. Rogers Robert L. Taylor George M. Greene James T. Lay Robert E. Gadrow John O. F. Dorsett Harold Payson, Jr. Bernard F. Roeder Max L. Catterton Kyran E. Curley Sherman W. Betts George A. Hatton Edward M. Day Gordon A. Uehling Charles T. Booth, 2d Ray C. Needham John A. Webster Edward H. Guilbert Joseph F. Foley Henry E. Brossy Francis A. McKee Thomas Ashworth, Jr.

John H. Eichmann John R. Middleton, Jr. Raymond E. Doll Lawrence L. Edge David W. Taylor, Jr. Giles D. Clift Frederick R. Schrader Robert E. Dornin John A. Hack John F. Walling Samuel Adams Charles H. S. Murphy Romondt Budd Marion H. Eppes Robert B. McLaughlin Fred E. Bakutis Charles D. Hoover Albert M. Bontier William J. Francis, Jr. Clifford S. Foster, Jr. Kenneth J. Sanger Albert R. Weldon William G. Ward Byron H. Nowell William R. Barnes Robert B. Kail William G. Jackson, Jr. Warren W. Armstrong Louis R. Hird Malcolm T. Wordell Cassius D. Rhymes, Jr. John H. Besson, Jr. Albert L. Carlson Raleigh C. Kirkpatrick, Jr. James Scott, 2d Norvell G. Ward Frank K. Slason Kenneth F. Musick Joel A. Davis, Jr. John J. Powers Stanley E. Ruehlow George Hutchinson Constantine A. Karaberis Sheldon E. Ball Edgar G. Osborn Frederick N. Phillips, Jr. Frederick J. Harlfinger, 2d William F. Morrison Ralph R. Beacham Rhodam Y. McElroy, Jr. David H. McClintock Thomas D. Cummins Frank L. Barrows Richard E. Harmer Jack C. Ferguson Robert B. Kelly Karl E. Johansson Howard S. Westin William S. Sampson Henry C. Gearing, 3d Edward A. Michel, Jr. Amos T. Hathaway

John D. Stevens Edwin Denby, Jr. Dennis C. Lyndon Louis H. Bauer William F. McLaren Peter F. Boyle Slade D. Cutter Francis X. Maher, Jr. Richard D. Stephenson Jerome B. White Page Knight Martin T. Hatcher Burris D. Wood, Jr. Robert H. Holmes Harold H. Larsen Arthur T. Decker Lynn G. Richards Edwin B. Parker, Jr. William A. Sullivan John M. Ennis Edward F. Scott George D. Good Elmer D. Anderson James W. Whaley Benjamin E. Adams, Jr. Benjamin L. E. Talman Herman J. Mecklenburg Alva W. Dinwiddie Dale E. Cochran Kenneth G. Schacht James H. Mini Weldon H. Lloyd John H. Theis Milton E. Ricketts Tolbert A. Rice George R. Lee Albert T. Sadler Theodore H. Winters, Jr. Thomas A. Baldwin Groome E. Marcus, Jr. Norman M. Ostergren Irving G. McCann, Jr. George A. O'Connell, Jr. John G. Little. III Charles Fadem Earle G. Gardner, Jr. William R. Wallis Wyman H. Packard Edward F. Denney Fred Borries, Jr. Clyde H. McCroskey, Jr. Arthur A. Giesser Thomas C. Gillmer Richard McGowan Albert H. Bowker William E. Gaillard Henry G. Shonerd, Jr. Edward C. Outlaw Charles H. Turner Frederic W. Kinsley James F. McFadden

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy, to rank from the 29th day of August 1938:

Henry H. Strozier James L. Jordan

Carl G. Drescher

Glenn L. Dunagan

William C. P. Bellinger, Jr.

Henry H. Strozier Francis R. Drake William B. Porter Clarence M. White, Jr.

Seth S. Searcy, Jr.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy, to rank from the dates stated opposite their names, to correct the date of rank as previously nominated and confirmed:

Omer A. Kneeland, June 30, 1937.
Tom B. Hill, July 1, 1937.
Carl F. Espe, August 1, 1937.
William F. Jennings, September 1, 1937.
Jesse R. Wallace, October 14, 1937.
Bradford Bartlett, November 1, 1937.
Robert W. Morse, December 1, 1937.
Earl V. Sherman, January 1, 1938.
Edward R. Gardner, Jr., January 29, 1938.
Charles C. Phleger, February 1, 1938.
Rogers Elliott, March 29, 1938.
Frank C. Sutton, April 1, 1938.
Alan R. Nash, May 1, 1938.
Harold E. Parker, May 19, 1938.
Isaiah Olch, June 1, 1938.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenants in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names to correct the date of rank as previously nominated and confirmed:

William A. Deam, June 30, 1936. Harry J. Hardwick, June 30, 1936. Malen Durski, June 30, 1936. Daniel J. Wagner, July 1, 1936. Allan G. Gaden, July 1, 1936. Thurmond A. Smith, July 1, 1936. Edwin B. Dexter, July 1, 1936. Stephen H. Ambruster, August 1, 1936. Elwood C. Madsen, August 1, 1936. Michael F. D. Flaherty, August 29, 1936. Rollo N. Norgaard, September 1, 1936. Robert J. Archer, September 1, 1936. Idris B. Monahan, September 2, 1936. Thomas Ashcraft, September 6, 1936. John L. Collis, September 21, 1936. George E. King, October 1, 1936. Charles H. Kendall, October 1, 1936. James H. Brett, Jr., November 1, 1936. Francois C. B. Jordan, November 1, 1936. Chesford Brown, November 1, 1936. Edward A. Hannegan, November 3, 1936. Leonard F. Freiburghouse, November 22, 1936. Neale R. Curtin, November 25, 1936. Edwin J. S. Young, November 25, 1936. Clarence M. Bowley, December 1, 1936. Thomas A. Donovan, December 1, 1936. Frederick E. Moore, December 25, 1936. Joe E. Wyatt, January 1, 1937. J. Clark Riggs, January 22, 1937. John M. Boyd, February 1, 1937. Marcel R. Gerin, February 1, 1937. John E. Burke, February 1, 1937. Roger M. Daisley, February 27, 1937. Jesse J. Underhill, March 1, 1937. Alfred M. Aichel, March 1, 1937. Paul R. Anderson, March 13, 1937. Philip D. Gallery, April 1, 1937. Stephen N. Tackney, May 1, 1937. John A. Williams, May 8, 1937. William F. Raborn, Jr., May 15, 1937. Robert T. S. Keith, May 19, 1937. Robert W. Wood, June 1, 1937. George K. Huff, June 1, 1937. William D. Thomas, June 1, 1937. Frank McD. Nichols, June 1, 1937. Granville C. Briant, June 3, 1937. Charles H. Crichton, June 3, 1937. Samuel B. Frankel, June 3, 1937. John Andrews, Jr., June 21, 1937. William M. Walsh, June 26, 1937. Dudley W. Morton, June 30, 1937. John R. McKnight, Jr., June 30, 1937. Lynne C. Quiggle, June 30, 1937. John M. Lewis, July 1, 1937. Gifford Scull, July 1, 1937.

LXXXIV-8

Victor S. Gaulin, July 1, 1937. Howard G. Corey, July 26, 1937. Alfred E. Grove, August 1, 1937. Lance E. Massey, August 1, 1937. Eugene T. Sands, August 1, 1937. James W. Davis, August 20, 1937. Donald J. Sass, August 24, 1937. Frank P. Luongo, Jr., September 1, 1937. Kenneth McL. Gentry, September 1, 1937. Thomas L. Wogan, September 1, 1937. George M. Holley, October 14, 1937. Robert J. Esslinger, October 14, 1937. Thomas W. Marshall, Jr., October 14, 1937. William McC. Drane, November 1, 1937. Albert S. Miller, November 1, 1937. Joseph E. Dodson, November 1, 1937. James D. L. Grant, November 4, 1937. Robert H. Taylor, December 1, 1937. Edgar J. MacGregor, 3d, December 1, 1937. Paul P. Blackburn, Jr., December 1, 1937. Parke H. Brady, January 1, 1938. Edward C. Renfro, January 1, 1938. Charles W. Lord, January 1, 1938. James E. Stevens, January 11, 1938. Everett O. Rigsbee, Jr., January 29, 1938. John A. Moreno, February 1, 1938. John F. Tatom, February 1, 1938. John H. Armstrong, Jr., February 3, 1938. Louis D. McGregor, Jr., February 3, 1938. Rowland C. Lawyer, March 1, 1938. Ray E. Malpass, March 1, 1938. George G. Palmer, March 26, 1938. Joseph B. H. Young, March 29, 1938. Edmund S. L. Marshall, March 31, 1938. Roy A. Newton, April 1, 1938. Theodore T. Miller, April 30, 1938. Harold M. Heming, May 5, 1938.

Medical Inspector Ross T. McIntire to be Surgeon General and Chief of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery in the Department of the Navy, with the rank of rear admiral, from the 1st day of December 1938 for a term of 4 years.

Medical Director Harold W. Smith to be a medical director in the Navy with the rank of rear admiral, to rank from the 1st day of July 1936.

The following-named medical inspectors to be medical directors in the Navy with the rank of captain, to rank from the 2d day of June 1938:

William W. Hargrave Walter C. Espach

The following-named surgeons to be medical inspectors in the Navy with the rank of commander, to rank from the 1st day of July 1937:

Alanson L. Bryan Louis Iverson Victor S. Armstrong Charles E. Morse James B. Moloney Warwick T. Brown Herbert L. Barbour

The following-named surgeons to be medical inspectors in the Navy with the rank of commander, to rank from the 23d day of June 1938:

Ay of Julie 1936:
Samuel E. Johnson
Houston B. Fite
James Kenneth Gordon
Jose A. Perez
Henry A. N. Bruckshaw
Thomas H. Taber
William F. Kennedy
Charles R. Tatum
Maurice Joses
James D. Benjamin
Emmett J. Brady
Lincoln Humphreys
Albion H. Cecha
Aclpfar A. Marsteller
Earl E. Dockery

Clarence N. Smith
George G. Herman
George E. Mott
James P. Bowles
Clyde W. Brunson
James D. Blackwood, Jr.
Robert F. Sledge
Emil J. Stelter
Jesse D. Jewell
Harvey W. Miller
Francis E. Tierney
Joseph J. Kaveney
Edward H. Sparkman, Jr.
Forrest M. Harrison
Everett B. Taylor

Dwight Dickinson, Jr.
Walter P. Dey
William A. Epstein
Arthur J. White
Harrison L. Wyatt
Alva A. Shadday
Henry DeW. Hubbard
Jonathan E. Henry
Guy Fish

Camille M. Shaar
John Thomas O'Connell
Vincent Hernandez
Benjamin H. Adams
Clifford G. Hines
William H. Harrell
Clinton G. DeFoney
James G. Dickson
Richard B. Blackwell
Charles G. Terrell

The following-named passed assistant surgeons to be surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant commander, to rank from the 30th day of June 1937:

Charles H. Bitner Thomas H. Hayes

James R. Fulton

Isaac B. Polak

The following-named passed assistant surgeons to be surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant commander, to rank from the 23d day of June 1938:

Ralph H. Hofler Clifford A. Swanson John N. C. Gordon Bernard S. Pupek Henry W. Patton Ocie B. Morrison, Jr. John P. Brady David W. Lyon, Jr. Charles G. McCormack Melvin D. Abbott Bruce V. Leamer Bartholomew W. Hogan Harry L. Goff LeRoy F. Farrell Clark T. Alexander David O. Zearbaugh

Harold O. Cozby

Hugo O. G. Wagner
The following-named assistant surgeons to be passed assistant surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant, to rank from the dates stated opposite their names:

Edgar J. Easley, June 3, 1937. Clifford P. Powell, June 30, 1937.

The following-named acting assistant surgeons to be assistant surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), to rank from the 21st day of June 1938:

Ralph C. Parker, Jr. William T. Foley Eldon C. Olson Robert E. Bruner Boris Schuster Louis E. Daily Ralph B. Berry Joseph J. Zuska Felix H. Ocko
Jacque E. Miller
Ronald B. Fankboner
Robert B. Jamieson, Jr.
Karl J. Palmberg
Norman S. Hunt
Robert B. Johnson

The following-named citizens of the United States to be assistant surgeons in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), to rank from the 16th day of July 1938:

Howell E. Wiggins William S. Wray Chalmers R. Carr Thomas M. Foley, Jr. George L. Calvy Francis W. Gross Joseph J. Blanch George T. Ferguson Robert B. Greenman Joseph L. Yon Ralph W. Geise Roald N. Grant Edward L. Hammond Edward A. Anderson Sylvester F. Williams William F. Queen Francis C. Kennedy John E. Koett Derrick C. Turnipseed William W. Ayres Bruno O. Junnila Melville M. Driskell Robert O. Canada, Jr.

Paul J. Ritchie

James A. Grindell John D. Walters Marcellus C. Shurtleff Edward F. Szlosek Robert L. Findley Jesse F. Richardson Lamar B. Harper James E. Eppley Arthur J. Vandergrind Peter P. Machung Joseph M. Picciochi Norman L. Barr Robert H. Mershon Clement D. Burroughs Frederic G. Hirsch George W. Mast Emmett F. Norwood Louis G. Llewelyn Vernon E. Martens George H. C. McKeown Walter F. Berberich Sherley A. Fuhring Robert G. Gilbert Nicholas M. Musso

The following-named dental surgeons to be dental surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of captain, to rank from the 2d day of June 1938:

William L. Darnall John V. McAlpin Marson W. Mangold

The following-named dental surgeons to be dental surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of commander, to rank from the 1st day of July 1937:

James C. Lough Harry L. Kalen
John E. Herlihy Tyler W. Spear
David L. Cohen Robert H. Fladeland

The following-named passed assistant dental surgeons to be dental surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant commander, to rank from the 23d day of June 1938:

Daniel W. Ryan William R. Burns

The following-named assistant dental surgeons to be passed assistant dental surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant, to rank from the 30th day of June 1938:

Erwin J. Shields Lauro J. Turbini Max W. Kleinman

The following-named citizens of the United States to be assistant dental surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), to rank from the 15th day of August 1938:

Dewey D. Jackson Charles J. Schork Albert T. Smith Henry C. Knight John C. Farquhar Paul L. Brandt William E. Sanders Clarence R. Connell John D. Gillig Edward V. Barth Robert L. Love
Claude M. Fraleigh
August Bartelle
Conrad H. Brandt
Myron G. Turner
Carl A. Veline
Edmund E. Jeansonne
William R. Franklin
Estes W. Murphy

Edward V. Barth William D. Owen
The following-named pay inspectors to be pay directors in
the Navy, with the rank of captain, to rank from the 23d day
of June 1938:

Oscar W. Leidel John A. Byrne
Charles C. Copp John B. Ewald
John J. Gaffney Samuel R. White, Jr.

The following-named paymasters to be pay inspectors in the Navy, with the rank of commander, to rank from the 23d day of June 1938:

Howard M. Shaffer Gerald A. Shattuck Melvin F. Talbot Walter W. Gilmore Edwin D. Foster Allen H. White Horace D. Nuber John N. Harriman Murrey L. Royar William J. Carter Thomas S. Wylly

David W. Mitchell
Edward R. McKenzie
Herbert C. Lassiter
William R. Ryan
Samuel V. Dunham
Independent W. Gorton
James M. Easter
Daniel Lynch
William B. Young
Francis L. Gaffney

Thomas S. Wylly Maurice M. Smith
The following-named passed assistant paymasters to be
paymasters in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant commander, to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

Austin S. Keeth, February 1, 1938. Walter E. Gist, June 2, 1938.

The following-named passed assistant paymasters to be paymasters in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant commander, to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

Malcolm W. Pemberton, June 23, 1938. Morris Smellow, June 23, 1938. John J. Jecklin, June 23, 1938. Reed T. Roberts, June 28, 1938. Julian J. Levasseur, July 1, 1938. The following-named assistant paymasters to be passed assistant paymasters in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

Jack Agnew, December 1, 1937. Walter F. Prien, January 29, 1938. Aubrey J. Bourgeois, March 1, 1938. Lee Dev. Boyle, June 2, 1938. Hiram W. Spence, June 2, 1938. Carlos M. Charneco, June 2, 1938.

The following-named assistant paymasters to be passed assistant paymasters in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant to rank from the 30th day of June 1938:

Albert Konigsberg
Hugh C. Haynsworth, Jr.
George W. Foott, Jr.
Robley E. Brown
Thomas L. Becknell, Jr.
James H. Payne, Jr.
James W. Boundy

Onnie P. Lattu Clark T. Abbott Jesse S. McAfee Peyton P. Callaway Stanley Mumford Oakleigh W. Robinson Cecil O. Hamrick

Willard C. Johnson

The following-named assistant paymasters to be passed assistant paymasters in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant to rank from the 1st day of July 1938:

Charles R. Almgren Joseph F. Tenney

Harold V. Hutchings, a citizen of the United States, to be an assistant paymaster in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, to rank from the 6th day of October 1938:

The following-named citizens of the United States to be assistant paymasters in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, to rank from the 15th day of August 1938:

Jack J. Appleby
James V. Cooper
James J. Davis, Jr.
Frank E. Floyd, Jr.
Thomas Fuller
Karl A. Grahn, Jr.
Robert G. Lavenson
Lincoln L. Letterman
David C. Norton
Charles F. Palmer
James F. Parker
John M. Quackenbush

Winston H. Schleef Franklin D. Smith Robert M. Whittemore George T. Waite Richard E. Welsh Robert P. Webber Richard C. Carey Wallace F. Millson Wallace L. Atkinson, Jr. John R. Johnston Maynard G. Stokes Fowler W. Martin Philip F. Ashler

Naval Constructor Charles L. Brand to be a naval constructor in the Navy, with the rank of captain, to rank from the 23d day of June 1938.

The following-named naval constructors to be naval constructors in the Navy, with the rank of commander, to rank from the 23d day of June 1938.

James G. McPherson Frederick B. Britt

John B. Robertson

Assistant Naval Constructor Schuyler N. Pyne to be a naval constructor in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant. to rank from the 30th day of June 1934.

Ensign William W. Keller to be an assistant naval constructor in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), to rank from the 31st day of May 1937.

The following-named ensigns to be assistant naval constructors in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, to rank from the 6th day of June 1935:

Lewis L. Schock, Jr. Benjamin G. Wade John J. Fee Bradley F. Bennett

John H. McQuilkin
The following-named ensigns to be assistant civil engineers in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, to rank from the 6th day of June 1935:

Joseph P. Plichta John H. Lofland, Jr. William A. McManus James A. Bentley Alexander C. Husband

The following-named citizens of the United States to be assistant civil engineers in the Navy, with the rank of lieu-

tenant (junior grade), to rank from the 5th day of August 1938:

Cecil J. Espy, Jr. Carl A. Erickson

The following-named boatswains to be chief boatswains in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the date stated opposite their names:

Eugene T. Sanders, October 22, 1938. William F. Bell, October 22, 1938. Frank Rigley, October 22, 1938. Owen W. Huff, October 22, 1938. Rudolph L. Ward, November 2, 1938. Dewey Walley, December 2, 1938.

The following-named gunners to be chief gunners in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the date stated opposite their names:

William T. Smith, October 15, 1937. Oliver H. Craig, October 22, 1938. James M. Hale, November 21, 1938.

Electrician Frank L. Smith to be a chief electrician in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 2d day of November 1938.

The following-named machinists to be chief machinists in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the date stated opposite their names:

Paul R. McGlohon, March 2, 1938. Kenneth B. Bell, March 2, 1938. Raymond P. Lawson, April 2, 1938. Wilfred I. Kennedy, April 2, 1938. Walter M. Smith, April 2, 1938. Milton B. Beresford, October 22, 193

Milton B. Beresford, October 22, 1938. Edward W. Mulford, October 22, 1938. Victor E. Marriott, October 22, 1938. Chester M. Stearns, October 22, 1938.

Carpenter James T. Kelly to be a chief carpenter in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 22d day of October 1938.

The following-named pay clerks to be chief pay clerks in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the date stated opposite their names:

Victor R. White, February 2, 1938. Robert F. Slach, February 2, 1938. Edgar M. Brown, October 22, 1938. Embrey J. Beasley, October 22, 1938. Glenn D. Wood, October 22, 1938. Carl L. Stokes, October 22, 1938.

Capt. Robert L. Ghormley to be a rear admiral in the Navy, to rank from the 1st day of October 1938.

Lt. Comdr. Russell M. Ihrig to be a commander in the Navy, to rank from the 1st day of July 1938.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy, to rank from the 23d day of June 1938:

Gerald U. Quinn Walter C. Russell Paul C. Wirtz Leon N. Blair

Charles W. Humphreys

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

Louis N. Miller, June 28, 1938.

Donald E. Wilcox, July 1, 1938.

William P. Burford, October 1, 1938.

Thomas H. Hederman, November 1, 1938.

William G. Pogue, November 24, 1938.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

Robert E. McC. Ward, June 6, 1938. Kerfoot B. Smith, August 29, 1938. Philip K. Sherman, August 29, 1938. The following-named passed assistant paymasters to be passed assistant paymasters in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant, to rank from the date stated opposite their names, to correct the date of rank as previously nominated and confirmed:

James S. Bierer, December 1, 1936. Donald S. Gordon, March 1, 1937.

Walter N. Gray, March 13, 1937.

Albert P. Kohlhas, Jr., November 1, 1937.

Surgeon Leslie O. Stone to be a medical inspector in the Navy, with the rank of commander, to rank from the 23d day of June, 1938.

The following-named dental surgeons to be dental surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of commander, to rank from the 23d day of June 1938:

Rolland W. Quesinberry Charles L. Tompkins Clifford E. Kelly Henry G. Ralph

Ernest C. Johnson

Paymaster Orville D. Foutch to be a pay inspector in the Navy, with the rank of commander, to rank from the 23d day of June 1938.

The following-named captains to be rear admirals in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

John M. Smeallie, June 23, 1938.

William L. Calhoun, November 2, 1938.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, JANUARY 5, 1939

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father's God, Thou who hast never forsaken Thy children, continue to bless, guide, and protect us. O Thou who dost seem so far away, be ever near, that we may behold the light of Thy countenance. Open Thou our spiritual eyes that we may see. Open our spiritual hearts that we may feel the pulsations of Thy loving heart. Do Thou work in us Thy holy will as it was in Him, who is the world's divinest Teacher and Redeemer. Thou hast been our help in ages past. By prayers, by tears, by the valor of our worthy sons, Thou hast raised up a republic to be an example and inspiration to all humanity. Eternal God, may it live yet for 10,000 years to be a protest against all forms of tyranny and oppression. Thou who wert from the beginning of time, may those things that cause discord and distrust be abated. May men learn war no more, Almighty God. May nations cease to act and move in the lower lobes of their natures. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

## MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

## SWEARING IN A MEMBER

Hon. Martin J. Kennedy, a Representative-elect from the State of New York, appeared at the bar of the House and took the oath of office.

### ADJOURNMENT OVER

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

# HON. JOSEPH B. SHANNON

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 34), which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

### House Resolution 34

Whereas Joseph B. Shannon, a Representative from the State of Missouri, from the Fifth District thereof, has been unable, because of sickness in his family, to appear in person to be sworn as a Member of the House, and there being no contest or question as to his election: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Speaker, or a deputy named by him, be, and he is hereby, authorized to administer the oath of office to said Joseph B. Shannon at Kansas City, in the State of Missouri, and that the said oath when administered as herein authorized shall be accepted and received by the House as the oath of office of the said Joseph B. Shannon.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the authority of House Resolution 34 just adopted, the Chair appoints the Honorable Allen C. Southern, judge of the Circuit Court of Jackson County, Mo., to administer the oath of office to the Honorable JOSEPH B, SHANNON.

### HON. GEORGE P. DARROW

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the authority granted by House Resolution 14, Seventy-sixth Congress, the Chair appoints the Honorable William Ditter to administer the oath of office to the Honorable George P. Darrow.

### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Tuesday next, January 10, following the disposition of business on the Speaker's table, I be allowed to address the House for 40 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, may I ask on what subject?

Mr. TREADWAY. The general good of the country. The information that I will impart to the gentleman from Mississippi will be for his benefit.

Mr. RANKIN. I am anxious to hear the gentleman make such a speech.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and include therein a statement which I made before the committee investigating the Tennessee Valley Authority.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and include therein brief extracts from a Swiss periodical.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

By unanimous consent, Mr. Dickstein, Mr. O'Neal, Mr. Shanley, and Mr. Ludlow were granted permission to extend their own remarks in the Record.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks by incorporating a radio speech made by myself.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks by including in the RECORD a statement I made yesterday before the Committee for Reciprocity on reciprocal trade agreement information, the statement to include excerpts from the President's inauguration speech March 1933 and from Governor Eccles, of the Federal Reserve Board.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that after the reading of the Budget message today I may proceed for 20 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to call the attention of the gentleman from Massachusetts to the fact that there are two messages from the President that should be read before any further business is transacted. Would the gentleman modify his request?

Mr. GIFFORD. Yes, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent that immediately following the reading of the two messages just received from the President of the United States he may be permitted to address the House for 20 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I do not want to object, I will say to the gentleman that I think during the next week there will be 2 or 3 days in which we will have very little to do. The Democrats have announced a caucus meeting on the adjournment of the House today. I do not know how long that caucus may take. Many of us are very busy right now with various matters. I would be very much pleased if the gentleman from Massachusetts would go over until Monday or Tuesday of next week.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, in reply to the gentleman from Texas, I will say that the remarks I desire to make should immediately follow the Budget message, because they are applicable to that. They would lose their force, I am certain, on next week. I do not like to interfere with the proceedings of the House, but it seems to me we have ample time today to spare me 20 minutes, particularly as I wish to follow that particular subject.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I was going to submit a unanimous-consent request, asking permission to address the House for 10 minutes, to give the Members of Congress information relative to the financial statement of the Federal Treasury showing that we are \$1.573,000,000 in the red.

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman kindly state his unanimous-consent request?

Mr. RICH. Because the majority leader does not want to give the time, I will refrain from asking it today but will give the information next week.

## THE BUDGET (H. DOC. NO. 29)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the Budget message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to provisions of law, I transmit herewith the Budget of the United States Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, together with this message, which is an integral part thereof. The estimates in this Budget are based upon a continuation of all taxes now in force and upon a careful analysis of the existing obligations and future needs of the Government. I, therefore, recommend appro-

priations for the purposes specifically detailed in the tables which follow.

### THE BUDGET AND THE NATIONAL INCOME

Taxation yields almost all of the income of the Government, leaving less than 5 percent to come from miscellaneous sources. Revenue from taxes depends mainly on two factors: The rate of taxation and the total of the national income. This holds true not only of direct taxes on personal and corporate income but also of what are known as ad valorem taxes or other forms of indirect taxes, for the very good reason that the volume and value of goods produced or articles imported vary with the rise or fall of the Nation's total income.

We can and do fix the rate of taxation definitely by law. We cannot by a simple legislative act raise the level of national income, but our experience in the last few years has amply demonstrated that through wise fiscal policies and other acts of government we can do much to stimulate it.

Today the Nation's income is in the neighborhood of \$60,000,000,000 a year. A few years ago it was much lower. It is our belief that it ought to be much higher.

In order that you may know the amount of revenue which the Government may expect under the existing tax structure as the national income rises, the following table is submitted. It shows the estimated revenues which may be derived when national income reaches certain levels between seventy billion and ninety billion dollars.

Estimated Federal receipts 1 by principal sources at certain assumed levels of national income based on December 1938 tax rates

[In billions of dollars]

National income	70	80	90
Income taxes.  Miscellaneous internal revenue.  Customs.  Miscellaneous receipts.  Pay-roll taxes.	2.5 2.2 .4 .2 .7	3.9 2.6 .5 .2 .8	5.7 3.1 .7 .2 .9
Total	6.0	8.0	10.6

<sup>1</sup> Tax liabilities excluding trust accounts. Pay-roll taxes at calendar year 1938 rates.

The table is not intended to indicate the national income for any particular year and, of necessity, the estimates are rough and may vary somewhat either way. Since taxes are paid from 1 month to 15 months after income is realized, the achievement of a \$90,000,000,000 national income in 1 year will not, for instance, mean tax collections of \$10,000,000,000 in that same year. This table is an indicator and not a gage.

During the past 9 fiscal years—a period which has seen the national income drop from a high of \$81,000,000,000 in the calendar year 1929 to around \$40,000,000,000 in 1932 and rise again to about \$70,000,000,000 in 1937—Federal revenues, even though on a higher tax base, have never completely covered expenditures.

We require continual study of the revenues necessary to carry on the normal functions of the Federal Government and of the role which Federal policy should play in the stabilization of the national economy.

This study includes a consideration of: (a) The practicability of reclassifying expenditures on a functional basis and the most appropriate methods of financing the different classifications; (b) the problem of human security including relief and its costs; and (c) the correlation between national income on the one hand and Government receipts and expenditures on the other.

An analysis of receipts and expenditures by major classes over a 10-year period, as set forth in the following table, indicates the nature of the problems to be studied.

# CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

Actual and estimated receipts and expenditures of the Government for the fiscal years 1931-40 [Classifications include expenditures from both general and emergency funds]

[In millions of dollars]

The House of the Control of the Cont	[In millions o	[ dollars]			Mrs. Ja	BLW-I		-1070	-		
garang ng 14 no arang odi in Un ilogia salah muli Sanggarang salah	Total,	Estimated		Actual							
end of the distance of the Alexander of	1931-	1940	1939	1938	1937	1936	1935	1934	1933	1932	1931
Internal revenue: Income tax Tax on unjust enrichment Miscellaneous internal revenue Taxes under Social Security Act Taxes upon carriers and their employees Processing tax on farm products Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act	18 025	1, 903 6 2, 333 686 124	2,086 6 2,173 611 109	2, 635 6 2, 280 604 150	2, 158 6 2, 181 252	1, 427 2, 009	1,099 1,657	818 1,470	746 858	1,057	1,860
Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act Customs Miscellaneous receipts	3, 583 2, 110	404	335	359	486	387	343	313	251	328	37
Miscellaneous receipts.	2, 110	208 5, 669	5, 520	6, 242	5, 294	4, 116	3, 800	3, 116	225	2 000	-
EXPENDITURES	41,000	= 0,000	= 0,020	0, 242	0,231	4, 110	0,000	5, 116	2,000	2,006	3, 190
Ordinary expenditures:  Legislative establishment.  Department of Agriculture  Department of Commerce.  Department of Interior.  Department of Justice  Department of Justice  Department of Labor.  Post Office Department (deficiency)  Department of State  Treasury Department  War Department (onmilitary).  District of Columbia (United States' share)  Independent offices and commissions  Supplemental items.	1,050 358 694 405 197 876 159 1,452 490 64	22 136 49 92 50 22 53 17 170 51 5 148 50	21 152 31 95 42 20 57 17 165 54 5 120 20	21 134 30 92 41 26 47 17 156 52 5	21 149 33 73 37 31 39 17 155 54 57	22 119 37 62 38 27 86 17 145 47 6	18 71 33 65 33 18 64 16 123 50 5 66	16 63 25 45 31 12 64 11 111 44 6 30	16 66 33 54 42 14 117 15 132 43 8	19 94 39 61 48 15 203 17 159 47 10 44	22 66 41 55 41 11 144 11 133 41
Total, legislative, judicial, and civil.		865	799	712	689	675	562	458	584	756	64
National defense Veterans' pensions and benefits Interest on the public debt. Refunds of receipts Agricultural Adjustment Program Social security	9,050 8,045 750 3,820 2,915	1, 126 539 1, 050 71 694 928	1, 017 540 976 66 703 833	980 572 926 100 362 678	895 1, 128 866 56 527 448	880 2,348 749 54 533 28	663 604 821 77 712	494 554 757 64 289	633 849 689 70	664 973 599 101	66 94 61 9
Railroad retirement. Government employees' retirement funds. Other (Commodity Credit losses, settlement of war claims, etc.) Supplemental items.	428	127 87 50	112 75 130	145 73 98	6 47 1	41	21 1 3	21 14	21 5	21 49	2
Total, national defense, etc.	33, 768	4, 672	4, 452	3, 934	3, 974	4, 634	2,895	2, 193	2, 267	2, 407	2, 34
Total, ordinary expenditures	40, 515	5, 537	5, 251	4, 646	4, 663	5, 309	3, 457	2, 651	2, 851	3, 163	2, 98
Extraordinary expenditures: Supplemental item: New national-defense program	210	210									
Public works: Public highways. Tennessee Valley Authority. Reclamation. Rivers and harbors, improvement Flood control. Public buildings. Grants to public bodies, including administration. Other.	2, 424 263 459 905 510 740 1, 523	213 40 68 60 101 62 366 134	232 43 93 83 98 69 392 228	237 42 65 98 61 77 190 110	351 42 52 148 45 76 273 115	244 49 50 150 36 68 234 83	317 36 41 133 31 58 49 101	268 11 25 76 41 79 19 166	178 25 51 34 106 78	210 26 55 28 86	17 1 5 3 6
Total	7, 952	1,044	1, 229	880	1, 102	914	766	625	472	499	42
Unemployment relief:     Direct relief.     Work relief (Works Progress Administration, etc.)     Civilian Conservation Corps.     Supplemental items	4, 048 7, 198 2, 550 2, 435	42 7 285 1,685	97 1,604 290 750	154 1,516 326	184 1,957 386	588 1,298 486	1, 916 11 436	716 805 332	351		
Total	16, 231	2,019	2,741	1,996	2, 527	2,372	2, 363	1,853	360		
Loans, subscriptions to stock, etc. (net)	3,339 65	120 65	271	104	150	71	424	882	181	873	26
Total, extraordinary expenditures	27, 797	3, 458	4, 241	2,980	3,779	3, 357	3, 553	3, 360	1,013	1,372	68
Total expenditures, exclusive of debt retirement	68, 312	8, 995	9, 492	7,626	8, 442	8, 666	7,010	6,011	3,864	4, 535	3, 6
Net deficit	27, 279	3, 326	3, 972	1, 384	3, 148	4, 550	3, 210	2,895	1,784	2, 529	4
Increase in gross public debt	28, 273	3, 326	3,967	740	2,647	5, 077	1,648	4, 514	3,052	2, 686	6
Gross public debt at the end of each fiscal year		44, 458	41, 132	37, 165	36, 425	33,778	28, 701	27,053	22, 539	19, 487	16, 8

<sup>1</sup> Excess of credits, deduct.

NOTE.—This statement is on the basis of the daily Treasury statement as revised on July 1, 1938.

### ORDINARY EXPENSES

The expenditure side of a budget may be divided into two major clases, namely, ordinary, which includes the operating expenditures for the normal and continuing functions of government, and extraordinary, which includes those expenditures required to met the nonoperating or the unusual costs of government.

General public works of an annual recurring nature may fall in either class, but in view of their flexibility they have been classed as extraordinary for the purpose of this statement.

The foregoing table shows that the excess of expenditures over revenues in the ordinary classification is attributable to various causes: New functions undertaken; more carrying charges on the national debt, though at lower interest rates; and the inauguration of the social security and agricultural programs. Under all of these classifications new expenditures have been added without corresponding increases in

Fixed costs have also increased because of numerous new appropriations for grants and subsidies.

Another type of expenditure has been forced upon us in increasing volume by the real necessity for expanding our national defense. We are all aware of the grave and unsettling developments in the field of international relations during the past few years. Because of the conditions of modern warfare we must now perform in advance tasks that formerly could be postponed until war had become imminent. A large part of additional national-defense expenditures should, I think, be put in a special category on a temporary basis.

The operating expenses of the Government have also increased because of reductions in the hours of work of certain classes of Federal employees and because of expansion of the normal functions of the Government with the growth of the country.

Among the new governmental functions which have added to the costs of the ordinary budget, the farm program is outstanding. Soil-conservation expenditures and other outlays for the crop-adjustment program which are of a continuing nature and produce no direct return to the Federal Government have been only partially covered by new revenues.

A new and partly self-financing addition was made to the ordinary expenditures when the Social Security Act was passed to safeguard the economic security of a large portion of our population. However, no provision was made for revenues which would pay for grants to States for old-age assistance, for maternal and child welfare, for public-health work, and for aid to dependent children and the blind, which expenditures in 1940 will approximate \$286,000,000. Furthermore, consideration is now being given to plans for spreading the coverage of, and for revising the benefits under, the Social Security Act, and for improving public-health facilities. These plans present major questions of future national policy and directly affect the Budget.

### EXTRAORDINARY EXPENDITURES

Beyond these questions of ordinary expenditures are those which relate to the nonoperating or unusual costs of Government and involve extraordinary expenditures that deal more particularly with the relationship between fiscal policy and the economic welfare of the country. These questions concern Government loans, capital outlays, and relief of need. Expenditures made under these heads are of such a flexible character as to provide, through their contraction or expansion, a partial offset for the rise or fall in the national income.

The public has been showing an increased interest in the adoption by the Government of a form of budget which would conform more nearly to the practice followed in commercial business. There has been some criticism of the Government's practice of including in its budgetary expenditures

amounts disbursed for loans, or for self-liquidating projects, or for other extraordinary capital outlays which increase the wealth of the Nation.

I recognized the merit of constructive suggestions of this nature by recommending in my last Budget message a change in the method of financing the requirements of the Commodity Credit Corporation. This recommendation provided for an annual appraisal of the assets and liabilities of the Corporation, and contemplated that any surplus from operations or any impairment of capital resulting from losses be reflected as receipts or expenditures in the annual Budget. Under this method the Budget would be affected, not when the investment or loan is made, but in the fiscal year when the surplus or loss occurs. Congress approved this recommendation in the act of March 8, 1938, and it might well give consideration to an extension of this principle to other governmental corporations and credit agencies, such as:

Agencies under the Farm Credit Administration.

Electric Home and Farm Authority.

Export-Import Bank of Washington.

Farm Security Administration.

Federal Crop Insurance Corporation.

Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation.

Home Owners' Loan Corporation.

Inland Waterways Corporation.

Panama Railroad.

Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Rural Electrification Administration.

United States Maritime Commission.

Public projects of a self-liquidating character represent another class of expenditures appearing in the annual Budget as current outlays, to which this principle might also be applied. For example, outlays for the Boulder Canyon project amounting to more than \$120,000,000 have been included in annual budgetary expenditures of the Government, notwithstanding that the total cost of the project, including capitalized interest during the period of construction, will be returned to the Government within 50 years, with interest.

While I do not advocate that the Government capitalize all of its expenditures for physical improvements, it seems to me that such portions of the cost of public projects as are clearly self-liquidating should occupy a separate category in budgetary reporting. Our financial statements, of course, should clearly reflect, in appropriate classifications, the amount of Government outlays for physical improvements that are not self-liquidating in character. We must take into account the necessity for making such of these and other changes as will permit the presentation to the Congress and to the public of more accurate and intelligible statements of the financial operations of the Government.

I should like to call your attention to the following table comparing for the 10-year period the amount of the Federal deficit and the increase in the public debt, with the amount included therein for capital outlays. It should be understood that this table is not intended to represent values on an earning basis. Nevertheless, under our policy of expanding capital outlays to compensate for variation in private capital expenditures and of making loans to meet emergency needs of our people, the table clearly shows that the greater part of the deficits and the larger part of the increase in the public debt have gone for permanent additions to our national wealth.

Let us all fix that fact in our minds so that there shall be no doubt about it and so that we may have a clear and intelligent idea of what we have been doing. We have not been throwing the taxpayers' money out of the window or into the sea. We have been buying real values with it. Let me repeat: The greater part of the budgetary deficits that have been incurred have gone for permanent, tangible additions to our national wealth. The balance has been an investment in the conservation of our human resources, and I do not regard a penny of it as wasted.

Comparison of Federal outlays for durable improvements and recoverable loans and investments with the net deficit and increase in gross public debt for the period July 1, 1930, to June 30, 1940 [In millions of dollars]

no della contra contralica contralica di la gar de parte estre estre e	Actual								Estin		
Bendroug actioner than high and decade thousand	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	Total
Deficit, excluding debt retirement I	481 616	2, 529 2, 686	1, 784 3, 052	2, 895 4, 514	3, 210 1, 648	4, 550 5, 077	3, 148 2, 647	1,385 740	3, 972 3, 967	3, 326 3, 326	27, 279 28, 273
Federal outlays for durable improvements and recoverable loans and investments:  Direct Federal public works.  Recoverable loans and investments 1.  Public roads.  Conservation work through Civilian Conservation Corps.  New construction projects of Works Progress Administration 1.  Grants to public bodies for public works (including administration).	247 263 174	289 873 210	294 181 178 9	338 881 268 332	400 423 317 436	436 69 244 486 406 234	478 115 351 386 595 273	453 72 237 326 464 190	605 234 232 290 734 392	465 123 213 285 488 366	4, 013 2 3, 234 2, 424 2, 550 2, 689 1, 525
Total outlays.	684	1, 372	662	1,838	1, 625	1,875	2, 198	1,742	2, 487	1,940	16, 43
Stabilization fund '											2, 00
am mulsip with a curso words to a		200000000	63100000000					7007.000	27107270		18, 43

This statement is on the basis of the daily Treasury statement as revised on July 1, 1938,
This amount excludes \$170,000,000 of repayments covered into miscellaneous receipts of the Treasury.
The Works Progress Administration has estimated that between 30 percent and 40 percent of the expenditures of that Administration represent outlays for new construction. This does not represent the entire amount of durable improvements made with Works Progress Administration funds, since additions to existing structures are not classed as new construction. However for the purposes of this statement a figure has been used representing only new construction, namely, 34 percent of the Works Progress Administration expenditures, after excluding administrative expenses, expenses of the National Youth Administration, and expenditures for rural rehabilitation.
This fund was established from the increment resulting from reduction in weight of the gold dollar. This increment was not included in the general receipts of the Government, nor was the expenditure for the establishment of the stabilization fund classed as general. Thus the transactions which resulted in this fund did not in any way affect the deficit. Nevertheless, the balance remaining in this fund could, when no longer needed for the purpose of stabilization, be utilized as an offset against the

increase in the debt.

A year ago I recommended an increase in work relief, public works, and other related expenditures to check the downward spiral of business. The program undertaken at that time has contributed materially, I believe, to the existing upward movement of business and employment; and I feel that the businessmen and farmers and workers of the country, no less than the unemployed, are entitled to an assurance that this program will not be curtailed arbitrarily or violently.

The actual cost of work relief and similar expenditures goes down after jobs are found by the workers on these rolls. A violent contraction, before the natural expansion of private industry is ready to take up the slack, would mean not only human misery but a disruptive withdrawal from American industry of a volume of purchasing power which business needs at this time. The necessity of increasing Federal expenditures a year ago to check a recession is a well-known fact. Any decision to decrease those expenditures now that recovery has just started would constitute a new policy which ought not to be adopted without full understanding of what may be the result.

May I say emphatically that I am not suggesting an ordinary budget which is always balanced and an extraordinary budget which is always unbalanced. The ordinary expenses of government should continue to be met out of current revenues. But I also hope that those revenues in times of prosperity will provide a surplus which can be applied against the public debt that the Government must incur in lean years because of extraordinary demands upon it.

I believe I am expressing the thought of the most farsighted students of our economic system in saying that it would be unwise either to curtail expenditures sharply or to impose drastic new taxes at this stage of recovery. But in view of the addition to our public expenditures involved in the proposed enlarged national-defense program and the program for agricultural parity payments, for which no revenue provision has yet been made, I think we might safely consider moderate tax increases which would approximately meet the increased expenditures on these accounts. It should be added, however, that it is my firm conviction that such new taxes as may be imposed should be most carefully selected from the standpoint of avoiding repressive effects upon purchasing power.

Sound progress toward a budget that is formally balanced is not to be made by heavily slashing expenditures or drastically increasing taxes. On the contrary, it is to be sought by employing every effective device we may have at our command for promoting a steady recovery, which means steady progress toward the goal of full utilization of our resources. We can contribute very materially toward that end by a wise

I am recommending the reenactment of the excise taxes which will expire in June and July of this year, not because I regard them as ideal components of our tax structure, but because their collection has been perfected, our economy is adjusted to them, and we cannot afford at this time to sacrifice the revenue they represent. If the Congress should at this session adopt new taxes more scientifically planned to care for the defense and agricultural programs, it is quite possible that the existence of these new taxes will enable us in a later year to give consideration to abolishing some of the present excise levies.

The revised estimate of receipts for the fiscal year 1939 as contained in this Budget is \$5,520,070,000 and of expenditures \$9,492,329,000, leaving a deficit of \$3,972,259,000.

The estimated receipts for the fiscal year 1940 amount to \$5,669,320,000 and the expenditures for that year are estimated at \$8,995,663,000, resulting in a deficit of \$3,326,343,000.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

Temporary miscellaneous internal-revenue taxes: I recommend that the Congress take steps by suitable legislation to extend the miscellaneous internal-revenue taxes which under existing law will expire next June and July, and also to maintain the current rates of those taxes which would otherwise be reduced next June. I consider that the revenue from such taxes or its equivalent is necessary for the financing of the Budget for 1940.

Postal receipts: The estimates of appropriations for the Postal Service included in the 1940 Budget are predicated upon the enactment of legislation to provide for the continuance during that fiscal year of the 3-cent postage rate for firstclass mail other than for local delivery. While the Government collects more than it spends on first-class mail, the Postal Service is not self-supporting because it carries other classes of mail at less than cost, as shown in the tabular footnote.

Civilian Conservation Corps: The Civilian Conservation Corps has demonstrated its usefulness and has met with general public approval. It should be continued beyond June 30, 1940, and I recommend that Congress enact during its present session the necessary legislation to establish the Corps as a permanent agency of the Government.

REVIEW OF THE FISCAL YEARS 1938 AND 1939, AND THE FISCAL PROGRAM FOR 1940

This review concerns the cash actually received and paid out by the Treasury in the fiscal year 1938, the estimates of receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year 1939, and the fiscal program for 1940.

### Fiscal year 1938

Receipts: Total general fund receipts for the fiscal year 1938 amounted to \$6,241,661,227 which was a gain over 1937 of \$947,821,000. The receipts from income taxes were \$477,-091,000 in excess of the amount collected from that source in 1937 while miscellaneous internal-revenue taxes were \$98,-235,000 more. The amounts collected from pay-roll taxes under the Social Security and Carriers' Taxing Acts were \$502,075,000 in excess of the amounts collected from the same sources during 1937. Approximately the same amounts were received in each of the 2 years from the tax on unjust enrichment and from miscellaneous receipts. On the other hand, the revenue from customs during 1938 declined \$127,169,000 from the 1937 collections.

Expenditures: The total expenditures for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938 (exclusive of expenditures for debt retirement and those payable from postal revenue) amounted to \$7,625,822,158, as compared with expenditures on the same basis in 1937 of \$8,442,408,756. Of the reduction of \$816,586,000 in the 1938 expenditures below those of 1937, the bonus payment, which was a nonrecurring item in 1937, accounts for \$556,665,000. Recovery and relief was \$772,539,000 less in 1938 than in 1937, and transactions in revolving funds were \$82,583,000 less. Transfers to trust accounts increased \$290,937,000, while expenditures for other purposes were \$304,264,000 greater.

Deficit and public debt: The gross deficit for the fiscal year 1938 amounted to \$1,449,625,881. Excluding \$65,464,950 for statutory debt retirement, the net deficit was \$1,384,160,931. The estimated net deficit submitted a year ago, as revised and adjusted, was \$1,204,330,000. The increase in the gross public debt during the year amounted to \$740,126,583, bringing the gross debt on June 30, 1938, to \$37,164,740,315.

Fiscal year 1939

Receipts: The total anticipated general fund receipts for the fiscal year 1939 will be \$5,520,070,000, or \$399,367,000 less than was anticipated in the Budget estimates of last January and \$721,591,000 less than for 1938.

This latter decrease reflects the adverse business conditions of the late months of the 1937 and the early months of the 1938 calendar years, and is particularly true of income taxes which it is estimated will decline \$548,618,000 below the actual collections in 1938. Miscellaneous internal revenue is expected to be \$106,483,000 less, and pay-roll taxes will be \$34,781,000 less than in 1938. Customs revenues are expected to show a decrease of \$24,187,000 and miscellaneous receipts a decrease of \$3,356,000.

Expenditures: The total expenditures (exclusive of expenditures for debt retirement and those payable from postal revenue) for the fiscal year 1939 are now estimated at \$9.492,329,000.

Expenditures for recovery and relief, including expenditures under an anticipated supplemental appropriation for the last 5 months of the present fiscal year, will amount in 1939 to \$3,187,695,000, an increase of \$951,528,000 over expenditures for this purpose in 1938. There are also increases of \$170,-937,000 for the regular departments and agencies; \$115,106,-000 for the General Public Works Program; \$53,079,000 for national defense: \$346,318,000 for the agricultural adjustment program, largely for cotton price adjustments and parity payments; \$38,785,000 for grants and administrative expenses under the Social Security Act; \$49,719,000 for interest on the public debt; \$17,992,000 under revolving funds; \$78.449.000 for transfers to trust accounts: and \$150.000.000 for supplemental items other than for relief. There are decreases of \$2,945,000 for the legislative establishment, the Judiciary, and the Executive Office; \$32,343,000 for veterans' pensions and benefits; \$36,383,000 for the Civilian Conservation Corps; and \$33,734,000 for refunds of taxes.

Deficit and public debt: Excluding public debt retirements, the net deficit for 1939 is now estimated at \$3,972,259,000, as compared with an actual net deficit in 1938 of \$1,384,160,931. The gross public debt on June 30, 1939, is estimated at \$41,131,502,010.

Fiscal year 1940

Receipts: Revenue estimates for the fiscal year 1940 are based on the assumption that certain taxes which would otherwise expire in June and July 1939, will be continued. The total anticipated receipts for the fiscal year 1940 on this basis are \$5,669,320,000, an increase of \$149,250,000 over the estimated revenues for the fiscal year 1939. The effect of the business recession which began late in 1937 will continue to be felt in income-tax collections during the fiscal year 1940 and such collections are expected to be \$183,000,000 below those for 1939. Miscellaneous internal revenue on the other hand will increase \$160,400,000 over 1939, and pay-roll taxes are expected to be \$90,250,000 higher. The tax on unjust enrichment is expected to remain at the same figure as in 1939. The amount of contributions under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, which appears as a new item in 1940, will be \$4,950,000. Customs receipts are expected to show an increase of \$68,900,000 over collections from this source during the present fiscal year, and miscellaneous receipts are expected to be greater than in 1939 by \$7,750,000.

Expenditures: The expenditures contemplated for the fiscal year 1940—exclusive of expenditures for debt retirement and those payable from postal revenues—total \$8,995,663,200, which is \$496,666,000 less than the amount estimated for 1939. There are increases of \$1,046,000 under the legislative and judicial establishments; \$33,735,000 for the civil departments and agencies; \$8,665,000 under the General Public Works Program; \$28,121,000 under the Social Security Act; \$74,000,000 for interest on the public debt; \$4,510,000 for refunds of taxes; and \$87,097,000 under transfers to trust accounts.

For recovery and relief it is estimated that \$2,266,165,000 will be needed, or \$921,530,000 less than the amount required for this purpose in 1939. Supplemental estimates of appropriations will be submitted to meet the requirements of the Works Progress Administration, the National Youth Administration, and the Farm Security Administration for the fiscal year 1940. Of the estimated expenditure of \$2,266,165,000 for recovery and relief purposes, \$1,750,000,000 is the amount estimated for expenditure by these three agencies; \$469,-165,000 by the Public Works Administration and various departments from old balances of emergency funds, \$10,000,000 by the Federal Housing Administration, and \$37,000,000 for reduction in interest rates on farm mortgages.

National-defense expenditures for 1940 will amount to \$1,319,558,000. This is an increase of \$309,351,000 over the contemplated expenditures for national-defense purposes in 1939 and represents an increase of \$99,351,000 for continuing the current program and \$210,000,000 on account of the new \$500,000,000 program to be submitted at a later date.

There are decreases in estimated expenditures under the agricultural adjustment program of \$13,667,000; under the Civilian Conservation Corps of \$5,000,000; under revolving funds of \$101,949,000; under veterans' pensions and benefits of \$1,044,000; and under regular supplemental items of \$50,000,000.

Deficit and public debt: The estimated net deficit for the fiscal year 1940 is \$3,326,343,200, or \$645,916,000 less than the net deficit for the current fiscal year. The gross public debt on June 30, 1940, is estimated at \$44,457,845,210.

It should be pointed out, however, that the increase in the debt by reason of the deficit does not mean that the Treasury will borrow that additional sum on the market. There will be available during the fiscal year for investment in special issues of Government obligations the net sum of approximately \$950,000,000, which represents investments of \$579,000,000 from the old-age reserve account, \$271,000,000 from the unemployment trust fund, and \$100,000,000 from the railroad and Government employees' retirement funds and from veterans' funds.

The following table shows the gross public debt at the end of the fiscal years 1936, 1937, and 1938, and the estimated gross debt at the end of the fiscal years 1939 and 1940.

-1	Tn	mil	lions	of	dal	lare	Ľ.

	June 30, 1940 (esti- mated)	June 30, 1939 (esti- mated)	June 30, 1938	June 30, 1937	June 30, 1936
Market operations:  Held by— Public (banks, insurance companies, trust companies,	10 (2 10) 10 (2 10) 10 (2 10)	Total Indian	100 A		oce enion de l'esto, d'éle van de l'est
corporations, indi- viduals, etc.)	35, 449	33, 073	30, 144	30, 677	29, 408
Federal Reserve Sys- tem	2, 564	1 2, 564	2, 564	2, 526	2, 430
Governmental agen-	601	1601	565	451	381
Government trust funds	1, 260	1 1, 260	1, 217	1, 212	933
	39, 874	37, 498	34, 490	34, 866	33, 152
Special issues; Held by— Old-age reserve account.	1, 751	1,172	662	267	across.
Unemployment trust	1,480	1, 209	872	312	19
Railroad retirement	81	76	66		
Employees' retirement funds Veterans' funds Other	551 564 157	463 557 1 157	396 549 130	316 538 125	280 127 200
	4, 584	3, 634	2, 675	1, 558	626
Gross debt	44, 458	41, 132	37, 165	36, 424	33, 778

<sup>1</sup> As of Dec. 1, 1938, and it is assumed for the purpose of this statement only that they will remain at these amounts throughout the fiscal years 1939 and 1940.

Appropriations: The appropriations recommended in this Budget, including those for the Postal Service, District of Columbia, and probable supplemental items, total \$10,190,-311,483. The appropriations already made and prospective supplemental items for the fiscal year 1939 for the same purpose total \$10,928,609,972. This is a decrease of \$738,298,489.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

JANUARY 3, 1939.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—ADDITIONAL RELIEF APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1939 (H. DOC. NO. 87)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

# To the Congress of the United States:

In my message of April 14, 1938, I presented to the Congress certain recommendations covering programs for the Works Progress Administration, for public works, and for housing, which were designed to increase the purchasing power of the Nation, to stimulate business activity, and to provide increased employment. Subsequently, in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, approved June 21, 1938, the Congress appropriated to the Works Progress Administration the sum of \$1,425,000,000, together with certain balances of previous allocations to that Administration which remained unobligated on June 30, 1938. By other legislation, \$23,000,000 of this appropriation was reserved for specific purposes and therefore was not available for the Works Progress Administration program. In section 2 of the act, the Congress provided that the available funds should be apportioned over the first 8 months of the fiscal year 1939, and further authorized me to modify that apportionment in the event of an extraordinary emergency or unusual circumstance which could not be anticipated at the time the apportionment was made.

Since the enactment by the Congress of legislation providing funds for the programs recommended in my message, substantial business and industrial improvement has occurred throughout the country. However, during the period prior to the adoption of this legislation, when unemployment

was increasing, the increase in the number employed on the Works Progress Administration program did not keep pace with the need for employment because the Works Progress Administration had funds to employ only part of those who were out of jobs.

In addition, in a period of increasing unemployment there is a lag before the impact of the jobless reaches the Works Progress Administration. This is because workers who lose their jobs exhaust their private resources before applying for relief. Furthermore, the time intervening between the loss of private jobs and the need for Works Progress Administration employment is now considerably greater than heretofore because of the operation of the unemployment compensation program.

Therefore, with the passage of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, the Works Progress Administration expanded its program in an effort more nearly to meet the needs of the unemployed. While beginning in July 1938, 125,000 to 150,000 workers were voluntarily leaving Works Progress Administration projects each month, it was necessary to add from 200,000 to 300,000 others monthly to the rolls in order to meet the needs of those whose personal resources or compensation benefits had become exhausted, and to take back as required by section 12 of the act, those who had left the Works Progress Administration for private employment and whose employment had been terminated through no fault of their own.

The demands upon the Works Progress Administration appropriation were increased by two additional factors. The critical foreign situation has had an adverse effect upon American business and industrial employment in this country, and has been an unexpected deflationary force affecting the prices of commodities entering into world markets, such as certain of our important agricultural commodities. This has accentuated relief problems in important areas in the country. In addition, the hurricane which devastated large areas of New England last September seriously dislocated industry and trade in the northeastern section of the country and added to the relief burden in that area.

As a result of the foregoing factors, the employment provided from the Works Progress Administration appropriation increased from 2,900,000 at the beginning of July 1938, to a peak of 3,350,000. During the past few weeks the number has been declining. On December 24, 1938, the total had fallen to 3,112,000, and it is expected that the employment during the month of January will approximate 3,000,000. The foregoing figures include employment provided with funds transferred by the Works Progress Administration to other Federal agencies under the authority of section 3 of the act. An average of 90,000 persons are thus employed under conditions entirely similar to those pertaining in the main Works Progress Administration program.

Under the conditions outlined above, the funds appropriated to the Works Progress Administration will be barely adequate to finance the operations of that agency through the month of January 1939. Therefore, in accordance with the authority contained in section 2 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, I have apportioned those funds to be used during the first 7 months of the fiscal year.

It is believed that sufficient funds should now be appropriated to the Works Progress Administration for the balance of the current fiscal year to employ an average of 3,000,000 workers in February and March, and a diminishing number beginning in April which would reach a figure of 2,700,000 in June. This would include the numbers to be employed with funds transferred to other Federal agencies. The employment proposed for February and March, which is the same number that is expected to be reached in January, is justified by seasonal factors and the lag in outside construction operations which always occurs on account of weather conditions. In fact, there is normally an increase in the need for employment during these winter months, and the funds available to the Works Progress Administration have not been sufficient to enable it to assign to its program a large number of employable persons who have been certified as in need of

The Works Progress Administration program is at present being conducted at an average Federal cost of approximately \$61 per worker per month, of which only \$2 is overhead administrative expense. Therefore to provide the employment set forth above, a deficiency appropriation of \$875,000,000 will be required, and this is the amount which I recommend to the Congress. In view of the fact previously mentioned, that the funds now available are barely sufficient to finance the Works Progress Administration through the month of January 1939, I urge speedy action on the part of the Congress to provide these additional funds in order to prevent disruption of the program and consequent suffering and want on the part of the unemployed.

I realize that the Congress may wish to prescribe by legislation the manner in which funds appropriated to the Works Progress Administration and other appropriations shall be distributed. However, the problem of distributing work relief funds is a complicated one involving factors not only of population but of economic and unemployment conditions in various sections of the country. The hasty adoption of legislative provisions, to be immediately effective, which radically change the present method of distributing Works Progress Administration funds would greatly complicate the administration of the program in the coming months. I therefore believe that the Congress should make this question the subject of study and hearings, with a view to determining a policy to obtain in the fiscal year 1940, but that the appropriation recommended in this message should be made on the same terms as that for the first part of the fiscal year 1939.

No one wishes more sincerely than I do that the program for assisting unemployed workers shall be completely free from political manipulation. However, anyone who proposes that this result can be achieved by turning the administration of a work program over to local boards is either insincere or is ignorant of the realities of local American politics.

It is my belief that improper political practices can be eliminated only by the imposition of rigid statutory regulations and penalties by the Congress, and that this should be done. Such penalties should be imposed not only upon persons within the administrative organization of the Works Progress Administration, but also upon outsiders who have in fact in many instances been the principal offenders in this regard. My only reservation in this matter is that no legislation should be enacted which will in any way deprive workers on the Works Progress Administration program of the civil rights to which they are entitled in common with other citizens.

In connection with the above, I invite your attention to the fact that under the provisions of Executive Order No. 7916 the administrative employees of the Works Progress Administration, with the exception of a relatively small number of positions, will be brought under the civil service on February 1, 1939.

It is my intention to transmit to the Congress, probably in the month of April, a supplemental estimate covering the appropriation which will be required to provide work relief for persons in need in the fiscal year 1940.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 5, 1939.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Woodrum of Virginia). Pursuant to the order of the House heretofore entered, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gifford] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, the last words of the last message to which you have just listened are words that will be ringing in your ears for some time to come. They were, in effect, "Those who do not agree with me are either insincere or ignorant."

Doubtless this did not escape your attention.

For the information of the new Members of this House I wish to say that I happen to be the ranking Republican member on the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, but the majority control the committee and will

allow no hearings on their expenditures. This, then, is the only forum I have in which I may secure an opportunity for expression.

I dislike very much to change the plans of the majority leader, but I desire that these remarks follow immediately the reading of the President's Budget message today; and again there should be the specters of former Budget messages following directly behind. Last year I named similar remarks "The specter of a former Budget." The year before that I gave to my remarks the title, "A \$7,000,000,000 Government permanently established." At that time many expressed amusement and unbelief. Today the Budget message discloses that it is a \$10,000,000,000 Government this year, and a \$10,000,000,000 Government in 1940, and that undoubtedly means permanently established. In his message on yesterday the President said in effect that if you do not establish a \$10,000,000,000 Government you cannot have a \$80,000,000,000 nation. So we must accept a \$10,000,000,000 Government as being permanent. Any suggestion, any lamentation-as some have heretofore termed it-from me, has never been overstatement. Rather have I greatly understated it. Some years ago we predicted a \$40,000,000,000 debt and Mr. Eccles said at the time that we could stand it. You ridiculed my prediction. Today you read that it will be some \$44,000,000,000 in 1940. If he now says that it will be \$44,000,000,000 a year from today, it will certainly be \$45,000,000,000 and more, because on every occasion when he has sent in a Budget message he has been from \$1,000,000,000 to \$2,000,000,000 in error in his estimates.

In 1937 he told us that we would have a surplus of \$1,500,-000,000 in 1938, which would take care of relief during that fiscal year. Today he tells you that when the books were closed the deficit was \$1,300,000,000.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. Oh, wait a few minutes. I know the gentleman does not enjoy this, but I ask him to be patient for a little.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. I want a little information.

Mr. GIFFORD. You are getting it.

Oh, this message today, to which I listened carefully, is full of alibis. I want you new Members to do as I do; take the Budget messages printed in the Congressional Records for the last 3 or 4 years and spread them on your desk. Then, by comparison, you will learn much about the fiscal affairs of your country. I listened with eagerness for the suggestion as to the amount to be needed for national defense this year. He asks \$200,000,000 only for additional national defense this year as a part of a \$500,000,000 program that he will present here on next Monday. Only \$200,000,000 for increased national defense out of all this ten billion! He said that we will not have to borrow to take care of the whole deficit. You heard that plainly, did you not? He said the same last year in almost identical language—"We will not have to borrow all the money." Social-security taxes will mop up the debt to the tune of about \$1,000,000,000. You are familiar with the method of collecting the social-security funds and the spending of these same funds for current expenses. Read this Budget message in the Congressional Record tomorrow. Then read the Budget message of January 1938. Note the similarity of the statement. Unblushingly, without alibis in the present instance, is this fact acknowledged.

Next week we shall listen to many speeches, some severely critical, others in defense or only evangelistic pleading about intangible or spiritual values secured by the expenditure of these vast sums of borrowed money.

We are today advised that we ought to have a special budget for many so-called permanent improvements. The stone walls you have built all over the land may be fairly permanent. Perhaps I should have spent my own money on my own estate building stone walls because they would be permanent investments.

Again you are asked today to wipe off the books the huge losses of those independent corporations that were set up to

avoid the necessity of coming to the Congress for appropriations. He states, "You did that for the R. F. C. last year." We might as well, and so have a true picture to present in future Treasury reports. It was, and is, ridiculous that the R. F. C. shall pay interest to the Treasury on money given to Harry Hopkins; also to the Commodity Credit Corporation, which lost \$500,000,000 on cotton last year. The R. F. C. finally pleaded, "Will you not wipe out these losses so that we may no longer be forced to carry them as assets and pay further interest on these amounts?" The January 1937 Budget message estimated that loss of interest for the year. So we canceled two and one-half billion dollars of so-called assets. Having succeeded in obtaining our consent last year to the marking off of two and one-half billions, in today's message he requests that we cancel many more losses of those corporate devises. Read the items when presented.

He wants us to wipe out the losses of not one but two. three, four, five, six, seven, or eight different corporations; so that we, and the people generally, may not again have them called to our attention. We may as well be willing to forget them, for then we shall at least have a return to honest

bookkeeping.

A \$44,000,000,000 debt is not a good rampart for national defense. It is now not to be wondered at that Governor Eccles came to the rescue of the President recently in a reply to the Senator from Virginia. He declared, in effect, "Debts? Do not worry about debts. They are harmless and they should not even be paid off too hastily, because our economics might thereby be greatly disturbed. Why, you know our private and our public debt added together is not as great today as it was in 1929."

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. GIFFORD. In just a moment. I want to get this

thought over to you.

When you and I borrow money and go into debt, we must show something tangible with which to pay that debt later on. A private debt cannot be compared at all with a public debt spent for something that is generally a liability, because of its maintenance and unsaleability. There is a vast difference between a large public debt and a large private debt. We can cancel a private debt with assets acquired in its assumption.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. Briefly.

Mr. KNUTSON. Is not the gentleman aware of the fact that the only field for investment today is Government securities, and if the Government stops spending and issuing more bonds there will be no place for the American people to invest their money?

Mr. GIFFORD. I should like some time to discuss that matter. Indeed, I have discussed it many times. The procedure of financing our public debt is intensely interesting and fully explained in the latest issue of Fortune magazine. You really should read it and indeed wonder when the end of creating such fictitious debt money may be reached.

I am calling attention to today's Budget alibis. To cover up and further mislead, they now desire to open up another Budget and carry so-called permanent improvements as assets. Who can possibly determine their true value for use in the payment of the debt?

That 2 and 2 make 4 and never 5 or 3; The heart of man is sore and long is like to be.

You cannot hide the truth in such a manner. The inexorable law of mathematics will not permit it. Every person who is listening to me knows we cannot go on much longer in this fashion; that there is a limitation to public credit, and it may be very near.

Even now it is a worrisome procedure for the Treasury to place huge Government loans. Do they not carefully time these operations after advising with the large bankers, insurance companies, and investment houses? Do they not eagerly inquire, "Is this an opportune moment to offer these bonds to the public? How much shall we sweeten them with attractive interest rates in order that former holdings now due will be converted and new cash be cheerfully offered?"

Have you noticed that the bankers now insist that at least one-half of new financing be in very short-term securities?

I wish to remind you that during the war your Secretary of the Treasury, by all the salesman's arts he could muster, sold bonds to you and me and to all the people generally. Only 20 percent were taken up by the banks. But today practically all the bonds are taken by these large institutions and would be, could be, and probably will be, dumped in huge quantities at the very moment when they should be held rather than thrown on the market. Everybody knows that, but it is hoped that the present machinery of the Government and its sinking funds will be able to meet that emergency by supporting the market.

However, limiting my remarks to the Budget, I will go back to 1937, when the President stated that one and onehalf billion dollars only, representing surplus of that year. would be needed for relief and that we would have a balanced Budget. But the deficit was one and three-tenths billion dollars. He again said that this year of 1939 we would have a deficit of less than one billion. Today he tells us that it is to be three and nine-tenths billion dollars-to quote one of this morning's editorials, "\$4,000,000,000 out of whack." He follows that up by saying that in 1940-think of it! 1940-1 year and 11 months away-the deficit will again be \$4,000,000,000. If he says that today, of course, it will be even more than that. According to a report of December 29, 1938, the present gross public debt is already thirtynine and one-half billion dollars. Contemplate the fortyfour billion in 1940. Whither are we heading?

What manner of man is it who can face us with a message like that of today, bearing in mind his solemn admonitions in 1933? Apparently he really thinks that we are "insincere

Mr. RICH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Penn-

Mr. RICH. Does the gentleman know that we now have a law prohibiting the national income from becoming over \$45.000.000,000? Does the gentleman know further that this administration during this session is going to ask us to increase that to \$80,000,000,000? Will the Congress do it?

Mr. GIFFORD. I thought it was to be only seventy-five.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan

Mr. WOLCOTT. As I understand the President's message, on July 1, 1940, at the end of the fiscal year 1940, the estimated national debt will be forty-four and one-half billion dollars. That is the national debt. To determine the total public debt we must add to that the sum of \$20,000,000,000 internal public debt, which will bring the total public debt of the United States on July 1, 1940, to \$65,000,000,000, or a little more than \$1 for every second since the birth of Christ.

Mr. GIFFORD. Debt is a healthy condition, according to Governor Eccles.

Let me tell this simple story to you new Members: In March 1933 this party came into power with \$3,500,000,000 of Hoover assets in the Treasury. They have collected \$3,000,000,000 of that and spent it. They have passed three tax bills increasing taxes and revenues, and they have spent it all. They gave us rum taxes, raising about \$700,000,000 a year. They have spent that. They have taken our socialsecurity taxes to the amount of approximately \$960,000,000 and used the money for current expenses. They have spent it.

By June 30 they will have borrowed \$19,000,000,000 and spent it. And at the moment, instead of having \$3,500,000,000 of assets in the Treasury, as shown by the last Treasury report giving what we have in good R. F. C. securities, there are only \$3,500,000,000 of assets, counting the capital stock of those corporations still going merrily on with their loaning and spending and for which an estimate of 50 percent of their face value would be a liberal one.

Some authorities estimate these capital stock issues to be worth 50 cents on the dollar, while others maintain that in a final accounting not 20 cents on the dollar. You may form your own opinions.

In 1936 the President told the Nation:

We have \$6,000,000,000 of assets in the Treasury besides debts due from other nations.

Then, almost immediately afterwards, we had to mark off \$2,500,000,000. Let not the President of the United States again make such statements. It is impossible that he should be ignorant of the real conditions.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SABATH. When we entered 1933 there was \$3,500,-000,000 in the Treasury. Will the gentleman state what the deficit was for 1932 and 1933, incurred by the Hoover administration?

Mr. GIFFORD. Oh, yes.

Mr. SABATH. Was it not over \$5,000,000,000?

Mr. GIFFORD. Counting both those years, it was five and one-half billion, because he loaned money to the banks, railroads, and the insurance companies, receiving in return a large amount of real assets, which were largely recovered.

Mr. SABATH. Without that?

Mr. GIFFORD. No; not without that. I have the figures here.

Mr. SABATH. Was the loan made to the bank of former Vice President Dawes paid back?

Mr. GIFFORD. I can put that into the Record if I so desire. I am so sorry for the gentleman to be forced to refer to that unfortunate condition in his city.

Mr. SABATH. Did Dawes pay back what was loaned?

Mr. GIFFORD. Go back into antiquity if you desire.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I think we should clear up now once and for all this session the matter of the Dawes loan. Jesse Jones, appearing before the Committee on Banking and Currency, stated that he was a member of that Board when the loan was made. He did not evade any responsibility for making the loan. He said he would do it now as Chairman of the Board as he did at that time as a member of the Board. He said the most the Government should ever lose on that loan would be \$10,000,000, but that if the loss were the whole amount of that loan of \$90,000,000 it would have been a good investment by the Government. It saved billions of dollars of investments and deposits in the Midwest. It prevented, in the Chicago area, losses comparable to those suffered because of the closing of the Michigan banks.

Mr. SABATH. Does the gentleman-

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield no further at this time. That is a complete answer. The alibi speeches can come forth later.

I sympathize with you deeply, with you real Democrats, I do not desire to be facetious today, but a little later on we shall remind you how you even played "political poker with your charity chips," as recently stated by one of our able columnists.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. GIFFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. KNUTSON. In his message yesterday the President stated that the American people are wiser and tougher than they used to be. They must be tough, or they could not have survived 5 years of the New Deal. November 8 proved that they are wiser. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. GIFFORD. I was greatly interested in the terminal remark of our beloved Speaker when he delivered his address on the radio just recently: "As an American citizen I cannot refrain, in closing, from expressing my very great satisfaction over the bright prospects for the New Year." I believe he visualized the increased membership on this side of the House and felt that the Nation may now be saved. [Applause.]

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next, after the reading of the Journal and following the disposition of business on the Speaker's desk, I may be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes. The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Woodrum of Virginia). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

Mr. RAYBURN. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, in order that there may be no misunderstanding may I say that last year the policy was adopted that when unanimous-consent requests were preferred that a Member might speak on a day certain it was always understood that he would speak after the disposition of matters on the Speaker's table and following the legislative program of that day, if there was any such program. Whether or not there will be a legislative program on Monday I do not know, but I doubt it. However, I want it understood that it will be the custom this year that when a Member requests time to speak this condition is coupled with his request.

Mr. RICH. I may say to the majority leader I tried to make my request in such form that it would embody that

condition

Mr. MAPES. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, while the gentleman from Texas is on his feet, may I ask if he can tell the House what the program will be for the first few days of next week?

Mr. RAYBURN. I do not believe there will be any pro-

gram for the first few days.

Of course, a few committees will be named by that time. A majority of the minority and majority members of the Committee on Appropriations have already been named. I believe that committee is now working, but I do not see any prospect that they will report out anything before the middle or the last of next week.

Mr. MAPES. Then practically nothing will be done except these speeches on general subjects.

Mr. RAYBURN. That is what I think, yes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may have the privilege of addressing the House for 15 minutes on Wednesday next after the legislative program, if any, has been disposed of.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. BRADLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record, and include therein a report made by me to Mr. Rankin, chairman of the World War Veterans' Committee, covering a survey of veterans' hospital facilities in eastern Pennsylvania, southern New Jersey, and in the State of Delaware, as well as an inspection of the United States Naval Hospital in Philadelphia.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the re-

quest of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

## LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. Somers of New York, for an indefinite period, on account of illness.

### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) the House, in accordance with its previous order, adjourned to meet on Monday, January 9, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

## EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

134. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the finances for the fiscal year ended June 30.

1938 (H. Doc. No. 5); to the Committee on Ways and Means and ordered to be printed.

135. A letter from the Acting Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a report on forest roads and trails for the fiscal year 1938; to the Committee on Roads.

136. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a report of the Archivist on lists of papers, consisting of nine items, of the United States Civil Service Commission; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

137. A letter from the Court of Claims of the United States, transmitting a statement of all judgments rendered by the Court of Claims for the year ended December 3, 1938, the amount thereof, the parties in whose favor rendered; to the Committee on Claims.

138. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill for the relief of Mrs. Dolores P. de Williamson, Republic of Panama; to the Committee on Claims.

139. A letter from the Clerk of the House of Representatives, transmitting the report for the period from July 1, 1937, to June 30, 1938, both inclusive, giving names of statutory and contingent-fund employees of the House and their respective compensations, including clerks to Members; the expenditures from the contingent fund and from certain specific appropriations; to the Committee on Accounts.

140. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting a statement of the expenditures under appropriations for the United States Court of Customs and Patent Appeals for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

141. A letter from the Federal Alcohol Administration, Division of the Treasury Department, transmitting the Fourth Report of the Federal Alcohol Administration; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

142. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to provide for acceptance and cashing of Government pay checks of retired naval personnel and members of the Naval and Marine Corps Reserves by commissary stores and ship's stores ashore, located outside the continental limits of the United States; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

143. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy transmitting the proposed draft of a bill to amend section 5 of the act entitled "An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," so as to authorize the payment of per diem in connection with naval aerial surveys and flight checking of aviation charts; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

144. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend the act entitled "An act to authorize an exchange of lands between the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad Co. and the United States at Quantico, Va.," so as to permit the removal of certain encumbrances on the lands concerned; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

145. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, so as to provide uniformity in the pay of all civilian employees of the Navy Department appointed for duty beyond the continental limits of the United States and in Alaska"; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

146. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend section 1860 of the Revised Statutes, as amended, to permit retired officers and enlisted men of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps to hold civil office in any territory of the United States; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

147. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to prohibit the unauthorized wearing, manufacture, or sale of medals and badges

issued by the Navy Department; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

148. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend section 302 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (46 Stat. 686; U. S. C. 1481b), as amended, so as to exempt Guam and American Samoa from internal-revenue taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

149. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to extend the jurisdiction of the United States District Court, Territory of Hawaii, over the Midway Island, Wake Island, Johnston Island, Sand Island, Kingman Reef, Kure Island, Baker Island, Howland Island, Jarvis Island, Canton Island, Enderbury Island, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

150. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting draft of a proposed bill to provide for the removal of civil or criminal prosecutions from a State court to the United States district court in certain cases; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

151. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill relating to allowances to certain naval officers stationed in the Canal Zone for rental quarters: to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

152. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend the act entitled "An act for making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, relative to the payment of the commuted rations of enlisted men"; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

153. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting draft of a proposed bill to repeal sections 3744, as amended, 3745, 3746, and 3747 of the Revised Statutes; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

154. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to provide for civilian naval training; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

155. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend the act of May 4, 1893 (30 Stat. 369), so as to authorize the President to appoint 100 acting assistant surgeons for temporary service; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

156. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the President of the United States to dispose of certain public vessels; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

157. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to permit warrant officers to count all active service rendered under temporary appointment as warrant or commissioned officers in the United States Naval Reserve force for the purpose of promotion to chief warrant rank; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

158. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to amend sections 712 (d) and 902 (a) of the Merchant Marine Act, as amended, relative to the requisitioning of vessels; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

159. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to repeal sections 3711 and 3712 and 3713 of the Revised Statutes which relate to the purchase in the District of Columbia of coal and wood for public use, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

160. A letter from the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, transmitting copies of the valuation of properties subject to the Interstate Commerce Act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

161. A letter from the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, transmitting the Fifty-second Annual Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

162. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropria-

tion for the Social Security Board for the fiscal year 1939 amounting to \$9,000,000 (H. Doc. No. 88); to the Committee

on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

163. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting five supplemental estimates of appropriation for the fiscal year 1939, for the Department of Agriculture, totaling \$11,680,000 (H. Doc. No. 89); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

164. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a combined statement of the receipts and expenditures, balances, etc., of the Government during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Expenditures

in the Executive Departments.

165. A letter from the United States Employees' Compensation Commission, transmitting the annual report of the United States Employees' Compensation Commission covering the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

166. A letter from the Consumers' Counsel, National Bituminous Coal Commission, transmitting the Annual Report of the Consumers' Counsel of the National Bituminous Coal Commission for the fiscal year 1937–38; to the Committee on

Ways and Means.

- 167. A letter from the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, transmitting a report of the official operations of the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.
- 168. A letter from the Postmaster General, transmitting the Annual Report of the Postmaster General for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.
- 169. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938, of the special helium-production fund; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

170. A letter from the United States Government Printing Office, transmitting the Annual Report of the Public Printer for 1938; to the Committee on Printing.

- 171. A letter from the national legislative committee, the American Legion, transmitting the financial statement of the American Legion for the first 11 months of 1938; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.
- 172. A letter from the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, transmitting Sixth Annual Report of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board for the period July 1, 1937, through June 30, 1938 (H. Doc. No. 90); to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed.

# PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. MAAS:

H. R. 1774. A bill to authorize the transfer to the State of Minnesota of the Fort Snelling Bridge at Fort Snelling, Minn.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia:

H. R. 1775. A bill providing for the appointment of one additional cadet at the United States Naval Academy, to be selected by the Governor of the Panama Canal Zone; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. BLAND:

H. R. 1776. A bill to provide for the assignment of medical officers of the Public Health Service for duty on vessels of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. SMITH of Virginia:

H. R. 1777. A bill to amend section 325 of title 39 of The Code of the Laws of the United States of America; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 1778. A bill to amend section 335 of title 39 of The Code of the Laws of the United States of America; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. CHAPMAN:

H. R. 1779. A bill authorizing the erection of a memorial to Col. Richard M. Johnson and his regiment in Scott County, Ky.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BLAND:

H. R. 1780. A bill to amend section 7 of the act of June 19, 1886, as amended (U. S. C., 1934 edition, Supp. III, title 46, sec. 319), relative to penalties on certain undocumented vessels and cargoes engaging in the coastwise trade or the fisheries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON:

H. R. 1781. A bill to amend the Revenue Act of 1936 by extending the time for filing of claims for refund of amounts paid or collected as tax under the Agricultural Adjustment Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BLAND:

H.R. 1782. A bill to amend section 4335 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relative to change of masters of vessels; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 1783 (by request). A bill to amend section 4417 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended (U.S. C., title 46, sec. 391); to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 1784. A bill to amend section 4498 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended, relative to the renewal of licenses of vessels; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 1785. A bill relating to the enforcement of the Motorboat Act of June 9, 1910, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R.1786. A bill to amend section 4325 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended, relative to renewal of licenses of vessels; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. ELLIOTT:

H. R. 1787. A bill to protect American labor; to insure employment opportunities for America's workers; to increase the purchasing power of America's farmers; to provide markets for the products of America's workers and America's farmers; to relieve the distress created through the entry into American markets of articles, goods, or commodities, the products of foreign workers, at total landed costs (including the payment of tariff duties, if any) which are less than the costs of production of similar or comparable articles, goods, or commodities, the products of America's workers and America's farmers; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 1788. A bill to confirm title to certain railroad grant lands located in the county of Kern, State of California; to

the Committee on the Public Lands.

H. R. 1789. A bill to provide that proceeds of taxes imposed under the Social Security Act with respect to employment shall be set aside in the Treasury for making old-age benefit payments under such act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 1790. A bill to authorize additions to the Sequoia National Forest, Calif., through exchanges under the act of March 20, 1922, or by proclamation or Executive order; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H. R. 1791. A bill to prevent the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LEA:

H. R. 1792. A bill to encourage travel in the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MOTT:

H. R. 1793. A bill authorizing an appropriation for the development of a naval base at Tongue Point, Oreg.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. HENDRICKS:

H. R. 1794. A bill to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the commencement, on March 2, 1937.

of the historical restoration program at St. Augustine, Fla.; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

H.R. 1795. A bill to exempt motorboats of less than 21 feet in length engaged exclusively in commercial fishing in the inland waters of the United States from carrying certain equipment prescribed by the act of June 9, 1910, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 1796. A bill to provide for travel allowance to railway mail clerks assigned to road duty; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 1797. A bill to provide payments of pensions and increase of pensions to certain veterans, their widows, and orphans; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 1798. A bill for the relief of the Board of County Commissioners of Brevard County, Fla.; to the Committee on Claims.

# By Mr. MALONEY:

H. R. 1799. A bill to exempt from the Officers' Competency Certificate Convention, 1936, all American vessels under 200 tons; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 1800. A bill to authorize the erection of a Veterans' Administration hospital in New Orleans, La., or adjacent thereto; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

### By Mr. MAAS:

H. R. 1801. A bill to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River between Fort Snelling and St. Paul, Minn.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

### By Mr. FERNANDEZ:

H. R. 1802. A bill to provide for court stenographers in the United States district courts and to fix their duties and compensation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 1803. A bill to authorize the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation to expend certain of its funds to acquaint the public with insurance benefits afforded by it; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

# By Mr. KEOGH:

H. R. 1804. A bill to provide for the construction of a post-office and Federal building at substation E, of the Brooklyn, N. Y., post office; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

### By Mr. HALL:

H. R. 1805. A bill to exempt certain small pleasure craft and fishing vessels from the operation of the Officers' Competency Certificate Convention, 1936; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

# By Mr. THOMASON:

H.R. 1806. A bill for the relief of the officers of the Russian Railway Service Corps organized by the War Department under authority of the President of the United States for service during the war with Germany; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

# By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H.R. 1807. A bill to amend section 798 of the Code of Law for the District of Columbia relating to murder in the first degree; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

# By Mr. FLAHERTY:

H. R. 1808. A bill to provide for weekly pay days for postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

## By Mr. MAGNUSON:

H.R. 1809. A bill to amend section 4426 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended by the act of Congress approved May 16, 1906; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

## By Mr. CELLER:

H. R. 1810. A bill to prevent obstruction and burdens upon interstate trade and commerce in motion-picture films, and to prevent the restraint upon the free competition in the production, distribution, and exhibition of motion-picture films, copyrighted or not copyrighted, and to prevent the further monopolization of the business of producing, dis-

tributing, and exhibiting motion pictures by prohibiting blind booking and block booking of motion-picture films and by prohibiting the arbitrary allocation of such films by distributors to theaters in which they or other distributors have an interest, direct or indirect, and by prohibiting the arbitrary refusal to book or sell such films to exhibitors in which they have no such interest; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

### By Mr. DEMPSEY:

H. R. 1811. A bill to restore certain benefits to members of the Civilian Conservation Corps and their dependents; to the Committee on Labor.

### By Mr. BURDICK:

H. R. 1812. A bill limiting the annual salaries of employees of corporations and others who apply to the Government of the United States for credit or other assistance; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

# By Mr. BOLAND:

H. R. 1813. A bill to provide for the education of all types of physically handicapped children, to make an appropriation of money therefor, and to regulate its expenditure; to the Committee on Education.

# By Mr. COLMER:

H. R. 1814. A bill to amend the Social Security Act with respect to grants to States for old-age assistance; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

### By Mr. BOLAND:

H.R. 1815. A bill to provide for the completion of the 25mile spacing of horizontal and vertical control surveys in the State of Pennsylvania; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

## By Mr. ALLEN of Louisiana:

H. R. 1816. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to provide direct old-age pensions for citizens of the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

## By Mr. COLMER:

H.R. 1817. A bill to authorize the purchase and distribution of canned oysters and other canned sea foods; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 1818. A bill to regulate sales in interstate commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

## By Mr. BLAND:

H. R. 1819. A bill to amend section 92, title 2, of the Canal Zone Code, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

# By Mr. BURDICK:

H.R. 1820. A bill making it unlawful for Members of Congress and certain other employees of the Government to receive compensation for addresses and speeches and providing a penalty therefor; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. DEMPSEY:

H. R. 1821. A bill to provide for the payment in full of the principal of awards of the Special Mexican Claims Commission; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

# By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 1822. A bill to amend the Mining Act of May 10, 1872, as amended; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

H. R. 1823 (by request). A bill to provide for the extension of oil- and gas-prospecting permits in the Territory of Alaska; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H. R. 1824. A bill to amend the first section of the act entitled "An act to reserve lands to the Territory of Alaska for educational uses, and for other purposes," approved March 4, 1915 (38 Stat. 1214); to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H. R. 1825. A bill to extend the provisions of section 23 of the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1935; to the Committee on the Territories.

### By Mr. HENDRICKS:

H.R. 1826. A bill relating to the accounts of deceased employees of the Railway Mail Service; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 1827. A bill to allow moving expenses to employees in the Railway Mail Service; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 1828. A bill to increase and equalize the pensions of the disabled ex-service men of the Regular Establishment whose disabilities were service-incurred; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DEMPSEY:

H. R. 1829. A bill to authorize the purchase of certain lands for the Apache Tribe of the Mescalero Reservation, N. Mex.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 1830. A bill to provide for covering into the reclamation fund payments to the United States in connection with certain Federal irrigation projects; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

By Mr. CELLER:

H. R. 1831. A bill providing for the refund of certain taxes paid by State and municipal officers and employees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. COLMER:

H.R. 1832. A bill authorizing the Commissioner of Lighthouses to mark a portion of the channel of the Pearl River with buoys; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 1833. A bill authorizing the Commissioner of Lighthouses to mark a portion of the Pearl River-Cat Island Channel with buoys; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 1834. A bill extending the benefits for veterans of the Spanish-American War, including the Philippine Insurrection and the China Relief Expedition, to contract veterinarians; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SNYDER:

H.R. 1939. A bill to provide for the location, survey, and building of a system of three transcontinental and six north-south highways; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. MONKIEWICZ:

H. J. Res. 62. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11, 1939, General Pulaski's Memorial Day, for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. AUSTIN:

H. J. Res. 63. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11, 1939, General Pulaski's Memorial Day, for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado:

H. J. Res. 64. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, fixing the terms of office of Representatives in Congress; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. COCHRAN:

H. J. Res. 65. Joint resolution authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to make an investigation of labor-saving and labor-displacing machinery, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MAGNUSON:

H. J. Res. 66. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BLOOM:

H. J. Res. 67. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11, 1939, General Pulaski's Memorial Day, for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H. J. Res. 68. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11, 1939, General Pulaski's Memorial Day, for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. J. Res. 69. Joint resolution to establish the General Casimir Pulaski Memorial Commission to formulate plans for the construction of a permanent memorial to the memory of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski at Savannah, Ga.; to the Committee on the Library.

H. J. Res. 70. Joint resolution to provide for the preparation, printing, and distribution of pamphlets containing the history of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski, Revolutionary War hero, on occasion of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski, on October 11, 1929, with certain biographical sketches and explanatory matter; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mrs. NORTON:

H. J. Res. 71. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing for national representation for the people of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado:

H. J. Res. 72. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to section 7, article I, of the Constitution of the United States, permitting the President of the United States to disapprove or reduce any item or appropriation of any bill passed by Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NICHOLS:

H. Res. 35. A resolution to amend rules X and XI of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

H. Res. 36. A resolution to amend rules X and XI of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. SMITH of Virginia:

H. Res. 37. A resolution to amend rule XXXV of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. TENEROWICZ:

H. Res. 38. A resolution authorizing the President of the United States to proclaim October 11, 1939, Gen. Casimir Pulaski's Memorial Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary. By Mr. BOLAND:

H. Res. 39. A resolution requesting information relating to railroads; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

# PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALLEN of Pennsylvania:

H. R. 1835. A bill for the relief of Della E. Bowman; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1836. A bill for the relief of Jack Nelson; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1837. A bill for the relief of Victoria Maghee; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 1838. A bill granting a pension to Effie Maud Anderson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1839. A bill granting an increase of pension to Hattle C. Knox; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1840. A bill granting a pension to Essie V. Dickey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN:

H. R. 1841. A bill granting an increase of pension to Thomas G. Nesseth; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1842. A bill for the relief of the city of Red Wing, Minn.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1843. A bill for the relief of the estate of K. J. Foss; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1844. A bill for the relief of Frank W. Farrington; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1845. A bill for the relief of Katherine Nelson, Katherine Tillman, Alice Mae Tillman, Robert Tillman, and Gertrude Tillman; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1846. A bill for the relief of Malachy Ryan; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BARRY:

H.R. 1847. A bill to authorize the cancelation of deportation proceedings in the case of Apostolos Vasili Percas; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 1848. A bill to authorize the cancelation of deportation proceedings in the cases of Nunziata Verna Di Palma and her daughter Florence Di Palma; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

LXXXIV-9

H. R. 1849. A bill to authorize the cancelation of deportation proceedings in the cases of Antonina Ciciotti Contestabile and others; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BLOOM:

H.R. 1850. A bill for the relief of John Fleckstein; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BOLAND:

H. R. 1851. A bill granting World War veterans' compensation to John Paszczuk; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 1852. A bill granting a renewal of Patent No. 1,327,755 relating to drawer or shelf lining; to the Committee on Patents.

H. R. 1853. A bill for the relief of Mary Frost and Joseph F. Frost; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1854. A bill for the relief of John P. Poluke; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1855. A bill granting a pension to Mary Elizabeth O'Keefe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1856. A bill granting a pension to Joseph L. Chapman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1857. A bill for the relief of Nell Mullen; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1858. A bill for the relief of Patrick James Durkin; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1859. A bill for the relief of Henry Bowden; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1860. A bill for the relief of Joseph Kenney; to the

Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1861. A bill for the relief of Teresa Coyne, widow of Michael Coyne; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1862. A bill for the relief of Frank A. Adamus; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1863. A bill for the relief of David A. Gould; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1864. A bill for the relief of Charles Werwinski; to

the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1865. A bill for the relief of Richard Matthew Halli-

nan; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1866. A b'll for the relief of Ambrose J. Murray; to

the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1867. A bill for the relief of the Katharine W. Murray Trust; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BREWSTER:

H. R. 1868. A bill for the relief of G. W. Blanchard; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BUCK:

H. R. 1869. A bill granting a pension to Georgene F. Jackson; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1870. A bill granting a pension to Margaretta Saugstad; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CANNON of Florida:

H. R. 1871. A bill to restore Charles N. Liqued to the retired list of the Navy as a lieutenant, United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. CELLER:

H. R. 1872. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Peter Galatro, parents of Michael Galatro, deceased minor son; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1873. A bill for the relief of Edward W. Gilkes; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. COLMER:

H. R. 1874. A bill for the relief of E. V. Maki; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DEMPSEY:

H. R. 1875. A bill for the relief of the Women's Board of Domestic Missions; to the Committee on Claims,

H. R. 1876. A bill for the relief of Nadine Sanders; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ELLIOTT:

H. R. 1877. A bill for the relief of Walter W. Newcomer; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1878. A bill for the relief of the heirs of C. H. Pyle; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FERNANDEZ:

H. R. 1879. A bill to confer jurisdiction on the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana to hear the claim of Mrs. Theodore Hebert, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1880. A bill for the relief of Mato, Miljenko, Bozo, and Augustin Cibilic or Zibilich; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. FULMER:

H. R. 1881. A bill for the relief of Anne Boice; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GEHRMANN:

H.R. 1882. A bill for the relief of Otis M. Culver, Samuel E. Abbey, and Joseph Reger; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HAWKS:

H. R. 1883. A bill for the relief of Marguerite Kuenzi; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HENDRICKS:

H. R. 1884. A bill granting a pension to Augusta I. Hazel-wood; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1885. A bill granting a pension to Mary Hardy Milburn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1886. A bill granting a pension to Emma Washburn; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1887. A bill granting a pension to Minnie F. Leach;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1888. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth Smith;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1889. A bill granting a pension to Bessie Hall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1890. A bill granting a pension to Mrs. John H. Kuester; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1891. A bill granting a pension to Susie E. Payne; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1892. A bill granting a pension to Alta Manypenny; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1893. A bill granting a pension to Lillie Daley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1894. A bill for the relief of Rupert Caviness, Inc., Ocala, Fla.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KEOGH:

H. R. 1895. A bill to authorize the cancelation of deportation proceedings in the case of Nathan Fink; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. KINZER:

H. R. 1896. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah D. Stauffer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1897. A bill granting an increase of pension to Nancy Campbell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1898. A bill granting an increase of pension to Hettie A. Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1899. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emma J. Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1900. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elmira Diffenderfer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1901. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emma Barnholt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1902. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emma V. Morton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1903. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah J. Lafferty; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LEA:

H. R. 1904. A bill for the relief of Filiberto A. Bonaventura; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. LUDLOW:

H. R. 1905. A bill granting a pension to George E. Ryan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MALONEY:

H. R. 1906. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of Bernard Schnaufer; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MAAS:

H. R. 1907. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Lawrence Chlebeck; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1908. A bill for the relief of the Detroit Fidelity & Surety Co. of Detroit, Mich.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1909. A bill for the relief of Siems-Helmers, Inc.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MAGNUSON:

H. R. 1910. A bill for the relief of Charles R. Randall; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1911. A bill for the relief of Martha A. Donaldson; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1912. A bill for the relief of the estate of Alfred Batrack; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1913. A bill for the relief of William E. Beldin; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1914. A bill for the relief of Forest F. Gott and Emeline Gott; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1915. A bill for the relief of Michael P. Dowling; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1916. A bill to admit Mrs. Henry Francis Parks permanently to the United States; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mrs. NORTON:

H. R. 1917. A bill for the relief of Vincent F. Leslie; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1918. A bill to provide for the coinage of medals to be presented to Capt. John Bogan, Sr., and to the members of the crew of the fishing sloop *Paramount*; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

H. R. 1919. A bill for the relief of Edward M. Brodie; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1920. A bill for the relief of Frank A. Fical; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PLUMLEY:

H. R. 1921. A bill granting an increase of pension to Julia Cowdery Walker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1922. A bill granting a pension to Clara Garvin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RUTHERFORD:

H. R. 1923. A bill granting an increase of pension to Nelle G. Eckman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1924. A bill granting an increase of pension to Almira Kshinka; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1925. A bill granting an increase of pension to Hanna Sophia Westcott; to the Committee of Pensions.

H.R. 1926. A bill granting a pension to Mae E. Fletcher; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 1927. A bill granting a pension to Ruby C. Fletcher; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1928. A bill granting a pension to Lulu Melick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1929. A bill granting a pension to Stella Viola Ruckel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1930. A bill granting a pension to Jeannette Landon; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1931. A bill granting a pension to Manning E. Wilson; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 1932. A bill to authorize the cancelation of deportation proceedings in the case of Jacob Tabah, wife, Esther, and daughters Bertha, Dora, Rosa, and Angela; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 1933. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary Saxton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1934. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ella Parsons; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1935. A bill for the relief of Wilfred J. Drey; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1936. A bill granting a pension to Fred C. Vanderpool; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1937. A bill granting a pension to Lulu Marbaker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 1933. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary

M. Card; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
 H. R. 1940. A bill granting an increase of pension to Alice
 A. Tyrrel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 1941. A bill granting a pension to Matie Patrey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SPENCE:

H. R. 1942. A bill granting a pension to Caroline Julia Porter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. THOMASON:

H.R. 1943. A bill for the relief of Elizabeth Davis; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WELCH:

H.R. 1944. A bill for the relief of Ira Glotfelter; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

## SENATE

# Monday, January 9, 1939

(Legislative day of Thursday, January 5, 1939)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

FREDERICK HALE, a Senator from the State of Maine, HENRY CABOT LODGE, Jr., a Senator from the State of Massachusetts, and HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, a Senator from the State of Minnesota, appeared in their seats today.

### THE JOHRNAL

On request of Mr. Barkley, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Thursday, January 5, 1939, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

### ADMINISTRATION OF OATH TO SENATOR BONE

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I understand the senior Senator from Washington [Mr. Bone] is present, and desires to take the oath of office.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The credentials of the Senator from Washington were presented on the opening day of the session and are in the Record and on file. If the Senator from Washington desires to take the oath at the present time the Chair will be glad to administer it to him.

Mr. Bone, escorted by Mr. Barkley, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to him by the Vice President.

### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Hess, one of his secretaries.

## NATIONAL FOREST RESERVATION COMMISSION

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair announces the reappointment, pursuant to law, of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. George] as a member of the National Forest Reservation Commission.

### JOINT COMMITTEE ON FORESTRY

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair announces the appointment of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Bulow] as a member on the part of the Senate of the Joint Committee on Forestry, created under authority of Senate Concurrent Resolution 31, Seventy-fifth Congress, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Hon. W. G. McAdoo, former Senator from the State of California.

### INVESTIGATION OF PHOSPHATE RESOURCES

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair announces the appointment of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Logan] as a member of the Special Joint Congressional Committee to Investigate the Adequacy and Use of the Phosphate Resources of the United States, created by Public Resolution 112, approved June 16, 1938, to fill the vacancy caused by the expiration of the term of service of Hon. James P. Pope, former Senator from the State of Idaho.

# REPORT OF THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read and referred to the Committee on Civil Service, as follows:

## To the Congress of the United States:

As required by the act of Congress to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States approved January 16, 1883, I transmit herewith the Fifty-fifth Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

[Note: Report accompanied similal message to the House of Representatives.]

THE CHATTANOOGA FLOOD-CONTROL PROBLEM

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Commerce, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith for the information of Congress a letter from the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority, submitting a report entitled "The Chattanooga Flood Problem," made pursuant to the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933.

The attention of the Congress is invited to the suggestion of the Board that the report be printed as a Senate or House document.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

REPORT OF ALLEY DWELLING AUTHORITY FOR THE DISTRICT

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the provisions of section 5 (a) of the District of Columbia Alley Dwelling Act, approved June 12, 1934, I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress the report of the Alley Dwelling Authority for the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

REPORT OF GOVERNOR OF THE PANAMA CANAL

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying report, referred to the Committee on Interoceanic Canals, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress the Annual Report of the Governor of the Panama Canal for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

REPORT OF NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR AERONAUTICS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

In compliance with the provisions of the act of March 3, 1915, establishing the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, I transmit herewith the Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Committee covering the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938

Franklin D. Roosevelt.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

[Note: Report accompanied similar message to the House of Representatives.]

REPORT OF THE FEDERAL FIRE COUNCIL

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith for the information of Congress the Second Annual Report of the Federal Fire Council.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

[Note: Report accompanied similar message to the House of Representatives.]

REPORT OF PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES (H. DOC. NO. 94)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read and referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

As required by paragraph (3) of section 7 of the act of Congress approved March 24, 1934, entitled "An act to provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands, to provide for the adoption of a constitution and a form of government for the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes," I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress the Second Annual Report of the President of the Philippines to the President and the Congress of the United States covering the calendar year ended December 31, 1937.

Franklin D. Roosevelt.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

[Note: Report accompanied similar message to the House of Representatives.]

REPORT OF HIGH COMMISSIONER TO THE PHILIPPINES (H. DOC. NO. 93)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read and referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

As required by section 7 (4) of the act of Congress approved March 24, 1934, entitled "An act to provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands, to provide for the adoption of a constitution and a form of government for the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes," I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress the Second Report of the United States High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands covering the calendar year 1937.

I concur in the recommendation of the Secretary of War that this report be printed as a congressional document.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

[Note: Report accompanied similar message to the House of Representatives.]

EXPENDITURES FOR EDUCATION OF NATIVES OF ALASKA

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the provisions of the act of August 9, 1937, I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress a report covering the expenditures made from the appropriation "Education of natives of Alaska, 1938–39," for the relief of destitution of natives of Alaska during the fiscal year 1938.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

LAWS OF LEGISLATURE OF PUERTO RICO

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying document, referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

As required by section 23 of the act of Congress approved March 2, 1917, entitled "An act to provide a civil government

for Porto Rico, and for other purposes," I transmit herewith certified copies of laws enacted by the Fourteenth Legislature of Puerto Rico during its second regular session, February 14 to April 15, 1938.

Franklin D. Roosevelt.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, his annual report on the state of the finances for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Finance.

### REPORT ON PERSHING HALL, PARIS, FRANCE

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, an itemized report of expenditures made in connection with Pershing Hall, in Paris, France, during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, and from June 30, 1938, to December 31, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

REPORT OF SURGEON GENERAL OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE (H. DOC. NO. 2)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service for the fiscal year 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

### MARGARET ROSE UNCAPHER AND OTHERS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation for the relief of Margaret Rose Uncapher and others, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Claims.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CREDIT UNIONS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to transfer the jurisdiction over District of Columbia credit unions from the Commissioners of the District and the Comptroller of the Currency to the Farm Credit Administration, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

## REPORT OF FEDERAL ALCOHOL ADMINISTRATION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Administrator of the Federal Alcohol Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Annual Report of the Administration, covering the period from December 15, 1937, to December 15, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Finance.

REPORT OF NATIONAL BOARD FOR PROMOTION OF RIFLE PRACTICE

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the activities of the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

# EXPENDITURES OF COURT OF CUSTOMS AND PATENT APPEALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Attorney General, transmitting, pursuant to law, a statement for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, of expenditures under the appropriations for the United States Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, which, with the accompanying statement, was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## REPORT OF BONNEVILLE PROJECT ADMINISTRATOR

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, the first annual report of the administrator of the Bonneville project (Oregon-Washington) for the period November 1, 1937, to June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

### SPECIAL HELIUM-PRODUCTION FUND

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, submitting, pursuant to law, an annual report showing credits, disbursements, and the balance on hand in the special helium-production fund for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

### REPORT OF ST. ELIZABETHS HOSPITAL

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of receipts and expenditures of St. Elizabeths Hospital for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

# REPORT OF THE CONSUMERS' COUNSEL, NATIONAL BITUMINOUS COAL COMMISSION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Consumers' Counsel of the National Bituminous Coal Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, his annual report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

### REPORT ON FOREST ROADS AND TRAILS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the appropriations for forest roads and trails for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

# EMPLOYMENT OF ALIENS BY GOVERNMENTAL DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate letters from Secretaries and officials of the Department of Agriculture, Department of Commerce, Department of Justice, Department of Labor, Federal Reserve System, Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, Home Owners' Loan Corporation, Maritime Commission, National Bituminous Coal Commission, Social Security Board, Department of State, Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Co., Veterans' Administration, Works Progress Administration, War Department, Tennessee Valley Authority, and National Youth Administration, transmitting, in response to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938, lists containing the names of aliens employed in the respective departments and agencies of the Government, and the reasons for such employment, which, with the accompanying papers, were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate letters from the Acting Postmaster General and officials of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission, Central Statistical Board, Civil Service Commission, Civilian Conservation Corps, Commodity Credit Corporation, General Accounting Office, Employees' Compensation Commission, Farm Credit Corporation, Federal Trade Commission, Foreign-Trade Zones Board, Mixed Claims Commission, United States and Germany, National Academy of Sciences, The National Archives, National Labor Relations Board, National Capital Park and Planning Commission, National Mediation Board, Railroad Retirement Board, United States Board of Tax Appeals, Federal Home Loan Bank Board, United States Tariff Commission, Electric Home and Farm Authority, and Federal Communications Commission stating, in response to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938, that no aliens were employed in the respective departments and agencies of the Government, which, with the accompanying papers, were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

### REPORT OF NATIONAL MUNITIONS CONTROL BOARD (H. DOC. NO. 92)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter signed by the Chairman and members of the National Munitions Control Board, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Third Annual Report of the Board for the year ended November 30,

1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

REPORT OF UNITED STATES EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION COMMISSION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the secretary of the United States Employees' Compensation Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

STUDY OF INVESTMENT TRUSTS AND INVESTMENT COMPANIES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate three letters from the Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, chapters I, II, III, IV, and V, respectively, of the Commission's report on its study of investment trusts and investment companies, which, with the accompanying reports, were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

### REPORT OF NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Board's annual report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, together with volumes III to VII, inclusive, of the decisions of the Board and a list of its personnel, which, with the accompanying report and papers, was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

### DISMISSAL OF CASE BY COURT OF CLAIMS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the assistant clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of dismissal on November 14, 1938, for want of prosecution, of the case of Julian C. Smith, Chapman S. Clark, and Frederick von Kopff, trustees, Chapman S. Clark, Nannie M. Clark, referred to the court under the Judicial Code, which was referred to the Committee on Claims.

### REPORT OF SECRETARY OF THE SENATE (S. DOC. NO. 1)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Senate, transmitting, pursuant to law, his annual report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

### REPORT OF THE PUBLIC PRINTER

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Public Printer, transmitting, pursuant to law, his annual report of the operations of the Government Printing Office for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Printing.

## REPORT OF REGISTER OF COPYRIGHTS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Librarian of Congress, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Annual Report of the Register of Copyrights for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on the Library.

# REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the president of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the official operations of the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

### REPORT OF THE ARCHIVIST

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, his annual report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on the Library.

### DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE PAPERS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate letters from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, lists of papers and documents on the files of the Departments of State, War, Interior, and Agriculture, and the Veterans' Administration, the Smithsonian Institution, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Census of Partial Employment, Unemployment, and Occupations, which are not needed in the conduct of business and have no permanent value or historical interest, and requesting action looking to their disposition, which, with the accompanying papers, were referred to a Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Papers in the Executive Departments.

The VICE PRESIDENT appointed Mr. Barkley and Mr. Gibson members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

### SURVEY RELATIVE TO THE INVESTMENT OF NEW CAPITAL

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the president of the National Association of Manufacturers, transmitting data as to the results of a survey made by the National Association of Manufacturers of the sentiment of investors toward the investment of new capital, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Women's Unemployed Council and the Women's Economic Federation of Omaha, Nebr., favoring the continuation of Federal relief and the employment of persons able to work by the Works Progress Administration, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Board of Aldermen of the City of Chelsea, Mass., protesting against the purging by the Works Progress Administration of persons eligible for old-age assistance and favoring the consideration of each case on its merits, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Columbia Heights Citizens' Association, Washington, D. C., protesting against the enactment of legislation to tax excessively so-called chain stores, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate petitions of sundry citizens of the States of Illinois and California, favoring the enactment of general-welfare legislation providing old-age assistance, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a memorial of Ireaneus J. Leitemeyer Post, No. 1982, Veterans of Foreign Wars, of New Iberia, La., remonstrating against the apparent want of solicitude on the part of the National Government for the domestic sugar industry, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of the States of Florida, Ohio, and Illinois, praying for the continuation of the Special Committee of the House of Representatives to Investigate Un-American Activities, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. REYNOLDS, by unanimous consent, presented a resolution adopted at Reidsville, N. C., by the Fifth District Congressional Tobacco Control Association of North Carolina, favoring the enactment of legislation for the control of the production and marketing of tobacco, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

### MODIFICATION OF THE NEUTRALITY LAW-PETITION

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I present a petition signed by Rev. A. J. Blaufuss and 800 other citizens of Topeka, Kans., protesting against modification of the provisions of the Neutrality Act so as to allow sale of munitions and war supplies to participants in the Spanish civil war. The petition reads as follows:

We the undersigned respectfully petition the Congress for as long as we shall adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principles enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts.

In this connection, Mr. President, I desire to say that I believe the United States should adhere to the principle of neutrality as attempted to be laid down in the existing Neutrality Act. I conceive the Neutrality Act was written to enable the United States to remain neutral and not for the purpose of enabling the United States to help decide foreign wars without actually participating as a belligerent. I believe that is the proper basis for our foreign policy.

I ask that the petition be referred to the Committee on

Foreign Relations.

otherwise:

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the petition will be received and referred as requested by the Senator from Kansas.

### STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I submit a resolution, which fixes the number of Members to constitute the committees of the Senate for the present Congress. It is not necessary to read it. There are only three changes made. One committeeman is added to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, one to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, and one to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present

consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the resolution (S. Res. 39) was considered and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That paragraph 1 of rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate be, and it is hereby, amended so as to read as follows:
"1. The following standing committees shall be appointed at the commencement of each Congress, with leave to report by bill or

"Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, to consist of 20 Senators.

"Committee on Appropriations, to consist of 24 Senators.
"Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to consist of four Senators, to which shall be referred all resolutions directing the payment of money out of the contingent fund of the Senate or creating a charge upon the same: Provided, That any such resolution relating to substantive matter within the jurisdiction of any other standing committee of the Senate shall be first referred to such committee.

first referred to such committee.

"Committee on Banking and Currency, to consist of 20 Senators.

"Committee on Civil Service, to consist of 10 Senators.

"Committee on Claims, to consist of 13 Senators.

"Committee on Commerce, to consist of 20 Senators.

"Committee on the District of Columbia, to consist of 15 Senators.

"Committee on Education and Labor, to consist of 13 Senators.

"Committee on Enrolled Bills, to consist of three Senators, who shall examine all bills, amendments, and joint resolutions before they go out of the possession of the Senate, and which shall have power to act jointly with the same committee of the House of Representatives, and which, or some one of which, shall examine all bills or joint resolutions which shall have passed both Houses, to see that the same are correctly enrolled, and, when signed by the Speaker of the House and President of the Senate, shall forthwith Speaker of the House and President of the Senate, shall forthwith present the same, when they shall have originated in the Senate, to the President of the United States in person, and report the fact

and date of such presentation to the Senate.

"Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, to consist of seven Senators.

"Committee on Finance, to consist of 21 Senators.
"Committee on Foreign Relations, to consist of 23 Senators.
"Committee on Immigration, to consist of 14 Senators.
"Committee on Indian Affairs, to consist of 14 Senators.
"Committee on Interoceanic Canals, to consist of eight Senators.

"Committee on Interstate Commerce, to consist of 21 Senators, "Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, to consist of 17 Sen-

"Committee on the Judiciary, to consist of 18 Senators.

"Committee on the Library, to consist of 10 Senators, which shall have power to act jointly with the same committee of the House of Representatives.

"Committee on Manufactures, to consist of 13 Senators.

"Committee on Military Affairs, to consist of 18 Senators.

"Committee on Mines and Mining, to consist of 13 Senators.

"Committee on Newsl Affairs, to consist of 17 Senators.

"Committee on Naval Affairs, to consist of 17 Senators.
"Committee on Patents, to consist of 17 Senators.
"Committee on Patents, to consist of seven Senators.
"Committee on Pensions, to consist of 11 Senators.
"Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, to consist of 19

"Committee on Printing, to consist of eight Senators, which shall have power to act jointly with the same committee of the House

of Representatives.

"Committee on Privileges and Elections, to consist of 17 Senators.

"Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to consist of 14 Senators, which shall have power to act jointly with the same committee of the House of Representatives.

"Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, to consist of 15 Senators.

"Committee on Rules, to consist of 13 Senaturs.

"Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, to consist of 17

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I should like to supplement what has just been said by stating that the able Senator from Kentucky and I will report the committee assignments

for the respective sides tomorrow.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator from Oregon simply stated what is obvious, that we hope to be able to report the committee lists tomorrow. The Senator from Oregon is correct. We will have to postpone doing that until tomorrow. However, the committees may proceed with their work with their present members because they are continuing anyway, and if there is any difficulty it will be cured tomorrow. We will, therefore, have a session tomorrow. That, so far as I know, will be all the business to be transacted. For that reason, unless there are routine matters to be presented, I shall make a motion. If any Senators now wish to introduce bills by unanimous consent or submit resolutions, I will withhold the motion I was about to make.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Kentucky what was the motion he intended to make?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Kentucky suggested that if any Senators desired to introduce bills or submit resolutions or make unanimous-consent requests, now is the proper time to do it.

Mr. BARKLEY. I stated that I would have no objection. of course, to the presentation of such matters, although we

have no morning hour today.

### BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. FRAZIER:

S. 413. A bill to liquidate and refinance agricultural indebtedness at a reduced rate of interest by establishing an efficient credit system, through the use of the Farm Credit Administration and the Federal Reserve banking system; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

S. 414. A bill for the relief of the Indians of the Fort

Berthold Reservation in North Dakota; and

S. 415. A bill to amend Public Law No. 383, Seventy-third Congress (48 Stat. L. 984), relating to Indians, by exempting from the provisions of such act any Indian tribe on the Standing Rock Reservation located in the States of North and South Dakota; to the Committee on Indian

By Mr. NEELY:

S. 416. A bill to restore to the Neill Grocery Co., of Wheeling, W. Va., the sum of \$900, the amount of counsel fee paid by said Neill Grocery Co. in an action brought against them August 10, 1917; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 417. A bill granting a pension to Ella Adkins; and

S. 418. A bill granting a pension to Elijah Stephens; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GUFFEY:

S. 419. A bill for the relief of Luke A. Westenberger; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 420. A bill to increase the punishment for espionage; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILEY:

S. 421. A bill for the relief of the estate of O. K. Himley; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 422. A bill to amend section 531 of the Social Security Act, relating to vocational rehabilitation; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. MALONEY:

S. 423. A bill granting a pension to Mary P. Champion;

S. 424. A bill granting a pension to Lillian Stevenson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McNARY:

S. 425. A bill for the relief of Herbert Franklin Thomas; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 426. A bill to amend section 601 (c) of the Revenue Act of 1932, as amended, to provide for an excise tax on egg products; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 427. A bill granting a pension to Fred Burns;

S. 428. A bill granting a pension to Richard Collier;

S. 429. A bill granting a pension to Annie L. Mong; and

S. 430. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth R. Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HARRISON:

S. 431. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Quitman Smith; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HAYDEN:

S. 432. A bill to provide for the public auction of certain town lots within the city of Parker, Ariz.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

S. 433. A bill granting an increase of pension to Nellie L. Fickett: and

S. 434. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lorenzo D. Walters; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HILL:

S.435. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims of the United States to hear, consider, and render judgment on the claim of Alabama Mineral Land Co. against the United States arising out of the conveyance of certain lands; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LOGAN:

S. 436. A bill to amend the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933 by including the Cumberland River and its basin within the provisions of the act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

S. 437. A bill for the relief of Wavy Duvall, father of Mary Cathline Duvall, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 433. A bill to repeal and reenact section 83 of the Judicial Code, as amended, relating to Federal court districts in the State of Kentucky; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 439. A bill to confer the Distinguished Service Medal on Col. Richard C. Patterson;

S. 440. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Alabama Lewis Poole;

S. 441. A bill to authorize the award of a decoration for distinguished service to John C. Reynolds; and

S.442. A bill to authorize the award of the Congressional Medal of Honor for distinguished service to Pleas Sanders; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CLARK of Missouri:

S. 443. A bill for the relief of the Edwin F. Guth Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CAPPER:

S. 444. A bill for the relief of John F. Thomas (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Civil Service.

S. 445. A bill granting a pension to William Edward Fugatt; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GILLETTE and Mr. CAPPER:

S. 446. A bill to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1921; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. GILLETTE:

S. 447. A bill for the relief of officers and soldiers of the Volunteer service of the United States mustered into service for the War with Spain and who were held in service in the Philippine Islands after the ratification of the treaty of peace, April 11, 1899; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 448. A bill to divorce the businesses of production, refining, and transporting of petroleum products from that of marketing petroleum products; to the Committee on the

Judiciary.

S. 449. A bill to readjust the allowances of retired enlisted men of the Navy and Marine Corps; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 450. A bill granting a pension to H. Emma Streepy; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

S. 451. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims of the United States to hear, consider, and render judgment on certain claims of George A. Carden and Anderson T. Herd against the United States," approved June 13, 1934; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 452. A bill for the relief of Earl J. Thomas; and

S. 453. A bill relating to personal-injury suits by seamen, and to amend article (b), title 46, section 599, United States Code, Annotated, act of June 26, 1884 (ch. 121, art. 10, 23 Stat. 55), as amended June 5, 1920 (ch. 250, art. 32, 41 Stat. 1006), so as to authorize allotments of wages by seamen; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 454. A bill for the relief of Ernest S. Frazier;

S. 455. A bill for the relief of Joe V. Adair;

S. 456. A bill for the relief of the officers of the Russian Railway Service Corps organized by the War Department under authority of the President of the United States for service during the war with Germany;

S. 457. A bill to amend the World War Adjusted Compen-

sation Act; and

S. 458. A bill extending the benefits of the Emergency Officers' Retirement Act of May 24, 1928, to provisional, probationary, or temporary officers of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard who served during the World War; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 459. A bill for the relief of Ollie Albert Mikulenka; to

the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 460. A bill granting a pension to Creed M. Click; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ELLENDER:

S. 461. A bill to extend the time for commencing and completing bridges across Cross Bayou, Twelve Mile Bayou, and Caddo Lake in Caddo Parish, La.; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. HATCH:

S. 462. A bill relating to the compensation of jury commissioners; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GEORGE:

S. 463. A bill for the relief of the Fitzgerald Leader;

S. 464. A bill for the relief of Alonzeda Jones; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 465. A bill for the relief of Jesse W. Smith; and

S. 466. A bill awarding the Distinguished Service Medal to Capt. Edgar B. Dunlap, Infantry, Eighty-second Division; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

S. 467. A bill granting a pension to Lettie N. Cooper; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

S. 468. A bill for the relief of Phil Ernest Wallace and Naomie Wallace; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 469. A bill granting an increase of pension to Alma H. Aultman; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MURRAY:

S. 470. A bill for the relief of Alice Minnick; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 471. A bill to provide for tuberculosis hospitals and their operation; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 472. A bill to transfer the United States Employment Service from the Department of Labor to the Social Security Board; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

S. 473. A bill for the relief of George Francis Burke; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 474. A bill to amend section 92 of the Judicial Code to provide for a term of court at Kalispell, Mont.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 475. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent for certain lands to Jordon N. Bean; and

S. 476. A bill authorizing the Secretary of War to lease or sell the mineral rights of the United States in certain lands in Lewis and Clark County, Mont., to Thomas C. Cooper; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

S. J. Res. 31. Joint resolution relating to the employment or maintenance of unemployed veterans of the Spanish-American and World Wars; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

S. J. Res. 32. Joint resolution to investigate the claims against the United States of certain members of the Wisconsin Band of Pottawatomie Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. WILEY:

S. J. Res. 33. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim October 11 of each year General Pulaski's Memorial Day for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CAPPER:

S. J. Res. 34. Joint resolution for the relief of W. K. Richardson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. J. Res. 35. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for national representation for the people of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

### CHANGE OF REFERENCE

On motion by Mr. George, the Committee on Military Affairs was discharged from the further consideration of the bill (S. 134) providing for continuing retirement pay, under certain conditions, of officers and former officers of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps of the United States, other than officers of the Regular Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, who incurred physical disability while in the service of the United States during the World War, and for other purposes, and it was referred to the Committee on Finance.

### HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

Mr. HARRISON submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 40), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized to sit during the sessions or recesses of the Seventy-sixth Congress at such times and places as it may deem advisable; to make investigations into internal revenue, customs, and other matters within its jurisdiction, and to compile and prepare statistics and documents relating thereto as directed from time to time by the Senate and as may be necessary; and to report from time to time to the Senate the result thereof, to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ such expert, stenographic, clerical, and other assistance as may be necessary; and all the expenses of such committee shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

## HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON MINES AND MINING

Mr. LOGAN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 41), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Mines and Mining, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate.

# HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON TERRITORIES AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

Mr. TYDINGS submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 42), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers; to admirfister oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be before said committee, the expenses thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

### HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 43), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Indian Affairs, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per 100 words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

### HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

Mr. RUSSELL submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 44), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Immigration, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

### HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. ASHURST submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 45), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate.

### ASSISTANT CLERK, COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. ASHURST submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 46), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary hereby is authorized to employ an assistant clerk to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at the rate of \$960 per annum until the end of the Seventy-sixth Congress.

### ASSISTANT CLERK, COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

Mr. RUSSELL submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 47), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That resolution No. 57, Seventy-fifth Congress, agreed to February 10, 1937, and continued by subsequent resolutions through the Seventy-fifth Congress, authorizing the Committee on Immigration to employ an assistant clerk to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at the rate of \$2,400 per annum, hereby is continued in full force and effect until the end of the Seventy-sixth Congress.

### FUNERAL EXPENSES OF THE LATE SENATOR COPELAND

Mr. WAGNER submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 48), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate the actual and necessary expenses incurred by the committee appointed by the Vice President in arranging for and attending the funeral of Hon. Royal S. Copeland, late a Senator from the State of New York, upon vouchers to be approved by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

### PROCEDURE IN NEGOTIATION OF FOREIGN-TRADE AGREEMENTS

Mr. O'MAHONEY. On behalf of a number of Senators from some of the sugar-producing States I submit a resolution, and ask that it be referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, may we not have the resolution read from the desk?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 49) was read, as follows:

Whereas the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act of June 12, 1934, as extended, requires "before any foreign trade agreement is concluded with any foreign government or instrumentality thereof under the provisions of this act, reasonable public notice of the intention to negotiate an agreement with such government or instrumentality shall be given in order that any interested person may have an opportunity to present his views to the President or to such agency as the President may designate under such rules and regulations as the President may prescribe"; and

Whereas an official representative of the Cuban Government announced in specific detail in Habana on November 29, 1938, that a new agreement has been concluded with the Government of the United States for further reductions in American tariff duties; and

Whereas the State Department thereafter announced on December 1, 1938, its intention to negotiate the agreement heretofore defined and opened hearings on the subject on January 3, 1939: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Senate Finance Committee is instructed to inquire into this general situation and to determine the facts as to whether a new agreement was made preceding the announcement to American producers; and to report to the Senate at its earliest convenience whether existing procedure in the negotiation of trade agreements effectively provides for the notice to, and the hearings of, American producers preceding these agreements as contemplated and required by the act of June 12, 1934, as extended.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I am in accord with the objectives of the resolution. I should like to have the names of the sponsors of the resolution identified.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The names will be read. The Chief Clerk read the names, as follows:

Mr. O'Mahoney, Mr. Adams, Mr. Borah, Mr. Vandenberg, Mr. Schwartz, Mr. Murray, Mr. Thomas of Utah, Mr. Overton, Mr. Ellender, and Mr. Clark of Idaho.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I hope that early and appropriate action will be taken by the Committee on Finance, the committee to which it has been requested that the resolution be referred.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, in view of the fact that this resolution simply seeks to develop facts regarding a matter of imminence, I wonder if there would be any objection to the immediate consideration of the resolution instead of its reference to the Finance Committee.

Mr. BARKLEY. I think the resolution ought to be referred to the Finance Committee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Kentucky suggests that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Finance. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### MODIFICATION OF OIL AND GAS BOND REGULATIONS

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, on December 24 last I wrote to the Secretary of the Interior suggesting and requesting certain modifications with respect to the regulations governing the filing of lease bonds under the Oil and Gas Act, as amended. This morning the Secretary of the Interior responded to my request.

Throughout the public-land States there is wide interest in these regulations, and many Members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives representing these States have discussed the matter with the Secretary. The reply which I hold in my hand advises me that it is the intention of the Secretary of the Interior now to modify the regulations to the effect that individual sureties on a bond presented by a lessee may be residents of the State and of the United States judicial district in which the lessee resides without regard to the location of the lands.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my letter to the Secretary and his response may be printed in the RECORD as part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> UNITED STATES SENATE Washington, D. C., December 24, 1938.

Hon. HAROLD L. ICKES,

Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretarry: Numerous applications are now being filed with the Department of the Interior to exchange outstanding permits for leases under the provision of the oil and gas law. The regulations of the Department require the holders of such leases to file within 30 days a surety bond for \$1,000. This bond is conditioned, among other things, upon the payment of the rental required by the law.

This provision of the regulations imposes a severe penalty upon the applicants because no surety company will issue such a bond without full indemnity. The regulation, therefore, amounts to a

demand that the permittee put up \$1,000 in cash.

It seems to me that to condition the bond upon the payment of rental is wholly unnecessary and places an unnecessary burden upon the lessee. Moreover, after having conferred with many persons who are interested in the industry, I have come to the conclusion that the rentals required in the law could very well be materially reduced or abolished. In any event, I feel that provision could be made to credit to oil rental account all expenditures made by a lessee for the improvement of his lesse.

These and other features of the law I desire to discuss with you and your staff with a view to amendatory legislation at the forthcoming session of Congress. In the meantime, however, may I request that an announcement be immediately made to the effect that the filing of the \$1,000 lease bond will not be required for at least 90 days after the issuance of the lease instead of within 30 days as now provided by the regulations. This concession would

give me an opportunity to confer with the experts of the Department and work out a solution of the problem before the filing of any lease bond would become necessary.

Sincerely yours.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, Washington, January 9, 1939.

Hon. Joseph C. O'Mahoney, United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR O'MAHONEY: I have received your letter of MY DEAR SENATOR O'MAHONEY: I have received your letter of December 24, in the matter of lease bonds required in connection with the exchange of oil and gas prospecting permits for leases pursuant to the act of August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 674). For the reasons stated in your letter, you request that "An announcement be immediately made to the effect that the filing of the \$1,000 lease bond will not be required for at least 90 days after the issuance of the lease instead of within 30 days as now provided by the regulations".

issuance of the lease instead of within 30 days as now provided by the regulations."

The filing of the \$1,000 lease bond is a condition precedent rather than a condition subsequent to the issuance of the lease. Under the regulations of the Department, prior to the issuance of a lease in exchange for a permit, the applicant is required to furnish a \$1,000 bond conditioned upon compliance with the terms of the lease. This bond may be filed in one of three alternative forms, (a) with approved corporate surety, (b) with two qualified individual sureties when duly supported by affidavits of justification by such sureties and by a certificate as to their identity, signatures, and financial competency, or (c) without surety, upon deposit of negotiable Federal securities in a sum equal at their par value to the amount of the bond. If a \$1,000 bond is filed with individuals as sureties, the regulations require that the sureties must be residents of the State and the United States Judicial District in which the lands are located and that they be worth in real property, not exempt from execution, double the amount of the undertaking.

In acting upon applications to exchange permits for leases, the

amount of the undertaking.

In acting upon applications to exchange permits for leases, the General Land Office has followed the long-established administrative practice of allowing the applicant 30 days from receipt of notice within which to execute the lease forms and to furnish the bond. The aforesaid time limit of 30 days, however, is not a mandatory rule. The Department has always pursued a liberal policy with regard to the granting of extensions of time in proper cases, and no change in this policy is contemplated. A reasonable extension of time within which to furnish a bond will not be refused in a particular case should a request therefor be made. You and other Members of Congress interested in public land

You and other Members of Congress interested in public land matters have expressed great concern regarding the requirement of this Department that individual sureties on a bond must be residents of the State and of the United States judicial district in which the lands involved are located. It has been earnestly represented that this requirement does not afford the relief it contemplates since many of the permittees are nonresidents of the State in which the lands involved are located and, therefore, cannot secure personal sureties except in the State in which they reside. In the light of that situation, the Department is urged to waive the requirement that individual sureties on a lease bond

must be residents of the State and United States judicial district in which the lands involved are located.

While I am not fully convinced of the need for changing the regulations in view of the alternative form of bond which may be submitted, there is some merit to the contention that with regard to individual surety bonds nonresident permittees do not receive the same favorable treatment that is accorded permittees who reside in the State in which the lands involved are located. Appropriate revision will, therefore, be made in the regulations to remedy that situation. Pending such revision, I have instructed the Commissioner of the General Land Office to issue a general notice to all applicants who have applied to exchange their permits for lesses that individual super bonds if otherwise notice to all applicants who have applied to exchange their permits for leases that individual surety bonds, if otherwise satisfactory, will be regarded as acceptable if the principal and sureties thereon reside in the same State and United States judicial district, notwithstanding that the lands involved may be located in another State. In order that all applicants may be afforded ample opportunity to submit the required \$1,000 lease bond, I have also directed the Commissioner to withhold for a period of \$60 days adverse action on all applications to exchange permits for leases.

I have noted your comments regarding the rental provisions of the act of August 21, 1935, and your suggestion that appropriate amendatory legislation appears necessary. While I am now unable to perceive the need for amending the act, this Department will, of course, give full and careful consideration to any proposals made in the course of the discussions which you suggest.

Sincerely yours,

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. ICKES, Secretary of the Interior.

SENATOR CLARK OF MISSOURI-ARTICLE FROM THE CENSOR

[Mr. Shipstead asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an article on Senator Clark of Missouri published in the December 22 issue of the magazine Censor, of St. Louis, Mo., which appears in the Appendix.1

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS-ADDRESS BY SENATOR THOMAS OF UTAH

[Mr. Logan asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address on the subject The United States in

World Affairs delivered by Senator Thomas of Utah at the Institute of World Affairs, Riverside, Calif., on December 16, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

### CASE OF ERBY HARRISON, OF TENNESSEE

[Mr. McKellar asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Federal Senatorial Campaign Expenses and Use of Governmental Funds in 1938 relative to the case of Erby Harrison, of Tennessee, and also a letter and two telegrams on the same subject, which appear in the Appendix.1

## THE BUDGET-EDITORIAL FROM KANSAS CITY STAR

[Mr. Clark of Missouri asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the Kansas City Star relating to the Budget, which appears in the Appendix.1

"AIR RAID" OVER BERGEN COUNTY, N. J.

[Mr. Smathers asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Air Raid Over Bergen County," published in the Bergen (N. J.) Evening Record of December 2, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

NOMINATIONS OF HARRY HOPKINS AND JAMES P. POPE

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President-

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, if there is nothing further to come before the Senate, I am ready to make a motion to adjourn.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair feels that he should recognize the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES].

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. BARKLEY. There being nothing before the Senate, any discussion must be by unanimous consent.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It must be by unanimous consent. Mr. BARKLEY. And subject to a point of order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Kentucky is correct. The Senate is proceeding now entirely by unanimous

Mr. BARKLEY. I have no desire to choke off the Senator from New Hampshire, but I want him to understand that if he takes the floor he will proceed by unanimous consent and not under the rule.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, on Thursday last when I was speaking before this body, question was raised by the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] and the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] to the effect that I had failed to put in the RECORD letters from Mr. Harry Hopkins to Mr. Krock and to the New York Times relative to the part of my discussion concerning the nomination of Mr. Hopkins to be Secretary of Commerce. Inasmuch as this question has been raised, I have secured copies of Mr. Hopkins' letters and copies of Mr. Krock's replies, which I should like to have incorporated in the RECORD as part of my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of November 24, 1938]

Mr. Hopkins Excepts—W. P. A. Administrator and Mr. Krock Differ on a Quotation

To the Editor of the New York Times: In the New York Times, under Washington date line of November 12. Arthur Krock, in a direct quotation, reports me as having said, "We will spend and spend, tax and tax, elect and elect."

I have never made such a statement, and there is no basis in fact

for such a quotation.

HARRY L. HOPKINS,

Administrator, Works Progress Administration.
Washington, November 21, 1938.

MR. KROCK REPLIES

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

This quotation of Mr. Hopkins' views was first published elsewhere, and in September, long before the New York Times issue of November 12, and between those dates it was often reprinted, twice by me. I used and reprinted the quotation after careful verification, because, while it fitted completely into Mr. Hopkins' political philosophy as I have understood it, I wanted to be certain of the language.

Among those who heard it is a most reputable citizen of New York and, in lighter hours, a playmate of Mr. Hopkins. They were at the Empire race track in Yonkers at the time and were discussing spending and the New Deal in serious vein. Had the quotation not previously been published, or had I not verified it and been assured that it was said seriously, I should not have reprinted the remark.

I am sorry Mr. Hopkins is embarrassed by the publication, and I can well understand that it may cause special difficulties with the Senate if he is nominated to the Cabinet. But, since I know the informant to be accurate, and since his recreational associations with Mr. Hopkins are very close, I can only conclude that Mr. Hopkins has forgotten the incident, though he should easily recognize the consistency of the remark.

ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, November 23, 1938.

[From the New York Times of November 26, 1938]

HOPKINS REPEATS "SPEND-TAX" DENIAL-SECOND LETTER TO THE Times Asserts He Did Not Make Quotation Ascribed to Him— Asks "Source" Be Told—Krock Replies That He Verified State-MENT, ALTHOUGH PUBLISHED WIDELY AND NOT THEN DENIED

Washington, November 25.—Harry L. Hopkins, Works Progress Administrator, issued in the form of a general press release today a second letter to the New York Times reiterating his denial that he had ever at any time said in any form:

"We will spend and spend, and tax and tax, and elect and elect."
This quotation has been twice ascribed to Mr. Hopkins by Arthur Krock in his dispatches to this newspaper, the last publication having been November 13.

In reply tonight Mr. Krock stated that although the substantial

In reply tonight Mr. Krock stated that although the substantial quotation had previously been printed in many newspapers other than the New York Times, and Mr. Hopkins had made no denial, he had, nevertheless, before making use of it, verified the utterance in confidence to his own satisfaction. He said the source was "a friend of Mr. Hopkins of excellent repute and not at all hard of hearing"; and that this informant was at liberty to reveal himself if he wishes to do so.

### THE LETTER FROM HOPKINS

Mr. Hopkins' letter read:
"Because of the increasing widespread publication of a statement attributed to me—a statement which I never made—it becomes necessary to write to you again. The statement to which I refer was quoted by your Mr. Krock under his by-line in the New York Times of November 13.

York Times of November 13.

"On November 24 you published my letter in which I flatly denied ever having made the statement attributed to me by Mr. Krock. Along with it you also published Mr. Krock's reply, explaining he had twice used the quotation 'after careful verification.'

"What does he consider 'careful verification?' It would seem to me that the first obvious move in any sincere attempt to learn the truth would have been for Mr. Krock to ask me about it. He made no effort to consult me. I would have told him, as I have since stated, that the quotation was absolutely inaccurate.

"Bepublication of the statement has reached such proportions."

"Republication of the statement has reached such proportions that if only in the interest of truth and in entire disregard of me

as an individual the record should now be set aright.

### ASKS "SOURCE" OF THE STORY

"I appreciate the fact newspapermen seldom disclose sources of information coming to them. I have not therefore previously asked Mr. Krock to disclose the identity of the person from whom the statement allegedly came. On the other hand, however, you have a perfect right, as Mr. Krock's publisher, to ascertain the

"Has not the public now an equal right, without transgressing upon the principle of freedom of the press, to be told who started this unfounded story? Only by identifying the source of Mr. Krock's

information can you best serve the cause of truth and justice.

"Public officials expect to be criticized by newspaper columnists.
But I am astounded that a columnist for the New York Times should stoop to the level where he employs his column in much the same way that opposition politicians deliver themselves of stump

"In the name of simple justice, permit me the columns of your newspaper to say again there is not a word of truth in the statement Mr. Krock has twice published and defends."

### THE REPLY BY MR. KROCK

The statement by Arthur Krock in reply follows:

"The first reference I saw to the quotation from Mr. Hopkins was published September 25, 1938, not in the New York Times but in many other newspapers. It mentioned his 'comments \* \* \* on the subject of spending, taxes, and elections.'

"The second publication was October 14, 1938—not in the New York Times but in many other newspapers. This was specific, viz: 1f he (Mr. Hopkins) hadn't been excitedly telling acquaintances that we are going to "spend and spend and spend, and tax and tax and tax, and elect and elect and elect."

"Days passed Mr. Hopkins made no denial. I naturally assumed "Days passed Mr. Hopkins made no denial. I naturally assumed

"Days passed. Mr. Hopkins made no denial. I naturally assumed he had none to make and therefore did not apply to him. But, conceiving the quotation to be important, and a crystallization of his political philosophy as I understood it, I made inquiries at the source. I verified substantially the quotation—and the belief that

it was seriously uttered—before making any use of it. I then used it twice, but Mr. Hopkins took no notice until November 21, after

election day

"I submit I showed Mr. Hopkins unusual consideration in seeking verification before reprinting, despite the fact he had long made no denial of a nationally published, direct attribution. Actually I saw him on November 13, the very day of the publication to which he now so violently objects, and he said nothing about it at all.

"The friend who quoted Mr. Hopkins as substantially repeated is of excellent repute and not at all hard of hearing. He is at liberty to reveal himself if he so desires. I learned his identity in confidence and that confidence—unless I am released—I shall maintain."

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from New Hampshire yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. BRIDGES. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I call the Senator's attention to the fact that this episode also was reported by Mr. Frank Kent in the Baltimore Sun and by Mr. Joseph Alsop, who is a very sympathetic spokesman for some administration viewpoints; and if there is to be any inquiry into the matter, I suggest that it cover all three, so that we may be fully informed.

Mr. BRIDGES. I agree with the Senator's suggestion.

The nomination of a former Member of this body, Mr. Pope, to the Tennessee Valley Authority Board having been made, I merely wish at this time to point out to this body that there is a parallel case which should be considered in connection with the Pope appointment. The Federal statute-I refer to section 4, paragraph (f), of the T. V. A. Act-contains this provision:

The Board shall elect a treasurer and as many assistant treasurers as it deems proper, which treasurer and assistant treasurers shall give such bonds for the safekeeping of the securities and moneys of the said Corporation as the Board may require: Provided, That any member of said Board may be removed from office at any time by a concurrent resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives.

Referring to the Humphrey case, I find that in 1933 the President of the United States addressed a letter to Mr. Humphrey, in which he said:

Without any reflection at all upon you personally, or upon the service you have rendered in your present capacity, I find it necessary to ask for your resignation as a member of the Federal Trade Commission. I do this because I feel that the aims and purposes of the administration with respect to the work of the Commission can be carried out most effectively with a personnel of my own

In his second letter to Mr. Humphrey, the President said:

You will, I know, realize that I do not feel that your mind and my mind go along together on either the policies or the adminis-tering of the Federal Trade Commission, and, frankly, I think it is best for the people of this country that I should have a full con-

In my remarks about ex-Senator Pope I desire to say that I have no objection personally to his appointment to this Board; but I do take the position, and I believe that any person who examines the statutes should take the position that there is no vacancy now existing in the Board of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Let us go back to the Humphrey case. In 1933 Mr. Humphrey was removed from the Federal Trade Commission by the President of the United States because he "failed to see eye to eye" with the President; and in his place the President appointed George C. Mathews as a member of the Commission. The Senate confirmed that appointment on January 31, 1934. At the time of the confirmation there was considerable discussion of the matter. The Senate recognized that Mr. Humphrey was going to resort to an appeal to the courts, and he did so appeal to the courts. On February 14, 1934, while the case was still under advisement, Mr. Humphrey died. On May 27, 1935, some time after Mr. Humphrey died, the Supreme Court upheld Mr. Humphrey, found that the President had illegally removed him, and that, although Mr. Humphrey had passed on, his estate was entitled to receive his salary as a member of the Federal Trade Commission.

This case is very similar to the Humphrey case. At the present time there is pending in the Federal District Court of Eastern Tennessee an appeal by Dr. Arthur Morgan con-

testing his removal in a similar manner. If it is decided in his favor, the United States Government will be liable for Dr. Morgan's salary and he will still be a member of the Board. I believe that any action by the Senate at this time in filling this post may prejudice this case which is now in issue before one of the courts of the country.

While it is true that we in the Senate have no power to approve the removal of a man by the President, action by this body in approving the appointment of a successor will be automatically taken as prejudicial to the one removed in the minds of the people of the country and, perhaps, in the minds of the courts. I believe that we could well consider, and that the fact should be a direct issue in this body, whether or not there is now a vacancy in the Tennessee Valley Authority, and whether or not Mr. Pope's nomination should be considered until it has been determined before the courts of the land whether or not a vacancy does exist. I believe we have every reason to take that position, and that the Humphrey case is nearly a parallel one.

In that case Mr. Humphrey's contention was not upheld until after he had died and passed on, and only his estate benefited. Dr. Morgan is alive and well today. He is a sincere, honest gentleman. He has placed his case before the courts of the country. He contends that no vacancy exists, and that the President has illegally removed him. For that reason I believe this body should refrain from taking action on the Pope appointment until action by the courts, either favorable or unfavorable to Dr. Morgan. I understand that the case has been argued in the eastern Tennessee court before Judge Taylor; that no decision has been reached; and that, in the event of a decision being reached, there may be an appeal, either by Dr. Morgan or by the Federal Government.

The issue is clear; we should have the facts first. The action of the courts should not be prejudiced. I trust this body will give consideration to these facts before taking action. Let us not be a party to an illegal appointment.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Bridges] is discussing something which is not now before the Senate. The President sent to the Senate the nomination of ex-Senator Pope, and the Senate referred it to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. There is a dispute as to whether or not there is a vacancy on the Board of the Tennessee Valley Authority. I assume that both sides, or at least some on each side, are acting in perfectly good faith. Whether or not there is a vacancy depends upon whether or not the President of the United States has authority to remove Dr. A. E. Morgan. If he had no power to remove, there is no vacancy. If he had the power to remove, there is a vacancy,

I am not now going to discuss the Humphrey case, because I think it is almost immaterial for us to consider it in connection with this matter. The Morgan case is in the courts, and properly there. Dr. A. E. Morgan, believing that the President had no authority to remove him, has commenced an action for his salary. The case has been heard by the district court in Tennessee. The judge has it under advisement. No matter which side wins the case, without any doubt whatever it will go on to the Supreme Court of the United States. So we may confidently say that the question will not be determined by the Court for some time, it may be not for a year or two; and if, under the circumstances I am about to relate to the Senate, we should refrain from confirming the nomination on the ground that there is no vacancy, we would strike almost a deathblow at the T. V. A.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. Does the Senator contend, then, that the President should have the right to make an appointment to a board when it is not known whether or not a vacancy exists?

Mr. NORRIS. Whether or not the President has a right to make this appointment will be determined by the court,

just as it was determined in the Humphrey case. The Senator from New Hampshire is objecting to confirmation now because he says our action might have some influence on the court. In the Humphrey case the President removed Humphrey, and the Senate confirmed an appointee to take his place, and after all that was done the Supreme Court passed on the question. In that case nobody contended that the action of confirmation had any influence on the court, and there will not be any such influence in this case. To say that the action of the Senate in confirming the nomination of Mr. Pope would influence the court is to say that the court would be influenced entirely outside of the case before it.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield

further?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; I yield.

Mr BRIDGES. Am I to understand the Senator to imply, then, that the Humphrey case has no bearing whatever on

Mr. NORRIS. I do not believe the Humphrey case will settle this case.

Mr. BRIDGES. But has it no bearing? Mr. NORRIS. I do not think it has. The question on which the court is going to pass is a legal one, and it is now in the hands of the court.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield again?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; I yield again.

Mr. BRIDGES. Is it or not true that when the legislation creating the Tennessee Valley Authority was first proposed, the distinguished Senator from Nebraska used his influence to prevent powers of removal being vested in the President, and very much favored the clause I have read, limiting the power of removal to the Congress of the United States?

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator has asked two questions in one. As to the first question, I will say no, emphatically no; I did not. As to the second question, I will say that I did. I think I am the author of that language. I wanted to place in the hands of Congress the definite power of removal if they desired to exercise it. That has not anything to do with this case, either, as I look at it. So far as the President's power of removal is concerned, the action of the Senate is not going to affect it one iota either way. It did not do so in the Humphrey case. It would be insulting to the Court to say, "In the settlement of this legal question you are going to be influenced by the action of the Senate in confirming or not confirming."

Mr. President. I concede that any Senator has a right to vote against the confirmation of any nominee for any reason which satisfies him, and if he desires to do so he may vote against confirmation in this case for the reason that has been discussed—that in his judgment the President did not have the power of removal.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield again?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; I yield again.

Mr. BRIDGES. Under what section of the act does the Senator from Nebraska contend that the President had the legal power to remove?

Mr. NORRIS. I am not now going to argue that question. It has not anything to do with the question before the Senate: and before I sit down I am going to see whether the Senator from New Hampshire is acting in good faith in trying to present here a question of that kind.

I shall contend-I do contend-that the President did have the right to remove Dr. A. E. Morgan; but, again, that is a question of law. I may be wrong, and the court may decide the other way. I concede that the Senator or anyone else has an undoubted right to take either side of the question as he believes the legal question involved controls or does not control. But, as I see the matter, that has nothing to do with the question before us.

Former Senator Pope's name was sent to the Senate last Thursday. On that day it was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. The Senator from Oregon asked the chairman of the committee to call the committee together for the next day to pass on the nomination. For some

reason the chairman did not see fit to call the meeting. I asked him to call a meeting for Saturday. Again he did not call it. I supposed the committee would meet today, but it was not called. That is the situation in which the nomination now stands

Now I desire to tell the Senate why, in my judgment, it is necessary to confirm this appointment immediately, if we want to be fair to a great institution, if we do not want to prevent it from doing anything that requires Board action, and, for the time being at least, kill it. If we want to let it proceed in an orderly way under the law, we must, as I shall show in a moment, confirm someone for the vacancy, or the alleged vacancy, perhaps I had better say, to satisfy the question that is now raised.

Mr. DAVIS. Is the nomination of former Senator Pope now pending before the committee?

Mr. NORRIS. I take it that it is. It was sent to the committee last Thursday. The committee has not had a meeting, and has not taken any action on the nomination.

The T. V. A. Board consists of three members. When the President removed A. E. Morgan two were left on the Board. One of them was Mr. Lilienthal, a member of the Board, who I think every one will agree is one of the most competent of men for a position on that Board. He has been a member of the Board from the beginning, through all the litigation and trials and tribulations and during the fighting that has occurred. He was charged with being dishonest, with malfeasance in office, by the Chairman of the Board, A. E. Morgan, who spread all over the country the charge that two members of the Board, men who were handling millions of dollars and employing thousands of men, carrying on a governmental operation of great magnitude, were dishonest public officials. That charge went all over the country.

When the President sought to have Dr. A. E. Morgan give him the evidence on which he made that charge, Dr. Morgan refused to do anything about it. One can have his own idea as to whether he had a right to take that attitude. Personally, I think it was an insult to the President of the United States on the face of it. Dr. Morgan did not give anything in the way of evidence. He did not modify any charge he had made until the congressional committee was appointed, and before that committee he practically apologized.

All this time Mr. Lilienthal had been suffering under the public charge, printed all over the United States, that he was a dishonest public official, was guilty of cheating the Government, was guilty of malfeasance in office. The investigation which proceeded disclosed that Mr. Lilienthal and the other Morgan, H. A. Morgan, were entitled to a clean bill of health. Not a single dishonest act has been proven against them. It will be conceded by men who are honest, and who consider the evidence, that there has not been any evidence of corruption on the part of Mr. Lilienthal or H. A. Morgan. They have not robbed the Government of a penny, they have accounted for every dollar that came into their hands; they have been scrupulously honest. But all the time while these charges were going over the country, while in the examination Lilienthal and H. A. Morgan were subjected to police court treatment on the part of some members of the committee, they had to bear the brunt of this fight.

In addition to that, the T. V. A. had to have a large number of its officials here, and many in Tennessee and in other places, following the investigation. They were called on by members of the committee to produce all kinds of evidence; and properly so. I am not complaining of that; but it was necessary to keep a large number of men available to comply with the requests of the committee members.

It became perfectly apparent that the charges against this man Lilienthal were untrue, but he is a man with a family. with children, who thinks a great deal of his reputation, as we all do of ours, and he does not want it besmirched by false insinuations or false charges. As a result of the charges he practically collapsed; the burden upon his shoulders was too great; he became almost a nervous wreck. His health was seriously affected. He contracted a fever incident to a malady which is not understood by the medical profession. He was taken to a hospital, but no good resulted from the hospital treatment, because the medical profession does not understand the disease. He suffers from a fever for a few days, then apparently recovers for a few days or a week, and then the fever recurs.

The T. V. A. Board could not act without Mr. Lilienthal; there was not a quorum. Dr. H. A. Morgan, overburdened with the increased labors that fell upon his shoulders, was himself practically sick. He had to take the problems of the Board to a man in the hospital, on a sick bed, and when he could reach him outside, when Mr. Lilienthal would have a day or two of relief, he found him weakened physically by the fever; he found his nerves shattered by the terrible ordeal through which he had gone, making him unfit to transact business.

I remember that Dr. H. A. Morgan came to my office one night, and said he had been taking up some things with Lilienthal, when Lilienthal was up and the fever had subsided, but he said Lilienthal went to pieces, and Dr. Morgan stated to me, "I am afraid to carry on. I am afraid I will be guilty of killing this man if I persist in taking these things to him even at those moments when the fever is not wracking his body."

Mr. Lilienthal must be taken away; he must be relieved of all responsibility, practically, for 2 months and perhaps longer. In what position will that leave this great Tennessee Valley Authority organization, which is doing Government work, handling millions of dollars and employing thousands upon thousands of men? In what position will Mr. Lilienthal be left? If this situation continues, I am afraid it will mean his life.

These facts were presented to the President, and he appointed ex-Senator Pope in the place of Dr. A. E. Morgan. Every Member of the Senate knows Senator Pope personally. No charge has been made against him. His ability and his honesty are unquestioned. I assumed, under those circumstances, that his nomination would be confirmed unanimously and without any delay, but we have been unable even to get the nomination brought before the committee to which it was referred.

Now comes the Senator from New Hampshire, who has often come in the past, to show his hatred, his malice, I will say, against the T. V. A., and he would like to cripple it now by preventing the appointment of a man to the vacant place on the Board so that they could proceed in the ordinary way to transact their business. Does the Senate want to kill the T. V. A.? If it does, all it has to do is to refuse to confirm the appointment of anyone to fill the position on the Board.

Under those circumstances I went to the leader on the Republican side and explained the conditions. He agreed with me that we ought to act at once. I thought that possibly when the nomination came in, unanimous consent could be obtained so that it could be confirmed without reference to a committee, but, after talking with the leader on the Republican side, I agreed with him, when he told me what he knew about it, that the better way would be to let the nomination go to the committee. He said, "We will have a committee meeting at once, have the nomination reported to the Senate, and then if Senators want to oppose on any ground they see fit to suggest, that will be all right; debate will not be limited."

That is the situation in which the nomination is at this time, but before the committee acts, even before the committee meets, comes the voice of the Senator from New Hampshire saying, "There is not any vacancy."

Mr. President, in connection with the Humphrey case, the same argument could have been made as is now being made by the Senator from New Hampshire. The same thing could have been said in connection with the Oregon post-office case, the case in which the Supreme Court held that the President had the right summarily to remove a postmaster. In those cases it could have been said that the proposed action of the Senate might have the effect of influencing the Court. The Senate's action in the Humphrey case did not influence the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court held in that case that the President had no right to remove Mr. Humphrey.

I have no quarrel with the Court; I am not finding fault with it; I am trying to uphold the dignity and the honor of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court is made up of just men. They are going to decide on the record and say whether they will follow the Senate. There is no danger of the Court doing otherwise. The excuse would not be a good one even if there were such danger.

Here we have a great arm of the Government practically paralyzed on account of sickness of one of its directors, and some action ought to be taken. The Senate should confirm the appointment of a director to fill the vacant place on the Board.

Mr. President, I had not intended to discuss this question at this time. I should not have said a word had not the Senator from New Hampshire made the assertion he did in connection with the matter. I really think that what I have said is out of place now, but I felt I ought to say as much as I have said, in view of the statement made by the Senator from New Hampshire.

### REFERENCE OF NOMINATIONS

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that several nominations have been submitted, and the Chair suggests to the Senator from Kentucky that, as in executive session, those nominations be properly referred to committees.

Mr. BARKLEY. I make the request that the nominations be appropriately referred.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kentucky? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

(For nominations this day received see the end of Senate proceedings.)

### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate adjourn. The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 42 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, January 10, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 9 (legislative day of January 5), 1939

DIRECTOR OF GRAZING

Richard H. Rutledge, of Utah, to be Director of Grazing, vice Farrington R. Carpenter, resigned.

FEDERAL BOARD FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Henry Ohl, of Wisconsin, to be member of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, to fill an unexpired term of 3 years ending July 16, 1941.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 9, 1939

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, Thou who art power, truth, and knowledge over all the earth, so enrich us that we shall go on to virtue, to aspiration, and to the utmost endeavor. By faith, hope, and love enable us to hold fast to Thee. O Thou who dost robe Thyself with fadeless light as with a garment, throb through the fevered veins of our times. With the uplifted gaze, with the eyes of the spirit, may we catch a glimpse of the Eternal; let it be the answer to our waiting, doubting hearts. Impress us that our right to be in this Chamber is our absolute fidelity to common duty; herein lie honor and distinction. To this end, our Father of mercy, may we lift up a standard for the people—a standard of brotherhood of man, of civic and religious liberty, of the glory of the excellency of the kingdom of God on earth. In the holy name of Jesus. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, January 5, 1939, was read and approved.

### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Hess, one of his secretaries.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

### Senate Resolution 35

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. Robert L. Bacon, late a Representative from the State of New York.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved That as a further mark of respect to the management to the management of the second transmit.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative the Senate do now take a recess until 12 o'clock meridian Monday next.

### Senate Resolution 36

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. John J. Boylan, late a Repre-

sentative from the State of New York.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the

family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative the Senate do now take a recess until 12 o'clock meridian Monday next.

### Senate Resolution 37

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. Stephen W. Gamerill, late a Representative from the State of Maryland.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Resolved.

the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative the Senate do now take a recess until 12 o'clock meridian Monday next.

### Senate Resolution 38

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. Allard H. Gasque, late a Representative from the State of South Carolina.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative the Senate do now take a recess until 12 o'clock meridian Monday next.

The message also announced that Mr. Clark of Idaho had been appointed as a member of the Joint Committee on Forestry on the part of the Senate, vice Mr. James P. Pope, in accordance with the provisions of Senate Concurrent Resolution 31, Seventy-fifth Congress, first session.

The message also announced that Mr. MEAD, of New York, had been appointed as a member of the Special Joint Congressional Committee to Investigate the Tennessee Valley Authority on the part of the Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the expiration of the term of service of Hon. Fred H. Brown, former Senator from the State of New Hampshire.

The message also announced that the Vice President had appointed Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. GIBSON members of the joint select committee on the part of the Senate, as provided for in the act of February 16, 1889, as amended by the act of March 2, 1895, entitled "An act to authorize and provide for the disposition of useless papers in the executive departments," for the disposition of executive papers in the following Department and agencies:

- 1. Department of the Interior.
- 2. United States Civil Service Commission.
- 3. Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.
- 4. Federal Housing Administration.
- 5. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works.
- 6. The Panama Canal.
- 7. United States Maritime Commission.

## SWEARING IN OF A MEMBER

Mr. WILLIAM P. COLE, Jr., a Member-elect from the State of Maryland, appeared at the bar of the House and took the oath of office.

## MINNIE IDA BAXTER

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution which I send to the desk and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

### House Resolution 30

Resolved, That there shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House to Minnie Ida Baxter, widow of Percy M. Baxter, late an employee of the House, an amount equal to 6 months' salary compensation, and an additional amount not to exceed \$250, to defray funeral expenses of the said Percy M. Baxter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the reso-

The resolution was agreed to.

### REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH B. SHANNON

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication, which was read:

KANSAS CITY, Mo., January 6, 1939.

Hon. WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD,

Speaker, House of Representatives, United States,

Washington, D. C. Sir: In accordance with your designation of me, pursuant to House Resolution 34, Seventy-sixth Congress, adopted by the House of Representatives, to administer the oath of office to Representative-elect Joseph B. Shannon, of the Fifth District of Missouri, I have the honor to report that on the 6th day of January 1939, at the city of Kansas City, State of Missouri, I administered the oath of office to Mr. Shannon, form prescribed by section 1757 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, being the form of oath administered to Members of the House of Representatives, to which Mr. Shannon subscribed.

I have the honor to be

I have the honor to be, Yours respectfully.

ALLEN C. SOUTHERN, Judge of the Circuit Court of Jackson County, Mo., Kansas City, Mo.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

### House Resolution 40

Whereas Joseph B. Shannon, a Representative from the State of Missouri, from the Fifth District thereof, has been unable because of sickness in his family to appear in person to be sworn as a Member of this House, but has sworn to and subscribed to the oath of office before the Honorable Allen C. Southern, judge of the Circuit Court of Jackson County, Mo., authorized by resolution of this House to administer the oath, and the said oath of office has been presented in his behalf to the House, and there being no contest or question as to his election: Therefore he it

question as to his election: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the said oath be accepted and received by the
House as the oath of office of the said JOSEPH B. SHANNON as a Member of this House.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

# REPRESENTATIVE EDWARD W. CURLEY

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication, which was read:

JANUARY 7, 1939.

Hon. WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD,

Speaker, House of Representatives, United States, Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Sir: In accordance with your designation of me, pursuant to House Resolution 31, Seventy-sixth Congress, adopted by the House of Representatives, to administer the oath of office to Representative-elect Edward W. Curley, of the Twenty-second District of New York, I have the honor to report that on the 7th day of January 1939, at the city of New York, State of New York, I administered the oath of office to Mr. Curley, form prescribed by section 1757 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, being the form of oath administered to Members of the House of Representatives to which administered to Members of the House of Representatives, to which Mr. Curley subscribed.

I have the honor to be,

Yours respectfully,

JOHN E. MCGEEHAN, Justice of the Supreme Court, State of New York.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

## House Resolution 41

Whereas Edward W. Curley, a Representative from the State of New York, from the Twenty-second District thereof, has been unable from sickness to appear in person to be sworn as a Member of this House, but has sworn to and subscribed to the oath of office before the Honorable John E. McGeehan, justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, authorized by resolution of this House to administer the oath, and the said oath of office has been presented in his behalf to the House, and there being no contest or question as to his election: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the said oath be accepted and received by the House as the oath of office of the said EDWARD W. CURLEY as a Member of this House

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

### REPRESENTATIVE EDWARD W. CREAL

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the following communication:

LOUISVILLE, Ky., January 5, 1939.

Hon. W. B. Bankhead,

Speaker, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Sir: In accordance with your designation of me, pursuant to House Resolution 15, Seventy-sixth Congress, adopted by the House of Representatives, to administer the oath of office to Representative-elect Edward W. Creal, of the Fourth District of Kentucky, I have the honor to report that on the 5th day of January 1939, at the city of Louisville, State of Kentucky, I administered the oath of office to Mr. Creal, os follows:

office to Mr. Creal, as follows:
"Do you solemnly swear that you will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that you will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that you take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that you will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which you are about to enter? So help you God."

Being the form prescribed by section 1757 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and the form of oath administered to Members of the House of Representatives, to which Mr. CREAL subscribed.

I have the honor to be, Yours respectfully,

ELWOOD HAMILTON,

Judge, United States Circuit Court of Appeals
for the Sixth Circuit, Louisville, Ky.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 42), which I have sent to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

### House Resolution 42

Whereas Edward W. Creal, a Representative from the State of Kentucky, from the Fourth District thereof, has been unable from sickness to appear in person to be sworn as a Member of this House, but has sworn to and subscribed to the oath of office before the Honorable Elwood Hamilton, judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Louisville, Ky., authorized by resolution of this House to administer the oath, and the said oath of office has been

presented in his behalf to the House, and there being no contest or question as to his election: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the said oath be accepted and received by the House as the oath of office of the said EDWARD W. CREAL as a Mem-

ber of this House.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, following the special orders already entered, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Eaton] be allowed to address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish] be allowed to extend his own remarks by printing a speech he made over the radio.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

## MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 43), which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

# House Resolution 43

Resolved, That the following Members be, and they are hereby, elected members of the Standing Committee of the House of Representatives on Ways and Means: Paul H. Maloney, Louisiana; Patrick J. Boland, Pennsylvania; Milton H. West, Texas; Raymond S. McKeough, Illinois.

The resolution was agreed to, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and include therein a letter written by the late beloved President Roosevelt to Mr. Felix Frankfurter in 1917.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks by printing a speech delivered on Jackson Day by President Roosevelt.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record by having printed therein the remarks of the Speaker of the House at the Jackson Day dinner in Washington on Saturday night last. [Applause].

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend and include therein my own remarks which were made by me on Thursday last as the first of a series of "Current Questions Before the House" over the Columbia Broadcasting System which will be heard every week.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on today at the conclusion of the remarks of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich], I may be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have permission to speak on Wednesday for 15 minutes. No one is in between, and I ask unanimous consent to have that time extended 10 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent that on Wednesday after the reading of the Journal and the consideration of any legislative matters he may be permitted to address the House for 25 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, following the remarks of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Eaton], I may be permitted to address the House for 20 minutes on the question of sugar and reciprocal trade agreements in Cuba.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Under special order of the House heretofore made, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich] is recognized for 15 minutes.

## THE FISCAL SITUATION

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, at this time I want to wish you all a very pleasant 1939. [Applause.]

To the new Members who are assembled here for the second week in the Congress of the United States, we give you a hearty welcome.

It is certainly a pleasure for me to come before the House today for the first time during the Seventy-sixth Congress, and to try in some way to help solve some of the problems we have confronting us during this session of the Congress. We have a grave responsibility.

I was very much interested in listening to the President's report on the state of the Nation on January 4. Almost the first paragraph that was discussed in that address was the fact that we must prepare for war.

When a nation starts preparations for war on a large scale it generally gets into war. We, as Members of Congress, must be very, very careful that we do not permit the President of the United States to get us into that position, because I firmly believe that if it would require a war in order for him to cover up some of the misdoings of his administration, we will go to war. I am against it in every way I can possibly be. A sacred trust is imposed upon the Members of Congress to see to it that no one, no committee, or no bureaucrat should try in any way to get us into a position where we must fight the battles of some foreign country. It seems to me that if we as a nation would look after and take care of our own people, we have a job to do that should be uppermost in the minds of all the Members of Congress. A great responsibility for you and me. We must have Members who think; not rubber-stamp Congressmen.

Then, I was very much interested in listening to the President's address on the Budget for 1940. That is a question that ought to be very near and dear to the hearts of all the Members of Congress, and more so especially to the people back home who pay the taxes, to the wage earners, to the man who wants a job; to all of us Americans who believe in happiness, who believe in our country, who believe in our Constitution, and who believe in our form of government.

I cannot help my thoughts turning to the promises made by the Democratic Party now in power in the 1932 platform. Let me read from it:

We advocate an immediate and drastic reduction of governmental expenditures by abolishing useless commissions and offices, consolidating departments and bureaus, and eliminating extravagances to accomplish the saving of not less than 25 percent in the cost of the Federal Government.

This quotation is from the Democratic platform of 1932, to which Mr. Roosevelt subscribed 100 percent. We find Mr. Roosevelt in 1934 standing here speaking to you of a balanced Budget. In 1935 he came to the Congress and reiterated the statement that we would have a balanced Budget in 1936. In 1937 he at first talked about a balanced Budget but then decided that he would not balance it, so he asked for several billions of dollars to carry on. He was so far off balance in 1937 that he lost his balance. He has been out of balance ever since he has assumed public office. Last year he did not talk about a balanced Budget, because he knew he could not do it; he knew it was beyond his ability, beyond his desire to meet the situation. Now he says we will get a balanced Budget only when we get a national income of \$80,000,000,000,000.

Let me call your attention to one further statement of Mr. Roosevelt about squandering money and spending. In speaking of the Hoover administration he said that the Hoover spending was at the most reckless and extravagant pace he had been able to discover in the statistical records of any peacetime government anywhere at any time. Those were Mr. Roosevelt's words on October 19, 1932.

In his acceptance speech on July 2, 1932, he stated:

I propose to you, my friends, that the Government be made solvent and that the example be set by the President of the United States.

When he made that statement, it was something that the American people looked forward to, it was something that they really expected, because of the promises made in the Democratic platform, and because the people of this country thought he would carry it out. Has he done it? No, never. He, I think, has forgotten his promises entirely.

I want to make clear and plain once and for all that so far as the President of the United States is concerned I hold no animosity or ill will toward him as an individual, but I certainly do object to the things that he has been doing after the promises he made to the American people that he would do otherwise. It is not fair, it is not just, nor is it honest. You men know that if a man tells you he is going to do a certain thing you expect him to be as good as his word, especially after he has made the promise three, four, five, or six times. When he still fails you just lose faith in him, and that is the position I have reached so far as thinking that Mr. Roosevelt will ever be able to handle the finances of this country to the advantage and to the safety of the American people.

I say to you that a man who has never been able to control his own finances, or handle any business of his own; a man who has never met a pay roll in industry, a man who has never given employment to individuals, or been able to handle men is unable to handle the financial situation of this Government, and the burden of operating this Government is going to devolve on this Congress. What has happened in the past 3 or 4 years? Government finances have been getting worse all the time. Every Member of Congress realizes that last year we were promised a balanced Budget by the President but that balance was exceeded by a billion and a half. We are going from bad to worse.

Mr. THOMAS F. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICH. I will in a few moments.

Let me read to you a statement contained in the message of the President read to you last Thursday by the Clerk of the House. The President said that he expected expenditures for this year which will end on June 30, to be \$9,492,-000,000 and our receipts to be \$5,520,000,000, or that we would be in the red \$3,972,000,000. Think of that, men! Three billion nine hundred and seventy-two million dollars in the red!

What is our condition so far as it is revealed by the Treasury statement of January 3? Let us see how fast we are arriving at the condition of unbalance the President indicated, and remember also in this connection that last year his estimate of the national deficit was increased in each of his three different messages. He is not able to fathom the situation; it is beyond his ability. The Treasury statement of January 3 discloses that since July 1, 1938, he has expended \$1,678,000,000 more than he has taken in. This shows that the deficit will be about \$4,000,000,000 by the 30th of June next. A horrible situation. Our national debt will be about forty-two billion by the end of this year.

I ask you Members now that old familiar question: Where are you going to get the money? That is the question you will have to consider. If you do not, you are going to see one of the greatest financial wrecks that has happened in the history of the world. America broke, America ruined, America sunk. The country is in such condition that it cannot stand it. This cannot continue indefinitely. It must stop, and stop very shortly.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICH. Yes; I yield to my colleague from North Carolina, one of the best parliamentarians that ever sat in the House of Representatives.

Mr. WARREN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania understands, of course, that Congress appropriates this money through appropriation bills, and that at the last session we had 10 large appropriation bills. I find that the gentleman from Pennsylvania voted for 8 of these 10 bills, or at least made no protest against 8 of them.

Mr. RICH. The gentleman from North Carolina cannot show me where I voted for those particular bills, nor where I advocated the expenditure of the funds which have been spent during the last 4 or 5 years.

Mr. WARREN. The gentleman voted against only two appropriation bills.

Mr. RICH. The Record will not disclose that fact nor will the committee hearings disclose approval on my part of such enormous expenditures. If the gentleman finds in the Record facts to substantiate his statements, let him put them in the Record, but not on my time.

Mr. WARREN. I shall do it.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICH. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. KNUTSON. At this juncture I think the RECORD should show that the gentleman from Pennsylvania has been one of the most active opponents of all this needless, wasteful spending.

Mr. THOMAS F. FORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICH. I cannot yield any further,

Mr. Speaker, may I call the attention of the House to the fact that we are getting ready for appropriations for 1940. The President, continuing in his Budget message, stated that he wants to spend \$8,995,000,000. He stated further that our receipts for next year will only be \$5,669,000,000. In other words, next year he figures that he wants to spend \$3,326,-000,000 more than we will receive. Mr. Speaker, if the Members of Congress permit any such spending as that every one of them ought to be driven out of the House of Representatives for voting for such ruthless expenditures

We have to stop the spending of that gentleman in the White House, because, as I said before, he does not know any better. The responsibility is yours. Stop it before it is too late

Mr. HOUSTON. Will the gentleman yield for a friendly

Mr. RICH. I decline to yield.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Roosevelt is going to ask the Ways and Means Committee to report a bill which would authorize increasing our national debt from a maximum of \$45,000,-000,000 to \$80,000,000,000. If such a bill as that is passed by the Members of this Congress something ought to happen to each one of them in the next election. He should not be sent back here. You should not tolerate any such thing as that. Tell him now such a bill shall not pass as long as he is in the White House.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. RICH. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. How do you expect the present administration to get out of the habit of spending when they feed on \$100-a-plate dinners, all in violation of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, shaking down the Government employees?

Mr. RICH. I may say to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Schafer]; there will be someone else speak about that \$100-a-plate dinner. It is a shame when so many poor people want soup or a sandwich or coffee.

Mr. THOMAS F. FORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICH. For a question. Make it snappy.
Mr. THOMAS F. FORD. The gentleman objects to an unbalanced Budget. Would he sooner have the Budget balanced or see ten or fifteen million people starve?

Mr. RICH. I will answer that question.

Mr. KNUTSON. Why not put them to work?

Mr. RICH. If we will start to economize we will instill some confidence in the business people back home-a million of them who want to go ahead and do things. There is at the present time frozen capital and frozen industry. They are willing to go ahead just as soon as there is a ray of hope from this administration. They will put 500 to work in industry or agriculture while we put 1 on the Government pay roll.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to continue for an additional 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich]?

There was no objection.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, if we restore confidence in the businessmen of the Nation, we will do more to put men to work than anything else we can do. They will be put to work in industry and will be taken off the pay rolls of the Government, the P. W. A., and these other governmental agencies that have been set up by this administration. You promised this administration would not put the Government in business, but you have violated that promise more than all the administrations in our history put together.

Mr. Speaker, we should take the Government out of business. If the Members have any intelligence at all, they ought to realize that when the businessmen of this country want to quit, the only thing to do is restore confidence, and that is the greatest aid you can give toward putting these 12,000,000 men back to work. There is not anything in this country that will do more good, and we should realize the situation that confronts this Nation so far as industry and frozen capital are concerned. Only confidence in the Government will do it; men working together will do the trick.

We should have a happy, contented people in this country, and that is the greatest problem of the age. Men should be entitled to go to their work in the morning and work 8 hours a day in order to earn money so that they may enjoy the pleasures and happiness that go with honest labor.

Mr. Speaker, I have come to the point where I am tired of seeing men on W. P. A. work leaning on shovels. They are only on jobs that have been created for the purpose of permitting these men to draw their pay. It is not right. It is not honest. It is not just for this Congress to permit that to go on any longer. Of course, we want to take care of the needy, but we must do it in a sensible, businesslike way. We must put relief back in the States and the local communities. where it will be handled to a greater satisfaction than any Congress or bureaucrat can administer it here in Washington.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICH. I yield to the gentleman from Montana.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I am very much interested in what the gentleman is saying. I also have a lot of faith in him. Is it possible, living in the machine age that we are living in. for private industry to absorb the unemployed that exists in this country today?

Mr. RICH. That is a mighty fine question. May I say if we are not going to be able to find employment in industry in the machine age, then we ought to regulate mass production in industry until we can give the men actual employment. We can do that by the regulation of improvements until we absorb these unemployed people and put them back to work. But under present conditions we are paying people in various districts \$125 a month for not working. We are unable to get men to work, and the unemployed are unable to work because they can get more on relief. When people who are on relief cannot stop and take a day's work because they may not be able to get back on relief we are encouraging shiftlessness. We are not encouraging thrift thereby. We are not encouraging anyone to do those things which will make them better people, happier and more contented.

We need jobs for all. It will require thoughtful men and considerate, intelligent Members of Congress to solve the problem. Will we act as honest, conscientious Americans? I hope so. Let us lay politics aside, use our God-given faculties, our intelligence, and we will find work for the unemployed, we will stop class hatred, we will restore confidence, we will preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution and our American liberty and independence.

[Here the gavel fell.]

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday next, after the disposition of business on the Speaker's table, and following special orders already entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 20 minutes on the responsibility of the Republican Party in this Congress.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes at this juncture.

The SPEAKER. The Chair may state to the gentleman from Minnesota that the House has already agreed to permit the gentleman from California [Mr. Voornis] to address the House for 15 minutes at this time.

Mr. KNUTSON. Then, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to address the House for 10 or 15 minutes at the conclusion of the special orders already made.

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman please indicate how much time is desired?

Mr. KNUTSON. Twenty minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota asks unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the address of the gentleman from California he may be permitted to address the House for 20 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include therein the President's Jackson Day speech, the guest list for that \$100-a-plate dinner, and certain extracts from the Federal Corrupt Practices Act.

The SPEAKER. The Chair calls the attention of the gentleman to the fact that permission has already been given to place in the RECORD the address of the President.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my request as far as the address of the President is concerned, but I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include therein the guest list for the Jackson Day \$100-a-plate dinner, together with certain extracts from the Federal Corrupt Practices Act.

Mr. KNUTSON. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, may I ask the gentleman from Wisconsin if that was the dinner where the guests ate off gold plates?

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. That was a shake-down dinner in violation of the Corrupt Practices Act, which, I may say, is intended to prevent political contributions by Government employees.

Mr. KNUTSON. We all know that.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. It is on a par with the \$250 shake-down books.

Mr. SCHULTE. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, there is enough comedy in the Congressional Record already, and for that reason I object to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 2 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is loath to put that request. A special order has already been made giving the gentleman from California [Mr. Voorhis] permission to address the House at this time, so, except with the permission of the gentleman from California, the Chair will not submit at this time the request of the gentleman from New York.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that after that special order and after the gentleman from Minnesota has addressed the House I may be permitted to address the House for 2 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that at the conclusion of any special orders already made he may be permitted to address the House for 2 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. Voorhis] is recognized for 15 minutes.

#### THE IMMEDIATE TASK OF DEFENDING DEMOCRACY

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I should like to say that I was one of those who attended the Jackson Day dinner, and that though it was plenty hard to find the money, I paid for my ticket freely because I believe in the Democratic Party, because I wanted to hear the President's speech, and because I vastly prefer to see our party raise its money by contributions of that kind rather than in the ways to which the opposition party sometimes resorts. [Applause.] We do not have access to some of the sources of revenue they do.

#### THE REAL DIVISION

The difference between us in this House, as elsewhere among people in the world, is basically not so much a difference in party name or affiliation, although it follows fairly well those lines. On the one hand, we find those people who see in the problems of life and government the task of protecting and preserving as best we can the simple, fundamental rights of humanity generally, such as the fundamental right to life, freedom, work, and opportunity. [Applause.]

On the other hand we find those who, with however good intentions or sincerity—and I question neither—will see in the problem of life and government the task primarily of protecting and preserving special rights and particular privileges belonging to small groups of people but utterly beyond the reach of the rank and file of men.

To the first group of these people must belong those who would support the present administration of President Roosevelt, because it is from that point of view that the major policies of his administration have taken birth.

#### FOR DEMOCRACY-NO PROVISOS

The gentleman from Pennsylvania mentioned certain things which had been set forth by the President in prior speeches and in other ways. One evident intention of any earnest man in public office is to see the Budget of the Nation balanced. The evident intention of every earnest person in public office is to see no unnecessary Government expenditure made. However, there are certain other things that have been said by the President and certain other things which I say today on my own account that are still more fundamental. It is something basic for him to say or for me to say that we are for keeping democracy in America against any sort of difficulty or danger which may threaten it. When I say that I mean I am against any sort of dictatorship of whatever type. I mean I am for the protection forever of religious and personal liberty. I mean I am for equality of opportunity; and I mean I am for the preservation of as large an amount of freedom and economic enterprise as can possibly be preserved consistent with the accomplishment of the other three or more fundamental purposes which I have mentioned in this sentence.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. VOORHIS of California. In just a moment, I shall be pleased to yield.

I am, in short, for the protection of the soul of the real America, a soul that was born and nurtured in a day when every man was his own economic master, because there was land enough for all. And I am for keeping our freedom, democracy, and equality, no matter what we have to do to accomplish it. I am not for freedom, democracy, and equality with any proviso whatsoever. I am not for these things provided I do not have to pay taxes to preserve them; I am not for them provided my defense of them does not involve any interference with financial or industrial monopoly; I am not just for them provided the Government can be kept out of the field of public-works employment. I am for a real American democracy without any proviso whatsoever, and I feel sure I know what we have to do to keep it. [Applause.]

It is already clear to me that during this session of Congress there is going to be considerable oratory, and that from the Republican side there is going to come a good deal of gleeful, optimistic oratory, and that there will be speeches made pointing out the fallacies of the New Deal and other progressive measures.

This, of course, is as it should be. I may say, however, that I surmise that in addition to that there will be speeches made, addressed to the Democratic side, in which sympathy will be expressed for some of us on the Democratic side, and I do not quite understand that. After all, there was a smaller loss suffered by the Democratic membership in the last election than has been true in any midterm election in the second term of a President for over 100 years. There is still a Democratic majority of nearly 100 Members; and so far as I am concerned, I want to assure everyone that there is not any use to feel sorry for me, for I believe the greatest thing in

the world is to give one's self wholeheartedly to a cause in which he believes.

#### WHAT IS RIGHT REMAINS RIGHT

The winds of political fortune blow candidates in and out of office, but never do they blow hard enough to make things that once were right become wrong. And so the things for which some of us fought here in the last session of Congress are things for which we intend to go right on fighting-not because we believe they are necessarily politically expedient, not because they are sure to get us reelected but just because we believe they are right and just and fair and because we are convinced they constitute the only available means of forever protecting and defending the freedom and democracy of our country.

#### WHAT PROGRAM IS OFFERED?

Now, I want to ask a question. I want to ask what the opposition offers by way of a program to replace the one now in effect. What would they do if by some peculiar turn of circumstances it were no longer possible in 1940 for them to enjoy the intellectual luxury of being responsible for nothing that is done and being able to criticize practically

One of two answers is usually given to such a question. One is that they would "free business" by reducing taxes of practically every sort and repealing certain regulatory laws, and the other answer is that they believe the New Deal laws are good and should be kept, but that they should be administered by Republicans.

In the case of the second answer I must say, as a Democrat and supporter of the New Deal, that we appreciate the compliment and that I hardly think the American people will be inspired by an appeal to them to turn out the Democrats who passed the laws so the Republicans, most of whom voted against them, can have a chance to obtain political power and preferment on the basis of the very program they opposed.

The first answer-the "free business" or laissez-faire answer-deserves more consideration, because it involves a whole philosophy of government and the social order to which attention should be given whether one agrees with it or not.

I may say at this point that if I could be persuaded that I am all wrong in my economic views and that laissez-faire would work and that it was the answer to all our problems, I feel sure I would be man enough to say I had been wrong and to advocate the thing which was best for my country. I am not so persuaded, and I am not so persuaded because I have read the record of the economic history of the country for the last 100 years.

# LAISSEZ-FAIRE JUST WILL NOT WORK

When it is proposed that we should completely turn the matter back to the free exercise of private finance and industry in America, I would point out to you that in all of the years of the 1920's that policy was followed clear through the whole time, and the result was the collapse of 1929; and I would point out to you further that in 1937, when we came here to consider the business of this Government the very same arguments were made as are being made now about the appropriation to provide work for the unemployed; and we were told that if we would drastically reduce those appropriations business would reabsorb and take back the people that were laid off by W. P. A. It was argued then, as it is being argued now, that it would be good for business to leave it more nearly alone and reduce public employment of the unemployed. It was said that business was ready to "go it alone" and make up for the slack in employment caused by the W. P. A. lay-offs.

### DO NOT REPEAT MISTAKE OF 1937

The plain fact is that that did not happen, and I myself spoke here and warned the House that if that action were taken, and the appropriation cut, the result would be that we would be preparing for another depression in business, and the result has been as I stated at that time. I have advocated for a long time a straight-out program of public

works based on work rather than on relief, and where the certifying agency will be the employment service and not a relief agency. But I appealed in 1937, and I appeal again today, that the way to cure anything you have to criticize is not by throwing a million people out on the streets, to go on direct relief, but it is to work on a constructive legislative program for public-works employment and see if Congress cannot work out a better way to get at this problem. For my part I rejoice in the clarity and wisdom of the President's message in which he asks us to appropriate \$875,000,000 to protect people from being made unemployed in larger numbers, and thus protect the increase in business, and I appeal to you not to cut the ground from under this improvement in business now taking place by throwing these people out on the streets.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Yes. Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. The gentleman is speaking in favor of the \$875,000,000 appropriation.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I think that is by no means too much.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. The W. P. A. figures show around 3,000,000 people employed. Mr. John L. Lewis, who is high in the gentleman's administration, a few months ago claimed there were 12,500,000 people out of work.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. That is probably right. Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Does the gentleman propose to favor those people in the numbers between 3,000,000 and 12.500.000?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. The W. P. A. has never employed all of the unemployed. That is one of the difficulties of the program, and it is one of the difficulties because of the fact that the Congress has never been ready to appropriate enough funds to meet the real needs. It is true that we are hopeful that by the employment of even a portion of these people we will be able to put into circulation enough additional purchasing power to stimulate business to the point where it will absorb others on account of the expansion of consumer demand. I do not think that is the ultimate answer. I think there are other things that have to be done before we will answer this economic problem of America. and I am for going to work on them. But I say in the meantime this Congress has no right to take out on the unemployed people its political prejudices or the feelings that it may have toward individuals in the one party or another.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Yes.

Mr. RICH. Does the gentleman believe that the relief that is being administered now is being administered in a wise, just, and judicial manner?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I wonder if anybody could undertake the task of employing the people industry did not want to hire, employ between two and three million people over a 3-year period, sometimes have to fire 800,000 of them at a time when Congress instructed that it be done, and rehire large numbers quickly at other times-under those circumstances I doubt that anybody could do a much better job than has been done. I know that there have been difficulties, and my own observation is that most of the political difficulty was due to local pressure. That is what I believe and what I have seen, and I am sincere about the matter.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. VOORHIS of California. I would like to finish my address, though I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I think I followed the gentleman correctly in his argument, and may I submit this question: The gentleman takes the position that sometimes on this side, the Republican, it has been said that if appropriations were discontinued business would absorb the unemployed.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. So I understood. If I was

mistaken, I am sorry.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Is the gentleman acquainted with the fact that members of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System within the last few days have stated emphatically in public addresses that these appropriations and this made-work program is not the answer to unemployment and the revival of business. Is the gentleman familiar with

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I am not familiar with the fact. I understood that Mr. Eccles sometime ago-

Mr. CRAWFORD. I call the attention of the gentleman to the statement of Chairman Eccles on December 1 at New York and of Chester Davis at New Orleans December 14 and at Memphis December 15, and I suggest that that be looked into, because we will have more to say about it.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I am familiar with the speech that the gentleman has in mind. I have not said that I believed that the ultimate answer to America's program has been made in a program of public work for the unemployed, but I do say that as a matter of fundamental economic justice in this hour, and because more fundamental measures would be more bitterly opposed, it is the best program that we have.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Duncan). The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to speak for 5 minutes more.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SIROVICH. I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that in 1930 when the Republican Party was in power and Mr. Hoover was President of the United States, 20,000,000 men and women were unemployed, and the sublime principle that the Republican Party promulgated for the treatment of the 20,000,000 unemployed, through President Herbert Hoover, was to sell apples, through getting free licenses in various cities of the country, and have those that are employed divide their employment with those unemployed.

I am fully convinced that the W. P. A. is doing fine, constructive work in comparison to what the Republicans had to offer in 1930.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I thank the gentleman for his contribution. I refuse to yield further.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I refuse to yield further. Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. The Republican Party was

not in power at that time.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. As I recall it, my colleague the gentleman from New York, Dr. Sirovich, is correct in his statement that the Republican Party was in power in 1930. When the vote was canvassed immediately after the 1930 elections, both House and Senate were Republican. The House, however, was Republican by only a few votes. Had President Hoover called a special session immediately after the 1930 elections to consider the problem of unemployment, the House would have been under the control of the Republicans. However, during the 12 months that elapsed between the election in the fall of 1930 and the organization of the House in December 1931, a number of Republican Members passed away. The people of the Nation, apparently increasingly dissatisfied with the laissez-faire policy of the Republican administration, elected Democrats in, I believe, every case to take their places, thus giving Democratic control in the House.

### MORE PROGRESS, NOT LESS, REQUIRED

I am thoroughly convinced that to return to the policies and methods pursued during the 1920's is just as certain to lead to another 1929 crash as the sun is to rise tomorrow. I am equally certain that an honest appraisal of the present situation will lead any careful student to two conclusions: The first is that the solution to our economic problem of poverty and insecurity in a world of possible plenty and brotherhood lies ahead in more progressive legislation than we have yet had, rather than in less progressive legislation.

The solution lies in better protection of farm prices, a better system of retirement pensions for the aged such as the General Welfare Act would give, a more scientific control of money and credit, a more effective program of public works. and a more direct effort to bring about full production. The solution does not lie in poorer protection for the farmer, nor in a worse system of old-age pensions, nor in a less effective control of money and credit, nor in no effort at all to bring about full production. Nor does the solution lie in no publicworks program at all and throwing our unemployed people back on to some sort of miserable, degrading, debilitating charity program.

In short, I believe, and I think some of the campaign promises of successful Republican candidates bear this out, that the protection of our American democracy lies in more New Deal, not in less. I agree, too, it lies in improvement of existing law, in congressional action to take advantage to the full of the experience that has been had with some new legislative enactments that have been passed in recent years.

So the second conclusion to which I believe any honest appraisal of the present situation must lead is that, since in any democracy we cannot move forward more rapidly than the people want us to go, therefore we find ourselves obliged to depend at the moment, not on completely satisfying solutions, but on measures which will best preserve the structures, institutions, and values of American life while we are in process of working out those solutions.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

In this connection, let us consider the President's great message and its implications. I have heard that message criticized because it "did not go to the root of things," because it "dealt in generalities," because it did not propose a balanced Budget. But what else did you want beyond a statement as to how, in this year and in this period, America can keep the flag of democracy aloft? That is what he gave you in one of the greatest state papers that this Nation has ever heard.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I would rather not, please. I only have a few moments.

In this Congress already we have heard about appropriations for W. P. A. I have already pointed out what I said in 1937 and what happened in 1937 and 1938. I urge that full appropriation be made of at least the amount the President asked for, and then that we go to work on a constructive bill to straighten out this public-works program if you believe it can be improved.

# WHAT THE UNBALANCED BUDGET REALLY MEANS

Now, about the Budget. I wonder whether the opposition party really wants the Budget balanced. My own choice of a way to obtain the necessary expansion of money in circulation and industrial activity, which I know we must have in America-my own choice of a way to obtain that would be not by the issuance of bonds to increase the debt, but by having this Congress take back to itself the right to coin money and to regulate its value; by having Congress set up one monetary authority with adequate powers and under careful instructions from the Congress, and by directing this monetary authority to bring about such an expansion of active money or demand deposits in the Nation as will be scientifically calculated to correspond to our capacity to produce wealth. Such action as this might enable us to balance the Budget without killing business.

Again, we all know that business people all over the Nation would like to increase their production. We know many of them are afraid to do so for fear that production cannot be sold. And we know some of them cannot do so because they cannot obtain capital and credit for the purpose. We could provide a program of coordinated increase of production with adequate protection for all who engage in it. And thus by increase in real wealth and income our Budget would come into balance.

Unless you stand ready to take such action as this which I have suggested, you can obtain expansion at present in

only one way. That way is by having your Government buy into circulation with its bonds an additional amount of bank credit. That means an addition to national debt and an unbalanced Budget. When you criticize this method you ask either for another collapse of business or else for sound monetary reform and definite action to bring about an industrial expansion.

# GOVERNMENT INVESTMENT AND PROPER ACCOUNTING

Certainly we all regard it as proper for a corporation to segregate its current expenses from its capital outlay, but when the President suggests that Government follow the lead of business in this matter a loud outcry is raised against his proposal.

I cannot find a single sound argument against allowing the Government of our Nation to use the same accounting methods that our businesses themselves employ.

I call no names and fix no blame on either individuals, groups, or parties. I give to every man, who sincerely loves America for what she is and for what she may become, full credit for as much love of country as I possess, whether he agree with me or not.

NO SPECIAL PRIVILEGE ASKED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

And I ask no special privileges for the Government of my country. All I do ask is the same privileges for that Government, as it attempts to act in the public interest, as are claimed for private interests as they act for themselves. I ask that government have the same right to employ its unemployed citizens to promote public welfare as our manufacturers have to employ workers for private profit. I ask that government have at least the same right to use the credit of the Nation as the banks now enjoy of creating and lending it. And I ask that government be allowed to indicate its assets on its books, the same as is done by every private corporation.

Now, today, we are confronted not with a choice between one perfect solution or another. I presume not even the most cocksure member of the minority will contend that if he could rule out all our legislation, repeal all the New Deal laws and taxes, anything like all the unemployed people would go back to work. Everyone admits that our present order cannot at best reemploy more than perhaps a third of them without some sort of governmental action to supplement the best private business can do. And so, at this moment, while conditions are improving and on the mend, the immediate question is whether we will do again what we did in 1937 and throw out of work several hundred thousand now dependent utterly on a \$55 monthly wage on W. P. A., or whether, while we are working out a better way, we will protect not only their right to a job but also the rising tide of better times by keeping these people at work. Let me urge the "defenders of business" not to strike at that very business through the basic customers it has.

### FUTURE OF AMERICA-AND BASIC JUSTICE

Furthermore, the future of America may well depend upon our action, for let no one deceive himself. The ultimate defense of democracy-or perhaps I should say its foundation-is to be found in the security of the people in the opportunity to work and earn a living. Somehow or other that opportunity must be kept present. Idleness and a dole and dependence on local charity have caused the downfall of nations. Work for the unemployed or for anyone else has never done so.

Let no one deceive himself. For better or for worse, we are one nation and one people, bound together today as never before by ties of economic and social interdependence. Fourfifths of the people of this Nation can never move forward to a new prosperity if they neglect and try to abandon the other one-fifth. There is a divine justice about things, a form and purpose to the universe, which will forever bring retribution on such an attempt. We must move forward together, taking with us those now unemployed and in distress, or we shall never move forward at all, to that better day for which every true American hopes, and works, and tries to build.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Under special order of the House, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Knutson] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. KNUTSON. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Mapes] to make a unanimous-consent request.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an address delivered over radio station WJAG, Norfolk, Nebr., containing a eulogy on our colleague the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. STEFAN].

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. KNUTSON].

#### THE FEDERAL DEFICIT

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I am taking the floor today for the purpose of expressing my regret at being unable to accept an invitation to attend a Jackson Day dinner held on Saturday evening out in Minnesota. Compared to the dinner that the Jacksonians held in Washington, it was rather an attractive affair, because it only cost \$25 a plate. Payments had been arranged on very attractive terms. Under one plan one could pay as little as \$10 down and so much a month for so many months. Under another plan, \$15 cash and the balance over a convenient term of months, so you can see the deferred-payment plan has now been approved and adopted by the party in power to meet the needs of the times.

I appreciate very much that invitation, and I presume that had it not been for the fact we are enjoying an era of so-called New Deal prosperity, I might have been able to go out there and visit with old friends. I do not suppose that the menu that our folks out in Minnesota had was quite as elaborate as the one provided at the Mayflower Hotel the same evening, which must have been quite an affair.

I noticed in yesterday morning's Washington Herald an illustration depicting the Postmaster General as showing the gentleman sitting next to him a gold plate from which they fed. Shades of Thomas Jefferson! Think of it! So-called Democrats eating off gold plate. I am wondering whether some of the gold that was taken away from us several years ago-I say "from us"-not from me because I did not have any, but from those who had-I am wondering what percentage of that gold was melted down and transformed into plates on which those who believe in the simple life and in the teachings of Andrew Jackson might dine. I guess it was quite an affair down at the Mayflower.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KNUTSON. Not at this point. [Laughter.]

Mr. SABATH. For only a short inquiry?

Mr. KNUTSON. Not at this point.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield on the gold proposition?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Minnesota declines to yield.

Mr. KNUTSON. This is the \$100 gold-plate menu:

Russian caviar. Canape of anchovy and Deviled egg Green turtle soup with sherry—

[Laughter.]

Hearts of celery

Pecans Queen and ripe olives Butter crust

Broiled rock bass, with grilled tomato and eggplant Graves Rosechatel, vintage of 1829—

No, I guess that must be 1929-

Filet mignon with fresh mushrooms, Bordelaise New peas

I did not know we have new peas on the market as yet [laughter] but there is little going on, on the market or otherwise, that the New Deal does not know about. Let us |

New brown potatoes-

This must have been a New Deal dinner. [Laughter.] New brown potatoes, St. Julien-

You are taking the church in now. [Laughter.]

No; I guess that must be something else, because it says 1933. Certainly they would not be eating potatoes of 1933 vintage.

Mixed fresh vegetable salad with cheese wafers. Nougat ice cream and pineapple granite. Chocolate leaves. Demitasse.

Mr. HOUSTON. No spinach?

Mr. KNUTSON. They should have had spinach, but they probably had extract of spinach upstairs. [Laughter.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield now after that great speech?

Mr. KNUTSON. I am delighted to yield to the distin-

guished chairman of the Rules Committee.

Mr. SABATH. I wish to suggest that I am satisfied that if the gentleman had been present he would not have regretted paying the \$100 to listen to the wonderful addresses of the President and the Speaker of the House. Those addresses in themselves were worth the price, regardless of the meal.

Mr. KNUTSON. Well, I would give \$100 to hear the

Speaker of the House. [Laughter.]

It seems that they had a seance down at the White House the other night when the President communed with the spirit of Andrew Jackson. He, however, is not the first President in recent years to have held seances with spirits in

Let us see. Here is something. Here is a part of that great speech to which the distinguished chairman of the Rules Committee referred—and I am quoting the President of the United States:

Last night I was thinking about this gathering, about our Demo-cratic Party and what we ought to do to help it.

God knows, you need help!

I decided to go right to headquarters, so I put in a radio call for Gen. Andrew Jackson.
"Young fellow," he said to me, "I don't know what is on your

Well, I can tell you that it certainly is not the deficit. [Laughter.] Neither is it the national debt, nor the 10,000,-000 who are out of work, nor the idle factories, nor the farmers, who are selling their products at prices far below cost of

"General," said I, "you see, it is about the Democratic Party"-

Well, that is something to be worried about. I would not be a bit surprised if there were about 100,000,000 others who are worrying about the New Deal party and wondering where it is leading us to.

"I am very fond of it myself, but the Republicans are saying that it is rotting away like pollywogs' tails"

Let us see if there were pollywogs' tails on the menu. [Laughter.] No; I do not see them listed-

"and that some of our fellows are worried. Is there anything

we ought to do?"
"Certainly," replied old General Jackson. "My eyes are getting old and I am some distance away, but from what I can see from here the only trouble with you fellows is that you have been feeding too well and you scare easily."

Well, I should say that a \$100 dinner would have a sort of enervating effect on those who partook of it.

The President made some very interesting observations. You recall about a year ago when he was down in Georgia he referred to the Democrats of the deep South as "economic feudalists." Evidently he thinks they are slipping, because he now refers to them as "tweedledums," and he says they are no longer wanted in the New Deal party. Well, I know the southern Democrats. They are gentlemen who believe in

constitutional government, who believe in living within our income, who believe that we should keep out of foreign affairs with which we have no concern, that we should not meddle in outside matters but should try and solve the great problems we have at home. I believe that these so-called "tweedledums" would feel more at home in the Republican Party than they do in the New Deal party, because today we are the party of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln [applause]; and we invite you "tweedledums" to take the President's advice and get out. You southerners are no longer wanted in the President's party. You have served your purpose and now he wants you to get out. [Laughter.]

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KNUTSON. I yield. Mr. HOFFMAN. Would it not be just as well if he got out and let them have their party?

Mr. KNUTSON. He long since got out of the Democratic Party. He has organized a party of his own known as the New Deal party. Where has the gentleman been for the last 5 years? [Laughter.]

Mr. HOFFMAN. May I answer?

Mr. KNUTSON. Yes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I thought they still retained the name "Democratic Party." At least, up in my district the ballot contained a caption reading, "Democratic Party." I knew, of course, that certain candidates were not Democrats but were Communists, even though they were labeled as Demo-

Mr. KNUTSON. Well, I have seen plateware that was stamped "sterling," but that did not make it sterling. Calling the New Deal party the Democratic Party does not make it the Democratic Party. In fact, the Democratic Party and the New Deal party are about as much alike as a sow's ear and a silk purse.

Before I close I again want to extend to those great Americans who come from the deep South, to whom the President contemptuously refers as "tweedledums," an invitation to join the Republican Party and help us work out the great problems that confront us, to help us save this country and prevent it from becoming bankrupt and even worse. Gentlemen of the South, come into the Republican Party where you will be welcomed and where you will be appreciated. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO] is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, I rise simply for the purpose of noting in the RECORD that on Saturday, January 6, Tom Mooney, a great and honest man, was liberated and vindicated by the granting to him of an unconditional pardon by the Governor of California. This establishes legally and for all time what we have always known, that Tom Mooney was innocent and framed. I take this occasion to congratulate the present and ex-Members of Congress, as well as the great army of men and women throughout the world, who have participated in this historic struggle to right this tremendous wrong.

I also take this opportunity to state that every true believer in justice and democracy rejoices over the liberation of Tom Mooney, even though it comes exactly 22 years too late. [Applause.]

# HON. GEORGE P. DARROW

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Speaker, on January 5 I was appointed by the Speaker to administer the oath of office to my distinguished colleague, Hon. George P. Darrow, of Pennsylvania. On January 6, pursuant to House Resolution 14, I swore Mr. Darrow in as a Member of the House. The oath was administered in conformity with the rules of the House at Philadelphia, Pa.; and I offer the following privileged resolution and move its adoption.

I would also add, Mr. Darrow has requested me to report his condition is favorable and he hopes to be back in the House within the next week.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### House Resolution 44

Whereas George P. Darrow, a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania, from the seventh district thereof, has been unable from sickness to appear in person to be sworn as a Member of this House, but has sworn to and subscribed to the oath of office before House, but has sworn to and subscribed to the oath of office before the Honorable J. William Ditter, authorized by resolution of this House to administer the oath, and the said oath of office has been presented in his behalf to the House, and there being no contest or question as to his election: Therefore be it Resolved, That the said oath be accepted and received by the House as the oath of office of the said George P. Darrow as a Member of this House.

The resolution was agreed to.

#### THE HONORABLE REUBEN T. WOOD

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication:

SPRINGFIELD, Mo., January 6, 1939.

Hon. WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD,

Speaker, House of Representatives, United States Washington, D. C.

Sir: In accordance with your designation of me, pursuant to House Resolution 32, Seventy-sixth Congress, adopted by the House House Resolution 32, Seventy-sixth Congress, adopted by the House of Representatives, to administer the oath of office to Representative-elect Reusen T. Wood, of the Sixth District of Missouri, I have the honor to report that on the 6th day of January 1939, at the city of Springfield, State of Missouri, I administered the oath of office to Mr. Wood, form prescribed by section 1757 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, being the form of oath administered to Members of the House of Representatives, to which Mr. Wood subscribed.

I have the honor to be. Yours respectfully,

James F. Fulbright, Judge of the Court of Appeals, Springfield, Mo.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### House Resolution 45

Whereas Reuben T. Wood, a Representative from the State of Missouri, from the Sixth District thereof, has been unable because of sickness in his family to appear in person to be sworn as a Member of this House, but has sworn to and subscribed to the oath of office before the Honorable James F. Fulbright, judge of the court of appeals, at Springfield, Mo., authorized by resolution of this House to administer the oath, and the said oath of office has been presented in his behalf to the House, and there being no contest or question as to his election: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the said oath be accepted and received by the

House as the oath of office of the said Reusen T. Wood as a Member

of this House.

The resolution was agreed to.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I will not object, I hope the Democratic Members will not object to the gentlemen on the Republican side speaking, because they are seeking to entertain the House in an effort to make a few speeches for home consumption. They should be given this opportunity.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the

gentleman from Wisconsin?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I understand this is for educational purposes; is that not true?

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. To keep the record straight. The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, as a new Member of this House, I rise in order to keep the record straight, the facetious remarks of the distinguished New Dealer from Illinois [Mr. Sabath] to the contrary notwithstanding.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. Sirovich], in a colloquy on the floor of the House a few minutes ago, accused

the Republican Party of being in control of the Government in the year 1930 and being responsible for all of the political, economic, and other ills of the country.

Mr. SIROVICH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SIROVICH. I want to correct that statement, because I attributed my remarks to the President of the Republican Party, Herbert Hoover.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. The gentleman said "Republican Party."

Mr. SIROVICH. I said it was Herbert Hoover who offered as a constructive treatment for the unemployed the privilege of selling apples and having those employed divide their wages with those who were unemployed.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Do not take up all of my

Mr. SIROVICH. The record has been corrected.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. I have ears. I can hear. You know, when some of these new dealers are hit, they squeal. Let us speak about facts on the floor of the House.

Since the 1930 election the New Deal Democrats have been in control of the House of Representatives. Was John Gar-NER, the distinguished Speaker from Texas, a Republican?

Mr. SIROVICH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. No. After the 1930 election the Republican Party had a majority of one in the United States Senate, a mere paper majority, because five or six of the brethren elected as Republicans only wore the Republican coat and pants on election day. They were in the New Deal army after the election, and they are in the New Deal army now. You had a New Deal Governor in New York in 1930 who bankrupted the State of New York, which has more wealth and greater sources of taxation than any other State in the Union. Your Congressmen from New York, the politicians from the city and State of New York, were asking Uncle Sam for hand-outs in the year 1930, when Franklin D. Roosevelt, the present President of the United States was Governor.

We also had a New Deal Governor in my State, and we retired him at the last election. We are going to retire many more New Dealers in 1940. Perhaps our New Deal President can then go into the German mark business again, as he did in the past, and into a few other international banking businesses, about which I will have something to say on the floor of the House in the near future.

My colleague the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Knurson] indicated that the gold plates used at the \$100 Jackson Day New Deal dinner might be made out of the gold we Americans were forced to turn into the Treasury. Oh, no; the New Deal made our American citizens turn in their gold for \$20.67 an ounce or else go to the jailhouse for 5 years, just as under the Jones 5-and-10 dry law, and then imported approximately \$1,500,000,000 of gold from Europe at \$35 an ounce, mostly from Great Britain and France, our debtor nations, who owe us more than \$10,000,000,000. Our children and grandchildren to the third and fourth generations will have to sweat and toil to produce tax dollars to pay this gold bonus of our New Deal internationalists.

Let us repeal the New Deal gold and silver steal legislation and instead of playing Santa Claus to foreigners and international bankers use that money to take care of the unemployed and the distressed people of America. Let us drive the international fakers who are linked to Moscow from the citadels of Government in America.

Talk about unemployment! John L. Lewis, racketeer No. 1, who ought to be in the jailhouse with Al Capone, and his gang of Communist leaders are responsible for much of our unemployment. He bought a mortgage on the New Deal Democratic Party for \$500,000 which he shook out of the pay checks of the coal miners. A few years prior to that, Raskob, a multimillionaire munitions war profiteer, had a mortgage of several hundred thousand dollars on the same party. Not many months ago, in violation of the criminal law of my State and the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, which provides

penalties for shaking down corporations and accepting campaign contributions, almost a million dollars of campaign funds were collected by means of \$250 autographed book sales. Now, again in violation of the Federal law, Federal employees eat dinners at \$100 a plate in order to raise campaign funds, although our Federal Corrupt Practices Act prohibits officials and employees of the Federal Government from directly or indirectly making political contributions. [Applause.]

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 2 minutes to correct the record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Speaker, a few minutes ago one of our distinguished colleagues, a Member on the Republican side, cast aspersions upon the treatment of the unemployed through the W. P. A.

The Republican minority has a perfect right to oppose the program of the W. P. A., so long as it offers a constructive substitute for its deficiencies. In order that the record may be clear, however, let me emphasize the constructive statesmanship, symbolized by the leadership of the Republican Party in 1930, when 20,000,000 people were unemployed, as a result of the economic philosophy and prophecy of the distinguished President of the Republican Party, Herbert Hoover, who in 1928 promised two chickens in every pot and two automobiles in every garage.

What was the treatment promulgated, advocated, and recommended by Herbert Hoover, the leader of the Republican Party, and President of the United States in 1930 when

20,000,000 people were unemployed?

Mr. Hoover's contribution to the solution and treatment of unemployment, was the sublime and magnificent thought, of having every unemployed person sell apples on the street corners of urban communities and requested these cities and municipalities to forego receiving the payment of license fees.

Supplementing this heroic and noble contribution to the solution of unemployment by the President of the United States and leader of the Republican Party was his secondary contribution, which I respectfully submit to the Republican minority of this House, and that was, that those people who were employed in 1930 should divide their work with the great army of 20,000,000 unemployed. That was the treatment recommended by Herbert Hoover, the august leader of the Republican Party in 1930, whose disciples, as minority Representatives of the Republican Party today, are criticizing and assailing the humane, constructive, and determined desire of the great President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, to relieve the one-third of our Nation who are underprivileged, undernourished, ill-fed, and ill-housed.

Mr. Speaker, the great city of Milwaukee has returned to Congress my distinguished Republican friend, Mr. Schafer, who was a Member of this House way back before 1930. I have always entertained a sympathetic affection for his gracious and militant personality that has endeared him to many Members of the House. He has seen fit to attack the President of the United States for having bankrupted the State of New York while he was Governor in 1930. In order that the record of the House of Representatives may again be kept clear, let me call to the attention of the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin the fact that when Herbert Hoover swept the United States with his landslide vote in 1928 and elected a Republican House and Senate at the same time, the gracious personality of Franklin D. Roosevelt carried the governorship of the State of New York on the Democratic ticket in spite of the Republican landslide by 26,000 votes. That occurred in 1928. In 1930, in the year my beloved friend from Milwaukee contends Roosevelt bankrupted the State of New York, Franklin D. Roosevelt was reelected Governor of the State of New York by one of the greatest majorities ever given to a Governor. He carried the State by 750,000 majority, which was the overwhelming contribution of independent Republicans and other independent citizens to their appreciation of the fine, humane, constructive, patriotic, and wonderful leadership given by Franklin D. Roosevelt to the people of the great Empire State that ultimately elected him to the Presidency of the United States, which great position he has graced with honor, with dignity, and with the respect of all those who are interested in their fellow man and not in his exploitation. [Applause.]

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, will the gentle-

man yield?

Mr. SIROVICH. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin. Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. I do not deny that, but the treasury of the State of New York was in the red over \$100,000,000.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. ALLEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 30 seconds.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALLEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, for the past 4 years a hue and cry has been raised in this Nation about restoring the independence of Congress. Much favorable comment has appeared in recent days about the renewed leadership apparent in this Congress. All I have to say is that if the last half hour is an example of the way we have assumed that leadership, God save the Nation. This petty bickering and these cheap invectives on the floor, with the Nation in the trouble it is today, must be stopped. I hope from now on that when Members rise and ask unanimous consent to address the House it will be for the purpose of saying something constructive, something which will solve our basic problems. What we have just heard is nothing. Valuable time has been wasted. Let us get down to business. [Applause.]

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—LAWS ENACTED BY LEGISLATURE OF PUERTO RICO

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Insular Affairs:

To the Congress of the United States:

As required by section 23 of the act of Congress approved March 2, 1917, entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes," I transmit herewith certified copies of laws enacted by the Fourteenth Legislature of Puerto Rico during its second regular session, February 14 to April 15, 1938.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES— REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES HIGH COMMISSIONER TO THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, 1937 (H. DOC. NO. 93)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Insular Affairs and ordered to be printed with illustrations:

To the Congress of the United States:

As required by section 7 (4) of the act of Congress approved March 24, 1934, entitled "An act to provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands, to provide for the adoption of a constitution and a form of government for the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes," I transmit herewith, for the information of the Congress, the Second Report of the United States High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands covering the calendar year 1937.

I concur in the recommendation of the Secretary of War that this report be printed as a congressional document.

Franklin D. Roosevelt.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES, 1937 (H. DOC. NO. 94)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read,

and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Insular Affairs and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

As required by paragraph (3) of section 7 of the act of Congress approved March 24, 1934, entitled "An act to provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands, to provide for the adoption of a constitution and a form of government for the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes," I transmit herewith, for the information of the Congress, the Second Annual Report of the President of the Philippines to the President and the Congress of the United States, covering the calendar year ended December 31, 1937.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—ALLEY DWELLING AUTHORITY FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following further message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia:

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the provisions of section 5 (a) of the District of Columbia Alley Dwelling Act, approved June 12, 1934, I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress the report of the Alley Dwelling Authority for the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—EDUCATION OF NATIVES OF ALASKA

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following further message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments:

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the provisions of the act of August 9, 1937, I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress a report covering the expenditures made from the appropriation, "Education of natives of Alaska, 1938–39," for the relief of destitution of natives of Alaska during the fiscal year 1938.

Franklin D. Roosevelt.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—FEDERAL FIRE COUNCIL

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following further message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress the second annual report of the Federal Fire Council.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following further message from the President of the United States, which was read and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on the Civil Service:

To the Congress of the United States:

As required by the act of Congress to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States approved January 16, 1883, I transmit herewith the Fifty-fifth Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—THE CHATTANOOGA FLOOD PROBLEM (H. DOC. NO. 91)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following further message from the President of the United States, which was read, and with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed with illustrations:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith for the information of Congress a letter from the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority, submitting a report entitled "The Chattanooga Flood Problem," made pursuant to the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933.

The attention of the Congress is invited to the suggestion of the Board that the report be printed as a Senate or House document.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—REPORT OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE PANAMA CANAL

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following further message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for the information of the Congress, the annual report of the Governor of the Panama Canal for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—REPORT OF NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR AERONAUTICS

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following further message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, the Committee on Naval Affairs, and the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

In compliance with the provisions of the act of March 3, 1915, establishing the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, I transmit herewith the Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Committee covering the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1939.

# LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. CREAL (at the request of Mr. Spence), indefinitely, on account of illness.

# ADJOURNMENT

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 34 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, January 10, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

# EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

173. A letter from the Acting Director of the Bureau of the Budget, transmitting a list of persons employed in the Procurement Division, Public Buildings Branch, Treasury Department, and paid from the appropriation "General administrative expenses, Public Buildings Branch, Procurement Division," during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

174. A letter from the Federal Communications Commission, transmitting the Fourth Annual Report of the Federal Communications Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

175. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill for the relief of Margaret Rose Uncapher, Milton E. Uncapher, Jr., and Andrew G. Uncapher; to the Committee on Claims.

176. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the report of the Superintendent of St. Elizabeths Hospital, showing in detail the expenditures of the hospital for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

177. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting one copy of legislation passed by the municipal council of St. Thomas and St. John and approved by the Acting Governor of the Virgin Islands on May 16, 1938; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

178. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting one copy of legislation passed by the municipal council of St. Croix and approved by the Governor of the Virgin Islands; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

179. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting one copy each of legislation passed by the municipal council of St. Thomas and St. John and approved by the Governor of the Virgin Islands; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

180. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to transfer the jurisdiction over District of Columbia credit unions from the Commissioners of the District of Columbia and the Comptroller of the Currency to the Farm Credit Administration; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

181. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting the Fourth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States covering the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938; to the Committee on the Library.

182. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a list of papers consisting of 61 items among the archives and records of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System which the Board has recommended to be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

183. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a list of papers consisting of 37 items of the Federal Housing Administration which the Administration has recommended should be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

184. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a list of papers consisting of 17 items of the Panama Canal which that agency has recommended to be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

185. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting the accompanying list of papers consisting of one item from the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works which the Administration has recommended should be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

186. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting the accompanying list of motion-picture film of the United States Fuel Administration consisting of one item and the Administration has no objection to the destruction or other effective disposition of these records; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

187. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting the accompanying list of motion-picture films from the United States Maritime Commission and the Commission has no objection to the destruction or other effective disposition of these records; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

188. A letter from the Chairman of the National Munitions Control Board, transmitting the Third Annual Report of the National Munitions Control Board covering the year ended November 30, 1938 (H. Doc. No. 92); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

189. A letter from the National Labor Relations Board, transmitting the Third Annual Report of the National Labor Relations Board, covering the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Labor.

190. A letter from the Librarian of Congress, transmitting the report of the Register of Copyrights for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on the Library.

191. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill for the relief of Melvin Gerard Alvey, United States Coast Guard; to the Committee on Claims.

192. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting the report of the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service for the fiscal year 1938 (H. Doc. No. 2); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and ordered to be printed.

# PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALLEN of Louisiana:

H. R. 1945. A bill to authorize the erection of additional facilities to the existing United States Veterans' Administration facility, Alexandria, La.; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. ANDERSON of California:

H. R. 1946. A bill authorizing the Secretary of War to conduct a preliminary examination and survey of Pillar Point at Half Moon Bay, San Mateo County, Calif., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. BARTON:

H. R. 1947. A bill to abolish the National Emergency Council, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. BLAND:

H. R. 1948. A bill to foster public interest in, and knowledge of, the American merchant marine by making appropriate use of condemned and obsolete property of the United States; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 1949. A bill to amend section 1 of the River and Harbor Act, approved July 25, 1912, authorizing the removal of temporary obstructions from tributaries of waterways under Federal improvement (37 Stat. L. 722), as amended in section 3 of the act entitled "An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," approved July 3, 1930; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

H.R. 1950. A bill to extend the benefits of certain existing acts in order to increase the efficiency of the Coast and Geodetic Survey; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 1951. A bill to create a Division of Water Pollution Control in the United States Public Health Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. BUCKLER of Minnesota:

H. R. 1952. A bill authorizing the Wisconsin Band of Pottawatomie Indians to file suit in the Court of Claims of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indan Affairs.

By Mr. COLE of New York:

H.R. 1953. A bill to repeal section 148 (d) of the Revenue Act of 1934; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 1954. A bill to amend Public Law No. 732 of the Seventy-fourth Congress, authorizing the operation of stands in Federal buildings by blind persons, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H.R. 1955. A bill to extend the provisions of the Federal Highway Act to the Territory of Alaska; to enlarge the legislative power of the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. DISNEY:

H.R. 1956. A bill to compel Government departments and officials to give full faith and credit to the decrees, judgments, etc., of State courts of record; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 1957. A bill to establish the National Academy of Public Affairs, providing for a Board of Supervisors therefor, and making an appropriation for its establishment and maintenance; to the Committee on Education.

H. R. 1958. A bill authorizing an appropriation for payment to the Osage Tribe of Indians on account of their lands

sold by the United States; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. HESS:

H. R. 1959. A bill for the better assurance of the protection of persons within the several States from mob violence and lynching, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. IZAC:

H. R. 1960. A bill to amend section 1001, title X, of the Social Security Act (Public Law No. 271, 74th Cong.) to include needy individuals who are permanently crippled; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Maryland:

H.R. 1961 (by request). A bill for the relief of disbursing officers and other officers and employees of the United States from disallowances and charges on account of airplane travel; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KIRWAN:

H. R. 1962. A bill granting the consent of Congress to the city of Youngstown, Ohio, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Mahoning River at or near Cedar Street, Youngstown, Ohio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LESINSKI:

H. R. 1963. A bill authorizing the dredging of a channel in Detroit River east of Grosse Isle and west of Stony Island; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. LUCE:

H. R. 1964. A bill to amend section 23 of the act of March 4, 1909, relating to copyrights; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H.R. 1965. A bill to amend the Social Security Act, to provide for matching equally the sums expended by the States for aid to dependent children; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 1966. A bill to establish a board in the Army for hearing and passing upon petitions for correction of records of persons discharged under other than honorable conditions; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1967. A bill to establish boards in the Navy and Marine Corps for hearing and passing upon petitions for correction of records of persons discharged under other than honorable conditions; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. O'CONNOR:

H.R. 1968. A bill to amend title I of the act approved August 25, 1937 (Public, No. 354); to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. O'TOOLE:

H.R. 1969. A bill to amend the act authorizing the conservation, production, exploitation, and sale of helium gas; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1970. A bill to authorize the reinstatement of any veterans who were reduced or dismissed through the enactment of the Economy Act of 1933; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. PACE:

H. R. 1971. A bill to amend section 32, as amended, of the act entitled "An act to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and for other purposes," approved August 24, 1935; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 1972. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the conservation of national soil resources and to provide an adequate and balanced flow of agricultural commodities in interstate and foreign commerce, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 1973. A bill to amend section 501 (Price Adjustment Act of 1938) of H. J. Res. 679 entitled "Joint resolution making appropriations for work relief, relief, and otherwise to increase employment by providing loans and grants for public works projects"; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. PFEIFER:

H. R. 1974. A bill to provide that headstones placed in national cemeteries shall be uniform as to size and design; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RAMSPECK:

H.R. 1975 (by request). A bill to amend the Annual and Sick Leave Acts of March 14, 1936; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H. R. 1976. A bill to amend title 28, section 41, subsection 27, of the Judicial Code; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 1977. A bill to amend an act to authorize the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to make certain disposition of condemned ordnance, guns, projectiles, and other condemned material in their respective departments; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 1978 (by request). A bill to extend the provisions of the civil-service laws to certain positions in the Department of Justice; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H. R. 1979 (by request). A bill to extend the provisions of the civil-service laws to certain positions in the Department of the Treasury; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H. R. 1980 (by request). A bill for the compensation of certain employees of the Railway Mail Service; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 1981 (by request). A bill to amend the Classification Act of March 4, 1923, as amended; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H.R. 1982. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to classify officers and members of the fire department of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. REES of Kansas:

H. R. 1983. A bill to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the late Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood, United States Army; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

H. R. 1984. A bill to amend section 18 of the Judicial Code, as amended (U. S. C., 1934 ed., title 28, sec. 22); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky:

H.R. 1985. A bill granting pensions to veterans of the World War, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 1986. A bill granting pensions to certain widows, minor children, and helpless children of soldiers, sailors, and marines of the World War, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. SMITH of Connecticut:

H. R. 1987. A bill to provide for the common defense by acquiring certain commodities essential to the manufacture of supplies for the armed forces in time of an emergency, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SUMNERS of Texas:

H. R. 1988. A bill to authorize the temporary appointment of a special judge for the District Court of the Virgin Islands; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 1989. A bill to provide for the confiscation of firearms in possession of persons convicted of felony and the disposition thereof; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 1990. A bill to amend the Judicial Code by conferring on circuit courts of appeals jurisdiction to revise sentences in criminal cases; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 1991. A bill to amend the Judicial Code in respect to claims against the United States for just compensation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 1992. A bill to provide for the taking of depositions in criminal proceedings, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 1993. A bill to repeal the provision of law which provides that the failure of the defendant in a criminal case to testify shall not create any presumption against him; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 1994. A bill providing for waiver of prosecution by indictment in certain criminal proceedings; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 1995. A bill to regulate the defense of alibi in criminal cases; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 1996. A bill to amend the National Stolen Property Act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 1997. A bill to permit appeals by the United States to the circuit courts of appeals in certain criminal cases; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 1998. A bill to provide for a change in the time for holding court at Rock Hill and Spartanburg, S. C.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 1999. A bill to confer jurisdiction upon certain United States commissioners to try petty offenses committed on Federal reservations; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. THOMAS of Texas:

H. R. 2000. A bill to provide for grants to the States for assistance to needy incapacitated adults; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WHELCHEL:

H. R. 2001. A bill for the equalization of letter carriers; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of Missouri:

H. R. 2002. A bill to provide for the construction and equipment of a building for the experiment station of the Bureau of Mines at Rolla, Mo.; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

By Mr. VAN ZANDT:

H.R. 2003. A bill to authorize the erection of a United States Veterans' Administration hospital for the central Pennsylvania area; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 2004. A bill to provide for including periods of service while in the armed forces of the United States during the World War for the purposes of the Railroad Retirement Acts; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. EDMISTON:

H. R. 2005. A bill providing for continuing retirement pay, under certain conditions, of officers and former officers of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps of the United States, other than officers of the Regular Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, who incurred physical disability while in the service of the United States during the World War, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HAVENNER:

H. R. 2006. A bill providing for the refund of certain taxes paid by State and municipal officers and employees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 2007. A bill to regulate taxation of articles of commerce between the United States and the islands of Guam and American Samoa; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SPARKMAN:

H. R. 2008. A bill to increase the lump-sum payment made under the Workmen's Compensation Act in cases of permanent total disability suffered prior to February 12, 1927; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. VOORHIS of California:

H. R. 2009. A bill to facilitate the control of soil-erosion and/or flood damage originating upon lands within the exterior boundaries of the Angeles National Forest, Calif.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. PARSONS:

H. R. 2010. A bill for the payment of all awards heretofore made in favor of citizens of the United States on claims presented under the General Claims Convention of September 8, 1923, United States and Mexico, and under an act of Congress of April 10, 1935, and subsequent acts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CHANDLER:

H. J. Res. 73. Joint resolution to create the Andrew Jackson Memorial Commission to consider and devise plans for the erection of a permanent memorial to Andrew Jackson; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. CASE of South Dakota:

H. J. Res. 74. Joint resolution restoring the right of appeal to the Supreme Court in certain cases involving claims of the Sioux Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. DONDERO:

H. J. Res. 75. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to fix the number of Justices of the Supreme Court; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KING:

H. J. Res. 76. Joint resolution authorizing a preliminary examination or survey of Kalaupapa Landing, island of Molokai, Territory of Hawaii; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. LESINSKI:

H. J. Res. 77. Joint resolution to establish the General Casimir Pulaski Memorial Commission to formulate plans for the construction of a permanent memorial to the memory of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski at Savannah, Ga.; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey:

H. J. Res. 78. Joint resolution requiring that a study and survey of all taxes, direct and indirect, which are required to be paid by any persons, groups of persons, partnerships, or corporations engaged in the manufacture and/or processing of foodstuffs, goods, wares, or merchandise be undertaken by the Department of the Treasury or such assistants in the said Department as the Secretary may designate; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. THOMAS of Texas:

H. J. Res. 79. Joint resolution authorizing the President to invite the States of the Union and foreign countries to participate in the Oil World Exposition at Houston, Tex., to be held April 24 to 29, 1939, inclusive; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SABATH:

H. J. Res. 80. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11, 1939, General Pulaski's Memorial Day for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JENKS of New Hampshire:

H. J. Res. 81. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim on March 4 of each year General Pulaski Day for the observance of the birth of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WALTER:

H. J. Res. 82. Joint resolution providing for the construction of certain dams; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. O'LEARY:

H. Res. 46. A resolution to pay Grace E. Rippon 6 months' compensation and funeral expenses of Matthew J. Rippon, late an employee of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Accounts.

# PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ASHBROOK:

H. R. 2011. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary McHale; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2012. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary Hart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BARTON:

H. R. 2013. A bill for the relief of Cohen, Goldman & Co., Inc.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BELL:

H. R. 2014. A bill for the relief of Margaret Redmond; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BALL:

H. R. 2015. A bill granting a pension to Alfarata Phillips; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2016. A bill granting an increase of pension to Hattie E. Chappell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2017. A bill granting an increase of pension to Martha M. Tryon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2018. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Cahoone; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2019. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lucy A. Beckwith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 2020. A bill granting an increase of pension to Augusta E. Cutler; to the Committee on Invalid Pension.

By Mr. BUCKLER of Minnesota:

H.R. 2021. A bill granting a pension to Marion L. Sargent; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2022. A bill for the relief of Beltrami Consolidated Abstract Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BOEHNE:

H.R. 2023. A bill authorizing redemption of a loan office certificate; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BROWN of Ohio:

H. R. 2024. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elmira E. Ballinger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2025. A bill granting a pension to Jessie Bell McElroy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. COLE of New York:

H. R. 2026. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emma J. Campbell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2027. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary L. Paddock; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2028. A bill granting an increase of pension to Laura E. Lawrence; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2029. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elmira M. Webb; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2030. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Green; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CULLEN:

H. R. 2031. A bill for the relief of Maria Virginia Ippolito; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 2032. A bill for the relief of Agostino Ippolito; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 2033. A bill for the relief of Bartolomeo Anselmo; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 2034. A bill for the relief of Mario Cellai; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 2035. A bill for the relief of Giovanni Galliano; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 2036. A bill for the relief of Umberto Tedeschi; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 2037. A bill for the relief of Giovanni Raffa; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. DISNEY:

H. R. 2038. A bill to provide a right-of-way; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2039. A bill for the relief of Silas B. Haddock; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2040. A bill for the relief of Frank S. Nipper; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2041. A bill for the relief of Tom Kelly; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2042. A bill for the relief of E. C. Beaver; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2043. A bill granting a pension to Mary W. Lessley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2044. A bill for the relief of R. Dove and Laura J. Dove; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DEMPSEY:

H. R. 2045. A bill for the relief of Anna Hathaway; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2046. A bill for the relief of A. C. Williams; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 2047. A bill granting an increase of pension to Clara B. Kirkendall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FITZPATRICK:

H.R. 2048. A bill for the relief of Julius Springer; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FULMER:

H. R. 2049. A bill for the relief of Olin C. Risinger; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GRAHAM:

H. R. 2050. A bill granting an increase of pension to Matilda Tarno; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2051. A bill for the relief of Tarquin Marziano; to the Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 2052. A bill granting a pension to Fred L. Lindsey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GILLIE:

H. R. 2053. A bill granting a pension to Mary E. Ramer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2054. A bill granting a pension to Mary E. Michaud; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HAVENNER:

H. R. 2055. A bill for the relief of K. E. Parker Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2056. A bill for the relief of the Shipowners & Merchants Towboat Co., Ltd.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HALLECK:

H. R. 2057. A bill granting an increase of pension to Florence Uplinger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HESS:

H. R. 2058. A bill for the relief of Jessie Denning Van Eimeren; A. C. Van Eimeren and Clara Adolph; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JONES of Ohio:

H. R. 2059. A bill granting a pension to Jennie E. Key; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2060. A bill granting a pension to Emma Hinton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Maryland:

H. R. 2061 (by request). A bill for the relief of Ernest O. Robinette and others; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2062. A bill for the relief of Charles E. Naghel and Kammeyer & Medack; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2063 (by request). A bill for the relief of Mabel Foote Ramsey; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2064. A bill for the relief of Allen L. Abshier, Verne G. Adams, Oliver D. Chattin, William K. Heath, and Harry B. Jennings; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2065 (by request). A bill for the relief of Lt. Malcolm A. Hufty, United States Navy; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2066. A bill for the relief of Bichard S. Reed: to the

H.R. 2066. A bill for the relief of Richard S. Reed; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2067 (by request). A bill for the relief of Atlas Powder Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2068. A bill for the relief of Dolores P. de Williamson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KNUTSON:

H. R. 2069. A bill for the relief of Peter P. Borash; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2070. A bill for the relief of Edwin Forsman; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2071. A bill for the relief of Howard E. Dickison; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Maryland:

H. R. 2072 (by request). A bill for the relief of certain disbursing officers of the Army of the United States and for the settlement of individual claims approved by the War Department; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2073 (by request). A bill to allow credit in the accounts of certain former disbursing officers of the Veterans' Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KITCHENS:

H.R. 2074. A bill for the relief of Junius Alexander; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LECOMPTE:

H. R. 2075. A bill granting a pension to H. Emma Streepy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LESINSKI:

H. R. 2076. A bill for the relief of Nicolai Demchuk; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. MALONEY:

H. R. 2077. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Daniel J. Devlin, Jr.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. NICHOLS:

H. R. 2078. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Oklahoma to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of D. X. Sanders; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. O'NEAL:

H. R. 2079. A bill for the relief of Charles T. Wise; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2080. A bill granting an increase of pension to Kate R. Forrester; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mrs. O'DAY:

H.R. 2081. A bill for the relief of Frank Frigenti; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 2082. A bill for the relief of Nathan Fink; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. O'CONNOR:

H. R. 2083. A bill for the relief of Dan Yancey; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. O'TOOLE:

H. R. 2084. A bill for the relief of Ziskind Sokolow; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 2085. A bill for the relief of Pasquale Altezza; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 2086. A bill for the relief of Joseph Sciortino; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2087. A bill for the relief of Louis Samolski, Rebecca Samolski, and Martin Samolski; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 2088. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sadie Isabel Monssen; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 2089. A bill for the relief of George F. Kane; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 2090. A bill for the relief of Isaac Zarembsky; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 2091. A bill for the relief of Itzhock or Isidore Finkelstein and Rochel or Rachela Finkelstein; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 2092. A bill for the relief of Santo Tedesco; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 2093. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claims of Achille Ratallato and Albert Ratallato; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2094. A bill to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to determine the damages sustained by Aktieselskabet Reidar; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PACE:

H.R. 2095. A bill for the relief of Henry Howell; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2096. A bill for the relief of Lucile Snider and Cliff Snider, Jr.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PETERSON of Georgia:

H. R. 2097. A bill for the relief of Homer C. Stroud; to the Committee of Claims.

H.R. 2098. A bill for the relief of Katherine Patterson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. POLK:

H. R. 2099. A bill granting an increase of pension to Luvenia J. Myrick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RAMSPECK:

H. R. 2100. A bill granting a pension to Fannie A. Ott; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 2101. A bill granting a pension to Lina S. Terrell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2102. A bill for the relief of Ada Fuller; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H.R. 2103. A bill granting a pension to Marcellus W. Mace; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. REECE of Tennessee:

H. R. 2104. A bill for the relief of James A. Mills; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2105. A bill granting a pension to Sherman Lee Rhea; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 2106. A bill for the relief of Charles Flack; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2107. A bill for the relief of J. H. Atkins; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2108. A bill granting a pension to William C. Ryan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2109. A bill for the relief of Roland W. Davison; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2110. A bill for the relief of Marion C. Asbury; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2111. A bill for the relief of Bonnie R. Howard; to the Committee on War Claims.

H.R. 2112. A bill for the relief of Ben H. Owens; to the Committee on War Claims.

H.R. 2113. A bill for the relief of Solon P. Haun; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 2114. A bill granting a pension to Elmer J. Rush; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. REES of Kansas:

H.R. 2115. A bill for the relief of Catherine McLinden; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky:

H. R. 2116. A bill granting an increase of pension to Artie York; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2117. A bill granting a pension to Martha Pace; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SCHIFFLER:

H. R. 2118. For the relief of Tarring W. Heironimus; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2119. A bill to restore to the Neill Grocery Co., of Wheeling, W. Va., the sum of \$900, the amount of counsel fee paid by said Neill Grocery Co. in an action brought against them August 10, 1917; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SHORT:

H. R. 2120. A bill granting a pension to Marietta Cannon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions,

H. R. 2121. A bill granting a pension to Angeline Hart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2122. A bill granting a pension to Mary E. Mitchell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2123. A bill granting a pension to Agnes P. Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2124. A bill granting a pension to Mary B. Morris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2125. A bill granting a pension to Rachel Nash; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2126. A bill granting a pension to Jesse Mills; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2127. A bill granting a pension to Cathrine Orender; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2128. A bill granting a pension to Henry William Means; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2129. A bill granting a pension to Frank A. Boster; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2130. A bill granting a pension to Mary Jane Patterson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 2131. A bill granting a pension to Ruth Ann Breedlove; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2132. A bill granting a pension to Katie A, Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2133. A bill granting a pension to Alice L. Stemmons; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2134. A bill granting a pension to Effie Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2135. A bill granting a pension to Sarah E. Hermanstorfor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2136. A bill granting an increase of pension to Nancy Catherine Fry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2137. A bill granting an increase of pension to Cordelia E. Sims; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2138. A bill granting an increase of pension to Susan C. Nobles; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2139. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lydia E. Laton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2140. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Stone; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2141. A bill granting an increase of pension to Christina M. Sharp; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2142. A bill for the relief of Oda Herbert Plowman; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Connecticut:

H. R. 2143. A bill granting a pension to Helen M. Crowley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2144. A bill for the relief of Peter Joseph Costigan; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. SNYDER:

H. R. 2145. A bill granting an increase of pension to Annie M. Dill; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2146. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ella L. Brownfield; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

L. Brownfield; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 2147. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mar-

garet A. Inks; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2148. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary
J. Marshall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2149. A bill granting an increase of pension to Barbara Wiley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2150. A bill granting an increase of pension to Albert S. Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SPARKMAN:

H. R. 2151. A bill for the relief of James P. Bruce, Jr.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SPRINGER:

H. R. 2152. A bill for the relief of Arthur Hamilton; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SUMNERS of Texas:

H. R. 2153. A bill granting a pension to Mary H. Nash; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SWEENEY:

H. R. 2154. A bill for the relief of Gimpel Goldberg; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 2155. A bill for the relief of Harry Morganstern; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee:

H.R. 2156. A bill granting a pension to Reps J. Carnes; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2157. A bill for the relief of Taylor M. Allen; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TERRY:

H. R. 2158. A bill for the relief of W. M. Hurley; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. VAN ZANDT:

H. R. 2159. A bill granting a pension to Lana Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. VOORHIS of California:

H. R. 2160. A bill for the relief of S. Uttal; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2161. A bill for the relief of the Pacific Airmotive Corporation, Burbank, Calif.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of Missouri:

H. R. 2162. A bill for the relief of Katherine Scott, Mrs. J. H. Scott, Jettie Stewart, and Ruth Mincemeyer; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia:

H. R. 2163. A bill for the relief of Cora Janney; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2164. A bill for the relief of Bertha E. Richardson; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2165. A bill granting a pension to Blanche F. O'Beirne; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2166. A bill extending the time for filing a claim for reimbursement for the funeral expenses of Harold P. Straus; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

51. By Mr. ANDREWS: Resolution adopted by the Buffalo Teachers Federation, Inc., urging the passage of a bill to prevent the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon

the employees of the States and their instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

52. By Mr. BARTON: Petition of the Men's Association of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church of New York City, to take every practicable means to bring to an end a traffic from our country which is compelling us to be a partner in the destruction of the Chinese people; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

53. By Mr. BLAND: Petition of the Fredericksburg Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Fredericksburg, Va., favoring legislation to protect present and future citizenship from the evils of liquor traffic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

54. By Mr. DEROUEN: Petition of leaders and keymen church parish of the Sacred Heart of Mary Catholic Church, Church Point, La., urging the adherence by the United States to the Neutrality Acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

55. Also, petition of the Lafayette Diocesan Council, National Council of Catholic Women, Lafayette, La., urging adherence by United States to its present neutrality policy and protesting any change in the Neutrality Acts of August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

56. Also, petition of the Puerto Rico Needlework Association, Inc., Mayaguez, P. R., for an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938; communication being addressed Continental Rice Milling Co., Crowley, La., for transmission and reference to the Congress of the United States; to the Committee on Labor.

57. By Mr. DONDERO: Petition of the village commission of Oak Park, Oakland County, Mich., protesting against the imposition of retroactive taxes and urging legislation limiting any taxation of State and municipal officers and employees to salaries only which they may receive in the future; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

58. Also, petition of the village commission of Oak Park, Oakland County, Mich., protesting against the right of the Federal Government to tax State, county, and municipal bonds and securities without the consent of said government units, and without a constitutional amendment; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

59. By Mr. KEOGH: Petition of the National Association of State Aviation Officials, favoring a separate standing aeronautics committee in both the Senate and House; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

60. Also, petition of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, concerning appropriation for the continuance of the Dies investigating committee; to the Committee on Rules.

61. Also, petition of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, concerning Government guaranty of bank loans to business; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

62. By Mr. LESINSKI: Resolution of the Detroit Council, 305, Knights of Columbus, Detroit, Mich., urging the Congress of the United States to make available funds to continue investigation of un-American activities; to the Committee on Appropriations.

63. By Mr. LUCE: Petition of members of the congregation of the Auburndale Congregational Church, Auburndale, Mass., relating to shipment of war material to Japan; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

64. By Mr. MERRITT: Resolution of the Manhasset Bay Yacht Club of Port Washington, Long Island, stating that convention No. 53 of the International Labor Conference Treaty of 1936 will impose upon the sport of yachting burdens so great as to result in inestimable injury not only to this and other yacht clubs and to individual yacht owners, but also to the shipyards which build, repair, commission, and otherwise service seagoing yachts, with consequent loss of jobs to men employed on yachts and in shipyards, unless there shall be exempted from the operation thereof all vessels of less than 200 gross registered tonnage; to the Committee on Labor.

65. Also, resolution of the Queens County Corona Post, No. 451, American Legion, requesting the continuance of the Com-

mittee to Investigate Un-American Activities and the appropriation of additional funds to foster and continue this committee; to the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

66. By Mr. PFEIFER: Petition of conference of mayors and other municipal officials of the State of New York, Albany, N. Y., concerning Federal taxation of municipal securities and revenues; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

67. By Mr. SABATH: Petition of the Cook County Council, the American Legion, Department of Illinois, petitioning consideration of their resolution which will give to veterans, their widows, and the wives of disabled veterans a priority in assignment and retention on all work-relief projects in the Works Progress Administration; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

68. By Mr. SHORT: Petition of certain citizens of Neosho, Mo., asking Congress to pass legislation to prevent the advertising of alcoholic beverages by press and radio; to the Com-

mittee on the Judiciary.

69. Also, petition of the Mountain Grove, Mo., local union of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, asking Congress to pass legislation to prevent the advertising of alcoholic beverages by press and radio; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

70. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the General Welfare Federation of America, Washington, D. C., petitioning consideration of their petition from California, Eighteenth Congressional District, with reference to the General Welfare

Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

71. Also, petition of the Wisconsin Chiefs of Police Association, Kaukauna, Wis., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to preventing the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and

Means.

72. Also, petition of Pablo Ozeguera, Habana, Cuba, petitioning consideration of his petition, which seems to indicate the general tenor that national as well as international relations demand that we, as men of good will, strive for peace, stability, and for the economic progress of men and nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

73. Also, petition of Ireanus J. Leitemeyer Post, No. 1982, Veterans of Foreign Wars, New Iberia, La., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to foreign sugar and domestic sugar industry; to the Committee on Ways and

Means.

74. Also, petition of the National Sojourners, Inc., Columbus Chapter, No. 10, Columbus, Ohio, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

75. Also, petition of the General Welfare Federation of America, Washington, D. C., petitioning consideration of their resolution from the State of Florida, First Congressional District, with reference to General Welfare Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

76. Also, petition of the General Welfare Federation of America, Washington, D. C., petitioning consideration of their resolution from the State of Missouri, Fifth Congressional District, with reference to the General Welfare Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

# SENATE

# TUESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1939

The Chaplain, Rev. ZeBarney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou who art greater than our greatest thought of Thee, whose greatness is unsearchable, waken in us by Thy secret indwelling all slumbering possibilities of our own greatness, that we may show forth the gift of God within us, even though as yet it may be but our unaccepted, unclaimed inheritance. Keep us calm each day in the strength of ever greater things achieved and, as we sit at the feet of the

Master on the heights to which He rose, help us to attain that further greater good which, foreshadowed in dreams and sown in the soil of holy aspiration, shall one day manifest itself as the fruit of Thy purpose for Thy children. We ask it in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Barkley, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Monday, January 9, 1939, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

#### CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. MINTON. I suggest the absence of a quorum.
The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.
The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Danaher	Johnson, Calif.	Pittman
Andrews	Davis	Johnson, Colo.	Radcliffe
Ashurst	Donahey	King	Reed
Austin	Downey	Lee	Reynolds
Bailey	Ellender	Lewis	Russell
Bankhead	Frazier	Lodge	Schwartz
Barbour	George	Logan	Schwellenbach
Barkley	Gerry	Lucas	Sheppard
Bilbo	Gibson	Lundeen	Shipstead
Bone	Gillette	McCarran	Smathers
Borah	Glass	McKellar	Smith
Bridges	Green	McNary	Taft
Brown	Guffey	Maloney	Thomas, Okla.
Bulow	Gurney	Mead	Thomas, Utah
Burke	Hale	Miller	Tobey
Byrd	Harrison	Minton	Truman
Byrnes	Hatch	Murray	Tydings
Capper	Hayden	Neely	Vandenberg
Caraway	Herring	Norris	Van Nuys
Chavez	Hill	Nye	Wagner
Clark, Idaho	Holman	O'Mahoney	Walsh
Clark, Mo.	Holt	Overton	White
Connally	Hughes	Pepper	Wiley

Mr. MINTON. I announce that the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Lewis] and the Senator from Montana [Mr. Wheeler] are detained on important public business.

Mr. AUSTIN. I announce that the Senator from Delaware [Mr. Townsend] is necessarily absent.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety-two Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON TAXATION OF GOVERNMENTAL SECURITIES AND SALARIES

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair announces the appointment of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Miller] as a member of the Special Committee on Taxation of Governmental Securities and Salaries under Senate Resolution 303, agreed to June 16, 1938, vice Hon. George McGill, former Senator from Kansas.

# REFERENCE OF NOMINATIONS AND TREATIES

Mr. BARKLEY. I submit a resolution and ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

There being no objection, the resolution was read, considered, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That on calendar days of the present session of the Congress when no executive session is held, nominations or treaties received from the President of the United States may, where no objection is interposed, be referred, as in executive session, to the appropriate committees by the Presiding Officer of the Senate.

#### STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE

Mr. BARKLEY. By direction of the steering committee of the majority, I send forward a list of assignments of Senators to the various committees, and ask that it be read and approved by the Senate.

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, in conjunction with the list submitted by the Senator from Kentucky at the request of the minority leader, I submit the report of the committee on committees of the minority, which I understand is to be offered with the presentation of the majority leader.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will read the lists of committee assignments on behalf of the majority and the minority, and, without objection, they will be considered together.

LXXXIV-11

The Chief Clerk read the majority and minority assignments, which, in the form of an order, were agreed to, as

Ordered, That the following shall constitute the standing committees of the Senate of the Seventy-sixth Congress:

On Agriculture and Forestry: Messrs. Smith (chairman), Wheeler, Thomas of Oklahoma, Bankhead, Bullow, Mrs. Caraway, Messrs. Hatch, Bilbo, Schwellenbach, Gillette, Ellender, Minton, Lucas,—, Norris, McNary, Capper, Frazier, Shipstead, and Wiley.

On Appropriations: Messrs. Glass (chairman), McKellar, Hayden, Thomas of Oklahoma, Byrnes, Tydings, Russell, Adams, McCarran, Overton, Bankhead, O'Mahoney, Truman, Burke, Green, Maloney, Chavez, Hale, Nye, Townsend, Bridges, Lodge, Holman, and Taft.

To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate: Messrs. Byrnes, (chairman), Tydings, Truman, and Townsend.

To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate: Messrs. Byrnes (chairman), Tydings, Truman, and Townsend. On Banking and Currency: Messrs. Wagner (chairman), Glass, Barkley, Byrnes, Bankhead, Adams, Maloney, Radcliffe, Brown, Hughes, Herring, Smathers, Miller, Clark of Idaho, Downey, Townsend, Frazier, Tobey, Danaher, and Taft.

On Civil Service: Messrs. Bulow (chairman), McKellar, George, Logan, Neely, Byrd, Downey, White, Gibson, and Frazier.

On Claims: Messrs. Logan (chairman), Bailey, Burke, Schwellenbach, Brown, Ellender, Hughes, Schwartz, Smathers, Capper, Townsend, Tobey, and Wiley.

On Commerce: Messrs. Bailey (chairman), Sheppard, Mrs. Caraway, Messrs. Clark of Missouri, Overton, Bilbo, Donahey, Guffey, Maloney, Radcliffe, Pepper, Lee, Hill, Mead, McNary, Johnson of California, Vandenberg, White, Gibson, and Barbour.

On the District of Columbia: Messrs. King (chairman), Glass,

On the District of Columbia: Messrs. King (chairman), Glass, Tydings, Lewis, Bankhead, McCarran, Reynolds, Bilbo, Overton, Hughes, Clark of Idaho, Capper, Austin, Bridges, and Holman.
On Education and Labor: Messrs. Thomas of Utah (chairman), Walsh, Murray, Donahey, Holt, Pepper, Ellender, Lee, Hill, Borah, La Follette, Davis, and Taft.
On Enrolled Bills: Mrs. Caraway (chairman), Messrs. Truman and Reed.
On Expenditures in the Executive Departments: Messrs Lewis

On Expenditures in the Executive Departments: Messrs. Lewis

On Expenditures in the Executive Departments: Messrs. Lewis (chairman), Wagner, Van Nuys, Pittman, Barkley, Davis, and Lodge. On Finance: Messrs. Harrison (chairman), King, George, Walsh, Barkley, Connally, Bailey, Clark of Missouri, Byrd, Gerry, Guffey, Brown, Herring, Johnson of Colorado, Radcliffe, La Follette, Capper, Vandenberg, Townsend, Davis, and Lodge.

On Foreign Relations: Messrs. Pittman (chairman), Harrison, George, Wagner, Connally, Lewis, Thomas of Utah, Van Nuys, Murray, Schwellenbach, Pepper, Green, Barkley, Reynolds, Guffey, Gillette, Borah, Johnson of California, Capper, La Follette, Vandenberg, White, and Shipstead.

On Immigration: Messrs, Russell (chairman), King, Maloney.

On Immigration: Messrs. Russell (chairman), King, Maloney, Schwellenbach, Holt, Andrews, Hughes, Smathers, Herring, —, Johnson of California, Austin, Capper, and Holman.
On Indian Affairs: Messrs. Thomas of Oklahoma (chairman), Wheeler, Ashurst, Bulow, Hatch, O'Mahoney, Donahey, Chavez, Johnson of Colorado, Lundeen, Frazier, La Follette, Shipstead, and McNary.

On Interoceanic Canals: Messrs. Clark of Missouri (chairman),

On Interoceanic Canals: Messrs. Clark of Missouri (chairman), Hayden, Pepper, Ellender, Downey, \_\_\_\_\_\_, Bridges, and Lodge.
On Interstate Commerce: Messrs. Wheeler (chairman), Smith, Wagner, Barkley, Neely, Bone, Donahey, Minton, Truman, Andrews, Johnson of Colorado, Schwartz, Hill, Lundeen, \_\_\_\_\_, White, Austin, Shipstead, Tobey, Reed, and Gurney.
On Irrigation and Reclamation: Messrs. Bankhead (chairman), Sheppard, Pittman, Ashurst, Adams, McCarran, Overton, Hatch, O'Mahoney, Chavez, Lee, Clark of Idaho, McNary, Johnson of California, Townsend, Nye, and Gurney.
On the Judiciary: Messrs. Ashurst (chairman), King, Neely, McCarran, Van Nuys, Logan, Hatch, Burke, Pittman, Connally, O'Mahoney, Hughes, Miller, Borah, Norris, Austin, Danaher, and Wiley.

Wiley.

On the Library: Messrs. Barkley (chairman). McKellar, Thomas of Oklahoma, Mrs. Caraway, Messrs. Bilbo, Radcliffe, Herring, Gibson, McNary, and Tobey.

On Manufactures: Messrs. Overton (chairman), Smith, Sheppard, Russell, Gerry, Guffey, Brown, Johnson of Colorado, Mead, La Follette, Barbour, Reed, and Danaher.

On Military Affairs: Messrs. Sheppard (chairman), Lewis, Logan, Reynolds, Thomas of Utah, Minton, Johnson of Colorado, Lee, Schwartz, Lundeen, Hill, Clark of Missouri, Downey, Austin, Nye, Bridges, Gurney, and Holman.

Bridges, Gurney, and Holman.

On Mines and Mining: Messrs. Guffey (chairman), Pittman, Hayden, Logan, Bulow, Thomas of Utah, Holt, Johnson of Colorado, Schwartz, Davis, Reed, Taft, and Wiley.

On Naval Affairs: Messrs. Walsh (chairman), Tydings, Smith, Russell, Bone, Byrd, Gerry, Holt, Andrews, Gillette, Ellender, Lucas, Hale, Davis, Johnson of California, Gibson, and Barbour.

On Patents: Messrs. Bone (chairman), Smith, Pepper, Clark of Idaho, Lucas, Norris, and White.

On Pensions: Messrs. Minton (chairman), Wheeler, Walsh, Thomas of Utah, Schwartz, Bilbo, Schwellenbach, Hill, Frazier, Townsend, and Shipstead.

Townsend, and Shipstead.

On Post Offices and Post Roads: Messrs. McKellar (chairman), Hayden, Bailey, Bulow, Byrnes, Logan, O'Mahoney, Murray, Chavez, Holt, Ellender, Smathers, Mead, Clark of Idaho, Frazier, La Follette, Bridges, Davis, and Reed.

Lucas, ——, Austin, Johnson of California, Nye, Bridges, and Wiley.

On Public Buildings and Grounds: Messrs. Connally (chairman), Ashurst, Tydings, Walsh, Maloney, Truman, Chavez, Andrews, Gillette, Green, Herring, Hale, Barbour, and Taft.

On Public Lands and Surveys: Messrs. Adams (chairman), Pittman, Ashurst, Wagner, Hatch, O'Mahoney, Murray, McCarran, Andrews, Lee, Smathers, Nye, Borah, Gurney, and Holman.

On Rules: Messrs. Neely (chairman), Harrison, McKellar, Adams, Byrd, Lewis, Gillette, Miller, Andrews, Hale, Vandenberg, Barbour, and Tobey.

On Territories and Insular Affairs: Messrs, Tydings (chairman)

On Territories and Insular Affairs: Messrs. Tydings (chairman), Pittman, Hayden, King, Clark of Missouri, Reynolds, Bone, Mc-Kellar, Wheeler, Gerry, Lundeen, Miller, Nye, Vandenberg, Gibson, Lodge, and Danaher.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, the list of committees read completes the committee membership except for the Senator-elect from Tennessee [Mr. STEWART], who has not yet been sworn in. He has been assigned to his committees. to take effect when he arrives. When that is done the committees will be complete.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Hess, one of his secretaries.

#### REPORT OF CENTRAL STATISTICAL BOARD

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read and referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for the information of the Congress, a report of the Central Statistical Board on the Returns Made by the Public to the Federal Government. I recommend that this report be printed as a public document.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 10, 1939.

[Note: Report accompanied similar message to the House of Representatives.]

REPORT OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF PANAMA RAILROAD CO.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying report, referred to the Committee on Interoceanic Canals, as follows:

o the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for the information of the Congress, the Eighty-ninth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Panama Railroad Co. for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 10, 1939.

# MELVIN GERARD ALVEY

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury transmitting a draft of proposed legislation for the relief of Melvin Gerard Alvey, boatswain's mate, first class, lifesaving, United States Coast Guard, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Claims.

EMPLOYMENT OF ALIENS BY GOVERNMENTAL DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the secretary of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, submitting, in response to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938, a report pertaining to aliens employed by the Corporation and the reasons for such employment, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also laid before the Senate a letter from the Administrator of the United States Housing Authority, stating, in response to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938, that no aliens are employed by that Authority, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

#### PETITIONS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate petitions of sundry citizens of Milwaukee, Wis., praying for adherence by the United States to the principle of neutrality as contained in existing law and the modification of the original neutrality law so as to include civil as well as international conflicts, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. LODGE presented petitions of sundry citizens of Leominster, Mass., praying for the enactment of the so-called Townsend General Welfare Act, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

#### REFUGE FOR PERSECUTED CHILDREN OF GERMANY

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD and appropriately referred a petition submitted to the President yesterday, urging the American people to join in offering refuge to German children subject to religious and racial persecution in their native land.

The petition is signed by His Eminence George Cardinal Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago, and 47 other outstanding prelates representing the Catholic and the various Protestant

There being no objection, the petition was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The American people has made clear its reaction to the oppression of all minority groups, religious and racial, throughout Germany. It has been especially moved by the plight of the children. Every heart has been touched, and the Nation has spoken out its sorrow and dismay through the voices of its statesmen, teachers, and religious leaders. Americans have felt that protest, however vigorous, and sympathy, however deep, are not enough, and that these must translate themselves into such action as shall justify these must translate themselves into such action as shall justify faith.

We have been stirred by the knowledge that Holland and England have opened their doors and homes to many of these children. We conceive it to be our duty, in the name of the American tradition and the religious spirit common to our Nation to urge the people, by its Congress and Executive, to express sympathy through special treatment of the young, robbed of country, homes, and parents. A heartening token of the mood of America is to be found in the fact that thousands of Americans of all faiths have made known their eagerness to take these young children into their homes, without burden or obligation to the State.

out burden or obligation to the State.

Working within and under the laws of Congress, through special enactment, if necessary, the Nation can offer sanctuary to a part of these children by united expression of its will to help.

To us it seems that the duty of Americans in dealing with the youthful victims of a regime which punishes innocent and tender children as if they were offenders, is to remember the monition of Him who said, "Suffer little children to come unto me." And in that spirit we call on all Americans to join together without regard to race, religion, or creed in offering refuge to children as a token of our sympathy and as a symbol of our faith in the ideals of human prother head. brotherhood.

[The above statement by a group of representatives of Christian churches of America is endorsed by the following:]

ches of America is endorsed by the following:]

Dr. Martin Anderson, Central Presbyterian Church, Denver, Colo.; Dr. Albert William Beaven, president of Colgate Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, N. Y.; Dr. Oscar F. Blackwelder, Lutheran Church of the Reformation, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Walter Russell Bowie, Grace Church, New York City; Dr. Samuel Cavert, executive secretary, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, New York City; Dr. Allen Knight Chalmers, Broadway Tabernacle, 211 West Fifty-sixth Street, New York City; Dr. Henry Crane, Central Methodist Church, Detroit, Mich.; Bishop Ralph Cushman, Methodist Church, Denver, Colo.; Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Riverside Church, New York City; Rev. Graham Frank, First Christian Church, Dallas, Tex.; Rt. Rev. James Edward Freeman, Bishop of Washington, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Robert Freeman, Presbyterian Rt. Rev. James Edward Freeman, Bishop of Washington, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Robert Freeman, Presbyterian Church, Pasadena, Calif.; Dr. Louis Hartman, editor, Zion's Herald, Boston, Mass.; Dr. Ivan Lee Holt, St. Louis, Mo.; Rt. Rev. Edwin H. Hughes, Bishop of Washington area, Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Robert Scott Inglis, pastor emeritus of Third Presbyterian Church, Newark, N. J.; Dr. Edgar DeWitt Jones, Central Woodward Church, Detroit, Mich.; Dr. Meredith Ashby Jones, Atlanta, Ga.; Rev. McIlyar H. Lichliter, First Congregational Church, Columbus, Ohlo; Dr. Mark Allison Matthews, First Presbyterian Church, Seattle, Wash.; Most Rev. Charles Hubert Le Blond, Bishop of St. Joseph, St. Joseph, Mo.; Rev. Oscar E. Maurer, moderator, National Council of Congregational-Christian Churches, New Haven, Conn.; Bishop Charles Mead, Methodist Episcopal Church, Kansas City, Mo.; Dr. Julius Valdemar Moldenhawer, First Presbyterian Church, New York City; His Eminence George Cardinal Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; Rev. Roger T. Noce, president, International Convention of Disciples of Christ, Nashville, Tenn.; Rt. Rev. John O'Grady, secretary, National Conference of Catholic Charities; Very Rev. Arthur A. O'Leary, S. J., president, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Joseph D. Ostermann. executive director, Committee for the Catholic Refugees from Germany; Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist Church, Omaha, Nebr.; Dr. Albert Wentworth Palmer, president, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.; Rev. Daniel Alfred Poling, editor, Christian Herald and Christian Endeavor World, Baptist Temple, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. George W. Richards, president, Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa.; Most Rev. Joseph Francis Rummell, S. T. D., Archbishop of New Orleans, New Orleans, La.; Most Rev. James H. Ryan, S. T. D., Bishop of Omaha, Omaha, Nebr.; Rt. Rev. John Augustine Ryan, director, Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.; Rt. Rev. William Scarlett, Bishop of Missouri Protestant Episcopal Church, St. Louis, Mo.; Dr. Avery A. Shaw, president, Denison University, Granville, Ohio; Rev. Maurice S. Sheehy, head, Department of Religious Education, Catholic University of America; Most Rev. Bernard James Sheil, Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago, Ill.; Dr. Joseph Richard Sizoo, St. Nicholas Church, New York City; Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, Christ's Methodist Episcopal Church, New York City; Dr. Robert Elliott Speer, president of the board of trustees, Princeton Seminary; Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, canon of Washington Cathedral, Washington, D. C.; Dr. John Timothy Stone, president, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. Howard University, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Ezra Allen Van Nuys, Calvary Presbyterian Church, San Francisco, Calif.; Dr. John Anderson Vance, First Presb Methodist Episcopal Church, Kansas City, Mo.: Dr. Julius

### EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

As in executive session,

Mr. HARRISON, from the Committee on Finance, reported favorably the nomination of Ellen S. Woodward, of Mississippi, to be a member of the Social Security Board for the remainder of the term expiring August 13, 1943, to which office she was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Mary W. Dewson, resigned.

He also, from the same committee, reported favorably the nominations of sundry officers in the United States Public Health Service.

Mr. BAILEY, from the Committee on Finance, reported favorably the nomination of John W. Hanes, of North Carolina, to be Under Secretary of the Treasury, in place of Roswell Magill, resigned.

Mr. WALSH, from the Committee on Finance, reported favorably the nomination of Preston Delano, of Massachusetts, to be Comptroller of the Currency, in place of J. F. T. O'Connor, resigned.

He also, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, reported favorably the nominations of sundry officers for promotion in the Navy.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the reports will be received and placed on the Executive Calendar.

#### BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. BARKLEY:

S. 477. A bill to provide for the regulation of the sale of certain securities in interstate and foreign commerce and through the mails, and the regulation of the trust indentures under which the same are issued, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. HATCH:

S. 478. A bill to provide for more expeditious payment of amounts due to farmers under agricultural programs; and S. 479. A bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, with respect to marketing quotas for wheat; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. MALONEY:

S. 480. A bill to provide for a census of unemployment, to prohibit the interstate transportation of certain articles and commodities produced under conditions which are inimical

to the public interest, to protect the health and provide for the welfare of the unemployed, to provide for the general economic welfare of the Nation, and for other purposes; and

S. 481 (by request). A bill to provide for a continuous census of unemployment, to stabilize employment, to provide for the establishment of fair labor standards in employments in and affecting interstate commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

S. 482. A bill to prevent the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 483. A bill granting a pension to Sadie L. Doran; and

S. 484. A bill granting a pension to Alfarata Phillips; to the Committee on Pensions.

S. 485. A bill providing for the cancelation of certain charges under section 20 of the River and Harbor Act of March 3, 1899; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. MEAD:

S. 486. A bill to further increase the efficiency and safety of air-mail transportation, and for other purposes;

S. 487. A bill to establish a system of longevity pay for postal employees;

S. 488. A bill to provide for the appointment and promotion of substitute postal employees, and for other purposes;

S. 489. A bill to increase the salaries of letter carriers in the village delivery service; and

S. 490. A bill to adjust the basis of compensation for overtime services of certain employees in the Postal Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. McNARY:

S. 491. A bill to amend section 17 of the Federal Highway Act; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

S. 492. A bill for the relief of Theodor Knudson; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 493. A bill to place the names of Jonathan H. Pigman and Jeannette Earle Morser on the final roll of the Cherokee Indian Tribe of Oklahoma, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. CAPPER:

S. 494. A bill to name the bridge to be erected over the Anacostia River in the District of Columbia after the late "March King," John Philip Sousa, composer of the Stars and Stripes Forever; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

S. 495. A bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, and the act of June 12, 1934, relating to reciprocal-trade agreements; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. KING:

S. 496. A bill for the relief of Chris Barkas and Mabel Barkas; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 497. A bill providing for the incorporation of certain persons as Group Hospitalization, Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

S. 498. A bill authorizing an appropriation to carry out the provisions of section 26 of the agreement with the Muskogee or Creek Tribe of Indians, approved March 1, 1901; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. ASHURST:

S. 499 (by request). A bill to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1909, as amended, so as to extend commissary privileges to civilian officers and employees of the United States at naval stations beyond the continental limits of the United States or in Alaska; and

S. 500 (by request). A bill to provide for the appointment of additional circuit judges; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

S. 501. A bill for the relief of William H. Innes; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 502. A bill for the relief of Luther Morgan;

S. 503. A bill for the relief of Llewellyn B. Griffith;

S. 504. A bill to provide a right-of-way;

S. 505. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to summon Sam Alexander before an Army retiring board, and for other purposes;

S. 506. A bill to provide for a more efficient and economical mileage table of distances and routes to apply for the payments of travel performed for the United States Government by the military personnel, Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Public Health Service;

S. 507. A bill to provide allowances for inactive status training and for uniforms and equipment for certain officers

of the Officers' Reserve Corps;

S. 508. A bill to amend the National Defense Act of June 30, 1916, as amended, with respect to the pay and allowances of certain Reserve officers;

S. 509. A bill to add certain lands of the Front Royal Quartermaster Depot Military Reservation, Va., to the Shenandoah National Park, and for other purposes;

S. 510. A bill to authorize certain officers and enlisted men of the United States Army to accept such medals, orders, and decorations as have been tendered them by foreign governments in appreciation of services rendered;

S. 511. A bill for the relief of Dolores P. de Williamson; and S. 512. A bill for the relief of certain disbursing officers of the Army of the United States and for the settlement of individual claims approved by the War Department; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 513. A bill to provide for the promotion on the retired list of the Navy of Fred G. Leith; to the Committee on Naval Affairs

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 514. A bill for the relief of Christopher C. Cole; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 515. A bill to exempt from the provisions of draft convention No. 53 of the International Labor Conference Treaty of 1936 all American vessels under 200 tons; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

S. 516. A bill granting a pension to Florence Adele Keyes Gibson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado:

S. 517. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages by radio; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. TYDINGS and Mr. RADCLIFFE:

S. J. Res. 36. Joint resolution authorizing the restoration and preservation of the frigate *Constellation*, and making Baltimore, Md., her home port; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

#### CHANGE OF REFERENCE

On motion by Mr. Tydings, the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs was discharged from the further consideration of the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 6) to provide for establishing a territorial form of civil government for the District of Columbia, and it was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

# HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

Mr. BAILEY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 50), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Commerce, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICES AND POST ROADS

Mr. McKELLAR submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 51), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words; to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be before said

committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

#### ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT AT CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

[Mr. Reynolds asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD the address delivered by the President of the United States at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., on December 5, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### NAVAL DEFENSES-ADDRESS BY SENATOR WALSH

[Mr. Gerry asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a radio address on the subject of naval defenses delivered by Senator Walsh on Monday, January 9, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.1

# ADDRESS BY SENATOR MALONEY AT CONNECTICUT DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION

[Mr. Walsh asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD the address delivered by Senator Maloney at the Democratic State convention, Groton, Conn., September 13, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

JACKSON DAY ADDRESS BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF WAR JOHNSON

[Mr. Hill asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD the Jackson Day address delivered by Hon. Louis Johnson, Assistant Secretary of War, at Montgomery, Ala., January 7, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE BUSINESSMAN AND CONGRESS-ARTICLE BY J. R. M'CARL

[Mr. Burke asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article by John Raymond McCarl, former Comptroller General of the United States, on the subject The Businessman and Congress published in the New York Sun of January 7, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.1

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received see the end of Senate proceedings.)

#### ADJOURNMENT TO THURSDAY

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate adjourn until Thursday next.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Kentucky.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 22 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Thursday, January 12, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 10, 1939

### AMBASSADORS EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY

Spruille Braden, of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Colombia.

Frank P. Corrigan, of Ohio, now Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Panama, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Venezuela.

### ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL

Ambrose O'Connell, of New York, now serving under recess appointment as Second Assistant Postmaster General, to be Second Assistant Postmaster General, Post Office Department.

# FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

Robert E. Freer, of Ohio, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner for a term of 7 years from September 26, 1938. (Reappointment.)

#### RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

M. Roland Reed, of Pennsylvania, to be a member of the Railroad Retirement Board for a term of 5 years from August 29, 1938, vice James A. Dailey, term expired.

# FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

Norman S. Case, of Rhode Island, to be a member of the Federal Communications Commission for a term of 7 years from July 1, 1938. (Reappointment.)

#### MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION

Col. Roger G. Powell, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, to be a member of the Mississippi River Commission, vice Col. Francis B. Wilby, Corps of Engineers, relieved.

# APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY

#### MARINE CORPS

Col. William P. Upshur to be a brigadier general in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of June 1938.

The following-named colonels to be colonels in the Marine Corps, to correct the dates from which they take rank, as previously nominated and confirmed:

Harry Schmidt, from the 1st day of December 1937. Earl C. Long, from the 1st day of May 1938. Selden B. Kennedy, from the 1st day of May 1938.

Miles R. Thacher, from the 7th day of May 1938.

Lt. Col. Henry L. Larsen to be a colonel in the Marine Corps from the 2d day of June 1938.

Lt. Col. William H. Rupertus to be a colonel in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of June 1938.

Lt. Col. Harry K. Pickett to be a colonel in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of June 1938.

Lt. Col. Allen H. Turnage to be a colonel in the Marine

Corps from the 29th day of June 1938. Maj. Evans O. Ames to be a lieutenant colonel in the

Marine Corps from the 7th day of May 1938. Maj. Emmett W. Skinner to be a lieutenant colonel in the

Marine Corps from the 2d day of June 1938. The following-named majors to be lieutenant colonels in

the Marine Corps from the 29th day of June 1938: Merritt B. Curtis Raymond E. Knapp Charles N. Muldrow Omar T. Pfeiffer

James D. McLean Lewie G. Merritt Joseph T. Smith Claude A. Larkin Capt. Gordon Hall to be a major in the Marine Corps

from the 7th day of May 1938.

The following-named captains to be majors in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of June 1938:

Max D. Smith David A. Stafford Erwin Mehlinger Donald Spicer. Frank P. Snow Chesley G. Stevens Walter W. Wensinger Lawson H. M. Sanderson Jacob F. Plachta Harold E. Rosecrans Leo Sullivan Hayne D. Boyden Franklin G. Cowie Christian F. Schilt Walter A. Wachtler William E. Maxwell Clarence R. Wallace

Ronald A. Boone William B. Onley James H. Strother Ivan W. Miller Joe N. Smith Louis E. Marie, Jr. James S. Monahan John A. Bemis John C. McQueen Howard N. Kenyon William W. Davies Vernon E. Megee James M. Smith Ernest E. Linsert Orin H. Wheeler Lewis A. Hohn

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Marine Corps from the 2d day of June 1938:

Chandler W. Johnson Samuel G. Taxis Mercade A. Cramer George R. Weeks

James B. Lake, Jr. The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Marine Corps from the 30th day of June 1938:

Clifton R. Moss Bankson T. Holcomb, Jr. Frederick L. Wieseman Robert S. Brown Harlan C. Cooper Robert E. Fojt Billy W. King George R. E. Shell James H. Brower

Joseph P. McCaffery

John B. Hendry Frederick B. Winfree Samuel D. Puller Ernest R. West Roger W. Beadle Robert R. Porter Ellsworth N. Murray Howard J. Turton Thomas J. Colley Walter Asmuth, Jr.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Marine Corps from the 1st day of July 1938:

Alpha L. Bowser, Jr. Marvin T. Starr George Corson

The following-named second lieutenants to be first lieutenants in the Marine Corps from the 6th day of June 1938:

Robert E. Cushman Charles W. Shelburne Richard G. Weede Charles O. Bierman Frederick A. Ramsey, Jr. William N. McGill Carl A. Laster Leonard K. Davis Elmer T. Dorsey
Earl A. Sneeringer
Merlyn D. Holmes
Lewis J. Fields
Bruce T. Hemphill
James W. Crowther
Edwin P. Pennebaker, Jr.
Wallace M. Nelson

The following-named second lieutenants to be first lieutenants in the Marine Corps from the 1st day of July 1938:

Leonard F. Chapman, Jr. Dixon Goen Herman Nickerson, Jr. Richard H. Crockett Wesley M. Platt George A. Roll Floyd R. Moore Chevey S. White Marvin H. Floom Richard E. Thompson Kenneth F. McLeod Willard C. Fiske James G. Frazer Robert E. Stannah Stanley W. Trachta Carey A. Randall Ronald B. Wilde William S. McCormick William J. Van Ryzin Albert F. Metze Joe C. McHaney

Gould P. Groves

Donn C. Hart

Eugene F. Syms Wilmer E Barnes John W. Stage Kenyth A. Damke Kenneth D. Bailey Raymond L. Murray John S. Oldfield Kenneth A. Jorgensen Alexander B. Swenceski Julian F. Walters Hoyt McMillan Harry A. Schmitz Herbert R. Amey, Jr. Peter J. Negri Frank P. Hager, Jr. Elmer E. Brackett, Jr. William T. Fairbourn Custis Burton, Jr. Clayton O. Totman George H. Brockway Harold G. Walker Bruno A. Hochmuth Thomas F. Riley

The following-named second lieutenants to be first lieutenants in the Marine Corps from the 1st day of September

Frederick P. Henderson Donald J. Decker Michael Sampas Charles W. Harrison Frederick E. Leek William R. Wendt Arthur A. Chidester John A. Anderson Gordon A. Bell Robert A. McGill James M. Clark Peter J. Speckman Roy L. Kline Odell M. Conoley Louie C. Rineberg William W. Buchanan Jack Tabor John W. Easley Frank L. Kilmartin Eschol M. Mallory Robert D. Moser

Clyde R. Huddleson William R. Collins Norman Van Dam John J. Nilan, Jr. Herbert H. Williamson Leo R. Smith John C. Miller, Jr. Dwight M. Guillotte Thomas S. Ivey Loren S. Fraser William E. Boles Harry O. Smith, Jr. Joseph L. Winecoff James S. O'Halloran William G. Robb Ferdinand Bishop Wendell H. Duplantis Benjamin L. McMakin Joseph R. Little, Jr. Lawrence H. McCulley Alexander A. Vandegrift, Jr. Edwin A. Law

The following-named meritorious noncommissioned officers to be second lieutenants in the Marine Corps from the 24th day of June 1938:

Sgt. William H. Doolen. Corpl. Daniel C. Pollock. Corpl. Harvey B. Atkins. Corpl. Monfurd K. Peyton. Corpl. Lawrence V. Patterson.

Joseph N. Renner

The following-named citizens to be second lieutenants in the Marine Corps from the 25th day of June 1938:

Edward N. Rydalch, a citizen of California. Robert S. Howell, a citizen of New York. Jesse P. Ferrill, Jr., a citizen of Florida. John W. Burkhardt, a citizen of Colorado. William E. Benedict, a citizen of California. Maurice W. Fletcher, a citizen of Mississippi. Raymond G. Davis, a citizen of Georgia. George A. Graves, a citizen of Illinois. Thomas L. Ridge, a citizen of Illinois. William M. Frash, a citizen of California. Harold R. Warner, Jr., a citizen of Washington. Lowell E. English, a citizen of Nebraska. George H. Cannon, a citizen of Michigan. Robert A. Abbott, a citizen of Idaho. Ransom M. Wood, a citizen of Alabama. Bruce B. Cheever, a citizen of Michigan. Albert H. Follmar, a citizen of Oklahoma. Guy H. Kissinger, Jr., a citizen of Texas. Byron V. Leary, a citizen of Massachusetts. John P. Haines, Jr., a citizen of Pennsylvania. James R. Christensen, a citizen of Utah. Albert J. Roose, a citizen of Ohio. Robert F. Steidtmann, a citizen of Virginia. Alvin S. Sanders, a citizen of South Carolina. Robert B. Chadwick, a citizen of Massachusetts. Donn J. Robertson, a citizen of Minnesota. Ralph A. Collins, Jr., a citizen of the District of Columbia. Edward H. Hurst, a citizen of Georgia. Merrill M. Day, a citizen of Missouri. Benjamin S. Hargrave, Jr., a citizen of Pennsylvania. Walter S. Osipoff, a citizen of Ohio. Quartermaster Clerk Alexander N. Entringer to be a chief quartermaster clerk in the Marine Corps, to rank with but after second lieutenant, from the 7th day of June 1938.

Charles W. McCoy, a citizen of Texas.

Elmer A. Wrenn, a citizen of North Carolina.

Jackson B. Butterfield, a citizen of Vermont.

James C. Magee, Jr., a citizen of the District of Columbia.

after second lieutenant, from the 7th day of June 1938.

Quartermaster Clerk Samuel G. Thompson to be a chief quartermaster clerk in the Marine Corps, to rank with but

after second lieutenant, from the 20th day of June 1938.

Pay Clerk Emmett G. Hall to be a chief pay clerk in the Marine Corps, to rank with but after second lieutenant, from

the 28th day of June 1938.

Pay Clerk Charles T. Gates to be a chief pay clerk in the Marine Corps, to rank with but after second lieutenant, from

Marine Corps, to rank with but after second lieutenant, from the 28th day of June 1938.

Marine Gunner Albert S. Munsch to be a chief marine gunner in the Marine Corps, to rank with but after second lieutenant, from the 23d day of December 1938.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1939

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Spirit of Truth, send us forth today in obedience to the imperative command of our commission. Thou who made known our Father's name, warm our hearts with the splendor of that revelation; deliver us from the spirit of fearfulness. Merciful God, move our country into a wider, broader day and let it be blest not with corruptible things but with justice, good will, and brotherhood. Behind and beneath all are the potencies of love and longing which Thou alone can satisfy. Forbid, blessed Lord, that we should stand by the sea of human life and realize no God and see no home beyond the horizon. Take unto Thy care our President, our Speaker, and the whole congressional body; put Thy seal upon us and a deep consciousness of our sonship in our breasts. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Hess, one of his secretaries.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that Mr. Bulow, of South Dakota, had been appointed as a member of the Joint Committee on Forestry on the part of the Senate, vice Hon. William Gibbs McAdoo, resigned, in accordance with the provisions of Senate Concurrent Resolution 31, Seventy-fifth Congress, first session.

The message also announced that Mr. Logan, of Kentucky, had been appointed as a member of the Joint Committee to Investigate the Adequacy and Use of the Phosphate Resources of the United States on the part of the Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the expiration of the term of service of Hon. James P. Pope, former Senator from the State of Idaho.

The message also announced that the Vice President had appointed Mr. Barkley and Mr. Gibson members of the joint select committee on the part of the Senate, as provided for in the act of February 16, 1889, as amended by the act of March 2, 1895, entitled "An act to authorize and provide for the disposition of useless papers in the executive departments," for the disposition of executive papers in the following departments and agencies:

- Census of Partial Employment, Unemployment, and Occupations.
  - 2. Tennessee Valley Authority.
  - 3. Smithsonian Institution.
  - 4. Veterans' Administration.
  - 5. Department of Agriculture.
  - 6. Department of the Interior.
  - 7. Department of War.
  - 8. Department of State.

# WAGES PAID W. P. A. WORKERS

Mr. TARVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. TARVER. Mr. Speaker, I hold in my hand a statement furnished me by the Works Progress Administration showing the minimum and maximum wages paid to the various types of labor employed by the W. P. A. in the 48 States of the Union and in the District of Columbia. This information I know is of interest to the House at a time when we are about to begin the consideration of the deficiency W. P. A. appropriation bill. I understand that the information does not appear in the hearings which have been had before the deficiency subcommittee, and for that reason I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Recompat this point by incorporating this statement, which comprises only one page.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The statement is as follows:

	Unskilled		Intermediate		Skilled		Professional and technical	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Inited States:	Herm	0.595	300			Litte	L. OTL	III (all)
Alabama	\$0.40	\$0.19	\$0.60	\$0.24	\$1.50	\$0.31	\$1.11	\$0.34
Arizona	. 50	. 36	.75	.41	1.00	. 56	1. 25	.62
Arkansas		. 20	. 55	. 25	1.25	.33	.70	.36
California	.81	. 33	1.45	. 38	1.75	. 46	1.67	. 51
Colorado	.72	.30	1.00	.41	1.50	. 50	1.07	. 56
Connecticut	. 50	.40	1.05	.45	1.65	. 57	1.30	. 63
Delaware	.411/4		. 90	. 28	1.50	. 34	1.36	. 60
Florida	.30	. 19	. 73	. 24	1.75	. 32	1.05	.35
Georgia	.30	. 20	. 43	. 25	1. 25	. 33	1.50	.36
Idaho	. 55	. 281/2			. 781/2		. 86	. 431
Illinois	1.021/2		1.371/2		1.95	. 391/2		.44
Indiana	. 95	.40	1.10	.41	1.50	. 46	1.66	. 50
Iowa	. 671/2		1.20	. 35	1.50	. 43	1.50	.47
KansasKentucky	.50	.27	1. 371/2	.32	1.37	.37	1. 171/2	.41

evolution and or	Unskilled		Intermediate		Skilled		Professional and technical	
Place diposition	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
United States-Con.	MAL.	911		S. LEV		1000	Pum	100
Louisiana	en 25	\$0, 20	\$1.00	\$0, 25	\$1,38	\$0.32	\$1,50	\$0, 35
Maine.	.40	. 31	.70	. 35	1. 35	. 45	1.60	.49
Maine	. 40		. 70	.32		. 40		
Maryland		. 25	. 55	. 02	1.50	. 38	1, 10	.48
Massachusetts		. 35	1.50	.39	1. 66%		1.60	. 53
Michigan	.60	. 33	1.00	. 371/2		. 451/2		. 501
Minnesota	. 6834	. 32	1.15	.41	1.50	. 46	1.79	. 551
Mississippi		. 19	. 90	. 25	1.50	. 311/2		. 40
Missouri	. 50	. 25	. 68	. 30	.88	. 34	.82	. 38
Montana	. 751/2	. 451/2	1, 12	. 41	1.7736	. 50	. 96	. 551
Nebraska	. 47	.30	.70	. 33	1. 371/2	.40	1.00	. 46
Nevada	. 621/2	. 4814	1, 50	. 55	2.00	.67	2.00	.743
New Hampshire	. 45	. 35	. 66	. 43	1.30	. 53	1.00	. 51
New Jersey	. 50	. 25	1. 30%		2. 25	.39	1.50	.44
New Mexico	.40	. 29	1.00	. 35	1.50	.43	.86	.68
New York 1	621/2		1. 25	.33	2,00	391/2		433
North Carolina	.29	.20	. 64	. 25	1.00	.34	.91	.60
North Dakota			. 55		1.35		. 91	
	. 90	.40		.45		. 55	. 77	. 61
Ohio	. 679	.31	1. 25	. 35	2.00	. 43	2, 50	.473
Oklahoma	.41	. 25	. 73	.35	1.50	. 43	1.00	.47
Oregon	. 50	.34	.80	.38	1.50	. 46	1. 25	. 51
Pennsylvania	. 65	. 50	1. 241/2		2,00	. 651/2	3.03	.713
Rhode Island	. 50	.40	. 591/2	.461/2		. 61	.781/2	
South Carolina		. 19	.48	. 24	1. 25	.32	. 521/2	. 341
South Dakota	.40	.37	.42	.38	1.371/2		. 58	. 55
Tennessee	.30	.18	.43	. 23	1.62	.31	. 64	. 35
Texas	.35	. 20	. 55	. 26	1.50	.32	1, 22	.35
Utah	. 50	.41	.75	. 50	1.50	. 63	1.00	.70
Vermont	.40	. 32	. 50	. 35	1. 25	. 43	1. 10	.48
Virginia	.40	.19	. 57	.24	1.50	.31	1. 50	. 34
Washington	. 58	.34	.99	.38	1. 67	.46	1.44	.44
West Virginia		.40	.58	.47	.84	. 54	.90	.84
Wisconsin			1. 22	3714	1.66			
		. 331/2				. 391/2	1, 51	. 431
Wyoming	. 42	.42	. 48	. 471/2	.611/2		. 66	. 64
New York City District of Colum-	. 93	. 461/2	1. 57	.48	2, 21	. 589	1. 518	.70
		- ALLES			11000		-	1
bia	. 50	. 33	1.15	.43	2.00	. 67	1. 22	.76

<sup>1</sup> Exclusive of New York City.

#### REGENTS OF SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of title 20, section 43, United States Code, the Chair appoints as regents of the Smithsonian Institution the following Members of the House: Mr. Goldsborough, of Maryland, Mr. Cannon of Missouri, Mr. Gifford, of Massachusetts.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record by inserting therein an address delivered by our former colleague, Hon. Arthur P. Lamneck, of Ohio, over the Columbia Broadcasting System on December 17, 1938.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

### RECIPROCAL-TRADE AGREEMENTS

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Treadway] is recognized for 40 minutes.

THE GENERAL DOWNWARD TARIFF REVISION UNDER THE TRADE-TREATY PROGRAM

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, since the adjournment of the Seventy-fifth Congress the administration has entered into two new trade treaties—one with Great Britain, the other with Canada—the purpose and effect of which will be to further encourage importations of competitive foreign products which displace the products of our own farms and factories and take jobs away from our workers. I wonder if this House and the country realize that approximately 1,000 reductions in tariff duties ranging up to 50 percent have now been made under the treaty program.

With our home market already glutted with surplus agricultural products and our farmers subject to production control, with farm prices the lowest in years, with mills and factories either idle or on a part-time basis, with millions of unemployed still roaming the streets in search of work that is not to be found, with economic recovery dependent in a large measure upon confidence in the future, the administration has nevertheless continued to pursue its ruinous tariff policy which can only result in adding to our ills.

#### PROGRAM BASED ON FALSE PREMISE

The trade treaty program is based upon the fallacious premise that we can restore prosperity at home by giving up our rich domestic market to other countries, which would then, it is said, have more purchasing power with which to buy American goods. Of course, the fact is that foreign countries, while they will take advantage of every opportunity to flood our market with their own cheap products, will nevertheless buy what they need in the cheapest market, wherever that may be, and there is nothing in the terms of the trade treaties to prevent them from doing so. Indeed, the trade treaties do not compel them to buy a single dollar's worth of our goods with the purchasing power they obtain by selling their own products in the American market. This fact was admitted by Secretary Wallace in his annual report for the fiscal year 1934, and what he feared might happen has happened.

#### TREATY PROGRAM RECALLS ONE OF AESOP'S FABLES

When we consider that we consume at home 90 percent or more of what we produce, it must be obvious that our prosperity is almost wholly dependent upon the domestic market and not the relatively lean foreign market. The trade-treaty program follows the absurd theory that the "tail wags the dog."

Speaking of dogs, I am reminded that the treaty program places this country in somewhat the same position as the dog in Aesop's Fables, about which we have all read. It will be recalled that he carried a bone in his mouth, and in passing over a stream saw in the water what appeared to be another dog with a bone. In his anxiety to grasp the bone from the dog that appeared in the water, he lost the bone which he already had. Substitute our rich domestic market for the bone in the dog's mouth, and the lean and illusory foreign markets for the image in the stream, and you have a perfect analogy to the present trade-treaty program.

# ONLY JUSTIFICATION FOR FOREIGN TRADE IS TO EXCHANGE OUR SURPLUSES FOR THINGS WE NEED

Mr. Speaker, it can hardly be denied that the only purpose of carrying on foreign trade is to exchange our surpluses for the things we need but do not produce ourselves. The importation of the latter class of articles injures no domestic industry and no group of workers. The quantity of such goods annually purchased by us furnishes ample dollar exchange for the purchase of our own surpluses by foreign countries.

There is no need or justification for buying foreign products the like of which we already produce for ourselves. An individual, for example, would not buy potatoes from his neighbor if he produced an ample supply of his own, and this should be equally true of a nation.

# TREATY CONCESSIONS LARGELY ON FOREIGN PRODUCTS THAT DISPLACE OUR OWN

The trade-treaty program, if it were restricted to making concessions on noncompetitive foreign products, would conceivably be of great benefit to this country, but since it is largely confined to widespread and drastic reductions of duties on foreign products that directly compete with and displace our own, its effect can only be to injure American producers.

It is idle for the apologists for the trade-treaty program to contend that these tariff reductions will not seriously affect American agriculture, industry, or labor. The purpose of the reductions admittedly is to allow foreign countries to sell us more of their goods. Why else are they being made? And if such is not the case, would anyone suppose that the foreign countries would have signed the treaties?

We must accept as a premise the fact that the purpose of the treaty program is to make possible and encourage increased imports of competitive foreign products. Proceeding from this premise, it follows that increased imports of competitive foreign products means less goods produced in the United States. And it follows, further, that less goods made in the United States means less work for our own men and women.

It has been truly said that there is need for putting more purchasing power in the hands of the great masses of the people, but this cannot be brought about by denying American farmers and American workingmen the opportunity to produce the goods consumed in the home market. Nor can it be brought about by forcing them to compete with the products of the cheap labor of Europe and the Orient. Even if the tariff reductions made under the treaties do not in every case actually result in displacing American goods, they at least force a reduction in wage levels if our own producers are to continue to compete with foreigners for the home market.

# TREATY PROGRAM DISCRIMINATES AGAINST CERTAIN GROUPS OF WORKERS TO HELP OTHERS

The administration, under the trade-treaty program, is supposedly trying to help certain branches of industry and agriculture by sacrificing others to foreign competition. In other words, it is taking from Peter to give to Paul. Aside from the fact that one American citizen has as much right to a livelihood as another, the Nation as a whole gains nothing by such unfair and discriminatory procedure. Even if the trade we lose in the domestic market is offset by increased foreign sales, we are in no better position than before. Certainly the workers who have lost their jobs are not better off. But when these increased exports fail to materialize, as is usually the case, we are playing a losing game all the way around.

When the Czech treaty was concluded, the shoe workers of Massachusetts who were injured thereby were told by the administration spokesman that they would indirectly benefit from the increased prosperity which would come to Detroit auto workers by reason of increased exports of American cars to Czechoslovakia. But the fact was overlooked that the Detroit auto workers would use their increased purchasing power, if any, not to buy shoes from Massachusetts but to buy the cheap shoes of Czechoslovakia which would flood our market under the treaty. Moreover, there is some question as to just how much the purchasing power of Detroit auto workers will be increased, since under the treaty the quota on American cars is limited to 1,600 per year, and there will still be a tariff of \$595 imposed, which few people in that country can pay, not to mention the cost of gasoline to run them.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. TREADWAY. Very briefly.

Mr. KNUTSON. So that I may read at this time into the gentleman's remarks a very pertinent and interesting item that appeared in the Washington Post this morning. It appears that 10 Senators, most of them Democrats, are asking for an investigation of the Cuban reciprocal-trade agreement. They contend that Cuban officials announced in Habana on November 28 that a new agreement had been concluded with this Government, while the State Department here said on December 1 that hearings would be held January 3 on the matter

In other words, according to the contention of these Senators, most of whom are Democrats, the State Department agreed to hold hearings on the Cuban treaty after it had been ratified and accepted.

Mr. TREADWAY. I am not at all surprised at that statement. Where has the Congress, either the Senate or the House, or Democrats or Republicans, been consulted at any time in relation to the trade-treaty program? The newspaper item to which the gentleman referred only carries out that very idea that they open the barn door and let in importations and then hear you talk about it.

Mr. KNUTSON. The gentleman will recall that when the reciprocal-trade bill was before the House, the gentleman himself offered an amendment that would have compelled House and Senate ratification of the trade agreements before they would become effective, and it was voted down on a strict party vote, the Democrats voting against it and Republicans for it.

Mr. TREADWAY. And I have not gotten discouraged, I may say to the gentleman. I have reintroduced that measure and will refer to it later in my remarks.

Mr. KNUTSON. And may I say to the gentleman that it will not do any good until 1941 to do so.

Mr. TREADWAY. But I say it will do good, because it will call attention of the country to the iniquity of the program as being carried out by the Democratic majority, reduced as it is.

Mr. KNUTSON. Oh, yes; it will accelerate the movement

back to sanity.

Mr. TREADWAY. Correct. Therefore, it is useful.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. Yes. Mr. MICHENER. The gentleman from Minnesota should not be surprised at the article in the Post this morning, for if he will think back when the Brazilian treaty was under consideration some of us on this side wanted to get information about what was being considered. We were unable to get it at the State Department, but we did get it through the Brazilian foreign representative, because in Brazil the Congress must ratify before the treaty is entered into, whereas in this country the President and the Secretary of State enter into a treaty and then we are permitted to go through the form of a hearing.

Mr. TREADWAY. Let me call the gentleman's attention further to the fact that when this treaty with Great Britain was up for consideration a stuffed committee was appointed to hear us people against it. Does the gentleman suppose this protest had the least effect on the men ready to render their

decision before the hearing was held?

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield.

Mr. KNUTSON. At this point it might be pertinent to have the RECORD show that we are the only country that does not require congressional action on trade agreements.

Mr. TREADWAY. The gentleman is correct insofar as the great majority of the countries are concerned, as I shall later show. We have much less to say about what is being done than other legislative bodies in foreign countries.

Mr. KNUTSON. We have absolutely nothing to say. TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN DOUBLES NUMBER OF TARIFF REDUCTIONS

Mr. TREADWAY. Following these general remarks-and I want to say that I am glad to have the interpolations by others-I desire to briefly review the new British trade treaty, as well as the revised Canadian treaty, which takes the place of the one previously negotiated.

I shall discuss first the British treaty, which became effec-

tive on January 1.

Some idea of the scope of the treaty may be gained from the astounding fact that this country made 468 actual duty reductions, or approximately as many as had been made under all the 17 previous treaties. Other concessions included the binding of 47 duties against increase during the life of the treaty and the binding of 106 articles on the free list.

That shows the scope of the British treaty. Practically as many reductions in tariff rates were made in that one treaty as in the previous 17. I submit those 468 reductions are practically all on competitive articles, the like of which are manufactured by our own industries or produced by our own farmers in this country.

The actual number of tariff concessions made under the treaty does not tell the whole story. It is the fact that they affect approximately 70 percent of our imports from the United Kingdom that is important; likewise, the fact that they affect 94 percent of our imports from the British colonial empire.

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. Nothing would give me greater satisfaction than to have the endorsement of the gentleman from Missouri. [Laughter.]

Mr. SHORT. I merely wanted to point out to the gentleman that on November 17, about 9 days after the election, it was made public that the treaty with Canada had been consummated. Although it did not go into effect until January 1, the price of lead and zinc ore, much of which is produced in my congressional district, dropped \$5 a ton. Many of the mines in southwestern Missouri, northeastern Oklahoma, and southeastern Kansas closed, and over 4,000 miners have been thrown out of employment.

Mr. TREADWAY. I am certain the gentleman from Missouri impressed those facts on the voters in his election district previous to the election period.

Mr. SHORT. I predicted, I may say, the week before election that the treaty would not be made public until after

the election.

Does not the gentleman believe that a great mistake was made when, in 1934, the Congress of the United States abdicated its power and turned over to the Executive the authority to negotiate those treaties without them ever being considered. let alone ratified, by the United States Senate, as is required by the Constitution?

Mr. TREADWAY. During the 26 years I have been a Member of this body, if there is any one subject I have dwelt on more than another, it is the iniquity of our agreeing to those trade treaties without any authority from the Congress what-

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield.

Mr. RICH. Does the gentleman have an idea that the Congress, at this session, will assume its responsibility and take that power back unto itself, where it rightfully belongs, so that we can determine whether we want imports of foreign countries to come in here and put our men out of work and put our farmers off of their farms?

Mr. TREADWAY. My answer to the gentleman from Pennsylvania is this: We have, I believe, at least 80 new Members on this side of the House. I am very confident that every one of those 80 will vote with those of us who have been here before against these treaties. The answer to the gentleman's question is in the hands of the gentlemen of the majority. If there are enough of those gentlemen over there with the same sanity that the gentleman from Pennsylvania has, we will abrogate those treaties during the Seventy-sixth Congress.

Mr. RICH. I will say that I believe there are enough Jeffersonian Democrats in the House today who will come to the rescue of the American workingman, the American businessman, and the American farmer. I am in hopes that that

will happen at this session of the Congress.

Mr. TREADWAY. As I understand it, that group was purged on Saturday night from the Democratic Party by the speech of the President. He does not want their society any more.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. TREADWAY. I yield.

Mr. KNUTSON. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Short] mentioned the great mistake that was made back in 1934, May I remind the gentleman from Missouri that a much greater mistake was made 2 years previously. [Laughter.]

Mr. TREADWAY. The gentleman's remark was correct in that for a year or two after they came into office they did not

bring up their trade-treaty program.

Mr. SHORT. I may say further, if the gentleman will allow, that I have just come from my office, where I had a telephone call from a gentleman by the name of June Walker, who was sent up here by the mine workers themselves from Picher, Okla., in the congressional district of my worthy colleague the gentleman from Oklahoma, Mr. Disney. We are meeting this afternoon in Senator Thomas' office at 4 o'clock. I invite all the Members of this House, on both sides of the aisle, who are interested in seeing lead and zinc exempted from this reciprocal-trade agreement to meet with us.

Mr. RICH. Why limit it to those interested in lead and zinc?

Mr. TREADWAY. I want to continue briefly, if I may, along my own line, welcoming these interruptions as appli-

WHOLE WORLD GETS BENEFIT OF OUR REDUCTIONS IN TARIFF RATES

It should, of course, be kept in mind that under the administration's so-called most-favored-nation policy the concessions which this country makes under all trade treaties except the Cuban are extended freely to all other countries, save Germany, without requiring these other countries to give us reciprocal concessions in return. Hence to call the treaty program "reciprocity" is a misnomer.

For all practical purposes the tariff reductions made under the treaties have the same effect upon world imports as if they had been made by statute. What the treaty program is doing is to bring about, piecemeal, a general downward tariff revision all along the line. I recall that when he was majority leader the late Speaker Rainey once said to this House and I was sitting on the floor when he made this remark. I quote:

Lower this tariff drastically? You (Republicans) will not do it and we (Democrats) dare not do it with conditions as they are. We do not want this market flooded with the products of cheap labor in other countries.

I would almost think that Speaker Rainey would turn in his grave could he see what has been done by his former colleagues since he made that statement on this floor.

What the present administration does not have the courage to do directly by legislation it is doing indirectly through the means of trade treaties. Even in connection with its backhanded method of tariff revision it has shown a distinct lack of political courage, as evidenced by the fact that the announcement of the British treaty was withheld until after the election last fall, although its terms had already been agreed upon.

And I will pause at this point to say that in many instances during the campaign I made that statement, and I defled any of the Democratic powers to produce what was to be contained in that treaty. They did not, however, dare do it. The reason they did not dare do it was that instead of 80 we might have had 180 new Members on the Republican side—if they had announced that program in advance.

ARTICLES AFFECTED BY TARIFF REDUCTIONS UNDER BRITISH TREATY

Time does not permit me to refer to the six-hundred-odd concessions of one kind or another granted to Great Britain, but it must be obvious from their large number that they will adversely affect a major part of our domestic industries which will henceforth find it more difficult, if not impossible, to compete in the home market against the products not only of Great Britain but the rest of the world.

Among the articles on which duty reductions of up to 50 percent were made were some 39 items in the chemical schedule; 27 items in the earthenware and glassware schedule, including bath bricks, tiles, china clay, earthenware, bone china, and glassware; 111 items in the metal schedule, including wire rope, balls and rollers for bearings, power cables, pens, telegraph apparatus, most electrical products, knives, razor blades, rifles, bicycles, and a wide variety of machinery and miscellaneous items; 2 items in the wood schedule, including furniture; three items in the sugar schedule, including molasses and confectionery; 2 items in the tobacco schedule, including cigarettes; 31 items in the agricultural schedule, including venison, fish, catmeal, biscuits, blueberries, limes, jellies, and so forth; 8 items in the wines and liquor schedule; 40 items in the cotton schedule, including cotton varn and cloth, and various manufactures of cotton; 30 items in the schedule covering flax, linen, hemp, and jute products; 50 items in the wool schedule, including wool waste and yarns and practically all woven fabrics of wool and manufactures thereof; 6 items in the silk schedule; 24 items in the paper and book schedule; and 95 items in the sundries schedule, including asbestos products, golf balls and clubs, golf tees, toilet brushes, toys, nettings, leather, shoes, gloves, and fishing tackle.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. GIFFORD. Before the gentleman concludes, I hope he will weigh the results of the evangelistic appeals for peace and good neighborliness among nations. Has there been actual result?

Mr. TREADWAY. The fact that we are being called upon for the largest appropriation ever made for the so-called national-defense program would indicate to me that the effort to secure peace with our neighbors and friends of other nations has absolutely failed.

Mr. GIFFORD. The gentleman listened to the President's message the other day. Was that a good-neighbor address?

Mr. TREADWAY. I would prefer to have some gentleman

Mr. TREADWAY. I would prefer to have some gentleman from the other side of the aisle defend the President's address rather than that I be asked.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield briefly.

Mr. GROSS. It so happened that yesterday morning I marketed a load of fat cattle on the Lancaster, Pa., market. Farmers from a number of counties had cattle there. Permit me to say on this matter of reciprocal-trade agreements that they are matters of common conversation among those farmers and cattle feeders and dairymen of southeastern Pennsylvania.

Mr. TREADWAY. And they realize what is happening to their industry and their livelihood by the carrying out of these trade treaties, do they not?

Mr. GROSS. They are a unit in their opposition to this program. Our industrial men are of the same opinion about it. There is general opposition to the trade-treaty program throughout that great district.

Mr. TREADWAY. Now, let me return to the industries of Massachusetts.

NEW ENGLAND INDUSTRIES SACRIFICED UNDER BRITISH TREATY

The concessions made under the British treaty more seriously affect New England than any other section of the country. The industries of that section are being sacrificed in what will undoubtedly be a fruitless effort to help the export trade of other sections, as I shall presently show. This administration will have to assume full responsibility for the consequences. The people of New England are already aroused over the lack of consideration shown for them, and when the full effect of the tariff reductions begins to be felt they may be expected to show their resentment by actions rather than words.

There is not a single major industry of my State that will not be injured by the treaty. You can go right down the line of the principal industries—those giving the largest employment and upon which the prosperity of Massachusetts principally depends—and you will find that they have all been traded off by the administration, along with the workers employed therein. These industries include shoes, leather goods, cotton textiles, woolen and worsted goods, electrical machinery, textile machinery, paper, confectionery, cutlery, and so on. In addition, there are a host of other lesser industries adversely affected which, while perhaps not as important to the Commonwealth as a whole, are frequently the source of livelihood of whole communities.

I may say that I represent a large number of small towns in which there is likely to be one small industry, comparatively small, but it is the livelihood of that whole community. These treaties are closing these little shops and causing the hardships from which they are suffering in those communities today.

The jobs of thousands of workers employed in our industries have been turned over to workers in foreign countries. The fact that workers in other sections and in other industries may possibly be benefited thereby is beside the point. The administration has no right to discriminate against or in favor of any of our citizens. It has no right to impoverish one group to help another. Its action in bringing about such a result under the treaty program is to be severely condemned.

Of course, the full extent of the injury that will be afflicted upon American producers by the British treaty is speculative at this time. Until the treaty has been in operation for at least a year we will not know what all the consequences will be. But this much we do know: The purpose of the reduction in our tariff rates, as admitted by administration spokesmen, is to make possible increased imports, which are already coming into our market in large volume despite the statutory tariff rates. This is especially true of cotton cloth, the imports of which have tremendously increased in the last few years, particularly from Japan. Japan, I may say, will, along with other low-wage countries, get the full benefit of the reductions under the British treaty, thus making possible even greater imports of cotton cloth which will displace that which ordinarily would be produced in our own mills by American working men and women.

That situation, so far as importations from Japan are concerned, ought to be a subject of discussion alone as an

argument against this trade-treaty program.

That a reduction in our tariff duties on competitive foreign products jeopardizes the jobs of American workers is plain. When the hearings were held on the British treaty, prior to its negotiation, representatives of numerous labor groups appeared to protest against such reductions. The workers of America know that they cannot compete on equal terms with the cheap labor of other countries. They realize that the tariff is all that stands between them and the low-wage scales and living standards which obtain in other countries.

BRITISH CONCESSIONS OF LITTLE OR NO VALUE

As compared with this country's sweeping concessions under the British treaty, which, as I have said, are extended to all other countries but one, let us see what was obtained for the United States in the way of concessions from Great

First, as to agricultural exports: Concessions to this country, including, in addition to duty concessions, the binding of other rates of duty at existing levels and the freezing of items on the British free list, purport to cover a large part of our exports of farm products to the United Kingdom, thus making it appear that for once we are actually getting some worthwhile concessions for our farmers. But the joker is that while some duty reductions have been granted on a few specialty items, no real concessions are extended to the major farm exports.

EMPTY "CONCESSIONS" ON COTTON AND TOBACCO

Cotton is our chief export to the United Kingdom, and since time immemorial it has been on the free list. Hence all that was or could be done for American cotton under the British treaty was to bind it on the free list, which, of course, does not assure any increased exports of that

commodity.

It has always been a favorite argument of trade treaty proponents that the reason our foreign trade in certain farm products had disappeared was because of the erection of retaliatory tariffs against us. The fact that cotton is and has been on the British free list is evidence that this is not so. There are other reasons for the loss of our foreign markets, particularly as regards cotton. Cotton production has been opened up in many new countries and expanded in old production areas. Our cotton exports have fallen off because of increased competition for world markets and the fact that other countries are producing their own. Under the circumstances it is almost hopeless to expect to increase our cotton exports. Likewise it is a losing proposition to bargain away our rich domestic market in the hope of finding export markets for cotton, particularly when the only alleged concession we obtain is preservation of the status quo so far as tariff treatment for our cotton is concerned.

Mr. BREWSTER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield to the gentleman from Maine. Mr. BREWSTER. Is it not the theory of the advocates of these agreements that we sell as much as we buy? Is not that their contention in favor of these agreements?

Mr. TREADWAY. But we do not agree with that program.

Mr. BREWSTER. Is not that their contention? Mr. TREADWAY. Yes.

Mr. BREWSTER. Has the gentleman examined the result of the first agreement with Cuba wherein before the agreement the balance of trade was \$14,000,000 in their favor, whereas in the first 2 years after the agreement it was \$132,000,000 in their favor? What is the effect of that \$132,000,000 balance upon the wage earners of this country?

Mr. TREADWAY. I think anyone engaged in beet growing or cane growing in this country would be of the opin-

ion that they will find themselves down and out.

Mr. BREWSTER. It means they are put out of business. Mr. TREADWAY. I received a letter this morning, and probably the other Members of Congress did, from the distinguished Member from Michigan [Mr. Woodruff], covering the very point to which the gentleman is referring.

Mr. BREWSTER. Has the gentleman followed the announcement of Colonel Batista regarding the agreement he made with the State Department on his recent visit?

Mr. TREADWAY. I regret to say I have not that information at hand, but I would be very glad to have the gentleman give it.

Mr. BREWSTER. Colonel Batista announced that he made an agreement with the State Department, although no hearings whatsoever had been held. Is that within their power?

Mr. TREADWAY. What difference does it make whether they have hearings or not, as long as they have decided what they are going to do before they have hearings? I think they might as well throw aside that camouflage and make the trade agreements without any hearings. It does not do any good to have hearings. The gentleman appeared with me at hearings last spring. Where did we get before a packed committee? It was a committee set up to defeat us before we started

Mr. BREWSTER. That was the result.
Mr. TREADWAY. That is what was intended, too.

To return to the treaty with Great Britain:

Unmanufactured tobacco usually is our second most important export to the United Kingdom. Yet the only alleged concession obtained for that product was an assurance that the present margin of preference accorded to tobacco from the British colonies, now amounting to 50 cents per pound, would not be increased. In other words, under the treaty, our tobacco exporters will continue to be at the same competitive disadvantage in the British market as heretofore. Thus on our two principal exports to the United Kingdom we got no actual concessions.

Wheat also has always been an important export to the United Kingdom, and our treaty negotiators did succeed in getting a small concession on this product, namely, the removal of the so-called Empire preference amounting to 6 cents per bushel. However, it should be understood that the Empire countries are able to supply all British requirements for wheat and they will still enjoy advantages in production costs which will enable them to retain their present market in the United Kingdom.

A number of alleged concessions were granted by the United Kingdom on other less important agricultural commodities, but in a great many instances they amounted to no more than slightly increasing some quotas, or binding existing rates of duty, or agreeing not to increase the unfavorable position of the United States in the British market. Hence there is little likelihood of any substantial benefit to American agriculture under the treaty.

MOST CONCESSIONS ON NONAGRICULTURAL EXPORTS CONSIST OF BINDING EXISTING TARIFF TREATMENT

As regards the so-called concessions made by the United Kingdom on nonagricultural products of the United States, it will be found that they, too, hold little hope of substantial benefit to this country. The United Kingdom normally takes only about one-tenth of the total American exports of this class of goods. Total concessions on such products cover exports which in 1936 amounted to \$80,000,000, or about 40 percent of the total nonagricultural exports to that country. However, duty reductions were granted only on about onethird of these commodities, the alleged concessions on the remainder consisting merely of binding the present tariff treatment or the existing Empire margin of preference, which, of course, will not be of any increased benefit to American products.

Taking both agricultural and nonagricultural concessions together, the commodities on which improved tariff treatment is accorded to American products under the British treaty accounted for only about \$50,000,000 of our exports to the United Kingdom out of a total in 1936 of \$440,000,000.

Agricultural products accorded improved tariff treatment accounted for \$26,000,000 and nonagricultural products for \$24,000,000.

The great majority of the so-called concessions made by the British colonies to American exports consisted of binding existing tariff treatment and Empire preferences, the actual duty concessions being limited to reductions on American products which in 1936 were imported into the colonies to the amount of only \$4,439,000. Of this total, but \$673,000 was in American agricultural products.

#### WHAT PRICE RECIPROCITY?

Judging from the one-sided nature of the British treaty it is apparent that this country paid a tremendous price for its negotiation. It must be that Secretary Hull was more interested in consequences and considerations other than trade advantages for this country. Before the treaty negotiations began, a British trade paper suggested that Great Britain had everything to lose and nothing to gain as a result of a treaty with the United States since it was already obtaining the benefits of concessions made under other American trade treaties without giving up anything in return. Perhaps that explains why we had to give up so much more to obtain so little.

It is well known that Secretary Hull looked forward to the negotiation of the British treaty as his crowning achievement, and he was doubtless willing to pay any price to secure an agreement. Our citzens may well concern themselves as to whether additional commitments were made which do not consist of mere tariff concessions—secret commitments which may involve this country in entangling foreign alliances. There is at least reason for believing that the treaty was greatly desired simply for the psychological effect it would have on certain other countries which I need not mention.

One of the responsible officials of the State Department has publicly stated that the purpose of the trade-treaty program must be broader than "mere horse trading" or "selfish trade advantages." If that is the view taken by the treaty negotiators, then it explains a great deal, not only the failure to secure for this country an even exchange but the fact that considerations other than trade may be involved.

Secretary Hull takes great satisfaction in the approval of his trade-treaty program by the Lima Conference which was recently held. Of course it is not hard to understand why the South American countries should be wholeheartedly in favor of our treaty program, which is a part of the administration's "good neighbor" policy. Why should they not be in favor of it, since its purpose is to let them send more goods into our market to displace our own products? It is just like the administration's spending program: Nobody is going to shoot Santa Claus.

#### THE NEW TREATY WITH CANADA

Turning to the new trade treaty with Canada, I may say that it is, of course, in substitution for the previously existing agreement which became effective January 1, 1936. The new treaty continues most of the important concessions made on both sides under the previous agreement, enlarges upon some, and in addition provides for a considerable number of new concessions.

#### OUR CONCESSIONS AFFECT 83 PERCENT OF CANADIAN IMPORTS

Concessions on the part of this country under the new Canadian treaty affect 83 percent of all our imports from Canada in 1937, indicating virtually a complete tariff revision insofar as Canadian imports are concerned. Of the dutiable imports, articles imported in 1937 to a value of about \$73,000,000 have been granted increased concessions over those made under the old treaty. These concessions include reductions in the duties on brick, lime, cement, not specially provided for, crude feldspar, mica, talc, woven-wire cloth, objects of cast iron, iron and steel chains, motorboats, aluminum, nickel, zinc, veneers of birch and maple, certain manufactures of wood, and maple sugar and sirup.

As regards agricultural products, the quota on dairy cows was removed and the quotas on calves, cattle, and seed potatoes were increased, along with a reduction in the duty on the latter two items. Duties were also reduced on pork and swine, bacon, milk and cream (subject to quota), Cheddar cheese, eggs, horses, honey, barley, buckwheat, oats, rye, bran shorts, dried beet pulp, blueberries, certain seeds, white or Irish potatoes (subject to quota), hay, and straw. Among other products on which duty reductions were made were fish, paper, fox furs, patent leather, leather gloves, pipe organs, and Christmas trees.

#### AGRICULTURAL TARIFFS NOW DRASTICALLY REDUCED

As a result of the new concessions, the rates of duty on many agricultural products have now been reduced under the rates of the tariff acts of 1921 (emergency act), 1922, and 1930. In other words, the existing rates approach the level of the free-trade Underwood Act of 1913, under which most agricultural products were on the free list. The consequences of free trade or inadequate tariffs on farm products are a matter of history. The outbreak of the World War in 1914 set up an artificial tariff barrier for the time and saved this country from foreign competition. However, with the signing of the armistice and the resumption of production abroad, the flood of foreign imports broke loose upon our market, displacing our own farm products and breaking down the price structure. A Republican Congress in 1920 passed an emergency agricultural tariff bill which was vetoed by President Wilson.

However, it was reintroduced under President Harding and became a law in 1921, stemming the tide of imports until the general tariff act of 1922 could be enacted. Just as in 1914, the undeclared wars throughout the world today have saved us from the full effects of the recent tariff reductions. However, the administration is paving the way for a recurrence of the flood of imports we had after the World War. Another emergency tariff will soon be in order.

Those branches of American agriculture which have not yet been affected by any of the existing trade treaties have cause for fear as to what may happen to them if treaties are negotiated with such countries as Australia, New Zealand, Mexico, Argentina, and other agricultural competitors. Officials of Australia were recently in Washington going over the possibilities of a treaty with this country. The precedent having been established for drastic reductions in farm tariffs under trade treaties, despite the President's promise in 1932 that such duties would not be reduced, we may expect the policy to be continued. It is significant that the British treaty contains a provision that if the duty on wool is reduced under any future treaty—possibly one with Australia, a large wool-producing country—compensatory benefits will be extended to the United Kingdom.

# CANADIAN CONCESSIONS TO THE UNITED STATES

Concessions granted by Canada on American products follow the general line of the concessions under the old treaty. In addition, Canada undertakes to remove the special import tax of 3 percent applicable to a large volume of Canadian imports.

Duty reductions apply to articles exported to Canada in 1937 to a value of \$80,000,000, or approximately 27.6 percent of our dutiable exports to that country.

The new Canadian agreement continues to provide for most-favored-nation treatment of American exports, but the value of this provision is largely offset by the fact that the British Commonwealth of nations continue to get the so-called Empire preference in the Canadian market. What we actually receive in the way of most-favored-nation treatment is merely the benefit of treaty rates extended to non-British countries. This still leaves us at the same substantial disadvantage in trying to compete with the Empire countries for the Canadian market.

# TREADWAY BILL TO LIMIT AMOUNT OF TARIFF REDUCTIONS AND REQUIRE CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF TREATIES

Mr. Speaker, I would like now to call attention to a bill which I introduced on the first day of the session (H. R. 923) which I ask permission to insert in the RECORD at this point.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Patman). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts? There was no objection.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to read the bill to the House. It is as follows:

A bill to limit the President's authority in proclaiming modifications of existing tariff duties in connection with foreign-trade agreements, and to provide for the submission of such agreements to the Congress for approval

Be it enacted, etc., That the President, in entering into foreign-trade agreements under the authority of section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, and in proclaiming modifications of existing tariff duties pursuant thereto, shall in no event reduce the duties on articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of any foreign country below the amount necessary to equalize the differences in the costs of production (as defined in section 336 of such act) of such articles and like or similar domestic articles, if such domestic articles are produced in the United States in commercial quantities.

SEC. 2. Any foreign-trade agreement entered into by the President after the enactment of this act, and any renewal or extension of a previously existing foreign-trade agreement, shall not become effective until it shall have been approved by concurrent resolution of the Congress.

The purpose of the bill, as is obvious from its reading, is twofold: First, to prevent any reductions in our tariff rates below the amount necessary to offset the foreign cost-of-production advantage, and second, to require the approval of both Houses of Congress before the trade treaties shall become effective.

I might say that while I wholeheartedly favor the complete repeal of the President's authority under the Trade Agreements Act, as provided for in bills introduced by several of my colleagues, I realize that it is too much to hope for the passage of any measure for that purpose. It would meet with a certain veto at the hands of the President, and it is quite possible that he could muster sufficient votes in one House or the other to prevent passage over his veto. He also would unquestionably veto the measure I have presented should it or any similar measure be passed, but there is a very strong likelihood that this Congress would pass it over his veto if a vote could ever be had.

If any justification is needed for my bill, it is amply furnished by the British and Canadian treaties recently concluded. The administration has never hesitated to reduce tariffs under the treaties without reference to the difference in foreign and domestic production costs. While this has always, to my mind, been a serious objection to the treaty program, it becomes all the more so by reason of the increasingly large number of commodities affected. Moreover, the fact that these treaties so vitally affect the welfare of our people is a compelling reason, aside from constitutional considerations, why they should be approved by the Congress before becoming effective.

The Secretary of State has repeatedly said that his only concern was in reducing rates of duty that were excessive or unreasonable. Apparently he is satisfied in his own mind that the reductions he has made fall in that category, although he would find few people who would agree with him.

No one, I believe, can successfully challenge the statement that a rate of duty which does no more than equalize the competitive advantage of the foreign producer in the home market is not excessive or unreasonable, provided we produce the domestic article in commercial quantities at a cost not economically prohibitive. Such being the case there can be no reasonable objection to restricting the reductions in duty under the trade treaties in the manner provided by my bill. Such a limitation is imperative if we are going to protect the interests of American agriculture, industry, and labor, and maintain our American wage and living standards.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts and Mr. COCHRAN rose. Mr. TREADWAY. I yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. The gentleman does not believe these reciprocal-trade agreements are constitutional, does he?

Mr. TREADWAY. No; decidedly not. I was just about to deal with that phase of the question.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I hope the gentleman will cover that matter.

EXECUTIVE BRANCH EXERCISES LEGISLATIVE POWER IN FIXING TARIFF
RATES UNDER TREATIES

Mr. TREADWAY. In securing the enactment of the law authorizing the trade-treaty program, the administration was careful to omit from the act any legislative rule or yardstick on which tariff concessions should be based. executive branch of the Government has complete discretion in the matter, both as to the choice of articles on which concessions are to be made and as to the amount thereof within the 50-percent limitation. In effect, therefore, the President exercises legislative power contrary to the Constitution. The cost-of-production yardstick laid down under the so-called flexible tariff provisions of the 1930 tariff act, to which the Executive had to adhere in making tariff increases or decreases thereunder, is completely eliminated insofar as changes under the trade treaties are concerned. This legislative formula was the basis upon which the Supreme Court upheld the validity of the flexible tariff. The absence of such a legislative formula in the trade-treaty legislation makes the latter clearly invalid. However, no court test of its constitutionality can be obtained because the New Deal master minds craftily included a provision in the law taking away from American producers the right to appeal or protest, as formerly allowed them under section 516 (b) of the Tariff Act of 1930.

#### TREATIES NEGOTIATED IN SECRET

The trade treaties are, of course, negotiated in secret starchamber proceedings, in which agents of this Government who are in no way responsible to the people or to Congress sit around the council table with foreign agents to decide what our citizens shall be allowed to produce in this country and what they must buy from abroad. Through their manipulation of our tariff rates they exercise what amounts to a power of life and death over every domestic industry, both agricultural and manufacturing, which is dependent upon tariff protection for its continued existence. They can regiment our workers in certain lines of activity and undermine their wage scale. While the President must take the ultimate responsibility for their actions, he cannot possibly be conversant with all the details, but must rely upon their recommendations. Even the Secretary of State, under whose general directions the negotiations are carried on, must do the same.

The Congress of the United States, which, under the Constitution, is supposed to have complete and exclusive authority over the tariff, is denied the power to review the terms of the treaties, no matter how disastrous may be their effect upon our home industries and our workers. The provisions of the treaties are not even made public until they have actually been concluded and the President has affixed his signature, thus making them binding and effective insofar as this country is concerned.

American interests have no opportunity to be heard on the terms of the treaties except before their negotiation is begun, and little heed is ever paid to their representations. They are relegated to much the same position as a convicted criminal who is asked by the judge whether he has anything to say before sentence is pronounced. In a way, they are in an even less favorable position, because the criminal at least has the right to appeal, which they do not.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS HAVE LESS TO SAY ABOUT UNITED STATES TARIFFS THAN FOREIGN EMISSARIES

We Members of Congress have less to say about the tariff policy of this country than the foreign agents who take part in the treaty negotiations. They have a hand and voice in the negotiations. We have neither, nor do we even have any knowledge of what goes on behind the closed doors. This is a situation which should no longer be tolerated. While the Congress is moving toward the resumption of its legislative functions under the Constitution in other lines, it should also move toward the resumption of its legislative powers over the tariff.

It was argued at the time the trade-treaty legislation was before Congress for consideration that it was necessary for the President to have a free hand in the treaty negotiations so that he could deal on a basis of equality with the heads of foreign governments, the representation being made that they had similar broad authority. However, it is noteworthy that with respect to the great majority of the trade treaties which have been negotiated, the foreign legislative bodies concerned have reserved the right to approve the treaties before they become finally effective. Why should not the Congress of the United States exercise the same right of review?

#### HOUSE SHOULD APPROVE TREATIES AS WELL AS SENATE

Some of those who are advocating congressional ratification of the treaties propose to limit such ratification to the body at the other end of the Capitol, on the theory, I suppose, that it has the exclusive constitutional right to do so. In my bill, however, I have provided for approval of the treaties by the House as well as by the Senate, because they directly affect the revenue, and this House has the exclusive power to originate revenue measures. I might point out that while the other body formally ratified the Cuban reciprocity treaty of 1902, the treaty did not become effective until enabling legislation, which originated in the House, had been passed, putting into effect the reductions in duty therein provided for. It is interesting to note, also, that the Collier tradeagreement bill which the Democratic majority of this House formulated and passed in 1932, during the last Republican administration, provided for House and Senate approval of the trade agreements authorized thereby. It will be remembered that the general trade treaties which the President was authorized to negotiate under the tariff acts of 1897 and 1913 also required House and Senate approval.

This House, in the interest of preserving its constitutional prerogatives, should never recognize that approval of the present trade treaties by the other body alone would be sufficient. They have that right so far as ordinary treaties are concerned, but a trade treaty which reduces rates of duty fixed by Congress is not an ordinary treaty.

Mr. COCHRAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. COCHRAN. Can the gentleman give the House any information at this time or will he place in the Record figures showing the value of exports from this country as well as the value of imports so that we will be able to see just how many million dollars the balance of trade is in favor of the United States?

Mr. TREADWAY. I may say to the gentleman I endeavored to secure and did secure the estimate of the cost of including in my remarks tables showing the difference between the rates in the trade treaty and existing law previous to the trade-treaty program, but the expense was so great that in the interest of economy I did not ask permission to insert that with my remarks.

Mr. COCHRAN. Cannot the gentleman place in the REC-ORD the balance in favor of the United States? That will only take a few figures.

Mr. TREADWAY. I shall be glad at some future time to go into that whole subject.

Mr. COCHRAN. How about putting it in his speech now? Mr. TREADWAY. It is not part of these remarks.

Mr. COCHRAN. Those figures alone would show that the gentleman's argument is not sound.

Mr. TREADWAY. The gentleman is mistaken in that respect.

Mr. COCHRAN. Does the gentleman want to go back to the Smoot-Hawley Act?

Mr. TREADWAY. We have ample ways of amending the Smoot-Hawley Act that you gentlemen never availed yourselves of, and until you do so do not force any more of these trade treaties down our throats.

Mr. COCHRAN. We found a way to repeal it, which was much better.

Mr. TREADWAY. Why do you not put it into effect? Mr. COCHRAN. We are putting it into effect.

Mr. TREADWAY. Why do you not come before Congress with your rates rather than go around the back door and behind locked doors telling foreign people they can make our rates and treaties? That is what you did. We will not stand for that at all.

Mr. REED of New York. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield to the gentleman from New York. Mr. REED of New York. It would be very interesting if the gentleman would include in his remarks the value of the pay rolls of the United States which have been the principal export of this country during the trade-agreement program.

Mr. TREADWAY. I believe that is a very good sugges-

tion, although I have not the figures at this time.

The gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. Case] tells me that the figures he would like to see put in the Record are those which would show the extent to which these so-called trade treaties have traded off the prosperity of our own producers. He feels, as I do, that we should be more concerned with the purchasing power of our own people than those in foreign countries, inasmuch as domestic trade is also a two-way street.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. TREADWAY. I yield to the gentleman from Minne-

Mr. KNUTSON. Carrying a little further the thought of the gentleman from Missouri, when the gentleman from Massachusetts gets around to putting in the Record the figures of exports and imports he might divide the subject of exports and separate from the other items the amounts of old iron we have been shipping to Japan and which is being used to kill the Chinese. This is one of the big items of export. [Applause.]

Mr. TREADWAY. Following up the idea of the gentleman from Minnesota, it will be found that the chief item of export from this country today is war materials.

Mr. KNUTSON. Why, certainly. It is 52 percent.

TRADE-TREATY PROGRAM A CERTAIN MAJOR ISSUE IN 1940

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I want to say that in my opinion the ruinous trade-treaty program of the present administration will be one of the principal issues in the next election. The newspapers of the country have been flooded with the one-sided and frequently misleading propaganda of the State Department purporting to show the alleged benefits thereunder, but nothing is ever said about the increase in imports as a result of the treaties or the great cost at which small increases in exports to individual countries are obtained.

It seems to me that in the public interest some of the facts on the other side should be brought out. It is the duty and responsibility of the minority party to bring these facts to the attention of the people, and I, as one minority Member, expect to do my share in endeavoring to awaken the country to a realization of what is actually going on under the tradetreaty program.

It should, of course, be understood that the treaty program is strictly a New Deal proposition. It was vigorously opposed by the Republican minority in both branches when it was enacted in 1934. At the time it was extended for another 3 years in 1937, we again opposed it with all our vigor, and we shall continue to oppose it as long as the present destructive methods are continued.

The issues between the two parties over the tariff are clear: The New Deal administration favors the importation of foreign goods that compete with and displace the products of American agriculture, industry, and labor. The Republican Party favors a reciprocity policy which goes hand in hand with protection for our own people, under which adequate duties will be maintained on competitive foreign imports, and our surplus products will be exchanged for foreign products we need but do not produce ourselves.

The doubling of the representation of the Republican Party in the present Congress shows that the people are beginning to realize what the New Deal is doing to them. In the next Congress we are going to have more than enough Republicans to wipe out the present trade-treaty program, which is so detrimental to the interests of our people, and restore the

Republican policy of protection under which our country prospered for a century and a half.

INCREASED EXPORTS NOT DUE TO TREATY PROGRAM

Mr. Speaker, under permission granted to extend my remarks, let me refer to the results of the operation of the tradetreaty program. Statistics for the full year 1938 are not yet available. However, we may compare our foreign trade in the calendar year 1937 with the calendar year 1935, the first year in which the trade-treaty program began to be effective.

One of the chief points stressed by the State Department propaganda has been that our exports to treaty countries increased by 60 percent, whereas our exports to nontreaty countries increased by only 39 percent, from 1935 to 1937. On the surface, this makes it look like the treaty program has been an important factor in increasing our export trade. However, if the trade is analyzed on a regional basis it will be seen that the figures prove nothing. For example, exports to Europe show a greater increase to agreement countries—59 percent as compared with 22 percent in the case of nontreaty countries.

But just the reverse is true in the case of South America. There exports to nonagreement countries increased by 93 percent as compared with only a 65-percent increase in our

exports to countries with which we have treaties.

Analyzing our European trade more closely, we find that while exports to Switzerland, a treaty country, increased by only 26 percent, exports to Norway, a nontreaty country, increased by 63 percent. Likewise exports to France, a treaty country, increased by 40 percent, while exports to Czechoslovakia, at that time a nontreaty country, increased by 306 percent. Even our exports to Germany, a nontreaty country and a nonbeneficiary of the generalization of our tariff reductions, increased by 35 percent.

All of which proves that the increase in our export trade cannot necessarily be credited, even in the case of treaty countries, to the treaty program. Indeed, it will be found that the bulk of the increase in exports to several of the treaty countries is in articles on which we were not granted concessions in duty. For example, in the case of Sweden, out of a total increase in our exports to that country from 1935 to 1937 amounting to \$26,000,000, commodities granted a reduction in duty accounted for less than \$400,000, or 1½ percent of the total.

# IMPORTS HAVE INCREASED FASTER THAN EXPORTS

The fact that this country has been on the losing end of the trade-treaty program is clearly proven by the fact that since it has been in effect our imports have increased much faster than our exports. From 1934 to 1937 the increase in the physical quantity of our exports was less than 40 percent. On the other hand, the volume of our imports increased by 52 percent. But here is the significant fact: During this period the quantity of imports of dutiable items on which tariff concessions had been granted increased by 123 percent.

On the basis of dollar value, our imports increased by 93.4 percent from 1934 to 1937, while our exports increased by only

56.9 percent.

WAR MATERIALS ARE IMPORTANT PART OF INCREASED EXPORT TRADE

An analysis of our export trade shows that most of the increase in exports consisted of war materials and goods needed in connection with programs of national defense abroad. Of the total increase in exports from 1934 to 1937, only 25 percent of the value was represented by products of farms, forests, and fisheries.

In 1934, when the trade-treaty legislation was passed, we had a favorable balance of trade, or excess of exports over imports, amounting to \$478,000,000. In 1935, as a result of the more rapid increase in imports than in exports, our favorable balance dropped to \$235,000,000. The next year, 1936, it fell to only \$34,000,000. This downward trend continued until the middle of 1937, at which time we had an unfavorable balance of \$145,000,000. During the last half of 1937, however, the trend was reversed, due principally to an increase in our exports of war materials and supplies.

The value of our exports of these commodities rose from \$447,000,000 in 1936 to \$776,000,000 in 1937. This increase

in the exports of war supplies more than made up our favorable trade balance for 1937, showing that without these exports we would have had a heavy adverse balance in that year.

It is somewhat ironical that the trade-treaty program, which is supposedly dedicated to world peace, should by reason of an increase in our exports of war materials, be spared the responsibility of having brought about an unfavorable trade balance for the first time in half a century. Of course, the increase in these exports of war materials is not due to any concessions obtained under the treaty program, but the State Department proudly assumes full credit for the favorable trade balance.

Let me just call attention to a single item in the war materials group, scrap iron, of which Japan is the largest purchaser, having bought from us 1,900,000 gross tons in 1937. In the March 12, 1938, issue of Commerce Reports, published by the Department of Commerce, there is an article entitled "United States Leading Scrap Iron Exporter." This article refers to the fact that we exported in 1937 more than 4,000,000 tons, valued at \$80,000,000, as compared with exports of 773,000 tons in 1933, valued at only \$6,874,000.

FAVORABLE TRADE BALANCE FOR 1938 NOT DUE TO INCREASED EXPORTS Trade figures for the full year of 1938 are not yet available, but when they are published they will undoubtedly show a large favorable trade balance for the past year. We may expect the State Department to come forward once more and attribute this fact to the trade-treaty program. However, if we analyze the trade for the first 9 months of 1938, as referred to in the November 5 issue of Commerce Reports, it will be found that this favorable trade balance cannot in any way be attributed to the treaty program. In the first place, through September 1938 our export trade had fallen off slightly, as compared with the same period in 1937, apparently indicating that foreign markets have not been opening up as expected. On the import side of the ledger we find that imports declined materially in 1938 over 1937. Again, this is not due to the trade-treaty program. since its policy and purpose is to increase, and not curtail, the importation of foreign goods. It is this decline in imports, coupled with the large exports of war materials, which enable us to have a favorable trade balance in 1938.

The Commerce Department gives us the reason for the decline in imports last year. In the publication to which I have just referred it says:

Import trade reflected the recession in business activity and the improvement in agricultural production in the United States.

The Department of Agriculture, in its publication Foreign Crops and Markets, for August 13, 1938, says, in referring to the decline in imports last year:

The decrease in business activity influences the value of practically all our imports, both aricultural and other. It was accompanied by lower prices and by a general falling off in demand. Raw materials were needed in smaller quantity by factories and finished products were purchased to a lesser extent by workers.

I commend this latter quotation to the Secretary of State and all others who attempt to defend the present trade-treaty program. The Secretary contends that it is the tariff which prevents foreign countries from trading with us. However, the fact is, as proven by both the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Commerce, that the amount of goods we buy from abroad depends directly upon the purchasing power of our people. If they are prosperous, they buy foreign goods, which are needed to supplement our own. If they are not prosperous, they reduce their purchases in proportion. That is plain. Our prosperity depends very little upon the foreign market. If more attention were given to improving the lot of our own people, foreign countries would have plenty of opportunity to sell us merchandise. Even under reduced tariffs our people will not buy foreign goods if they do not have the purchasing power.

The bumper farm crops of 1937 affected both the reduction in the imports of farm crops and the increase of farm exports. Imports were no longer needed to supplement our own curtailed production, while the grain surpluses available for export, says the Department of Agriculture, "gave foreigners an opportunity to buy United States grain at competitive prices for the first time in more than 4 years." In passing, I might point out that there is an object lesson in this latter statement.

Trade-treaty proponents will doubtless claim that the increase in grain exports last year was due to the treaty program. The Department of Agriculture shows that there is no basis for that claim. Moreover, the fact is that few concessions have been obtained for American grain under trade treaties, and, in any event, most of the increase in exports had been to nontreaty countries. [Applause.]

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to place in the Record at this point such figures as I can secure from the Department of Commerce with respect to exports and imports.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

#### SUMMARY OF FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. COCHRAN. The following table shows the foreign trade of the United States as published by the Department of Commerce for the first 11 months of 1938 as compared with a similar period for 1937:

[Millions of dollars]

[Permons of donars]	Secretary of the second		
19 April 6 Tan and 1 Tan and 2 Tan a	11 mo	Percent	
	1937	1938	decrease
ExportsImports	3, 026 2, 875	2, 825 1, 789	7 40
Total	151 698 1, 483	1, 036 763 877	- 3 . A

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Includes noncompatitive products such as coffee, tea, cocoa, bananas, silk, spices, and others not produced in the United States.

The above figures show that there was a slight decrease in total exports from the United States during the first 11 months of 1938 in comparison with a similar period of 1937, while exports of agricultural products increased by some \$65,000,000. On the other hand, the table shows that the imports of agricultural products, including noncompetitive articles not produced in the United States, decreased by more than one-half billion dollars for the comparative periods.

The question frequently arises as to the effects of trade agreements on our foreign trade. The latest study by the Department of Commerce shows the effects of the agreements for the year 1937–38 in comparison with nonagreement years, as follows:

[Millions of dollars]

August firm en 11. 185 û	Comparison of last 12-month period, end- ing June 1938, with preagreement period calendar years 1934 and 1935					
A STATE OF STREET	1934 and 1935	Fiscal	Change			
	(annual average)	year 1937–38	Value	Percent		
UNITED STATES EXPORTS, INCLUDING REEXPORTS	Ercsus (5) ult (Esu)		Andey	Wallian Syrq Sa		
Total, all trade agreement countries	756. 8 1, 451. 0	1, 257. 7 2, 143. 4	+500.9 +692.4	+66. 2 +47. 7		
Total, all countries	2, 027. 8	3, 401. 1	+1, 192. 3	+54.0		
UNITED STATES GENERAL IMPORTS	4		SILE	(C ST)		
Total, all trade agreement countries Total, all nonagreement countries	774.4 1,077.9	977. 6 1, 383. 7	+203. 2 +306. 7	+26. 2 +28. 5		
Total, all countries	1, 851. 4	2, 361. 3	+509.9	+27.6		

The above data show that during the latest 12-month period, ending with June 1938, the relative increase in value of American exports, as compared with the 2-year preagreement period, 1934-35, was 66.2 percent to the agreement countries and 47.7 percent to the nonagreement countries. It is seen that there was only a slight difference between the relative increase of imports from agreement and nonagreement countries.

The Department of Agriculture has broken down the figures by farm products as follows:

[Millions of dollars]

United States (domestic) exports	Year ending June 30,	Increase (+) or decrease (-)		
	1938	1937–38 over 1935–36		
Farm products: To the 16 agreement countries. To all other countries.	288 600	+102 +20	Percent +55 +3	

This table shows that exports of United States farm products to the 16 countries rose by \$102,000,000, or by 55 percent from the fiscal year 1935-36—when only three of the agreements were in effect throughout the year—to the fiscal year 1937-38, the latest year for which data are available. Farm exports to all other countries rose only \$20,000,000, or by 3 percent, for the same period.

The imports of agricultural commodities from the tradeagreement and nonagreement countries for a similar period have been as follows:

[Millions of dollars]

United States imports (for consumption)	Year end- ing June	Increase (+) or de- crease (-)		
one will have a desired - new	30, 1938	1937–38 over 1935–36		
Agricultural commodities: From the 16 agreement countries From all other countries	454 701	-14 +27	Percent -3+4	

These figures should finally and definitely show that agriculture has not suffered through imports influenced by trade agreements.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the special orders for today I may be permitted to have 5 minutes to make a statement to the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Eaton] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. EATON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, as a humble taxpayer under the New Deal economy I was privileged by means of the radio to gather a few crumbs of political and economic lore that fell from the rich abundance of the master's table at the Jackson Day feast on Saturday evening.

To one who has been denied participation in the blessings of the more abundant life it was reassuring and comforting beyond measure to realize that even after 6 years of the New Deal there were still left some thousand or more princes of privilege who could pay \$100 apiece for a meal.

I am sure that this exhibition of Spartan self-denial will greatly encourage the one-third of our people who still remain ill fed, ill clothed, and ill housed and who have been the object of such tender and expensive solicitude on the part of the New Deal.

The only fly in the rich ointment of the published menu of this Lucullian feast seemed to be the wine, which was of the sour vintage of 1929, before the sun of the New Deal had risen to bathe the Nation's vineyards in sweetness and light.

The speech of our versatile and always unpredictable President was unique in several particulars. It was a well-balanced speech garnished with an equal combination of war clubs and olive branches. It might be fairly described as an ambidextrous speech, for in it with one hand he buried the hatchet of political strife, while with the other he immediately

In one particular the President's Jackson Day address to the faithful and the faithless alike was unique beyond any public utterance of any Chief Executive in our entire history. It was based upon a personal radio contact and conversation which, in the quiet of an evening hour, the President had had with the dead.

Parenthetically—to use the President's phrase in which he served notice that there might be a new party in 1940-it would have been of immense theological interest if during this conversation Mr. Roosevelt had thought to ascertain exactly where the late President Jackson is now located and in what form of labor he is now engaged.

I am glad that our President has been able to make this supernatural contact with one whom he so greatly admires and with whose political policies, methods, and achievements he is in such complete accord and has so closely copied. The striking similarity in objectives and achievements between these two Chief Executives is outlined in the closing paragraph of the Encylopedia Britannica's biography of Andrew Jackson. I quote:

Jackson is perhaps the only President of whom it may be said that he went out of office far more popular than he was when he entered. When he went into office he had no political opinions, only some popular notions.

Now, listen to this: Here is where Jackson and Roosevelt join hands and march like two lovers along the lane of human progress.

He-

Jackson-

left his party strong, perfectly organized, and enthusiastic on a platform of low expenditures, payment of the debt, no expenditure for public improvement, or for glory or display in any form, and—

Mirabile dictu-

low taxes.

Now that we are communing with Mr. Jackson without the use of the radio, I may be permitted to read another sentence or two from one whom, although I dwell in the Stygian darkness of Republicanism, I consider one of the great Americans of our history.

Mr. Jackson, in a letter under date of July 4, 1824, makes this statement. I am reading this to show how intensely loyal the New Deal has been to the Jacksonian method and

If a national debt-

States Mr. Jackson-

is considered a national blessing, then we, like Great Britain, can get on by borrowing. But as I believe it a national curse, my vow shall be to pay the national debt, to prevent a moneyed aristocracy from growing up around our administration-

Parenthetically, that suggests that within the New Deal itself there may even be some of these princes of privilege. these economic royalists, sneaking right up on the President here and now if he does not watch out-

to prevent a moneyed aristocracy from growing up around our administration that must bend it to its views, and ultimately destroy the liberty of our country.

Again Mr. Jackson writes:

The management of the public revenue-that searching operation in all governments—is among the most delicate and important trusts in ours, and it will, of course, demand no inconsiderable share of my official solicitude. Under every aspect in which it can be considered it would appear that advantage must result from the observance of a strict and faithful economy.

The Members of the House must be startled as I go on reading by the close resemblance between Mr. Jackson's ideas and the ideas of the present incumbent of the White House.

LXXXIV-12

This I shall aim at the more anxiously, both because it will facilitate the extinguishment of the national debt, the unnecessary duration of which is incompatible with real independence, and because it will counteract that tendency to public and private profligacy which a profuse expenditure of money by the Government is but too apt to engender.

This is the Seventy-sixth Congress of the United States. It is composed of a high-minded class of representatives of character and ability. I have never been able to associate myself with the view so widely disseminated nowadays that the Congress of the United States is composed of accidents and weaklings. I have been associated all my life with able and devoted groups of men and women in religion, in politics, in business, and in education, and I say here that in a long career of 50 years I have never had the privilege of being associated with a group of men and women of higher moral and mental caliber and character, taken as a whole, than the Members of the Congress of the United States. And this is equally true on both sides of the aisle. So, when Andrew Jackson calls our attention to the dangers inherent in public debt, I lay it heavily upon the conscience and intelligence of the new Members and the old Members of this House to face our present chaotic and menacing debt situation with courage and competence.

Mr. Jackson continues:

Powerful auxiliaries to the attainment of this desirable end are to be found in the regulations provided by the wisdom of Congress for the specific appropriation of public money and the prompt accountability of public officers.

In other words, Andrew Jackson's message to this Congress is that when the leader of the New Deal came here the other day and laid on our doorstep the mangled remains of the fiscal policy of his administration and said, in effect, though not using the words, "Here is your baby; take care of it," it is up to every one of us to discharge our constitutional obligations, assume our individual responsibility, and see if, by united and intelligent action, we cannot at least begin to lift this Nation out of the abyss into which it has fallen.

In the brief time allotted I can only touch upon a few of the points made by the President in his historic Jackson Day address. In general, I gather that he is much perturbed by the voters' rejection of the New Deal in the election of November 8 on the ground that their adverse verdict indicates the return of the Republican Party to power in 1940. I gather further that the President disapproves of the Republican Party as a whole, which is somewhat surprising, and further, which is even more surprising, he disapproves of that important element in the Democratic Party which still bases its political faith upon the fundamental principles of American life and government as set forth in the Constitution.

Mr. Speaker, would you be good enough to quell these New Deal disturbances over here?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PATMAN). The Chair calls the House to order on both sides of the Chamber and the Sergeant at Arms will please help maintain order.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON of New Jersey. Yes.

Mr. KNUTSON. It is really surprising what noise rubber stamps can make at times.

Mr. EATON of New Jersey. Since the iron of discovery and defeat has entered into the soul of the rubber stamps, they naturally make a little more noise than usual.

These two great steadying sections of our citizens, the Republicans and real Democrats, Mr. Roosevelt classifies as "tweedledums" and "tweedledees." But I cannot agree with him in locating all the "dum" tweedles in the Democratic Party. Evidently he fears that there may be enough of these two species of "tweedles" in 1940 to defeat the New Deal.

The President attributes the success of the Democratic Party in 1932, first, to the excessive fat of the Republicans. and, second, to the fact that the Democratic Party during that summer and autumn had a program of action and sounded sincere.

I generally agree with his analysis of the 1932 turn-over, but the President seems to be oblivious to the fact that the turn-over in November 1938 was due to the fact that the people have lost their faith in the sincerity of the promises of the New Deal, which Mr. Roosevelt and his unofficial advisers have managed to substitute for the real Democratic Party. Let us examine for a moment a few of these New Deal promises made by the President himself and see if we can determine just why they no longer sound sincere. Mr. Roosevelt has said:

Campaign promises are supposed to be the responsibility of the whole party. At least that is the theory. But in practice the head of the party alone is held responsible for them.

Now, to just what campaign promises did Mr. Roosevelt in this statement refer? Was it his promise that "the cost of government will be reduced at least 25 percent?"

Or was it his promise to balance the Budget; and if so, which of his several promises?

Or his promise that a lot of "useless commissions, bureaus, and functions" in government shall be abolished?

Or his promise to "get more more service from the Department of Agriculture for less money"?

Or his promise that taxes were too high and must be reduced?

Or his promise that there must be no taxes on food and clothing, whose burden is actually shifted to the consumer?

Or his promise to reduce the Federal deficit; and if so, which of his several promises?

Or his promise that "we must stop borrowing to meet these continuing deficits"?

Or his promise that there must be no "doctrine of regulation and legislation by master minds \* \* \*"?

Or his promise that there must not be brought about "a government by oligarchy masquerading as democracy," under which "it is fundamentally essential that all authority and control be centralized in our National Government"?

Or his promise to "halt this steady process of building commissions and regulatory bodies and special legislation like huge inverted pyramids over every one of the simple constitutional provisions"?

Or his promise that "this 'home rule' is a most important thing, a most vital thing, if we were to continue along the course on which we have so far progressed with unprecedented success"?

Or his promise that "every new or old problem of government must be solved, if it is to be solved to the satisfaction of the people of the whole country, by each State in its own way"?

Or his promise that "the first and foremost" provisions of the Constitution must be enforced, that "every citizen is entitled to live his own life in his own way so long as his conduct does not injure any of his fellow men"?

Or his promise that "Washington must not be encouraged to interfere in the conduct of public utilities, of banks, of insurance, of business, of agriculture, of education, of social welfare, and of a dozen other important features"?

Or his promise that there should be "no interference by the Government in business"?

Or his promise that his administration would "cooperate" with business in a "spirit of helpfulness" instead of treating it with "hostility"?

Or his promise that "the Government should assume the function of economic regulation only as a last resort"?

Or his promise that there "must be no governmental control of prices"?

Or his promise that prices were too low and must go up?

Or his promise that prices were too high and must come down?

Or his promise that prices were both too low and too high and must go up and come down at the same time? [Laughter.]

Or his promise that "we condemn the unsound policy of restricting agricultural products to the demands of the domestic market"?

Or his promise that "there must be no coercion in the farm plan"?

Or his promise that, to quote his own words, "I dislike regimentation, not only when it is carried on by an informal group amounting to an economic government of the United States, but when it is done by the Government of the United States itself"?

Or his promise that the Government should not become "a prying bureaucracy"?

Or his promise that the Government would not be taken off the gold standard?

Or his promise that the three coequal, coordinate, independent constitutional departments of Government should be kept that way?

Or his promise that "the Bill of Rights must always be upheld" and no citizen coerced through relief or otherwise to surrender his political independence?

Or his promise that relief must not be polluted with politics?

Or his promise of a fact-finding tariff commission "free from political interference"?

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. EATON of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. GIFFORD. I want to warn the gentleman that if you keep somebody in a hot chamber too long fatal results are often reported. This matter of New Deal promises is a pretty hot chamber. I think the gentleman ought to be careful. [Laughter.]

Mr. EATON of New Jersey. I am not surprised that the gentleman makes an appeal for mercy, but he must remember that all of these promises sounded sincere. Well, I am nearly through, although the glut of material makes it possible for me to continue almost indefinitely.

Now, to answer the gentleman's suggestion, since few or none of these 57 varieties of promises made by the President, as head of the New Deal, seem to have been fulfilled, is it surprising that the New Deal program of 1938 did not "sound as sincere" to the voters as did the constructive American program of the real Democratic Party in 1932?

One other statement in the President's address is of prophetic interest. He said:

The younger generation of Americans, by a very large majority, intend to keep on "going places" with the New Deal.

Whatever the intentions of the youth of the land may be as to their "going places with the New Deal," there is one place to which, because of the New Deal's fiscal policy of waste, extravagance, and debt, they and their children after them will have to keep going as long as they live, whether they wish it or not. That place is the tax collector's office. That is where we are all, of every age and condition, now "going places" with the New Deal.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Or the poorhouse.

Mr. EATON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, how much time have I remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has 7 minutes remaining.

Mr. EATON of New Jersey. Notwithstanding the President's unique privilege of taking "shooting" and "counting" lessons from a supernatural instructor; in spite of his glowing eloquence and his loyal following of devoted New Dealers who not only "sound sincere" but are sincere, I find myself impelled today to take my place along with that great and growing army of Democratic tweedledums and Republican tweedledees in opposition to the New Deal. In fact, I have been opposed to it ever since it turned its back upon the sound and constructive American platform of the Democratic Party in 1932.

It rests upon two unsound principles: First, that you can make a silk purse out of a sow's ear; and, second, that you can get more meat out of an egg than there is in it.

It is not Democratic. It is not Republican. It is an irrational concatenation of economic and political cacophonies. [Laughter.] It will pass like an abnormal convulsion of Nature, but it will leave behind it a grim harvest of loss and ruin which American-minded men and women will have to reap.

The reasoned opposition to the New Deal which found expression in the last election, of November 8, and which is growing stronger every day among all classes and sections has little or no interest in the current political cant about "liberalism" or "conservatism." It is against the New Deal for causes and reasons furnished by the New Deal itself. It admits the glamorous personal qualities of Mr. Roosevelt, the father and founder and permanent high priest of the New Deal. It admits the desirability of those excessively noble objectives in which the New Deal claims exclusive right.

The people of what used to be free America are going to blast the New Deal out of power in 1940 because the policies of the New Deal prevent the return of good times. They have made up their minds that it is not necessary for our country to keep on floundering in the bog holes of economic depression.

Their reasoning rests upon a rock foundation of economic fact. In the 11 years from 1919 to 1929, inclusive, the American people on their own private initiative invested in durable goods, permanent construction, and maintenance over \$210,000,000,000, or an average of \$19,000,000,000 a year. In the period of the great depression and during the 6 years of the New Deal this form of private long-term investment has shrunken to an average investment of around five or six billion a year. It is this long-term private investment for future spending and profit which is the chief factor in solving the problem of unemployment. This is the foundation stone of good times. And this supreme source of prosperity for all the people is being destroyed by the New Deal's policy of wasteful experimentations, punitive taxation, and continual intrusion into the private affairs and personal liberties of the people. Except where absolutely necessary, people are afraid to invest because of their fear of the future under the New Deal and its aftermath of uncertainty.

Here lies the key to real recovery. Here is the real problem with which we Members of the Seventy-sixth Congress, regardless of party labels or livery, must deal.

If we can succeed in reopening this fountain of employment and prosperity for all the people, we shall save America. If we fail, who dares predict the result? [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the special order of the House heretofore entered, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Crawford] is recognized for 20 minutes.

# DOMESTIC SUGAR INDUSTRY

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, as announced yesterday, what I desire to discuss at this particular moment is the domestic sugar industry; meaning by that, those producers of sugar operating under the American flag located in Puerto Rico, in the Virgin Islands, domestic cane in Louisiana and Florida, domestic beet in the Northern and Northwestern States, cane in the Philippine Islands, and cane sugar in the Hawaiian Islands; and the relationship of the domestic industry to the current so-called reciprocal-trade agreement with Cuba and what I like to term the "subsidized agreement" with the Cuban Republic.

In 1934 President Roosevelt signed a bill under date of May 9, known as the Jones-Costigan Sugar Act, an amendment to the Agricultural Adjustment Act. Section 8a (1) of that act reads:

Having due regard to the welfare of domestic producers and to the protection of domestic consumers and to a just relation between the prices received by domestic producers and the prices paid by domestic consumers, the Secretary of Agriculture may, in order to effectuate the declared policy of this act, from time to time by orders or regulations, "establish market quotas."

These last three words are not in the bill except in a very expanded form.

Under date of September 1, 1937, the President signed another sugar bill, which provides:

That in the interest of international trade and for the purpose of protecting the domestic sugar industry and provide sugar to our people at a cost and at a price not in excess of that necessary to perpetuate the domestic sugar industry, the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to establish marketing quotas.

The Secretary has proceeded under these acts to say to those engaged in the production of sugar in the continental United States and our offshore areas—Hawaii and the Philippine Islands, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands—that they may produce and ship in interstate commerce a designated amount of sugar for our people to consume. In establishing marketing quotas they have also extended those quotas to the sugar producers of Cuba—which is a foreign country, a republic—shipping sugar to United States market.

The marketing quotas established for the year 1939—expressed in short tons, raw value—which we are now entering into, gave to Cuba 1,953,759 tons to be sold to our people the coming 12 months; gave to the domestic beet-sugar industry 1,584,083 tons; to the cane people of Louisiana and Florida 429,434 tons; to the Hawaiian Islands 922,082 tons; to Puerto Rico 815,582 tons; and the Virgin Islands, 3,923; the Philippine Islands 991,020 tons; and to foreign lands the sum of 80,683 tons. These are the selling quotas established for the coming year by the Secretary of Agriculture under the authority given him by the present sugar act, signed September 1, 1937.

What has happened and what is happening from the standpoint of the treaty with Cuba, from the standpoint of the strain which is being put on the capital structures of the domestic sugar industry under the American flag as a result of this working out of the sugar plan, which has now been in operation a little more than 4 years? I want to acquaint you with a few of the facts brought down to date as quickly as I can in this short period. When the President presented to Congress a message early in 1937 looking forward to the enactment of the September 1, 1937, Sugar Act he dealt with a price structure on sugar in this country to the consumer; and I think every man and woman who watched the situation had reason to assume that the enactment of the 1937 act was not for the purpose of putting up the price of sugar to the consumer, but was for the purpose of protecting the consumer along with the domestic sugar industry. The preamble of the act reads as follows:

To regulate commerce among the several States, with the Territories and possessions of the United States, and with foreign countries; to protect the welfare of consumers of sugars and of those engaged in the domestic sugar-producing industry; to promote the export trade of the United States; to raise revenue; and for other purposes.

That was the purpose of the 1937 act. I think that is supposed to be the purpose, to a great extent, of this reciprocal trade agreement program which we have heard so much about—to promote trade and lift the standard of living of our people. I ask the new Members of Congress—and it does not hurt us older men to review our sugar history a little bit—to keep in mind where these areas are located, where our sugar bowls are. About twenty-two hundred miles off the coast of California is one—Hawaii. About 8,000 miles from San Francisco by boat lie the Philippine Islands. A short distance from Ke; West lies Cuba, and a little farther away lies Puerto Rico. In the continental United States we have the southern cane, the north and northwestern beet. These places I have mentioned are our sugar bowls.

Incidentally, the one time that we had to depend upon Cuba for our sugar supply for a period of 5 or 6 months, in 1920, the price of sugar went to \$35 per 100 pounds to the American consumer, because we were then dependent upon Cuba for our sugar supply; we were dependent upon a foreign country for our sugar supply. The exploitation by Cuba at that time of the pocketbooks of the American housewives was sufficient to pay, in that 6 months' period, for your domestic beet-sugar industry. We do not want that to happen again in time of peace or in time of war. We should, therefore, produce in this area—the continental United States of America—more than 26 percent of what we are now consuming.

We should produce more in peacetime and more in wartime than we do at the present time. But if you are to have even 26 percent of that sugar produced in this area, there will have to be some type of protection afforded the domestic sugar industry, which was the intent of the Jones-Costigan Act of 1934 and the present sugar bill of 1937.

Let us get into some of the figures which the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cochran] requested the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Treadway] to submit. I anticipated somebody might ask this question. Let us look at the picture here.

Sugar control has been in operation 4 years. Incidentally, Cuba is a sugar bowl. For 4 years prior to the sugar-control situation Cuba's total sales to the world—all in round figures—amounted to \$451,000,000. For the 4 years under sugar control it amounted to \$576,000,000, an increase of \$125,000,000. Her total purchases from the world during the first 4 years were \$336,000,000; for the second 4 years under sugar control \$401,000,000, an increase of \$65,000,000. That is world trade. It shows an increase in Cuba's purchases of \$65,000,000.

Let us bring this down to the United States. During the 4 years prior to sugar control Cuba sold us \$320,000,000 worth of goods. Under sugar control she sold us \$455,000,000 worth of goods, an increase of \$135,000,000.

Now, I am going to show you what it cost to get that business. She purchased from the United States during the 4 years prior to control, which were those bad, lean years of 1932 and 1933—keep that in mind—\$188,000,000 worth of goods; under the 4 years of control \$252,000,000 worth of goods, an increase of \$64,000,000 under sugar control.

Let us consider the gross income from sugar for 4 years before and after the control program.

Cuba received a gross income from sugar during the 4 years prior to control in an amount of \$223,000,000. The domestic sugar industry received \$858,000,000.

Income under the 4 years of control: Cuba received \$370,-000,000 while the domestic sugar industries received \$1,115,-000,000. The increase to Cuba under control was 65.7 percent and to the domestic sugar industry only 30 percent. Keep those figures in mind. The loss of revenue—\$213,900,000—which the American taxpayers and the American housewife suffered in order to pick up that measly increase of \$65,700,000 in trade with Cuba is reflected in table 3.

When the present administration went into power there was a \$2 duty on sugar coming into this country from Cuba, or \$40 a ton. The first step taken by this administration was to reduce this duty from \$2 per hundred on 96 degree raw sugar down to \$1.50 per hundred pounds. That was a \$10 per ton loss in duty. The revenue loss during that short period amounted to \$1,659,000. Then we reduced the dutyand when I say "we" I mean Congress, the present administration leading-on sugar coming in from Cuba from \$1.50 per hundred to 90 cents per hundred. That was an additional \$12 per ton cut in duty. Under the quota system, mind you, Cuba would have shipped as much sugar into this country under the \$2 duty as she will ship under the 90-cent duty or the \$1.50 duty, or the proposed 75-cent duty. Keep that in mind. She cannot resist our market. That is a subsidy we are paying to Cuba and that is the reason I term this a "subsidy agreement." So altogether, to hurry on, we have paid a premium to Cuba of \$213,900,000 in order to pick up an increase in trade of \$65,700,000.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Will the gentleman tell the Members of the House if the laboring men of Cuban producers of sugar got the benefit of this magnificent subsidy; and if they did not, who actually got it and who actually owns the sugar plantations and the sugar business in Cuba?

Mr. CRAWFORD. The laboring people of Cuba have not received these benefits. Here is the proof of that statement: Any man who travels in Cuba and studies the economic conditions and standards of living gets proof of that fact. Any man who checks the stock ownership as best he can of the plantations and mills in Cuba knows it is an "absentee ownership," and as the earnings are made they flow out of Cuba to certain consolidated interests, located mostly in the United

States, tied in very closely with the National City Bank, the Chase National Bank, the Royal Bank of Canada, the National Shawmut Bank, Hayden, Stone & Co., and a few lesser lights.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. If you will break down these export of goods from the United States, you will find that that type of goods which the worker in Cuba uses has not increased in a manner which reflects that the worker in Cuba, the common herd, received these increased benefits of \$213,900,-000. Keep this in mind: As you reduce the duty on sugar coming into this country from Cuba you increase the amount of net earnings to the Cuban companies and fortify their capital structure. They take advantage of the decrease in duty, and the benefit flows to the Cuban industries. Of course, the State Department, in my opinion, desired to do that when it promoted the enactment of these bills. I am not objecting to that particular phase of the situation primarily provided the situation is handled in a way that it does not destroy the domestic sugar industry in Puerto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippine Islands, the United States cane- and beet-sugar industries; permits our people to have sugar at a reasonable price and all at the same time lets the domestic industry expand as it desires to do so.

I now yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. In view of the President's indication of potential wars brewing, does the gentleman not think it would be well to expand the American sugar industry and raise the tariff on Cuban sugar as a matter of national defense?

Mr. CRAWFORD. Directly answering that question, I cannot imagine, I cannot comprehend the situation which has developed during the last few days wherein the dictator of Cuba, Colonel Batista, visited our State Department and our Capitol, as published under date of November 29 in the New York Times, a photostatic copy of which I have here, and then returned to Cuba and made an announcement to the effect that he had reached an agreement. Who had reached an agreement? The little dictator from Cuba had reached an agreement with the State Department under which the duty on Cuban sugar is to be further reduced through the reciprocal trade agreement set-up from 90 cents per 100 to 75 cents per hundred. I believe that almost borders on scandal, myself.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Michigan may be extended 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. MAPES. Will the gentleman yield to me for a question?

Mr. CRAWFORD. Will the gentleman from Michigan let me finish my answer to the question of the gentleman from Wisconsin? Then I shall be pleased to yield.

As a result of that situation, which borders on scandal, and which in my opinion is teetotally in rank violation of the provisions of the reciprocal trade agreement acts, a Member of the body at the other end of this Capitol only yesterday afternoon, in defense of his party and the procedure of the administration, was forced to introduce a resolution which has been referred to the Senate Committee on Finance calling for an investigation to find out on what basis the little dictator from Cuba can come up here and obtain such assurance before hearings are held on an extension of or an amendment to the reciprocal-trade agreement with Cuba.

Furthermore, at the present time, with the President putting such stress on the evidence of war and the necessity of fortifying our people against invasions of the dictatorships, why in the name of our people do we add dignity in such a manner as we have during the past few weeks to the dictatorial powers which have been maintained over the people of the Republic of Cuba? With all the scare of war which is gripping this country, why in the world should we move in a direction that makes our consumers of sugar almost teetotally

dependent upon the island of Cuba for our sugar supply if there is to be war?

I now yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Mapes]. Mr. MAPES. In connection with the alleged agreement that the dictator of Cuba states he has made with the State Department, to lower the tariff rate from ninety to seventy-five cents a hundred, will the gentleman elaborate a little on the statement he made earlier in his remarks that it does not matter what the tariff rate may be, the same amount of sugar is shipped into the United States from Cuba regardless of the tariff duty?

Mr. CRAWFORD. That is one of the tricks in this whole proposition. Keep this in mind. Let me repeat just for a moment that the United States sugar market is allocated to certain producing areas by the Secretary of Agriculture, and, those allocations having been made, Cuba can ship to our people a definite quantity of sugar irrespective of what the world supply may be or what our needs may be, Cuba can ship her quota. Hawaii can ship a certain proportion, as can Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Although our farmers in the South and the West and the North produce more than their quota amounts to, they cannot move it into interstate commerce. These burdensome supplies hang over the shoulders of the farm producers and factory operators and all sugar owners and bear down and put a strain on their capital structures, which will begin to break in the coming months as present prices and even lower ones are realized against the stocks now on hand. It will be then the whole story will be told. The losses are not yet recorded on the balance sheets of the companies involved. We face a repetition of what happened in 1932 unless we change the course in which we are now traveling.

We learn from reports issued by the commodity houses in New York that during the year just closed and at this particular hour refined sugar is selling on the lowest basis in all history.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan. Mr. MAPES. The Cuban allotment is shipped here, regardless of whether the duty is 75 cents a hundred or \$2 a hundred.

Mr. CRAWFORD. The gentleman is correct. That is exactly the situation.

Keep this in mind: The island of Cuba enjoys a 40-percent preferential over other foreign countries. The full duty, for instance, is \$1.87½ a hundred. Cuba is shipping sugar here on a 90 cents per hundred duty basis. Cuba should take advantage of her preferential. That would be a most constructive step for all, and by not doing so Cuba "bears" down the market price to the detriment of the whole industry. Why should the preferential be continued unless Cuba takes advantage of her gain? With the preferential, Cuba can hold the American market against other foreign shippers, and that is why she has been granted the preferential.

They—Cubans—have another advantage there, and let me point this out for just a moment.

Mr. COFFEE of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska. Mr. COFFEE of Nebraska. I believe the gentleman from Michigan has been making a very good analysis of the situation. I wonder if the gentleman knows that the Department of the Interior has just recently protested the reduction contemplated in the proposed new trade agreement with Cuba? I believe the friends of sugar should do likewise.

Mr. CRAWFORD. The Department of the Interior, which has charge, you might say, of the economic welfare of the people located in the Hawaiian, Puerto Rican, and the Virgin Islands, appeared before the Committee on Reciprocity Information within this last week and made one of the most scathing attacks on this proposal to reduce further the duty on sugar coming from Cuba which has ever been made in sugar history, insofar as I have been able to ascertain. Of course, the Department of the Interior must speak in behalf of the islanders.

Let me ask this question: Why was not the Department of Agriculture of the United States of America up there before that Committee on Reciprocity Information asking that this industry be protected for the benefit of the people who live on the farms of the United States?

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. Yes.

Mr. REED of New York. I am very much interested in the splendid statement the gentleman is making with regard to the sugar situation. I think that he could enlighten me and the Members of this House on one question which has always puzzled me. I understand that we have literally millions of acres of land suitable to the raising of sugar beets. If that be true, why is it that these markets are given to these foreign countries rather than to developing the sugar industry here with the idea of being self-sufficient at home?

Mr. CRAWFORD. Let me answer that question by reference to a map. Take the large map of the United States and starting down here around New Mexico, move northeasterly, north of St. Louis, through Indianapolis to Wheeling, W. Va., and north to the Atlantic seaboard, and one may say that nearly all of that tillable land, including the Panhandle of Texas, the north and south plains, is ideal sugargrowing territory, insofar as beet sugar is concerned. And if you will give Louisiana its proper part, it will produce 1,000,000 tons of sugar per annum in due course, and Florida will produce 500,000 tons.

Mr. REED of New York. I was just going to ask that question. We have available how many acres, would the gentleman say?

Mr. CRAWFORD. We could produce every pound of sugar needed here, which means one bag of sugar for every person in the United States per annum if we willed to do so, and we could do it on a profitable basis.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. Yes.

Mr. KNUTSON. The question asked by the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. Reed] recalls the fact that the Cuban sugar interests are owned by the big New York banks, and it may be possible that they have more influence here in Washington than many of us suspect.

Mr. CRAWFORD. That is an observation which I support, with 20 years of study of this proposition.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. CRAWFORD. Yes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. Reed] asked if the gentleman knows of any reason why we were not producing our sugar at home, and why the discrimination in favor of offshore producers? I ask the gentleman whether he recalls being in the office of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Mapes], and a Michigan delegation, when two representatives came up from the Department of Agriculture and in answer to that very question stated that the reason they proposed to give this market to the offshore area is because that area can produce it more cheaply, and that it is not profitable to grow sugar in the United States?

Mr. CRAWFORD. Oh, they even held that it is uneconomical to produce sugar in Michigan, in Indiana, and Ohio, where it is already being produced on a profitable basis, if given at all a reasonable price for the refined product.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman be extended for 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is not inclined to put that request without the consent of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Sumners], who has been assigned time.

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I have no objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, the Department of Agriculture said it is uneconomical to produce sugar in the area of Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Indiana, although sugar can be produced in that area on a profitable basis to the hand laborer, to the farmer, to the mill owners, and sold to the grocery trade at not to exceed 41/2 cents per pound net. Yet the Department holds that it cannot be produced on an economical basis. It is one of the most unusual positions. I think, that has ever been taken by any Department of Agriculture, and my contention is that this Cuban experiment, in order to expand world trade, is the costliest experiment of its kind ever carried on in the history of the world.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. Yes.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. In order to clear up some of the reasons why the American sugar interests are sacrificed, and the Cuban sugar interests taken care of, it might be interesting to know that Moody's Industrials indicates that Vincent Astor, the owner of the yacht on which the President has traveled on many occasions, is one of the heaviest stockholders of the United Fruit & Sugar Co. and the owner of Guantanamo lands and mills, and it is further interesting that the hearings of the Senate will show that 2 days before he assumed a Cabinet position Mr. Daniel C. Roper was the paid lobbyist for the Cuban sugar interests and certain American banks holding Cuban sugar property.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Some years ago a very interesting speech was made by our colleague from Iowa [Mr. COLE | pointing out the future of corn sugar and of the Jerusalem artichoke. I am anxious to know what progress has been made in that direction?

Mr. CRAWFORD. If we would go into the production of the Jerusalem artichokes—and I think that process is being kept submerged like some patents are-we would have a more digestible sweet which would replace sugar, in my opinion, and at a less cost per 100 pounds than we have at the present time, and we could grow then almost unlimited production.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. He pointed out that the Jerusalem artichoke had a richer sugar content than even our cane sugar, and could be produced successfully on every acre of tillable soil in this country.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Now, let me make this point and then I want to yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Marc-ANTONIO]. While this increase I was showing by my figures awhile ago was taking place, bear in mind that the whole world was on the upgrade insofar as international trade was concerned. In other words, if you will take the sugar-control plan, the effects of the multilateral, unilateral, and bilateral agreements and all these various things that enter into the question, if you will make a laboratory test of all that and get the figures and put them on the boiler plate, put them to a fair test, you can come to the conclusion—and my prediction is that you will come to the conclusion—that we are indeed the poorest, most inefficient, most incapable international horse traders in the ring today. [Applause.] I think it is time we began to take notice of it. [Applause.]

# UNFAIR TO PUERTO RICO

Let us consider Puerto Rico for a moment with relation to this proposed further reduction of the Cuban duty from 90 cents per 100 pounds to only 75 cents per 100 pounds. It appears to me-and I feel sure the facts will support the assumption-that Puerto Rico will have to bear a most unreasonable and unjust burden. I refer you to the statement of the representative of the Department of the Interior before the Committee for Reciprocity Information. These are staggering facts we are here dealing with. To further reduce the duty when the price on refined sugar is so low and after Cuba has been treated so generously is to impose an unfair treatment to our own people. I protest against such action. I sincerely trust the Senate resolution will bring about an arrest of this speedy action. The record shows that entirely too much was said by our State Department to the Cuban official, and it was said too quickly. This all indicates the vigilance we must exert when such vast powers are extended to departments and bureaus. If an error is made in judgment, great industries may be destroyed and whole groups of people, such as the Puerto Ricans, reduced to actual peonage. Such fast work breaks down the confidence of our people in the agencies of government, and that is indeed destructive. Let us have more light on these hearings and a better check on the powers of departments and bureaus.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS HAVE A BIG STAKE IN THE AFFAIR

Mr. Speaker, let us look at the Filipinos' problem for a moment. Take the recent report of the Joint Committee on Philippine Affairs along with the Philippine Independence Act. Consider the staggering situation that will govern if the Cuban duty is reduced to 75 cents and the Filipinos find themselves paying \$1.875 per 100 pounds duty. The serious problem wrapped up in "Philippine uncertainty" is another reason why we should proceed more carefully in fortifying Cuba at this time.

If it is the aim of the administration to move directly toward free trade with Cuba or to have not to exceed, say, 25 cents per 100 pounds duty on Cuban sugar, this reduction now proposed to be given to Cuba further fortifies Cuba in being able to eliminate the entire domestic sugar industry and hold the market of the United States against producers in the Philippine Islands.

### APPEAL TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

I appeal to every Member of Congress to make a thorough study of the problem of the domestic sugar industry in continental United States, in Hawaii, in Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and all in connection with the reciprocal trade-agreement policy. In addition, let me urge you to carefully consider the Philippine report above referred to. In the meantime, urge the Department of State to defer action on further reducing the Cuban duty.

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Sumners] is recognized for 5 minutes.

### ELECTION OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am taking these 5 minutes to call attention to a very interesting and important situation that obtains with reference to the election of President and Vice President. It would not be too strong a statement to say that under conditions which now obtain a President of the United States could be elected by fraud and nothing could be done about it. That is a statement that ought to startle us, but I have been making it now for 6 years, ever since the "lame duck" amendment was passed, and nobody has yet paid any attention to it. This condition arises out of the fact that whereas prior to the passage of the "lame duck" amendment, we inaugurated the President on the 4th of March we now inaugurate on the 20th of January, a month and a half earlier. Prior to the "lame duck" amendment there was not too much time between the time when the electors were elected and the time they met to cast their votes, to determine the question of fraud in the election, But when we moved the time for the inauguration of the President from the 4th of March back to the 20th of January, and left the other end of the arrangement as it had been when we were inaugurating the President the 4th of March we created an impossible situation. So we cut down the intervening time in which the question of fraud could be discovered and something done about it, by about 54 days.

So we have a situation now, as I remember it, where there are only 41 days between the time when the electors are elected and the time they meet to cast their votes.

Now, there is considerable uncertainty. The matter as to just who would have jurisdiction was examined a long time ago, about 1838, by a very distinguished group of men constituting a joint Senate and House committee. Henry Clay and men of that type made that investigation on behalf of the House and the Senate, and they reported to their respective bodies that there was a great deal of uncertainty about that. But there is no uncertainty about the fact that the electors are State officers. The Constitution provides that the States shall make the appointments. The Congress has the power to determine when they are to be elected and when they are to meet to cast their vote. There is not a single State in the Union that can gear up its judicial machinery fast enough to try the issue of fraud in 41 days. The Houses of Congress might act; I have not examined as to their power; but even if they possess it, its exercise would be dangerous for many obvious reasons.

Now, it has been suggested, and there are a great many difficulties about getting more time between the election of the electors and the casting of their vote, and that we should do away with the electoral college, but that would require a constitutional amendment. Having shortened the intervening time, as I have indicated, I see nothing that can be done about it except to move back the time when the election of the electors is to be held. The necessity to do that was fixed when the "lame duck" amendment moved up the inauguration of the President and Vice President from March to January. Before that amendment was adopted we had two controlling fixed points of time, Tuesday after the first Monday in November, when the electors were elected, and March 4, when the President and Vice President chosen by the electors were inaugurated. I drew the bill which changed the method of bringing up the returns from the old method of bringing them up by messenger to the existing method of bringing those returns up by registered mail. It was more or less an experiment. Well, I can hardly say that, but there were some experimental features about it.

I was very careful in drawing that bill fully to protect the record of the determination of the electors. I believe that law can be redrafted preserving the safeguards, and we can gain about a week by revamping that bill. That would give about 48 days. Then if we could move back the time of the general election from the first Tuesday in November to the first Tuesday in October, that would give us 30 days more. It would give us enough time to have a fair chance to determine the issue of fraud.

I have introduced this bill each Congress since the passage of the "lame duck" amendment. I have endeavored to call the attention of my colleagues and the country to the gravity of the situation. I am simply repeating what I have been doing for the last 6 years. The matter does not come within the jurisdiction of the Committee on the Judiciary. It is a matter within the jurisdiction of the Committee for the Election of President and Vice President, a committee that does not frequently meet. What I am saying is not in criticism of that committee particularly. I am not bragging on what it has done about it, however. Now, when we can do this thing in a deliberate way, we ought to do it; and we ought to do it very quickly, because a serious situation might develop. Possibly some other method could be worked out, but it is certain it is not going to work itself out. It requires no great imagination to visualize what might develop in a close election when feeling was running high with a belief that wholesale fraud had been perpetrated in one or more pivotal States with no possibility of a final judicial determination prior to the time for the inauguration of the President and Vice President. I do not go so far as to say that nothing could be done about it, but I do say that nothing calculated to preserve either confidence or harmony could be done. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—REPORT OF PANAMA RAILROAD CO.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for the information of the Congress, the Eighty-ninth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of

the Panama Railroad Co. for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 10, 1939.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—REPORT OF THE CENTRAL STATISTICAL BOARD

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments and or-ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for the information of the Congress, a report of the Central Statistical Board on the Returns Made by the Public to the Federal Government. I recommend that this report be printed as a public document.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 10, 1939.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and to include therein a letter from the director of public health of the State of California.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered. There was no objection.

### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BULWINKLE. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 57 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, January 11, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

193. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a list of papers consisting of 95 items from the War Department which the Department has recommended should be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

194. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a list of motion-picture films consisting of 16 items from the Department of the Interior which the Department has recommended should be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

195. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting lists of papers consisting of 383 items from those recommended to him for disposition by the Department of Agriculture; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

196. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a list of papers from the Veterans' Administration which the Administration has recommended be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

197. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a list of papers consisting of two items from the Smithsonian Institute which this agency has recommended be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

198. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a list of papers from the Tennessee Valley Authority consisting of seven items which the Authority has recommended be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

199. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a list of papers, consisting of 105 items, from the census on partial employment, unemployment, and occupations, which the agency has recommended be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

200. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to change the designations of

the Abraham Lincoln National Park, in the State of Kentucky, and the Fort McHenry National Park, in the State of Maryland; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

201. A letter from the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, transmitting the report of the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation for the fiscal year 1938; to the Com-

mittee on Agriculture.

202. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a report on one item, recommended to him for disposition, by the Department of State; to the Committee on

the Disposition of Executive Papers.

203. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1909, as amended, so as to extend commissary privileges to civilian officers and employees at naval stations beyond the continental limits of the United States or in Alaska; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

204. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to permit the President to acquire and convert, as well as to construct, certain auxiliary vessels for the Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

# PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. WELCH:

H. R. 2167. A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to lend War Department equipment for use at the Golden Gate International Exposition during the year 1939, to the California, Grays; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2168. A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to make contracts for the supplying of water to the Golden Gate Bridge and Highway District; to the Committee on Military

Affairs.

By Mr. KEOGH:

H. R. 2169. A bill granting holidays to postal employees in States where holidays are a State law; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 2170. A bill granting annual and sick leave to postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. FERGUSON:

H. R. 2171. A bill to provide annuities for widows of employees and retired employees of the United States and the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. IZAC:

H. R. 2172. A bill to increase the number of midshipmen allowed at the United States Naval Academy appointed at large; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. CHANDLER:

H.R. 2173. A bill to provide for the appointment of one additional circuit judge for the sixth judicial circuit; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PACE:

H. R. 2174. A bill to provide for the establishment and maintenance of a research laboratory or experiment station for the cultivation and fertilization of peanuts and other agricultural products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. WOLCOTT:

H. R. 2175. A bill for the better assurance of the protection of persons within the several States from mob violence and lynching, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2176. A bill to amend subsection 10 of section 4 of the act of June 29, 1906 (34 Stat. 596; U. S. C., title 8, sec. 377); to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 2177. A bill to amend the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 2178. A bill to amend sections 6 and 7 of the act entitled "An act for the retirement of employees of the Alaska

Railroad, Territory of Alaska, who are citizens of the United States," approved June 29, 1936; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. JONES of Texas:

H. R. 2179. A bill to ratify and confirm certain interest rates on loans made from the revolving fund authorized by section 6 of the Agricultural Marketing Act, approved June 15, 1929 (46 Stat. 11), and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. McREYNOLDS:

H. R. 2180. A bill to amend the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933 by providing for the payment to certain counties of the State of Tennessee, in lieu of taxes, a percentage of the proceeds of power sales; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GOLDSBOROUGH:

H. R. 2181. A bill to provide a national monetary policy which will have a definite relationship to the requirements of domestic industry and trade under the conditions imposed by our power economy, which will increase production and consumption to the limit of the country's power to produce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. GROSS:

H. R. 2182. A bill to exempt certain cigar makers from the wages and hours provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. BLAND:

H.R. 2183. A bill to authorize the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors to prepare estimates and plans for improvement of certain river and harbor projects, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Utah:

H. R. 2184. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain property to Washington County, Utah, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. O'CONNOR:

H. R. 2185. A bill to authorize the addition to Glacier National Park, Mont., of certain property acquired for the establishment and operation of a fish hatchery, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. PACE:

H. R. 2186. A bill to amend section 77 of the Judicial Code, as amended, to create a Fitzgerald division in the southern district of Georgia, with terms of court to be held at Fitzgerald, Ga., and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BOEHNE:

H. R. 2187. A bill to permit full deduction for income-tax purposes of employees' trusts; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HOBBS:

H. R. 2188. A bill to provide for the alteration of or changes to bridges over navigable waters of the United States, for the apportionment of the cost of such changes or alterations between the United States and the owner or owners of such bridges, to authorize the appropriation of funds for such purposes, and to repeal all inconsistent laws; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WOLCOTT:

H. R. 2189. A bill to provide for a preliminary examination and survey of the Clinton River in Michigan with a view to flood control and to determine the cost of such improvement; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. HILL:

H. R. 2190. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products yielding exportable surpluses or traded in speculative markets; to prevent unfair competition by forbidding the purchase of such products from producers for less than cost of production; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to set up emergency reserve from certain export percentages, to provide for the general welfare, to regulate the value of money in farm products; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. LEA:

H. R. 2191. A bill to provide for the regulation of the sale of certain securities in interstate and foreign commerce and through the mails, and the regulation of the trust indentures under which the same are issued, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BROOKS:

H. R. 2192. A bill to extend the time for commencing and completing bridges across Cross Bayou, Twelve Mile Bayou, and Caddo Lake in Caddo Parish, La.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SMITH of Washington:

H. R. 2193. A bill to authorize the reimbursement of the port of Vancouver, Wash., for dredging work done in the Columbia River covered by project set forth in Rivers and Harbors Committee Document No. 81, Seventy-fourth Congress, second session; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. SCRUGHAM:

H.R. 2194. A bill to provide for deferring the payment of construction charges falling due during the calendar year 1938 on the Newlands reclamation project in the State of Nevada; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

H. R. 2195. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain land to the State of Nevada to be used for the purposes of a public park and recreational site and other public purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. KEE:

H. R. 2196. A bill to impose taxes on fuel oil; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KRAMER:

H. R. 2197. A bill granting travel pay and other allowances to certain soldiers of the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection who were discharged in the Philippines; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. HALL:

H. R. 2198. A bill to provide for the application of the 2-cent rate on first-class mail matter for delivery within the confines of any incorporated city and to contiguous cities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H. R. 2199. A bill to authorize the payment for certain timber products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

H. R. 2200. A bill to dispense with particular allegations as to renunciation of allegiance in petitions for naturalization and in the oath of renunciation of foreign allegiance, by omitting the name of "the prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty" of which the petitioner for naturalization is a subject or citizen; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. DUNN:

H. R. 2201. A bill to authorize the Bureau of Investigation to investigate and assist in the prosecution of cases involving the killing or assaulting of officers of the United States Government; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2202. A bill to establish a minimum rate of pay for all employees of the Government of the United States and of the government of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. HOBBS:

H. R. 2203. A bill to provide for the recording of the proceedings in one of the courtrooms of the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia by sound-recording equipment, and for the reproduction of the sounds of such proceedings, in whole or in part, in the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals and in the Supreme Court of the United States upon the review of any such case; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2204. A bill to limit the matter appearing in the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD to the actual proceedings of the Congress and to prohibit the inclusion therein of extension of remarks; to the Committee on Printing. H. R. 2205. A bill to repeal the act of May 24, 1928, and amendments thereof and supplements thereto; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 2206. A bill to provide for loans to farmers to enable them to terrace or drain their lands; to the Committee on

Agriculture

H. R. 2207. A bill to permit all litigation in the courts of the United States without the requirements of deposits of money and to make it unlawful to require the printing of the record and other papers on appeals; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CHANDLER:

H. R. 2203. A bill to amend Public Law No. 190 of the Sixty-sixth Congress; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROMJUE:

H. R. 2209. A bill fixing annual salaries for postmasters at fourth-class post offices and readjusting salaries at certain third-class post offices; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado:

H. J. Res. 83. Joint resolution making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. HOBBS:

H. J. Res. 84. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States granting the Congress the power to regulate the production of any and all farm products and to buy and sell all such products as are capable of being stored for an indefinite period of time without material deterioration; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DOUGLAS:

H. J. Res. 85. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11 of each year General Pulaski's Memorial Day, for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SECREST:

H. J. Res. 86. Joint resolution creating a commission for the erection of a memorial building to the memory of the veterans of the Civil War, to be known as the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic National Shrine Commission; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. CONNERY:

H. J. Res. 87. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11 of each year General Pulaski's Memorial Day, for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MAPES:

H. J. Res. 88. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11 of each year General Pulaski's Memorial Day, for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LUDLOW:

H. J. Res. 89. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide for a referendum on war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H.J. Res. 90. Joint resolution relating to the petition for naturalization and the oaths of allegiance of citizens of the State of Eire who desire to become citizens of the United States; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. VREELAND:

H. J. Res. 91. Joint resolution requesting the President to proclaim February 11 as Edison Day, in commemoration of the birthday of Thomas Alva Edison; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BOLLES:

H. Res. 47. A resolution to investigate the effect of reciprocal-trade agreements on agriculture; to the Committee on Rules.

### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN:

H.R. 2210. A bill for the relief of Rev. and Mrs. E. F. Wachholz; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2211. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. S. P. Crandall, Jr.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CARLSON:

H. R. 2212. A bill granting an increase of pension to Milton Lee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2213. A bill granting an increase of pension to George Taylor Lee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts:

H. R. 2214. A bill to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of M. Grace Murphy, administratrix of the estate of John H. Murphy, deceased, against the United States; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2215. A bill to extend the emergency officers' retirement benefits to William L. Roach, formerly second lieutenant, Three Hundred and Fourteenth Regiment United States Infantry; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2216. A bill granting a pension to Katherine R. Sal-

mon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 2217. A bill for the relief of Samuel J. Swain; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2218. A bill for the relief of Mary E. Spinney; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 2219. A bill for the relief of Ame La Fernais; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 2220. A bill for the relief of Henry Werre; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2221. A bill for the relief of Marion L. Gates; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2222. A bill for the relief of Eleanor J. Griggs, Dorothy L. Griggs, and Vernon M. Griggs; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CONNERY:

H. R. 2223. A bill to recognize the high public service rendered by soldiers who volunteered and served in trench-fever experiments in the American Expeditionary Forces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CARLSON:

H.R. 2224. A bill granting an increase of pension to Clara Fowler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2225. A bill granting an increase of pension to Nancy L. Willson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DELANEY:

H.R. 2226. A bill for the relief of Adele Muller; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 2227. A bill granting a pension to Frances H. Cochran; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DUNCAN:

H. R. 2228. A bill granting an increase of pension to Martha Graves; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2229. A bill granting an increase of pension to Clara B. Teegarden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2230. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lida A. Beverly; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2231. A bill granting a pension to Mary C. McKarin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DOUGLAS:

H. R. 2232. A bill granting a pension to Nellie M. Benjamin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. EBERHARTER:

H. R. 2233. A bill for the relief of Rocco Lucadamo; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 2234. A bill for the relief of W. E. R. Covell; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FERGUSON:

H. R. 2235. A bill granting a pension to Joseph K. Sullivan; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2236. A bill granting a pension to Walter Connolly; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2237. A bill for the relief of Frank Fanning; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2238. A bill for the relief of Harry A. Kuhlman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2239. A bill granting an increase of pension to Hannah Casler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2240. A bill granting a pension to James Vergil Wright; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2241. A bill granting a pension to Conrad F. Korthanke; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2242. A bill granting a pension to Harley D. Peck; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2243. A bill granting a pension to C. R. McGill; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2244. A bill granting a pension to James D. Hembree; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GRAHAM:

H. R. 2245. A bill granting an increase of pension to Clara Hammond; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HOPE:

H. R. 2246. A bill granting a pension to Charles G. Hostutler; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KRAMER:

H. R. 2247. A bill granting a pension to Freda Boy; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2248. A bill awarding Distinguished Service Crosses to Tony Siminoff, Oliver F. Rominger, and Robert E. Beck, veterans of the Philippine Insurrection; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McANDREWS:

H. R. 2249. A bill granting a pension to Ethel M. Lord; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2250. A bill for the relief of Frank Malles, Jr.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McARDLE:

H. R. 2251. A bill for the relief of Russell Anderegg, a minor, and George W. Anderegg; to the Committee on Claims. By Mr. THOMAS S. McMILLAN:

H. R. 2252. A bill granting an increase of pension to Maribel Williams Croft; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2253. A bill granting an increase of pension to Jeannette W. Moffett; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McREYNOLDS:

H. R. 2254. A bill granting a pension to Mae Belle Blackwell Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MILLS of Arkansas:

H. R. 2255. A bill for the relief of J. N. Sutherland, Lula E. Lucus, W. E. Cooper, J. D. Wallace, and J. F. Martin; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MACIEJEWSKI:

H. R. 2256. A bill granting a pension to Sophie M. Peterson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MAY:

H. R. 2257 (by request). A bill to authorize certain officers and enlisted men of the United States Army to accept such medals, orders, and decorations as have been tendered them by foreign governments in appreciation of services rendered; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PACE:

H. R. 2258. A bill for the relief of Elbert R. Miller; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. PFEIFER:

H. R. 2259. A bill for the relief of Stanley Mercuri; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2260. A bill for the relief of Nicola and Nunziata D'Aprile; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H. R. 2261. A bill to authorize and direct the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to set aside the trial board conviction of Policemen David R. Thompson and Ralph S. Warner and their resultant dismissal, and to reinstate David

R. Thompson and Ralph S. Warner to their former positions as members of the Metropolitan Police Department; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. RAYBURN:

H. R. 2262. A bill for the relief of Pauline Jenkins and Mabel Daugherty; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2263. A bill for the relief of Loyd Bates; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ROMJUE:

H. R. 2264. A bill for the relief of Evelyn Gurley-Kane; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2265. A bill granting a pension to Louise Kerner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SNYDER:

H. R. 2266. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Wetmiller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2267. A bill granting an increase of pension to Georgiana K. Griest; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2268. A bill granting a pension to John William Marshall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2269. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mame D. Reed; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SUTPHIN:

H.R. 2270. A bill for the relief of S. H. Brown and M. Brown, also known as the Universal Steamship Co., a Georgia corporation, to cover the loss of their bark *Brown Brothers* destroyed by a German raider during the World War; to the Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 2271. A bill granting a pension to Kenneth A. Cranmer; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 2272. A bill for the relief of M. Brown and S. H. Brown; to the Committee on War Claims,

H. R. 2273. A bill providing a pension for Lizzie May Wilbur Clayton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. VAN ZANDT:

H. R. 2274. A bill granting a pension to Lydia Frances Nyman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky:

H. R. 2275. A bill granting a pension to Luther Skaggs; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2276. A bill granting a pension to Laura C. Clarke; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2277. A bill to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims of the United States to hear and determine the claims of Rock Spring Distilling Co., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2278. A bill for the relief of Carl Hurt; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2279. A bill granting an increase of pension to Dena Phillips; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WOLCOTT:

H. R. 2280. A bill granting a pension to Ida Carter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2281. A bill granting a pension to Gussie Gates; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2282. A bill granting a pension to Margaret Fonda; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2283. A bill for the relief of the estate of Elizabeth Purtill O'Brien; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2284. A bill granting a pension to Richard J. Huss; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2285. A bill granting a pension to Maud Patterson; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2286. A bill for the relief of Wasyl Kulmatycki; to the Committee on Claims.

### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

77. By Mr. CASE of South Dakota: Resolution unanimously adopted by the Retail Merchants Association of South Dakota at a meeting on December 15, 1938, urging a change in the present method of surplus commodity distribution, and recommending some plan similar to the 1934 program of

relief distribution be adopted; to the Committee on Appropriations.

78. By Mr. CONNERY: Petition of citizens of Massachusetts, protesting against the supplying of war and other materials to Japan by American manufacturers; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs,

79. By Mr. KEOGH: Petition of the Loyal Order of Moose, Borough Hall Lodge, No. 222, Brooklyn, N. Y., concerning Dies investigating committee; to the Committee on Rules.

80. By Mr. KINZER: Petition of the citizens of Drumore, Lancaster County, Pa., to promote the general welfare of the people of the United States by abolishing the great advertising campaign for the sale of alcoholic beverages now going on by press and radio; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

81. By Mr. KEOGH: Petition of the Wallnut Hall Realty Corporation, New York City, concerning the Patman chainstore bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

82. By Mr. PFEIFER: Petition of the Loyal Order of Moose, Borough Hall Lodge, No. 222, Brooklyn, N. Y., urging continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

83. Also, telegram from the American Federation of Musicians, Local 802, New York City, urging support for adequate appropriations for the arts and Federal theater projects in New York City; to the Committee on Appropriations.

84. By Mr. RICH: Petition of citizens of Williamsport and Lycoming County, Pa., favoring the policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and also the act of May 1, 1937, etc.; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

85. Also, petition of citizens of Williamsport, Pa., and other towns in Lycoming and Clinton Counties, Pa., favoring the so-called retain chain store tax bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

86. By Mr. SCHIFFLER: Petition of the Catholic Daughters of America, Court Carroll, No. 299, Wheeling, W. Va., urging the continuation of the Dies committee, unhampered and well financed; to the Committee on Rules.

87. Also, petition of the Purity Council, No. 62, Daughters of America, Weirton, W. Va., opposing any action that will suspend the present immigration laws thus permitting the free influx of political refugees without compliance with the laws requiring ability to maintain themselves and also setting aside the quota provisions of the present laws; and urging the cancelation of the naturalization papers of those naturalized citizens who are members of groups spreading un-American activities; and opposing the adoption of any measures proposing to change the present established quotas and regulations now in effect in connection with the admission of aliens; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

88. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Philadelphia, Pa., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to finger-printing of all persons in the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1939

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O give thanks unto the Lord; for He is good; for His mercy endureth forever.

Heavenly Father, at the altar of prayer we give Thee praise and our humble devotion. Thou who art so abundant in wisdom, help us to live by our higher natures. Inspire this day by Thy holy presence that our labors may conform to the precepts of the Teacher of Nazareth. Thou who dost breathe upon the cloud, lifts the mist and reveals the shore line to the courageous mariners, give clearness of vision and show the truth to all who seek it. May the power of the Most High God move among all the peoples of the earth and let His glory fill the whole world. We beseech Thee to remember the sick. However cold the day, weak the

hand, or dim the sky, be with them as an angel of light in their presence. In the blessed name of Jesus. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record by printing a radio address by the Honorable William B. Bankhead, delivered on December 25, 1938, on the Reconciliation Hour, under the auspices of the United States News.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

## PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the special order today I may be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. MARTIN]?

There was no objection.

### HOUR OF MEETING

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet at 11 a.m. tomorrow.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN]?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I understand the program is to start consideration of the relief bill tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock.

Mr. RAYBURN. That is correct.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. What is the understanding as to the debate?

Mr. RAYBURN. The gentleman from Virginia will propound the unanimous-consent request in reference to hours of debate and control of time.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. The purpose is to come in early because it is desired that the legislation be passed this week?

Mr. RAYBURN. The request of the gentleman from Virginia will be that general debate be limited to not more than 10 hours.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. When is it expected we will arrive at a vote?

Mr. RAYBURN. I understand it is agreeable to the members of the Appropriations Committee on both sides that general debate shall run until not later than 2 p. m. Friday, at which time we will begin the reading of the bill.

Mr. TABER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAYBURN. I yield to the gentleman from New York. Mr. TABER. As I understood it, we are to meet also at 11 o'clock on Friday?

Mr. RAYBURN. If the present request is agreed to, I shall immediately ask that when the House adjourns tomorrow it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock on Friday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN]?

There was no objection.

# HOUR OF MEETING FRIDAY

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns tomorrow it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock a. m. on Friday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN]?

There was no objection.

# GENERAL DEBATE ON RELIEF BILL

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it shall be in order at any time after it is reported to the House to consider the joint resolution making additional appropriations for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939; that all points of order against said joint resolution shall be considered as waived, and that general debate on the said resolution shall be confined to the joint resolution and shall conclude not later than

2 p. m. Friday, that the time shall be controlled one-half by the gentleman from Colorado, Mr. Taylor, and one-half by the gentleman from New York, Mr. Taber.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the

gentleman from Virginia?

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I understood we were going to run along on Thursday as long as there was anyone who cared to talk; so that if we are unable to meet our situation within the 10 hours we can run along on Thursday until we exhaust the demands for time. I do not anticipate it will require more than the 10 hours, but that is the understanding I thought we had yesterday.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. The gentleman understands we will not begin reading the bill until 2 o'clock Friday?

Mr. TABER. That is right, the debate to run not beyond 2 o'clock on Friday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM]?

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, the points of order that would be waived would be these: There is no legislative authorization for any of the funds that are in the bill and, therefore, coming from the Appropriations Committee that point would have to be waived, and also with reference to the Civil Service Commission that is involved in the bill, and that sort of thing. Those are the only two items I know of that would be subject to a point of order. I have had some questions asked since the request was put, therefore I thought that ought to be explained. That is the way the gentleman understands it?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. That is my understanding. Of course, we can secure a rule if it is necessary to do so.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object-

The SPEAKER. Has the gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber] concluded?

Mr. TABER. For the moment.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, supplementing what the gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber] has stated, I assume this waiver of points of order is confined to the provisions of the bill as reported by the committee and does not apply to amendments offered on the floor of the House.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. That is right.

Mr. MAPES. Any amendments offered on the floor will be subject to the rules and such points of order will not be waived?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. That is my understanding. The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM]?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object for the purpose of asking a parliamentary inquiry, does that mean then this bill will be interpreted as an appropriation bill or a joint appropriation legislative bill, to which legislative amendments will be in order?

The SPEAKER. In answer to the parliamentary inquiry of the gentleman, the Chair may state that any amendment that may be proposed will be subject to legitimate points of order and subject to all the rules and precedents in that connection.

Is there objection?

Mr. MICHENER. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, during the last session I objected continuously to the waiving of points of order of this kind. However, nothing can be gained here by objecting because this is legislation that should come up in some form or another, so I shall not object. In the future, however, I shall object to the general proposition of waiving points of order by unanimous consent, because if we are going to operate under the rules of the House in the consideration of bills we should operate generally under those rules.

The SPEAKER. The Chair hears no objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include therein a radio

address of my own in the form of a colloquy between myself and Professor Winkler, of City College.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by printing in the Record a speech delivered over the Columbia Broadcasting System last evening by the Honorable Joseph W. Martin.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I have asked for this time simply to refer to a request I am about to make. I understand, of course, that since we are beginning the consideration of the relief bill tomorrow we do not want any extraneous talk. However, the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Miller] would like to have 5 minutes tomorrow to speak on the three hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the Fundamental Order. I therefore ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, that the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Miller] may be permitted to address the House for 5 minutes tomorrow morning.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, a day or two ago I got permission from the House to insert in the Record a statement I made before the committee investigating the Tennessee Valley Authority. In that statement there is included a small chart, which has already been printed, and the Government Printing Office has the plate. I ask unanimous consent that I may include that chart in my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 45 seconds.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I call attention to the big headlines in the papers, "United States Debt Past \$39,000,000,000," and ask the Members of the House the question, Where are you going to get the money? [Applause.]

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include therein a statement I made before the Committee for Reciprocity Information in connection with the negotiation of a reciprocal-trade agreement with Cuba, at a hearing held in Washington, D. C., on January 4, 1939.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Under a previous special order, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Hoffman] is recognized for 25 minutes.

IS THE PREVIOUS RECORD OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL SUCH AS TO SHOW THAT HE WILL PROTECT THE CITIZEN IN THE EXERCISE OF HIS CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS?

### TRIBUTE TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, on the 3d of this month those of us who were present in this Chamber had the rare privilege of hearing one of the most concise, eloquent, and patriotic declarations of loyalty to nation and country, of a desire to serve faithfully and patriotically, that can be found in the history of our Nation.

No one listening to the obviously sincere words of our beloved Speaker, just elected for the third time to preside over this body, could fail to realize that, while ever faithful to his party, we of the minority were assured that during the coming session, as in the past, his decisions on questions which may be presented to him, his treatment of minority Members during the trying days that are sure to come, will be fair and impartial, at all times tempered with kindliness and consideration.

It is well that we express our appreciation of the fact, of which we are all aware, that here in this body the presiding officer, while mindful of party demands and political opposition, will always have as his ultimate goal the welfare of our people.

Although speaking only for myself, it is undoubtedly true that we on this side of the Chamber who have been here during previous sessions know—and all new Members will soon realize—that we have in the chair a man who can and will hew to the line rigidly, but kindly; one who knows how to rule with an iron hand, but whose gentleness forces us to accept his decisions without bitterness.

We have as our Speaker during this session a man who might well serve as an example and pattern of what executive officers should be.

We have in the Speaker's chair a man who has many warm personal friends, personal and political; a Democrat who believes in the principles of the Democratic Party; who undoubtedly desires to advance in every possible legitimate way his party's fortune; a man who, when the political opposition may be in a position to press some strategic advantage under the rules, will be quick to see and appreciate the political danger.

But we have as our Speaker a man who we know, whatever the demands of personal or political friendship, whatever the opportunity for party advantage, will always give life and force to the spirit, as well as to the letter, of the rules and precedents which govern the proceedings of this body.

To no man in greater degree do I give respect for his ability, his industry, his courtesy, and his patriotism.

I salute our Speaker as the example of what all executive officers should be. [Applause.]

SPEAKER BANKHEAD AS AN EXAMPLE FOR PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT IN MAKING HIS APPOINTMENTS

I point to him as one whose qualifications for and whose actions in office the President of this Republic might well ascertain, consider, and list and use as the determining factors when he is required to appoint men to official positions.

Unfortunately, some of those recently appointed to high official positions, when compared to our Speaker, present such a contrast that the outlook is not only unpleasant but discouraging and makes me fearful of the future.

The lack of qualifications of Harry Hopkins for the position to which he has been appointed, his statements indicating that he is extremely dissatisfied with many of those methods which in the past have assisted us in our onward march, his apparent utter inability to understand and appreciate where tax money comes from and how it is obtained by those who furnish it are matters of national concern with which the Senate will undoubtedly deal.

The appointment of Frank Murphy as Attorney General is not only of interest to the people of the Nation but is of the greatest concern to the people of Michigan.

The Washington papers of Saturday morning carried the information that the new Attorney General had ordered the Department of Justice to investigate and, if evidence was found, to proceed against those who were engaged in subversive, un-American activities.

FRANK MURPHY HAS LEFT BEHIND HIM A RECORD OF HIS OFFICIAL LIFE KNOWN TO THOUSANDS

Frank Murphy has left behind him in Michigan a record of his official life. It is there well known to hundreds of thousands of citizens that he is a partisan; that during the last campaign, in which he was defeated for Governor, he received the open and the enthusiastic support of a large and powerful group which has openly been engaged in un-American activities.

It is well known to hundreds of thousands of Michigan citizens that during the last campaign Frank Murphy, as candidate for Governor, ignored the facts and made many misleading statements as to his activities in the sit-down strikes.

It therefore becomes my duty, a duty which cannot be shirked, which cannot be ignored, to point out from the floor of this House some of the undisputed facts disclosed by the record and to propound to the supporters of the Attorney General, as well as to him, a few inquiries.

Let us consider first the office of Attorney General, its duties, its responsibilities. Then let us ascertain the duties imposed upon an executive officer—for example, a mayor of a great city, the Governor of Michigan—for Frank Murphy has held both of these offices, and his new duties are somewhat similar to those imposed upon him in his prior official positions; and then from the manner in which he performed his prior duties ascertain, if we may, his qualifications for his present position.

THE DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF AN ATTORNEY GENERAL

The Department of Justice

The Department of Justice is 1 of the 10 great divisions among which the functions of our Government are divided. That it function efficiently, fairly, within the limits of, and in accordance with, the provisions of our Federal Constitution is essential if this Nation is to endure.

The officers of the Department of Justice, under the direction of the Attorney General, are charged with the duty of the investigation of all of the official acts, records, and accounts of United States marshals, attorneys, and clerks of the United States courts.

The officials of the Department of Justice, under the direction of the Attorney General, are charged with the duty of giving of opinions and rendering all services requiring the skill of persons learned in the law which are necessary to enable the President and the heads of the departments and bureaus and other officers in the departments to discharge their respective duties.

They are charged, in behalf of the United States, with the duty of procuring evidence, with the conduct, prosecution, and defense of all suits and proceedings in the Supreme Court and the Court of Claims in which the United States or any officer thereof, as such an officer, is a party or may be interested.

The Department is charged with the duty of giving advice to the War and Navy Departments.

Upon the Department of Justice rests the duty of giving to the President of the United States, to the heads of the departments, to the Army and to the Navy, to all Federal officers who may seek it, that legal advice and counsel which will promote the welfare of our country, render secure the liberty of the citizen.

The Attorney General is the head of the Department of Justice. All in it are subject to his control and direction. The Attorney General is charged with the duty, upon request, of giving legal advice to the President of the United States. He is the President's official legal adviser. He it is who is charged with advising the President as to the validity of our laws, as to whether they apply in particular cases and as to the effect of the application of those laws.

THE NECESSARY QUALIFICATIONS OF AN ATTORNEY GENERAL

It then can be readily seen that in the office of the Attorney General there should be a man of profound legal learning, with a wide legal experience; a man who has, in proportion to his income, a substantial and a material interest in his country; a man who believes sincerely and unwaveringly in the fundamental law of the land—the Constitution; a man who not only has the ability but who is willing to give force to and to make alive those principles founded in the Constitution and in the laws of our Nation which make secure to our citizens their freedom and their liberty.

MURPHY CONCEDED TO BE PERSONALLY HONEST, SINCERE, ETC.

For the purpose of the moment, let us concede without any mental reservations that Frank Murphy is a decent, sincere American citizen, naturally disposed to be kind and charitable; that he attends church faithfully and with regularity; that he is religious; that it is his purpose by his private and official conduct to promote the welfare of his State and Nation, to bring prosperity and happiness to the individual citizen.

In short, let us accord to him all of those admirable qualities which each of us claims for himself. Then let us turn to his official record, the record of what he has done, as distinguished from what he has said, for it is still true that "by their works ye shall know them."

OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY AND PAYMENT OF TAX DESIRABLE QUALIFICATIONS OF PUBLIC OFFICIAL

While material wealth, the ownership of property, or contributions by way of tax are not necessary qualifications for this office, nevertheless, where there are so many well-qualified citizens for a position, those who have demonstrated by their acts, as distinguished from their words, their desire to be a part of and to contribute to the maintenance of the Government should, other things being equal, be preferred for high official positions.

DOES MURPHY OWN PROPERTY OR PAY TAXES IN MICHIGAN?

There are those on this floor who will speak in behalf of Frank Murphy and who will point out his qualifications for this office. When they do so speak, let them tell us whether Frank Murphy now owns or ever has owned real estate in the city, the county, or the State from which he hails; and if he does, let them give us a reference to the office of the register of deeds where that information can be found.

If Frank Murphy has ever paid a township, school, city, county, or State tax in the State of Michigan, let us place in the Record to whom paid and the amount of such payment.

If Frank Murphy has ever paid a tax under the Social Security Law, let us have that information. Let us be advised of his achievements during the time that he was not on the public pay roll—city, State, or Nation—from the time of his graduation from the university down to the present time.

DID MURPHY RECEIVE A SALARY AS HIGH COMMISSIONER WHILE CAMPAIGNING FOR GOVERNOR IN MICHIGAN?

Let these questions be answered:

Was he not appointed Commissioner of the Philippine Islands at a salary of \$18,000 per year?

Did he not on May 13, 1936, or shortly prior thereto, resign as High Commissioner to the Philippines, effective December 31, 1936?

Did he not, on May 13, 1936, sail from Manila, go to Japan for a tour of that country, and land at San Francisco on June 4, 1936, and, on July 9, 1936, announce that he had resigned his post in the Philippines to become a candidate for Governor of Michigan?

Did he not, on or about July 20, 1936, addressing a meeting of Democratic county chairmen, discuss the reasons which he said induced him to relinquish a lucrative position as High Commissioner to the Philippines to enter the political arena in Michigan?

Did he not, at Ironwood, Mich, on August 25, 1936, say?—
Why did I give up a great international post,

\* \* the best
paid diplomatic post under the stars,

to seek an office
where the salary is less than a sixth as much?

The salary of the Governor is \$5,000 per year, plus \$5,000 for his own use, for which he is not required to make an accounting.

Did he, on August 27, 1936, at Menominee, Mich., state in substance that he "didn't consider he had made any sacrifice in giving up a salary of about \$35,000 a year as High Commissioner of the Philippines to seek the governorship"?

Frank Murphy, as a matter of fact, received as salary as Commissioner to the Philippines from January 1, 1936, to and including September 4, 1936, \$12,200.

He received a salary as Commissioner to the Philippines while he was absent from his post campaigning in Michigan.

His name went off the pay roll as High Commissioner on September 4, 1936, and after the election went back on the pay roll on November 4, 1936. This information is furnished by the Acting Comptroller General.

Between November 4, 1936, and December 31, 1936, after he had been elected Governor, he received as salary as High Commissioner to the Philippines \$2,850. And was he not, during practically all of that time, vacationing in Coral Gables and Miami, Fla., and Habana, Cuba?

Did not the War Department, on February 10, 1936, ask for an appropriation from Congress for \$161,000 for the salary and expenses of High Commissioner Frank Murphy for

the year 1936?

Has he a home in Michigan other than at a hotel at 415 Burns Drive, Detroit?

The foregoing questions are asked because it was charged during Murphy's campaign by a newspaper printed at Plymouth, Mich., that the answers were in the affirmative. It is unjust to permit these charges to remain unanswered. The truth should be known.

### MURPHY'S RECORD AS A LAWYER, AS A JUDGE

Frank Murphy is a graduate of the University of Michigan-of the law department of that great university. Will his friends kindly place in the RECORD a statement of his achievements as a lawyer, showing his connection with any litigation which entitles him to distinction over and above the average lawyer of a small town?

He was elected and served as judge of the recorder's court of the city of Detroit. As a judge, Frank Murphy served with no less, no greater, distinction than the average recorders

judge.

Thereafter he was elected and served as mayor of the city of Detroit, and still later was chosen by the people and served as their Governor during 1937 and 1938.

HIS RECORD AS MAYOR AND GOVERNOR MAY SHOW WHAT HE WOULD DO AS ATTORNEY GENERAL

As the duties of a mayor and a Governor are similar in character, the one being the head of the city, the other of the State, let us look with some degree of particularity at the duties of a Governor, for his record as Governor and mayor, as a law-enforcing officer, may well indicate what he will attempt to do as Attorney General, charged with the interpretation of the law and the duty of determining whether United States marshals and attorneys are faithfully enforcing the law.

## AS MAYOR OF DETROIT

He was mayor of Detroit from 1930 to 1933, resigning in May of 1933.

While Murphy was mayor and on March 7, 1932, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, a group of Communists, only a small percentage of whom were ex-Ford employees, gathered on Fort Street in the city of Detroit to march to Dearborn to present a petition concerning unemployment relief for laid-off Ford workers.

The Unemployed Council of Detroit and the Auto Workers Union, according to the press, issued the following joint statement as to the demands of this group:

The marchers simply proposed to present the following demands for relief from the Ford Motor Co. out of the millions of profit Ford has ground out of their lives in the past year:

Jobs for all laid-off Ford workers; immediate payment of 50 percent of full wages; 6-hour day without pay reduction; slowing down of speed-up; two 15-minute rest periods; free medical aid in Ford hospital for Ford workers; no discrimination against Negroes; tors of coke or coal; abolition of the company police; no fore-closures on homes of former Ford workers, Ford assuming responsi-bility for all mortgages; immediate payment of a lump sum of \$50 winter relief; full wages for part-time workers; and the right to

The assembling place for the group which was to march on Dearborn to press the foregoing demand was Fort Street. Some 70 Detroit police were assigned to watch this crowd. But although many of its members were disorderly and the placards displayed carried statements violent in character, and although it was charged there was no permit for the assemblage, the police did not interfere in any manner.

In fact, the mayor, Murphy, according to the Detroit News for March 15, 1932, made the statement:

Your parade was without permit, in violation of the city ordinance, and yet we had police there to protect you and everyone

Some 1,200 persons started from Fort Street to march through the city of Detroit to Dearborn and by the time the parade reached the Detroit city limits the crowd numbered some 2,500.

At the Dearborn city limits they were met by 30 Dearborn police, who asked if they had a permit. They had no permit to march into Dearborn and the Communist leader asserted that they did not need one and attempted to proceed on their march

Evidently the Dearborn police had asked for aid from the Detroit police and District Inspector William Black of Detroit sent a detail of his force to the Ford plant in Dearborn, they apparently arriving before the marchers had reached that point.

The Dearborn police force attempted to stop the marchers with tear gas, but the Communists attacked them with stones and clubs and proceeded on their way to the Ford plant.

Upon their arrival at the Ford plant, those Communists were met by police who turned the fire hose upon them. The Communists then fired upon the police and the fire was returned by the police.

This march, organized and carried on by Communists, lawless armed forces, began by a disorderly assemblage of persons in the city of Detroit. They marched through the city of Detroit, apparently without a permit, breathing threats of violence and, according to Frank Murphy's own statement, as published in the paper at the time, "We had police there to protect you and everyone else."

They descended upon the Ford plant, apparently assuming that it was unprotected. When their passage was disputed at the gates of the Ford plant, they began the battle with stones and clubs and then with firearms.

# FOUR MEN KILLED, TWENTY-EIGHT INJURED

Joseph York, Joe DeBlasio, Coleman J. Leny, and George Bussell were killed.

Dearborn Policemen Dewey Roberts, Charles Slamen, Paul Papke, Reuben Orr, and Albert Wiggins, and Fire Chief Roy Mottesheard, and Harry Bennett of the Ford plant, were injured.

Ignatz Blazwski, Jame Latent, John Collins, World Wide photographer, John Avadisoff, Nick Cassatta, Joseph Otiveskiewicz, Eugene Macks, Matthew Palkins, Robert Dorn, Andrew Sylwestraowicz, Thomas Jones, Peter Tupek, Harry Cruden, Jack McLeod, Michael Supink, Karinig Assodorian, Abe Atamian, and David Gray were shot but not fatally injured. Three others were injured.

### MURPHY'S DUTIES AS GOVERNOR

Murphy was elected Governor of Michigan and he upheld his right hand and before God took the following oath:

I do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of this State, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of Governor of the State of Michigan according to the best of my ability.

## Under State Constitution

He having sworn that he would support the Constitution, not only of the United States but of the State of Michigan. let me quote a few provisions from the State constitution.

Section 6 of article II of the Declaration of Rights contains this language:

The military shall in all cases and at all times be in strict sub-ordination to the civil power.

Section 10 reads in part as follows:

The person, houses, papers, and possessions of every person shall be secure from unreasonable searches and seizures.

Section 16 has these words:

No person shall \* \* \* be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.

Section 3 of article VI provides:

The Governor shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

Under Federal Constitution

The Federal Constitution was established to, among other things—

Insure domestic tranquillity, \* \* \* secure the blessing of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

The Constitution by the fifth amendment provides that— No person shall \* \* \* be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.

Frank Murphy took an oath that he would, as Attorney General of the United States—

Support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

That he would "bear true faith and allegiance to the same."

MURPHY KNEW THE LAW

Frank Murphy was a graduate of the University of Michigan, of its legal department. He had served as a judge in the State.

Frank Murphy knew that our State constitution provided that "the military shall in all cases and at all times be in strict subordination to the civil power." He knew that men had invaded our State and, aided by a small minority of the workers in General Motors plants in Flint, had deprived citizens of Flint of liberty and property without due process of law; had driven women and men who desired to work from their places of employment, where they were lawfully and peacefully employed; and had unlawfully imprisoned other workers.

Frank Murphy knew that the court having jurisdiction over that territory, after a full and a fair hearing, had issued an order that those who had so kidnaped those factories, who had so assaulted and beaten citizens and driven them from the places where they had a right lawfully to be, be ejected from those factories. Frank Murphy knew that the sheriff of Genesee County and the peace officers of the city of Flint stood ready to enforce that court order, which was the law of the land.

SIT-DOWN STRIKERS COMMITTED FELONIES UNDER MICHIGAN LAW

When the sit-down strikers took possession of the Flint factories and while they held possession thereof, they broke windows, they destroyed personal property, and they injured the real estate. Those men were committing felonies. Governor Murphy knew it, or by the exercise of ordinary diligence he should have known it. He was in Flint when some of the offenses were being committed.

We have in our State a statute, section 16922 of the Compiled Laws of 1929, which provides that anyone who maliciously injures or destroys the personal property of another shall be punished by imprisonment in the State prison not more than 5 years, or by fine not exceeding \$1,000, and imprisonment in the county jail not more than 1 year.

We have another statute, section 16925, which provides that every person who willfully and maliciously injures or destroys any building of another, or the appurtenances thereto, if the damage exceeds \$25, shall be punished by imprisonment in the State prison not more than 5 years, or in the county jail not more than 1 year, or by a fine not exceeding \$500, or by both; and, if the damage does not exceed \$25, by a fine not exceeding \$100, or by imprisonment in the county jail not exceeding 3 months, or by both.

These two sections of the statute were violated time and time again.

# DUTY OF THE STATE POLICE—MURPHY KNEW IT

It was the duty of the State police and of the National Guard, when present, to prevent these violations of the law, and it was the duty of Frank Murphy to see that the law was enforced. He took the oath that he would do so. Let him answer whether he complied with that oath.

Frank Murphy knew, or in the exercise of ordinary diligence he should have known, that those armed invaders of our State had not only taken possession of the motor plants

in Flint, that they had driven men who had committed no offense against the law, public morals, or contrary to fair dealing from their places of employment, but that they were breaking windows, destroying material, welding together iron fire doors, and injuring the real estate.

He knew, or in the exercise of ordinary diligence he should have known, that they were violating the statutes of our State, that they were committing felonies, and this in the presence of members of the State police under command of Lt. Harold Mulbar.

### MURPHY HAD THE POWER AND ABILITY TO ENFORCE THE LAW

No one contends that while he was Governor he lacked either the ability or the means to enforce the laws of the State. No one contends that while Governor he was subject to physical coercion. He acted as a free agent. He determined the course which he desired to follow and he followed it voluntarily, willingly, and he told us during the campaign that he was proud of the record which he had made.

### DID MURPHY PERFORM HIS DUTY?

Knowing that it was the duty of Frank Murphy while Governor to uphold the constitution of the State, cognizant of the facts which have just been cited, let us now from the record learn whether he performed his duties as Governor; whether in a time of stress he held the scales of justice impartially, protecting the weak and the oppressed, enforcing the laws of the land, or whether he betrayed those who were forced to work for a livelihood, those who believed in justice and equality before the law.

By determining how he acted then, charged as he was with the enforcement of the laws of Michigan, we may be able to learn something of what he will do as an Attorney General, charged with the enforcement of the laws of the Nation.

Under the foregoing circumstances what, if anything, did Murphy do that he should not have done?

What, if anything, did he fail to do which he should have

Know something of the things that Murphy as Governor failed to do, some of the things he did, in those sit-down strikes and subsequently.

Frank Murphy did not ask those violators of the law who were in possession of those factories to abandon their law-less activities. On the contrary, he asked, and he insisted, that the sheriff of the county and the peace officers of the city refrain from performing their lawful duty and that they permit the violators of the law to remain in possession of the factories.

Frank Murphy made it plain that the armed forces of the State and the National Guard would be used to protect those who had been and who were in possession of private property unlawfully and who threatened violence and bloodshed toward any and all who sought to exercise the lawful right to work.

### MURPHY SUSPENDED THE OPERATION OF THE STATE LAW

No one denies but that he suspended the operation of the law. If a Governor can suspend the law for a day, then he may suspend it for a week, a month, or a year—indefinitely.

From whence does the Governor or any other executive officer derive the right to, by his actions, in effect set aside and repeal the law of the land?

# MURPHY HAD NO AUTHORITY TO WITHHOLD THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW

He acted without authority of law and contrary to the decision of the Supreme Court of the State in *Bishop* v. *Vandercook* (228 Mich. 299), with which he was undoubtedly familiar.

Murphy says that he acted to prevent bloodshed. May we inquire as to bloodshed by whom?

There was no question of violence until those who were supported by Murphy drove workers from their tasks. There was no question of bloodshed until the C. I. O. and the Communists within its ranks came to Michigan. The employers were not threatening bloodshed. Those whom Murphy protected were the ones who were threatening violence to our citizens.

Under what law were they acting?

Let me quote from the Supreme Court:

Shall we say the law of necessity? The courts recognize no such law. The so-called law of necessity or rather lawlessness was the very curse the provision in our Constitution laid low for all time. Shall we say the end justified the means? If so, where is such law to be found?

In Michigan, as Governor Murphy well knew at the time, we have not and we cannot have a military force that is not subordinate to the civil authorities. Yet Governor Murphy, in violation of this constitutional provision, used the National Guard to defy the courts, to suspend the operation of the law, to render impotent the civil authorities.

The foregoing are general statements. Nevertheless, they cover the general situation. Let us now be more specific. Let me give the history of two claimed incidents, and then let former Governor Murphy, who now as head of the Department of Justice has at his call the whole power of the Federal Government, with its unlimited resources, with its trained body of investigators, make answer to the inquiries which will be propounded before this statement is finished.

By the sworn testimony given before the Dies committee, the following appears:

MEN INVADED THE STATE FROM OHIO-HELD WORKERS PRISONERS

On the 30th and the 31st of December 1936 men, many of whom reached Flint in automobiles which came from Toledo, Akron, and Norwood in Ohio and from other places without the State of Michigan, took possession of the Fisher Body plants at Flint, Mich.

Guards numbering from 12 to 40, many of them armed with truck stakes about 4 feet long, were established at the plant gates. After the guard was firmly established, those workers who were inside and who had not succeeded in getting out were required to obtain a pass in order to get out, and some of them, in order to get out, were forced to pay \$1 each and to promise that they would join the C. I. O.

STRIKERS ADDRESSED THROUGH SOUND TRUCK BY COMMUNISTS BOY AND VICTOR REUTHER AND BOB TRAVIS

These men were addressed at different times by Roy and Victor Reuther and Bob Travis, well-known Communists, none of whom lived in Flint, and they were exhorted to hold possession of the plants, and they held possession of some of these plants for 44 days.

The strikers also took possession of some of the streets of Flint, established guards, and refused disinterested citizens

the right to freely pass and repass on them.

They operated a sound truck, from which well-known Communists exhorted the strikers and others to defy the civil authorities.

PUBLIC SAFETY DIRECTOR OF FLINT CALLED IN VAIN UPON STATE POLICE FOR AID

On January 5, 1937, the city manager, realizing that a dangerous situation was developing in Flint because two of the larger factories were occupied by armed groups, telephoned Public Safety Commissioner Olander, and was informed that he could not do anything without the Governor's permission. That same evening an effort to reach the Governor was unsuccessful. His secretary promised an appointment, but the appointment never was made.

During the afternoon of January 7, 1937, over a loud speaker placed in the window of a beer tavern near the personnel office of the Chevrolet Motor Co., Roy Reuther addressed many men coming from the plant. His talks were inflammatory, and some of those emerging from the plant were angered at his remarks and proceeded to tear down the loud speaker. This brought on a fist fight.

Two men were arrested, one a strike leader and a labor organizer from Toledo, and were taken to the police station.

That night between two and three hundred men and women, led by out-of-town agitators, assembled before the police department and demanded their release. After an hour's waiting for the crowd to disperse, the police department gave the mob 5 minutes to disperse. This they did.

During this demonstration by the strikers a representative of the Flint police department phoned the sergeant in charge of the Flint post of the State police, advising of the situation, but was told that he could not act without orders from Commissioner of Public Safety Olander.

In this crowd before the station were Roy and Victor Reuther.

ON JANUARY 8, 1937, PUBLIC SAFETY DIRECTOR OF FLINT CALLED UPON GOVERNOR FOR PROTECTION—REPUSED AID

On the following morning, which was the 8th of January, the city manager and director of public safety in Flint, unable to reach Commissioner Olander, talked with his next in command, Captain Lyon, advised him of the trouble which had occurred in Flint, and was told that he could only act upon orders from Commissioner Olander.

On the same day the commissioner got Governor Murphy on the phone, told him what had happened in Flint, told him of the men coming in from other cities and States, but the Governor refused to give any assurance that he would do anything about it.

The riot and the bloodshed of the 11th followed immediately after the refusal of the Governor to give aid to the police department of the city of Flint.

### RIOT AND BLOODSHED OF JANUARY 11

On January 11 a mob began storming the entrance to the first floor of Fisher Body plant No. 2. A call came for help, and the riot squad of the Flint police was ordered to the scene. When they arrived, a fight had developed and the police were greeted with a barrage of pieces of steel and iron, brickbats, milk bottles, and bottles containing an acid solution.

Here, again, Victor Reuther, from a sound truck, was inciting the men to fight the police.

CITY AUTHORITIES TOLD STATE POLICE COULD NOT ACT WITHOUT MURPHY'S PERMISSION

The battle becoming serious, the Flint police being unable to cope with it, the city manager finally reached Commissioner Olander at Detroit and was told by Olander that he could not possibly act without Governor Murphy's permission.

The Governor advised that he would not authorize help immediately, but that he would meet with the commissioner at midnight at the Durant Hotel in Flint.

GOVERNOR CAME TO FLINT—CONFERRED FIRST WITH REUTHERS AND OTHER MOB LEADERS

The Governor came and he first conferred for an hour and a half with Roy and Victor Reuther and other mob leaders.

During this time the battle was still in progress, and, after a 3-hour conference, at which were representatives of State police, of the Flint police department, the mayor, the prosecuting attorney, and the sheriff, Frank Murphy still refused to order the 70 or 75 State police who were in Flint at that time to help the Flint police department restore order.

He was told that the State police had been trapped, that they were virtually surrounded and outnumbered many times; that if they were not permitted by the mob to withdraw, in self-defense they would have to use solid shot and machine guns.

The police finally succeeded in escaping from the mob which overturned and destroyed two of the police cruisers.

While Governor Murphy was at the Durant Hotel, in the city of Flint, holding this conference; while he was stead-fastly refusing to aid the police in their attempt to restore order, the battle was continuing at Fisher plant No. 2.

WHILE MURPHY WAS IN FLINT, 11 POLICEMEN INJURED—13 STRIKERS SHOT

In this fight Flint's police force was abandoned by Frank Murphy. It was left to the fury of the mob, and the result was that, instead of preventing bloodshed, the following men were injured:

Policemen: Captain Hughes, hit on right leg and right ankle with brick; Patrolman Claude Cooley, hit on back with heavy object thrown by unknown person; Patrolman Nelson Burleigh, right leg injured below knee and also left leg injured below knee; Patrolman Victor Basinski, left hand bruised; left ankle bruised and hit on back of head with unknown object; Sergt. Louis Rickey, struck on back over kidneys with 2 by 4, possible internal injuries; Patrolman Donald McNeil, face and eyes burned with chemical from fire extinguisher; condition serious; required hospitalization;

Patrolman John Hintze, punctured left arm; left hand and left foot badly bruised: Patrolman Theodore Hultquist, left thumb broken; lower rib on left side broken; Lt. Herman Crites, overcome by gas while on duty; required hospitalization; Sgt. Elzy McFarland, left foot fractured; left shoulder bruised; left arm punctured and face bruised; Sgt. Ernest Kilborn, punctured right leg below knee; laceration on left jaw bone: three stitches taken.

Strikers: George Scheer, 23 years old, 1208 Rose Street, face and eyes burned from explosion of a gas bomb he picked up; Pete Pavlich, 31 years old, 705 Addison Street, cut on index finger throwing bottle. Those receiving bullet wounds were: Earl DeLong, 22 years old, 3817 West Court Street; Charles Hammer, 52 years old, 3205 Dale Street; George Huber, 32 years old, 416 West Eighth Avenue; John Shippritt, 30 years old, 834 Damon Street; Nelson Wooley, 21 years old, 914 East Witherbee Street; Hans Larson, 35 years old, 815 Ossington Avenue: Clarence Hoskins, 32 years old, Aniclia, Ohio; Fred Stevens, 50 years old, 2201 Montieth Street; Gerhardt Moe, 33 years old, 712 Wolcott; Claud Scheer, 58 years old, Route No. 5, Flint; William Lightcap, 31 years old, Route No. 2, Toledo, Ohio; Robert Manero, 22 years old, 1118 Pershing Street; Lee J. Nontell, Monclova, Ohio.

NATIONAL GUARD ARRIVED IN FLINT; REFUSED TO PROTECT WATERWORKS, SEWAGE-DISPOSAL PLANT, PUMPING STATION

Early the next morning, on the orders of the Governor, the National Guard began arriving in Flint, and the Governor stated through the newspaper that-

Whatever else may happen, there is going to be law and order in Michigan. The public safety and public interest are paramount. There will be maintenance of public order and protection of private property in Flint.

Several thousand of the National Guard men arrived in Flint, but public order was not maintained; nor was private property protected. This Frank Murphy knew, but he made no move to oust the strikers.

It has been charged many times that on no occasion while the sit-down strikes in Flint were in progress during this 44day period did Governor Murphy either request or order publicly the sit-down strikers to leave the plants of the motor company.

If the Governor did make such request or give such order, a reference to that order made and dated at the time and to the newspapers in which it was published would do much to clear the situation.

In justice to former Governor Frank Murphy-and all of us here will be glad to have the information—will some Member from Michigan on the Democratic side, if he has the information, tell us when and where and to whom the Governor issued an order or made a request that the sitdown strikers vacate those plants, or that the State police or members of the National Guard request or order them to

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. HOFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. COX. I know it has been understood throughout the country that Mr. Murphy, as Governor of Michigan, did obstruct the processes of the court. Has the gentleman anything in his files that evidences that there was an affirmative action on his part to obstruct the officers of the court in executing the court's orders? In other words, to what extent and in what manner did the Governor exert influence to obstruct the officers of the court in executing the orders of the court with reference to the sit-down strikers?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I have no official paper showing that the Governor issued a formal order, either to State police or National Guard, telling them to see to it that the sheriff did not enforce the order of the court. I have not the slightest idea that any such formal order was ever issued, but here is the situation:

The order was given to the sheriff. He expressed a willingness to enforce it. The State police were in Flint-I think some seventy-odd strong. The Governor had been in Flint. He knew of the situation. He had consulted on the night of

the 11th of January at the Durant Hotel when so many were injured, with Victor and Roy Reuther, well-known Communists and leaders in the strike, and later with the authorities in Flint

I have no way of knowing what orders were issued or what suggestions or intimations he made, either to the leaders of the strike or the law-enforcing authorities.

I only know that at the time the sheriff was ready and willing, as were the police, to enforce the order; that the public press charged that the sheriff did not execute the order because of what was said and done by the Governor. So far as I have been able to learn, this statement made in the newspapers has never been denied.

Now, I am asking that some of the Democrats from Michigan, from his home city, get up and deny it here. If he ever did anything to aid in the execution of that order, they should tell us about it.

Mr. LESINSKI. I deny it.

Mr. HOFFMAN. You tell us now when and where and to whom the Governor made a request that the strikers vacate the Flint factories, when and where and to whom he gave an order that either the State police or the National Guard ask them to go out or tell them they would be put out. I know we will all be glad to have that information. In justice to the Governor, it should be placed in the RECORD.

Mr. LESINSKI. You tell us where and when he did not. and then I will prove that you are wrong.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Of course, it is absurd for the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Lesinski] to say that I should tell you what the Governor did not say. What I call upon the gentleman to do is to tell this House, and I hope, with all sincerity, he can tell us when and where and to whom the Governor publicly suggested or issued an order or a command that the sit-down strikers should withdraw, or made a demand that the sit-down strikers vacate the plants.

There has been sworn testimony from Lieutenant Mulbar of the State police that he was ready to act; that the State police were ready to act, especially in the labor-holiday riot at Lansing and East Lansing. The Governor was on the ground there and knew of those unlawful activities. Now, put in the RECORD here anything that he did to stop the rioting, to open the places of business, to clear the streets.

I know that the Governor said-and I quote his words:

It should not be forgotten that personal liberty will be of little value if the authority and integrity of the courts are not preserved and property rights protected.

Here was Governor Murphy present in the State's capital, with the State police headquarters within 2 or 3 miles of Lansing, almost on the campus grounds at East Lansing, where the rioting was taking place, with the National Guard, numbering several thousand, encamped at Flint while the strikers were in possession.

Now, tell us, if you will, what Frank Murphy ever did to see to it that the order of the court was enforced; that the integrity of the court was upheld. Tell me that, and tell me when and where and what he said and what he did.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I yield. Mr. RAYBURN. Does the gentleman have any doubt that Mr. Murphy, whose nomination was unanimously reported by both Republicans and Democrats on the subcommittee yesterday, will be confirmed by the Senate and will be the Attorney General of the United States?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Not a particle of doubt.

Mr. RAYBURN. Then why the gentleman's speech?
Mr. HOFFMAN. Because I want to disclose the purpose of the man in the White House in gathering around him the kind of men he is gathering around him and calling to his aid; in selecting as his chief law adviser a man who himself failed to keep his oath, to comply with that provision of our State constitution which reads that he shall "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." [Applause.]

I want the people to know what kind of advisers he has; whether we are to have men who believe in a government by law or whether we are to have as chief law adviser a man who has suspended the operation of the laws, permitted the orders of the court to be defied, the citizen to be deprived of liberty

and property.

The President can choose the members of his official family. That is his privilege, his prerogative. He is welcome to them. But the people of Michigan, the people of the Nation, have a right to know whether the official adviser of the President, of the Army and the Navy, is a man who in time of stress, of trial, will abide by the Constitution, will enforce the laws of the land.

Mr. RAYBURN. The gentleman from Michigan believes in law and order, I am sure, as he has so many times stated.

If so, then why should he seek to destroy the confidence of the people in the man who is going to be one of the chief lawenforcing officers of the Government when he cannot put his finger on a single violation of the law that this man has ever committed?

Mr. HOFFMAN. The people of Michigan had no confidence in him. That was demonstrated in the last election.

You say I cannot put my finger on a single violation of the law that Frank Murphy ever committed? True enough, and I have not made that charge. I am only citing the record which, in the judgment of many, shows that he failed to keep his cath of office, to protect the citizens of his State, to put down insurrection and defiance of the law.

Mr. RAYBURN. The gentleman has failed to do so, in reply to the question of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr.

Cox].

Mr. HOFFMAN. Oh, let me tell you something. On the 7th day of June 1937, the Governor of Michigan was in the capital of Michigan. He had a police station within 3 miles, with State police in it. A mob came in at 8:30 in the morning. They took possession of the streets in front of the capitol where the Governor was. They marched four abreast around the capitol. They closed the stores in Lansing. Is that any violation of the law? Is it in violation of the law, I ask you, to close a man's place of business? Is that a violation of the law?

Mr. RAYBURN. The Governor did not do that.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Beam). The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. MAPES. Does the gentleman desire more time?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Yes. I would like to answer that question.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Michigan be extended 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will put that with the reservation that the gentleman from North Dakota and the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Martin] will consent to the extension. Is that agreeable to the gentleman from North Dakota?

Mr. BURDICK. Yes, sir.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Colorado agree?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I do.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Mapes]?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Michigan is extended 10 minutes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. No. The Governor did not close the stores. These men he had been friendly with, some of these men he had been holding conferences with—the men at the head of the strike—they closed the stores. The Governor was there and he knew about it and he spoke to them and he said that no harm should come to them.

IS MURPHY LIABLE UNDER THE DECISION OF THE MICHIGAN SUPREME COURT?

Let me cite this example:

A dozen or more Members of the House do not like what some Member addressing the House is saying. They start to throw him out. They have no right to do so; nevertheless,

that is their purpose. The Sergeant at Arms, whose duty it is to maintain order in the House, and whoever may be in the chair stand idly by and let the Member be thrown from the Chamber. Is not the Sergeant at Arms, the occupant of the chair, each aiding and abetting in a violation of the rules of the House? And are they not, in a State like Michigan, where aiders and abettors are principals, law violators?

The Michigan Supreme Court has so held in the case of Washburn, the leader in the Lansing labor holiday. Consider for a moment the decision in that case (People v. Washburn,

285 Mich. 119).

In that case Lester Washburn, who, on the 7th day of June 1937, at the time of the Lansing labor holiday, told the mob to go out to East Lansing and "bring back a part of the college," was charged with having, by threats or otherwise and without authority of law, interfered with a mechanic or laborer in the quiet and peaceable pursuit of his lawful avocation.

It was not alleged, nor was there any evidence to show, that Washburn directly personally interfered with the lawful avocation of the complaining witness, Edward Evans. The theory of the prosecution proceeded upon the premise that Washburn, not being present at the time Evans was prevented from working, nevertheless was a principal, "was one who procures, councils, aids, or abets in the commission of an offense."

The record of the case shows that Washburn told one of the officers of the Capital City Wrecking Co., of Lansing, at which there was a strike, that he could not go to the office, and that he was on various occasions present at the place of the strike; that he had, over a sound car, asked for volunteers for picket duty, and that he knew that an injunction had been issued; that the pickets told one Edward Evans, who desired to go to work, as he approached the factory, "There will be no work here today." "Do you want to go to work?" "Sign on the dotted line," and that Evans and other men were thus prevented from working.

Washburn testified that he advised the local groups and consulted with the pickets at the company's plant.

The Michigan Supreme Court said:

The conclusion is inescapable that defendant aided and abetted in preventing Evans from engaging in his lawful avocation on June 4, contrary to the express provisions of the statute.

The court, quoting from other legal authority, further said:

The amount of advice or encouragement rendered is not material if it had effect in inducing the commission of the crime. Nor is the time of rendering the advice, aid, or encouragement an important element.

Apply this decision of the court, if you will, to the conduct of Frank Murphy on the 11th day of January 1937 when he was present at the Durant Hotel in Flint.

Recall that he was called to Flint by the director of public safety of that city to aid in suppressing a riot which was then taking place at a plant of the Fisher Body Co.; that he went to the hotel and consulted for an hour or longer with Roy and Victor Reuther and others who were then, and who had been for some time, directing the activities of the sit-down strikers who were destroying property, committing a felony.

Remember that, later in February, when the sheriff of the county sought to evict those who had been, and who were, violating the law, it was Frank Murphy who gave them aid and encouragement by advising the sheriff that the execution of the writ should be withheld.

Under the decision in People against Washburn, was or was not Frank Murphy an aider and abettor, a violator of the law of the State of Michigan?

Mr. RAYBURN. Let me ask, Is there not law in Michigan? Are there not orderly processes in Michigan?

Mr. HOFFMAN. There is today, but not when Murphy was Governor. Because of Murphy, civil law in Michigan was suspended. He suspended it in Flint by calling in the National Guard, who protected the strikers in their illegal possession of the factories.

Mr. RAYBURN. Certainly all the judges out in Michigan are not Democrats.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Oh, no. Judge Gadola, of Genesee County, was a Republican. He issued the order to evacuate the factories at Flint.

Mr. RAYBURN. It would seem to me that some patriotic Republican judge would have tried to have the law executed in his jurisdiction. Is the Governor of a State to be called upon to be a policeman in every village, every town in the State?

Mr. HOFFMAN. No, no, no.

Mr. RAYBURN. That seems to be what the gentleman is assuming that the Governor of Michigan should have been.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Oh, no. But what I say is this: That when two or three thousand men come into Michigan, deprive a citizen of his liberty—they did, did they not?—take possession of private property without process of law-they did. did they not?-should not the Governor preserve the peace, put down insurrection and defiance of the law?

Mr. RAYBURN. Is there no resort to courts?

Mr. HOFFMAN. What?

Mr. RAYBURN. Are there not courts to which resort may be had?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Certainly there are, and Judge Gadola issued the order for the sit-down strikers to get out. What happened when they went out there to execute the order? There was the Governor with his National Guard. His position was that there was to be no bloodshed-that the troops were to make no effort to put the strikers out.

Mr. RAYBURN. And there was not any bloodshed in Michigan; and law and order, it seems to me, is going along

there pretty well at this time, is it not?

Mr. HOFFMAN. We got rid of Murphy. [Applause.] We got rid of Murphy. [Applause.] There was plenty of bloodshed and it was the blood of the law-enforcing officers that was shed by Communists and by sit-down strikers directed by Communists.

Mr. RAYBURN. And for several months before Murphy was gotten rid of things were going along in a pretty fine way in Michigan.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Oh, we had strikes, but Murphy was up for reelection and a soft pedal was put on violence and sitdown strikes. Now I shall say something that will please the gentleman from Texas. Over in Berrien County, in my district, we have a Democratic judge, Judge Evans. When we had the sit-down strike in Niles he issued his order. The fellows came in from outside but the sheriff, Charles Millerand I will not mention his political faith either-he went over there, and the order that was issued by the Democratic judge was enforced, nor was there bloodshed. But when Brother Murphy was on the scene at Flint, the court order was not enforced

Mr. RAYBURN. Has the gentleman any proof whatsoever that Governor Murphy at any time prevented the execution of an order of the court?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I will say this, that the proof is absolute and uncontradicted that he did not faithfully execute the laws of the State, that he was there and had the men; and that it is commonly reported in the newspapers-and so far as I know it has never been denied, and I am asking you now as the leader on that side to produce here evidence that he ever told them even to get out.

Mr. RAYBURN. I should not be asked to submit proof to refute the gentleman's charges. He should submit proof to support his charges. The gentleman is making a statement trying to prove the disqualification of Governor Murphy.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Sure, I am.

Mr. RAYBURN. And he is making Mr. HOFFMAN. No; I am not. And he is making roundabout statements.

Mr. RAYBURN. He is making mere allegations.

Mr. HOFFMAN. No; I am making inquiries; I am asking

We know what happened; we know that the citizens were deprived of their property and their liberty, in violation of both the State and the Federal Constitutions, in violation of the laws of the State; that the Governor was the man charged with the enforcement of the law; that he knew the violations were taking place; and I am asking whether he performed his duty when he failed to protect the citizens of

What happened at Monroe? The citizens of Monroe came out on the highway and said, "Thus far you come and no farther," and Van Bittner was out north of the town with 8,000 of his Communists and sit-down strikers. They did not take Monroe. Nor was there any bloodshed on that Sunday morning.

But let me get back to the trouble at Flint.

The city manager was advised that the Communists intended to cripple Flint by damaging the waterworks, the sewage-disposal plant, the pumping station, and the National Guard was asked to patrol those points, but refused, and the city hired individuals to perform that duty.

Members of the National Guard cautioned the city manager not to do anything that would cause trouble. asked the city police to stay out of certain parts of the city.

The State police would not patrol the streets without orders and the National Guard would not do it. The city manager charges that the National Guard suggested that the police return two machine-gun units which had been loaned to them.

### WRIT OF EJECTMENT ISSUED

Things went from bad to worse. On February 2 Judge Gadola, after a hearing, issued his writ authorizing the ejectment of the sit-down strikers. Frank Murphy, if he read the newspapers and was in touch with the situation, must have known that this writ had been issued.

It has been many times charged and so far never publicly denied that the Governor advised the sheriff of the county to withhold the execution of the writ.

### STREETS AND HIGHWAY CLOSED

The mobs, realizing they had a friend in the Governor, that neither the State police nor the National Guard would move against them, that the police force and the sheriff's force were unable to successfully oppose them, virtually took possession of the lower end of Flint, around Fisher plant No. 1. They closed the main highway leading from Detroit and rerouted many cars which sought to pass.

NATIONAL GUARD AND STATE POLICE REFUSED TO OPEN STREETS TO TRAFFIC

The National Guard was asked to patrol that section of the main highway and to open it up, but they would not do it; neither would the State police.

The law-abiding citizens of Flint and those men who wanted to work in the factories, employees of General Motors, became so incensed that they resolved that they would no longer submit to control of their places of employment, of their city, by mobs led by outside wrecking crews. They had been and were denied by Frank Murphy the protection that was due them from the State police and from the National Guard.

# POLICE CALLED FOR RESERVES

The natural result of this failure on the part of the Governor to enforce the law was that the city manager, the director of public safety of the city of Flint, issued orders to bring in reserve officers. These calls for help were sent to various organizations, and the men began to flock in to be examined and, if found qualified, to be sworn in as a reserve police force. They assembled at the city hall and at the Masonic Temple in somewhat the same temper and with somewhat the same objective as the members of the Boston Tea Party.

Note now, if you will, what happened. Frank Murphy has given as his reason for his failure to afford protection to the citizens of Flint his desire to avoid bloodshed; that he feared that if the officers of the law performed their duty and opposed the mob or its leaders the situation would get beyond control and there would be bloodshed.

Certainly the National Guard, numbering several thousand, and the State police, trained men, fully equipped and armed, were as capable of securing obedience to the law and preventing bloodshed, as were the numerically few police force and the reserves of the city of Flint.

MOB LEADERS CALLED FOR CONFERENCE AND DISARMED

Nevertheless as soon as the reserve corps began to organize and the leaders of the mob learned what was on foot—as soon as they knew that they were to be confronted by real armed opposition—they asked for a conference. The conference was held and the result was that the mobs dispersed, laid down their arms, yielded obedience to the traffic laws, and thereafter evacuated the factories.

The thing that restored order in Flint was the formation of a group of men sworn in to aid the police force of the city of Flint, and not the negotiations carried on by Governor Murphy.

RESERVES ACCOMPLISHED WHAT MURPHY FAILED TO DO

Frank Murphy, by one sentence notifying the lawless, those who were holding possession of the factories and of Flint streets, that the law would be enforced, could have accomplished the same thing.

Listen to these words-I quote:

It should not be forgotten that personal liberty will be of little value if the authority and integrity of the courts are not preserved and property rights protected.

Never was truer statement uttered, and those are the words of Frank Murphy. They show his realization of the fundamental need of an adherence to the law. Regrettable that he did not abide by his own convictions.

It matters not whether he yielded to the importunities of the leaders of the sit-down strikers, the Communists who were directing and controlling the sit-down strikes, or whether he followed the wishes of the officials of General Motors.

He failed to uphold the integrity of the court. He failed to protect property rights, to protect the liberty of the workers.

LABOR HOLIDAY AT LANSING

Let us turn now to what happened at Lansing, Michigan's capital.

MOB TOOK POSSESSION OF LANSING AS PROTEST AGAINST ARREST OF PICKETS

Picketing strikers at Lansing had been arrested and placed in jail because of the violation of an injunction. On the 7th of June 1937, Lester E. Washburn, whose wife was one of the pickets and who was president of Lansing Local 182 of the U. A. W. U., called a labor holiday to protest the arrest.

On that day some 15,000 men gathered in the downtown area of the city of Lansing. By the use of cars and trucks they blockaded the streets and closed them to traffic. They closed the stores and places of business; in short, they took and held possession of the capital of Michigan for that day; and the only reason, the only excuse, for their acts was that, in accordance with the lawful order of a court, pickets in contempt of court had been arrested and confined in jail.

MURPHY PRESENT AND WITNESSED DEMONSTRATION

During this demonstration Frank Murphy, the Governor, was present in Lansing and witnessed it, and he addressed the strikers from the capitol steps. He told them in substance that no harm would come to them. He made no effort, so far as is known, to clear the streets or to enforce the law.

The demonstration was so successful that along about 4 o'clock in the afternoon the pickets were released. They were let out of jail and escorted to the steps of the State capitol.

MOB WENT TO EAST LANSING—COLLEGE BOYS AND GIRLS THREW LEADERS

INTO RIVER

In the meantime a part of the mob had gone to the college town of East Lansing, where we have a State Agricultural College. Their purpose was to do in East Lansing what they had done in Lansing—take possession of the town and close the business places.

In East Lansing and almost within stone's throw of the college buildings is the headquarters of the Michigan State police, and on duty there at the time was Lieutenant Harold Mulbar and a detachment of the State police.

WASHBURN'S ORDERS TO MOB TO "BRING BACK PART OF COLLEGE"

The college boys and girls, objecting to the closing of the restaurants where they ate, threw six members of the mob into the Red Cedar River. Angered, some of the leaders

returned to Lansing and, as the pickets were released from the jail, they reported to Washburn that several of his men had been thrown into the Red Cedar River by college boys. Washburn said:

Well, send a group out there right away and don't come back until you bring back part of the college.

The sworn testimony of Donald W. Gardner, a reporter for the Detroit Times, shows that, in the office of the chief of police, Washburn made the statement to go out to the college "and don't come back until you bring back part of it."

COLLEGE BOYS AND GIRLS DID WHAT MURPHY FAILED TO DO

Acting on this suggestion, out they went, some two or three thousand strong, and part of the same crowd which had defied the Governor of the State, which had before held in contempt the State police and the National Guard; and, when they reached the city limits of East Lansing, they found there some two or three thousand college students, who were ready for battle. The result was that Washburn's demonstrating mob concluded that discretion was the better part of valor and they returned to Lansing without closing a single store.

Those farmer boys and girls could and did do what Frank Murphy, Governor of the State, with the National Guard subject to his command, with the police of the city of Lansing ready to act, with the State police, many of whom were on the scene, most of whom were within call, would not do.

STATE POLICE WITHIN CALL—WOULD NOT INTERFERE BECAUSE THEY HAD NO ORDERS

Lieutenant Mulbar of the State police tells us that he was present at East Lansing on the 7th day of June 1937; that he was advised that the strikers were going out to East Lansing to close up the stores there and to duplicate what they had done in Lansing; that he knew that the students took exception, had thrown some of the strike leaders into the river, and that he knew that afterward a mob of some 2,000 was marching down on the State University; that he would gladly have gone to the point of danger, had he been called, and that the State police were ready and willing to carry out orders for the protection of life and property; that, lacking such orders, they were powerless.

He further said that he knew that misdemeanors and felonies under the State law and a high crime under the Federal law had been committed there on this particular day.

To me it is more than passing strange that the State of Michigan should be required to maintain and support a State police force, numbering many men, supplied with automobiles and with all the equipment necessary to maintain law and order, quartered in many well-built, substantial police stations scattered throughout the State, which should be powerless to act when property is being destroyed, when streets and highways are being blockaded, when men are being assaulted and beaten, until they have received orders from the Governor of the State.

Is it true, as a matter of fact, that if one citizen is being deprived of his property, is being held up and beaten by another in the presence of a member of the Michigan State police that that officer has no authority to enforce the law? If that be true, then the taxpayers of Michigan better save their money; the police force better be disbanded and the individual citizen given the right to carry arms and to protect himself in time of danger.

Such is not the law, neither in Michigan nor elsewhere, and the inevitable conclusion is that the Michigan State police, courageous, honest, efficient officers all—and the National Guard as well—had received orders direct from headquarters, the office of the Governor of Michigan, not to interfere with the activities of the strikers at Flint or the demonstrators at Lansing.

TWO INSTANCES CITED PROVE THAT LAWLESSNESS CONTINUED BECAUSE
MURPHY AIDED THE STRIKERS; THAT BLOODSHED CAN BE PREVENTED BY
INSISTENCE THAT LAW BE ENFORCED

The two foregoing instances which I have cited, one at Flint, the other at Lansing, show beyond argument that the law was disobeyed, the citizens deprived of their property and

their liberty, because Frank Murphy threw his personality, his aid, to the side of the lawless and against the innocent, unarmed citizen.

The two instances cited demonstrate, first at Flint, when the citizens arose in their wrath, when no longer could they restrain their righteous indignation, and announced that they proposed to join the police force and enforce the law, that bloodshed could be prevented by an enforcement of the law.

The same thing was proven again at East Lansing when a mob of two to three thousand demonstrators, many of whom had taken part in the lawless activities at Flint and other places, were confronted by a like number of college boys and girls.

TWO INSTANCES PROVE MURPHY TO BLAME FOR BLOODSHED AT FLINT, FOR LAWLESSNESS AT LANSING

These two incidents prove, if they prove nothing else, that for the bloodshed at Flint, for the lawlessness at Lansing, Governor Murphy was wholly to blame; that his lack of courage, his refusal to perform his duty, his sympathy for the lawless, many of whom he knew to be Communists, neither settled the sit-down strikes nor prevented bloodshed.

Nor can Frank Murphy excuse himself by the plea that he was acting in behalf of innocent, law-abiding but unfortunate citizens.

Murphy acted in behalf of and his conduct aided the sitdown strikers.

A news commentator friendly to Murphy said that the reason for Murphy's failure to eject the sit-down strikers and to protect the citizens of the State is found in that verse of Scripture which reads:

But with righteousness shall He judge the poor and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth.

Evidently the sit-down strikers, in Frank Murphy's opinion, were "the meek," and to settle the sit-down strike he was reproving them with equity, rather than compelling them to obey the law.

If he regarded the sit-down strikers as the meek, did he also have in mind that verse of the Psalms which reads:

The meek will He guide in judgment.

And did he have in mind that other verse which reads: Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth.

The strikers came by Flint through no inheritance. They took and held it by force.

But were they "the meek"?

Your attention is called to the fact that those who came to Michigan in the sit-down strike came breathing threats of violence. They preached defiance of the peace officers, disregard for the lawful order of the court. Were they, in the words of the Scripture, "the meek"?

They barricaded themselves on private property. Did they disturb domestic tranquillity? Did they intend to do great bodily harm to those who resisted their demands?

They kept men from the factories; they kept workers imprisoned in the factories. They armed themselves with and threatened to use the weapons which are here shown before you-weapons which came from the barricaded factories which the strikers had taken over.

WEAPONS USED BY SIT-DOWN STRIKERS

Look, if you will, at some of these weapons which were used by those strikers.

Here is a metal ball 2 inches in diameter.

Here is a slingshot made of metal, with a piece of inner tube to be used as a propelling force.

Here is a club fashioned from bolt heads bound with tape and covered with paper, 20 inches long.

Here is another, a metal bar wound with tape, 14 inches

Another, with a handle, wound with tape, 15 inches long and having protruding from one end the connections which ordinarily run from battery to distributor on an automobile. and having at the end a brass connection.

Here is a file, pointed, with a handle, 16 inches long and fashioned to penetrate the body.

Here is another steel bar, sharpened on the edge, a piece of rubber fitted on for a handle, 20 inches long.

Here is a hammer, the head brass, the handle wrapped

These weapons came from the hands of sit-down strikers. And here is a rope fitted with a hangman's noose and in which the Detroit police advise one Mike Jakub, one time of Detroit, aged 45, white, was found hanging in the Plymouth plant on March 25, 1937, when a sit-down strike was in

It was a case of either an attempted suicide or attempted murder. The man himself, when taken to the hospital, always insisted that he did not know what happened to him but thought that someone tried to hang him. Certainly a strange place for an attempt at suicide.

Were the men armed with these weapons and with similar weapons bent on a peaceful mission? Are they not rather those who Frank Murphy later said sought bloodshed?

Men armed with these and similar weapons are the men whom Frank Murphy protected from the police force of the city of Flint, to whose aid he called the National Guard when the sheriff of Genesee County, the officers of the Circuit Court of Genesee County, would have evicted them from the plants of General Motors.

Mr. KRAMER. Will the gentleman yield? In what pawnshop in Michigan did the gentleman purchase these things? Mr. HOFFMAN. Does the gentleman mean where they

came from? Mr. COX. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. They did not come from any pawnshop.

Mr. KRAMER. A pawnshop is where they came from. Mr. HOFFMAN. The gentleman is more familiar with pawnshops than I am. [Laughter and applause.] These weapons came through the law-enforcing officers of the State of Michigan; reputable, courageous officers, who would have performed their duty had they been given the opportunity.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia. Mr. COX. I would not want anybody in this world to think that I was in any wise in sympathy with the state of insurrec-

tion that existed in the gentleman's State. I think it was a disgrace to the Nation, and I have not yet found anything in the behavior of any of the officials of that State for which they can feel proud. I want to know if anything was done by the Governor of the State at that time to join issue with these people who came into the State to take charge of other people's property? In other words, was there any official action on the part of the Governor to maintain a state of peace and law within Michigan?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I know of an occasion down at the Durant Hotel in Flint when the Governor came down there. He did confer with Roy and Victor Reuther and with Bob Travis-Communists all, but not residents of Flint-as well as the officers of the city and State police. The next day he called out the National Guard, and in that way they did preserve order with these men in possession of those places and with the strikers in possession of the factories.

Captain Mulbar, of the State police, testified under oath before the Dies committee that he was in charge of a detail which went out to the struck plants in Flint, but that his orders were to investigate and observe. He said he saw large piles of metal-hinges and other things-near the windows, to be used as missiles to be thrown either by hand or with slingshots they had built for that particular purpose; that there were jars which he was told contained acid; that he was permitted by a strikers committee to enter the plant, but that the committee refused him permission to talk with the other men in the plant; that afterward he talked with some of the men who were in the plant and learned that some of them had to fight to escape from the plant, and that others, in order to get out, promised to join the union.

He testified further that he and the State police were willing to enforce the law but they had no orders to do so. Other officers refused to act because, as they said, they had no orders from the Governor.

MEN COMMITTING FELONIES PROTECTED BY MURPHY

Men were engaged in the commission of felonies. The Governor saw to it, through the use of the State troops, that the sheriff's force did not execute the order of the court. Thus, did he not in this manner aid and abed them in the commission of the felonies? Was he or was he not, under the decision of the Supreme Court of Michigan in the case of People v. Washburn (285 Mich. 119), a strike leader, hereinbefore referred to, equally guilty with them?

DID MURPHY THROW HIS SUPPORT TO LAW-ENFORCING AUTHORITIES OR TO THE LAWLESS?

Frank Murphy, when Governor of Michigan, backed by the armed forces of the State, was confronted with the choice of upholding the laws of the State, performing his duty as Governor, or condoning and supporting, by his conduct and his failure to give orders, or by his orders, to the National Guard, those who were violating the law-depriving citizens of their constitutional rights.

I make no charge. In view of the facts, form your own judgment.

DID MURPHY KNOW THE COMMUNISTS WERE COMING TO MICHIGAN?

If you read the history of the strike at Flint, you will see that Roy and Victor Reuther, Bob Travis, and other wellknow Communists were, through the sound truck, directing activities. You will note that the two Reuthers conferred with Murphy at the Durant Hotel on the night of the 11th of January, the date of the riot at the Fisher plant. Did Murphy know that the Communists were coming to Michigan?

On the front page of the May 24, 1937, issue of Social Justice, published at Royal Oak, Mich., in blackface letters an inch high, runs the legend, "Communism is here," and beneath it the words "Governor Murphy, of Michigan."

On the same page we gather from the publication that Frank Murphy said-

At the Shrine of the Little Flower that, according to President Roosevelt, "If communism breaks in America, it will be in the Detroit area, where it will first manifest itself."

That later, at the Book Cadillac Hotel in Detroit, Governor Murphy said:

Communism is not coming: it is here.

Still later the press carried the information that Governor Murphy made the statement:

Communists deliberately created disorders in the Lansing labor holiday, the Consumers Power Co. strike, and in some phases of the sit-downs. They not only sought disorders but they sought bloodshed. They wanted bloodshed and they sought to draw us into a fight.

So, from Frank Murphy himself, we learn that he knew that communism was coming to Michigan. We know that it came: we know that the Communists wanted bloodshed: and we know from what happened that they brought it about. REASONS FOR GENERAL MOTORS AND CHRYSLER'S APPROVAL OF MURPHY'S COURSE, IF THEY APPROVED IT

The record shows that Frank Murphy failed to perform his duty as Governor of the State; that he betrayed his people; that he left many of them to the mercy of the armed invaders.

In Murphy's behalf it is now said that the officials of General Motors and Chrysler are commending him for the manner in which he handled the sit-dow strikes.

General Motors officials and Chrysler officials may commend him, if they wish. They, at the time, may have been motivated by their fear of what might happen to their plants, to their machinery, if they did not yield to the demands of the sit-down strikers. They were in much the same situation as the kidnap victim whose relatives and friends withhold action because they fear bodily harm.

General Motors and Chrysler officials may at the time have condoned or approved of the Governor's conduct because they had no hope that he would perform his duty as Governor.

General Motors and Chrysler officials, looking back, may now want him confirmed as Attorney General so that they will not longer be forced to bear with him in Michigan.

General Motors and Chrysler officials, too, may consider it wise and profitable to bargain with a Lewis for the labor they

want, rather than to deal with real representatives of the local organizations.

Let General Motors and Chrysler, if they wish, sell the man who must work for a livelihood into bondage to the C. I. O. and its Communist allies. The people of Michigan will find

General Motors and Chrysler officials may think it more profitable to sit down across the council board and buy from a labor dictator the toil of human beings than to deal with the men or the representatives of the men in their plants in the different localities.

God forbid that ever shall come the day when those who use labor in mass production will be in position to purchase the toil of human beings from a labor dictator, which is what Lewis desires to be.

Let John L. Lewis and General Motors and Chrysler officials join hands in hailing Frank Murphy as the arbitrator of their troubles. He receives no such commendation from the workers or the citizens of Michigan.

By his action and their action and the action of John L. Lewis thousands of free-born Americans have been compelled to pay tribute to the C. I. O. in order that they may exercise their rights under the Constitution.

Saturday's press here in Washington advised us that he is now to investigate and determine whether or not he performed his duty as Governor; whether Communists are engaged in subversive, un-American activities. We know not what his conclusion may be.

THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT ON MURPHY'S CONDUCT

In 1936, riding on the coat-tail of President Roosevelt, who carried the State by a majority of 317,061 votes, Murphy was elected Governor with a majority of 48,919.

After the sit-down strikes, the settlement of which is Murphy's boast and the President's pride, the people of Michigan-not General Motors and Chrysler, not the C. I. O .gave their verdict on Murphy's conduct, and they defeated him in November of 1938 by almost a hundred thousand

The people of Michigan know by personal experience the record of Frank Murphy. They know what he is, as distinguished from what he says.

To reelect him Governor of the State of Michigan many forces joined hands and presented a united front.

The people of the State, especially those on relief, were given to understand that help for the aged and the unfortunate came through Murphy. By his order the pensions of the aged were reduced \$1 and then, on the 1st day of September 1938 every recipient of the State and Federal pension was advised in writing as follows:

We are pleased to announce that, in compliance with instructions received from Gov. Frank Murphy, we are restoring the \$1 cut that was put into effect July 1, 1938.

The enclosed check includes this additional dollar.

JAMES G. BRYANT, Director, State Welfare Department.

Again am I reminded of the scriptures of the Psalm which reads:

The Lord giveth; the Lord taketh away: Blessed be the name of the Lord.

Was Michigan's political machine endeavoring to indicate to the aged, the unfortunate, the needy, by the foregoing official statement, that the pittance which they received was the gift of Murphy?

Frank Murphy, kind and solicitous for the welfare of the unfortunate and the aged? When a candidate for public office first reducing their means of livelihood by a paltry dollar and then on the eve of a primary election notifying each one that he was restoring it? or was he thinking of election day?

All the power of the well-oiled State and Federal political machines, with almost unlimited funds at their disposal, was used in an effort to reelect Frank Murphy. The Communists endorsed him, and, joining hands with the President of the United States, who made a personal appeal for his reelection, threw their power behind him.

Let pass in review the political forces which came to Michigan to reelect Frank Murphy Governor. We see three grand divisions of shock troops; the first made up of that vast army bearing Federal and State funds allocated to school districts, towns, counties, and States to purchase the votes of the citizens; made up of all those who were distributing Federal and State funds to farmers by way of subsidies; loans of all kinds, relief funds for the aged, for the unfortunate; and so distributing them as to influence the election—a great division commanded by the Federal and State distributors of these funds.

Another grand second division, consisting of the sit-down strikers, the Communists, under the leadership of Earl Browder and his subordinates.

The third led by the Commander in Chief of the Federal Government—the President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who threw the weight of his personal popularity into the battle; whose subordinate commanders were playing politics with relief funds—all three, political corruptionists, Communists, and the President, marching shoulder to shoulder to reelect Frank Murphy.

In spite of all this, the citizens of Michigan, who had tried him, who had heard and seen the evidence, rendered their verdict and they repudiated him because he had not, in their opinion, performed his duty, complied with his oath, supported the Constitution of State and Nation.

The issue before Frank Murphy, as Governor of Michigan, in the sit-down strike was clear, and it was a fundamental issue. It was this: Shall American citizens be permitted to work free from restraint, free from violence, with the protection of the law and the assurance that their rights under State and Federal Constitutions shall be protected?

Because he deemed it expedient the Governor of the State refused to protect Michigan citizens exercising their constitutional rights.

### WHAT MURPHY'S APPOINTMENT INDICATES

The selection of Frank Murphy as legal adviser of the President means, if it means anything, that the President approves of a government by men, by expediency, not a government by law under the Constitution.

If the people of the country want that kind of government, Murphy's appointment should be confirmed. If they want a government by law, the appointment should be rejected.

Gloss over the facts as you will, be as charitable as you may, do not these facts remain?

First. In violation of the provisions of State and Federal Constitution citizens were without due process of law by force deprived of their property and of their liberty over a period of 44 days.

Second. During this time the Governor of the State, Frank Murphy, who had taken oath that he would support the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of the State guaranteeing these liberties, and who had subscribed to the third section of article VI of the State constitution, which provided that he should "take care that the laws be faithfully executed," with ample force at his command, not only did not use that force in support and defense of constitutional rights to see that the laws were faithfully executed, but did not, by spoken or written word, publicly request, declare, or demand that these deprivations of constitutional rights, disobedience of the law, be ended.

Appended in the Record will be the foregoing and a few questions, the answers to which may tend to show Murphy's qualifications for the Attorney Generalship.

As a citizen of Michigan and the Representative of the Fourth Congressional District of that State, I submit a few questions and ask Frank Murphy, on his honor as an American citizen and as a lawyer and former judge and former Governor of the State of Michigan and as a man who has been appointed but not confirmed as Attorney General of the United States, to answer.

1. Does the Michigan Constitution provide that "The military shall in all cases and at all times be in strict subordination to the civil power"?

- 2. Did you, directly or indirectly, either intimate to or give the officers of the National Guard of the State of Michigan to understand that they were to prevent the police authorities of the city of Flint or the sheriff or his deputies of the county of Genesee, from evicting the sit-down strikers who were occupying factories at Flint?
- 3. Did you, directly or indirectly, intimate to the sheriff of Genesee County that he should either withhold or not carry out the order of Judge Gadola requiring the eviction of the sit-down strikers?
- 4. If you did so intimate or order, will you cite the provisions of law giving you that authority?
- 5. Did the director of public safety of the city of Flint, on the 8th day of January 1937 ask you for help to enforce the law in the city of Flint?
- 6. If he did so ask you, did you give or did you refuse to give him aid, or what was your reply?
- 7. Were you at Flint, Mich., on the night of the 11th or the morning of the 12th of January 1937, when a conflict took place between the police officers of the city of Flint and the sit-down strikers?
- 8. Were you told by the director of public safety of the city of Flint on the 11th of January 1937 that a riot was taking place?
- 9. Upon your arrival at the city of Flint, before consulting with the director of public safety or any of the police force of the city of Flint, did you meet and consult with Victor and Roy Reuther?
- 10. Did you at that time know that they were reputed to be Communists?
- 11. Were you at that time advised that a battle was taking place between peace officers and the sit-down strikers?
- 12. Were there not at that time in the city of Flint at least 50 members of the State police?
- 13. Had you, prior to the 11th day of January 1937, learned that the sit-down strikers were occupying factories in Flint?
- 14. Had you, prior to the 11th day of January 1937, given the State police any orders to preserve the peace?
- 15. Had you given them any orders to prevent assaults on men who wanted to work in the factories?
- 16. Had you given them any orders to see to it that men who wanted to enter the seized factories and who wanted to work should not be permitted to do so?
- 17. Did you know that Lieutenant Mulbar in charge of a squad of State police had been to Flint, had learned that the strikers had seized private property?
- 18. Did Commissioner Olander or any officer of the State police report to you before the 11th of January 1937 that sitdown strikers were in possession of private property at Flint?
- 19. Did Commissioner Olander or any member of the State police report to you that men who wanted to work were being kept from their jobs by the sit-down strikers?
- 20. Did you learn from any source during the sit-down strike that private property was being destroyed?
- 21. If you did so learn, did you ascertain whether the value of that property so destroyed was more than \$25 or whether it was attached to the freehold and considered a part thereof?
- 22. If you answer that you knew that private property had been seized, that men were being kept from their places of employment, that private property was being destroyed, did you give any orders to anyone to obtain the evacuation of the private property or to punish those who had destroyed private property in excess of \$25 in value?
- 23. If you gave such orders, when and to whom did you give them, and were they written or verbal?
- 24. Did you learn during the course of the sit-down strikes that the strikers or their sympathizers had blockaded certain streets or highways in Flint?
- 25. If you answer that you did, did you do anything to cause the opening of such streets or highways; and if so, what did you do?
- 26. Did you know at the time of the sit-down strikes that it was a felony to damage real estate if the damage exceeded in amount \$25?

- 27. If you answer that you did, did you know that real estate had been damaged in excess of the amount of \$25?
- 28. If you answer that you did, what, if anything, did you do to punish those who had committed the felony or to prevent the recurrence of a similar act?
- 29. Did you learn during January of 1937 that men who worked in some of the factories at Flint were being held in those factories against their will?
- 30. If you did, did you give any orders requiring them to be liberated?
- 31. Did you in January of 1937 learn that men who wanted to work in the factories at Flint were prevented from doing so by the sit-down strikers?
- 32. If you did, did you consider that those who were thus deprived of their opportunity to work were deprived of their liberty without due process of law?
- 33. If you knew that private property was being held from the owners by the sit-down strikers, did you consider that a deprivation of private property without due process of law?
- 34. If you learned during January 1937 that workingmen were being deprived of their liberty—that is, of the right to go to work at their usual places of employment—and that possession of private property was being held without process of law, did you consider it your duty to see to it that the constitutional guaranties against the seizure of private property or the deprivation of liberty were made secure to the citizens?
  - 35. If you answer that you did, did you do it?
- 36. Did not the sit-down strikers remain in possession of some of the factories for 44 days?
- 37. If men, 100 and more in number, take possession of a factory and hold possession by force and refuse to permit the regular employees to enter the factory to work at their jobs, and continue this course for a period of 30 days, did you believe it to be your duty as Governor of the State to cause them to be ejected from the factories?
  - 38. Did you do it?
- 39. Did you not while Governor of Michigan neglect or refuse to require obedience to the law by the sit-down strikers?
- 40. Was it not your duty as Governor, under the oath of office which you took, to compel the sit-down strikers to evacuate the plants?
- 41. If sit-down strikers take and hold possession of a factory, how long do you think they should be permitted to hold possession of private property or to deprive men who want to work of the opportunity to work before being compelled to get out of the factory?
- 42. Were you present at Lansing at the time of the so-called labor holiday on the 7th day of June 1937?
- 43. Did you see that some of the streets of Lansing were blockaded by a mob at that time?
- 44. Did you know at that time that private places of business in the city of Lansing had been closed without process of law?
- 45. If you knew that either or both of these things had happened, did you do anything to open the blockaded streets or to assist the businessmen in opening their places of business?
  - 46. If you say that you did, what did you do?
- 47. Was there not on that occasion available and subject to your command the State police force?
- 48. Did you at that time give any orders to the State police or to any other officers charged with the execution of the law and with the preservation of peace to force the evacuation of the streets of Lansing or to prevent the closing of business places?
- 49. Were you on that same day in the city of East Lansing?
- 50. Did you not know on that day that some of those engaged in the demonstration were marching to East Lansing?
- 51. If you say that you did, did you do anything to prevent the accomplishment of their purpose?
- 52. Did you not know from what had happened in Lansing that they probably intended to stage the same kind of a proceeding in East Lansing?
- 53. Did you not know that the students at East Lansing had thrown some of the demonstrators in the Red Cedar River?

- 54. Did you not anticipate that, if a group of these demonstrators who had blockaded the streets of Lansing and closed some of its places of business attempted the same procedure in East Lansing, there would probably be trouble between the college students and the demonstrators?
- 55. If you answer that you did, what did you do to prevent such trouble?
- 56. Is not the headquarters of the State police located at East Lansing and was there not on the day of the demonstration in Lansing a force of at least 25 State police located at that headquarters?
- 57. Did you not as a judge know that it was the duty of the sheriff of Genesee County to enforce the order of the court to cause the ejection of the sit-down strikers from the factories in Flint?
- 58. If you did know that fact, did you give any order or make any suggestion, either to the sheriff of Genesee County or to the chief of police of Flint, to the State police, or to the officers of the National Guard that the order should be carried out?
- 59. Did you ever at any time publicly either request or order the sit-down strikers to evacuate any of the factories at Flint?
- 60. If you did, when and where and in what form did you make or give a request or order, and to whom?
- 61. If you made such request or gave such order, what, if anything, did you do to secure compliance with it?
- 62. Did you ever, directly or indirectly, say or intimate to any officer of the State police or of the National Guard, after they were called to Flint, that he or those under him should refrain from ejecting the sit-down strikers?
- 63. Did you ever give any order to either the State police or the National Guard, requiring them to request the leaders of the sit-down strikers to evacuate the plants, or any of them?
- 64. If you say that you did, to whom and when and where was such request or order given and what were its terms?
- 65. Were you in Michigan in May, June, July, or August of 1936?
- 66. Were you at that time High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands?
- 67. Did you for those months draw a salary as such Commissioner?
- 68. Were you not, during the months of June, July, and August of 1936 or during the major portion of those months, campaigning for the office of Governor of Michigan?
- 69. After your nomination and election as Governor of Michigan in November of 1936, did you go back to the Philippine Islands?
- 70. Did you not, from the 4th day of November 1936 until the 31st day of December of that year, while you were either in the United States or in Cuba, draw compensation as High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands?
- 71. Is it true that you left the Philippine Islands on the 13th day of May 1936 and did not thereafter return to the islands?
- 72. Is it not true that you drew compensation as Commissioner from the 13th day of May 1936 to the 31st day of December of that same year, except for the period between September 4 and November 4?
- 73. Did you, during that same period, draw money from the Federal Government for expense money as Commissioner?
- 74. Did you at that time have at your disposal as Commissioner a fund of \$10,000, this in addition to the salary which you drew?
- 75. From May 13, 1936, to December 31 of the same year, what did you do to earn your compensation as Commissioner to the Philippine Islands while you were in Michigan, in the United States, or vacationing in Cuba?
- 76. Did you not, during the summer of 1936, while you were campaigning for Governor, make the statement in substance that you had given up a great international post, the best paid diplomatic post under the stars, to seek an office where the salary was less than a sixth as much?

77. Did you not make the statement during that campaign at Ironwood in August 1936, in substance and to the effect that you had given up your office as Commissioner to the Philippine Islands?

78. If you made such statement, was it true?

79. Did you not on July 9, 1936, announce to the press that you had resigned your post in the Philippine Islands to become a candidate for Governor of Michigan?

80. If you made such an announcement, was it true?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous special order of the House, the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. Burdick] is recognized.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I suppose this speech will be about as welcome on the Republican side as a Sears, Roe-

buck catalog in a country store. [Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, although the Democrats are still in control of both Houses of Congress and the Democratic administration is responsible to the entire country for the action of Congress during this session, yet through the November elections the Republicans have assumed a minority responsibility actually greater than any it has had to discharge during the past 4 years, and a potential responsibility which, under proper guidance, may result in full responsibility 2 years hence.

I do not interpret the November elections as a swing back to reaction; but rather a protest against the mistakes of the New Deal. In our present circumstances, with a public debt of \$38,000,000,000, all drawing interest at an average rate of 2.582 percent, and with 13,000,000 out of employment and further relief appropriations necessary to prevent starvation and suffering; with private business, as now operated, admitting that if all restrictions were withdrawn by Congress and private business were left free to operate uncontrolled, as it was in 1929, that not more than 3,000,000 of the 13,000,000 could be employed—we must conclude that the country is not turning to any reactionary view, where all new trials and programs must be abandoned and let the country sink or swim according to the caprice of the business interests of the Nation.

Ever since 1929, and in the farm belt ever since 1920, the problem of the depression has, in the main, been getting worse. Temporary gains have been registered, but only through the expenditure of Government funds and the soldiers' bonus. In my judgment, this country cannot and will not take the old-time reactionary course. Our future course must be a progressive one, and new remedies must not be discarded and tabooed. Many things in the New Deal have brought better conditions for the poor and the distressed, and at least it brought hope to the Nation at a time when the confidence in the Government was at its lowest ebb in the history of the Nation. If the New Deal has done nothing else, it has established hope in the minds of millions that it is yet possible for the President and Congress to pilot the ship of state through troubled waters into the calm and peace of equal opportunity.

In what has been done by the present administration monumental mistakes have been made, but it must be admitted by all that the President has been actuated by the highest motives and that his intent and desire to aid and assist the lower one-half of our population wallowing in distress has never faltered. I deem it only fair to say that he has given poor people more consideration than any President since Jackson and Lincoln.

Under this state of facts, the Republican Party can gain nothing but will lose much to criticize the President and the administration for at least making an honest attempt to solve the Nation's difficulties. Whatever has been good about the administration, let us admit it; and in the place of too much criticism, let us offer a program that will do more for the people in distress than anything that has, as yet, been offered by the President or the administration. Should it be necessary to adopt any features of the New Deal, let us do that and at the same time eliminate the objections that experience has proven and which in many cases were plain and obvious. Should it be necessary to take a course of action that is entirely new and in advance of the New Deal,

let us do that as an objective, and in doing it avoid the mistakes which attended the New Deal.

The November vote clearly demands at the hands of the Republicans in this Congress a showing of hands on what we intend to do. We do not have to keep our program under cover and from the eye of the enemy, and the sooner the voters of the Nation understand what we intend to do the sooner we shall satisfy those who voted us in and the other millions who may wish to join us in 1940.

This, then, is the responsibility of the minority party now, and to fail to meet the test will be an admission that we have nothing to offer. By 1940 there will be no motive to direct any majority vote in our direction, and, worse than that, the country will still be financially bankrupt, as it is today, and

very close to the point of hopeless confusion.

I have never advocated that we can right all wrongs by legislation in Congress; that an act of Congress standing alone will bring prosperity out of bankruptcy, but I have always maintained and do now that our present plight was caused by acts of Congress granting special privileges to the few while the many paid the bill. We can at least through acts of Congress revoke special privileges and open up opportunities for all equally. By acts of Congress we can put into actual practice what so many times has been advocated but never accomplished by both the Democrats and the Republicans, namely, "equal opportunities for all and special privileges to none."

At this time I am not speaking as an authorized representative of the Republican Party in Congress, but am expressing my own sentiments as a member of the party. It is my hope that the authorized spokesman of the party, the gentleman from Massachusetts, for whom I have great respect and admiration, will during this session insist upon a declaration from the Republican membership on a program. It is not at all necessary that all Republicans think as I do, but it is at least necessary to think. In my judgment, the Republican Party has been as dumb as the Democratic Party on this money question for 75 years, and as one member of the party I hope to see the Republicans make a stand on this question now, so that there can be no question about the matter before the people of this country.

The interest system is fast breaking the people in the United States and the Government itself. This system must be stopped, and Congress can lead the way at this session by passing, first, a House resolution which reasserts the control over the Nation's money and credit by the Congress, as provided by the Constitution. The Constitution reads, article I, section 8:

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin.

This provision of the Constitution has never been amended or repealed and it therefore still stands as the supreme law of the land. The fact remains, however, that Congress has unconstitutionally delegated that power first to the national banks—National Bank Act of 1863—and to the Federal Reserve Board—Federal Reserve Act of 1914—and these institutions have unconstitutionally exercised the power of the Government over our monetary system ever since. Through this unconstitutional power the interest system is maintained and perpetuated. Pass this resolution in the House and Senate and when signed by the President this private use of Government credit for private gain will cease.

Secondly, insert in every appropriation act that no bonds shall be issued to finance the appropriation, but insist that Treasury notes be issued instead of bonds, and by so doing we can stop the interest loot on Government bonds, which amounts to \$1,500,000,000 annually. While these notes are circulating through the channels of trade no one will be obliged to pay interest on the note. Today money in our pocket, whether we save it or spend it, we must pay interest on it. Bury it in the ground to secure it for old age, and the interest goes right on. The reason is that it was issued in the first place on the basis of an interest-bearing debt, while it should have been issued as an obligation of the Government backed by the resources of the Nation. Money never should be issued on the basis of a debt, but on the basis of

an asset, and if the assets of this Government—namely, natural resources and the labor of the people is not security enough for a Federal issue of Treasury notes, what, I ask, is good? Why is the Government's name on a bond good and the Government's name on a money bill not good? I have repeated this question on the floor of this House before and have challenged an answer, but none have come forward to dispute this elementary proposition. I will now again repeat that question and invite an answer.

After having secured control again over the money and credit of this Nation, the Congress should next see to it by law that the money in circulation actually circulates. Money in the banks is of no use to the people of the country, except that portion of it necessary for reserves. Examine a bank statement today and what do we see? Every bank of any size loaded with money and the loans and discounts on the average less than half of the deposits. In New York City in 1929 every dollar in circulation circulated 132 times during the year, now it is down to a circulation of 26 times, and probably less since the last report.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. GIFFORD. May I ask the gentleman what are the resources of the Nation; that is, what is their measure? Is it not simply the power and authority and the courage of its representatives to tax or confiscate from the people, and have we not reached our limit to dare to do that?

Mr. BURDICK. No; I must disagree with the gentleman. I do not believe the resources of this great Nation depend in the least degree upon the representatives the people send

here.

Mr. GIFFORD. How are we going to take those great resources away from the people to cancel that money the gentleman would like to print?

Mr. BURDICK. We do not want to take anything away by taxation. I want to relieve you of that tax by issuing this money without having to pay interest on it.

Mr. GIFFORD. There must be a process to reach those resources in order to pay or cancel. What are the resources, or how are they to be measured?

Mr. BURDICK. The resources of this Nation consist of its soil, water, and the labor of its people. Would the gentleman answer this question?

Mr. GIFFORD. I rose to ask one.

Mr. BURDICK. I answered the best I could.

Mr. GIFFORD. The gentleman has not answered.

Mr. BURDICK. Let me ask a question: Why is the Government's name on a bond good and the Government's name on a piece of money no good?

Mr. GIFFORD. The reason is that no one knows the limitation of the public willingness to mop up a debt. The time will come, but we do not know and no one knows the limitation of the willingness of a person to lend a Government credit and at the same moment allow that Government to tax him for the interest and the collection of the debt. It is a peculiar proposition.

Mr. BURDICK. Then, does not the gentleman believe that the larger the debt the lower should be the rate of interest? Let us cut out interest entirely until we get even.

Mr. GIFFORD. No; there are some of us who are thankful that a bond will be issued having a due date and a promise to pay rather than an indefinite promise of cancelation.

Mr. BURDICK. In the end all you can do is trade that for

another promise, is not that true?

Mr. GIFFORD. That is all we can do.

Mr. BURDICK. That is the difference.
Mr. VOORHIS of California Mr. Speaker will

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield to the gentleman from California. Mr. VOORHIS of California. Can the gentleman tell me why it is that although the Constitution provides that money shall be coined and regulated by the Congress, when we set up Government credit agencies like the R. F. C., Home Owners' Loan Corporation, and the rest of them, that constitutional

provision is turned right backward and the Government agency has to exchange bonds for bank deposits which are created by private banks before it can make secured loans—not spend money, but make secured loans? Why cannot the Government create that credit as well as a private institution?

Mr. BURDICK. My answer is that I believe the coupon clippers of the country have more influence in Congress than

the people.

We are just about \$1,600,000,000 short in circulation down at the grass roots, and nothing we have done so far has remedied the situation. While the soldiers at the bottom were spending their bonus there was a rise in business activity; when we spend a billion at the bottom in relief, business picks up. But just as soon as there is a let-up we start down, headed for another depression. If this Congress does not have the courage to remedy this situation for all time, I do not fear to predict a depression in this country that will make all others look like prosperous times. Our job now, since we are able to read the signs from what has taken place around us, is to insist upon the circulation of money at the bottom of society. We have tried to feed the money back to the people through the banks, railroads, insurance companies, and large business enterprises, but that has not worked. We must turn the money loose at the bottom and not at the top. We have not tried that because the President and the Democratic administration has opposed it, and they have been in control.

How shall we circulate each month \$1,600,000,000,000 at the bottom of our social group? This is what I will now answer. We will appoint 8,000,000 agents of the Government, whose only job each month will be to spend \$1,600,000,000 right down where they are and where most everyone else is who is in distress. This includes all businessmen who service this part of our population. This sounds like a political machine, but it is not. We do not care what church these agents attend or whether they attend church at all. We do not care whether they are Jews or gentiles, whether they are white or black. There are only three qualifications: First, are they citizens of this country? Second, are they mentally normal and not criminals? Third, are they 60 years of age or older; are they willing to take the job?

In this country there are about 8,000,000 citizens who can and will qualify, hence we will make these 8,000,000 people agents of the Government, whose only duty is to spend \$200 as a maximum each month. That will put into actual and forced circulation just exactly the amount we need to put in order the private business of this Nation which has been

collapsed since 1929.

This plan is known as the Townsend recovery program, and it is the only plan that has been advanced in the Congress of the United States so far that has in it all of the potential requisites of national recovery. Many have been and still are confused about this program. Many think of it as a pension system for the aged, and that \$200 per month for them is not necessary. They say they can live on less. That is true, many aged people are living on \$5; but, first, it is not a decent standard of living; and, second, the expenditure of that money does not help the whole country enough. When these citizens spend \$200 per month everyone is helpednot the aged alone, not business alone, but those of far more importance to the country than either—the youth of the United States. Our young people are still pouring out of higher institutions of learning at the rate of 5,000,000 per year, and when they are educated they rarely find employment. They are ranging the country looking for a job because business generally in this country is down, and some sections of it out altogether. When this money is spent and business begins to revive, opportunities will open up for the young people, and they can fit into the social structure with opportunities which they richly deserve.

Just about the time we get all to agree that this is the way out of our difficulties someone—not necessarily the gentleman from Pennsylvania—asks right out in meeting this startling question: "Where are you going to get the money?" [Laughter.] To answer it is no more difficult than to ask it,

and here is the answer. Our fair average annual business turn-over in dollars and cents is \$900,000,000,000. We propose to tax that 2 percent, and the result will be \$18,000,-000,000. We will draw on this fund every month for the \$1,600,000,000, and if business does not increase at all because of this "grass root" spending, we still have money enough to last us 11 months and 1 week. If business increases, as it must, from this buying power, we shall have more than enough from this 2-percent tax to go through the first year. It is a natural conclusion that business will increase from production to consumption, and if it does this 2-percent tax can be lowered and in 2 years' operation it appears more than likely that this 2 percent can be reduced to 1 percent.

On this subject of the tax I am more than anxious to have the Ways and Means Committee, in whom I have much confidence, take up the matter in full and give a report to this House on the feasibility or nonfeasibility of this tax. When that committee undertakes a hearing on the bill we can all have a chance to be heard there and in this House if the bill

is favorably reported. We are capable of having a national income of \$150,000,-000,000 and could consume it all if there was money enough circulating among the producers and consumers. We never shall have to worry about overproduction—at least not until the last legitimate and necessary want of all our 130,000,000 people is satisfied. Today those who produce cannot buy back the necessities of life which they have produced. The Department of Agriculture demands a cut in the cotton acreage, but will that help when today the colored man of the South who produces cotton cannot buy a cotton shirt to cover his back? The same Department says we produce too much wheat and demands a cut in acreage, when the millions on grant relief are kept alive on a starvation basis.

Our ordinary national income should be at least \$100.000 --000,000. To make it so there must be at least \$33,000,000,000 actually circulating in this country. Over a period of 50 years, with slight variations, the national income has been three times the amount of circulation. Hence, we can state the proposition that national income is usually three times greater than the amount of money in circulation, including demand deposits in banks.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. BURDICK. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan. Mr. CRAWFORD. When the gentleman says "money in circulation," multiplied by the three to which he refers, does

the gentleman mean to take into consideration demand deposits plus currency in circulation in arriving at the amount of money to which he refers?

Mr. BURDICK. The gentleman is correct.

Today our circulation is as follows:

Total circulation of all currency in United \$6, 622, 249, 018.00 States Federal Reserve notes outside Treasury, Novem-

DCI 1000.	
Federal Reserve notes	4, 635, 775, 680.00
Federal Reserve bank notes	28, 436, 735. 00
National bank notes Demand deposits, Oct. 31, 1937:	205, 365, 769. 50
Individual	23, 698, 641, 000.00
U. S. Government	672, 885, 000.00
State and municipal	3, 233, 847, 000, 00

The conclusion to be drawn from this state of facts is that, first of all, the potential circulation should be increased several billion dollars, but even that would not help if the circulation froze in banks. Each and every month, if we desire a normal national income, \$2,750,000,000 should circulate among the people, and this circulation should reach, or, better yet, start at the bottom of the social heap.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. BURDICK. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan. Mr. CRAWFORD. Referring to the President's speech, then, if we take our demand deposits of, roughly, \$23,000,-000,000, which is about an all-time high, plus the \$7,000,000,-000 of currency in circulation, or a total of \$30,000,000,000, and multiply that sum by the three to which the gentleman

refers, which was our performance for years and years, that alone would put us on a \$90,000,000,000 national-income basis instead of the \$80,000,000,000 to which the President referred the other day.

Mr. BURDICK. The gentleman is correct; but, in saying the gentleman is correct, I assume this money has been circulating all the time, and I will show you now it has not been circulating all the time.

Mr. CRAWFORD. That is the point I want the gentleman to bring out.

Mr. BURDICK. With our present amount of circulation in existence and at the rate money is circulating, not over \$1,150,000,000 ever reaches the bottom of our entire social

Mr. SOUTH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. BURDICK. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. SOUTH. Have not the several billions of dollars that have been paid to the common laborers through the Works Progress Administration been expended in an attempt to start the money from the bottom?

Mr. BURDICK. Yes; and every time that money has gone out in any particular locality that has been particularly afflicted, such as the drought area or the flood area, it has been registered by increased business activity almost immediately.

Mr. SOUTH. Is it not a fact that the various subsidies and bounties that have been paid to the farmers have been put in from the bottom?

Mr. BURDICK. That is right; it has helped, but not sufficient and continuous enough to revive all business.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield on that point?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CRAWFORD. In order to keep the record clear, I understand your contention is that as those releases are made by the Government, they should be made in the form of Treasury notes and not based on bank credit or currency issued on the basis of debts.

Mr. BURDICK. The gentleman from Michigan is entirely correct. That is my position exactly. It is bad enough to have to furnish relief, but it is still worse to pay interest on the money we have to use with which to satisfy relief, and it depends upon this Congress whether we are going to pay that interest or not. You can shut it off within the next 30 days if you have the will to do so.

As I said before we are \$1,600,000,000 short in the circulation of the currency at the bottom of the heap every month and I propose a plan which will put into circulation \$1,600,-000,000 every month.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. BURDICK. I yield to the gentleman from Montana. Mr. O'CONNOR. Personally, I have a lot of faith in my

distinguished colleague from North Dakota, and is it not a fact that the formula the gentleman has just given about getting money into circulation is what is known as the Town-

Mr. BURDICK. I was just coming to that. The gentle-man is correct. That is exactly what it is. It is not anything else but the Townsend recovery program.

There are a great many people who believed that the Townsend program was a scheme to furnish pensions for old people and a lot of them say you can live on less than \$200 a month. I agree with that. They are living on \$5 now. However, the purpose of the Townsend recovery program is not to furnish pensions. It is for the purpose of permitting this Nation to recover by the expenditure of money at the bottom of the social heap every month and keeping it up, and I will venture this prediction to this Congress. If you will adopt this program and appropriate \$1,600,000,000 now to make the first payment the first month, you would not need to appropriate any more money in this Congress of the United States for relief. Just give the plan one start and the thing will take care of itself.

Before I was interrupted I was about to say where we are going to get the money. There is about \$900,000,000,000,000 of turn-over in this country every year. It was not quite that much this year; there has been a turn-over of \$1,200,000,000,000,000 some years. If we tax that 2 percent, we will accumulate a fund of \$18,000,000,000 from that tax, and from that fund of \$18,000,000,000 you can take out \$1,600,000,000 every month and you can run for 11 months and some 20 days on that fund alone, provided the business of the country does not increase; but anyone who sits here knows that as soon as the people down where we live, out in the country, start to spend, the people who are doing business will start doing business.

A lot of people have said, "Will it not make everything cost too much?" My opinion is it will not increase the cost of living at all, because, on the average, in the United States today the merchants are doing just 31 percent of the amount of business they used to do and less than 31 percent of the business they are capable of doing, and the only reason they do not do the business is because the people do not have money. The money is at the top, if there is any.

You can look through all of the bank statements you find every day in this country and you will discover the banks are full of money, but it is not circulating among the people. It is frozen. So, while we have nearly \$30,000,000,000 in circulation, it is not really circulating. This program is to make it circulate at the bottom. Let me say, too, that I have been kidded a lot because I have advocated this Townsend recovery program. Some of you southern gentlemen who are very good friends of mine have said, "You seem to be sound on every other subject except that one, and we are surprised that you went off on an angle of 45 degrees." I am not saying who it is, but the gentleman is not sitting very far from me, but I say to you that we cannot stop progress unless we destroy the civilization that made that progress possible. You cannot stop improvements, and as we are sitting here this afternoon man after man is losing his job in this country because of more perfect machinery, and that process is going on every year. I predicted on the floor of this House 2 years ago that the number of unemployed in this country is not going to decrease, but it will increase.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Beam). The time of the gentleman from North Dakota has expired.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time be extended for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is that agreeable to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Martin]? There seems to be no objection there. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky that the time of the gentleman from North Dakota be extended for 10 minutes?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I want to leave this one thought with the Members. I have no desire to take up much of the time of this Congress, but as I see the situation in America today-and I want ever Member of this Congress to believe that I am sincere in what I say I see-there is a contest on in the country as to whether private business is going to be maintained and function in the interest of private business or whether that private business must give way to Government control. A great many of you believe in private industry, and I am one of them. I would like to see private business handle all of the business of this country. I do not want to see any State regimentation or any national regimentation, but when the representatives of big business have appeared before the committees of this Congress and have answered a direct question: "If you had it your way how many of these 14,000,000 people could you employ?" They have always said that of the 14,000,000 they cannot employ over 3,000,000. Then I ask this question: What are you going to do with the other millions that you cannot employ? They do not know. If you believe in maintaining individual liberty in this country, the right of every man to think for himself, to do for himself, it seems to me that we had better get busy and make it possible for business to maintain itself and employ the millions that are now out of a job.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. BURDICK. Yes.

Mr. CRAWFORD. This has bothered me a good deal directly on that point. When someone goes before a committee representing business, almost invariably he speaks for the manufacturing industries of the country. I think the gentleman is well enough informed on manufacturing to know that for each man you put in a factory you have to employ another man to bring goods to and another to carry goods away from. In other words, 3,000,000 men put to work in our factories will automatically bring into the pay rolls of industry in this country an additional 6,000,000 men in service, as well as in raw materials supplying the activities of our people, and I wish someone would bring that out more before these committees. It is something that has been overlooked, because the manufacturer always speaks in terms of men that he will employ on the pay roll himself, and that is where the three million figure comes from.

Mr. BURDICK. I think the gentleman's views are sound on that question, as are his views on other subjects. However, unless there is buying power put there to help private business increase it will not be able to employ these millions of unemployed. The thing we want down there is buying power. You can take your choice: You can come in behind men who will build up private business in this country that is big enough to take care of all of the people to bring back prosperity by putting buying power down there or you can sit there and laugh about this program until the time will come when there will be so many millions out of jobs that the Government will be compelled to take over the business, public and private, in this country.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. BURDICK. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. If we had sufficient buying power to give to every person in this country what he actually needs, would there be a surplus of foodstuffs, cotton or wool or anything else?

Mr. BURDICK. There would not be a surplus of anything in the country. We would be short, because we are capable of consuming an annual wealth of \$150,000,000,000, and this year it is about \$63,000,000,000. I notice the President wants to get it up to \$80,000,000,000, but we might as well put it up where it belongs; and if you will put that buying power down there you would not have to do anything else. Since I have been in this Congress we have appropriated about \$30,000,000,000, but we have turned most of it into the top, and we are as bad off as ever we were.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield.

Mr. GIFFORD. With all the sincerity that the gentleman from North Dakota has expressed, I want buying power; but the address of the gentleman from North Dakota seems to be that a billion and a half or more shall be given away to a certain class of people, to be made nonproducing people, in order to bring this about. I am sure he will forgive me if I say I am one of those who think that would probably be financial suicide.

Mr. BURDICK. I think there are a great many people in this country who believe it is financial suicide, but as long as they keep holding that belief and do not give on it, the time will come when it will be governmental suicide.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. The gentleman has pointed out the importance of putting the purchasing power into circulation at the bottom of our economic scale, and I am thoroughly in agreement with him; but does not the gentleman agree that in addition to that we must have much more adequate provision than we now have in order to prevent stagnation of that buying power in idle bank deposits, after it has once been put into circulation, and that at present we

do not have adequate machinery for bringing that about, which is the main reason why, when these bank deposits become stagnant, the only thing we can fall back upon is the increase of Government debt, in order for the Government, in effect, to buy back into active circulation, some of these deposits? Are we not trying to push a string, in other words, to get that credit out, when instead of that we must have a monetary authority with positive power to bring about that expansion and to avoid the necessity of that sort of increase of debt which is had in an attempt to get expansion?

Mr. BURDICK. The gentleman from California is correct

Now, I only have about 2 minutes more.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. BURDICK. Well, yes. I am the most yielding fellow

you ever saw. [Laughter.]

Mr. WOLCOTT. The gentleman from North Dakota has said that the gentleman from California [Mr. Voorhis] is correct in his statement. I think the statement made by the gentleman from California has been answered by most of the leading economists of the Nation in the hearings on the bill to establish a Federal monetary authority, and if the gentleman from California and the gentleman from North Dakota will get the hearings which were published in 1933 and read them, I doubt whether the gentleman from North Dakota will say that the gentleman from California is correct in his assertions.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I would like to say that I have read those hearings.

Mr. BURDICK. Now, I did not want to open this up for any private fight between other parties. I want to be in on it. [Laughter.]

We cannot stop progress unless we destroy the civilization that has made it possible. We cannot prevent inventions and use of labor-saving devices. Each year will see, as each year in the last decade has seen, the displacement of thousands of workers who, for generations, have depended upon that source for a livelihood. What will these ever-increasing thousands do? To what can they turn to find employment? Will not most of them be too old to find employment in private industry? Will private industry today employ men over the age of 50 when there are millions of young men standing in line for any job? Without more buying power down in every local community, will private enterprises increase or expand what they now have? Candidly, I cannot see any place in our economic system where middle-aged persons or those past middle age can obtain employment in any private industry.

I will answer all of these questions by saying: First, let us give private industry and individual enterprise another chance to solve the question. Let us give incentive to build more private business enterprises. We can do that by passing the Townsend Recovery Act and employing 8,000,000 aged persons in the one and only job of distributing monthly in the lowest unit of our social structure money enough to build a buying power sufficient to enable private enterprises to operate and increase. Secondly, if that fails, then the Government of the United States must enter the business field and offer employment to those who want to work and cannot find employment. If those who maintain that private business is superior to Government business do not cooperate in circulating buying power at the very bottom of our social structure, then the natural course of events will destroy all private business, and a government in this country will dictate all business, public and private.

I do not believe, however, that this view is shared by many of the leaders in this country who maintain that private business is better than Government business. Up to date they have not seen the handwriting on the wall. They refuse to see, and there is no one so blind as one who will not see. They are so engrossed in their own personal interests that the public welfare of 130,000,000 people is forgotten. There is much to do to put the private machine of business in order. It can be done, and if we are to secure freedom of individual action for our children in the generations just ahead of us,

this must be done. Interest, which today consumes 31 percent of every dollar spent, must be outlawed. Corporations which, under special laws, have set up a bureaucracy which defies the Government that gave them life must be checked. Through stock control, the earnings of millions who have invested their funds are dependent absolutely upon the will or caprice of controlling officials. Unreasonable and unconscionable salaries eat up the substance of these investments, and the poor grow poorer and the rich richer. These corporations must be controlled or abolished if private enterprise is to be maintained. [Applause.] In the history of the human race the greed and avarice of a few individuals has always destroyed every government that has failed. [Applause.]

In maintaining the principle that within the law an individual can do as he pleases and be protected under the Constitution we must give way to a new interpretation that the rights of an individual end where the public interest begins. For example, I have the right, under the Constitution, to own all the land I can pay for and maintain. But suppose I obtained possession of so much land that millions were becoming destitute because they could not use the land in the vicinity where I possessed unnecessary tracts merely because. under the Constitution, I had a right to obtain all the land I desired. We will come to that interpretation, if, indeed, we have not already arrived there, that no one has the right to own more land than is necessary for his own use and to the exclusion of thousands who cannot live without it. In such a case this land for which I have no use except to gratify my personal ambition to "own the whole country" must be taken away from me as an individual and distributed among those who must have it to live. The method of taking it will vary. If the Government continues to have the support of the people and merits support, the process will be orderly, legal, and equitable for all concerned. But if that Government fails to act in the interest of those who suffer, then the land will be taken, as it always has been taken, by people who revolt and go mad under long-continued abuses. Then the land will be taken by force. History is the best barometer to which we can turn. What has been done once can be again. By adopting the slogan that the rights of an individual end where the public interest begins we can save and maintain an orderly, constitutional, and just government. [Applause.]

The situation in this country is more desperate than many suppose. We have maintained a democracy here for over 150 years that has been and is the hope of millions who do not enjoy individual liberty. We have had so much liberty in this country that we have ceased to realize it. We have become too indifferent toward it to protect it. The fact remains that we have the best government which the wisdom of man has yet contrived, and I for one do not propose to sit here as a Member of this great Congress and permit this Government to be destroyed if there is anything I can do to prevent it. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from North Dakota has again expired.

The gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Martin] is recognized for 15 minutes.

### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. DALY. Mr. Speaker, I am going to ask the gentleman from Colorado to yield me 4 minutes' time before he speaks. Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I could not yield it out of my time.

Mr. DALY. No; not out of your time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. MARTIN] yield for the gentleman from Pennsylvania to submit his request to proceed for 4 minutes ahead of the gentleman from Colorado?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. It is all right with me if it is with the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, that he be allowed to proceed for 4 minutes at this time?

There was no objection.

### PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS

Mr. DALY. Mr. Speaker, I regret that my limited time will not permit me to go more extensively into a reply to the remarks of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Hoffman].

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Hoffman] used Mr. Murphy, and so stated on the floor of the House, as a means of getting at the Chief Executive of the Nation. It is pitiful that men, in their spleen and their overpartisan zeal, attack the Chief Executive of the Nation and do not hesitate to cast aspersions upon the personal character and attainments of men who have achieved prominent places throughout the country.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Hoffman] said that his two objections to Mr. Murphy—and he admitted it was a subterfuge to attack Mr. Roosevelt—were: First, he was a small-town lawyer. If I remember correctly, Abraham Lincoln was a small-town lawyer and had not nearly the experience Mr. Murphy and many men who are Members of the House have had in the practice of the law, yet, does anybody need speak of the achievements of Lincoln?

Furthermore, within the last 15 years a Republican Executive appointed as Attorney General of the Nation an obscure, small-town lawyer, and he was an eminent, brilliant man. The records of the Attorney General's office will shine with the achievement of that man in the office, small-town

lawyer that he was.

The other objection seems to be that Mr. Murphy drew pay as Governor of the Philippine Islands for a period of some months when he was campaigning to become Governor of his home State. Has the gentleman from Michigan IMr. Hoffman forgotten the fact that in the State of Pennsylvania the Republican candidate for Governor this year was a member of the appellate court; that from the 15th day of last April up to the present day has drawn his salary, comparable to the salary drawn by Mr. Murphy, but has never served one day in that court, never performed one act of duty during this period? At the present time, even when he is elected Governor, he is drawing his salary as a member of the appellate court of the State of Pennsylvania. So it seems to me that we might look at the mote in our own eye.

The great danger that I see—and there can be no partisan politics in this statement—is the encouragement to communism, fascism, and all the other "isms" in this country that seek to destroy our form of government, "isms" that are encouraged, fostered, abetted, and aided by attacks on the floor of the House on the Chief Executive of the Nation. To my mind nothing encourages communism and these other "isms" more. I should be glad to go much further into this matter,

but my 4 minutes' time is about up.

The gentleman stated that they—I think he used the plural in referring to himself—were glad to get rid of Murphy in Michigan. Well, the President wants him. The people of the country want him and the Senate of the United States wants him. By reason of the ability, the integrity, and the courage of Frank Murphy, I am confident that the record he will establish in the office of Attorney General of the United States will be such as to deserve and receive the approbation and acclaim of the entire Nation, including Michigan, with the possible exception of the small-town lawyer from Allegan.

The gentleman from Michigan produced a noose here. This was very significant to me.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. DALY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 additional minute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. DALY. It reminded me of the disciple of the Prince of Peace years ago who, after betraying his Chief, the Founder of Christianity, the greatest democracy in the world, took a noose and went out into the garden. I wondered when the gentleman from Michigan took the noose and left the floor of this House if it might not be better if he applied it in the same way. [Laughter and applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the previous order of the House the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Martin] is recognized for 15 minutes.

#### SUGAR

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I am always glad to yield, because I never feel that anything I am going to say will change the course of destiny. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I listened attentively yesterday, as I always do, to the remarks of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr.

CRAWFORD] on the sugar question.

He has had much personal experience in the domestic sugar industry, is a deep student, and his discussion is always replete with facts. It must be admitted that he made a strong showing against further tariff concessions to Cuba, and for an enlargement of the domestic sugar program. I am with him on that and have lodged my protest with the State Department against the proposed reduction. We have done enough for Cuba.

And yet, as he talked, the obverse side of the picture—and it has an obverse side—began forming in my mind. I regret that I must hastily and from memory sketch some bits of this

picture.

One thing I like about the speeches of the gentleman from Michigan, and in which he differs from so many of his colleagues that occupy so much of the time on that side of the House, is that they are fairly free from bitter partisanship. There must, however, be some partisanship involved in nearly every subject we consider. I favor as little of it as possible. But the inescapable inference, and frequently stronger, of all the speeches on sugar coming from the minority side of the House, is that the administration has done nothing for sugar; has, in effect, sold it down the river, but that they if given the opportunity will do a lot for it. As Al Smith says, "Let's take a look at the record." This sugar controversy is more than 40 years old, and I will refer to it more at length in a few minutes.

On March 4, 1933, the Republican Party had been in power for 12 continuous years—in the White House, in the Senate, in the House of Representatives. If the Republican Party wanted to do anything for sugar, or could do anything for sugar, it certainly had plenty of time and all the power

necessary to do it.

But on March 4, 1933, the sugar companies were broke, their stocks were down 80 to 90 percent, and going begging and the stockholders were holding the sack, going without dividends; the beet growers were broke and were considering the abandonment of beet growing, and the beet workers were on relief. Domestic sugar was in the ditch.

What the Republican Party did for sugar reminds me of an incident that I heard on the floor of the United States Senate when I was first in Congress, when that body was distinguished by the presence of John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi. That was back in the days when the Civil War was still an issue, and occasionally a northern Senator would air his views about the "wayward" South and what the North had done for the South. On this day a northern Senator was holding forth on the old theme, when John Sharp Williams rose to his feet and made an interjection about as follows. He said. "All this continual talk here in the Senate about what the North has done for the South reminds me of an incident at a colored revival down in my home town in Mississippi. They finally got everybody up to the mourners' bench except a poor old fellow who hung back in the corner. He was half blind and all crippled up and nearly a total loss. Night after night he was urged to go forward and tell the people what the Lord had done for him. At last the old man gave in and hobbled down the aisle and turned around and said, 'Well, brothers and sisters, I can tell you what the Lord has done for me; the Lord has done ruint me!"

Now, let me take a long bird's-eye view of the domestic sugar industry—and I am interested in that industry. It is the farmers' cash crop in the Arkansas Valley in Colorado, in which I have lived for 48 years. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Crawford] has worked in the industry in that valley. More than 40 years ago McKinley put a bonus of 1 cent a

pound on sugar to stimulate the industry. Since then first one plan then another has been tried, including tariffs, domestic and off-shore quotas, the processing tax, and the present consumption tax. But I would say from memory that at no time has domestic production ever exceeded 30 percent of domestic consumption. The gentleman from Michigan puts the domestic percentage now at 26. As I recall it, only once in its history has domestic beet-sugar production reached or exceeded the 1,584,000-ton quota now in the law and which is supposed to be restricting production. When McKinley put the bonus on domestic sugar there was no Philippine problem, no Philippine sugar coming into this country. Now, under the stimulus of a 2-cent general tariff, but free to the Philippines, they have developed up to a million tons. It is the same story with Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and, in a large measure, Cuba. All these heavy off-shore sugar producers are Republican babies. Under Republican policies all these island competitors-the Philippines, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Cubahave been brought into the family and built up to what they are today. Cleveland refused the tender of the Hawaiian Islands, but McKinley accepted them. He not only accepted the Philippine Islands but gave Spain \$20,000,000 for a quitclaim deed to them. And then the New York sugar interests began exploiting them for sugar, just as they are exploiting Cuba and Hawaii and Puerto Rico. I agree with the gentleman from Michigan that the Cuban sugar benefits are not going to the growers but to the economic royalists in New York, so I do not see why his party is kicking about that. [Laughter.]

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I yield with trepidation to the authority from Michigan.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Is it not correct that the authorization for Philippine sugar coming into this country was expanded during the Wilson administration at about the time we entered the World War by a removal of duty on Philippine sugar? Is it not also true that the removal of the duty on sugar coming into this country from the Philippines coupled with our desire for sugar during the Wilson administration encouraged the adoption in the Philippine Islands of the centrifugal process in place of the old kettle process, and that that, in fact, brought about the stimulation of the Philippine sugar production?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I will admit that against this side of the House to the extent that the gentleman's statement is correct. I know it keeps growing.

Mr. CULKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Briefly.

Mr. CULKIN. Passing the Republicans' sins of omission and commission and the Democrats' sins of omission and commission, does not the gentleman believe that the production of beet sugar offers an outlet for American agriculture?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. To a certain extent, yes; but I have already pointed out that notwithstanding all the varying policies applied to sugar over a period of 40 years, domestic production has not yet exceeded 30 percent of domestic consumption.

Mr. CULKIN. Do not France and Germany subsist entirely, so far as sugar is concerned, on beet sugar alone?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I think that is true.

Mr. CULKIN. Why could not we do that and give the farmers that much of an outlet?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. That is a long argument. What I am pointing out is that over a period of 40 years, under all the policies tried, the industry has failed to develop to the point the gentleman suggests.

The point is, that no matter what the party in power or what the sugar policy, the industry has failed to develop up to its opportunities, and has never been any better off under Republican than under Democratic rule. But it is in much better shape today than it was 6 years ago. The processors are making money and their stocks have gone back to about par, and if they are not back at par, they are as nearly back

as they ought to have been in the first place. The farmers get around \$6.50 for their beets from the factories and the tax; the beet workers get \$22 to \$23 per acre, as against \$12 and \$13 per acre 6 years ago; hired child labor has been taken out of the beet fields.

I have cited these facts as to the percentage of domestic production to domestic consumption, and the maximum of domestic production, as compared with the domestic quota, not for the purpose of minimizing the great importance of the domestic sugar industry but as an answer to the continual criticism that the sugar policy of the administration has been choking and restricting the industry and preventing its natural and proper expansion. The fact of the matter is that sugar for the first time has been given a fixed and definite status under this administration, a secure, recognized place in the national economy, and the quota it now enjoys is preferential and exclusive of all offshore quotas.

The industry ought to be preserved as an essential item in the national economy. We have seen what happened in 1920, as stated by the gentleman from Michigan yesterday, when due to the exhaustion of the domestic sugar supply, sugar went up to 35 cents a pound, seven times what it is now. If the American industry were wiped out, it would go up again and the American consumer would pay many times the small 50-cents-a-hundred tax he is paying now. I think we ought to go completely back to the Jones-Costigan Act and to the Triple A with its processing taxes, the simplest and most workable plan to stabilize agriculture that has yet been devised. It was nothing short of a tragedy to American agriculture when the Supreme Court by a vote of 6 to 3 threw the Triple A out the window. The dissenting opinion of Justice Stone in that case is a masterpiece of judicial reasoning. It is unanswerable. All they needed on the Stone opinion was two

I want to turn a moment to another phase of this question which has given me considerable thought. I believe the continuous and undiscriminating denunciation of this sugar legislation and of the trade treaties negotiated under this administration is doing more than all other causes to engender ill-feeling against the United States in Canada and throughout Latin America. Even the gentleman from Michigan repeatedly referred to the Cuban leader as "that little Cuban dictator." This attitude toward the administration's efforts to build up an all-American trade policy is spreading the fire faster than the good-neighbor policy can put it out.

more votes. I believe that if it were resubmitted we would

Perhaps it was not without cause that Governor Landon was reserved to give the final reassurance to Latin America that the policy of this administration would not be changed by the next one. The good-neighbor policy has not been in effect very long, and Latin America has not yet forgotten dollar diplomacy and the marines. In my opinion, Governor Landon's closing speech at Lima was the greatest effort of his life and raised him, or ought to raise him, to a place in the estimation of the American people greater than he has heretofore enjoyed—far greater than anything he did as a candidate for the Presidency.

The danger to America is not German, Italian, or Japanese battleships or airplanes. It is their program of infiltration of Latin America, much of it feeble democracies, some of them perhaps democracies in name only, fertile soil for totalitarian or authoritarian ideas of government.

A Colorado stock growers' convention met at Denver and bitterly denounced the Argentine trade treaty. One item was the importation of 50,000,000 pounds of canned beef in 6 months. That sounded formidable until you used a bit of mental arithmetic on it, which reduced it to 4 ounces per capita of our population—4 ounces in 6 months. Another item was the importation of 375,000 head of cattle from Canada, weighing over 700 pounds, in 1 year. That sounded equally bad until you broke it down into a domestic consumption of 20,000,000 head, or less than 2 percent. Yet the stock growers are inflamed with the idea that 4 ounces of canned beef and 2 percent of cattle on the hoof are destroying the livestock industry in the United States. The dairy industry

is being destroyed. Destruction is being dinned into the farmer's ears from 7 a.m. till midnight.

Nothing is said about the fact that nearly every automobile you see on the highways of Canada is built by General Motors, or Ford, or Chrysler. Nothing is said about a trade balance

of a billion dollars in our favor the last year.

To my mind, these efforts to inflame the people of the United States and Canada against each other is regrettable. I have driven through Canada a lot. It is a mystery to my mind how the 10,000,000 people scattered through that great area, and living and producing under such comparable conditions to ours that you cannot tell which side of the line you are on, can break down the agricultural system of 130,000,000 people. It would be well for us, in my judgment, if we could cut out a lot of this unfounded and partisan ballyhoo and just mix a little sense into our calculations. I doubt if nine-tenths of the stuff unloosed here on the floor of the House makes any contribution whatever to the solution of the great questions involved. If we want America for Americans, we had better stop driving them to Europe and Asia. [Applause.]

### STATEMENT WITH RESPECT TO VOTE

Mr. KITCHENS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 30 seconds.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. KITCHENS. Mr. Speaker, on the last day of the last Congress I was present and voted on roll call 123, which was to override the veto of the President on H. R. 10530, to reduce the interest on farm loans. I desire the Record of today to show that fact.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. Magnuson asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks in the Record.

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein a communication received from the American Federation of Farm Bureaus.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein copy of letter addressed by me to Col. Francis Harrington, Administrator of the Works Progress Administration.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein an editorial from the Daily Review.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. Ludlow asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the Record.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, I was a little late today coming on the floor of the House, but as I entered the Chamber I heard the name of our former illustrious Governor from Michigan mentioned and naturally became interested. At that time I heard reechoing through the Halls of this Congress the blasphemous, scurrilous, and uncalled-for campaign of the Republican Party in Michigan.

I want to lay before this House one question; and if the gentleman from Michigan will refrain for a minute from interfering, I would like to ask the Members of this House whether or not it was fair, honest, and just for the gentleman from Michigan, a Member of this House, to enter into the campaign in my congressional district and infer that I did not believe in a Divine Being, that I did not believe in religion, that I did not believe in the necessity of churches, that I did not believe in God and did not follow His guidance.

Mr. Speaker, I testify before this House that I have always believed in God. I have always believed in a Supreme Being. I have always believed in the necessity of churches. My good wife and family are living examples of my Christian

faith. I have been raised by religious parents.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Hoffman] attacked the record of the former Governor of Michigan, the Honorable Frank Murphy, with half truths and untruths. The real story behind the labor troubles in the State of Michigan and especially in Detroit and Flint has never been told. The public has never really been informed of the fine, honest, and able leadership of the former Governor during those labor troubles. Many statements have been carried in the newspapers. Many untrue statements have been made, such as the statements of the gentleman from Michigan this afternoon.

The Honorable Frank Murphy has been appointed to high and honorable office as a member of the President's Cabinet, to the office of Attorney General of the United States. His name has been submitted to the United States Senate for confirmation.

The gentleman from Michigan refrained from making any statements or any attacks on the former Governor's record until the subcommittee yesterday gave the Honorable Frank Murphy a clean bill of health without any hearings,

As a citizen of Michigan I am proud of the fact that the Honorable Frank Murphy, an illustrious citizen of my State, has been accorded that high honor. The people of the State of Michigan are grateful for his appointment. The people of the State of Michigan are grateful that the subcommittee of the Senate saw fit to offer him their unanimous endorsement without any hearings before that committee or questioning his record. I compliment the subcommittee on their action, but I think it was a mistake not to have hearings because of the fact that it gives unscrupulous politicians the opportunity to attack the record of the former Governor on the floor of the House and the Senate without offering him an opportunity to place the real truth in the record. The truth concerning the actions of the former Governor is the best answer to these scurrilous attacks. If the Senate committee would request him to appear before that committee and place into the record officially his record, his actions, and his reasons for handling the labor situation as he did they will be doing not only the Honorable Frank Murphy, not only the people of the State of Michigan, but the people of the United States, a real service. It would stop once and for all this unjustified and scurrilous attack on a clean, honest, and efficient record and administration. I have not discussed this matter with the Honorable Frank Murphy, and I know that it would please him to appear before any committee of the Senate and end these untruths and scurrilous attacks once and for all.

As I said, if this is not done it gives an opening for attacks on the floor of the House and the Senate on the man and his record without the opportunity to present his side of the case.

The Senate committee may have thought, and I believe they did, that they were doing justice to former Governor Murphy; but let us see what actually is happening and I believe will happen. If the appointment of the Honorable Frank Murphy as Attorney General is approved by the committee without any question and submitted to the floor of the Senate, attacks will be made such as were made on the floor of this House this afternoon. This will leave him in a position so as to be unable to answer these untruths and scurrilous attacks because he is not a Member of either body.

I say that the man who made those statements is the man who made the scurrilous attack on the former Governor of the State of Michigan here this afternoon, the very tactics that were used in the campaign that was carried on in the State of Michigan, leading the people to believe that just

because a man or woman might be carrying the label of a Democrat he was tainted with communism.

Mr. Speaker, my record in this House and my record during the campaign, when I refused the official endorsement of the Non-Partisan Labor League until such time as they would rid themselves of Communists and Fascists, stands as an open book. In a speech in my district this fall I made the following statement. I quote:

Sometime ago I accepted an invitation to speak before the Timber Workers' Conference at Ishpeming, August 27. I have always been interested in the labor movement and have voted consistently for liberal labor legislation. My record in Congress along those lines I believe the laborer and his family are entitled to a more abundant life. As long as I am a Member of Congress I shall work and vote for the betterment of all the people.

I have spoken before the Non-Partisan Labor League and know

that the rank and file of the league are neither Fascists nor Communists. Nor do they have any connection with either party, but are real, true, loyal American citizens, interested in good, clean, union organization. It is for this reason that I wish to make clear my reason for not appearing before the Timber Workers' Confer-

ence yesterday.

On Wednesday, August 24, an official of the Timber Workers'
Union who is also an officer of the Non-Partisan Labor League appeared at my office in the city of Ironwood and informed me of the fact that the Non-Partisan Labor League had endorsed my candidacy for reelection. At that time he discussed plans for an Upper Peninsula conference. Participating in the discussion of the plans was a young man who was a stranger to me, but whom I recognized was a young man who was a stranger to me, but whom I recognized later as having seen before. After this young man took an active part in the formulation of the plan for the conference I questioned him as to his identity, and he then freely admitted that he was an officer—in fact, a national officer—of the Communist Party. He further informed me that he was taking part in the plans and activities concerning the Non-Partisan Labor League, but that, because of his affiliations with the Communist Party, he had to keep in the background.

Leould then plainly see that the Communists were again boring.

I could then plainly see that the Communists were again boring I could then plainly see that the Communists were again boring from within for the purpose, in my opinion, of destroying this worthy and commendable labor movement, which, in my opinion, would bring about, because of the communistic activity, violence and disorder. I have condemned the vigilante activities in no uncertain terms and feel that those participating in vigilante activities should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law. I believe in law and order and feel that the laboring man will not cause any disturbance other then protecting his own rights unless interfered disturbance other than protecting his own rights unless interfered with by the Communists who want nothing but open revolution.

will have nothing to do with any organization that will tolerate

I will have nothing to do with any organization that will tolerate either communism or fascism.

I have, therefore, informed the officials of the Non-Partisan Labor League that until they purge themselves of the admitted known officials of the Communist Party, I do not care for the official endorsement. I welcome the support and endorsement of the individual members of the C. I. O., Workers' Alliance, American Federation of Labor, and all others who are real Americans, and urge them in the page of democracy in the page of good government. them in the name of democracy, in the name of good government, to constitute themselves as a committee of one to see that the labor

to constitute themselves as a committee of one to see that the labor movement is kept clean of any taint of communism or fascism.

We are all aware of the fact that many in the world today are dissatisfied with the democratic form of government. We are told that democracy is inefficient, that it is vacillating, that it is slow moving and incompetent, that it cannot cope with the problems of the modern world. We know, too, that several nations have elected to discard the democratic way of life. One group, in popular parlance, has gone to the left; the other to the right. We know one group is communistic; the other group as fascist. We know, too, what has happened in the communistic and fascist nations. Personal freedom has disappeared; freedom of the press is gone; free sonal freedom has disappeared; freedom of the press is gone; freedom of speech is gone; freedom of religion has been interfered with—the power of the state has been used to throttle individual with—the power of the state has been used to throttle individual initiative, racial hatreds have been excited, and national jealousies inflamed. Europe has been brought to the verge of another great catastrophe similar to that which engulfed the world in 1914, largely because of the willful action of the dictatorial states.

The question is, Do we in America have to choose between a dictatorship of communism or a dictatorship of fascism? The answer is emphatically no. There is a middle of the way between the two extremes and that is the way of englishened demography. More work

extremes, and that is the way of enlightened democracy. when I say enlightened democracy. America as a free nation can-not endure if we masquerade as we did in the 1920's, as a democracy, when in reality our state is a plutocracy, where the basis of power is wealth. We must have the substance as well as the form of democracy. There cannot be a dictatorship of wealth any more than there can be a dictatorship of the Communist or Fascist Parties. But an enlightened democracy can succeed; an enlightened democracy that is tuned to the needs, the desires, the hopes, and aspirations of the common man, the farmer, the small-business man, and the laborer. That is the government of the middle of the way; that is the government of the New Deal, of the Democratic Party, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Among the features of the economic life of an enlightened democracy is a strong cooperative movement between labor and the farmer; a strong enterprise cooperating with business in the interest of the common man is the embodiment of the American ideal of freedom. No instrument of American life is more truly democratic than our truly substantial, real American labor organizations. What we are trying to do in America is to build a nation that is economically strong, spiritually free, and at peace with the world. To these ends I dedicate myself as your Member in Congress.

During election companying you will find me preaching the pair.

as your Memor in Congress.

During election campaigns you will find me preaching the principles of the Democratic Party, and urging all who are interested in true democracy to vote a straight Democratic ticket; but after the election, I have represented, and if reelected, will continue to represent, the 205,000 people in my district—that is the American way of doing business. As long as we have Democrats and Republicans we will have neither communism nor fascism.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOOK. No. The gentleman would not yield to me and I am not yielding to him.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I challenge the truth of those state-

Mr. HOOK. The gentleman is not challenging anybody. Mr. HOFFMAN. I am challenging the gentleman's state-

Mr. HOOK. I will put a copy of the speech that the gentleman gave at that time in the RECORD. I had it taken down by a stenographer at the time it was delivered.

Mr. HOFFMAN. The gentleman will not find anything of that kind in it.

Mr. HOOK. Let me say this, I will quote from the speech. The speech was delivered on November 3, 1938, over radio station WJMS at Ironwood, Mich. I quote from the speech as follows:

It does not seem possible that any man who had the least particle of patriotism or love of home or country can follow such a course. Nevertheless, that is a New Deal rule and we in the southern course. Nevertheless, that is a New Deal rule and we in the southern part of the State are praying that you of this portion of Michigan will send to Washington not men who boast that they are "yes" men, not men who announce that they are glad to be rubber stamps, not men who secure the support of Communists—and the Communists you will remember have no ticket in Michigan at the election on November 8—not men who scoff at religion. Do not send to Congress the men who deny the existence of a Divine

Further on in the speech it reads as follows:

We hope and pray that you will send men like Bennett, who would give industry a chance to create and give employment. We hope you will send men like Bennett, who believe in the future of this northland, who believe in continuing relief and work to those who need it, but who believe that that assistance should be a civilety as industry can give them a job. We hope you those who need it, but who believe that that assistance should be ended as quickly as industry can give them a job. We hope you will send men like Bennett, who believe that industry can and will, if given a chance, take over all those who are capable of doing a day's work and pay them a living wage which will enable them to live as Americans have lived, men who will give real protection to the man who has a job. We hope you will send men like Bennett, who believe in the necessity of churches, who believe in religion and in a God whose guidance we shall and will follow.

Frank Murphy, I know, will be pleased to answer any questions put to him on his record as Governor of the State of Michigan. He handled the sit-down strikes to the satisfaction of the people, labor, and industry. It seems to me that Hoover handled a similar situation which ended in bloodshed and death of World War veterans. In handling the strikes in Michigan, thank God, not one life was lost nor one drop of blood spilled.

All we Democrats are asking is that you be fair and honest and not carry on a campaign on the floor of this House that is as rotten and low as was the campaign carried on throughout this Nation, and especially throughout the Midwestern and Western States in the last campaign. I say that the campaign carried on last fall was a disgrace to the leadership of the Republican Party. They tried to hand to the people the idea that because we were Democrats it necessarily followed that we were Communists. At least we carried on a campaign that was clean and we are not ashamed of it. In 1940 there will be a backlash of the campaign of 1938 to such an extent that in the State of Michigan we will elect 17 Democratic Congressmen, a Democratic Governor, and Democrats in every State office in the State of Michigan. The people of the State of Michigan will appreciate the Democratic administration after they have a taste of the present Republican administration in Michigan and will not believe in your communistic statements.

Talk about blackjacking. Some tactics are worse than blackjacking. I believe it is about time, when we enter into political campaigns and when we discuss the record of men in public office, to do so on the issues, presenting them cleanly to the people, so that they can intelligently pass on the issues and stop these scurrilous, personal attacks and this scurrilous "red" baiting that has been going on.

It came down to the point where they even put up in the various districts signs on which were emblazoned in large letters, "Vote Christian, vote Republican." I ask you and I ask any of the Republicans in this House whether you can name any Democrat in this House who is not a Christian? That is the type of campaign that was carried on. In my opinion, it was born in the mind of Dr. Glenn Frank and the Committee of One Hundred, and it spread through the seven pivotal States and out to the west coast. But when the truth is told, the people will know the answer.

They called us "yes-men." My answer is that we are not "yes-men"; we are real, honest-to-goodness Members of Congress, doing what we think is right. As I see it, most of the candidates who raised the cry of "yes-men" were "no-men." They had no issue, they had no argument, and they had no platform. They vote "no" on every piece of liberal labor legislation. They vote "no" on every piece of progressive legislation. They vote "no" on every single solitary bill that will raise the standard of living of the great masses. They are just "no-men" in "no man's land." [Applause.]

# LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. Chandler (at the request of Mr. Cooper) on account of illness in family.

### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 57 minutes p. m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, January 12, 1939, at 11 o'clock a. m.

### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

205. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated July 8, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustration, on reexamination of Green Bay Harbor and Fox River, Wis., requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted February 11, 1936 (H. Doc. No. 95); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

206. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 16, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustration, on reexamination of Oswego Harbor, N. Y., requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted December 10, 1937 (H. Doc. No. 96); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

207. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated October 19, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustration, on reexamination of Abbapoola Creek, Johns Island, S. C., requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted April 13, 1937 (H. Doc. No. 97); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration

208. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 16, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustration, on reexamination of White

River, Mo. and Ark., from Augusta to Clarendon, Ark., requested by resolution of the Committee on Flood Control, House of Representatives, adopted February 3, 1937 (H. Doc. No. 98); to the Committee on Flood Control and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

209. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 16, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustration, on a preliminary examination and survey of channel to Island Creek, St. George Island, St. Marys County, Md., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937 (H. Doc. No. 99); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

210. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 16, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustration, on reexamination of Ouachita River, Ark. and La., with a view to constructing a canal to Felsenthal, Ark., requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted March 10, 1938 (H. Doc. No. 104); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

211. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 16, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustration, on a preliminary examination and survey of Mill Creek, Anne Arundel County, Md., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937 (H. Doc. No. 100); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

212. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated October 19, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustration, on a reexamination of Chowan River, N. C., and Blackwater Creek (River), Va., requested by resolutions of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted January 14, 1936 (H. Doc. No. 101); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

213. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated July 26, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustrations, on a preliminary examination and survey of Shark River, N. J., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 30, 1935 (H. Doc. No. 102); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with two illustrations.

214. A letter from the president of the Georgetown Barge, Dock, Elevator & Railway Co., transmitting the annual report of the Georgetown Barge, Dock, Elevator & Railway Co. for the year ending December 31, 1933; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

215. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated July 3, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of waterway from Albany to Schenectady, N. Y., by way of Hudson and Mohawk Rivers, with a view to securing a depth of 27 feet and suitable width, authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

216. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 16, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of inland waterway from Delaware River to Chesapeake Bay, Del. and Md., with a view to dredging a turning basin in the vicinity of the Chesapeake Cruising Club docks at Chesapeake City, authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

217. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated October 19, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Carter Lake,

Iowa and Nebr., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

218. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 16, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Clatskanie River and tributaries, Oregon, authorized by the Flood Control Act approved August 28, 1937; to the Committee on Flood Control.

219. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated October 19, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Batten Kill, N. Y., authorized by the Flood Control Act approved August 28, 1937; to the Committee on Flood Control.

220. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on reexamination of Crooked and Indian Rivers, Mich., requested by resolutions of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted September 25, 1937, and December 14, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

221. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 16, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination and survey of Cranberry Island Harbor, Maine, authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 30, 1935; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

222. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 16, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of channels at and near Hog Island, Va., with a view to their protection and preservation; also the protection of Hog Island and property thereon from erosion and storms, authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

223. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated October 19, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Garden Creek, Mathews County, Va., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

224. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 16, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Benicia Harbor, Solano County, Calif., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

225. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 16, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Deschutes River and tributaries, Oregon, authorized by the Flood Control Act approved August 28, 1937; to the Committee on Flood Control.

226. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated October 19, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Greenvale (Fairweather) Creek, Lancaster County, Va., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

227. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to add certain public-domain land in Montana to the Rocky Boy Indian Reservation; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

228. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the purchase of certain lands for the Apache Tribe of the Mescalero Reservation, N. Mex.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

229. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill for the relief of certain Indians of the Winnebago Agency, Nebr.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

230. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting draft of a proposed joint resolution to authorize Commander Henry Coyle, United States Coast Guard, to accept the decoration and diploma of the Marine Medal of Class One (Gold), conferred upon him by the Government of Greece; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

231. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting draft of a proposed bill to simplify the accounts of the Treasurer of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

232. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting draft of a proposed bill to authorize the mailing of pistols, revolvers, and other firearms capable of being concealed on the person to officers of the Coast Guard; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

233. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting draft of a proposed bill to adjust the compensation of the members of the National Advisory Health Council not in regular employment of the Government; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

234. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated July 26, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustration, on reexamination of Mississippi River between Missouri River and Minneapolis, with a view to improving the harbor at Red Wing, Minn., requested by resolutions of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted March 8, 1938, and the Committee on Commerce, United States Senate, adopted February 19, 1938 (H. Doc. No. 103); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

235. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill for the relief of Andrew J. Crockett and Walter Crockett; to the Committee on Claims.

# PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. RANKIN:

H. R. 2287. A bill to increase annual payments to State and Territorial homes for veterans; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2288. A bill to amend section 504, World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 2289 (by request). A bill to amend existing law to restore 100 percent of compensation previously payable to veterans under the World War Veterans' Act; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 2290 (by request). A bill to amend the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 2291. A bill to amend the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 2292. A bill to amend the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 2293. A bill to amend the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, and veterans' regulations affecting World War veterans; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

# By Mr. RAMSPECK:

H.R. 2294 (by request). A bill to provide shorter hours of duty for members of the Fire Department of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. CLASON:

H. R. 2295. A bill to grant to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and to the city of Springfield, a municipal corporation duly established by law and located in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, a retrocession of jurisdiction over the Gen-

eral Clarence R. Edwards Memorial Bridge, bridging Watershops Pond in said Springfield, Mass.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RANKIN:

H. R. 2296. A bill to restore certain benefits to World War veterans suffering with paralysis, paresis, or blindness, or who are helpless or bedridden, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. VAN ZANDT:

H. R. 2297. A bill authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11, 1939, General Pulaski's Memorial Day for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2298. A bill to compel retirement at 65 years for employees under the Railroad Retirement Act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RICH:

H. R. 2299. A bill to promote safety in the operation of motor vehicles on the highways of the United States; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. JOHN L. McMILLAN:

H. R. 2300. A bill for the erection of a public building at McColl, S. C., and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SMITH of Washington:

H. R. 2301. A bill to amend section 2 of the act entitled "An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the War with Spain, the Philippine Insurrection, or the China Relief Expedition, to certain married soldiers, to certain widows, minor children, and helpless children of such soldiers and sailors, and for other purposes," approved May 1, 1926; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. O'CONNOR:

H. R. 2302. A bill for the construction of a fish hatchery on Bluewater Creek, near Fromberg, in Carbon County, Mont.; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. CROWTHER:

H. R. 2303. A bill authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11 of each year General Pulaski's Memorial Day, for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DALY:

H. R. 2304. A bill to amend paragraph (8) of section 1 of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HAVENNER:

H. R. 2305. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of a graving dock on San Francisco Bay, Calif.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. HARNESS:

H. R. 2306. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims, with right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, to hear, examine, adjudicate, and enter judgment in all claims which the Miami Indians of Indiana who are organized and incorporated as the Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana may have against the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. THORKELSON:

H. R. 2307. A bill to amend section 92 of the Judicial Code to provide for a term of court at Kalispell, Mont.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COFFEE of Washington:

H. R. 2308. A bill to repeal the act entitled "An act to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in petroleum and its products by prohibiting the shipment in such commerce of petroleum and its products produced in violation of State law, and for other purposes," approved February 22, 1935, as amended; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WALTER:

H. R. 2309. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide conditions for the purchase of supplies and the making of contracts by the United States, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky:

H. R. 2310. A bill to provide national flags for the burial of honorably discharged former service men and women; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ENGEL:

H. R. 2311. A bill to provide that flags to drape the caskets of veterans of any war may be available at all post offices; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. VOORHIS of California:

H.R. 2312. A bill to create a Division of Public Works and the office of Director of Public Works in the Department of the Interior; to promote opportunities for employment; and to provide for a planned program of public works; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. VAN ZANDT:

H. R. 2313. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act to provide retirement after 30 years of service and attaining the age of 60 years, with full annuities; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KNUTSON:

H. R. 2314. A bill to protect producers, manufacturers, distributors, and consumers from the unrevealed presence of substitutes and mixtures in spun, woven, knitted, felted, or otherwise manufactured wool products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. McGEHEE:

H. R. 2315. A bill to provide for the addition of certain lands to the Vicksburg National Military Park, in the State of Mississippi, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. MAHON:

H. R. 2316. A bill extending classified civil service to clerks or assistants in certain post offices of the third class; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. MOTT:

H.R. 2317. A bill relating to the disposition of funds derived from the Coos Bay Wagon Road grant lands; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. HARRINGTON:

H.R. 2318. A bill to divorce the businesses of production, refining, and transporting of petroleum products from that of marketing petroleum products; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McGRANERY:

H. R. 2319. A bill to establish a Division of Fine Arts in the Office of Education, Department of the Interior; to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. RANKIN:

H.R. 2320. A bill to provide domiciliary care, medical and hospital treatment, and burial benefits to certain veterans of the Spanish-American War, the Philippine Insurrection, and the Boxer Rebellion; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. GEHRMANN:

H. R. 2321: A bill to amend the Wisconsin Chippewa Jurisdictional Act of August 30, 1935 (49 Stat. L. 1049); to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 2322. A bill for the investigation of the claims of individual Chippewa Indians of the Lake Superior Band now resident in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. CONNERY:

H. R. 2323. A bill to adjust the rates of pay for charmen and charwomen in the Post Office Department and in the Postal Service and in all other departments and agencies of the Government; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. SWEENEY:

H. R. 2324. A bill to reclassify the salaries of watchmen, messengers, and laborers in the Postal Service, and to prescribe the time credits for service as substitute watchmen, messengers, and laborers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado:

H. J. Res. 92. Joint resolution making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. ENGEL:

H. J. Res. 93. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim October 11, 1939, General Pulaski Memorial Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FISH:

H. J. Res. 94. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States empowering the people by a national referendum to draft citizens and aliens for military service overseas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TREADWAY:

H. J. Res. 95. Joint resolution authorizing an appropriation for full payment of the approved schedules of prices for salvaged timber products purchased or to be purchased by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, Northeastern Timber Salvage Administration, and for fire hazard reduction operations of the Department of Agriculture in the New England hurricane area, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. PACE:

H. J. Res. 96. Joint resolution to redeem gin certificates; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. CONNERY:

H. J. Res. 97. Joint resolution to prohibit the use of supplies and equipment furnished by the United States to the National Guard while on service in connection with any labor dispute without express approval of the Secretary of War; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ROMJUE:

H. J. Res. 98. Joint resolution authorizing the issuance of a series of special postage stamps in honor of the Seventh World's Poultry Congress and Exposition; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. MOTT:

H. J. Res. 99. Joint resolution authorizing the erection of a memorial building to commemorate the winning of the Oregon country for the United States; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. DIRKSEN:

H. J. Res. 100. Joint resolution establishing a Federal Tax Commission, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HILL:

H. J. Res. 101. Joint resolution requesting the President to proclaim October 9 as Leif Erikson Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BREWSTER:

H. Res. 48. Resolution to secure information regarding negotiations of reciprocal-trade agreements; to the Committee

# MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Arizona, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their resolution dated November 17, 1938, relating to old-age assistance; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Arizona, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their resolution dated November 19, 1938, with reference to the granting of public land for the maintenance of a colony for crippled children; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Rhode Island, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their resolution endorsing the proposed national-defense program of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Arizona, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United

States to consider their resolution dated November 19, 1938, with reference to old-age assistance; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

# PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan:

H. R. 2325. A bill for the relief of Herbert Therrien; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BROWN of Ohio:

H. R. 2326. A bill granting a pension to Joseph H. Hulse; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee:

H. R. 2327. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Joe T. Stephens; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CLEVENGER:

H. R. 2328. A bill granting a pension to Catherine Good-rich; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. COLE of Maryland:

H. R. 2329. A bill for the relief of certain persons who suffered damages occasioned by the establishment and operation of the Aberdeen Proving Ground; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CONNERY:

H. R. 2330. A bill granting a pension to Margaret M. Tupper; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2331. A bill for the relief of Daniel J. Kenneally; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 2332. A bill for the relief of Herbert A. Locke; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 2333. A bill granting the Distinguished Service Cross to Raymond P. Finnegan; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2334. A bill granting the Distinguished Service Cross to William A. Sullivan; to the Committee on Military Affairs, By Mr. CROWTHER:

H. R. 2335. A bill for the relief of Dent, Allcroft & Co.; A. J. Baker Co., Inc.; and Horwitz & Arbib, Inc.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FLANNERY:

H. R. 2336. A bill to authorize cancelation of deportation in the case of Louise Wohl; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. GILLIE:

H. R. 2337. A bill granting a pension to Catherine Keyser; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2338. A bill granting a pension to Adele Evans; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2339. A bill granting a pension to Grace V. Lawrence; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GUYER of Kansas:

H.R. 2340. A bill for the relief of Elizabeth Patterson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HAVENNER:

H.R. 2341. A bill to authorize Maj. Andrew S. Rowan, United States Army, retired, to accept the Order Carlos Manuel de Cespedes tendered him by the Government of Cuba in appreciation of services rendered; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. JARRETT:

H. R. 2342. A bill granting a pension to Mary M. Diehl; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2343. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary O'Flaherty; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LYNDON B. JOHNSON:

H. R. 2344. A bill for the relief of James McConnachie; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KILDAY:

H. R. 2345. A bill for the relief of R. H. Gray; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2346. A bill for the relief of Virgil Kuehl, a minor; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2347. A bill for the relief of Clarence Moten; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LUCE:

H. R. 2348. A bill for the relief of John J. Mohr; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MAGNUSON:

H. R. 2349. A bill for the relief of Presly Holliday, quartermaster sergeant, Quartermaster Corps, on the retired list, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. MASSINGALE:

H.R. 2350. A bill for the relief of A. C. Williams; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona:

H. R. 2351. A bill for the relief of the San Francisco Mountain Scenic Boulevard Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PFEIFER:

H. R. 2352. A bill for the relief of Joseph P. Kinlen; to the Committee on Military Affairs,

By Mr. ROMJUE:

H. R. 2353. A bill granting a pension to Bettie Lee Lomax; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RICHARDS:

H. R. 2354. A bill for the relief of S. T. Enloe; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. RYAN:

H. R. 2355. A bill to provide for the carrying out of the award of the National War Labor Board of April 11, 1919, and the decision of the Secretary of War of date November 30, 1920, in favor of certain employees of the Minneapolis Steel & Machinery Co., Minneapolis, Minn.; of the St. Paul Foundry Co., St. Paul, Minn.; of the American Hoist & Derrick Co., St. Paul, Minn.; and of the Twin City Forge & Foundry Co., Stillwater, Minn.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2356. A bill for the relief of the International Grain

Co., Inc.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SATTERFIELD: H. R. 2357. A bill for the relief of Roscoe McKinley Meadows; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 2358. A bill for the relief of Alfred Joseph Wright; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2359. A bill for the relief of Virginia A. Guthrie; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2360. A bill for the relief of Penning R. Crawley; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SCHAEFER of Illinois:

H. R. 2361. A bill granting an increase of pension to Katharina Reis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SECCOMBE:

H. R. 2362. A bill granting a pension to Thomas M. Teeters; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SECREST:

H. R. 2363. A bill for the relief of the estate of Harvey T. Combs; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SNYDER:

H. R. 2364. A bill granting a pension to Idella Wade; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2365. A bill granting a pension to Mary Harriet Hook; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2366. A bill granting an increase of pension to Margaret J. Hicks; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee:

H. R. 2367. A bill for the relief of John W. Oliver; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky:

H. R. 2368. A bill granting an increase of pension to Burley L. Van Fleet; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WARREN:

H. R. 2369. A bill granting a pension to Jethro H. Midgett; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia:

H. R. 2370. A bill for the relief of Frank C. Perkins; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

89. By the SPEAKER: Petition of W. & G. Foyle, Ltd., London, petitioning consideration of their petition dated November 14, 1938, with reference to duty on books; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

90. Also, petition of the city of Chicago, Ill., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Illinois Waterway system; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

91. Also, petition of W. L. Brown, Cobbtown, Ga., petitioning consideration of a petition with reference to voting privilege; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

92. Also, petition of the city of Camden, N. J., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated December 29, 1938, with reference to motorboat regulations; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

93. Also, petition of the National Society of New England Women, Ann Arbor, Mich., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

94. Also, petition of Hattie N. Rogers, Reading, Mass., petitioning consideration of a petition with reference to advertising and the sale of alcoholic liquors; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

95. Also, petition of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Nevada, State of California, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to House bill 4199, better known as the Townsend General Welfare Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

96. Also, petition of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Stanislaus, Calif., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to old-age benefits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

97. Also, petition of the Daughters of the American Revolution, William Paterson Chapter, Paterson, N. J., petitioning consideration of their petition with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

98. Also, petition of R. C. White, Reidsville, N. C., petitioning consideration of a petition with reference to control of the production and marketing of tobacco; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

99. Also, petition of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Plumas, Calif., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated June 6, 1938, with reference to insecurity in old age: to the Committee on Ways and Means.

100. Also, petition of the Board of Supervisors of Orange County, Calif., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated May 31, 1938, with reference to the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

101. Also, petition of the Steel Workers Independent Union, Inc., of Indiana, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to workingmen in America having a dictator; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

102. Also, petition of William C. Hodges, Tallahassee, Fla., petitioning consideration of a petition with reference to Harry K. Thaw; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

103. Also, petition of the Board of Supervisors of Tulare County, Calif., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to immigration quotas; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

104. Also, petition of William A. Paul, Jr., Kimmswick, Mo., representing construction industries group of St. Louis, Mo., petitioning consideration of a petition with reference to the Works Progress Administration; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

105. Also, petition of the Group of Active Christians, petitioning consideration of their petition for the establishment of constructive journalism; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

106. Also, petition of the city of Seward, Alaska, petitioning the consideration of a thorough investigation of the railroad situation; to the Committee on the Territories.

107. Also, petition of the city of Dearborn, Mich., petitioning consideration of their resolution that Congress conduct a thorough investigation of interest rates charged by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

108. By Mr. CURLEY: Petition of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, urging registration by fingerprinting of all persons in the United States for record in a noncriminal file; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

109. Also, petition of the United Federal Workers of America, urging an investigation of the wages, leave, and retirement benefits for the laundry workers at West Point; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

110. Also, petition of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, urging continuation of the work of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Appropriations.

111. By Mr. COFFEE of Washington: Resolution of the Western Washington Horticultural Association, of Sumner, Wash. (Henry J. Reynolds, secretary-treasurer; L. M. Jones, president), pointing out that Lee A. Strong, Chief of the Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine, agreed March 17, 1936, he would "require sterilization of all narcissus bulbs that were offered for entry" and that on November 14, 1938, in Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine Circular 482, said Mr. Strong revoked sterilization requirement in connection with Holland importations on the ground that cleanliness of Holland plantings and sanitary measures was now assured; insisting, however, that officials of the Department of Agriculture for 15 years have asserted that no dependence can be placed on inspection of dormant bulbs at port of entry; asserting that nothing has transpired during the last 2 years to insure that sanitary conditions in Holland will not permit the guaranty of bulbs free from disease and insect pests; and therefore urging that the order of Mr. Strong be rescinded; protesting bitterly against such order because the same was issued without notice or hearing and in violation of his agreement with the Senate Agriculture Committee; and urging that a hearing be called thereon in the event such order be not rescinded by the Senate Agriculture Committee; to the Committee on Agriculture.

112. Also, resolution of Fred Giesler, of Tacoma, Wash., and numerous associates, pointing out that there are weaknesses inherent in the profit system but that such weaknesses can be eliminated by proper legislation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

113. By Mr. HALLECK: Petition of the citizens of Valparaiso, Ind., and vicinity, setting forth a declaration of policy on the subject of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

114. By Mr. HAWKS: Petition of St. Bernard's Holy Name Society, of Watertown, Wis., protesting against any change in the present neutrality policy of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

115. Also, petition of the Dane County (Wis.) Chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild, urging that additional funds be appropriated for the continuance of the Works Progress Administration relief assistance; to the Committee on Appropriations

116. Also, petition of the Common Council of the City of Beaver Dam, Wis., requesting that an appropriation of \$1,050,000,000 be made by the Congress for the continuance of Works Progress Administration work until June 30, 1939; to the Committee on Appropriations.

117. By Mr. LAMBERTSON: Petition of Rev. Joseph P. Reich and 21 other Marysville, Kans., citizens, urging our adherence to the general policy of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

118. By Mr. LANDIS: Petition of certain citizens of Washington, Loogootee, Montgomery, and Cannelburg, Ind., urging the adherence of the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

119. By Mr. SCHIFFLER: Petition of the Tyler County Teachers' Association, Middlebourne, W. Va., urging the passage of a bill proposing to prevent the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means

120. Also, petition of the Education Association of Hancock County, W. Va., urging the passage of a bill proposing to prevent the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

121. Also, petition of the West Virginia State Education Association, of Charleston, W. Va., urging the passage of a bill to prevent the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

122. By Mr. SMITH of Ohio: Petition of the Reverend Paul Vollrath and others, petitioning the Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and also to retain on our statute books the corollary principle of the same act and to extend the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

123. Also, petition of Isaac Tennant and others, of the Eighth Ohio District, petitioning Congress to effect the passage of the General Welfare Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

124. Also, petition of Mrs. Raymond Irey and others, petitioning Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and also to retain on our statute books the corollary principle of the same act and to extend the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

# SENATE

# THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 1939

The Chaplain, Rev. Z@Barney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Father of infinite mercies, before whom we bow in reverence and hold our peace: Keep us lowly in mind in the presence of life's mysteries, that with gentle wisdom we may be thankful for the gleams of light toward the true ordering of our steps. Deliver us, we pray Thee, from all self-seeking, and grant that with singleness of heart we may serve Thee to the benefit of our fellow men and the safety, honor, and welfare of our country.

And now, O gracious Father, hearken to the sigh of those who seem to have failed to do their best; quicken the throbs of aspiration in all youthful breasts; sanctify the night of sorrow to all who are bereft, and o'er the beds of pain and sickness may the angel of Thy presence spread his wings, for the peace and comfort of all sufferers, until Thou deliver them. We ask it in our Saviour's name. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Barkley, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, January 10, 1939, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

# MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Hess, one of his secretaries.

# CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I take the liberty of suggesting somewhat seriously to the distinguished Vice President, the presiding officer of this body, that in the military world it is customary, in accounting for absences—if there be any—to refer to the fact that "all are present, none missing, all accounted for."

I deplore the fact that upon this first occasion when I have the honor to reenter upon the duty of addressing myself to your honorable self on the subject of quorum, I must concede that I cannot make the assertion that "all are present, none absent." I deplore, sir, that the exigencies of politics in its inexorable fatality [laughter] have removed from our midst some of those for whom I have heretofore responded as "present." I am compelled to ask resort to the late election

returns to account for regrettable absences. [Laughter.] At the present moment I beg to call attention to the apparent absence of a quorum. I ask for a roll call.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The absence of a quorum being suggested, the clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Davis	King	Reed
Andrews	Donahey	La Follette	Reynolds
Ashurst	Downey	Lee	Russell
Austin	Ellender	Lewis	Schwartz
Bailey	Frazier	Lodge	Schwellenbach
Bankhead	George	Logan	Sheppard
Barbour	Gerry	Lucas	Shipstead
Barkley	Gibson	Lundeen	Smathers
Bilbo	Gillette	McCarran	Smith
Bone	Glass	McKellar	Taft
Borah	Green	McNary	Thomas, Okla.
Bridges	Guffey	Maloney	Thomas, Utah
Brown	Gurney	Mead	Tobey
Bulow	Hale	Miller	Townsend
Burke	Harrison	Minton	Truman
Byrd	Hatch	Murray	Tydings
Byrnes	Hayden	Neely	Vandenberg
Capper	Herring	Norris	Van Nuys
Caraway	Hill	Nye	Wagner
Chavez	Holman	O'Mahoney	Walsh
Clark, Idaho	Holt	Overton	White
Clark, Mo.	Hughes	Pepper	Wiley
Connally	Johnson, Calif.	Pittman	** G T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T
Danaher	Johnson, Colo.	Radcliffe	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety-four Senators have answered to the roll call. A quorum is present.

Mr. LEWIS. I announce that the Senator from Montana [Mr. Wheeler] is necessarily detained from the Senate today.

#### READING OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under the order of the Senate of January 24, 1901, the Chair designates the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Taft] to read Washington's Farewell Address on February 22 next.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES DEVISE

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair appoints the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Walsh], the Senator from Texas [Mr. Connally], and the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Lodge] as members, on the part of the Senate, of the Special Committee on the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise, created under Public Resolution 124, approved June 22, 1938.

# ACCOUNTS OF THE TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to simplify the accounts of the Treasurer of the United States, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

### MAILABILITY OF FIREARMS TO OFFICERS OF COAST GUARD

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the mailing of pistols, revolvers, and other firearms capable of being concealed on the person to officers of the Coast Guard, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

### ACCEPTANCE OF FOREIGN DECORATION AND DIPLOMA

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize Commander Henry Coyle, United States Coast Guard, to accept the decoration and diploma conferred upon him by the Government of Greece, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

# COMPENSATION OF NATIONAL ADVISORY HEALTH COUNCIL

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to adjust the compensation of the members of the National Advisory Health Council not in the regular employment of the Government, which, with the

accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

CHANGE OF DESIGNATIONS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND FORT M'HENRY NATIONAL PARKS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to change the designations of the Abraham Lincoln and the Fort McHenry National Parks in the States of Kentucky and Maryland, respectively, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

#### ANDREW J. CROCKETT AND WALTER CROCKETT

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation for the relief of Andrew J. Crockett and Walter Crockett, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

# PURCHASE OF LANDS FOR APACHE INDIANS, NEW MEXICO

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the purchase of certain lands for the Apache Tribe of the Mescalero Reservation, N. Mex., which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

# ADDITION OF LAND TO ROCKY BOY INDIAN RESERVATION, MONT.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to add certain public-domain land in Montana to the Rocky Boy Indian Reservation, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

#### INDIANS OF WINNEBAGO AGENCY, NEBR.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation providing relief for certain Indians of the Winnebago Agency, Winnebago, Nebr., which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

### AMENDMENT OF ORGANIC ACT OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend sections 7, 14, and 20 of the organic act of the Virgin Islands (49 Stat. 1807), which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

### RESOLUTIONS OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, VIRGIN ISLANDS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of four resolutions passed by the Legislative Assembly of the Virgin Islands, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

## ORDINANCES OF PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION, PUERTO RICO

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, 10 ordinances enacted by the Public Service Commission of Puerto Rico, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

### EMPLOYMENT OF ALIENS BY THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Librarian, Library of Congress, transmitting, in response to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938, a list pertaining to aliens employed by the Library of Congress, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

## EMPLOYMENT OF ALIENS BY FEDERAL BOARD OF SURVEYS AND MAPS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the secretary of the Federal Board of Surveys and Maps, stating, in response to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938, that no aliens are employed by that Board, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor. GEORGETOWN BARGE, DOCK, ELEVATOR & RAILWAY CO.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a report of the Georgetown Barge, Dock, Elevator & Railway Co., transmitted, pursuant to law, for the year ended December 31, 1938, which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE (H. DOC. NO. 105)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

In my annual message to this Congress I have spoken at some length of the changing world conditions outside of the American Hemisphere which make it imperative that we take immediate steps for the protection of our liberties.

It would be unwise for any of us to yield to any form of hysteria. Nevertheless, regardless of political affiliations, we can properly join in an appraisal of the world situation and agree on the immediate defense needs of the Nation.

It is equally sensational and untrue to take the position that we must at once spend billions of additional money for building up our land, sea, and air forces on the one hand, or to insist that no further additions are necessary on the other.

What needs to be emphasized is the great change which has come over conflicts between nations since the World War ended, and especially during the past 5 or 6 years.

Those of us who took part in the conduct of the World War will remember that in the preparation of the American armies for actual participation in battle the United States, entering the war on April 6, 1917, took no part whatsoever in any major engagement until the end of May 1918. In other words, while other armies were conducting the actual fighting, the United States had more than a year of absolute peace at home without any threat of attack on this continent, to train men, to produce raw materials, to process them into munitions and supplies, and to forge the whole into fighting forces. It is even a matter of record that as late as the autumn of 1918 American armies at the front used almost exclusively French or British artillery and aircraft.

Calling attention to these facts does not remotely intimate that the Congress or the President have any thought of taking part in another war on European soil, but it does show that in 1917 we were not ready to conduct large scale land or air operations. Relatively we are not much more ready to do so today than we were then—and we cannot guarantee a long period, free from attack, in which we could prepare.

I have called attention to the fact that "we must have armed forces and defenses strong enough to ward off sudden attack against strategic positions and key facilities essential to insure sustained resistance and ultimate victory." And I have said, "We must have the organization and location of those key facilities so that they may be immediately utilized and rapidly expanded to meet all needs without danger of serious interruption by enemy attack."

I repeat that "there is new range and speed to offense."

Therefore, it has become necessary for every American to restudy present defense against the possibilities of present offense against us.

Careful examination of the most imperative present needs leads me to recommend the appropriation at this session of the Congress, with as great speed as possible, of approximately \$525,000,000, of which sum approximately \$210,000,000 would be actually spent from the Treasury before the end of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940.

The survey indicates that of this sum approximately \$450,-000,000 should be allocated for new needs of the Army, \$65,000,000 for new needs of the Navy, and \$10,000,000 for training of civilian air pilots.

The several items will be submitted to the appropriate committees of the Congress by the departments concerned, and I need, therefore, touch only on the major divisions of the total.

In the case of the Army, information from other nations leads us to believe that there must be a complete revision of our estimates for aircraft. The Baker Board report of a few years ago is completely out of date. No responsible officer advocates building our air forces up to the total either of planes on hand or of productive capacity equal to the forces of certain other nations. We are thinking in the terms of necessary defenses, and the conclusion is inevitable that our existing forces are so utterly inadequate that they must be immediately strengthened.

It is proposed that \$300,000,000 be appropriated for the purchase of several types of airplanes for the Army. This should provide a minimum increase of 3,000 planes, but it is hoped that orders placed on such a large scale will materially reduce the unit cost and actually provide many more planes.

Military aviation is increasing today at an unprecedented and alarming rate. Increased range, increased speed, increased capacity of airplanes abroad have changed our requirements for defensive aviation. The additional planes recommended will considerably strengthen the air defenses of the continental United States, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Canal Zone. If an appropriation bill can be quickly enacted, I suggest that \$50,000,000 of the \$300,000,000 for airplanes be made immediately available in order to correct the present lag in aircraft production due to idle plants.

Of the balance of approximately \$150,000,000 requested for the Army, I suggest an appropriation of \$110,000,000 to provide "critical items" of equipment which would be needed immediately in time of emergency, and which cannot be obtained from any source within the time and quantity desired—material such as antiaircraft artillery, semiautomatic rifles, antitank guns, tanks, light and heavy artillery, ammunition, and gas masks. Such purchases would go far to equip existing units of the Regular Army and the National Guard.

I suggest approximately \$32,000,000 for "educational orders" for the Army; in other words, to enable industry to prepare for quantity production in an emergency of those military items which are noncommercial in character and are so difficult of manufacture as to constitute what is known as "bottle necks" in the problem of procurement.

The balance should be used, I believe, for improving and strengthening the seacoast defenses of Panama, Hawaii, and the continental United States, including the construction of a highway outside the limits of the Panama Canal Zone, important to the defense of the zone.

The estimated appropriation of \$65,000,000 for the Navy should be divided into (a) \$44,000,000 for the creation or strengthening of Navy bases in both oceans, in general agreement with the report of the special board, which has already been submitted to the Congress; (b) about \$21,000,000 for additional Navy airplanes and air material tests.

Finally, national defense calls for the annual training of additional air pilots. This training should be primarily directed to the essential qualifications for civilian flying. In cooperation with educational institutions it is believed that the expenditure of \$10,000,000 a year will give primary train-

ing to approximately 20,000 citizens.

In the above recommendations for appropriations totaling \$525,000,000 I have omitted reference to a definite need, which, however, relates to the implementing of existing defenses for the Panama Canal. The security of the Canal is of the utmost importance. The peace garrison now there is inadequate to defend this vital link. This deficiency cannot be corrected with existing forces without seriously jeopardizing the general defense by stripping the continental United States of harbor defense and antiaircraft personnel. The permanent garrison in the Canal Zone should be increased to provide the minimum personnel required to man the antiaircraft and seacoast armament provided for the defense of the Canal. Such personnel cannot be increased until additional housing facilities are provided-and, in the meantime, additional personnel must be trained. I recommend, therefore, an appropriation of \$27,000,000 to provide an adequate peace garrison for the Canal Zone and to house it adequately. Five million dollars of this sum should be made available immediately in order that work on necessary construction can be initiated. All of the above constitutes a well-rounded program, considered by me as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, and by my advisers to be a minimum program for the necessities of defense. Every American is aware of the peaceful intentions of the Government and of the people. Every American knows that we have no thought of aggression, no desire for further territory.

Nevertheless, as the Executive head of the Government, I am compelled to look facts in the face. We have a splendid asset in the quality of our manhood. But without modern weapons, and without adequate training, the men, however splendid the type, would be hopelessly handicapped if we

were attacked.

The young men of this Nation should not be compelled to take the field with antiquated weapons. It would be economically unsound to provide in time of peace for all the modern equipment needed in a war emergency. But it would be nationally unsound not to provide the critical items of equipment which might be needed for immediate use, and not to provide for facilities for mass production in the event of war.

Devoid of all hysteria, this program is but the minimum of requirements.

I trust, therefore, that the Congress will quickly act on this emergency program for the strengthening of the defense of the United States.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 12, 1939.

#### EXECUTIVE REPORTS-ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, as in executive session, I ask unanimous consent to make certain reports on nominations from the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I think we should follow orderly procedure. Later we are to have an executive session. At this time I object.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Objection is heard.

## PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Dane County (Wis.) Chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild, favoring continuance of the Works Progress Administration and the making of additional appropriations therefor until private industry furnishes employment to the unemployed, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram in the nature of a petition from Local No. 67, United Federal Workers of America, of Seattle, Wash., praying for the appropriation of \$1,000,000,000 for the needs of the Works Progress Administration until July 1, 1939, which was referred to the Com-

mittee on Appropriations.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram in the nature of a petition from the American Federation of Teachers of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the continuance of the subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor investigating violations of the right of free speech and assembly and interference with the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively, which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

He also laid before the Senate a letter in the nature of a petition signed by five business agents of Local Union No. 367, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen, and Helpers of America, of Houston, Tex., praying for the confirmation of Donald Wakefield Smith as a member of the National Labor Relations Board and remonstrating against any amendment of the National Labor Relations Act, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also laid before the Senate telegrams and letters in the nature of petitions from the Oil Workers' International Union of Fort Worth, and Local No. 367, Oil Workers' International Union, of Houston, both in the State of Texas; International Oil Workers' Union in Oklahoma, Kansas, and Missouri; Local Union No. 232, International Oil Workers' Union,

of Oklahoma City, and Oil Workers' Union, Local No. 217, of Tulsa, all in the State of Oklahoma, praying for the confirmation of Donald Wakefield Smith as a member of the National Labor Relations Board, which were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of St. Petersburg, Fla., praying for the enactment of general-welfare legislation providing old-age assistance, which was referred to

the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Bridgeport (Conn.) Council of Catholic Women, protesting against lifting the embargo on the shipment of arms to Spain, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate petitions of sundry citizens of Elizabeth, N. J., New Canaan, Conn., Baltimore, Md., and Washington, D. C., praying for adherence by the United States to the principle of neutrality as contained in existing law, and the modification of the law so as to include civil as well as international conflicts, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram and a letter from C. L. Dobner, of St. Paul, Minn., and several citizens of Chicago, Ill., remonstrating against the confirmation of the nomination of Felix Frankfurter as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the commandery in chief of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States at Philadelphia, Pa., favoring the enactment of legislation requiring registration by finger printing of all persons in the United States, under direction of the Department of Justice, which was referred to the Committee on the Juliciary.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted at Asheville, N. C., by the International Association of Game, Fish, and Conservation Commissioners, urging the creation of a standing committee of the Senate on the conservation of wildlife resources, which was referred to the Special Committee on Conservation of Wildlife Resources.

Mr. LODGE presented petitions of sundry citizens of the State of Massachusetts, praying for the enactment of general-welfare legislation providing old-age assistance, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. BARBOUR presented petitions signed by over 2,000 citizens of North Arlington, N. J., and vicinity, praying for adherence by the United States to the principle of neutrality as contained in the existing neutrality law, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. CAPPER presented a petition of sundry citizens of Hanover, Kans., praying that the United States adhere to a general policy of neutrality, and that the provisions of the Neutrality Act be extended to include civil as well as international conflicts, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented the petition of the Beta Sigma class of the First Presbyterian Church of Topeka, Kansas, praying that the shipment of war munitions to Japan be stopped, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. REED. I present a petition from 2,284 farmers of Cowley County, Kans., condemning the Agricultural Act of 1938, and asking its repeal. I request that it be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The petition will be received and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. REED. I present a petition from 83 citizens of Ford County, Kans., opposing any change in the present neutrality law, and protesting against lifting the Spanish embargo.

I also present a petition signed by 40 members of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of Wathena, Kans., urging that the principles of the Kellogg-Briand Pact be carried out, and that the United States do not engage in increasing its armaments beyond the necessities of national defense.

I also present a petition from 30 citizens of Kingman County, Kans., opposing any change in the present neutrality law, and protesting against lifting the embargo to Spain.

I also present a petition from 156 citizens of Ness County, Kans., praying that the United States adhere to the present neutrality law, and opposing lifting the embargo to Spain.

I ask that the latter four petitions be referred to the Com-

mittee on Foreign Relations.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The petitions will be so referred. Mr. GREEN presented the following resolution of the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

Resolution of the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island endorsing the proposed national-defense program of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Whereas the Chief Executive of our Nation, in his recent message to Congress, recommends with intense earnestness that armed forces and defenses strong enough to ward off sudden attack against key positions be provided and that other key facilities for national defense be organized and located to insure sustained resistance and ultimate victory; and

Whereas Newport, R. I., of special interest in Navy strongholds because of the United States naval torpedo station, maintained since 1869 by the Navy Department as a waval station for the development of and the manufacture of torpedoes and torpedo parts, is a key position in any program for national defense: Now, therefore,

be it

Resolved. That the General Assembly of Rhode Island does hereby express its full endorsement of a national-defense program, as presented by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, urging and request-ing the Senators and Congressmen from Rhode Island in Congress to do their utmost to further and support legislation providing for the carrying out of such a program in the best interests of the State of Rhode Island and the entire Nation; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded by the secretary of state to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Navy, and to the Senators and Representatives from Rhode Island in Congress.

## ADMISSION OF JEWISH REFUGEES FROM GERMANY

Mr. AUSTIN presented a resolution adopted by members of the senior Christian Endeavor Society of the United Church of Johnson, Vt., which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the Jewish people of Germany are undergoing severe and cruel persecution; and
Whereas this inhuman treatment is in violation of the principles of religious freedom for which the Christian Endeavor move-

ment has always stood: Be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the senior Christian Endeavor Society of the United Church of Johnson, Vt., do hereby approve of the efforts of the President of the United States in behalf of these persecuted Jews, both in Germany and elsewhere,

and would urge his continued cooperation with the other great democracles in order to lessen their hardships; and be it further Resolved, That as a token of our sincerity we urge the United States Government, after due deliberation, to give consideration to admitting to our shores a limited number of refugees; be it

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be spread upon the society's records and also a copy be forwarded to United States Senator Warren R. Austin, in Washington, D. C., for publication in the Congressional Record.

FERNWOOD GATES, ROGER PERKINS, Secretary.

### ADVERTISING OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES BY PRESS AND RADIO

Mr. AUSTIN also presented a resolution adopted by members of the local union of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Burlington, Vt., which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BURLINGTON, VT., January 5, 1939.

To the Congress of the United States.

(Care of Senator Warren Austin.) My Dear Senator Austin:

Whereas there is a direct relation between the high pressure advertising of alcoholic beverages and the consumption of the same; and

Whereas the reduction to the minimum of the consumption of liquor is consistent with public interest: Therefore be it Resolved, That we, the members of the local union of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Burlington, Vt., in regular meeting assembled, do hereby petition the Congress of the

United States to pass legislation which will prevent, as far as is possible by Federal law, the advertising of alcoholic beverages by press and radio.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. C. L. RAND, President. Mrs. C. H. Collins, Secretary.

Representing 45 women.

AUTHORIZATIONS FOR HEARINGS AND PAYMENT OF GRATUITIES

Mr. BYRNES. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, I report back favorably, without amendment, a number of resolutions, and ask unanimous consent for their consideration at this time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from South Carolina reports sundry resolutions from the Audit Committee, and asks unanimous consent for their present consideration.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I consent conditionally only that they first be read, and then it may be that I shall desire to oppose the request.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will put the question

on each of the resolutions as it is read by the clerk.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I desire to say to the Senator from Oregon and to the Members of the Senate that the resolutions merely authorize the various committees of the Senate to sit during recesses or while the Senate is in session, and to employ stenographers to report their proceedings. The only exception to that type of resolution is a resolution, in four instances, where employees of the Senate have died during the recess of the Congress.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, in view of the statement of the Senator from South Carolina, I withdraw my objection.

There being no objection, the resolutions were severally read, considered, and agreed to, as follows:

Senate Resolution 12, submitted by Mr. WHEELER on the 4th instant:

#### HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE COMMERCE

Resolved, That the Committee on Interstate Commerce, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths and to employ a stenographer at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the com-mittee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

Senate Resolution 13, submitted by Mr. CLARK of Missouri on the 4th instant:

# HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON INTEROCEANIC CANALS

Resolved, That the Committee on Interoceanic Canals, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate. recess of the Senate.

Senate Resolution 15, submitted by Mr. Bulow on the 4th instant:

### HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE

Resolved, That the Committee on Civil Service, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be held in connection with any subject which may be before said committee, the expenses thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate.

Senate Resolution 16, submitted by Mr. George on the 4th

### HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per 100 words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess

Senate Resolution 17, submitted by Mr. Balley on the 4th instant:

#### HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS

Resolved, That the Committee on Claims, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be before said committee, the expenses thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during sessions or recesses of the Senate.

Senate Resolution 22, submitted by Mr. Glass on the 5th instant:

#### HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

Resolved, That the Committee on Appropriations, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths,
and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents
per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on
any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid
out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee,
or any subcommittee thereof may sit during any session or recess. or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

Senate Resolution 26, submitted by Mr. Wagner on the 5th instant:

#### HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

Resolved, That the Committee on Banking and Currency, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized to sit during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Seventy-sixth Congress, at such times and places as it may deem advisable, to make investigations into all matters within its jurisdiction, and to compile and prepare statistics and documents relating thereto as directed from time to time by the Senate and as may be necessary, and to report in due course to the Senate the result thereof; to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths, and to employ such expert the course public clarical and other assistance as may be necessary. stenographic, clerical, and other assistance as may be necessary; and all the expenses incurred in pursuance hereof shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate; and the committee is authorized to order such printing and binding as may be necessary for its use.

Senate Resolution 27, submitted by Mr. Thomas of Utah on the 5th instant:

### HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LAEOR

Resolved, That the Committee on Education and Labor, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be before said committee, the expenses thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during sessions or recesses of the Senate.

Senate Resolution 28, submitted by Mr. Adams on the 5th instant:

### HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS AND SURVEYS

Resolved. That the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, or Resolved, That the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

Senate Resolution 32, submitted by Mr. Sheppard on the 5th instant:

### HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs or any sub-committee thereof is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and employ a stenographer at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee or the subsequentiate thereof may stir during the sessions of recessions. any subcommittee thereof may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate.

Senate Resolution 40, submitted by Mr. HARRISON on the 9th instant:

### HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized to sit during the sessions or recesses of the Seventy-sixth Congress at such times and places as it may

deem advisable; to make investigations into internal revenue, customs, and other matters within its jurisdiction, and to compile and prepare statistics and documents relating thereto as directed from time to time by the Senate and as may be necessary; and to report from time to time to the Senate the result thereof, to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ such expert, stenographic, clerical, and other assistance as may be necessary; and all the expenses of such committee shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

Senate Resolution 41, submitted by Mr. Logan on the 9th

#### FIEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON MINES AND MINING

Resolved, That the Committee on Mines and Mining, or any Resolved, That the Committee on Mines and Mining, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid cut of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate.

Senate Resolution 42, submitted by Mr. Typings on the 9th

#### HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON TERRITORIES AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

Resolved, That the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers; the seventy-sixth congress to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be before said committee, the expenses thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate

Senate Resolution 43, submitted by Mr. Thomas of Oklahoma on the 9th instant:

#### HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

Resolved, That the Committee on Indian Affairs, or any sub-committee thereof, is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate. of the Senate.

Senate Resolution 44, submitted by Mr. Russell on the 9th instant:

### HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

Resolved, That the Committee on Immigration, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

Senate Resolution 45, submitted by Mr. ASHURST on the 9th instant:

# HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any sub-committee thereof, hereby is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate.

Senate Resolution 19, submitted by Mr. George on the 4th

### HELEN C. HORNE

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate to Helen C. Horne, widow of William W. Horne, late enrolling clerk of the Senate, a sum equal to 6 months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

Senate Resolution 21, submitted by Mr. Glass on the 5th

### MABELLE REA

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate to

Mabelle Rea, widow of Kennedy F. Rea, late clerk of the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate, a sum equal to 1 year's compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

Senate Resolution 23, submitted by Mr. McNary on the 5th instant:

#### MAGDALENA BOYD

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate to Magdalena Boyd, widow of George W. Boyd, late special officer under supervision of the Secretary of the Senate, a sum equal to 6 months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

Senate Resolution 24, submitted by Mr. Bilbo on the 5th instant:

#### ARLENE E. ARMITAGE

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate to Arlene E. Armitage, widow of Philip H. Armitage, late clerk in the office of Senator Bilbo, a sum equal to 6 months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

#### SELECT COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

Mr. BYRNES, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred Senate Resolution 25 (submitted by himself on the 5th instant), reported it without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That during the Seventy-sixth Congress the Select Committee on Government Organization, created by Senate Resolution 69 of the Seventy-fifth Congress, be continued and have authority to perform the duties and exercise the powers contained in said resolution.

PRINTING OF REPORT OF DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Mr. HAYDEN. By direction of the Committee on Printing, I report a resolution and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

There being no objection, the resolution (S. Res. 52) was read, considered, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Forty-first Annual Report of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution for the year ended April 1, 1938, be printed as a Senate document.

### HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. PITTMAN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 53), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations, or any sub-committee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be before said committee, the expenses thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recesses of the

Mr. BYRNES subsequently, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, reported the foregoing resolution without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

### HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

Mr. BONE submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 54), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Patents, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be before said committee, the expenses thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during sessions or recesses of the Senate.

Mr. BYRNES subsequently, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, reported the foregoing resolution without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

#### BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

### By Mr. BANKHEAD:

S. 518. A bill to provide for the further development of cooperative agricultural extension work; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

#### By Mr. McNARY:

S. 519. A bill to provide for forest protection against the white-pine blister rust, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

## By Mr. DAVIS:

S. 520 (by request). A bill to provide for the exemption of certain vessels of the United States from the requirements of the Officers' Competency Certificates Convention, 1936; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

S.521. A bill for the incorporation of the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. SCHWARTZ:

S. 522. A bill to provide pensions to members of the Regular Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard who become disabled by reason of their service therein, equivalent to 90 percent of the compensation payable to war veterans for similar service-connected disabilities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

# By Mr. TRUMAN:

S. 523. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910, and for other purposes, approved March 3, 1909, as amended, so as to extend commissary and post exchange privileges to civilian officers and employees of the United States beyond the continental limits of the United States or in Alaska; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

## By Mr. LEWIS:

S. 524. A bill granting a pension to Frances McLaggan; to the Committee on Pensions.

# By Mr. MEAD:

S. 525. A bill fixing annual salaries for postmasters at fourth-class post offices and readjusting salaries at certain third-class post offices; and

S. 526. A bill to clarify the status of custodial employees in buildings operated by the Post Office Department; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

### By Mr. LOGAN:

S. 527. A bill for the relief of J. J. Greenleaf;

S. 528. A bill for the relief of Melvin Gerard Alvey, United States Coast Guard;

S. 529. A bill for the relief of Margaret Rose Uncapher, Milton E. Uncapher, Jr., and Andrew G. Uncapher;

S. 530. A bill authorizing the Comptroller General of the United States to settle and adjust the claim of the Atlas Powder Co.:

S. 531. A bill for the reimbursement of certain employees of the Bureau of Prisons for destruction of property by fire;

S. 532. A bill for the relief of Mabel Foote Ramsey, widow of William R. Ramsey, Jr., late special agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice; and

S. 533. A bill for the relief of Ernest O. Robinette, Mary Ellen Speanburg, Stanley Morgan, Dr. Raymond W. Maurer, Mildred H. Keaton, June de Ford, Terza Ungarook, and Ella Massoo; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 534. A bill to provide a good conduct medal for personnel of the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

# By Mr. CHAVEZ and Mr. HATCH:

S. 535. A bill authorizing Federal participation in the commemoration and observance of the four hundredth anniversary of the explorations of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

### By Mr. MILLER:

S. 536. A bill for the relief of Vernon Morton; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 537. A bill granting a pension to Alice F. Thomas; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ANDREWS:

S. 538. A bill for the relief of certain purchasers of lots in Harding Town Site, Fla.; to the Committee on Public Lands

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

S. 539. A bill for the relief of Charles E. Naghel, special disbursing agent, Department of the Interior, and Kammeyer & Medack, contractors, from disallowance of charges for additional work under a construction contract; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. GIBSON:

S. 540. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service, and for other purposes," approved May 22, 1920; to the Committee on Civil Service.

By Mr. NYE:

S. 541. A bill for the relief of Alfred Martinson; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 542. A bill to further extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Garrison, N. Dak.; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 543. A bill granting an increase of pension to Annette C. House; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LODGE:

S. 544. A bill for the relief of Carl G. Lindstrom; and

S. 545. A bill for the relief of George H. Pierce and Evelyn Pierce; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 546. A bill to dispense with particular allegations as to renunciation of allegiance in petitions for naturalization and in the oath of renunciation of foreign allegiance by omitting the name of "the prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty" of which the petitioner for naturalization is a subject or citizen; to the Committee on Immigration.

S. 547. A bill to amend section 23 of the act of March 4, 1909, relating to copyrights; to the Committee on Patents.

S. 548. A bill to amend the law granting credit to certain postal employees for time served in the military, marine, or naval service during the World War; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

S. 549. A bill for the relief of Claudia F. Banks and Edna B. Towner; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

S. 550. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 (U. S. C., 1934 edition, title 47, sec. 303), and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. GILLETTE:

S. 551. A bill to amend the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended, with respect to the use of diverted acres; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

S. 552. A bill to provide that gasoline mixed with 7 percent of ethyl alcohol shall not be subject to the tax imposed by section 617 of the Revenue Act of 1932, as amended; to the Committee on Finance.

(Mr. Green introduced Senate bill 553, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce, and appears under a separate heading.)

(Mr. Green also introduced Senate bill 554, which was referred to the Committee on Finance, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MINTON:

S. 555. A bill for the relief of Addison B. Hampel; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 556. A bill for the relief of Catherine Humler; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 557. A bill to correct the military record of James E.

S. 558. A bill for the relief of William C. Briggs (with accompanying papers); and

S. 559. A bill to provide for the reenrollment on the emergency officers' retired lists of certain officers of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 560. A bill for the relief of Wesley G. Case (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 561. A bill granting an increase of pension to Isaac A.

S. 562. A bill granting a pension to Katie Glenn;

S. 563. A bill granting a pension to Sarah J. Wilder:

S. 564. A bill granting a pension to Edward Morgan;

S. 565. A bill granting a pension to Orval Hunter;

S. 566. A bill granting a pension to Hattie B. Dare;

S. 567. A bill granting a pension to Amanda Bastian; and S. 568. A bill granting a pension to Dessa E. Cates (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HATCH:

S. 569. A bill to provide compensation for enrollees in the Civilian Conservation Corps suffering disability or death resulting from injury while in the performance of duty; to the Committee on Claims.

(Mr. Frazier, Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Thomas of Oklahoma, Mr. Bulow, Mr. Capper, Mr. Shipstead, Mr. La Follette, Mr. Nye, Mr. Russell, Mr. McCarran, Mr. Bone, Mr. Dona-HEY, Mr. BURKE, Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado, Mr. LUNDEEN, Mr. SCHWARTZ, Mr. GURNEY, and Mr. HOLMAN introduced Senate bill 570, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. McCARRAN:

S. 571. A bill to amend the Taylor Grazing Act; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. THOMAS of Utah:

S. 572. A bill to provide for the common defense by acquiring stocks of strategic and critical raw materials, concentrates, and alloys essential to the needs of industry for the manufacture of supplies for the armed forces and the civilian population in time of a national emergency, and for other purposes: to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CAPPER:

S. 573. A bill for the relief of John F. Thomas; to the Committee on Civil Service.

S. 574. A bill for the relief of officers and soldiers of the Volunteer service of the United States mustered into service for the War with Spain and who were held in service in the Philippine Islands after the ratification of the treaty of peace, April 11, 1899; to the Committee on Claims.

(Mr. Capper introduced Senate bill 575, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, and appears under

a separate heading.)

By Mr. CAPPER: S. 576. A bill for the relief of Harry Hume Ainsworth; to

the Committee on Military Affairs.

(Mr. O'MAHONEY introduced Senate bill 577, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. HARRISON:

S. 578. A bill for the relief of G. A. Broadus;

S. 579. A bill for the relief of Chester L. Carroll; and

S. 580. A bill for the relief of Catherine M. Robertson; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 581. A bill for the relief of Robert H. Muirhead; and S. 582. A bill for the relief of Daniel Yates; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 583. A bill for the relief of Zebeldeen D. Smith; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WALSH:

S. 584. A bill for the relief of John R. Holt; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 585. A bill for the relief of Vincent Andrew Donovan;

S. 586. A bill for the relief of Eugene Michael Doran; S. 587. A bill for the relief of Dominick Edward Maggio;

S. 588. A bill to provide for an additional midshipman at the United States Naval Academy, and for other purposes;

S. 589. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to provide for the construction of a vessel to be furnished to the State of Massachusetts for the benefit of the Massachusetts Nautical School, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WAGNER:

S. 590. A bill to provide for the establishment of a corporation known as the Federal Mortgage Bank, creating a permanent discount and purchase system for mortgages on urban real estate, designed by comprehensive yet conservative action, to fill a gap in the national financial structure to the end of stabilizing mortgage practice, easing mortgage credit, and by the establishment of an adequate agency preventing periodic frozen condition in financial institutions; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(Mr. Wagner introduced Senate bill 591, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. REYNOLDS:

S. 592. A bill for the relief of Kenneth G. Roberts; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 593. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

S. 594. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act for the establishment of marine schools, and for other purposes," approved March 11, 1911; to expand the public educational facilities of the several States and provide each with a State nautical academy; to create a new public-school system for education of masses of American youths in nautical, aviation, and technical fields relating thereto; to increase the national defense in the realm of radio; to improve navigation; to provide marine conservation and development; to create the United States Maritime Corps as a supplement to the Naval Reserves; to provide an abundant supply of native Americans, trained personnel, to operate the new United States ships afloat and in the air; to provide the technical machinery for further maritime improvement; and for other purposes; and

S. 595. A bill to increase further the efficiency of the Coast Guard by authorizing the retirement under certain conditions of enlisted personnel thereof with 20 or more years of service; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. DAVIS:

S. 596. A bill granting a pension to Florence G. Miller, widow of Capt. Edward Y. Miller; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MURRAY:

S. J. Res. 37. Joint resolution for the relief of Kam N. Kathju; to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. DONAHEY:

S. J. Res. 38. Joint resolution providing additional funds for the expenses of the Special Joint Congressional Committee Investigating the Tennessee Valley Authority, and for other purposes; to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

By Mr. MINTON:

S. J. Res. 39. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11, 1939, General Pulaski's Memorial Day, for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. J. Res. 40. Joint resolution to provide for the preparation, printing, and distribution of pamphlets containing the history of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski, Revolutionary War hero, on occasion of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski, on October 11, 1929, with certain biographical sketches and explanatory matter; to the Committee on Printing.

S. J. Res. 41. Joint resolution to establish the General Casimir Pulaski Memorial Commission to formulate plans for the construction of a permanent memorial to the memory of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski at Savannah, Ga.; to the Committee on the Library.

(Mr. Lodge introduced Senate Joint Resolution 42, which was referred to the Committee on Immigration, and appears under a separate heading.)

CANCELATION OF CHARGES FOR SALVAGE OPERATIONS AND RETRO-ACTIVE APPLICATIONS OF FEDERAL TAXES

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I introduce two bills and ask that they be referred to the appropriate committees.

One is a bill providing for the cancelation of certain charges for salvage operations conducted pursuant to law. The other bill is to prevent retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities. The bill is substantially the bill which I introduced at the last session, and which failed of passage.

The bills were each read twice by their titles and referred

as indicated below:

S. 553. A bill providing for the cancelation of certain charges for salvage operations conducted under section 20 of the River and Harbor Act of March 3, 1899; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 554. A bill to prevent the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities; to the Committee on Finance.

REGULATION OF COMMERCE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President, I introduce a bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products, to prevent unfair competition, to provide for the orderly marketing of such products, to promote the general welfare by assuring an abundant and permanent supply of such products by securing to producers minimum prices of not less than the cost of production, and for other purposes. This bill is sponsored by 18 Members of the Senate. I ask that it be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the bill will be received and referred as requested by the Senator from North

Dakota.

The bill (S. 570) to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products; to prevent unfair competition; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to promote the general welfare by assuring an abundant and permanent supply of such products by securing to the producers a minimum price of not less than cost of production, and for other purposes (introduced by Mr. Frazier, Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Thomas of Oklahoma, Mr. Bulow, Mr. Capper, Mr. Shipstead, Mr. La Follette, Mr. Nye, Mr. Russell, Mr. McCarran, Mr. Bone, Mr. Donahey, Mr. Burke, Mr. Johnson of Colorado, Mr. Lundeen, Mr. Schwartz, Mr. Gurney, and Mr. Holman), was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

ADVERTISING OF LIQUORS IN INTERSTATE COMMERCE

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I introduce a bill to prohibit the advertising of liquors in interstate commerce, including newspaper and radio advertising, and ask that it be referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

I introduce this bill because I do not believe the people of this Nation, excepting those with a financial interest in the liquor traffic, want the Federal Government to follow a policy which tends to increase the consumption of intoxicating beverages. I believe further that the Federal Government owes it to the people, and particularly in those States which are dry, to discourage the consumption of alcoholic beverages.

The Federal Government alone is responsible for the use of the channels of interstate commerce. Unless Congress acts, the States alone are powerless to deal adequately with this

problem.

The twenty-first amendment recognizes the rights of the States to prohibit traffic in intoxicating liquors if they desire to do so. Therefore, as I see the matter, the States are entitled to Federal protection against propaganda for liquor sales as well as against importations of liquor.

If the problem of alcoholism is to be solved, it must be through a progressive reduction in the demand for alcoholic beverages. This is going to be difficult of accomplishment, perhaps impossible, if the Federal Government continues to allow the facilities under its control to be continuously used to encourage increased consumption.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and referred as requested by the Senator from Kansas.

The bill (S. 575) to prohibit the transportation in interstate commerce of advertisements of alcoholic beverages, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

EXTENSION OF CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREMENT LAW TO POSTMASTERS

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, on June 25, 1938, the President approved a bill to extend the provisions of the civil-service law to the appointment of postmasters of the first, second, and third classes. While that bill was under discussion upon the floor of the Senate it was pointed out that it did not extend to the postmasters who would be thus appointed the benefits of the retirement law, and the suggestion was made at that time that appropriate steps be taken in the succeeding session of Congress to extend the Retirement Act. I now introduce a bill providing for the extension of the provisions of the Civil Service Retirement Act to postmasters who may be appointed under and by virtue of the provisions of the act of June 25, 1938.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and

appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 577) extending civil service to certain postmasters was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

#### AMENDMENT OF HOUSING ACT OF 1937

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I introduce a bill to amend the United States Housing Act of 1937, and ask that an explanatory statement of the bill may be printed in the RECORD. I do not desire to take the time of the Senate at this point.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the statement will be printed in the RECORD, as requested by the Senator from New York.

The bill (S. 591) to amend the United States Housing Act of 1937, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

The statement presented by Mr. WAGNER is as follows:

The housing bill which I am introducing today merely provides funds to permit normal continuity for the program of slum clearance and low-rent housing permanently established by Congress under the United States Housing Act of 1937.

All of the funds made available to the United States Housing Authority in 1937 and 1938 are now covered by contracts or earmarkings for local housing authorities, so that no further projects can be undertaken until Congress makes additional funds available to the United States Housing Authority.

able to the United States Housing Authority.

The present bill proposes to authorize the United States Housing Authority to enter into additional contracts for annual contributions in the amount of only \$45,000,000 per year. It also proposes to increase the strictly repayable loan funds of the Authority by \$800,000,000, by authorizing the Authority to issue its own bonds, in the manner already provided by law for the purpose of raising these funds. The issuance of such bonds will not affect the national debt or the Budget.

the national debt or the Budget.

These sums by no means cover in full the low-rent housing needs of the country. But based upon the record of experience during the past year, they do represent the modest program which the United States Housing Authority can administer and the localities can carry forward during the next year. They do represent the funds necessary to prevent a hiatus in the program, to bring its benefits to the hundreds of localities still clamoring for participation, and to provide for the 15 States which have not yet enacted enabling housing legislation but are likely to do so this year.

The authorization for Federal insurance of loans for the pri-

The authorization for Federal insurance of loans for the vate construction of homes for middle-income groups has just been increased by \$1,000,000,000. It therefore seems clear that an addition of \$800,000,000 to the United States Housing Authority loan program, involving even slighter financial risks than the insurance of private loans, is surely justified in the interests of the very low income families whose needs are the most imperative of all

Aside from sound, self-liquidating loans, the present bill authorizes the United States Housing Authority to enter into additional contracts for annual contributions in the maximum amount of \$45,000,000 per year, to bridge the gap between the cost of decent housing and the rents which families in the lowest income groups can afford to pay. This maximum limit of \$45,000,000 per year in additional annual contributions, added to the \$28,000,000 maximum limit provided under the present law, represents the maximum annual cost to the Federal Government of the extended program provided in my present bill. This is a very small cost in terms of the economic and social benefits of slum clearance and low-rent housing, and in terms of the infinitely larger expenditures undertaken for other public purposes that are certainly no more important than decent housing. It indicates that slum clearance and low-rent housing constitute about the most eco-nomical method of stimulating reemployment, increasing industrial activity, and uniting business recovery with fundamental social

improvement.

The \$45,000,000 in additional annual contributions will be suffi-The \$45,000,000 in additional annual contributions will be sufficient to bring about very low rentals in (1) the projects to be built with the proposed additional \$800,000,000 of authorized Federal loans plus the minimum 10 percent local capital participation, (2) the projects to be built with a balance of \$150,-000,000 in Federal loans authorized in 1937 and 1938 but which have been precluded from use because of the present limitation than the projects and the present limitation and (2) the projects built with a project propriet built but the project project but the project project but the project project but the project but

have been precluded from use because of the present limitation upon annual contributions, and (3) the projects previously built by the P. W. A. Housing Division which are required by law to be sold to the local housing authorities as soon as practicable.

In connection with the \$800,000,000 loan authorization, it is all-important to bear in mind two facts. First, this money will be made available only for sound, interest-bearing loans that will be returned in full to the Federal Government, both principal and interest. In fact, these loans represent a profitable transaction for the Government, because under the United States Housing Act all loans are made at a higher interest rate than the rate at which the Government borrows money. The extraordinary soundness and security of capital investment in bonds of local housing authorities have already been indicated by the eagerness of private sources of capital to enter this field even beyond the 10 percent local capital participation required by the United States Housing Act. States Housing Act.

Second, the money for these loans will not involve any appro-Second, the money for these loans will not involve any appropriation and therefore will have no effect upon the Budget, nor will the bonds to be issued by the Authority to raise these loan funds be obligations of such a character as to be included in or added to the national debt. The bonds to be issued by the Authority will be fully repaid by the Authority out of principal and interest which it will collect on the loans that it makes to public housing expenses.

public housing agencies.

Third, unlike an authorization of \$800,000,000 for some other public agencies, a loan authorization of \$800,000,000 for the United

public agencies, a loan authorization of \$800,000,000 for the United States Housing Authority does not mean that this amount of money will be spent during the coming year. It simply means that the United States Housing Authority will be enabled to enter into loan contracts initiating this amount of construction. The actual development of the projects and the complete use of these funds will require at least 2 years.

Just as the loan authorizations for housing made by Congress last year are being reflected this winter in an increasing volume of construction and reemployment, so the loan authorizations to be made this year will be reflected next year in an even greater volume of building activity. Housing must be planned in advance just because it is such a solid and genuine form of public improvement. Only by providing the authorization to start additional projects now will new localities be able to get into the program now and thus to derive next winter the benefits which the first localities to enter the program are deriving this winter.

In connection with these loan funds, my present bill contains a simple amendment to the United States Housing Act designed further to encourage the flow of private capital into the low-rent

simple amendment to the United States Housing Act designed further to encourage the flow of private capital into the low-rent housing field. This is in the form of an amendment to the Banking Act which will enable national banks and members of the Federal Reserve System to underwrite or purchase bonds of local housing authorities. It would place these bonds in the same category as certain obligations insured by the Federal Housing Administration. This amendment has the support not only of local housing authorities, but also of persons throughout the country who are anxious to develop sound investments for idle private capital

To the extent that private capital is induced to enter the field of public housing by financing substantially more than 10 percent of the cost of local projects, the Federal Government will gradually be relieved of the necessity of loaning large sums of capital for

this type of public improvement.

The present bill does not contemplate any changes in the substance or framework of the present United States Housing Act. The present act has not only proved an effective vehicle for achieving the lowest rents and the lowest costs in the history of public housing, it has not only proved an effective weapon for destroying the slums, as well as building new homes; more than that, it has proved the as well as building new homes; more than that, it has proved the most practical, permanent method yet devised for combining Federal and local capital investment, Federal and local sharing of actual expenditures, plus the full development of local initiative and the full assumption of local administrative responsibility for the construction and operation of local public improvements. The slum-clearance and low-rent housing program does not need to be changed; it does need to be continued.

changed; it does need to be continued.

The provision of funds for the normal continuation of the United States Housing Authority program is in line not only with a Nation-wide need but also with a Nation-wide appreciation of this need and a Nation-wide approval of the basic objectives of the slum-clearance and low-rent housing program. In the past year the number of local housing authorities has increased from 46 to more than 220. Housing authorities now avist in more than 30 States spreading Housing authorities now exist in more than 30 States, spreading from coast to coast and including small towns as well as large cities

in all sections of the country.

The present program will provide decent American homes for about 150,000 families or more than half a million persons now living in the slums. It will mean a total increase of employment, on the site of construction and indirectly in factories, of more than 330,000 men for a full year. This program of uniting reemployment

with the improvement of basic housing conditions must be continued in order that the country may move nearer to the objective of a revived construction industry, a completely restored industrial system, and a decently housed nation of American families.

#### CHANGE IN NATURALIZATION OATH REQUIRED OF IRISHMEN

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, on Tuesday last I announced that I would introduce proposed legislation to put an end to the present practice of requiring Irishmen to renounce allegiance to Great Britain before becoming American citizens. This I am now doing, and ask that the measures be referred to the appropriate committee. I also present my correspondence with the State Department on this subject, together with several newspaper articles discussing the question, which I shall ask to have printed in the RECORD as part of my remarks.

I should like to say very briefly that, although the United States Government insists that Irishmen must renounce allegiance to Great Britain before becoming American citizens, Great Britain does not claim their allegiance, and has freely recognized Irish independence. This matter could, of course, be cared for administratively, but, for reasons which I have never yet been able to discover, that has not been done, and legislative action thus becomes necessary. I may add that I visited Ireland last summer and discussed this matter with Irish officials, who concurred with my view of the facts.

One of the measures which I introduce is a general bill applying to aliens coming from all countries.

(Senate bill 546, introduced by Mr. Longe and referred to the Committee on Immigration, appears elsewhere under its appropriate heading.)

Representative McCormack, of Massachusetts, is introducing a similar bill in the House. I understand that this bill has the support of the Labor Department. I introduce it because, being an administrative measure, it may have a superior chance of passage.

The other measure, which is a joint resolution, applies exclusively to the Irish situation. This is by far the better of the two measures, but, in view of the attitude of those in authority, it appears impossible to obtain action to remedy the Irish situation by itself. I am, however, above all, interested in getting results. This is no small matter, involving, as it does, national dignity and a recognition of obvious and generally accepted facts. I hope it will be promptly remedied.

Mr. President, I ask that the joint resolution referred to be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 42) relating to the petitions for naturalization and the oaths of allegiance of citizens of Eire who desire to become citizens of the United States was read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Immigration, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Joint resolution relating to the petitions for naturalization and the oaths of allegiance of citizens of Eire who desire to become citizens of the United States

Whereas the courts of the United States have required and are requiring the applicants for naturalization who are citizens of Ire-land to foreswear allegiance to the sovereign of Great Britain;

Whereas Great Britain itself recognizes the independent status of

Whereas Great Britain itself recognizes the independent status of Eire: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That so much of section 4 of the act entitled "An act to establish a Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, and to provide for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States," approved June 29, 1906, as amended, as requires that an alien who is an applicant for United States citizenship shall set forth in his petition for citizenship that it is his intention to renounce absolutely and forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, and parintention to renounce absolutely and forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, and particularly by name to the prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of which he, at the time of filing his petition, may be a citizen or subject, shall be deemed, in the case of any person who is a citizen of Eire and who is an applicant for United States citizenship to require only that such person set forth in his petition his intention to renounce absolutely and forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potential each of recoverants, and positionally by foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, and particularly by name to the state of Eire.

name to the state of Eire.

Sec. 2. So much of such section 4 as requires that an alien who is an applicant for United States citizenship shall declare on oath in open court that he absolutely and entirely renounces and abjures all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, and particularly by name to the prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of which he was before a citizen or subject, shall be deemed, in the case of any person who is a citizen of Eire and who is an applicant for United States citizenship to re-

quire only that such person shall declare on cath in open court that he absolutely and entirely renounces and abjures all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, and particularly by name all allegiance and fidelity to the state of

Mr. LODGE. I now ask that my correspondence with the State Department on this subject, together with several newspaper articles discussing the matter, be printed in the RECORD as part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BEVERLY, MASS., July 2, 1938.

Hon. CORDELL HULL.

Hon. Cordell Hull,

Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary: My attention has been called to the fact that the naturalization oath which the United States requires of Irishmen who are about to become American citizens obliges them to foreswear allegiance to King George and that no mention of Eire appears in the oath. In other words, citizens of Eire, by virtue of this procedure, are still treated by the United States as though they were subjects of King George.

It is further represented to me that the new Irish Constitution, to which Great Britain has offered no objection, recognizes no

to which Great Britain has offered no objection, recognizes no allegiance on the part of citizens of Eire to any country or any

allegiance on the part of citizens of Eire to any country or any sovereign other than the new Irish nation.

It is, of course, understood that while Ireland was officially the Irish Free State, that some justification might exist for holding that citizens of that State were subject to King George, but this status has changed and it may well be doubted whether the British Government would object if our naturalization oath were changed to conform to the facts as they now are

ernment would object if our naturalization oath were changed to conform to the facts as they now are.

I wish you would let me have a report on this matter, which is of great interest to me and to many constituents of mine. On the basis of the facts as presented to me and as I present them to you, it certainly seems that the naturalization oath should be amended insofar as Irishmen are concerned to conform to the realities of the modern world.

Very sincerely yours,

H. C. LODGE, Jr.

JULY 29, 1938.

The Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.,

Beverly, Mass.

My Dear Senator Lodge: I have received your letter of July 2, 1938, with reference to the matter of amending the form of re-nunciation of allegiance now being used in connection with the naturalization of citizens of Ireland as citizens of the United

The question raised in your letter had already received consideration in the Department, and all it is now possible to say is that as soon as a decision is reached I shall be glad to communicate with you again regarding the matter.

Sincerely yours.

CORDELL HULL.

BEVERLY, MASS., August 29, 1938.

Hon. CORDELL HULL,

Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. Secretary: Please refer to our previous correspondence in regard to amending the form of renunciation of allegiance now being used in connection with the naturalization of citizens of Ireland as citizens of the United States, Le 132.212/160.

On July 29 you advised me that the question was receiving consideration in the Department. I shall appreciate it if you will let me know if a decision has been reached. Sincerely yours,

H. C. LODGE, Jr.

**SEPTEMBER 8, 1938.** 

The Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., United States Senate.

My Dear Senator Lodge: I have received your letter of August 29, 1938, inquiring whether the Department has yet reached a decision with regard to the question of amending the form of renunciation of allegiance now being used in connection with the naturalization of citizens of Ireland as citizens of the United

This question has been extensively studied in the Department and it has been found to raise numerous problems, both of law and it has been found to raise numerous problems, both of law and of practice. While the Department remains anxious to expedite a decision, it has not yet been found possible to do so until further information shall have been received tending to clarify several points which have rather far reaching implications. I shall, of course, be glad to communicate with you again when the matter shall have advanced further.

Sincerely yours,

Hon. CORDELL HULL,

BEVERLY, MASS., October 31, 1938.

Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary: Please refer to our previous correspondence with regard to the question of amending the form of renunciation of allegiance now being used in connection with the naturalization

of citizens of Ireland as citizens of the United States. In your letter to me of September 8, you stated that the matter was being carefully studied by the State Department and that you would advise me as soon as it has been advanced further. I have received no later information from the Department. While abroad this past summer, I had occasion to go to Ireland, and I discussed the matter with some Irish officials there. They point out that today an Irishman is not obliged to take an oath of allegiance to King George, and that there is absolutely no reason, therefore, why he should renounce King George. I hope that in the interests of clarity and fair play you will advise me that the question has been satisfactorily resolved.

Very truly yours,

Very truly yours,

H. C. LODGE, Jr.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, November 4, 1938.

The Honorable Henry Caeot Lodge, Jr.,

Beverly, Mass.

My Dear Senator Lodge: With reference to your letter of October 31, 1938, and previous correspondence regarding the form of renunciation of allegiance by citizens of Ireland upon their petitioning for naturalization as citizens of the United States, I have to inform you that as a result of the consideration which has been given form you that as a result of the consideration which has been given the matter in this Department and as a consequence of informal discussions with officials of the Department of Labor, I am suggesting to the Secretary of Labor that action be initiated with a view to obtaining an amendment of the law.

As you know, the existing naturalization law requires on the part of each alien a general renunciation of allegiance to any state or sovereign and also a renunciation "particularly by name to the prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty" of which he may be a subject or citizen.

a subject or citizen.

a subject or citizen.

If the pertinent sections of the law were so amended as to omit the requirement of renouncing allegiance to some specific state or sovereign, the third subdivision of section 4 of the Naturalization Act of June 29, 1906, for example, would read as follows: "He shall, before he is admitted to citizenship, declare on oath in open court that he will support the Constitution of the United States, and that he absolutely and entirely renounces and abjures all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty; that he will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and hear true faith and allegiance to the same."

laws of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and bear true faith and allegiance to the same."

A review of the Department's records indicates that in numerous situations difficulties have heretofore been encountered in connection with the matter of determining to which particular state or sovereign an alien should renounce allegiance. The requirement of specific renunciation has involved the interpretation of municipal laws and regulations of foreign states and treaties to which this Government is not a party, which is generally a matter for ultimate determination by the foreign state concerned, and also the necessity of considering political relationships existing between foreign states.

This Department has for many years entertained the opinion that in view of the provisions of law requiring a general renunciation of allegiance the requirement that an alien also renounce ciation of allegiance the requirement that an alien also renounce allegiance to some specific state or sovereign served no useful purpose. On the contrary, it has been a source of difficulty to this Department and the Department of Labor and in numerous cases to aliens petitioning for naturalization. You will readily appreciate that comparatively recent events in different parts of the world have tended to increase such difficulties. For these reasons I am, as stated above, suggesting to the Secretary of Labor, who has general supervision over matters relating to naturalization, that steps be taken to amend the pertinent provisions of law requiring a specific renunciation of allegiance.

If this suggestion is approved and appropriate provisions for

If this suggestion is approved and appropriate provisions for carrying it into effect are enacted into law, then this will accomplish the purpose you had in mind and at the same time obviate the necessity of clarifying ambiguous points arising from interpretations of the Irish Constitution.

Sincerely yours,

CORDELL HULL

BEVERLY, MASS., November 8, 1938.

Hon. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. Secretary: I have your letter telling me that you are suggesting to the Secretary of Labor that she seek to obtain an amendment to the law which requires aliens to renounce foreign allegiance.

Of course, we do not know whether she will seek such an amendment and whether Congress will grant it if she does seek it. This procedure involves many considerations not relating to Eire and may well last a long time.

Pending these actions, what is the objection to recognizing the obvious fact that Irish citizens are not subjects of King George?

I note that the State Department on its stationery has recognized that Vienna is a part of Germany, yet there is a reluctance to admit that Irishmen are independent.

I do not think that my question is an unreasonable one, and I will appreciate your reply. Very sincerely yours,

H. C. LODGE, Jr.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, D. C., November 21, 1938.

Washington, D. C., November 21, 1938.

The Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.,

Beverly, Mass.

My Dear Senator Lodge: I have received your letter of November 8, 1938, with further reference to the matter of the form of renunciation of allegiance by citizens of Ireland upon their naturalization as citizens of the United States.

There is no provision in the naturalization laws which requires or authorizes this Department to determine to which particular state or sovereign aliens petitioning for naturalization owe allegiance or to which state or sovereign they should renounce allegiance. On the contrary, jurisdiction in the matter of determining the eligibility of aliens to citizenship and in determining questions of law or fact arising in connecton with the question whether petitioners have complied with the requirements of the naturalization laws is vested by law in the courts. I assume that if a citizen of Ireland petitioning for naturalization should establish to the satisfaction of a naturalization court that he does not owe allegiance to King George, the court would not require the petitioner to renounce allegiance to him.

Consequently, the question to which state or sovereign citizens of Ireland should renounce allegiance would appear to be primarily a judicial one for determination by the courts in appropriate judicial proceedings.

Sincerely yours,

Cordell Hull.

CORDELL HULL.

### [From the Boston Post of July 2, 1938] IRISH "SUBJECTS"?

IRISH "SUBJECTS"?

It is gratifying to note that Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., has called to the attention of the State Department the fact that our Government continues to treat citizens of Eire as subjects of King George. This, despite the fact that the new Irish Constitution, to which Great Britain has offered no objection, recognizes no allegiance on the part of citizens of Eire to any country or any sovereign save the newly constituted Irish nation.

Our naturalization oath compels all those who have been citizens of Eire to forswear allegiance to King George of Great Britain, and no mention of Eire appears in the oath.

While Ireland was officially the Irish Free State a case might be made out for classing those who have lived under Free State rule as subjects of King George. But the status of these persons has changed now. They are no longer British subjects but free citizens of the Irish nation. The fact that the Uister government still exists has no bearing in the matter. Those who live in Uister territory may properly be classed as British subjects of a king they do not recognize.

It is very doubtful if the British Government would make any

do not recognize.
is very doubtful if the British Government would make any protest if our naturalization oath were changed to conform to the present situation.

Present situation.

No doubt those who were formerly citizens of the Austrian Republic will now be asked to forswear allegiance to Hitler's German Reich when they apply for citizenship here.

It may seem a small matter to some persons, but it must be a great source of annoyance to the officials of Eire to know that the United States Government is not inclined to take seriously the declaration of the independence of Eire and the demise of the Irish Free State. Yet our Minister in Dublin, once credited to the Irish Free State, must now necessarily be credited to the new government of Eire.

There is only the slightest tie now hinding Fire to Great Britain.

There is only the slightest tie now binding Eire to Great Britain in the shape of a declaration that Eire has not relinquished membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations. But this is no

barrier to the existence of an independent Ireland.

It would be a graceful as well as an entirely just and logical action to amend our naturalization oath to conform to existing circumstances. Such an action would be welcomed in Ireland.

Senator Looge has taken up a good cause. It is to be hoped

that his efforts will bear fruit.

## [From the Boston Post of October 10, 1938] A STRANGE RELUCTANCE

Senator Lodge has, so far, been unable to get any action from the State Department which will put the administration on record as recognizing the changed status of Ireland under the new Irish Constitution. Washington still clings to the position that the relations between Ireland and Great Britain remain as they were under the Irish Free State Irish Free State.

Therefore, in the eyes of our State Department, residents of Ireland have no separate nationality and are British subjects, not citizens of Ireland. For this reason, in seeking naturalization here former residents of Ireland are compelled to forswear allegiance to King George VI. Senator Looge has protested against this state of

King George VI. Senator Loose has protested against this state of affairs. He has asked the State Department to rule that residents of Ireland are Irish citizens (unless they claim allegiance to some other country), and are not to be designated as British subjects here. The Department has had the Senator's appeal in hand for months. The excuses given for the reluctance to make the ruling are that "the matter is very complicated" and that the fact that both countries have, in many cases, the same diplomatic and consular representatives indicates no change in international status.

The Irish Government denies this vigorously. While in Dublin this past summer Senator Loose conferred with the Irish officials on

the matter, who were amazed that America should hesitate to

recognize a status that Great Britain does not challenge.

It was humiliating to the Irish authorities to find that, despite the open declaration by the Irish Government that Irish men and

the open declaration by the Irish Government that Irish men and women owed no allegiance to Great Britain whatever, the American Government refused to take Irish citizenship seriously.

It is no small matter. The status of small countries is settled by recognition of it by the great powers of the world. We have a minister in Dublin, who handles purely Irish affairs, and Ireland has its own minister in Washington. We recognize Irish passports. Yet the State Department stubbornly refuses to take the vital step which places our Government on record as accepting the new regime in Ireland. All that is necessary is for the State Department to cease referring to residents of Ireland as British subjects.

It is well known that our State Department is extremely wary of

It is well known that our State Department is extremely wary of anything that would disturb, even in the slightest degree, the friendly relations with Great Britain, but there is no danger of any such happening in this case, for Great Britain would accept the action as a matter of course.

It is to be hoped that Senator Longe continues to press this

matter.

### [From the Boston Post of November 14, 1938] STILL BRITISH SUBJECTS

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge has been rebuffed by the State Department in reply to the Senator's request that the American Government recognize the new Irish Constitution and cease to regard the citizens of Ireland as British subjects.

This could be brought about by a ruling that in the future, in administering the oath of naturalization to former residents of Ireland, the prospective citizen be required to renounce allegiance to Ireland rather than allegiance to His Majesty King George VI.

Secretary Hull says this cannot be done unless the law is changed.

The law governing naturalization says that the applicant shall

Secretary Hull says this cannot be done unless the law is changed. The law governing naturalization says that the applicant shall formally renounce allegiance to "any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty." That, the Secretary declares, bars the change which Senator Lodge desires to make.

There is no reason at all why it should, except that the State Department does not recognize the new Irish Constitution, which declared that henceforth the people of Ireland owed no allegiance to any sovereign, but were citizens of the new State of Eire.

Why cannot the State Department be as generous as Great Britain, which has entered no objection whatever to the new Irish Constitution?

Constitution?

All that is necessary, Senator Longe declares, is for the Naturalization Bureau to interpret the clause in the law reasonably and sensibly and say that present-day Irish citizens are not subjects of any prince or potentate, but citizens of a state. No change in the law is needed for this action.

The Senator's position seems sound

The Senator's position seems sound.

He reminds Secretary Hull that the State Department was quick to recognize that Austria is a part of Germany and its residents German citizens.

Why this quick action on the part of Austria and the refusal to

take notice of the change in Ireland?

This is no small matter. It means a great deal to the Irish Gov-This is no small matter. It means a great deal to the Irish Government. The matter of prestige in international affairs is highly important. It hurts Ireland to have recognition of her new constitution withheld by Washington. The De Valera government informed Senator Longe that his efforts to have Irish independence recognized in America were deeply appreciated.

The law must be changed if Secretary Hull maintains his position. But the simpler way Senator Longe suggests is entirely feasible.

#### [From the Boston Post of December 18, 1938] LODGE COMMENDED BY IRISH SOCIETY

At the last meeting of the Irish-American Progressive Association the following letter of appreciation on the part of the association was forwarded to Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., at Washington. The letter speaks for itself:

Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.,

United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator: As American citizens, many of whom were born in Ireland, we greatly appreciate your unsolicited efforts to have the United States Government officially recognize Eire as an independent state and cease to regard Irish citizens as British subjects.

You are the first man in public life to advocate the official recognition of the Emerald Isle by this country. Your thoughtful-

ness is most commendable.

The interest you displayed by visiting Eire and gaining first-hand information regarding conditions generally, as well as your very inspiring report of the survey you made, demonstrated conclusively your faith in the future progress and prosperity of Eire and its

your faith in the future progress and prosperity of Eire and its people.

The members of our organization who placed the association on record as endorsing your candidacy and advocating your election as United States Senator 2 years ago feel justly proud of your service in Washington and particularly your attitude toward Eire.

We trust that in the not too distant future your pathway will lead you directly into the White House, where a man of your qualifications, capabilities, and liberality will do full justice to the high office of President of the United States.

Speaking for the Irish-American Progressive Association of Massa-

Speaking for the Irish-American Progressive Association of Massa-chusetts, we are

Very respectfully yours,

PATRICK J. HENRY, President. ANDREW J. RYAN, Secretary.

[From the Boston Post of January 11, 1939] CITIZENS OF EIRE

The United States Senate has a bill before it, introduced by Senator Henry Cabor Lodge, Jr., eliminating the reference to King George VI in the oath of American citizenship taken by former

residents of Eire and the Irish Free State.

The State Department has stubbornly adhered to the view that former citizens of that country are "subjects of King George VI," despite the fact that the country is now, to all intents and purposes, a free and independent land.

The Department of Labor is moving to eliminate reference to all monarchs in the citizenship oath. But it is only fair and friendly to Eire, and the people that come from there, to treat them separately in the matter. Senator Longe's bill is timely, because of the coming visit of Prime Minister De Valera, and should

#### CHANGE OF REFERENCE

On motion by Mr. REYNOLDS, the Committee on Finance was discharged from the further consideration of the bill (S. 404) for the relief of Ire E. Rhinehardt, and it was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

#### HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

Mr. WALSH submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 55), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Naval Affairs, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate.

#### HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

Mr. LEWIS submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 56), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

### HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON PENSIONS

Mr. MINTON submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 57), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Pensions, or any subcommittee Resolved, That the Committee on Pensions, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Seventy-Sixth Congress, and at such times and places as it may deem advisable, and to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

#### SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF-AUTHORITY TO FILE REPORT

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Special Committee to Investigate Unemployment and Relief, under Senate Resolution 36 of the Seventy-fifth Congress, be authorized to file a report while the Senate is not in session.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none and it is so ordered.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES ON OCTOBER 26, 1938

[Mr. Wagner asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a radio address delivered by the President of the United States on October 26, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

CURRENT QUESTIONS BEFORE THE SENATE—ADDRESS BY SENATOR M'NARY

[Mr. Austin asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a radio address on the subject The Current Questions Before the Senate, delivered by Senator McNary Tuesday, January 10, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

ACCIDENT PREVENTION ON HIGHWAYS—ADDRESS BY SENATOR REYNOLDS

[Mr. Green asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered by Senator Reynolds at Providence, R. I., on Monday, January 9, relative to the world record made by the city of Providence, R. I., last year in accident prevention on highways, which appears in the Appendix.]

## BUSINESS RECOVERY-ADDRESS BY SENATOR HARRISON

[Mr. Clark of Missouri asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address on the subject of Business Recovery, delivered by Senator Harrison at the University of Cincinnati, in Cincinnati, Ohio, December 21, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### JACKSON DAY ADDRESS BY SENATOR LUCAS

[Mr. Lewis asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered by Senator Lucas at the annual Jackson Day dinner held at the Congress Hotel, Chicago, Ill., on Saturday, January 7, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### SOUL LIBERTY-ADDRESS BY SENATOR GREEN

[Mr. Wagner asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address relative to the persecution of religious and racial minorities by the Nazi regime in Germany, delivered by Senator Green in Carnegie Hall, New York City, December 9, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

JACKSON DAY-ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE WALLACE

[Mr. Schwellenbach asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered by Secretary of Agriculture Wallace at the Jackson Day dinner at Minneapolis, Minn., on Saturday evening, January 7, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### MINUTES OF INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

[Mr. Barkley asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record the minutes of the thirty-fifth annual meeting of the United States group of the Interparliamentary Union, held on January 17, 1938, which appear in the Appendix.]

### EDITORIAL BY GROVER HALL IN MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER

[Mr. Hill asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an editorial by Grover Hall, published in the Montgomery Advertiser of Sunday, December 4, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES-LETTER FROM WASHINGTON HERALD

[Mr. Truman asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a letter written by Howard Pitcher Okie, of Washington, D. C., and published in the Washington Herald of January 2, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

MATTHEW FONTAINE MAURY-ESSAY BY MATILDA COPPER

[Mr. Byrn asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an essay by Miss Matilda Copper, of Goshen, Va., on the subject of Matthew Fontaine Maury, which appears in the Appendix.]

### THE BUDGET-EDITORIAL FROM ST. LOUIS STAR-TIMES

[Mr. CLARK of Missouri asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial on the subject of the Budget, published in the St. Louis Star-Times of Monday, January 9, which appears in the Appendix.]

UNITED STATES MARITIME COMMISSION-ADDRESS BY BON GEASLIN

[Mr. Barkley asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address by Bon Geaslin, General Counsel of the United States Maritime Commission, delivered at Pittsburgh, Pa., October 6, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

# TRIBUTE TO AMERICA BY WALTER WINCHELL

[Mr. Mean asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a tribute to America by Walter Winchell, which appears in the Appendix.]

### ARMAMENTS-ARTICLE BY JOHN T. FLYNN

[Mr. Holt asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an article on the subject of armaments, by John T. Flynn, which appears in the Appendix.]

### WEST VIRGINIA AND THE NATIONAL DEBT

[Mr. Holt asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a statement, in the form of a letter, entitled "West Virginia and the National Debt," which appears in the Appendix.]

#### THE UNITED STATES COAST GUARD

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no further routine business, the morning business is concluded.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, when Congress adjourned last summer I began my annual tour for the purpose of providing myself with relaxation, enjoying my usual vacation, and also at the same time obtaining knowledge as to this changing world. Leaving the capital of our country, I proceeded by train northward to Montreal, where I boarded a ship and sailed farther northward to the land of Labrador. After having spent some time in Labrador, I returned southward to Newfoundland, where one of these days will be located one of the greatest airplane ports in the world, which will provide service for the planes making trans-Atlantic flights between New York and London.

From Newfoundland I came down the lovely Gaspé coast of Canada to the interesting city of Montreal, where much American capital is invested, and then I journeyed to what was once upon a time the melting pot of the world—the city of New York. From New York City I flew to Seattle, Wash., which is the Queen City of the Northwest. I am delighted at this time to see here my distinguished and beloved colleague the Senator from Washington [Mr. Bonel, who with his colleague [Mr. Schwellenbach], represents most ably one of the greatest Commonwealths of this Union of 48 States.

At Seattle I was provided the opportunity of visiting the naval fort on the shore of Lake Washington, which is located not far from the Queen City of the Northwest. Later it was my privilege to converse and visit with Admiral Fenner, who is the head of the shipbuilding yards at Bremerton, in the State of Washington. Without attempting to curry favor with my distinguished and beloved colleague [Mr. Bone], who does me the honor now to listen so attentively, I wish to say that in my humble opinion there is no city anywhere, north, east, south, or west, within the confines of these United States which has a greater future than has the city of Seattle. It is a fact that ships can easily become rid of barnacles merely by entering Puget Sound. That is something which is well known to seafaring and shipbuilding men. It is further a fact, Members of the Senate, that one of the largest and, I believe, the longest dock in the world is to be found at the city of Seattle.

Further, in its immediate proximity is that great body of water, Lake Washington, upon the shores of which we find located one of the largest naval bases in all America. And, as I mentioned a moment ago, not much farther away we find the shipbuilding city of Bremerton, which is known as one of the greatest shipbuilding centers in the world.

I know that the President pro tempore, who is now occupying the chair, will be interested in the remarks that are about to come from my lips, in view of the fact that he has lived in the section of the country concerning which I am about to speak. The time will come when there will be constructed in our country a great combination military and commercial highway leading northward from the Queen City of the Northwest, Seattle, Wash., running to the southern border of British Columbia, which is a part and portion, a political subdivision, of Canada. That road will cross British Columbia, and lead to the southern border of Alaska, and then to Juneau, the capital of Alaska, the capital of what may be said to be one of the largest, virtually uninhabited portions of the earth.

As the President pro tempore, who is thoroughly familiar with that section of the world, knows, Alaska embodies 587,000 square miles of land. Alaska, which equals in size the combined areas of Germany, France, and Spain, with my great State of North Carolina thrown in, today has a population of only 58,000, but it is a country, Mr. President, as you know and as I know, which is capable of caring for well over 50,000,000 people.

After remaining in Seattle for a time I boarded a Coast Guard cutter, which proceeded northward in the Pacific. We stopped but briefly at Seward, Alaska, south of the great colony which we had the foresight to establish between Seward and Fairbanks, ideally located in the center of Alaska's 587,000 square miles of territory.

From Seward we proceeded to Kodiak Island, where we are now engaged in establishing a naval base, and it is well that

we are doing so.

From there we steamed to Dutch Harbor and Unalaska, where naval bases eventually will be established. From Unalaska we went northward in the Bering Sea to the Pribilof Islands, where I had the opportunity of observing hundreds of thousands of seals which belong to the Government of the United States. Then we went northward to the city of Nome.

Mr. President, it was indeed a great pleasure for me to have the opportunity of visiting Nome. I had heard much about it. But the real reason for genuine pleasure was that I there met scores upon scores of men who had been there for more than a quarter of a century, who knew our President pro tempore intimately, and who were interested in him, and his career, and his progress, concerning which they had read from time to time, and were delighted to know that he had, as I explained, found a warm spot in the hearts of the American people.

While there I incidentally looked up the old cabin in which resided once upon a time our mutual personal friend Rex Beach, the celebrated American author, who has written so frequently and so interestingly about the Klondike and

Alaska of days gone by.

From Nome I proceeded upon America's then greatest ice breaker, the Northland. A most excellent gentleman, Commander F. A. Zuesler, was in command of that ship. We proceeded by way of Barrow and Wainwright up to Point Barrow. Aboard the ice breaker we carried a marker which was to be deposited at the point where the beloved American humorist Will Rogers, as well as Wiley Post, who not long theretofore had circumnavigated the globe in one of America's modern airplanes, lost their lives. Mr. President, I am very happy to see present this morning also my distinguished colleague, the Senator from the great State of Oklahoma IMr. Thomasl, the State from which the beloved Will Rogers came. We carried the stone marker to Point Barrow. Will Rogers and Wiley Post lost their lives at a point about 14 miles from Point Barrow.

From that point we went northward toward the pole, and then in the direction of Wrangell Island, which Senators will remember was discovered by the American explorer, Long, in 1867, and was later, in 1881, visited by Hooper, also an American. From Wrangell Island we went southward down the coast.

I wish to say, Mr. President, that this summer I had one of the most enjoyable trips I have experienced in all my life, in company with Commander Zuesler, the officers of his ship, and its personnel. It was my very great pleasure as well as my enviable opportunity to have been provided the chance to meet men in the organization of that ship who came from my State of North Carolina and others who came from my sister State of South Carolina.

While on that trip the officers talked with me very frequently—talked with me in regard to the Vice President of the United States, the Honorable John Nance Garner, and I wish to say, Mr. President and Members of this distinguished body, that I do not believe there is to be found, or will be found, any man residing within the confines of the United States who is more highly respected, who is more thoroughly admired, than our own Vice President.

The men aboard that ship talked to me frequently in regard to him. By every word that passed from their respective lips they evidenced their love and their admiration for that great man. In order that they might be able in a small way to evidence their affection and admiration for

and confidence in the Vice President of the United States, one day they handed to me the gavel which I exhibit to the Members of the Senate. It is constructed from the tusk of a walrus. The men have inscribed in silver, embedded in the tusk, their sentiments of esteem and admiration. After I conclude my remarks today in connection with this presentation, which I am most happy to be able to make, I shall proceed to the private quarters of the Vice President of the United States in the Capitol and personally make presentation of the gavel, in accordance with my statement a moment ago to the Vice President before the present occupant of the chair assumed the position that he occupies at the present time.

Mr. President, I believe I can state unhesitatingly, without offending any of the Members of this distinguished body, that few of us are able to recognize the real worth of the United States Coast Guard. Very few of us recognize that the United States Coast Guard has participated in every war to which we have been a party. The Coast Guard participated in the War of 1812. It participated in the War between the States, in the Mexican War, and in the Spanish-American War. One of the Coast Guard boats was with Dewey in the harbor at Manila, P. I., in 1898. The United Coast Guard participated in the World War. In view of the fine personnel making up the 10,000 officers and men of the United States Coast Guard, I desire, and respectfully request, the patient indulgence of the Members of this body while I take this opportunity to review the history of the Coast Guard.

Mr. President, owing to the diversity of the duties of the United States Coast Guard, it is interesting to hear comment by persons in various walks of life on what the Coast Guard is and on the duties it performs. The inhabitants along the remoter stretches of our vast coast line, whose only contact with any Federal activity is the nearby Coast Guard lifesaving station, picture the service as an organization highly and skillfully trained for rescuing and succoring the shipwrecked. The Eskimo in the far northern part of Alaska, always eagerly awaiting the arrival of Coast Guard cutters on their annual Arctic cruises, visualizes the service as an emissary of civilization whose mission is to bring to him tidings of the outside world, relief from his ills and troubles, and ministrations in various forms for his welfare and happiness. The fishermen on the Grand Banks of Newfoundland and shipping traveling along the North Atlantic lanes in the spring and summer, seeing the Coast Guard cutters searching for and watching the movements of icebergs as they approach the steamer lanes, speak of the service as the guardian against the iceberg peril in the North Atlantic. The mariner, yachtsman, or boatman in distress at sea knows that his signals or calls for assistance will at once dispatch to his aid the nearest Coast Guard unit, and he looks upon the service as an arm of the Government for his protection against the perils of the sea. The smuggler of contraband-narcotics or alcohol-trying to escape the vigilance of the Coast Guard coastal patrol, pictures that service as a seagoing constabulary. So, through the other important fields of service activity, there arises a peculiar conception of the Coast Guard, usually formed by the nature of the duties on which the observer happens to see the service engaged. It is no wonder, then, that the average man ashore is confused in his idea of the many things the Coast Guardmen are called upon to do.

I think, therefore, it is of interest to go into the background of this historic service and to refer to what it is doing today. Having observed that my distinguished colleague, the recently reelected senior Senator from the great Commonwealth of Washington [Mr. Bone], is now occupying the seat of the Vice President as the Presiding Officer of the hour, I know that he will be particularly interested in hearing what I have to say in regard to the history of the Coast Guard, because one of the largest, one of the best equipped, and one of the best serviced Coast Guard stations in the United States is located in the city of Seattle, to which I was

pleased to refer a moment ago as the gem city of the North-west

Mr. President, the growth and development of the Coast Guard goes back to August 4, 1790, when President Washington provided for six little revenue cutters, as they were then known, for the protection of our infant merchant marine and to police the seas. The officers of the first cutters were commissioned largely from officers who had served in the old Continental Navy. The Coast Guard cutters alone defended our coasts until the Navy was organized a few years later, and as a part of its regular duties, which have continued on to the present day, the Coast Guard enforced law upon the sea and our navigable waters, protected our customs revenue, afforded assistance to our merchant marine, and served to advance the interests of American commerce in every practicable manner in which its facilities could be used.

The Coast Guard in its early history, as today, had a military organization and military discipline. These were and still are necessary for the loyal and efficient prosecution of its regular law enforcement duties, constant readiness for service with the Navy in national defense, and for meeting emergencies incident to shipwrecks and national

disasters.

There are many things about the early history of the service I should like to tell if time permitted. For example, students of history should note that the first commission granted by President Washington to any officer afloat was issued to Capt. Hopley Yeaton, of New Hampshire, in the Coast Guard. The years 1798 and 1799, in which the young Republic was involved in certain difficulties with France, witnessed very important naval operations by vessels of the Coast Guard, which cruised against French privateers in the Caribbean Sea and among the West Indian Islands. The cutter Pickering made two cruises to the West Indies during this period, and it may surprise many students of history to learn that she captured 10 prizes, one of which carried three times her own force. A Coast Guard cutter made the first capture effected during the War of 1812, and vessels of the service participated in some of the most dramatic engagements of that war. The piracy which prevailed during the first quarter of the nineteenth century in the Gulf of Mexico and along the coasts of the territory then recently acquired from France and Spain owed its suppression chiefly to the Coast Guard. The famous dispatch sent by the Secretary of the Treasury, Gen. John A. Dix, which contained the order, "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot," was transmitted on the evening of January 29, 1861, for the purpose of retaining under the control of the Federal Government the Coast Guard cutter Robert McClelland, then in the port of New Orleans. During the Spanish-American War the Coast Guard cutter Mc-Culloch was with Admiral Dewey at the Battle of Manila Bay, and Coast Guard vessels participated in the Cuban blockade and in the Battle of Cardenas.

When the United States entered the World War, the Coast Guard passed at once into the Navy. It played its part with signal honor, and it made its heavy sacrifices. One of the Coast Guard ships, the Tampa, was sunk by an enemy submarine in European waters and went down with every soul on board-115 officers and men-this constituting the greatest individual loss sustained by our naval forces afloat during the World War, with one exception, that being the loss of the collier Cyclops. I think there have been few instances in the entire naval history of the world of ships being sunk with the loss of every person on board. The wartime record of the Coast Guard is inspiring and impressive, and in its dual character as a force for hostile operations and as an institution for the service of humanity at all times, the Coast Guard has always taken part in all matters which involved the honor, safety, or interest of the country, and the enforcement of the law at sea and upon our navigable

In the old days the vessels of the Service were known as revenue cutters, and the Service upon its creation was known as the Revenue Marine and later as the Revenue Cutter Service. These cutters constituted both the strong arm and protective agency of the Federal Government upon the sea, for when vessels needed help—and in the old days of merchant vessels, square riggers, and schooners, such calls were frequent—it was but natural that they would turn to the revenue cutters for assistance. So there originated from this early field of service activity the present-day function of the Coast Guard as the Féderal maritime police agency, carrying on the interrelated and interdependent duties of law enforcement, assistance in the preservation of life and property, and preparedness for defense of our country in time of war.

Many of the Members of this distinguished body have seen Coast Guard stations along the coast, many of which are located along the coast of my own State, North Carolina, and my colleagues no doubt have wondered how the revenue cutters to which I have referred came into the Coast Guard organization. I know that the Senator who is presiding at the present time can well appreciate all that I have said, because, to repeat, in the great State of Washington is to be found one of the finest Coast Guard stations anywhere in America; and in my State of North Carolina, if not the most historic State in all the Union, certainly one of the most historic States, we are fortunate in having likewise a fine lifesaving station.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, when ships depended largely upon sail power, when there was no thought of radio, direction finders and gyrocompasses, and when there were only a limited number of aids to navigation, strandings on the coast were of frequent occurrence. Assistance could not alone be rendered by the revenue cutters from the sea, but it was necessary also that rescue operations be conducted from the shore in such emergencies. This gave rise to the need for a national system of lifesaving stations along our coast, the first of which was placed in service near New York Harbor in 1848 as an auxiliary to the Revenue Cutter Service. Other such shore stations were established from time to time at different coastal points, and their rapid extension finally led to the establishment in 1878 of the United States Lifesaving Service as an independent organization. The law-enforcement duties of the revenue cutters kept them constantly at sea and readily available for rescue missions, and when a casualty occurred along the beach they joined hands with the lifesaving stations in rendering

In the interest of coordination and economical administration, Congress by the act of January 28, 1915, merged the Lifesaving Service and the Revenue Cutter Service into one single organization, the United States Coast Guard, which, by the same act, was made a part of the military forces of the Nation, operating under the Treasury Department in time of war, or whenever the President should so direct. So that today at almost every harbor or inlet along the coasts of the Atlantic, Gulf, Pacific, and Great Lakes, in Alaska, and in our insular possessions there is a Coast Guard unit—a station, vessel, or aircraft—ready to enforce the law or to give advice and assistance to mariners.

Through the years since 1790 the Coast Guard has established traditions, high standards, and a deep sense of duty that have sustained the will and capacity of the Service to carry out loyally and efficiently its regular duties and those emergency tasks and missions which are continually falling to its lot.

It is in this background of tradition and service that the Coast Guard is today carrying on its assigned duties. They practically all deal with activities upon the sea and the welfare of our merchant marine. Congress in 1936, recognizing the need for vesting authority in the Coast Guard to enforce Federal laws of all nature in our territorial waters, delegated such power to the officers of the Coast Guard, which authority in some cases had in earlier days been only implied. Better to understand the function of the Coast Guard, its operation field might be compared to that of the police forces

of our municipalities and States, which, while engaged primarily in law-enforcement work, act as public guardians and as a humanitarian service in time of trouble and disaster. But that phase of work which deals with aid to the ship-wrecked and to assistance in other disasters attracts the widest attention because of the appeal to the public imagination of valor, heroism, and, quite often, self-sacrifice.

When the country is at peace the Coast Guard must continue to wage a war of its own for the protection of ships and sailor men against the ever-present menace of the dangers of the sea-an enemy that never sleeps or signs treaties. As Senators know, pursuant to a Presidential order, certain Coast Guard vessels are designated each year to perform special cruising upon the coast in the season of severe weather, usually from December 1 to March 31, to afford such aid to distressed navigators as their circumstances may require. This work is known in the Service as winter cruising and is performed at a time when navigation is attended by unusual hazards, and shipping approaching our shores stands in need of special protection. However, the cutters cruise for such purpose at all seasons of the year. Their work has a wide range, including the pulling off of stranded ships, long searches at sea for disabled craft, often taking in tow large vessels that are disabled and bringing them into port, and the rescue of passengers and crews from sinking craft. This kind of work naturally calls for seamanship of an unusually high order. The cutters have their headquarters at various ports, responding promptly to the calls of vessels in distress. In answering such calls the cutters are frequently required to cruise hundreds of miles and at times under sea and weather conditions that tax to the utmost the seaworthiness of the vessels as well as calling for the display by officers and men of the greatest skill in seamanship. They are of necessity compelled to disregard the elements, for it is the rule that the worse the weather the greater the need of the ship they set out to find and assist on the trackless ocean

The men at the Coast Guard stations on shore look with pride upon the long record of heroic rescues that have been made by this branch of the Service in rescuing human lives from ships that were pounding to pieces from the fury of the storm. At these stations are all the latest appliances and equipment that have potential value in effecting rescues. When a vessel goes ashore in the breakers close to the beach, rescue is usually effected by shooting a line over the stranded craft and bringing the passengers and crew ashore by means of the breeches buoy. Often, however, boats must be used, and all stations are equipped with boats appropriate to the locality. Individual initiative and courage are two immediate requisites in the profession of lifesaving, and the display of these qualities by members of the Coast Guard is taken as a matter of course. Indeed, no man lacking resourcefulness and nerve can long remain in the Service, whose business carries with it so much of the element of personal hazard. The men at the lifesaving stations, who are always ready to risk their lives in battle with the elements, and who patrol the lonely stretches of the coast at night or in thick weather to warn off vessels that seem to be approaching danger, have a singular and appealing simplicity of character. They are possessed with the desire to be of service to all in the community in even the most trivial matters. An idea of the extent of the accomplishments of the Coast Guard in this humanitarian field of endeavor may be gained by reference to the report of the latest fiscal year, when a total of 8,643 persons was rescued from peril, or their lives saved, being the highest figure in the history of the service.

I am therefore proud at this juncture, Mr. President, to ask the privilege of the Senate for the insertion in the RECORD of the report, of which I have just made mention, as part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Bone in the chair). Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The report is as follows:

UNITED STATES COAST GUARD

The following is a summary of the principal operations of the Coast Guard for the fiscal year 1938, including comparison with the preceding year:

	1937	1938	Increase (+) or decrease (-)
Instances of lives saved and vessels assisted. Value of vessels assisted (including car-	8, 140	8, 725	+588
goes)  Persons on board vessels assisted  Lives saved or persons rescued from	\$98, 004, 465 37, 591	\$59, 755, 039 33, 901	+\$38, 249, 426 -3, 690
peril	7, 631	8, 643	+1,012
Persons in distress cared for	761	561	-200
Instances of miscellaneous assistance	5, 930	4, 638	-1,293
Vessels boarded and papers examined Vessels seized	40, 645	34, 983	-5, 663
Vessels reported	3, 124	2, 249	-87
ported.	\$522, 915	\$584,330	+\$61,413
Vessels warned for violations of law.  Derelicts and other obstructions to naviga-	985	770	-218
tion removed or destroyed	230	226	
recovered	\$1,525	\$16,848	+\$15, 32
Regattas and marine parades patroled Persons examined for certificates as lifeboat-	386	457	+71
men	3, 917	4, 541	+62

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, the Coast Guard maintains the international ice patrol along the trans-Atlantic steamer lane where the iceberg menace once took the lives of hundreds of men and women who went to their deaths on the *Titanic*. The cutters keep a weary but constant vigil during the iceberg season out in the fog banks of the North Atlantic, flashing out their radio warnings and enabling not only the United States merchant marine but the liners of other nations to pass safely through this danger zone. It is gratifying to state that since the Coast Guard took charge of this patrol about 25 years ago not a single life has been lost as a result of collision of a ship with an iceberg in the North Atlantic. That is a record of which they truly may be proud.

While cutters and stations are daily contributing to the deeds and accomplishments of the Coast Guard, in recent years Coast Guard aviation is assuming an increasing importance in the conduct of law enforcement and assistance missions. The Coast Guard has eight air stations now in commission along the coast, and two air patrol detachments, one being on the United States-Mexican border. In addition to locating smuggling vessels, cooperating with land enforcement agencies in locating illicit stills, protecting the customs and internal revenue, patrolling the air at large marine events, and assisting in the performance of the regular duties of the Coast Guard, their humanitarian work in taking injured or seriously ill seamen and persons off vessels at sea and rushing them to hospitals ashore has figured prominently in the public limelight.

In referring to the law-enforcement work of the Coast Guard, the average person in associating the Coast Guard with that phase of Federal activity usually thinks of the work of the service in preventing smuggling, which assumed such large proportions during the days of national prohibition. It is true that the prevention of smuggling is still a most important phase of the law-enforcement activities of the Coast Guard, but the service, in addition to combating the smuggling of liquor and narcotics, looks to the observance by the public of a broad field of Federal laws applicable to marine activities.

The regulations governing the anchorage and movements of vessels in our larger ports are enforced by Coast Guard captains of the port; vessels of the service patrol the halibut fishing grounds in the North Pacific, enforcing the International Convention for the Protection of the Halibut Fisheries; Coast Guard officers are on duty in the Indian Ocean and on the coasts of California and Alaska to see that the provisions of the International Whaling Treaty are fully complied with; the valuable seal herds which frequent the North Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea are watched over by the Coast Guard

to see that no unlawful sealing takes place; thousands of vessels are boarded in connection with the enforcement of the navigation and maritime laws in the interest of safety at sea; regulations governing regattas and marine parades are enforced; and Coast Guard vessels report violations of the Oil Pollution Act and prevent the smuggling of aliens.

I wish that our Coast Guard were increased 100 percent, in order that not a single alien could be smuggled into this country for the next 50 years. To the end that no aliens shall be permitted to put foot upon American soil for the next 10 years, I have introduced a bill in this session of Congress providing that no alien shall be permitted to enter the confines of the United States until every single one of the 10,000,000 unemployed Americans has a job.

In fact, practically the whole range of maritime law enforcement comes within the province of the Coast Guard. The service strives to carry out the service of law-enforcement efficiently and loyally, fully aware of the high trust

placed upon its officers and men.

"Rum Row," as that long chain of foreign vessels anchored off New York Harbor was known in the days of prohibition, no longer exists, but it is only through the ever alert and constant patrol maintained by the Coast Guard along our coast that the volume of smuggling in bulk is kept down to the minimum. There are still foreign vessels engaged in attempts to land contraband on our shores, but the more extensive legal barriers which have been raised and the cooperation now received from foreign governments have had their effect. The service is at present devoting particular attention to the suppression of the narcotic traffic by sea, and nearly 5,000 vessels were trailed or kept under surveillance by the Coast Guard in connection with this work during the fiscal year 1938.

When I was in Alaskan waters last summer, I obtained first-hand impressions of the work which the Coast Guard has done and is doing in that Territory. Since the acquisition of Alaska in 1867, the Coast Guard has been identified with its development and progress. I am happy that those at the head of the executive division of our great Government in 1867 had the foresight to purchase that vast territory for the very small sum of approximately \$2,000,000. Think of our having purchased a territory which in size is equal to the combined area of Germany, France, and Spain, with North Carolina thrown in, for a pittance of \$2,000,000. The price usually mentioned and most frequently referred to by writers on the subject is \$7,000,000. It will be recalled in that connection, however, that during the Civil War the Russian Fleet made a demonstration in the harbor of New York. In that connection we became indebted to the Russian Government for \$5,000,000. We lumped the two sums and that is why the figure in connection with the purchase of Alaska is usually referred to as being \$7,000,000.

In the early days it was the Coast Guard which made surveys of the rivers, harbors, and coastal waters and assisted in the introduction of reindeer as a means of food supply and livelihood for the natives. The only contact many of the natives had with civilization was the visits of the Coast Guard cutters which cruised as far north as Point Barrow, our northernmost settlement in the Arctic Circle.

I made reference to that a moment ago. Point Barrow is the northernmost point on the North American Continent. In the vast territory of Alaska the many Eskimos now residing there are dependent for a living very largely upon the herding of reindeer and upon fishing. While there I observed hundreds of thousands of reindeer, and I am hopeful that our Government may be successful in acquiring as the property of the United States Government these hundreds of thousands of reindeer in Alaska in order that the Eskimo may be provided for as he should be provided for, and as in every other respect we are endeavoring as best we can to provide for our yellow brothers to the north, in our great Territory of Alaska.

I observe, listening most attentively, doing me the honor to lend me his ears, my distinguished colleague from the great

State of Illinois [Mr. Lewis]. I wish to say to him, and to other Senators who are present, that Alaska has a tremendous fascination for me. At this hour Alaska has more interest for me than ever before in its history. We must remember that we are now interested in the question of national defense. Today our great President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, sent a message to Congress pertaining to national defense. In speaking of national defense in reference to Alaska we must remember that Alaskan territory, which is a part and portion of the territory and possessions of the United States of America, is only one-half mile from the shores of communistic Russia. We own the Little Diomede. The Russians own the Big Diomede. The Diomedes are separated from one another by a distance of only half a mile. As will be recalled, the international date line lies between the Little Diomede and the Big Diomede and stops south of Wrangell Island.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I shall be more than happy to have the Senator do so.

Mr. LEWIS. I am aware of the Senator's interest in this question. His well-known capacity and his knowledge of international affairs have been complimented by his being placed on the Foreign Relations Committee.

I should like to ask the Senator whether he ever took the time to investigate and come to some conclusion as to the course this country ought to take with respect to the Aleutian Islands, which lie in close proximity to and against the edge of Siberia, which fact brings us within 30 minutes of Siberia by flying machine or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours by ordinary navigation. The territory to which I refer needs some form of guardianship. Has the able Senator in his travels ever paused to consider that relation, and, if so, what does he feel should be done about it?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am very happy indeed that my distinguished colleague and personal friend—for whom I have a very deep affection and a very great admiration, as have all the American people—has made the inquiry which he has directed to me, because I know that my answer will be received with interest by the American people, if that personal reference may be pardoned. I say it will be received with interest because very few of the 135,000,000 people of America are aware of the fact that Soviet soil is only half a mile from American soil.

Mr. President, let me say for the benefit of the people of Texas, one of the greatest States in the Union, that I am delighted to observe, listening most intently to what the Senator from Illinois and I have to say, our friend and America's friend, the senior Senator from the State of Texas [Mr. Sheppard], who is chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, of which committee I have the honor to be a member.

Very few of the American people realize that Soviet soil, communistic soil, the soil of the Bolsheviks, is only half a mile distant from American territory. If one proceeds by vessel from Point Barrow, the northernmost point on the American continent, toward the Lena Delta, passing near Wrangell Island, and then proceeds down the Siberian coast all the way to Vladivostok, which is north of Korea and China, he will find that every single piece of the territory from the Lena Delta to Vladivostok, not far withdrawn from Manchukuo, has been fortified by the Russians.

In that connection, it is interesting to note that since the year 1933, when the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Lewis] was in Russia, and when I was in Russia, there has been a mass movement toward Siberia of a portion of the 178,000,000 people constituting the population of Russia. That movement continues today. It was sponsored by Stalin, and continues to be sponsored by Stalin. That circumstance found much interest in the hearts of those living there, because Stalin had made a particular ruling in behalf of those who sought gold in the Siberian section, that they might be permitted to keep a larger portion than would ordinarily be permitted. I say we should be interested in

that question because Russia is moving toward Siberia, and because Siberia is the richest portion of all Russia.

As we all know, within the past several years the Russians have paralleled the Trans-Siberian Railroad from Moscow to Vladivostok, and on the way they have turned spurs southward to Turkestan, and southward to Outer and Inner Mongolia. For that very reason we should keep our eyes upon the development of fortifications and protection in Alaska.

I am of the opinion that if trouble ever comes, if an invasion ever comes to the soil of continental United States, it will probably come from that direction, and not from across

To pursue the thought so ably presented to my attention a moment ago by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Lewis], I should like to state, for the benefit of those who have not personally familiarized themselves with that territory, that we should eventually bring about an adequate defense and fortification of the Aleutian Islands. I will say for the information of my distinguished colleague from Illinois that we have established a semimilitary and seminaval base at Sitka, Alaska, on the Pacific. The distinguished Senator from Illinois will recall with me that Sitka was the first Russian capital of old Alaska. If I recollect correctly, I believe that last year we made a small appropriation for the development of a naval base at Kodiak, which is one of the larger islands of the Aleutian group. We have also made some surveys pertaining to the development of Dutch Harbor and Unalaska. However, extending from 700 to 900 miles farther into the Pacific Ocean we find the Aleutian Islands, the most western of which is the island of Attu. It is true, as my distinguished colleague has just stated, that one can fly in a modern plane at an altitude of 20,000 feet, at a speed of more than 300 miles an hour, and within a period of minutes, Mr. President, he can fly from American soil to Japanese territory. Therefore, I say that in the consideration of the question of adequate national defense we should give much attention to the proper fortification and development of Alaska.

Not very long ago I had a conference with our very able Assistant Secretary of War, Col. Louis Johnson. I recommended to him that our inland air base be established at Fairbanks, which is located in the middle of 587,000 square miles of land. Incidentally, in that connection I happened to be with Colonel Johnson at Fairbanks, and surveyed the field there. I have been in high hope that the combination military and commercial highway of which I made mention a moment ago as being extended from Seattle to Juneau, the capital of Alaska, might be extended on to Fairbanks. I have high hope that we shall make an expenditure of money sufficient to extend that highway on to Fairbanks. It would cost only about \$25,000,000 to \$50,000,000, which is but a drop in the bucket. To establish a military highway from Seattle to Juneau would probably cost \$40,000,000. To extend the highway from Juneau to Fairbanks would cost another \$40,000,000, or a total of only \$80,000,000.

According to the engineers, each of the 45,000-ton battleships which we now have in mind for construction will cost between \$100,000,000 and \$110,000,000. So I say that if we are going to do anything toward the defense facilities of the northwest, we should invest at least the cost of half a battleship in building a fine highway from Seattle to Fairbanks.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, may I be pardoned for another interruption?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Certainly. I shall welcome it.

Mr. LEWIS. I heard the able Senator from North Carolina pay a most fitting tribute to the eminent representative of the State of Washington in the Senate, the Senator now presiding over the Senate [Mr. Bone], and also to the wonderful development in his State in behalf of the Navy near Seattle, which facility serves as a refuge, a construction point, and depot for the Navy. I hope I may be pardoned an unusual pride in that project, in view of the fact that I was honored by the State of Washington as its then Representative at Large serving in Congress, and was the joint author of the bill which created this naval depot, which now provides such splendid opportunity for building naval vessels and such other equipages of the Navy as will be necessary to protect that coast. I ask the Senator if it is not wise, in connection with the new construction suggested by the President, to consider the northwest territory as the basis for such new construction. The able Senator from Washington [Mr. Bone] rose on the floor of the Senate during the last session of Congress and sought-and I may say demanded, as much as he could from the Senate-further consideration of appropriations to increase opportunities for construction at Bremerton. I should like to ask the Senator if he does not think it is wise for us to consider increasing the opportunities for construction in that area, to the end that there may be such bases of naval supply and naval defense as are necessary to protect the coast of Alaska.

Mr. REYNOLDS. In answer to the inquiry of the able Senator, I will say that I am thoroughly of the opinion that appropriations should be made immediately for the development of the Bremerton shipbuilding yard. It is ideally located. The location possesses all the natural advantages for the successful development of a naval base and the success-

ful carrying-on of naval operations.

I desire to say further to the Senator that the location of Seattle is such that it will unquestionably become not only the gateway to that portion of continental American territory north of Seattle, but of necessity the gateway to Alaska

In making mention of the Bremerton shipbuilding yards and the development of the naval base at Lake Washington, I mention with pleasure—because I know that it will please my distinguished friend, the Senator from Washington, who now presides over the Senate—the fact that one of the largest hydroelectric power developments in America is the Grand Coulee Dam. In connection with the future development of Bremerton, I am inclined to believe that electricity will become more and more a major factor in the work at Bremerton. The power plant at Coulee Dam when completed will be the largest hydroelectric power plant in the world. There will be more concrete in it than in any other dam in the world. It will be one of the highest and one of the widest. Of course, as my able colleague knows as a result of his travels in Russia, the longest dams in the world for hydroelectric power are up and down the Volga; but when Grand Coulee Dam is completed it will be the largest in the world, and the probabilities are that when completed it will cost us about \$175,000,000. A very interesting thing about that dam is that it will not only produce electrical power, but, in addition thereto, it will irrigate more than 1,000,000 acres of land in the State of the able Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE]; and besides that, if necessary, an additional dam can be built below Grand Coulee which will irrigate, I am told. more than 350,000 acres of land.

Another reason for that development is that one of the greatest plants for the construction of fighting airplanes is now in the Senator's city of Seattle. I refer to the Boeing plant. Of course, in our national-defense program the airplane will play a very large part, because we know that the airplane has annihilated both time and space. In connection with the Bremerton yard it is well to develop this great plant; and I cannot resist the temptation to advise those who are here, including the Senator from the State of Washington, that there would not be a Boeing plant in Seattle now if it were not for my State of North Carolina, because it was in North Carolina 35 years ago that the first successful airplane flight in all the world was made by a mechanically

driven plane that carried the weight of a man.

That flight was made at Kitty Hawk. It was made by the Wright brothers. The old plane in which that flight was made is now in the Museum of Science in South Kensington Gardens in London; and I hope I may have the interest of all the Members of this body in endeavoring, in some manner or form, to retrieve, as it were, to bring back the Wright plane from the Museum of Science in South Kensington Gardens in London, either to the National Museum in Washington, or, preferably, to a museum to be constructed of marble at Kitty Hawk in my State of North Carolina.

Those of you whose memories go back to 1897 may recollect the famous Coast Guard overland expedition ordered by President McKinley to rescue the crews of eight vessels of the whaling fleet caught in the ice off Point Barrow, Little hope was held out for their rescue. The famous old Coast Guard cutter Bear was fitted out for the expedition, and sailed from Seattle, Wash., in November 1897. Ten months later she returned to Seattle, bringing four crews of the wrecked whalers, and having fully carried out all the orders and accomplished all the purposes of the expedition without loss or accident of any kind. From Nunivak Island to Point Barrow the Coast Guard overland expedition trekked by sled, driving along with them reindeer for food for themselves and the imprisoned whalers. Having arrived at Point Barrow, there they awaited the arrival of the Bear in the summer of 1898 to bring out the shipwrecked men. Wintry excursions in Alaska had been made previously, but this particular overland journey was the first to be widely heralded; and, notwithstanding its perils and privations, it contributed to the banishment of the belief previously entertained that the difficulties were insurmountable. A similar journey now would attract little attention, because of the fine reputation made by the Coast Guard.

Down through the years the Coast Guard has sent its vessels and expeditions into Alaskan waters upon duties and missions which have made a pronounced impression upon the people there of the purpose and aim of the United States Government to give to the natives and citizens of Alaska and to industry and marine commerce every practicable assistance. Today the Coast Guard in its Alaskan operations furnishes transportation to Government officials in the performance of their duties, to local authorities, school teachers, destitutes, the sick and injured, natives, prisoners, and other persons; carries the United States mails; assists other Federal agencies having interests in Alaska; assists in scientific researches and studies; assists in the enforcement of the United States laws; apprehends violators of law; aids in the administration of justice; holds court; settles difficulties between employers and employees; assists vessels in distress; boards and examines vessels; delivers food and other supplies and freight to the isolated settlements; provides medicine, medical, surgical, and dental treatment to the natives; and in other ways contributes to the welfare and progress of that Territory in the far North.

At this time I should like to refer to one of the latest additions to the work of the Coast Guard. Senators are aware of the energetic measures recently taken to upbuild the United States merchant marine. During the Seventy-fifth Congress provision was made for the creation of a United States Maritime Service, the purpose of which is to assist in the maintenance of a trained and efficient merchant marine personnel by providing an adequate training system, making available facilities for instruction, and contributing other benefits for seamen who man our merchant vessels on the Great Lakes and on the high seas. It is noteworthy that the United States Coast Guard was selected by the United States Maritime Commission to administer this service.

Characteristic of the resourcefulness and ability of the Coast Guard organization readily to assume new tasks dealing with maritime and law-enforcement matters, the training is making, I understand, splendid progress. Two training stations are now in commission, one at Hoffman Island, N. Y., and one at Oakland, Calif. Another one, for the training and instruction of licensed officers, is shortly to be opened at New London, Conn. Training of merchant-marine personnel has a direct relationship to the work of the Coast Guard, for in such close contact between Coast Guard personnel and merchant-marine personnel under training, a better understanding is obtained of safety measures aboard ship and of the requirements of law respecting the merchant-marine seamen and maritime operations. In assuming this task, the Coast Guard fully appreciates the responsibility that has been placed upon it. Knowing as I do the record of the service through the years, we may depend with full confidence upon an efficient administration of this training system. I feel we are well on the road to meeting the aim of Congress as set forth in the act of June 29, 1936, in declaring that our merchant vessels should be manned with a trained and efficient citizen personnel.

Briefly, Mr. President, I may say that the Government has in the Coast Guard a most compact and efficient organization, faithfully and loyally discharging the duties embraced within its function as the Nation's maritime police agency. With its force of approximately 10,000 trained and disciplined officers and men, with its academy at New London for the education and instruction of commissioned officers to carry forward and maintain the ideals, traditions, and high standards of the service, with its stations, aircraft, and vessels seeing to the enforcement of the laws of the United States upon the sea and navigable waters and always ready to render assistance in time of shipwreck, flood, hurricane, or other disaster; with its highly developed organization for undertaking and discharging regular and emergency tasks; with its record of honorable and distinguished service in war and in peace, I feel that we have in the Coast Guard a national asset which commands our esteem and regard, and to which organization I wish today to pay my tribute.

In conclusion, Mr. President, with my full heart I thank my colleagues for their indulgence, which provided me an opportunity to speak very truthfully and frankly in regard to the value of one of the finest services possessed by America; and, Mr. President, with your indulgence and with the indulgence of my distinguished friend from Kentucky [Mr. Barkley], our majority leader, I ask permission to introduce a bill providing for the retirement of these heroes of trackless waters. If there are any members of the Commerce Committee on the floor of the Senate today, let me say to them that when the bill is referred to their committee I sincerely hope they will give it favorable consideration; and when it is brought back to the Senate of the United States I have every confidence, my colleagues, that you will reward those men who have justly deserved reward for many, many years past.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the bill will be received and referred to the Committee on Commerce. (Senate bill 595, introduced by Mr. Reynolds, appears else-

where under its appropriate heading.)

## EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

# EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

### EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The PRESIDENT pro tempore, Mr. PITTMAN, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported favorably from that committee the following nominations:

Spruille Braden, of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Colombia;

Frank P. Corrigan, of Ohio, now Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Panama, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Venezuela;

John C. Wiley, of Indiana, lately a Foreign Service officer of class I and consul general at Vienna, Germany, to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Latvia and Estonia, the office to which he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore, Mr. PITTMAN, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, also reported favorably from that committee the nomination of Orsen N. Nielsen, of Wisconsin, now a Foreign Service officer of class 3 and lately a consul, to be consul general, lately holding a

recess appointment; also the nominations of sundry persons to be Foreign Service officers, unclassified, vice consuls of career, and secretaries in the Diplomatic Service, lately holding recess appointments.

He also, from the same committee, reported favorably the nominations of sundry persons for promotion in the Foreign Service, effective as of August 17, 1938, to the offices to which they were appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Mr. MINTON, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, reported favorably the nomination of Francis Wilton Reichelderfer, of Indiana, to be Chief of the Weather Bureau of the Department of Agriculture, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Willis R. Gregg, deceased.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The reports will be placed on the Executive Calendar.

#### AMBROSE O'CONNELL

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads I report favorably the nomination of Ambrose O'Connell, of New York, to be Second Assistant Postmaster General; and I ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. In view of the fact that there will be other reports and requests of a similar nature, I suggest that the request be postponed until after the calendar has been called. I do not think there will be any objection.

Mr. McKELLAR. I do not think there will be. All the members of the committee except two, who were not present, have approved the nomination.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, is the nomination on the calendar?

Mr. McKELLAR. No; it is not on the calendar. I have just reported it.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I think I shall have to insist this year that unless there is a very extreme emergency—

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, there is no emergency, and I withdraw my request.

Mr. McNARY. Just a moment, please. I think I shall have to insist that in the absence of extreme emergency there shall be no confirmations unless the nominations are on the calendar. I desire to advise the Senator of my attitude.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I withdraw the request and merely make the report.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The report will be placed on the calendar.

The clerk will read in their order the nominations on the calendar.

# DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

The legislative clerk (Emery L. Frazier) read the nomination of John W. Hanes, of North Carolina, to be Under Secretary of the Treasury.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Preston Delano, of Massachusetts, to be Comptroller of the Currency. Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I wish to make a statement in reference to the nomination which has just been read.

Let me say preliminarily that I have no objection to the confirmation of Mr. Delano. Everyone recognizes him as one eminently qualified from every standpoint to fill this office. However, I think by inadvertence the Chair referred the nomination to the Committee on Finance. The nomination properly should have been considered by the Committee on Banking and Currency, because all the legislation which deals with the powers of the Comptroller of the Currency is

considered by the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The same question was before the Senate in 1933, when
the nomination of Mr. J. F. T. O'Connor for the office of
Comptroller of the Currency was sent to the Committee on
Finance. When the nomination was reported by the com-

mittee, the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Harrison], who was also at that time chairman of the Finance Committee, made the following statement:

Mr. President, I desire to say that the nomination was erroneously referred to the Committee on Finance. It is my understanding that it should have gone to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

In answer to that statement, the late Senator Fletcher, who was then chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, said:

Mr. President, may I say that I think the nomination was inadvertently referred to the Finance Committee. It undoubtedly should have been referred to the Banking and Currency Committee. I do not want this to be taken as a precedent.

I merely call attention to the matter so that the erroneous reference to the Committee on Finance of the nomination for the office of Comptroller of the Currency shall not be regarded as a precedent.

With that preliminary statement, I am quite willing to vote for the confirmation of Mr. Delano.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, the many nominations for the office of Comptroller of the Currency have, with few exceptions, been referred to the Committee on Finance. It is my opinion that the nomination could have been referred either to the Committee on Finance or to the Committee on Banking and Currency. In the future, so far as I am concerned, if such nominations are referred to the Banking and Currency Committee I shall raise no objection. I hope this nomination will be confirmed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Ellen S. Woodward, of Mississippi, to be a member of the Social Security Board.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I desire to be recorded as voting "no."

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, I ask that the President be notified of the confirmation of the nominations to the offices of Under Secretary of the Treasury, Comptroller of the Currency, and member of the Social Security Board.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the President will be notified.

## PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the United States Public Health Service.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask that the nominations in the United States Public Health Service be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection the nominations are confirmed.

# IN THE NAVY

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Navy.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I ask that the nominations relating to promotions in the Navy be confirmed en bloc, and that the Record shall not contain the printed names of the officers, but shall refer to them as having been nominated by the President on a particular date. I am informed by the Public Printer that reprinting these names would cost \$200.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Massachusetts? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

That concludes the calendar.

# JAMES P. POPE

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, by direction of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, I report favorably the nomination of James P. Pope, of Idaho, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the remainder of the term expiring 9 years after May 18, 1933.

The committee unanimously approved this nomination. In view of the fact that Mr. Pope is a former distinguished and efficient Member of this body, I submit the report and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. KING. Let it lie over.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, in the past I have made the statement that in view of the unprecedented hurry of the committee in reporting out the Pope nomination I should object today to unanimous consent for its consideration. My feelings relative to Mr. Pope have not changed a particle. This morning the distinguished leader of the Democratic Party in this body, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] and the distinguished leader of the Republican Party in this body, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNary] both asked me to withdraw my objection so that the nomination might be considered today, pointing out to me that an objection would mean a delay of 2 or 3 days, and that they had no objection to full discussion of the Pope nomination today. On that basis I shall not at this time make an objection, but I do desire to have something to say on the Pope nomination immediately when the matter is up for consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Objection has been made, and the nomination will go over.

Mr. BRIDGES. No: I withdrew my objection.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Utah [Mr. King] withdraw his objection? The Chair did not hear the Senator from Utah make any objection, but is advised that he had done so. Without objection, the request of the Senator from Oklahoma will be granted, and the nomination will be read.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of James P. Pope, of Idaho, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the remainder of the term expiring 9 years after May 18, 1933, vice Arthur E.

Morgan.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, at the present time there are only two members of this Board. I am advised that one of the members is not in condition to serve because of serious illness. In view of that fact I ask unanimous consent that the President may be notified of the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Pope.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The

Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I did not understand what the Senator from Oklahoma asked unanimous consent for.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. To have the President notified of the confirmation of this nomination, because of conditions in the Board.

Mr. BRIDGES. He has not yet been confirmed. That point has not yet been reached.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I understand that the Senator from New Hampshire desires to discuss the nomination on its merits, and it was with that understanding that he agreed not to object; so I think he ought to be permitted to say whatever he wishes with respect to this nomination before further action is taken.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator at present objects to the last request. Is that it?

Mr. BRIDGES. I understood, Mr. President, that the nomination had been reported but that no action had been taken upon it. Is that correct?

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, the consent of the Senate was given for the present consideration of the nomination, so the nomination is now before the Senate. I understand that the Senator from New Hampshire desired to address himself to the merits of the appointment, and I think he should have an opportunity to do so.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Unanimous consent was requested for the present consideration of the nomination.

The Chair asked if there was objection, and no objection was made.

Mr. BARKLEY. Then the Chair said, "Without objection, the nomination is confirmed."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If the Chair may finish his statement, if he is in error he wishes the Senate to correct him. Then the Chair stated that without objection the nomination was confirmed. Then the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Thomas] asked unanimous consent that the President be notified. If that consent has been granted, the President will be notified immediately. If not granted, the notification cannot be sent down to the President for 2 days.

That is the situation as the Chair understands it.

Mr. BARKLEY. I desire to state that the Senator from New Hampshire was on his feet for the purpose of discussing the nomination, and, if the Chair declared the nomination confirmed, I think, in fairness, that the order ought to be rescinded to allow the Senator from New Hampshire to say what he wishes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the action of the Senate in confirming the nomination is reconsidered. The question of confirming the nomination is before the Senate. The Senator from New Hampshire is recognized.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Kentucky for his fairness in handling this matter. I withdrew my objection to the Pope appointment today at the request of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Barkley] and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNary], but I have not changed my opinion on the Pope appointment. I think it is an unwarranted appointment. I believe the President of the United States in an unwarranted and an illegal manner removed Dr. Arthur Morgan as Chairman of the Board of the T. V. A. If Dr. Arthur Morgan was illegally removed from the Board, then today no vacancy exists.

If Senators recall the action of the President in calling Dr. Morgan arbitrarily before him, they remember that it was an unprecedented event. A good deal of sympathy has been expressed here by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Norris] and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Thomas] for Mr. Lilienthal's condition, due to sickness. I am sorry for Mr. Lilienthal's illness, but I also express sympathy for the condition of Dr. Arthur Morgan, who has stood before the country for months, removed by the President of the United States, I believe without legal right. Now we are told that there is a great deal of hurry regarding the confirmation of the appointment of Mr. Pope today to this post, because Mr. Lilienthal is sick. If we need somebody to carry on there, let us make a legal appointment. Let the distinguished Senator from Nebraska or somebody who has influence with Mr. Lilienthal ask him to resign if he is sick and unable to carry on and attend to his duties. Let him resign, and let us make a legal appointment of Mr. Pope to fill that vacancy, to which I shall have no objection.

As a matter of fact, this case very clearly and very closely parallels the Humphrey case. If you will recall, in 1933. after Mr. Roosevelt took the office of President, he addressed two communications to Mr. Humphrey, in effect saying, "Because you do not see eye to eye with me, I request your resignation, and I hereby remove you from office." Mr. Humphrey was removed from office. The President then appointed a man by the name of Mathews to the Federal Trade Commission. In January of 1934 the appointment of Mr. Mathews was confirmed by the Senate. Then Mr. Humphrey brought an action in the courts of the land to contest his illegal removal, and claimed salary. The courts of the country upheld Mr. Humphrey, and finally the Supreme Court found that the President of the United States had illegally removed him; but in the meantime Mr. Humphrey had died, and only his estate benefited from the salary.

In the case of the Pope appointment, no vacancy exists. The case is now pending in the Federal Court of Eastern Tennessee. It was only recently argued before Judge Taylor down there. If Dr. Morgan should win the case, the acts in which Mr. Pope might participate in my judgment would be illegal, and we should have two men drawing salary for the same job during the same period.

I believe we are establishing a vicious precedent. I realize that the majority of this body probably are going to vote to confirm Mr. Pope. I do not know how many aside from myself are going to vote against the Pope appointment, but I know that it is a matter of principle with me; and I am going to vote against the appointment of Mr. Pope if I am the only Member of the United States Senate to do so. Sooner or later, the Members of this body who vote for his confirmation will have it come back and hit them in face, because it is my prediction that the courts of the country are likely to uphold Dr. Morgan in his contention that he was illegally removed.

Therefore, Mr. President, I am opposed to the confirmation of the nomination of Senator Pope, although I have no personal objection to his selection for that post.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination? [Putting the question.] The ayes have it, and the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, I now renew my request that the President be notified of the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Pope.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the President will be notified.

# REFERENCE OF TREATIES AND CONVENTIONS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. In accordance with paragraph No. 2 of rule XXXVII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, relating to treaties, the Chair refers to the Committee on Foreign Relations certain treaties and conventions, heretofore transmitted by the President to the Senate, upon which the Senate took no final action in the Seventy-fifth Congress.

The treaties and conventions were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

An agreement between the United States and Costa Rica, signed at Washington, February 1, 1923, by which the two Governments engage themselves to enter into negotiations with each other to settle the plan and the agreements which may be found necessary to accomplish the construction and to provide for the ownership and control of an interoceanic canal across Costa Rican territory (Executive B, 67th Cong., 4th sess.).

An international convention for the suppression of the circulation of and the traffic in obscene publications, which was open for signature at Geneva from September 12, 1923, to March 31, 1924, and to which the adhesion of the United States has been invited (Executive M, 68th Cong., 2d sess.).

A certified copy of a protocol for the prohibition of the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases, and of bacteriological methods of warfare, signed at Geneva, Switzerland, on June 17, 1925 (Executive G, 69th Cong., 1st sess.).

A convention between the United States and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, for the preservation and improvement of the scenic beauty of the Niagara Falls and Rapids, signed at Ottawa on January 2, 1929, and a protocol signed on the same day (Executive U, 70th Cong., 2d sess.).

A protocol of revision of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, signed at Geneva on September 14, 1929; a protocol of signature of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, signed at Geneva on December 16, 1920; and a protocol of accession of the United States of America to the protocol of signature of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, signed at Geneva on September 14, 1929 (Executive A, 71st Cong., 3d sess.).

A treaty between the United States and the Dominion of Canada for the completion of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence deep waterway, signed on July 18, 1932 (Executive C, 72d Cong., 2d sess.).

The International Convention of the Copyright Union as revised and signed at Rome on June 2, 1928 (Executive E, 73d Cong., 2d sess.).

An international convention for the suppression of the traffic in women of full age opened for signature at Geneva on October 11, 1933 (Executive H, 74th Cong., 1st sess.).

A convention between the United States of America and the Republic of Argentina with reference to sanitary regulations concerning plant and animal products, signed at Washington May 24, 1935 (Executive O, 74th Cong., 1st sess.).

An international convention relating to economic statistics and a protocol thereto, signed at Geneva December 14, 1928 (Executive S, 74th Cong., 1st sess.).

A general treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama, signed at Washington on March 2, 1936 (Executive B, 74th Cong., 2d sess.).

A convention between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama, for the regulation of radio communications in the Republic of Panama and the Canal Zone, which was signed at Washington on March 2, 1936 (Executive C, 74th Cong., 2d sess.).

A convention between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama, providing for the transfer to Panama of two naval radio stations, signed at Washington on March 2, 1936 (Executive D, 74th Cong., 2d sess.).

A convention between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama with regard to the construction of a trans-Isthmian highway between the cities of Panama and Colon, which was signed at Washington on March 2, 1936 (Executive E, 74th Cong., 2d sess.).

An international convention for the unification of certain rules to govern the liability of vessels when collisions occur between them, and a protocol thereto, both signed at Brussels on September 23, 1910 (Executive K, 75th Cong., 1st sess.).

A draft convention (No. 56) concerning sickness insurance for seamen, adopted by the International Labor Conference at its twenty-first session, held at Geneva October 6-24, 1936 (Executive Y, 75th Cong., 1st sess.).

A draft convention (No. 61) concerning the reduction of hours of work in the textile industry, adopted by the International Labor Conference at its twenty-third session, held at Geneva June 3-23, 1937 (Executive J. 75th Cong., 3d sess.).

## LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed legislative session.

# ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate adjourn until Monday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, January 16, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 12, 1939

## PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The following-named sanitary engineers to be senior sanitary engineers in the United States Public Health Service, to rank as such from the dates set opposite their names:

Howard Norman Old, December 15, 1938. Frank Russell Shaw, December 18, 1938.

### APPOINTMENT IN THE REGULAR ARMY

Rev. Earl Dwight Compton, of Alexandria Bay, N. Y., to be chaplain with the rank of first lieutenant, with rank from date of appointment.

# PROMOTIONS IN THE REGULAR ARMY

To be lieutenant colonel

Maj. William Edward Lucas, Jr., Infantry, from January 9, 1939.

#### To be majors

Capt. Herbert Joseph McChrystal, Infantry, from January 8, 1939.

Capt. Auby Casey Strickland, Air Corps (temporary major, Air Corps), from January 9, 1939.

#### VETERINARY CORPS

## To be captain

First Lt. Frank Arnold Todd, Veterinary Corps, from December 1, 1938.

#### AIR CORPS

To be captains with rank from February 2, 1939

First Lt. Robert Edward Lee Pirtle, Air Corps.

First Lt. Wilbur Erickson, Air Corps.

First Lt. Lilburn Dimmitt Fator, Air Corps.

First Lt. Archibald Meyer Kelley, Air Corps.

First Lt. Ralph Orville Brownfield, Air Corps, subject to examination required by law.

First Lt. Joel Edward Mallory, Air Corps.

First Lt. Donald Russell Lyon, Air Corps.

First Lt. Warren Herbert Higgins, Air Corps.

First Lt. Stanley Keith Robinson, Air Corps.

First Lt. Willard Reno Shephard, Air Corps.

First Lt. George Washington Hansen, Air Corps.

First Lt. George Washington Hansen, Air Co. First Lt. Minton William Kaye, Air Corps.

First Lt. Aubry Lee Moore, Air Corps.

First Lt. Ronald Roosevelt Walker, Air Corps.

First Lt. Lloyd Harrison Tull, Air Corps.

First Lt. Francis Marion Zeigler, Air Corps.

First Lt. Frederic Ernst Glantzberg, Air Corps.

First Lt. Eugene Herbert Rice, Air Corps.

First Lt. Leland Samuel Stranathan, Air Corps.

First Lt. Ernest Keeling Warburton, Air Corps.

First Lt. LeRoy Hudson, Air Corps.

First Lt. Roland Ogden Strand Akre, Air Corps.

First Lt. Paul Ellis Shanahan, Air Corps.

First Lt. Roger Vincent Williams, Air Corps.

First Lt. Frederick Archibald Pillet, Air Corps, subject to examination required by law.

First Lt. William Hugh McArthur, Air Corps.

First Lt. Reginald Heber, Air Corps.

First Lt. Homer LeRoy Sanders, Air Corps.

First Lt. Draper Frew Henry, Air Corps.

First Lt. Robert Dilger Johnston, Air Corps.

First Lt. Walter Robertson Agee, Air Corps.

First Lt. Hansford Wesley Pennington, Air Corps.

First Lt. Guy Frost Hix, Air Corps.

First Lt. Murray Clarke Woodbury, Air Corps.

First Lt. Paul Bernard Wurtsmith, Air Corps.

First Lt. William Alexander Robert Robertson, Air Corps.

## CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate Thursday, January 12, 1939

UNDER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

John W. Hanes to be Under Secretary of the Treasury.

COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY

Preston Delano to be Comptroller of the Currency.

SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD

Ellen S. Woodward to be a member of the Social Security Board.

# TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

James P. Pope to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

TO BE SURGEONS

William W. Nesbit John R. Murdock Joseph F. Van Ackeren Roy R. Jones Elmer A. Carberry Anthony P. Rubino Jacob P. Eberhardt Mark P. Schultz

TO BE ASSISTANT DENTAL SURGEON

Bruce D. Forsyth

TO BE ASSISTANT SURGEONS

Harold Martin Graning Vernam Terrell Davis Karl Habel Francis Theodore Zinn Ralph Erhart Wenzel Robert Tedford Hewitt Lawrence William Brown Harold Tycho Castberg

Robert Roland Smith

Donald Roland Auten

Murray Allen Diamond
Max Rudolph Kiesselbach
James Allen Grider, Jr.
Frank Lewis Price
Weldon Algenon Williamson
Robert Dean Wright
Aaron William Christensen
Carl Vincent Morrison
Nobel W. Guthrie

#### TO BE SANITARY ENGINEERS

Judson L. Robertson, Jr. John J. Bloomfield Charles T. Wright Henry A. Johnson

TO BE MEDICAL DIRECTOR

Grover A. Kempf

#### TO BE PASSED ASSISTANT SURGEONS

Eric C. Johnson

Erwin C. Drescher
John B. Hozier

Virgil J. Dorset

Earl L. White

Curtis R. Chaffin

William E. Graham
Jonathan Zoole
Eugene W. Green
Fred J. Black
Hugh L. C. Wilkerson
Charles F. Blankenship

TO BE SENIOR SURGEONS

Lynne A. Fullerton Ralph E. Porter Joseph W. Mountin

Paul T. Erickson

TO BE PASSED ASSISTANT DENTAL SURGEON

Bruce D. Forsyth

TO BE SURGEONS

Frank S. Fellows Ralph B. Snavely William Hendon Gordon

TO BE ASSISTANT SURGEONS

Albert Gallatin Love, Jr. John Patrick Turner Waldron Morton Sennott Walter Eugene Sharpe Kenneth Martin Joye

TO BE PASSED ASSISTANT SURGEON

Frederick J. Krueger

## APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY

Note.—For the entire list of persons nominated to appointment to or promotion in the Navy, which were confirmed today, see under Nominations in the Navy, appearing on page 110 of the Congressional Record for January 5, 1939.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 1939

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

As we wait at Thy footstool, our Heavenly Father, may prayer be the breath of our souls. We pray that we may be prepared for the work of life, for the busy crowd, for the fields of commerce, for the vicissitudes of defeat, and for the experience of sorrow. Teach us, O Lord, the spirit of charity for the views not our own, for human wants and needs. Oh, teach us that whosoever excludes his brother is not a disciple of Thine. Fill us with the joy of helping the jaded, the rapture of saving the fallen, the thrill of appeasing the desert hunger. Blessed Lord, do Thou so establish our hearts, thunger, us gentle and generous with our fellows. Light our candle; may we see the bow in the cloud. Herein is the Christ with open heart and mind, sweet in comfort and divine in compassion. In His name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

#### SWEARING IN OF MEMBERS

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, two of my colleagues from Illinois who were unable to be sworn in on the first day of the session due to other official duties are now present, and I ask that they now be sworn.

Mr. Martin of Illinois and Mr. Maciejewski appeared in the Well of the House and took the oath of office.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record on the subject of the arrest of the American seaman, George Roth.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. MERRITT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and include therein a speech delivered by me at a Jackson Day dinner in New York.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALLEN of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record by incorporating therein a radio speech which I recently made.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and include therein a speech delivered by me at a dinner in New York yesterday evening in honor of Alexander Hamilton.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. GEHRMANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next, after the disposition of the business on the Speaker's table and the legislative program of the day, I may be permitted to address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record by inserting a speech delivered by Judge Martin Conboy, of New York, on American neutrality.

The SPEAKER? Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

### ADOPTION OF FUNDAMENTAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER. Under the special order of the House heretofore made, the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. MILLER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, it has always been my thought that freshmen should be heard on rare occasions only. The importance of the anniversary to which I will refer, however, justifies my taking a few minutes of the time of this House.

On Saturday next, January 14, the residents of my district will observe the three hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the Fundamental Orders by the people of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, the latter being the town in which I reside.

At a time when the world is filled with the conflict of isms, when the man in the street is baffled by the smooth harangue of propagandists and counter-propagandists, it is refreshing to be able to reach back through the years and take courage from the clear, right-minded thinking of our forefathers.

As a Representative from the Constitution State, I ask your recognition of the important place Connecticut has had in the development of our vast governmental theme. On the

14th of January 1639, 300 years ago, the people of the towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, in Connecticut Colony, adopted a set of 11 Rules for Government, under the title of "The Fundamental Orders" and agreed to live by their force. To quote from their preamble:

Well knowing where a people are gathered together, the Word of God requires that to maintain the peace and union of such people there should be an orderly and decent Government established according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at all seasons as occasion shall require.

These 11 rules, regulating the election of officers and the setting up of a general court or legislature for the making and repealing of laws, are the first written constitution known to history that created a government, the beginning of American democracy. It is noteworthy that these Fundamental Orders set up a federation of independent towns and that all attributes of sovereignty not expressly granted to the general court remained, as of original right, in the towns. The people of Connecticut Colony, through the establishment of a representative government and the adoption of a constitution, definitely set bounds upon the authority which they gave to the heads of their government and thereby established not only a right but a duty to insist that those bounds be observed until changed precisely in the way the constitution permits.

The American Government of today is a vast, complex machine, at times cumbersome, at times bewildering, but at all times, we hope, dedicated to the people from whom it has its being. This same Government is in lineal descent more nearly related to that of Connecticut than to that of any of the other Thirteen Colonies. May we pause now to reflect whether or not we have made the most of our heritage: whether or not we have allowed the simple, sincere democracy of the Fundamental Orders to become clouded with the accumulation of years. Are we drifting away from popular government to one so complex, so filled with agencies, bureaus, and committees as to be extrapopular, a supermachine regulating the people rather than being regulated by the people? Are we clogging the machinery of true democracy with surplus legislation in a frantic attempt to preserve that which our increased efforts only tend to destroy? Or are we going to be guided by the simple wisdom of the Fundamental Orders which sought to govern for the benefit of all rather than for the joy of governing?

Three hundred years ago the ideal which gave birth to the Fundamental Orders was the ideal of representative government, practical working politics of the people. May we, 300 years later, affirm that ideal as worthy of preservation. I ask you, therefore, to recognize the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut not as an ancestor of our Government, dead these 300 years, but rather as a parent, alive and exhorting its offspring to walk wisely in the paths of liberty and democracy. [Applause.]

### APPROPRIATIONS FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado reported the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, which was read a first and second time, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to submit minority views and ask that they may be printed with the majority report.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order there is not a quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas makes the point of order there is not a quorum present. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Two hundred and thirty-seven Members present, a quorum.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on

the state of the Union for the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of House Joint Resolution 83, with Mr. WARREN in the chair

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the joint resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Joint Resolution 83

Resolved, etc., That in order to continue to provide work relief on useful public projects; and relief, as authorized in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, and subject to all of the provisions of such act, there is hereby appropriated to the Works Progress Administration, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$725,000,000, which amount shall be added to the \$1,425,000,000 appropriated to that Administration in section 1, subsection 1, of such Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 and shall proportionately increase the amounts specified in limitations (1), (2), and (3), of (d) of subsection (1) of section 1 of such act: Provided, That the provisions of section 2 of such act prescribing February 28, 1939, as the end of the period over which the funds appropriated to the Works Progress Administration shall be apportioned and distributed are hereby amended so as to prescribe June 30, 1939, as the end of such period: Provided further, That notwithstanding any of the provisions of section 2 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, the amount herein appropriated shall be so apportioned by the Works Progress Administration as to cover the entire period from the date of the approval of this act until June 30, 1939: Provided further, That the limitation of \$60,000,000 in section 3 of such act, on the amount that may be allocated to other Federal departments, establishments, and agencies is hereby increased to \$83,000,000: Provided further, That the words "and prior to February 28, 1939," are hereby deleted from section 23 of such act: Provided further, That the provisions of Executive Order No. 7916, dated June 24, 1938, shall not apply to positions the compensation of which is payable from appropriations contained in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or from the amount appropriated in this joint resolution, and such appropriations shall not be available for the compensation of the incumbent of any position placed in the competitive classified civ

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 20 minutes.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will permit, when will it be in order to offer amendments to the resolution?

The CHAIRMAN. After 2 o'clock tomorrow, Friday, January 13.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, House Joint Resolution 83, which is now before the Committee for consideration, is for the purpose of providing additional funds for the Works Progress Administration for the remainder of the fiscal year. I shall undertake to give a very brief description of the resolution. As reported by the Appropriations Committee, it provides for \$725,000,000 for the remainder of the fiscal year, covering a period from February 6 to June 30, 1939. Those funds are available to the Works Progress Administration under the same terms and provisions of the original relief act of 1938, under which Works Progress Administration is now operating, with the exception that the amount available for Federal projects is proportionately increased—an immaterial and noncontroversial change in the bill-and with a further provision added that undertakes to prevent the supervisory personnel of the Works Progress Administration from being covered into the classified civil service under the terms and provisions of the Executive order of June 24, 1938.

# CIVIL SERVICE

It will be recalled that on that date the President issued a general Executive order covering into the classified civil service certain establishments of the Government, not by name, but by description, leaving it to the Civil Service Commission to name the agencies and to carry that into effect. The purpose of the language inserted in the resolution is to prevent, certainly for the time being, these 37,000 supervisory personnel of the Works Progress Administration from

being covered into the classified civil service. The evidence before the committee showed that some 2,000 of these people are in the Department in Washington, and some 35,000 in the field offices. I think the reason for the language is obvious. Some of us entertain the hope that the Works Progress Administration will some day, when business and industry have been able to take up certainly a large part of the slack of unemployment, find itself with nothing to do. [Applause.] Maybe that is an illusion, maybe it is a vain hope, but certainly we would not be justified in denying ourselves the benefit of that hope, and certainly we would not wish to place in the way of ultimate liquidation of the Works Progress Administration an army of 37,000 civilservice employees. So, without casting any aspersions upon anyone, for many of that army of people are faithful public servants, the committee did not feel that in such a hasty manner they should be added permanently to the personnel of the United States Government.

In considering the relief problem as it is now presented to the Congress I think there are a few things that we should bear in mind in order to keep our bearings. The first is that never have we undertaken to provide jobs for all of the unemployed. It is well to remember that. When someone tells us that any reduction in the Budget estimate of \$875,000,000 will throw people out of jobs, let us remember that even at the height of unemployment, variously estimated at from 10,000,000 to 15,000,000, the Federal Government has never undertaken to provide work for more than a little over 3,000,000 of the unemployed, leaving it to industry and business and commerce to take care of the rest of the load. This reduction of \$150,000,000 from the Budget estimate of \$875,000,000 will unquestionably cause a reduction in the employment of W. P. A. We realize that and we think it should be done-not to cause suffering and want, not to throw people out of jobs, but to exert all the while, if we may, persuasion, and force if necessary, upon business and industry to take up the slack, as well as upon employees on W. P. A. to seek other employment when they can find it. This appropriation will provide during these 5 months for an average employment of something more than 2,000,000 people. It will cause an average reduction in W. P. A. rolls of between 450,000 and 550,000 during that period of time.

Another thing we should remember in considering this is that several years ago the Federal Government changed its policy with reference to relief, and withdrew entirely, so far as W. P. A. is concerned, from the field of direct relief. The program of W. P. A. is a work-relief program, supposed to carry on its rolls employable people.

TAXPAYER PAYS THE BILL

Another thing that we should bear in mind is that, while the funds come out of the Federal Treasury, they come ultimately out of the pockets of the taxpayers of America, and he who figures that if he can get these people on the Federal rolls local taxpayers are thereby relieved of the burden is a shortsighted mathematician. Every laboring man as he carries his dinner pail to his work, every farmer as he tills his field, every housewife as she carried her basket to the market, every citizen will, directly or indirectly, contribute to these funds that ultimately go into the Federal Treasury to make up the funds out of which this appropriation is taken.

Another thing that we should remember, in order to keep our bearings, is that what we are appropriating, we are going to have to borrow. It is very easy to be very generous, very liberal, and very provident when we have a big roll of money in our pockets, but when we are going to have to go down to the bank and borrow what we are using, it is sometimes a different situation, if we will bear that in

W. P. A. SHOULD BE REDUCED

All of these considerations have led the Committee on Appropriations to believe that Congress should take a very definite stand in showing to the country and to W. P. A. that it looks with great encouragement upon this period of business improvement, and that its ultimate objective is going to be that people on W. P. A. will find private employment and will not be permanently upon the rolls of the Federal Government.

We are told in these hearings by officials of the W. P. A. that it is conservatively expected there will be a million and a half new jobs for American citizens between February 1 and July 1. Our committee received that information with great encouragement. We therefore concluded that if there are to be a million and a half new jobs furnished by business and industry, certainly the time is coming, if it ever will come, when there can be some reduction in W. P. A. rolls

In addition to this money that is being spent by the W. P. A. for work relief, do not forget the fact that the Federal Government, in many other fields of endeavor, is extending the helpful hand to its indigent and its needy cit-The National Youth Administration has for expenditure \$275,000,000 for this fiscal year. The Federal public buildings program, the Public Works Administration, estimated that they would take care of a million of the unemployed people. A million jobs during this fiscal year. The Civilian Conservation Corps 300,000. The Navy building program is just getting under way. Also the national-defense program, which will shortly be before us. I have a very interesting statement which under leave which I will later secure, I will put into the RECORD, showing that this reduction in W. P. A. rolls, while it will decrease during this 5 months' period the monthly expenditure for W. P. A., yet the public-works program just getting under way does increase the expenditure more than sufficient to offset the decrease from W. P. A.

Expenditures

Month	Under esti- mate of \$875,000,000	Under com- mittee proposal of \$725,000,000	Decrease	Increase pro- jected in Public Works Administra- tion ex- penditures
February March April May June June	\$183, 000, 000 183, 000, 000 175, 375, 000 169, 275, 000 164, 700, 000	\$170, 800, 000 158, 600, 000 146, 400, 000 134, 200, 000 122, 000, 000	\$12, 200, 000 24, 400, 000 28, 975, 000 35, 975, 000 42, 700, 000	\$16, 100, 000 31, 200, 000 37, 500, 000 26, 999, 207 6, 501, 000
. Total	875, 350, 000	732, 000, 000	143, 350, 000	118, 300, 207

So there is no merit in the argument that a reasonable decrease in W. P. A. expenditures is going to cut down the purchasing power of the American people. For instance, as shown in the table under the estimate of \$875,000,000, W. P. A. would spend in February \$183,000,000. Under the \$725,000,000 appropriation, if it is enacted, it would spend \$170,800,000, or a decrease under W. P. A. of \$12,200,000.

The Public Works Administration will increase its monthly expenditues in February by \$16,100,000, because, as we know, its program is just getting under way, and the expenditures of Public Works are just beginning to flow out of the Treasury.

In March the decrease would be \$24,400,000 under W. P. A. The increase under P. W. A. is \$31,200,000. In April the decrease under W. P. A. is \$28,975,000. The increase under P. W. A. is \$37,500,000. So on over this period.

It seems to me it is fundamentally sound public policy and logical reasoning that as public expenditures go out for the creation of jobs and for the employment of people under Public Works Administration and other agencies, we should decrease somewhat proportionately employment under W. P. A.

Now, how can we reduce the rolls of W. P. A. without causing sorrow and suffering? I have no sympathy for the melodramatic manner in which this matter is sometimes considered, in which it is immediately assumed that because a less amount is to be appropriated, somebody is going to starve to death out in the public square. There may be a great difference of opinion in this body and in the Nation about the manner in which this very troublesome and very perplexing problem should be handled, but I do not think there is any difference of opinion about the fact that nobody wants to see

an American citizen actually suffer for the want of food, clothing, and shelter. None of us wants to see such a tragedy. Our objective is to obviate that and to relieve such a contingency.

I believe I can demonstrate that the rolls of W. P. A. can be reduced four or five hundred thousand in the next 6 months without causing any deserving person to actually suffer. How can it be done? In the first place, it is very reasonable to assume that business and industry, in the creation of these million and a half new jobs, is going to take some people from the W. P. A. We should be able to assume that. We have heard so much complaint from business and industry that if just given a little encouragement and a little chance, they will do marvelous things in the way of expansion and reemployment. If this bill is passed, here is an opportunity to see whether that is a lot of "hooey" or whether they are deeply in earnest in trying to help take up the slack in unemployment, and thus make it possible for the Government to withdraw from this field. Here is an invitation by Congress to business and industry to help take up this load.

#### LIMIT W. P. A. EMPLOYMENT

The second point is this: We are told that among these 3,000,000 W. P. A. enrollees the W. P. A. estimates that 10 percent, or 300,000, have been on the rolls since the first day W. P. A. opened for business. Personally, I think—and I believe it is your experience—that the percentage is very much larger than 10 percent; but if 300,000 employable citizens have remained on W. P. A. for 3½ or 4 years, I do not think it would be a hardship, after reasonable notice, 30 or 60 or 90 days or 6 months—any reasonable notice—to say to those gentlemen, "If the Government has given you a job for 3½ or 4 years, and as we cannot give a job to everybody, you must stand aside and give other deserving people an opportunity."

There should be a limitation, a reasonable, human limitation, upon W. P. A. enrollment. The evidence showed our committee that there had never been any comprehensive or dependable resurvey made by the Federal Government of these various relief rolls all over the country. Localities make up the eligibility for the W. P. A. and the Federal Government has just left it to localities to determine who are eligible. As a result it has been my experience and yours that many people upon W. P. A. have secured positions there and are content to stay there as long as they will be permitted to stay. I believe hundreds of thousands of W. P. A. people could be removed from those rolls. Their status often has changed, other people in the family have gotten positions, and I believe a large turn-over in W. P. A. might be found to help take up this small reduction.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia is recognized for 10 additional minutes.

## UNEMPLOYABLES

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. In addition to that, there are certain types of projects that I think could be eliminated by W. P. A. Furthermore, bear in mind that the W. P. A. program is a work-relief program to give jobs to employable people. I feel perfectly confident, and I believe it is your experience also, that there are literally hundreds of thousands of people enrolled on W. P. A. who are really unemployable people. The W. P. A. has had to make jobs for them.

Now, gentlemen, let us try to be logical. No one wants to see an aged person suffer, no one wants to see an old man or an aged woman turned off from some sort of hand-made project in W. P. A. that we are pleased to call work, and put out in the street; but this is a work-relief program, and under the policy of the Federal Government my city and your city, my district and your district is supposed to take care of its unemployable people. That is their burden; that is their part of this program. Unemployable people ought to be taken care of by localities, by cities, and by States. They have no place upon this program, which is a work-relief

program. I feel perfectly confident that if the W. P. A. administration approaches the problem from this angle that they will be able to reduce their rolls substantially and that the whole program will look better and be better, that it will more nearly accomplish its objectives, and that there need not be any great suffering among the American people. THE BUDGET

There is another consideration, and I put it last because it is last, but it is, nonetheless, a consideration. The party to which I belong made some pretty definite promises to the American people about trying to balance the Federal Budget. Members of this House who were here in the spring of 1933 will remember a certain piece of legislation called a bill to maintain the credit of the United States. Why, the national debt was \$21,000,000,000. Think of it. We had an accumulated deficit of \$5,000,000,000, we had a Budget of \$7,000,000,-000; and the credit of the Nation was in jeopardy. Our great President sent a ringing message to the Congress. I quote a part of it. It was true then, and it is true today. Never in his great career did he utter a greater truth than that embodied in this message. In the language of the streets, he "sold me a bill of goods" that day, and I have stuck to it, or tried to, although it has been tough going sometimes. Here is what the President said:

For 3 long years the Federal Government has been on the road toward bankruptcy.

For the fiscal year 1931 the deficit was \$462,000,000. For the fiscal year 1932 it was \$2,472,000,000.

For the fiscal year 1933 it will probably exceed \$1,200,000,000.

For the fiscal year 1934, based on the appropriation bills passed by the last Congress and the estimated revenues, the deficit will probably exceed \$1,000,000,000, unless immediate action is taken Thus we shall have piled up an accumulated deficit of \$5,000 .-

With the utmost seriousness I point out to the Congress the profound effect of this fact upon our national economy. It has contributed to the recent collapse of our banking structure. It

contributed to the recent collapse of our banking structure. It has accentuated the stagnation of the economic life of our people. It has added to the ranks of the unemployed. Our Government's house is not in order, and for many reasons no effective action has been taken to restore it to order.

Upon the unimpaired credit of the United States Government rest the safety of deposits, the security of insurance policies, the activity of industrial enterprises, the value of our agricultural products, and the availability of employment. The credit of the United States Government definitely affects these fundamental human values. It therefore becomes our first concern to make secure the foundation. National recovery depends upon it.

Too often in recent history liberal governments have been wrecked on rocks of loose fiscal policy. We must avoid this danger.

It is too late for a leisurely approach to this problem. We must not wait to act several months hence. The emergency is accentuated by the necessity of meeting great refunding operations this spring.

We must move with a direct and resolute purpose now. The Members of the Congress and I are pledged to immediate economy.

That is what our President said in 1933. I believe that that is his philosophy of government today. It certainly is mine. It has been mine from that day to this, as my record in this House will show.

I have persistently advocated a reduction in Federal expenditures and a serious and determined effort to balance the Budget of the Federal Government. I recognized the necessity, during the period of the so-called depression, for the expenditure of large outlays of Federal funds for the purpose of meeting relief needs and stimulating recovery and have consistently supported the President's program in that regard. But I have never subscribed to that school of thought that lavish public spending was sound business judgment or the way to economic stability.

Before the inauguration of President Roosevelt I took a stand on this matter which I have never abandoned, and to clarify the record I want to quote briefly from an address I made in this body on the 29th of December 1932, which is found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the second session of the Seventy-second Congress, part 1, page 1067:

In my judgment, there is only one logical way to balance the Federal Budget, and that is in the way we are doing it now, and not in the way we did it in the last session of Congress. At the last session of Congress we worked on a revenue bill first, and my complaint was that we were putting the cart before the horse; that the first duty of the legislative body was to try to cut Federal expenditures as low as they could possibly be reduced without impairing necessary functions of government, and then to raise enough revenue to run the Government. The Government has got to operate. We cannot cease functioning. We have got to have enough revenue to pay the bill; but the first duty of Congress is to see how low it can get the bill, and raise additional revenue as a last resort. That is the program of Governor Roosevelt, as I understand it. The press reports him as saying that he believes the way to balance the Budget is to reduce public expenditures to the lowest possible level and then raise sufficient revenue to pay the bill, meet the expenses of the Government, and that is what Congress is doing now.

On March 30, 1937, I addressed the House at length upon the subject, and take the liberty of quoting a few brief paragraphs from that address:

We have come now to another cycle in this campaign of progress. If we would perpetuate these splendid victories, if we would preserve this equality that we have approximated for our agricultural population, if we would perpetuate this new opportunity that we have given to the laboring people of the country, if we would make steadfast the new security that we have brought to the aged and infirm if we would try to carry on the opportunities for eduand infirm, if we would try to carry on the opportunities for education and advancement that we have afforded to the youth of our country, then we must with steadfast determination, from now on, speed to the task of achieving another objective which has been delayed of necessity—and that the one which calls for a more even balance between our income and our public expenditures.

In sounding this note I would not wish to suggest for a moment

that we retreat from these splendid undertakings or abandon this splendid new service which this Government, under its enlightened leadership, is bringing to our people. Many of these emergency functions properly belong to the States and municipalities; but the Federal Government of sheer necessity had to take them up. With a return to approximately normal conditions then unquestionably again States and municipalities should move prominently

and aggressively into the center of this picture, and the Federal Government, in many instances, should move out.

But here again we could not stand on form and ceremony. The job had to be done, and it had to be done quickly. But we are a foolish people if we seek to blind our eyes to the fact that we cannot go on for an indefinite period without regard to the mounting cost of Government. We cannot continue to borrow and spend and spend and borrow unless we are reconciled to meet head-on some day the fiddler when he comes to collect his pay, and come he surely will.

Again, as late as January 24, 1938, I called upon Congress to set our financial house in order, and expressed in that address the very earnest hope that Congress would reassume its legislative prerogative in the matter of appropria-

### BALANCED BUDGET-AT WHAT FIGURE?

Our public thinking upon the subject of a balanced Budget has, it seems to me, usually gone from one extreme to another. One school of thought demands that the Budget be balanced and that public expenditures be brought back to the level of predepression times. This cannot be done. No administration during these past few tragic years would have dared undertake to have held its expenditures to the point of their budgetary requirements before the advent of these humanitarian enterprises for which this administration can take due and just credit.

The other extreme of this school of thought is that we may rush on appropriating and spending without increasing our revenue and with no alarm over the increased national debt, and perhaps sometime, somewhere, somehow, a fairy godmother will wave a magic wand and pour a cornucopia of great wealth into our lap from which we may pay for our improvidence. I do not subscribe to that. As stated before this House on March 7, 1938, I believe that our Nation will be called upon to meet an annual budget of between seven and nine billion dollars. It should be nearer \$7,000,000,000. A return of prosperity and an increase of national income will automatically increase our revenue. As a legislative body we have two duties to perform. One is to hold down these public expenditures to prevent an increase in our Budget, to liquidate unnecessary functions of Government, whenever possible, and as a last resort, to find the required revenue to bring our receipts and expenditures nearer in balance.

As the RECORD will show, I have supported the President consistently in his great humanitarian enterprises. I believe that except for his humanitarian leadership there would have been untold sorrow and suffering in this Nation, and, as I have said, I am perfectly willing to admit that the exigencies of the occasion called for large and unprecedented outlays of public funds. We are told now, however, that the sky has a roseate hue, that business and industry is on the upgrade, that things are adjusting themselves, and that if given a little encouragement we may yet approach a situation where our expenditures and our income somewhat more nearly are in line and in balance. To my mind, the Congress of the United States can do no more constructive thing than to try to hasten that day, not at the expense of misery and suffering, but in a logical, orderly, sensible, businesslike manner, fearless and heedless of the political consequences. My constituents and your constituents sent us here to represent the people of the United States, and speaking to my side of the aisle, if I may, for a moment, I want to say to you, my colleagues, that the people of America expect our party sometime, somewhere, somehow, to show an inclination to redeem campaign promises that we have made to the American people.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 additional minutes.

Mr. CELLER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CELLER. Will the gentleman give us a brief explanation of what is meant by the following language?-

Provided further, That the limitation of \$60,000,000 in section 3 of such act on the amount that may be allocated to other Federal departments

And so forth-

is hereby increased to \$83,000,000.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. In the original relief act we earmarked not to exceed \$60,000,000 to be used for projects sponsored by the Federal Government. That was on the basis of a total expenditure of \$1,425,000,000 over that period of time. We merely provide for a proportionate increase in that limitation.

Mr. HOUSTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. HOUSTON. Is it not a fact there never has been a bill introduced providing for an expenditure of \$875,000,000? That was nothing but a Budget estimate, on which the committee had hearings.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I think such a bill was introduced yesterday, but the bill reported by the subcommittee and the bill reported by the full committee is the same as this House joint resolution, which provides for \$725,000,000.

Mr. ENGEL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. ENGEL. Has the gentleman any information as to what the additional cost would be, if any, if these 37,000 W. P. A. officials and administrative employees were blanketed into the civil service?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. We were told in the hearings there would not be an appreciable additional cost. That is what we were told in the hearings.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. In the joint resolution it states that this appropriation of \$725,000,000 shall be added to the \$1,425,000,000 heretofore appropriated. How much of that amount heretofore appropriated remains unexpended?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Of course, there is a carryover in W. P. A. from month to month. They obligate, but they will have no funds after February 6 for obligations unless additional funds are made available.

Mr. DONDERO. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. DONDERO. Can the gentleman tell the House how much of this money will go for new work and how much will go to complete work already begun?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I do not have that figure. Mr. MARCANTONIO. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. The gentleman is undoubtedly aware of the cuts that took place from December 1936 to December 1937 in monthly W. P. A. expenditures. Is the gentleman ready to tell us what followed with regard to business and production in the year 1938 after these cuts in W. P. A. expenditures?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. What happened to business and industry is a familiar story. I would not be willing to admit to the gentleman that the W. P. A. cuts were responsible for all of that, however.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Is the gentleman ready to admit that the W. P. A. cuts influenced a decline in business rather than an increase?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. If not compensated for in some other way; but I believe the P. W. A. expenditures will more than compensate for it, according to the schedule which I just read into the RECORD.

Mr. HEALEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. HEALEY. The gentleman has stated that the amount recommended by the committee is a decrease in the amount requested by the W. P. A. The gentleman has further stated that will mean slashing the W. P. A. rolls to the extent of 500,000 people.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. HEALEY. Does the gentleman have any hope that those people who will be cut from the W. P. A. rolls will be absorbed in an increase in private employment and the other governmental agencies?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I do not know whether the gentleman was in the Chamber when I made my statement, but I undertook to outline how I thought that would be made up. I think it is reasonable to suppose that some of it will be taken up in industry. A lot of it can be taken up by purging the W. P. A. rolls.

Mr. HEALEY. Is the decrease in the amount recommended by the committee based on any scientific analysis, or is it just a slash which has no logical reason?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I have given a scientific discussion of the matter.

Mr. HEALEY. I listened to the gentleman, but I have not yet reached a conclusion that he has proved any logical reason for such slash. That is, the gentleman has not added up any figures.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Of course, I cannot be responsible for my friend's inability to follow me on that.

Mr. HEALEY. I followed the gentleman very closely.

Mr. CELLER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CELLER. We in New York are very much interested in the Federal art project. Will the gentleman tell us what effect this reduction will have on the employables in that project?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I think it will have a proportionate effect on it, I may say to the gentleman.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 additional minutes.

Mr. Chairman, undoubtedly it will proportionately hit the art project as it will hit other projects.

Mr. CELLER. Will the decrease be to a greater degree or a lesser degree in the Federal art project or in the so-called white-collar class?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. That will be entirely an administrative function.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. COX. The gentleman, of course, appreciates that the Members of the House have great respect for the findings of his committee. Personally, I think it is the finest group of legislators who have served in this House during my 14 years here. I know that the gentleman has stood for economy all along, and I have great confidence in his findings.

I am wondering what the gentleman's attitude would be in regard to an effort to reduce this sum from \$725,000,000 to around \$500,000,000, as a more emphatic evidence of an intention on the part of this House to legislate in a business-like and sensible manner, having in mind a regard for the good of the country.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I think any reduction below the amount reported by the committee would be reaching a danger point. Whatever our idea of the W. P. A. or the Federal Government may be as far as carrying this unemployment load is concerned, there is a stark realism about it. These people have to be taken care of. The matter cannot be disposed of precipitately or with emotion. It must be carefully and logically done. I would not want and I do not believe the Congress would want to take the responsibility of acting precipitately in the matter. I believe that is about as low as it can be cut, I may say to the gentleman.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. COX. The gentleman in his clear and understandable statement said there was a prospect of business giving employment to a million and a half people. I presume the gentleman had in mind a million and a half of our own nationals? Would there be resistance on the part of the committee to writing into the resolution a provision making it certain that our own nationals get such jobs?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. There is in the original bill a provision which applies to this, I may say to the gentleman. There is in the original bill an alien amendment, offered by our colleague the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Starnes] which applies also to this fund.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman

from North Carolina.

Mr. COOLEY. I believe the gentleman has well and ably defended the committee's action in bringing in this resolution, but I should like to ask the gentleman whether or not the committee considered the advisability of inserting in the resolution a provision which would bring about a purging of the W. P. A. rolls such as the gentleman discussed in his speech?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. The committee considered it and discussed it in the hearings with the W. P. A. administration.

Mr. COOLEY. Does the gentleman hold out any hope that the rolls will be purged in the manner suggested?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I do hold out a hope for that, because without any reflection whatever upon the previous Works Progress Administration Administrator, I may say that the distinguished gentleman who now heads the organization is very capable and very earnest, and I think we may have every reason to believe that such reductions will be made with thought and care in order to give the work to the people who need it the most and that there will be a resurvey and a repurging of the rolls.

Mr. COOLEY. May I ask one other question? Did the gentleman state that in his opinion, after holding hearings on this bill, it would not be advisable to reduce the amount of \$725,000,000 to a lesser amount?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I do not think it can be reduced in the near future. I hold high hope that, with this reduction, in the fiscal year 1940 we can make still further reductions in the appropriation.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 3 additional minutes.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman vield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I recall that the appropriation of \$1,425,000,000 last year was intended to cover the entire fiscal year.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. No; just to March 1.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. And the amount was to be expended on a monthly basis unless the Executive declared an emergency. As I understand, the only emergency presented to us in the President's message was the hurricane and the damages resulting therefrom in New England and along the Atlantic seaboard. My question is, Was the approximate amount recommended by the committee, the \$725,000,000, spent additionally because of that emergency?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. There were a great many conditions that brought about the increased need for public expenditures in the fall of 1937. The gentleman is quite

familiar with that situation, I am sure.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. That was not alone due to the hurricane?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. No.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan; and then, Mr. Chairman, I am going to yield the floor.

Mr. MICHENER. Of course, the resolution is not understandable except as it is read in connection and at the same time with the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938; in other words, the resolution as drafted cannot be understood unless one has the other law before him. I have sent for that law and have it before me. There is a question in my mind that I might be able to solve after study, but the gentleman undoubtedly knows the answer.

The gist of this resolution is the appropriation of \$725,000,000, and it "shall proportionately increase the amounts specified in limitations (1), (2), and (3) of (d) of subsection (1) of section 1 of such act."

None of the other subsections in section 1 being mentioned, is it the purpose of the resolution that none of this money shall be spent for purposes of administration?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. The money is to be spent for exactly the same purposes as set out in the original bill in proportionate amounts.

Mr. MICHENER. Yes; but, if that is true, why does not the resolution state that it is to be spent in proportionate

amounts in accordance with the original bill?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. That is what it does state. Mr. MICHENER. No; the resolution picks out three subsections, and the matter of administration is not in one of those subsections. Therefore, if the entire amount is prorated proportionately among (1), (2), and (3) of (d) of subsection (1), then none of this money will be used for the purposes of administration, as my casual observation tells me.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. When the gentleman observes it more carefully, he will see that the fund goes in accordance with the terms of the original bill, proportionately. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. Folger). The gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber] is recognized.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 20 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, your committee has brought in here a resolution providing for the appropriation of \$725,000,000. This is a cut of \$150,000,000 below the Budget estimate for relief purposes which was secondly submitted. It is a cut, so that you may realize how small the cut really is, of \$25,000,000 below what was stated in the President's regular Budget estimate which was sent in here first on Thursday a week ago. That appears on page 21 of the Roman-numbered pages of the Budget.

Last spring we appropriated \$1,425,000,000 for W. P. A. and relief. It was the intention of the Congress, and it was stated to us by the Administrator of W. P. A., that it was the intention to run along slowly, increasing the number of those who were then on the rolls, 2,500,000, to a total of 3,100,000 when winter arrived. What happened was that on June 1 there were about 2,650,000 on the W. P. A. rolls, and at that time

the unemployment figures were at their peak, 13,000,000. The unemployment figures began to drop on June 1 and dropped in a steadily declining curve until at the present time, we are told, they are 11,000,000. We were told by the Administrator that he expected a further drop from eleven million to nine million and a half by the 1st day of July, when the appropriation which we are considering at the moment would expire.

The present enrollment of the W. P. A. is approximately 3,000,000. I do not have the exact figure in my head. On November 12, 1938, W. P. A. was at its peak. It ran up from 2,600,000 to 3,250,000 in the week of November 7.

In the State of Ohio, for instance, the increase was from 84,000 in September of 1937 to 284,000 on election day of 1938. In the State of Pennsylvania the increase ran from approxi-

mately 148,000 in September 1937 to a figure of 239,000 on May 27, about the time of their primary, and to 290,000 on

November 12. These are just illustrations.

I hold here in my hand the report of the committee investigating un-American activities and propaganda, and on pages 30 to 40 of that document you will find un-American activities of the W. P. A. demonstrated by testimony quoted in those pages and indicating that the United States Government is paying the salaries of people who are writing articles and guidebooks for sale by the W. P. A. subversive of the Government of the United States and designed to stir up class hatred. I am wondering how it happens that when such things as this are going on and we are building up our roll in the W. P. A. contrary to the trend of unemployment, contrary to the needs of the people, contrary to the trust that was placed in the executives in charge of the W. P. A., when perhaps half of those who were placed upon the roll were placed upon it not because of need for relief but because of other reasons.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there? Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mr. COX. Of course, the gentleman knows it has been stated throughout the country for a long while that there is a very definite tie-up between the "reds" and the W. P. A.

Mr. TABER. I understand that is correct.

Mr. COX. Personally, I think the W. P. A. has functioned in a manner to give support to that charge. Of course, everybody in W. P. A. knows that such charges have been made. Did any of them come before the gentleman's committee from that organization and seek to answer that charge or in any wise to deny the charge?

Mr. TABER. No one discussed that question before our committee. The evidence we have with reference to it on the hearings in connection with this bill is entirely with reference to other matters, and the only things that we have available are hearings before other committees, and, especially, a certain other committee to which I have referred; but I do think I should like at this moment to read from the hearings on the first deficiency bill of 1936, to show that this set-up is not of recent origin but that it has been prevalent throughout:

Mr. Taber. Is it true that Katharine A. Kellock is a field super-intendent of this outfit [referring to the guidebook proposition]? Mr. Hopkins. I am not sure about the exact nature of her work, but I think she is employed in that enterprise.

Mr. TABER. She is the wife of the publicity director of the

Mr. Hopkins. I think she is. She is an American citizen, a very competent newspaper person, with long experience, which qualifies her to do that work.

Now, she was in charge of the guidebook proposition which was to be distributed all over the United States.

Mr. COX. Is not supporting evidence to be found in the manner in which these public funds have been expended; in other words, in those areas of the country where the "red" influence is prevalent the greater part of the funds have been expended. For instance, in single States more of the W. P. A. money has been expended than in the 13 Southern States, where there is little, if any, "red" influence.

Mr. TABER. I think that the expenditures have largely been made in that territory. For instance, the employment in New York City was 180,000 on December 17. In up-State

New York, with a much greater proportionate population than this employment showed, it was 64,000.

Mr. COX. Did the gentleman's committee give consideration to the thought of writing into the law some provision that would make impossible a further expenditure in this

Mr. TABER. The committee itself did not give consideration to those things. Frankly, I favor-and I expect that there will be offered on the floor of the House here as the bill is read for amendment-amendments which would limit and prevent such a violation of the trust the Congress would impose upon whoever shall administer this money.

Mr. COX. Did anything develop in the hearings of the committee that encouraged the committee to hope that there would be better administration of the W. P. A. from now on?

Mr. TABER. I do not think there was anything in the hearings before the committee that would encourage anything of that character. There is this situation, of course: We have had a change in administration. We have a representative of the Engineer Corps of the Army in charge of the operation, but they still have Aubrey Williams; they still have a set-up there which is representative not of the best type of forward-looking Americans but of the type that proposes to support something else.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mr. KELLER. What is there wrong about the city of New York having a certain number and the State another certain number?

Mr. TABER. Oh, there is nothing wrong, except as it applies to the need of relief; except as it applies, as the evidence before some of these committees has developed, to the employment of persons who were put on the rolls for some other reason than because they needed or deserved relief. That is the only reason.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. The gentleman from New York has mentioned the Federal theater project and the Federal writers' project. I am wondering if this resolution goes through whether the supervisors of those projects will be put under civil service.

Mr. TABER. If this resolution goes through in the form in which it is supported by the committee, it will prevent putting any of the W. P. A. administrators under civil service. The committee was unanimous in believing that it is absolutely wrong to give civil-service status to that kind of a gang and place them on the pay roll forever. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I have referred to just a few of the things that, to my mind, discredit and utterly destroy the W. P. A. as an effective force in handling the relief program.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. TABER. I cannot yield at this time. I must say a few things myself. I believe it is absolutely necessary that this Congress set up some kind of a program which will put whatever contribution for relief the Government makes in a position where it can be effective and useful for relief. I myself believe that a return to the States of the funds for expenditure with a requirement of a proper contribution on their part would be an effective way. I believe it can be done and can be done effectively. I believe it can be done and put off the W. P. A. rolls such people as I get called to my attention all of the time. I have in my hand a letter from a source that I know is sound, from a State other than my own, but which I have investigated since I received the letter, and that letter reads:

Today an estate came to my attention, the record of which will be available in probate court, where the deceased had accounts in three different banks approximating \$2,500, a mortgage on which there was \$190 due, and a house and lot which he rented for \$20

The man referred to in the letter was killed in an accident while illegally employed on the W. P. A., and there is going to be a claim against the Government for damages on account of his death before the United States Employees' Compensation Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New

York has expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 additional minutes. That is just an illustration of the same thing that you and I know is going on in our own communities, of the way this thing has been administered, of the way it has been abused. I think the committee has done a good job in bringing here a cut of \$150,000,000 in the second Budget estimate that came to the House, although it is only \$25,000,000 in the Budget estimate that came first. Frankly I believe less money should be appropriated, but I think we should be on the way to something that will get us out of this program rather than keep us in it. What I am going to propose is that we appropriate enough money to carry this matter to the 7th day of April. I say the 7th of April because that is 2 months in addition to the figures that they now claim they have the money to get along with until the 7th of February, and that in the meantime Congress be directed to get busy and formulate a definite program that will get rid of this kind of set-up-the kind of set-up that has gone back on the purpose that the Congress expressed for taking care of the worthy and needy, that has made it an instrument of politics, that has played politics with the people's misery.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. TABER. I cannot yield. I yielded once to the gentleman. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ALLEN].

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. As the gentleman knows, last summer business was at very low ebb. The fall elections came on and the people elected what we believe to be a conservative Congress. Then business started going up and has continued until the past 2 weeks, when the President came here and said, "Let us spend more money." Then he made four radical appointments. I mean, Frankfurter to the Supreme Court, Hopkins and Murphy, and Senator Pope to the T. V. A. I would like to ask the gentleman this question: Does he think there is any chance of reducing W. P. A. rolls so long as they continue to spend more money and appoint radicals

in important key positions?

Mr. TABER. The W. P. A. rolls can be reduced by getting rid of a large number that do not belong there. The cleaning up of those rolls, in my opinion, will reduce them 500,000 alone. In addition to that, at the present time the State relief rolls are only a million and a half, a rather comparatively low figure. In addition to that, the figures indicate that there has been an enormous spread of something like a half million in the last year and a half, of those who are drawing benefits out of the so-called Social Security Act. I do not believe, with the present trend, that there is any question but what we can legitimately and properly reduce the W. P. A. load. I believe if we would remove the restrictions against business recovery, which the Corcoran and Cohen group have persuaded the President to place upon business, the appointments to the National Labor Relations Board and to other key positions in the Government, we would encourage business to go ahead and employ people, and there would be no trouble in wiping out the W. P. A. entirely. [Applause,]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

Now, in my opinion, if the Congress should adopt a program which would carry the W. P. A. on until the 7th day of April, and practically demand that a definite program be set up for the handling of that relief question, that is the only way it can be done, because, except under pressure, you cannot move a mountain of that size. Except under pressure you cannot force anything of that kind through. I believe that when that amendment is offered, if this Committee will adopt it, we will have started on the way toward solving this relief problem in an intelligent and satisfactory way to the American people.

I hope this Committee will support the amendments. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Warren, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration House Joint Resolution 83, directed him to report that it had come to no resolution thereon.

## MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Hess, one of his secretaries.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read and referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

In my annual message to this Congress I have spoken at some length of the changing world conditions outside of the American hemisphere which make it imperative that we take immediate steps for the protection of our liberties.

It would be unwise for any of us to yield to any form of hysteria. Nevertheless, regardless of political affiliations, we can properly join in an appraisal of the world situation and agree on the immediate defense needs of the Nation.

It is equally sensational and untrue to take the position that we must at once spend billions of additional money for building up our land, sea, and air forces, on the one hand, or to insist that no further additions are necessary on the other.

What needs to be emphasized is the great change which has come over conflicts between nations since the World War ended, and especially during the past 5 or 6 years.

Those of us who took part in the conduct of the World War will remember that in the preparation of the American armies for actual participation in battle, the United States, entering the war on April 6, 1917, took no part whatsoever in any major engagement until the end of May 1918. In other words, while other armies were conducting the actual fighting, the United States had more than a year of absolute peace at home without any threat of attack on this continent, to train men, to produce raw materials, to process them into munitions and supplies, and to forge the whole into fighting forces. It is even a matter of record that as late as the autumn of 1918, American armies at the front used almost exclusively French or British artillery and aircraft.

Calling attention to these facts does not remotely intimate that the Congress or the President have any thought of taking part in another war on European soil, but it does show that in 1917 we were not ready to conduct large-scale land or air operations. Relatively, we are not much more ready to do so today than we were then—and we cannot guarantee a long period, free from attack, in which we could prepare.

I have called attention to the fact that "we must have armed forces and defenses strong enough to ward off sudden attack against strategic positions and key facilities essential to insure sustained resistance and ultimate victory." And I have said, "We must have the organization and location of those key facilities so that they may be immediately utilized and rapidly expanded to meet all needs without danger of serious interruption by enemy attack."

I repeat that "there is new range and speed to offense."
Therefore, it has become necessary for every American to restudy present defense against the possibilities of present offense against us.

Careful examination of the most imperative present needs leads me to recommend the appropriation at this session of the Congress, with as great speed as possible, of approximately \$525,000,000, of which sum approximately \$210,000,000 would be actually spent from the Treasury before the end of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940.

The survey indicates that of this sum approximately \$450,-000,000 should be allocated for new needs of the Army,

\$65,000,000 for new needs of the Navy, and \$10,000,000 for training of civilian air pilots.

The several items will be submitted to the appropriate committees of the Congress by the departments concerned, and I need, therefore, touch only on the major divisions of the total.

In the case of the Army, information from other nations leads us to believe that there must be a complete revision of our estimates for aircraft. The Baker board report of a few years ago is completely out of date. No responsible officer advocates building our air forces up to the total either of planes on hand or of productive capacity equal to the forces of certain other nations. We are thinking in the terms of necessary defenses and the conclusion is inevitable that our existing forces are so utterly inadequate that they must be immediately strengthened.

It is proposed that \$300,000,000 be appropriated for the purchase of several types of airplanes for the Army. This should provide a minimum increase of 3,000 planes, but it is hoped that orders placed on such a large scale will materially reduce the unit cost and actually provide many more planes.

Military aviation is increasing today at an unprecedented and alarming rate. Increased range, increased speed, increased capacity of airplanes abroad have changed our requirements for defensive aviation. The additional planes recommended will considerably strengthen the air defenses of the continental United States, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Canal Zone. If an appropriation bill can be quickly enacted, I suggest that \$50,000,000 of the \$300,000,000 for airplanes be made immediately available in order to correct the present lag in aircraft production due to idle plants.

Of the balance of approximately \$150,000,000 requested for the Army, I suggest an appropriation of \$110,000,000 to provide "critical items" of equipment which would be needed immediately in time of emergency, and which cannot be obtained from any source within the time and quantity desired—matériel such as antialrcraft artillery, semiautomatic rifles, antitank guns, tanks, light and heavy artillery, ammunition, and gas masks. Such purchases would go far to equip existing units of the regular Army and the National Guard.

I suggest approximately \$32,000,000 for "educational orders" for the Army—in other words, to enable industry to prepare for quantity production in an emergency, of those military items which are noncommercial in character and are so difficult of manufacture as to constitute what is known as "bottle necks" in the problem of procurement.

The balance should be used, I believe, for improving and strengthening the seacoast defenses of Panama, Hawaii, and the continental United States, including the construction of a highway outside the limits of the Panama Canal Zone, important to the defense of the Zone.

The estimated appropriation of \$65,000,000 for the Navy should be divided into (a) \$44,000,000 for the creation or strengthening of Navy bases in both oceans in general agreement with the report of the special board which has already been submitted to the Congress, (b) about \$21,000,000 for additional Navy airplanes and air-material tests.

Finally national defense calls for the annual training of additional air pilots. This training should be primarily directed to the essential qualifications for civilian flying. In cooperation with educational institutions it is believed that the expenditure of \$10,000,000 a year will give primary training to approximately 20,000 citizens.

In the above recommendations for appropriations, totaling \$525,000,000, I have omitted reference to a definite need, which, however, relates to the implementing of existing defenses for the Panama Canal. The security of the Canal is of the utmost importance. The peace garrison now there is inadequate to defend this vital link. This deficiency cannot be corrected with existing forces without seriously jeopardizing the general defense by stripping the continental United States of harbor defense and antiaircraft personnel. The

permanent garrison in the Canal Zone should be increased to provide the minimum personnel required to man the anti-aircraft and seacoast armament provided for the defense of the Canal. Such personnel cannot be increased until additional housing facilities are provided; and in the meantime additional personnel must be trained. I recommend, therefore, an appropriation of \$27,000,000 to provide an adequate peace garrison for the Canal Zone and to house it adequately. Five million dollars of this sum should be made available immediately in order that work on necessary construction can be initiated.

All of the above constitutes a well-rounded program, considered by me, as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, and by my advisers, to be a minimum program for the necessities of defense. Every American is aware of the peaceful intentions of the Government and of the people. Every American knows that we have no thought of aggression; no desire for further territory.

Nevertheless, as the Executive head of the Government, I am compelled to look facts in the face. We have a splendid asset in the quality of our manhood. But without modern weapons and without adequate training the men, however splendid the type, would be hopelessly handicapped if we were attacked.

The young men of this Nation should not be compelled to take the field with antiquated weapons. It would be economically unsound to provide in time of peace for all the modern equipment needed in a war emergency. But it would be nationally unsound not to provide the critical items of equipment which might be needed for immediate use, and not to provide for facilities for mass production in the event of war.

Devoid of all hysteria, this program is but the minimum of requirements.

I trust, therefore, that the Congress will quickly act on this emergency program for the strengthening of the defense of the United States.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 12, 1939.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks by including two resolutions adopted by the Committee on Appropriations concerning the death of our late colleagues, the gentleman from New York, Mr. Boylan, and the gentleman from New York, Mr. Bacon.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered. There was no objection.

# WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of House Joint Resolution 83, making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of House Joint Resolution 83, with Mr. WARREN in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon].

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, on the eve of America's entry into the World War, insuring victory for the Allies, a panic seized a large part of the French people and three entire army corps left the front-line trenches and retreated on Paris. Today in America's war against the depression, with victory already in sight, there are those who would sound a retreat. Already within reach of the goal our comrades falter. They are unwilling to go the last mile. They are unwilling to keep men moving up into the front-line jobs. There is general agreement that the campaign for employment is succeeding. All authorities report a general upturn in business on every front, But just at this critical

period the committee brings in a proposal to dismiss from employment more than a million workmen today earning their daily bread in productive employment.

In order to see the situation a little more clearly, let us clear away some of the underbrush about this proposition. The resolution contains a number of minor provisions.

There is practically no difference of opinion on either side of the aisle on any of these items. I think there is general concurrence on the part of the committee and the House on both sides of the aisle in the entire resolution with the one exception of the amount of the appropriation. The appropriation of \$875,000,000 recommended by the Budget will keep 3,081,300 men at work. The appropriation of \$725,000,000 recommended by the committee will employ only 1,930,000. In other words, the committee proposes to throw out of employment, in the dead of winter, 1,151,300 men.

So, Mr. Chairman, the whole question before the House this afternoon is the hiring or firing of these 1,151,300 men. That is the sole issue presented by this resolution. But it is a more important question than may appear at first blush. These 1,151,300 men are breadwinners. They are heads of families. When you deprive them of work you de-

prive their dependent families of support.

The P. W. A. estimates each family to average 3½ persons. That is a conservative estimate, as the traditional military ratio is five to a family. But even at the minimum estimate, the number of dependents affected by this reduction would aggregate 4,026,550 persons. At the Army ratio it will affect 5,726,500 people. But it goes further than that. The business created and supported by the needs of this vast number of people, their trade with merchants, artisans, and professional men, gives employment to numerous other workers who, without this business, will also be thrown out of emplcyment. So, on a conservative estimate, the proposition of the committee here is to take away the subsistence of from six to eight million people. It is not necessary to draw on the imagination to understand what that would mean to the people themselves or to the business interests of the country.

The committee gives no tenable reason for its ruthless recommendation except a desire to save money. In fact there is no reason. Every witness called by the committee demonstrated the need for increased rather than decreased employment. Every item of evidence submitted to the committee supported the President's recommendation of \$875,000,000. You can read the hearings through from the first page to the last and there is not one line or a single statement that justifies a decrease of a dollar in the appropriation or the reduction of a job in the employment program. The proposal to reduce the amount is so unwarranted, so at variance with the evidence, so unjustified by the statistics submitted in the hearings, that it is impossible to escape the conclusion that the committee met with the preconceived determination to cut the amount recommended by the Budget. No matter what amount had been recommended, the committee would have cut it. If the request had been for \$500,000,000 the committee would have cut it. If the estimate had been for \$200,000,000 they would have cut it. Apparently it is a purely arbitrary cut unsupported by any fact or formula. And certainly it is not supported by the American people.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield

at that point?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. My time is very limited. I hope

the gentleman will excuse me. We have had the recommendation of the committee. Now,

let us examine the recommendation of the country at large. Let us take up the recommendation of organized agriculture on this subject. Let us consult the wishes of organized labor on this proposed reduction. Let us consider the recommendation of the organized veterans of the United States, the opinion of the clergy, of recognized economists, businessmen, and the Conference of Mayors of the United States. With astonishing unanimity each of these great groups, in direct and intimate touch with business, labor, and relief in every section of the country, is asking a continuation of the W. P. A. program and a continuation or increase in W. P. A. activity.

The American Farm Bureau Federation in its annual meeting at New Orleans, which adjourned just a week or two ago, adopted this resolution:

To the President of the United States and the Members of the Seventy-sixth Congress: Pursuant to resolutions adopted by the House of voting delegates

at the twentieth annual meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation, the board of directors of the American Farm Bureau Federation herewith calls to the attention of the President of the United States and the Members of the Seventy-sixth Congress the following matters, which are considered by the organization to be of outstanding importance to the Nation: We recommend: \* \* \*.

That the Federal Government continue to provide employment for those who cannot secure employment in private industry.

We are convinced that the Federal Government must continue we are convinced that the rederal Government must continue to supply the bulk of relief funds, for the burden is beyond the present capacity of the local political divisions to handle; and we recognize the continued necessity that the Government provide capital investment funds until such time as private funds are again attracted into productive enterprise.

There is the statement of a great national agricultural organization speaking for the farmers of the country. Organized labor takes the same view.

Out of a number of official statements I will read one or two representative declarations:

Any reduction in the proposed allotment of funds for W. P. would seriously handicap the functioning of W. P. A. and would probably mean an even greater number of dismissals of both project and administrative employees.

W. P. A. has provided relief to the people of our industry as well as to millions in other industries during a period of extreme want and necessity. We urge an appropriation for at least \$1,000,000,000.

And I must take time to read just one more which I am certain will be of particular interest to the Members of the House. The several Congressmen who have expressed themselves on this question here this afternoon do not have a single child in school. But here is an opinion from the organized teachers of the Nation speaking from first-hand knowledge on this subject of such vital concern to the children under their care:

JANUARY 11, 1938.

PA 218 21 NL CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

Washington, D. C .:

American Federation of Teachers, numbering 30,000 affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, urges full appropriation for W. P. A. as recommended by the President.

Mr. Chairman, this is the recommendation of the teachers of the land who come in daily contact with the child problem, who know family conditions, who see children coming to school sometimes without breakfast, and sometimes without shoes. They know that if this reduction is made there will be a good many more without breakfast and without needed clothing and medical care.

The churchmen of the Nation, whose relation to the problem is even more intimate than that of the teachers, have

exhibited even a greater interest.

Upon the desk of every Member of Congress are letters from the clergy of the Nation, including practically every denomination and creed. No one is in a position to speak with more knowledge and more authority on this question affecting both the material and the spiritual welfare of the people and the Nation. And they uniformly endorse an increase rather than a reduction of the amount provided in this bill. In this connection I must also include in the RECORD the opinion of the accredited economists of the Nation, as follows:

DEAR PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT: We, the undersigned economists, are addressing ourselves to you in order to express our opinions on a national problem of greatest importance which falls within our sphere of professional competence.

Newspaper reports, which have not been denied, indicate that the Newspaper Administration its planning to out its rolls by a

Works Progress Administration is planning to cut its rolls by a Works Progress Administration is planning to cut its rolls by a third during the next 2 or 3 months. This action, we understand, is contemplated in order to stretch the present relief appropriation and to lay the ground for a greatly reduced deficiency appropriation next spring. Such a policy would involve throwing some million breadwinners and their families into destitution during the severe winter months. It would involve a reduction of more than \$50,000,000 per month in direct wage payments in addition to some \$30,000,000 in related expenditures. Such a cut in consumer purchasing power would, we believe, constitute a severe threat to the continuance of the present economic recovery, and might even cause a serious set-back in business activity.

The rapid upsurge in business during the last 6 months has been a source of encouragement to those who believe that the severity of swings in business activity need not be accepted fatalistically but can be successfully counteracted by wise social action. Thanks to the vigorous action taken last spring by the Federal Government under your leadership, the recession of 1937 was arrested; and the curve of business and employment turned upward. The expansion of the spending program was the chief governmental weapon used in fighting the recession and stimulating the recovery. Further-more during these 6 months the major channel for the disbursement of new purchasing power has been the Works Progress Administration, and we believe that the Works Progress Administration should continue to perform this function until private industry clearly demonstrates its capacity to absorb all those released from

We conclude, Mr. President, that the curtailment of the Works Progress Administration at the present time would be particularly ill-timed from an economic as well as from a humanitarian viewpoint, and we strongly urge that the contemplated policy of curtailment be abandoned.

Of the 69 signers of the statement, 13 are members of the faculty of Harvard, 7 are from Yale, 7 from Columbia, 6 from Northwestern, 6 from Brooklyn College, 5 from Mount Holyoke, and 4 from Tufts. Among the other institutions represented are Brown, Williams, Amherst, Stanford, University of Wisconsin, University of Illinois, University of Chicago, Cornell, New York University, University of Minnesota, and Princeton.

On the other hand, there is not an economist from any college or university in the United States who has endorsed this unwarranted, unscientific, and arbitrary reduction in the amount recommended by the President.

Mr. HEALEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. HEALEY. Did the gentleman have some evidence before his committee that all of those persons certified as being eligible for W. P. A. were not on the W. P. A. at the present time?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I am glad the gentleman calls attention to the fact that even with the present employment there are still over 500,000 who have been certified to W. P. A. but for whom W. P. A. is unable to provide work of any kind. They are eligible, they have been on the waiting list for months, but even with the current appropriation they cannot be provided for. And in addition, there are twice as many eligible awaiting certification.

The statement was made on the floor here a few minutes ago that P. W. A. would provide a million and a half jobs. Of course, the P. W. A. program was taken into consideration when these figures were tabulated. Furthermore, it should not be overlooked that we made these estimates on the assumption that the present acceleration in business and industry would continue. If such a reduction as is here proposed, or any other untoward condition, interferes with recovery, it will require more than a billion dollars to carry the program through to June 30 instead of \$875,000,000.

Mr. TERRY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I wish I could yield to the gentleman, but I have only a minute or two remaining.

Mr. Chairman, the businessmen of the country are also opposed to this reduction. Out of the \$875,000,000 recommended in the Budget, \$750,000,000 is paid out in wages which flow directly into the channels of trade. If you withdraw from the retail business of the country that enormous amount, it affects the retail merchant, it affects the jobber, the wholesaler, the factory-it shakes the entire fabric of American commerce and business. Take a plebiscite of your home-town merchants and get their recommendation on the wisdom of the Nation's investment in W. P. A.

But, Mr. Chairman, there is no one more entitled to pass on this question or better qualified to understand it than the ex-service men and their organizations. Here is a communication which speaks for itself:

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN CANNON: I am enclosing a copy of the detailed objectives of the V. F. W. and call your particular attention to the points checked with red pencil.

Legislative Representative.

Point 3:

7. Retention of W. P. A. with liberalized eligibility for entry, reentry, and retention of veterans who need such employment.

The organized veterans of the Nation not only endorse the present provisions for W. P. A. but they favor their liberali-

But, Mr. Chairman, the most significant recommendations on this entire question come from the mayors of the United States, representing every city in the United States of over 50,000 population. They express the opinion that disaster will follow any reduction in this appropriation. And who is better qualified to pass on the questions involved in W. P. A.? Is it not rather singular that there is not a single chief executive in any city in any State in the Union who believes that this appropriation ought to be reduced?

Mr. Chairman, if the proposed reduction had any merit, if it was based on any material grounds, if it is justified from any reasonable point of view, surely they could find at least one mayor in the entire United States who would support their contention. Organized agriculture, organized labor, organized veterans, organized business and businessmen, churchmen, economists, the mayors of every large city in the land are of one accord in support of the full amount asked by the Budget. But the Congressman, in his superior wisdom, comes in, and he sees that the child has on its plate both bread and potatoes. "Oh," he says, "you have too much," and the Congressman, by his vote on this resolution, reaches over and takes the potatoes off the plate. It is hard on the child, perhaps, but it helps balance the Budget. Now, that is not melodrama. It is the inevitable result in homes all over the Nation of an affirmative vote on the pending resolution.

Mr. MASSINGALE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman vield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I am sorry.

And in their argument on balancing the Budget they go back and quote a message of the President of the United States, delivered when the public debt was \$21,000,000,000, the most specious argument made in this debate. Why not go back to 1916, when the debt was \$1,000,000,000? It would have been just as consistent.

Mr. Chairman, between the time when the debt was \$1,000,000,000 in 1916 and the time when the debt was \$21.-000,000,000, this country went through a trying ordeal, and the gentleman does not question that debt. Since the time the President of the United States wrote that message the country has gone through another great trial, a depression that brought disaster to more people than the war, and no one will say that the money was not well spent if it saved the American people.

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, the distinguished gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] is to be commended for the clear and logical presentation of the question before us at this time. He enjoys the confidence and the respect of those who have served with him in the House. His position on the present measure deserves the confidence and respect of the country. I admire, as I believe a majority of you admire the courage and conviction he displayed today.

On the 8th of last November a mandate was delivered by the American people. It is encouraging to note the responsiveness of many of the men here to that mandate. By their ballots on November 8, the American people declared that there should be an end to the profligacy, to the extravagance, to the corrupt administration of public affairs, particularly in the administration of relief to the needy. The American people, by their ballots, demanded a reformation of public administration—such a reformation as would recognize honesty and integrity as worth-while virtues upon which we could depend and in which we could take a justifiable

pride. The Republican gains in the House came as a result of the demand of the American people for the establishment of a sensible and reasonable administration of national affairs. And every Republican is aware of and alert to that challenge.

The gentleman from Missouri has attempted to say that relief has been free of politics. I call his attention to the fact that the former W. P. A. Administrator, Mr. Hopkins, who has been appointed Secretary of Commerce, appeared before a committee of the Senate yesterday. During the course of his remarks before that committee, he expressed regret for the part which he played as the Administrator of this relief agency in the political affairs of the Nation. There was contrition. There was regret. There was confession. It seems to me that was an acknowledgment that politics had come into the W. P. A., and that the heartaches and the distress of men had been toyed with for political purposes. I am surprised that my friend from Missouri has not sensed the contrition and regret, which I interpreted as genuine, on the part of the former Administrator.

In all the history of this Nation, there has been nothing done by any administration so calculated to destroy public confidence in the integrity of representative government as the vast, and, as yet largely unrevealed, prostitution of public relief funds for political ends by scheming self-seekers intent upon maintaining themselves in power.

Never in all the history of this Nation has there been such a spectacle of human misfortune, want, and misery being made the pawns of political machinations as has been witnessed under the administration of relief funds in the last 4 years.

This political misuse of relief funds shows a cynicism appalling in its utter abandonment of all political decency. It represents corruption of a character too mean and contemptible adequately to be expressed in words. If words could express it, it would be found in the phrase, "tax and tax, spend and spend, elect and elect."

From every State in this Union have come reports of these misuses of relief funds, and it is worse than idle to attempt to gloss over or to hide either the nefarious practices engaged in by unscrupulous politicians or the inexpressibly terrible effects of these practices upon the conscience of the Nation and upon the morale of the unemployed.

In my own State of Pennsylvania—and conditions there were typical of conditions in other States—the extent of the padding of work-relief pay rolls before the elections to gain votes for the New Deal ticket is being demonstrated day by day as the great purge of the W. P. A. rolls proceeds in the Keystone State. It was stated a few days ago in an editorial that the total number to be thrown off work relief within 2 months after the elections is 45,500, and the end is not yet.

The unfortunate unemployed, who have been shocked, disillusioned, and embittered by this action, began to learn their fate on the very day following the elections. The families of those thousands who were handed preelection jobs and extravagant promises by the New Deal politicians are now being callously shoved out into the cold, with their source of income shut off and no employment in sight.

The New Deal politicians needed votes; apparently they believed that a good method of obtaining them was by the wholesale temporary padding of the W. P. A. rolls just before the elections. The unfortunate unemployed represented to these New Deal politicians just so many potential votes. Their usefulness as voters expired when the elections were over. Whether the New Deal ticket won or lost, these unfortunate and helpless people were slated for prompt dismissal. The New Deal politicians knew that, of course, but they cruelly permitted those put on relief to regard their pitiful W. P. A. employment as something more than a temporary rescue from their condition of suffering.

Only a certain amount of money was available for W. P. A. use. The New Deal leaders wanted to put their hands on as much of this money as possible during the campaign instead of spreading it out evenly in the months preceding the next session of the Congress. In this uneconomic

but politically expedient scheme these New Deal politicians in my State were given every aid by those in charge of the W. P. A. at Washington. Not only in Pennsylvania but in other States where the beleaguered candidates appealed for Federal ammunition in the form of relief funds, the W. P. A. administrators obliged by loading the rolls, knowing full well that they were making them so top-heavy that post-election cuts would be inevitable.

This W. P. A. money, obtained from taxes wrung from the pockets of all the people and from borrowings which must be repaid by the people, simply became a campaign fund to bolster the New Deal cause in the various States. The misuse of these funds fortunately did not succeed in preventing a return to a better balanced biparty government in this country; but who can measure the human agony, the bitter disappointment, the incalculable damage to the moral fiber of the hundreds of thousands of citizens and their millions of dependents by this supercynical and inexpressibly corrupt use of public relief funds for political purposes? Who, I say, Mr. Chairman, can measure the damage that has been wrought upon the lives of these people, upon their respect for the integrity of their Government, upon the confidence of the taxpayers in the governmental structure itself, by these nefarious and corrupt practices?

What an incredibly scandalous situation, Mr. Chairman. Here these relief funds, voted by the Congress for the express purpose of alleviating in some measure the distress of worthy unemployed citizens, were squandered by the milions in an effort to buy the elections. And now this Congress is faced, if you please, with the cold and ruthless threat that unless we appropriate \$875,000,000 the W. P. A. activities will be closed down; the unemployed will be abandoned to their misery; men, women, and children will be permitted to starve; and the grave unrest which constitutes a momentous threat to the very existence of this Nation will be precipitated upon us because of this callous, corrupt, and contemptible misuse of relief funds for political purposes.

It is all well and good, Mr. Chairman, that after his interference in the political affairs of the different States the W. P. A. Administrator, Harry Hopkins, should be promoted to the Cabinet post of Secretary in the Department of Commerce, where his large experience in private business before he came to Government service so eminently fits him to administer the affairs of that Department. And, of course, this promotion to the Cabinet was not by any chance intended to take Mr. Hopkins out of the line of fire in the future investigations of the W. P. A.

It is all well and good, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Aubrey Williams is taken out of W. P. A. and put over into the National Youth Administration, where his long and distinguished military experience and his outstanding tactical abilities can be utilized in the training of 20,000 youthful aviators in the schools and colleges every year. Again I would be the last to suggest that the purpose of this promotion—if such it can be called—was to remove Mr. Williams from the line of fire.

Regardless of the contempt demonstrated by high officials of the Government for the intelligence of the electorate, it still remains a fact that this relief problem is one of the fundamental difficulties facing this Nation. Bound up in it is the very welfare of our country itself. Involved in this question of relief is the future and the safety of our constitutional Republic. Prevention of suffering, starvation, agony, and death is the first call upon every human conscience, in Government and out.

If corruption, political manipulations, favoritism, and partisanship are permitted to continue in relief, the results will be an undermining of free government and an abridgement of personal liberties that can eventuate only in the collapse of our constitutional Government as we know it. It would open the way for the most rapid inroads by communism, on the one hand, or fascism on the other.

No more fertile field for the planting of these alien philosophies could possibly be found that in the ranks of those

who, through no fault of their own, are unable to find private employment, and who have been thus cynically made the temporary and helpless pawns of bureaucrats motivated by lust for political power. It is impossible, Mr. Chairman, to conceive of any condition that could be more dangerous to the perpetuity of free government and to the peace and welfare of this Nation than that which has been produced by the cruel and wanton betrayal of these unemployed citizens. When great numbers of the people are forced to abandon their respect for government, their belief in its integrity, and their faith in the humanity of their fellow men, they immediately become prey to the persuasions of the most desperate enemies of constitutional government.

Can they be blamed? Where are they to turn? Where are they to fix their faith, when they are compelled to the conclusion that their Government is false to its trust, that their misfortunes and their privations represent to those in power merely a means of subjecting them to a political servitude? Such conditions would well-nigh shatter the faith of a

This question of relief must be approached wholly from the standpoint of maintaining our unemployed citizens and their dependents in decency and self-respect as a temporary measure until we can bring about those conditions under which they can find work by which to support themselves through their own efforts. Any other approach to this question is utterly unworthy of us as Members of Congress; it is unworthy of any administration; it is unworthy of the American people themselves, and it will not be tolerated.

There is no single problem facing this Nation today fraught with greater danger, if it is improperly handled, than the relief problem. We must give our best and most unselfish thought and effort to placing the administration of relief beyond the clutches of those who are contemptible enough, unpatriotic enough, dishonest enough, to pervert the purposes of relief to personal political ends. We must make a basic reexamination of the whole problem of relief. We must keep in mind that these Federal funds do not belong to any Federal official or any group of officials. They are the property of the whole country, and they should be distributed with most scrupulous care to make certain that the geographical distribution is as equitable, considering varying local conditions, as it can possibly be made.

I have a few figures which I believe will prove significant. I wonder why it is that in the election year 1934 relief expenditures were increased 20.4 percent, while in the nonelection year 1935 relief expenditures were decreased 27.9 percent. In the election year 1936-mark you, business was going then-relief expenditures were increased 44.3 percent, and in the nonelection year 1937 they were decreased 24.9 percent. Is that just a coincidence, or does it mark a very distinct effort upon the part of those charged with the relief of human need to use the agencies and the funds for political purposes.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DITTER. I am not yielding. I call attention now to a few States where some rather significant figures can be found-increases, for instance, during the last election period. These increases were notable in several States, and I call attention to a few of them. The five first States in the order of actual increases in W. P. A. relief workers were the following: Ohio, 176,899; Michigan, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and then comes the State of my distinguished colleague, for whom I express my deep regard and affection. the State of Missouri. There we have an increase of 60.900. Of course, that may have no significance whatever to my friend. To some of us it means much.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DITTER. Yes.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Ohio has been more or less chagrined at the fact that our State marks the greatest increase of any State in the Union in the period between January and November. There is no reason in the world why Ohio should be in that position, because it is a big agricultural State as well as a manufacturing State, and the only reason that can be given is that at that time we had a fierce contest for United States Senator and for Governor, and, in spite of all this increase and all of the money, Ohio went overwhelmingly Republican.

Mr. DITTER. I thank the gentleman for his contribution. May I say to the distinguished gentleman, of course he understands that I cast no aspersions on the State of Ohio.

Unfortunately, Ohio was selected because of the heavy fight that was going on in that State.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. I rejoin by saying there is no economic reason why Ohio should be in the forefront in this controversy.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. DITTER. I yield.

Mr. KNUTSON. I saw a statement published awhile ago showing the increase in W. P. A. activities in various parts of the country, and I was very much struck with the fact that the increases were very small in the solid South. That was no doubt on the theory that there was no use in giving bait to fish that were already in the boat. [Laughter.]

Mr. DITTER. If the gentleman would care to have them. I would like to give a few figures on the situation in the South. Mr. KNUTSON. I would be delighted to hear them.

Mr. DITTER. For instance, it is interesting to note how much money per capita went to certain of the cities. It is generally recognized that the need is greater in the industrial centers, although I am inclined to think that in a great many instances the agricultural sections are in just as great need. Nevertheless, the cities are taken as the standard-as an index.

Look at the figures compiled by the community chests and civic organizations of the per capita distribution of Federal funds among certain cities. These funds include W. P. A., Civilian Conservation Corps, and National Youth Administration. They represent the annual funds on the basis of total population allotted by the three Federal agencies in each of these cities in the calendar year 1936, an election year:

Greensboro, N. C., received the paltry sum of \$6.74. The solid South. Greenville, S. C., \$7.95. Still in the solid South. Galveston, \$8.80. Still down South. Then I could give you Richmond and a few more. Let us jump to the cities in the North. Let us jump to those places where contests were had. Let us jump to those places where the Republicans could give battle. Indianapolis, \$22.09. Minneapolis, \$23.65. Kansas City, \$24.98. St. Paul, \$30.97.

Mr. KNUTSON. Evidently the expenditures were based upon the necessity for extensive campaigns.

Mr. DITTER. It will be noted that the cities in the safely solid Democratic South received the least funds, while the cities in the North, particularly in questionable political territory, received the greatest allotments. There may be some rhyme or reason in these allocations. There may be some simple explanation of why some cities of political significance in the North got nearly five times as much as some of the cities in the South, but it would take a New Dealer to adduce either rhyme or reason for this condition of affairs.

Mr. MURDOCK of Utah. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DITTER. I only have a very limited time at my command.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Will the gentleman yield on the Philadelphia situation?

Mr. DITTER. I have been very generous, I think, in the

way I have yielded. I must go on.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman refuses to yield further. Mr. DITTER. The immorality of this thing is a matter that is acknowledged by most everybody. I can hardly imagine anyone who, having read the Sheppard report. would be bold enough to try to defend these policies.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 5 additional minutes.

Mr. DITTER. So that in spite of what the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon] may have said as to the innocency, the sublime innocency, of the W. P. A., we still contend that the evidence is irrefutable that relief and politics have been mixed together, and that political purposes were the dominant purposes of those in charge of relief. But I want to think about the inefficiency of the Administration. The gentleman from Missouri asks why the figure which he advocates has been reduced.

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DITTER. I cannot yield at this time.

I want to call the gentleman's attention to the fact that Colonel Harrington, who appeared before the committee, admitted that there had been no case study made of any of these W. P. A. beneficiaries in years. The newspapers of Philadelphia carried an article a few days ago that Pennsylvania administrators admitted that in the last 3 years no case study had been made of any of those on relief—on the W. P. A. rolls. The status may have changed, but they continue on W. P. A.

Now, if the gentleman from Missouri is advocating a W. P. A. career life, if that is his purpose, then let us know it. If he means to take W. P. A. people and fashion them into career services, then that should be the plea of the gentleman as he comes here seeking increased appropriations. If, on the other hand, he stands by the President—and I stand by the President now—if he stands by the President when the President declared that he intended to balance the Budget, as he brought us his message on January 5, then I feel that the gentleman from Missouri should join with those who are trying to help the President carry out his professed program.

We—and I speak now for my own Republican group—we claim today that neither the Democratic Party nor the President of the United States has a monopoly on either sympathy or concern for the needy and the distressed. We claim we are just as mindful of the need of the American people as either the Democratic group, who is trying to increase this appropriation, or the professions that have been made by the President from time to time. We know that we are dealing with human needs. We are just as conscious of the human needs as is the President. We are also mindful, however, that those human needs must be met with practical means, means within the limitations which are ours. We claim that a practical sympathy coupled with a practical ministry will be most effective.

The ranks on this side of the aisle have been augmented. We have made pledges to the American people. God willing, we intend to live up to those pledges. We have promised that adequate relief for the needy would be continued. We stand by that promise as we declare: Millions for relief, but not one cent for political tribute. The Republican Party stands today where it has always stood, that the first obligation of the administration is a recovery program, a program providing for the restoration of jobs in private industry. We stand by that declaration. And we pledge today to the American people what every man on this side of the aisle pledged during the campaign—every man who was reelected or who unseated a Democrat—that sane, sensible, honest standards of government will be our constant purpose. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has again expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Short].

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, the only excuse offered by this administration for this unparalled policy of continued spending is that it promotes prosperity, revives business, and provides more jobs. The facts and the record will not bear out this contention. If the orgy of spending we have witnessed during the past 6 years would push up the national income, promote prosperity, and end unemployment, then every single American citizen today should have a job, should

be truly and really enjoying the abundant life, and there should be no national debt, because the indisputable fact is, the undeniable truth is, that more money has been spent by the New Deal since March 4, 1933, than was spent by all our administrations, all the Congresses and Presidents of the United States during the first 143 years of our history from George Washington to Woodrow Wilson, or from the adoption of the Constitution down to the outbreak of the World War.

Men come on this floor and in the guise of philanthropy and under the plea of humanitarianism propose to help the American people by spending their own money, borrowed money which they do not have, by mortgaging not only their own future but that of their children and their children's children. Oh, I was amazed to hear my good friend, my distinguished and able colleague from Missouri [My. Cannon], say that there has been no politics in W. P. A. My God, Clarence, where have you been in the past 6 years? [Laughter and applause.]

During the first part of last October, Harry Hopkins, who has never done anything but get rid of other people's money, stopped in St. Louis—and how ingenious and resourceful he is in devising new ways and methods of disposing of it. Great liberals! These new dealers are liberal with the other guy's dough [applause], but even an Ozark hillbilly where I reside has enough hard common sense to know that Santa Claus really does not come down the chimney the night before Christmas, that all the Easter eggs are not laid by bunny rabbits, that no government can ever give to its people anything it does not take from them, and that eventually they must foot the bill. He who dances must pay the fiddler. As sure as night follows day, your chickens are coming home to roost. A lot of them came home on the 8th of last November. Now we have more chickens than we have roosts. [Laughter.]

Mr. Hopkins, stopping in St. Louis on his way to Fayetteville to receive an honorary doctor of laws degree from the University of Arkansas, a State where he had been Santa Claus so long, was interviewed by the press writers in St. Louis and was asked what he thought of Dewey Short. This was just about a month before the last election. He answered with tongue in cheek and a faint smile—as reported by the press—"Dewey Short, who is he? Never heard of him."

They said: "Why, he is the only Republican Member of Congress from Missouri."

"Well," said Hopkins with a broader smile, "he won't be after November 8."

Within 5 days after Mr. Hopkins made that statement out in St. Louis the number of men on W. P. A. pay rolls in Jasper County, the largest county in my district, more than doubled, was increased from approximately 1,800 to 4,600. While Mr. Hopkins may never have heard of Dewey Short, he heard from a lot of hillbillies on November 8, because I was elected by more than double my former majority [applause], receiving Democratic as well as Republican votes and carrying 14 of the 15 counties in my district.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHORT. In just a minute, Jerry. I want you to get this.

I just received a letter without any solicitation on my part, dated Diamond, Mo., January 5, 1939:

DIAMOND, Mo., January 5, 1939.

Dewey: As regards the investigation of relief and politics, I wish to mention that the relief truck which came regularly from Neosho to Diamond and other places in the county did, prior to election, have only Democrat candidates' cards tacked on the relief truck, but no Republican cards. Now these cards were the size you might see tacked on any building or telephone pole—I am merely telling you this that you get the size; at any rate they were large enough that you did not need field glasses to read

you might see tacked on any building or telephone pole—I am merely telling you this that you get the size; at any rate they were large enough that you did not need field glasses to read them at 20 feet. I don't know whether this will do you any good, but it is something that ought to be aired and it is a fact, too.

PRANK H. SHIMP.

P. S.—These cards were as large as this sheet, of paper and not

P. S.—These cards were as large as this sheet of paper and not ones handed out on election day.—F. H. S.

I have here signed affidavits of individuals of Oregon and Howell Counties, Mo.

I, Alfred Andrews, being duly sworn upon my oath, say that I am a Democrat and that until recently I was a W. P. A. worker in Oregon County on a road project and that Clarence Moore was the foreman.

Parenthetically I may say that Oregon County is an overwhelming Democratic County.

Affiant states that shortly before the primary election, 1938, that Clarence Moore informed this affiant that it was necessary for him to vote for Ray Huddleston for candidate for county judge and if he failed to do so he would be laid off.

You will observe, Mr. Chairman, that this is in the Democratic primary. The attempt is made to purge Democrats as well as Republicans.

Affiant states that he informed Clarence Moore that he would not vote for Ray Huddleston and on Saturday, November 5, 1938, this

affiant was discharged.

Affiant further states that just before the primary the said Clarence Moore brought beer on the project for Ray Huddleston and that Ray Huddleston came to the project about 30 minutes after the

Here is another one:

STATE OF MISSOURI,

County of Howell, ss: Ted Harris, being duly sworn upon his oath, states that in the spring of 1938 he was working on a W. P. A. project under W. L. Stevens, who was foreman.

A different foreman and a different project, you will observe.

Affiant states that Stevens requested that he join the Young Democratic Club and pay 50 cents a month to such organization. Affiant informed him that he was not financially able to do so. Affiant states that sometime thereafter he was discharged. Recently affiant states that he applied for another job on the W. P. A. and talked with W. L. Stevens, who is county supervisor; that Stevens asked him how he was on the county court; that he told Stevens he did not know and that Stevens told him that they wanted to beat Bill McDaniel for southern county judge for the reason McDaniel would not cooperate with the W. P. A. Affiant states that they did not put him back on the W. P. A.

Affiant states that they did not put him back on the W. P. A.

work.

Affiant states that he is a Republican.

STATE OF MISSOURI.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

County of Howell, ss:

I, Charles Land, of Lanton, Mo., being duly sworn upon my oath and according to law, state that I was employed on project No. 976 of W. P. A. in Howell County, Mo., before the primary and until November 5, 1938.

Shortly prior to the primary, W. L. Stevens, one of the bosses of the W. P. A., made a talk to the W. P. A. workers on the job and told us that if we did not vote for Clark and Billings it meant our job. This talk was made a few minutes after 4 o'clock.

Later one of the workers on the job inquired how I voted and I stated that I voted as I damned pleased.

That is the kind of constituency I represent. [Applause.] And they will not sell their souls for a mess of pottage. They are not easily scared, either. They love their liberty and like their fathers will fight and die for it.

On November 5, 1938, I was discharged and the slip showed it as "unsatisfactory service," although my foreman, Ed Threlkeld, said my work was satisfactory.

I am a Republican.

STATE OF MISSOURI.

County of Howell, ss:

I, Scott Johnson, being duly sworn upon my oath and according to law, state that before the primary, 1938, I worked on a W.P. A. project on which John Ruby was foreman.

These W. P. A. foremen in my district are thicker than fleas on a dog. They receive the big checks and large salaries for doing the white-collared work while the poor boys with pick and shovel come out the little end of the horn.

Affiant states that shortly before the primary Billy Williams, the water boy, came to him and wanted to know from this affiant how he was going to vote. Affiant states that he asked him, "Who wants to know?"; and Williams said that John Ruby

They go about it in an indirect manner, in certain instances.

Affiant states that he told him that he would vote as he

On Saturday, November 5, 1938, affiant states he was discharged on the ground that his services were unsatisfactory.

Affiant states that he is a Republican.

I do not want to take your time reading any more of these, except perhaps one.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

STATE OF MISSOURI,

County of Howell, ss:

R. W. Baker, who lives in Howell County, and receives his mail,
Route 1, Cabool, Mo., being duly sworn upon his oath and according to law, states that he was employed since February 28,
1938, on a W. P. A. road project under Vern Simpkins, foreman.

Affiant states that on October 31, 1938, about a week before
the general election, Vern Simpkins came to him and said, "You
are an ex-service man, Baker, and I want to talk to you. Come
and get in the car and let's go for a little drive." Affiant states
that this occurred while he was on the job, and that he went
with Simpkins. Simpkins said while on the trip, "Baker, about
99 percent of my men are Democrats and I'm a Democrat, and
unless you so declare, I'll have to put you down as a Republican."
Affiant states that he replied, "Tm a nonpartisan and I vote for
the man. It's usually a split ticket."

Affiant states on November 5, 1938, he received his discharge

Affiant states on November 5, 1938, he received his discharge for "unsatisfactory service." Affiant states that as far as he knows he was the only man on this project, which employed about 60 men, who was discharged.

Affiant further states that the foreman or anyone else never made any complaint about his work while he was on W. P. A. Affiant further states that he has six small children, the oldest being 10 years old.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 21st day of November 1938.

RAY DAUGHERTY. Notary Public. [SEAL]

My commission expires April 15, 1939.

STATE OF MISSOURI, County of Howell, ss:

I, Alfred Andrews, being duly sworn upon my oath, say that I am a Democrat and that until recently I was a W. P. A. worker in Oregon County on a road project and that Clarence Moore was the

Affiant states that shortly before the primary election 1938 that Clarence Moore informed this affiant that it was necessary for him to vote for Ray Huddleston for candidate for county judge, and if he failed to do so, he would be laid off.

Affiant states that he informed Clarence Moore that he would

not vote for Ray Huddleston, and on Saturday, November 5, 1938, this affiant was discharged.

Affiant further states that just before the primary the said Clarence Moore brought beer on the project for Ray Huddleston and that Ray Huddleston came to the project about 30 minutes after the beer arrived.

ALFRED ANDREWS. Subscribed and sworn to before me this 7th day of November 1938.

[SEAL]

RAY P. DAUGHERTY Notary Public.

My commission expires April 15, 1939.

STATE OF MISSOURI.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

County of Howell, ss:

Ted Harris, being duly sworn upon his oath, states that in the spring of 1938 he was working on a W. P. A. project under W. L. Stevens, who was foreman. Affiant states that Stevens requested that he join the Young Democrat Club and pay 50 cents a month to such organization. Affiant informed him that he was not financially able to do so. Affiant states that sometime thereafter he was discharged.

Recently affiant states that he applied for another top on the

he was discharged.

Recently, affiant states that he applied for another job on the W. P. A. and talked with W. L. Stevens, who is county supervisor; that Stevens asked him how he was on the county court; that he told Stevens he did not know and that Stevens told him that they wanted to beat Bill McDaniel for Southern County judge for the reason McDaniel would not cooperate with the W. P. A. Affiant states that they did not put him back on the W. P. A.

Affiant states that he is a Republican.

TED HARRIS.

Notary Public.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 7th day of November 1938. [SEAL] RAY P. DAUGHERTY

My commission expires April 15, 1939.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

County of Howell, ss:

I, Charles Land, of Lanton, Mo., being duly sworn upon my oath and according to law, state that I was employed on project No. 976 of W. P. A. in Howell County, Mo., before the primary and until November 5, 1938.

Shortly prior to the primary W. L. Stevens, one of the bosses of the W. P. A., made a talk to the W. P. A. workers on the job and told us that if we did not vote for Clark and Billings it meant our job. This talk was made a few minutes after 4 o'clock.

Later one of the workers on the job inquired how I voted and I stated that I voted as I damned pleased.

On November 5, 1938, I was discharged and the slip showed it was for "unsatisfactory service," although my foreman, Ed Threl-keld, said my work was satisfactory.

I am a Republican.

CHARLES C. LAND.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of November 1938.

[SEAL]

RAY P. DAUGHERTY. Notary Public.

My commission expires April 15, 1939.

STATE OF MISSOURI.

County of Howell, ss:

I, Scott Johnson, being duly sworn upon my oath and according to law, state that before the primary, 1938, I worked on a W. P. A. project on which John Ruby was foreman.

project on which John Ruby was foreman.

Affiant states that shortly before the primary Billy Williams, the water boy, came to him and wanted to know from this affiant how he was going to vote. Affiant states that he asked him, "Who wants to know?"; and Williams said that John Ruby did. Affiant states that he told him that he would vote as he pleased.

On Saturday, November 5, 1938, affiant states he was discharged on the ground that his services were unsatisfactory.

Affiant states that he is a Republican.

Scott Johnson.
Subscribed and sworn to before me this 7th day of November 1938.

[SEAL]

RAY P. DAUGHERTY

My commission expires April 15, 1939.

Notary Public.

STATE OF MISSOURI.

STATE OF MISSOURI, County of Howell, ss:

R. W. Baker, who lives in Howell County, and receives his mail, route 1, Cabool, Mo., being duly sworn upon his oath and according to law, states that he was employed since February 28, 1938, on a W. P. A. road project under Vern Simpkins, foreman.

Affiant states that on October 31, 1938, about a week before the general election, Vern Simpkins came to him and said, "You are an ex-service man, Baker, and I want to talk to you. Come and get in the car and let's go for a little drive." Affiant states that this occurred while he was on the job, and that he went with Simpkins. Simpkins said while on the trip, "Baker, about 99 percent of my men are Democrats and I'm a Democrat, and unless you so declare I'll have to put you down as a Republican." Affiant cent of my men are Democrats and I'm a Democrat, and unless you so declare I'll have to put you down as a Republican." Afflant states that he replied, "I'm a nonpartisan and I vote for the man. It's usually a split ticket."

Afflant states on November 5, 1938, he received his discharge for "unsatisfactory service." Afflant states that as far as he knows he was the only man on this project, which employed about 60 men, who was discharged.

Affiant further states that the foreman or anyone else never made any complaint about his work while he was on W. P. A. Affiant states that he has six small children, the oldest being 10

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 21st day of November 1938.

[SEAL] RAY P. DAUGHERTY, Notary Public.

My commission expires April 15, 1939.

Mr. Chairman, I do not want to clutter up the RECORD with all the affidavits I have and the dozens of letters which appear in my files; but I do want to include those I have read and perhaps two or three others, and, with the unanimous consent of the committee, I will do that for the benefit of the membership of the House. All these affidavits were subscribed and sworn to under seal before Ray P. Daugherty, notary public, Howell County, Mo., on and since November 5,

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Byrns of Tennessee). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

County of Howell, ss:
Frank Ramsey, being duly sworn upon his oath and according to law, states that he was employed on the W. P. A. at Myrtie, Oregon County, Mo., and that Leonard Hall was his foreman.

Affiant states that shortly before the primary in August 1938, that Leonard Hall came to him and told him to vote for Billings for supreme court judge. Affiant states that Hall said, "You know what it means." Affiant states that he informed Hall that he was for Dougles he was for Douglas.

Affiant states that on Saturday, November 5, 1938, he was discharged on the ground that his services were "unsatisfactory."

Affiant states that his foreman stated that his services were

"satisfactory." Affiant states that he is a Republican.

FRANK RAMSEY Subscribed and sworn to before me this 14th day of November 1938.
[SEAL] RAY P. DAUGHERTY,

Notary Public. My commission expires April 15, 1939.

#### NOTICE OF TERMINATION OF EMPLOYMENT

Name: Rhodes, Sylvester. Address: West Plains, Mo. Identifica-tion No. 2946–1075. Case No. 774. Date: 11–1–38. Sex: M. Race: W. Certified. Now working as laborer at West Plains school, Howell County.

Effective 5 p. m. on 11-5-38 your employment will be terminated from project No. 5274 for the following reason: Unsatisfactory work. JOHN WRIGHT

JOHN M. MCCANN.

Approved by Julian E. Wheeler

STATE OF MISSOURI,

County of Howell, ss:

I, Sylvester Rhodes, state that in the spring of 1938 I was working on a W. P. A. project under W. L. Stevens, who was the foreman. He came to me and asked that I join the Young Democrat Club. I told him I could not afford to do so. He said it would not cost much, just \$1 per month. Later he asked me on two occasions and I told him I did not believe that way. Soon thereafter I was transferred to work at West Plains on the school buildings under W. P. A. On Saturday, November 5, 1938, I received notice in writing from John Wright, district engineer of W. P. A., that I was discharged for unsatisfactory service. I inquired of my foreman if my work had been satisfactory and he stated that my work was satisfactory and he was not consulted about my discharge. Last week the timekeeper on the job brought a Democrat ballot on the job and the foreman explained to some of the boys that that was the way to vote.

I have a wife and nine children and need the work, but do not feel I should be compelled to vote for something I do not believe in, in order to hold a job.

in, in order to hold a job.

Dated this 5th day of November, 1938.

SYLVESTER RHODES. Subscribed and sworn to before me this 5th day of November 1938. SEAL ] RAY P. DAUGHERTY.

My commission expires April 15, 1939.

We, the undersigned, being duly sworn, state that we heard the foreman on the 5th day of November tell Sylvester Rhodes that his work had always been satisfactory.

OTHE BREEDLOVE. Subscribed and sworn to before me this 5th day of November 1938. [SEAL]
My commission expires April 15, 1939. RAY P. DAUGHERTY.

COUNTY OF HOWELL,

State of Missouri, ss:

Louie Clark, being duly sworn, states that he worked on W. P. A. with Wade Baldridge, foreman, and that shortly before the primary election, he had a discussion with other boys on the job in which he stated he was a Republican. Later Wade Baldridge came to him and made the statement that they all had better vote right

Affiant states he voted the Republican ticket at the primary and on Saurday, November the 5th, was discharged on the ground of "unsatisfactory service," although no complaint had been made

as to his work.

LOUIE CLARK Subscribed and sworn to before me this 21st day of November 1938. [SEAL] RAY P. DAUGHERTY Notary Public.

My commission expires April 15, 1939.

Mr. SHORT. No politics in relief?

Mr. Chairman, immediately after the adjournment of the last session of the Seventy-fifth Congress the President of the United States got on a 10-Pullman-car air-conditioned special train and by taking circuitous routes went from one coast of this country to the other, through various States, urging the electorate to return only 100-percent "yes" men and rubber stamps to the two Houses of the United States Congress. I am glad to say certain particular Members of Congress and other candidates who received his personal blessings down in Texas, Georgia, South Carolina, Maryland, and elsewhere were left at home because Americans are patriots before partisans. [Applause.]

When he reached California he got on one of these \$10,000,-000 cruisers and went out on a fishing trip. We have the "fishingest" President that any country ever had. He fishes for suckers both on land and in the sea. He goes out fishing for votes off the rear end of air-conditioned Pullmans and off the decks of new cruisers escorted by battleships. I do not know how much these periodical fishing expeditions have cost the voters and taxpayers of this Nation, but he went down the Pacific, through the Panama Canal, up the Atlantic, got off down in the southeastern part of our country and personally

invaded Georgia and South Carolina in the Democratic primaries, a precedent and practice upon which George Washington, the Father of his Country, frowned as meddlesome interference of the Executive in a congressional election. He urged the voters down there not to return two able and distinguished men to the Senate of the United States. Of course the voters had sense enough to choose their President but not enough to choose their Senators without the providential wisdom of their President.

I do not have to tell you that these new dealers have used relief funds to cut the threats or attempt to cut the throats of life-long Democrats who were fighting the battles of the party of Thomas Jefferson when a lot of these little nitwit new dealers were scarcely dry behind the ears.

Mr. Roosevelt did not want Walter George sent back to the Senate, although Walter George had represented Georgia for 18 years in that body with distinction and honor to both himself and his constituents. He did not want him because WALTER GEORGE had a mind of his own and voted against the court-packing bill. The President goes down in a primary and discharges some of the appointees of that distinguished Senator and uses work-relief funds in an attempt to purge some of the most able and oldest members of his own party. Then he has the unmitigated gall to shake hands with the Senator and, after acknowledging he is a fine gentleman and a great scholar, states, "God bless you, Walter." What he really meant to say was "God -- VOII. Walter." You know what I mean. But Georgia has patriots.

Mr. Chairman, the prime purger did not want "Cotton" ED SMITH sent back from South Carolina because "Cotton" ED SMITH has a mind of his own. For 30 years "Cotton" ED SMITH had represented the people of the great State of South Carolina with distinction and honor to the people of South Carolina, who showed their independent judgment, their unconquerable courage, and their good conscience by sending him back. "Cotton" ED SMITH is one of the best friends that the American farmer has.

Then, to top it off, the President invaded the great free State of Maryland. He did not want MILLARD TYDINGS sent back; MILLARD TYDINGS, who has a marvelous war record, who bared his breast to the bullets of the enemy in defense of his country, who has served heroically the State of Maryland for 12 years in the United States Senate. He wanted to purge MILLARD TYDINGS for the same reason he wanted to purge Walter George and ED SMITH, because Typings could not swallow some of this cockeyed New Deal stuff any more

The President promised the voters of that great State two bridges across Chesapeake Bay. It is a wonder he did not promise them to span the Atlantic or build a bridge to the moon. He said, in effect, "I will build you two bridges across Chesapeake Bay if you will defeat MILLARD TYDINGS and send my protégé to the United States Senate." If that is not an open and unblushing attempt at bribery of the American electorate with the taxpayers' money, then I cannot understand the English language. It is comforting to know the people of Maryland still can distinguish between morality and immorality.

The President in his message to us the other day, his annual message to Congress, said, "I do not regard a penny of this money wasted." Oh, yes?

After wasting millions on the foolish and futile attempt to harness the moonbeams and the tides of the Atlantic Ocean at Passamaquoddy Bay, that has been given up as a useless and foolish expenditure since Maine went Republican and refused to be bought. Not a penny wasted, when millions more of the taxpayers' funds are buried in a ditch down in Florida, a project that has been abandoned, when the people in the south half of Florida did not want the canal to begin with, and when it fills up with sand just as fast as they can dig it out. Millions more thrown to the winds on fantastic schemes of the starry-eyed crystal gazers.

What is this W. P. A. for? Ostensibly for relief, but in reality to be used as a slush fund. That is what I branded the \$4,880,000,000 appropriation. That is why I voted against

it, and against the other billions since appropriated. I shall not furnish my enemy with a weapon to destroy me. I voted against them all.

Spending relief money is merely giving the patient "a shot in the arm." It kills the pain temporarily but does not effect a permanent cure.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 additional minutes to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. SHORT. I wish to thank the gentleman from New

York for his unbounded generosity.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHORT. I yield to my distinguished friend from Mis-

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Does the gentleman know that in my district the W. P. A. workers had on the backs of their automobiles while on the job signs of my opponent in the primary, and does the gentleman know that the foremen held meetings on the job asking the W. P. A. workers to beat me, and as a result, I came back here with a margin of only 17,000 votes? [Applause.]

Mr. SHORT. I wish to congratulate the gentleman and say that although he is a Democrat, he has shown independent judgment here on the floor, and was returned to Congress by Republicans as well as by Democrats in his district in my State of Missouri.

None of us opposes relief for those who are in destitution and want, but oh, the camouflage screen. Fifty years hence, Mr. Chairman, when history is written with open eyes and without prejudice, when the stark-naked truth is told, in my humble, perhaps useless, but at least honest and conscientious judgment, this whole sad, sordid story of relief will go down as one of the blackest, dirtiest, most dastardly, diabolical, and despicable chapters in American history.

You do not help people by robbing them of their initiative and their self-respect. What future is there for any man on W. P. A. at starvation wages? I know the fathers and mothers in my district do not want to see their boys and girls, their sons and daughters, work their way through high school and college and, after receiving their diplomas, have nothing to look forward to but to go upon the relief rolls of the Nation; yet that is about the highest ambition any young man or woman in this country can have under this New Deal, simply to depend upon political pull through temporary political expediency to go on W. P. A. or relief at starvation wages.

What are you going to do about it? You will never have economic recovery in this country, you will never have the people at peace and in contentment, until you free private business from the present well-founded and justifiable fears it has. If we would repeal outright the tax upon undistributed profits and upon capital gains, if we would cease this excessive governmental regulation from a centralized bureaucracy, if we would stop Government subsidized competition with private industry and repeal the reciprocal trade agreements, if we would take a firm position against lawlessness, the C. I. O. sit-down strikes, and guarantee every American citizen the right to hold his property and never lose it without due process of law, if we would amend the one-sided Wagner Act and curb the powers of the N. L. R. B., if we would cut governmental expenditures to the bone in order to relieve the over-burdened American taxpayer, if we would free the farmer of compulsory crop control, if we would give the managers of big business and of little business to understand that they could make a reasonable and legitimate profit and run their own businesses in their own way, then you would see the wheels of industry start to turn, you would see smoke come out of the chimneys in the industrial centers of America, you would see this vast army of unemployed who have been forced through no fault of their own upon the relief rolls and the W. P. A. rolls at subsistence and starvation wages go back to good jobs at decent wages in private industry, and you would see private capital, billions upon billions of it, come out of hiding and go back once more into an open, free, and flowing investment market. Not until that day can we ever hope to have an end to unemployment, a restoration of the American spirit, and economic recovery in this

country. [Applause.]

I am not going to vote to give any man in the White House, be he Republican, Democrat, or new dealer, blank checks in the huge sums a supine and subservient Congress in the past few years has turned over to our Chief Executive, sums which he can spend at any time in any manner he sees fit. "This," as often I have said, "is more power than any good man should want and certainly is more power than any bad man should have." I trust the membership of this House will rise up on its hind legs and exercise its constitutional prerogatives and show some guts as well as intelligence in voting down this proposition. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Tarver].

Mr. TARVER. Mr. Chairman, I hope to approach the discussion of the particular phase of this question to which I desire to call your attention without any suggestion of political partisanship. I am not particularly impressed by any effort to use the issue which is here pending and which affects so vitally so many millions of American people for political advantage. I feel that the membership of the House is not particularly impressed by the political sharpshooting in connection with this debate.

In that particular I wish to commend the example set by the chairman of this subcommittee, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Woodrum], who in the address he delivered to you this morning made no statement which can possibly be construed as of a political nature. He adhered closely to the facts as he understood the facts, making reference to some which may not be considered in some quarters to reflect favorably upon the incumbent administration, but at the same time not endeavoring to do otherwise than bring to you the real information which you ought to have in endeavoring to pass upon this question, without any suggestion of political partisanship.

On Tuesday morning of this week I inserted in the Record, with the permission of the House, certain statistics with regard to the minimum and maximum wage rates applicable in the different States of the United States and the District of Columbia to the various classes of W. P. A. labor. I desire to make reference in a brief way to some of the facts disclosed by the table which was then inserted.

I feel that I am bringing to your attention now a matter which should have the careful thought of every Member of the House, and I earnestly request that you may give your attention not only to what I say but to the statistics to which I have made reference, appearing on page 167 of the Record.

If you will examine these statistics, you will find that in the class of unskilled labor the rates of pay by the Works Progress Administration vary from a low of 18 cents per hour in the State of Tennessee to a high of \$1.025 per hour in the State of Illinois. In other words, for the performance of the same character of labor by the same type of laborer in the two States mentioned, the one laboring in Tennessee receives for his work only 18 cents per hour, whereas the one in Illinois may be paid, and in some instances has been paid, as high as \$1.025 per hour.

Passing to the pay of intermediate laborers, it is observed that this varies from a low of 23 cents per hour in Tennessee to a high of \$1.57 per hour in New York City.

The pay of skilled laborers varies from a low of 31 cents per hour in Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia to a high of \$2.25 per hour in the State of New Jersey.

You will understand that in mentioning the maximums in New Jersey and in Illinois and in New York City I am not stating that all labor of the type described receives that maximum wage, but I am saying that in accordance with these statistics furnished me by the Works Progress Administration itself, some laborers of the types mentioned receive these maximums in the various areas to which I have made reference.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. TARVER. Not for the moment; I will yield later.

Under the head of professional and technical labor it is observed that the minimum hourly wage is 34 cents per hour in the States of Alabama, Kentucky, and Virginia, and ranges upward to a maximum—listen to this, if you please—of \$3.03 per hour in the State of Pennsylvania.

Is it conceivable, leaving aside the question of discrimination as between men who are of similar abilities and who are similarly situated in a financial way, that the Government of the United States, as a matter of public grace, in endeavoring to furnish a man who is unemployed with a means of livelihood for himself and his family, should pay for his services anywhere in this country \$3.03 per hour which, for an 8-hour day, would amount to in excess of \$24 per day?

These are simple illustrations of the manifold injustices which appear in the statistical table I have had inserted in the Record. It is a situation which ought to be corrected. I have an idea as to how it ought to be corrected which I expect to explain later on in my remarks, but I want to say here that I am not wedded to that idea and if you have or are able to study out, pending the consideration of this bill, a better method by which these manifest injustices may be corrected, I shall as earnestly support your plan as I would like for you to do mine if you are unable to conceive of a better one.

These discriminations in pay of W. P. A. employes are sought to be justified upon a variety of different grounds. If they may be justified at all it would have to be, in my judgment, upon the basis of a difference in the cost of living in the various localities where the wage rates to which I have made reference are in effect, but in that connection I call your attention to some information I have received from Dr. Isador Lubin, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, resulting from a survey made by the Works Progress Administration itself of living costs in 31 cities widely scattered throughout the United States. I hope to be able to obtain permission to insert this information, which is comparatively brief, in the Record.

I call your attention to the fact that in table 1, the estimated cost of living for a four-person manual-worker family, at maintenance level, as defined by the Works Progress Administration, in the city of Atlanta, Ga., is \$1,300.68 per annum and that in the city of New York the amount is \$1,385.94 per annum, only slightly larger than the estimated cost of living of the same family in the city of Atlanta, and yet in the city of New York, as you will observe from the table to which I have made reference and which has been inserted in the RECORD, the maximum wage pay for unskilled labor is 93 cents per hour, the minimum wage pay for the same type of labor is 461/2 cents per hour, whereas in the State of Georgia the maximum pay for unskilled labor is 30 cents per hour and the minimum is 20 cents per hour. In other words, in the city of New York, which has substantially the same living costs as has the city of Atlanta, the unskilled W. P. A. laborer may receive more than three times as much for performing the same character of work as he may be paid in the city of Atlanta. I submit that any system which permits of that degree of discrimination is unfair and that it ought to be corrected by appropriate legislation.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TARVER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. I fully recognize the injustice and the discrimination in wages paid by W. P. A. as between southern labor and northern labor, but the gentleman from Georgia will recall that when we had before the House at the last session the wage and hour bill, the advocates of that measure and also the administration, including the President, took the position there should be no discrimination in minimum wages among laboring people throughout the entire United States.

Mr. TARVER. I recall that very well. I do not agree with the gentleman that the only discrimination in the matter of these wages is as between Southern and Northern

States. If the gentleman will examine the table to which I have repeatedly made reference, he will find discriminations exist as between other States of the country as well as between the States of the South and those of the North and northeastern portions of the country. I believe one result which followed the discussion of the wage and hour bill last year was the insertion on page 4, section 9, of the following language:

SEC. 9. The rates of pay for persons engaged upon projects under the appropriations in this title shall be not less than the prevailing rates of pay for work of a similar nature in the same locality as determined by the Works Progress Administration: Provided, That if minimum rates of pay for persons employed by private employers in any occupation are established by or pursuant to the authority conferred by any labor-standards act enacted at the third session of the Seventy-fifth Congress, not less than the minimum rates of pay so established shall be paid to persons in similar occupations in the same locality employed on projects under the appropriation in subsection 1 of section 1 of this title.

In other words, the Congress intended by this language, although it may be susceptible through strained construction to some other interpretation, to provide that if at that session of Congress there should be enacted a labor-standards act providing fixed minimum wages applicable in all sections of the country; that the minimum wage of W. P. A. workers doing substantially the same kind of work as other unskilled laborers should not be less than the minimum wage fixed in the Labor Standards Act, and the Works Progress Administration has paid no attention whatever to that requirement, contained in the Work Relief Act enacted last year. If it had, it would have been impossible for it to have paid in the gentleman's State of Tennessee as low as 18 cents per hour for unskilled labor.

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TARVER. Yes.

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. What explanation was made of that terrific discrepancy between the wages paid in the South and the North. I mean by the Works Progress Administration. What did they say?

Mr. TARVER. I have never heard the Works Progress Administration undertake to explain it. I asked a member of the Subcommittee on Deficiency Appropriations—I am not a member of that subcommittee—whether or not in the hearings that were had on this pending bill there had been an effort to bring out the facts in regard to these apparently totally unjustified discriminations, and I was advised that no such effort had been made. After receiving that information, I myself communicated with the Works Progress Administration and secured the data which I am undertaking at this time to present to the House in the hope that it may result in the correction of what is undoubtedly a very unfair and unjust situation.

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. These excessive high rates per hour must be for some professional writers or professional men. Is not that true?

Mr. TARVER. I think that so far as the technical and professional work which I have referred to is concerned, the gentleman's statement is probably correct. Of course, that could not apply to unskilled laborers. So far as the professional and technical work is concerned, I have never agreed with the idea that because a man who is out of employment is a lawyer, a doctor, or writer he ought to get many times as much per hour as the poor fellow who is a common laborer gets, and who is likewise obliged to appeal to the Government for aid in his effort to make a livelihood for himself and his family. If great need makes it necessary for the Government to intervene in order to protect human beings from suffering, then no greater consideration ought to be accorded to the man who is skilled, whether as a lawyer, a doctor, or writer, than to the man who is a common laborer, when they are compelled to appeal to the Government as an act of grace for aid to keep their families from suffering for the necessities of life. But if that position is not well-founded, then certainly there is no reason why, as within this same class of people, these professional and technical men, some should be paid 34 cents an hour in one State and others \$3.03 an

hour in another State. It is significant that in the State of Pennsylvania, where this outrageously high rate of \$3.03 per hour was in some cases paid, that in 1937 the total W. P. A. expenditures were \$214,000,000, approximately, whereas in all of the 11 Southern States combined the W. P. A. expenditures for that year were only \$210,000,000.

Mr. WHITE of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TARVER. Yes.

Mr. WHITE of Ohio. The gentleman has performed a very excellent service in fighting discriminations. Does the gentleman think correction of these discriminations can be made by Executive action or that they should be made by congressional action?

Mr. TARVER. I have prepared an amendment which I desire to submit to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union at the proper time, either in this language or in some other language.

Mr. WHITE of Ohio. The gentleman believes that the Congress should make the rule?

Mr. TARVER. I think so. The amendment which I have prepared reads as follows:

Provided further, That the appropriations herein made shall not be available unless and until rates of pay of employees of the Works Progress Administration are so fixed by appropriate administrative order as to eliminate differentials in rates of pay exceeding 25 percent of the maximum rates between different States or areas of the same general type in the several States.

I may say that the American Federation of Labor, as evidenced by a letter to me from Mr. William Green, printed on page 6680 of the RECORD of the third session of the Seventyfifth Congress, is opposed, and has announced its unqualified opposition, to any discrimination whatever in wages paid in different sections of the country, as between the same types of workers. I am not of the opinion that the discrimination permitted should be as large as 25 percent. I think that some differentials should be permitted, perhaps to the extent of 10 percent; but in an effort to reach a basis upon which I might hope for the support of men who are not willing to go so far as I would be willing to go, I have written into the amendment the provision that the discrimination shall not be greater than 25 percent, which it seems to me is so eminently just that it ought to attract the support of every fairminded Member of this House.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TARVER. I yield.

Mr. HEALEY. I am sure the gentleman wants to make a full and complete statement.

Mr. TARVER. That is correct.

Mr. HEALEY. When the gentleman has given us the rates for skilled and professional labor, he neglects to say that there is a limitation on the hours that those men may work in a month. That is, there is a certain amount of money that those men can earn for the month.

Mr. TARVER. There has been no neglect, may I say, I have simply been prevented, by reason of not being able to say everything I wanted to say at once, in reaching that particular subject matter. As disclosed by the report of the Byrns special committee, filed in the Congress on the 20th of April 1938, these higher-paid employees are permitted to work only long enough to make a certain so-called security wage.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from Georgia 5 additional minutes.

Mr. TARVER. A carpenter in the District of Columbia, for example, was permitted to work only 42 hours per month. He was paid \$1.75 per hour, for a total so-called security wage of \$73.50. It was also disclosed in the report of that committee that in the majority of cases which had been investigated by the committee, these so-called higher type of employees, after earning their security wage, had worked the rest of the month for private employers. That discloses a condition which is essentially unfair and contrary to the purposes of this program.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TARVER. I yield.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I am interested in and largely in agreement with what the gentleman has been saying. I say that because I have had an experience in my own State. My very good colleague and friend from Pennsylvania, Mr. FADDIS, who represents Greene County, adjacent to Monongalia County that I represent, knows, as I know, that the rate of pay for unskilled, intermediate, and skilled workers is different in West Virginia than it is in Pennsylvania. It is lower in my State than it is in the gentleman's State. I have diligently and energetically, not over a period of months but over a period of years, tried to impress upon the officials of the Works Progress Administration that the climatic and living conditions were identical in the two districts, but I have gotten nowhere. I do want to say that it is a serious problem and one that I compliment the gentleman upon attacking in such a fair manner.

Mr. TARVER. As I endeavored to point out a while ago, the idea that these discriminations are altogether against the South and in favor of the rest of the country is absolutely fallacious. All you need do is examine the table of wages paid, which I have placed in the RECORD, in order to find that there are multitudinous discriminations as between many of the States of the Union lying north of the Mason and Dixon line. This is not a sectional question at all. It is a question of trying to be fair. We are undertaking to pass on the rights of some two or three millions of unfortunate people who have had to call upon the Government in order to live. Disregarding the question of sectional advantage, let us consider these men as needy, unfortunate human beings, who are entitled to the sympathetic consideration of the Congress, and be fair to them, and not say to a man who digs a ditch or builds a road in Georgia, "You shall work for 20 cents an hour, whereas if you do the same work in Illinois, you might get \$1.021/2 an hour."

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TARVER. I yield.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. In view of the fact that there are about 12,000,000 men out of jobs, and the maximum number taken care of by W. P. A. has been 3,000,000, does not the gentleman think, in view of the limitation of funds, it will be good to base the amount of salary paid on the number of mouths to be fed? Why should a single carpenter get a W. P. A. relief job and get \$90 a month, and a man who happens to be a laborer, if he is fortunate enough to get a laborer's job, get only \$60 a month, when he may have seven mouths to feed?

Mr. TARVER. The gentleman's statement has many elements of fairness. Certainly the purpose of the program is to prevent human suffering, and not to bring in large wages for one particular citizen or group of citizens, out of proportion to the needs which that citizen or that group of citizens might have, in order to maintain a fair living standard.

Mr. FADDIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. TARVER. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FADDIS. I am interested in the gentleman's proposed amendment, and I should like to understand for myself and perhaps for other Members, if the gentleman's amendment is going to apply as well between skilled and unskilled as it does between sections?

Mr. TARVER. The amendment which I propose intends only to prevent discrimination as within the four classes of labor: The unskilled, the intermediate, the skilled, the professional and technical. If the gentleman thinks that an amendment of the character which he has just discussed would more properly meet the situation, I would appreciate his taking the trouble to prepare it and offering it upon the floor. As I said a while ago, I am not sure that my amendment reaches the trouble. I am simply sure that we have not here corrected the injustices which ought to be corrected in some way. If this is not the way to correct them, then I call upon you men, if you are interested in fairness and justice, to try to work out some way yourselves and present it to the House upon consideration of the bill, some way which you think will achieve the proper result. [Applause.]

In conclusion, may I say that I think you will find the following statement and tables regarding the costs of living in different cities of great interest and value:

> ESTIMATED INTERCITY DIFFERENCES IN COSTS OF LIVING (Bureau of Labor Statistics)

In March 1935 the Division of Social Research of the Works Progress Administration conducted a study of comparative living costs in 59 cities. The purpose of this study was to determine the cost of a uniform level of living in a large number of places at the same time, and how these costs compared from one city to another. Quantity budgets were constructed by the Works Prog-ress Administration to represent the needs of families at two levels of living—the basic maintenance level and emergency level. An identical budget for each of these levels of living, with certain adjustments in the fuel, ice, and transportation lists to take account of climatic and other local conditions, was used in each of the cities

The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor cooperated with the Division of Social Research of the Works Progress Administration in obtaining the prices necessary to compute the costs of these budgets. Insofar as possible prices for identical commodities were obtained in each city. Details of this study and a description of the goods and services included in these

study and a description of the goods and services included in these budgets can be found in the report of the Works Progress Administration, Intercity Differences in Costs of Living in March 1935, 59 Cities, Research Monograph XII, a copy of which may be obtained from the Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C.

Since March 1935, the date of the Works Progress Administration study, no attempt has been made to price these budgets in order to get an intercity comparison of costs as of a later date. Estimates may be made, however, for the 31 cities covered by both the Works Progress Administration study and the Bureau of Labor Statistics' studies of changes in the cost of goods purchased by wage Statistics' studies of changes in the cost of goods purchased by wage earners and lower-salaried workers.

earners and lower-salaried workers.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics constructs cost of living indexes by pricing quarterly, in each of 32 large cities, a list of the goods most important in the spending of families of wage earners and lower-salaried workers, as shown by the Bureau's study of actual expenditures of these families in 1917-19. In the construction of the index, price changes, noted from period to period, are weighted according to the importance of these items in family spending, as shown by that study. These indexes can be used to show changes from time to time in any one city, but cannot be used to make a according to the importance of these items in family spending, as shown by that study. These indexes can be used to show changes from time to time in any one city, but cannot be used to make a comparison of costs between cities, nor to show actual living costs in any one city at any given time. Further information about these indexes may be found in the pamphlet, Changes in Cost of Living, issued quarterly by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

By amplying the Bureau of Labor Statistics' indexes of living costs.

By applying the Bureau of Labor Statistics' indexes of living costs, which show changes in costs from time to time, to the Works Progwhich show changes in costs from time to time, to the Works Progress Administration data on intercity differences in costs in March 1935, an approximate intercity comparison of costs as of a current date may be obtained. Since the cost of living indexes of the Bureau of Labor Statistics are based on a budget weighted differently from the budget used in the Works Progress Administration study, when the two sets of figures are combined the resulting estimates of intercity differences in costs are merely approximations. The attached tables show the result of combining the two sets of figures. Table 1 presents estimated cost of living for a 4-person

figures. Table 1 presents estimated cost of living for a 4-person manual worker's family at maintenance level, as defined by the Works Progress Administration, in 31 large cities, as of the most recent date for which the Bureau of Labor Statistics has prepared indexes. Table 2 presents these data as indexes on a base of the indexes. Table 2 presents these data as indexes on a base of the cost in Washington, D. C., as of that date as 100. These aggregates and indexes were computed by applying the Bureau of Labor Statictics' data on changes in the cost of each group of the goods purchased by wage earners and lower-salaried workers from March 15, 1935, to the current date to the dollar costs as of March 15, 1935, prepared by the Works Progress Administration in its studies. prepared by the Works Progress Administration, in its study of intercity differences in cost of living.

Table 1.—Estimated cost of living for a 4-person manual work-er's family at maintenance level, as defined by the Works Progress Administration, in 31 large cities, as of Sept. 15, 19381

Total	Food	Clothing	Hous- ing	Fuel and light	Furniture, furnish- ings, household equip- ment	Mis- cel- lane- ous
\$1, 300. 68 1, 339. 95 1, 235. 50 1, 350. 50 1, 283. 81 1, 419. 46	\$432.34 463.55 435.64 465.90 423.06 452.83	\$153. 69 152. 10 156. 64 168. 54 171. 19 172. 81	\$287.30 248.17 227.36 260.45 241.19 292.13	\$62.90 70.13 56.12 86.94 76.42 96.69	\$33.11 34.05 31.16 34.12 35.40 82.75	\$331. 34 371. 95 328. 58 334. 55 336. 55 372. 25 367. 83
	\$1, 300. 68 1, 339. 95 1, 235. 50 1, 350. 50 1, 283. 81	\$1, 300. 68 \$432. 34 1, 339. 95 463. 55 1, 235. 50 435. 64 1, 350. 50 465. 90 1, 283. 81 423. 06 1, 419. 46 452. 83	\$1,300.68 \$432.34 \$153.69 1,339.95 463.55 152.10 1,235.50 465.90 168.54 1,235.31 423.06 171.19 1,419.46 452.83 172.81	\$1,300.68 \$432.34 \$153.69 \$287.30 1,339.95 463.55 152.10 248.17 1,235.50 455.90 168.54 260.45 1,238.81 423.06 171.19 241.19 1,419.46 452.83 172.81 292.13	Total Food ling land and light  \$1,300.68 \$432.34 \$153.69 \$287.30 \$62.90 \$1,339.95 \$435.55 \$152.10 248.17 70.13 \$1,235.50 \$435.64 \$156.64 \$27.36 561.35 \$6.94 \$1,235.31 \$423.06 \$171.19 \$241.19 76.42 \$1,419.46 \$452.83 \$172.81 \$292.13 \$96.69	Total Food Clothing ing and light lousehold equipment  \$1,300.68 \$432.34 \$153.69 \$287.30 \$62.90 \$33.11 \$1,339.95 \$463.55 \$152.10 \$248.17 \$70.13 \$34.05 \$1,235.50 \$465.96 \$168.54 \$200.45 \$6.12 \$31.16 \$1,350.50 \$465.96 \$168.54 \$200.45 \$6.94 \$34.12 \$1,283.81 \$423.06 \$171.19 \$241.19 \$76.42 \$35.40 \$1,419.46 \$452.83 \$172.81 \$292.13 \$96.69 \$32.75

¹ Computed by applying, by groups of items, the Bureau of Labor Statistics' indexes of the cost of goods purchased by wage earners and lower-salaried workers, which show changes in cost from time to time in each of the cities, to the data on differences in costs from city to city, presented by the Works Progress Administration in its publication, Intercity Differences in Costs of Living in March 1935, 59 Cities, Research Monograph XIL.

Table 1.—Estimated cost of living for a 4-person manual worker's family at maintenance level, as defined by the Works Progress Administration, in 31 large cities, as of Sept. 15, 1938—Con.

City	Total	Food	Cloth- ing	Hous- ing	Fuel and light	Furniture, furnish- ings, household equip- ment	Mis- cel- lane- ous
Denver Detroit Houston		\$415. 22 435. 75 429. 22	\$162.63 179.92 164.46	\$237. 04 312. 14 244. 05	\$70. 16 84. 53 41. 95	\$34. 38 33. 88 36. 41	\$354. 5: 381. 30 334. 30
Indianapolis Jacksonville	1, 244, 72	429. 22 423. 06 480. 02	161. 15 155. 51	237. 18 218. 28	68. 32 75. 92	32. 61 33. 44	322. 40
Kansas City Los Angeles	1, 267, 21	439. 43	170. 24 191. 98	210. 25 247. 03	63. 28 60. 01	30. 58 36, 40	353. 43 407. 2
Memphis Minneapolis	1, 433, 33	413, 13 427, 26	154. 67 182. 24	263, 21 302, 81	59. 83 123. 99	34. 68 35. 48	327. 2. 361. 5
Mobile New Orleans New York	1, 134, 11 1, 255, 96 1, 385, 94	426. 12 432. 99 478. 70	146. 75 160. 87 149. 77	173, 75 202, 59 307, 67	58. 84 55. 97 81. 08	34. 17 33. 68 29. 66	294, 4 369, 8 339, 0
Norfolk Philadelphia	1, 250, 35	438. 36	159. 87 162. 38	245. 00 254. 53	73. 12	31. 63 32. 24	302. 3° 363. 9
Pittsburgh Portland, Maine	1, 367. 64 1, 272. 30	451. 59 454. 92	169.88 176.44	284. 74 200. 65	56.35 94.15	32. 61 34. 23	372. 4° 311. 9
Portland, Oreg Richmond St. Louis	1, 278, 94	439. 13 426. 19 450. 21	187. 69 180. 79 163. 70	193, 27 251, 90	68. 98 74. 49 55, 93	34. 05 35. 86	362. 0
San Francisco Scranton	1, 441, 53	450, 21 447, 87 431, 52	193. 79 169. 70	285, 79 284, 52 267, 29	63. 83 63. 69	31. 78 37. 21 32. 74	382, 8 414, 3 321, 2
Seattle	1, 292, 70	430. 79	181, 60	196, 64 355, 06	77.11	34. 98 34. 17	371. 5 343. 9

Table 2.—Estimated indexes of cost of living for a 4-person manual worker's family at maintenance level, as defined by the Works Progress Administration, in 31 large cities, as of Sept. 15, 1938, on a base of the cost in Washington, D. C., as of that date as 1001

City	Total	Food	Cloth- ing	Hous- ing	Fuel and light	Furniture, furnish- ings, household equipment	Mis- cella- neous
Atlanta	90. 3	92.9	91. 5	80.9	85. 5	96.9	96.
Baltimore	93. 1	99.6	90.6	69. 9	25.3	99.6	108.
Birmingham	85. 8	93.6	93. 3	64. 0	76.3	91. 2	95.
Boston	93.8	100.1	100.4	73.4	118.1	99.9	97.
Buffalo	89. 2	90. 9	102.0	67. 9	103. 8	103.6	97.
Chicago	98. 6	97.3	102.9	82.3	131. 4	95.8	108.
Cincinnati	92.5	92.3	100.1	76.9	78.7	104.4	106.
Cleveland	99.1	97.0	115.9	80. 2	96. 5	101. 4	113.
Denver	88. 5	89. 2	96.9	66.8	95. 3	100.6	103.
Detroit	99.1	93.7	107. 2	87. 9	114.9	99. 2	110.
Houston	86. 8	92.2	97.9	68. 7	57.0	106.6	97.
Indianapolis	86. 4	90. 9	96.0	66.8	92.8	95. 4	93.
Jacksonville	87.5	103. 2	92.6	61. 5	103. 2	97.9	86.
Kansas City	88. 0	94.4	101. 4	59. 2	86.0	89. 5	102.
Los Angeles	94.0	88.4	114.3	69.6	81.5	106.5	118.
Memphis	87.0	88.8	92.1	74.1	81.3	101.5	95.
Minneapolis	99.5	91.8	108.5	85. 3	168. 5	103.8	105.
Mobile	78.8	91.6	87.4	48.9	80.0	100.0	85.
New Orleans	87.2	93. 1	95.8	57.1	76.1	98. 6	107.
New York	96. 2	102.9	89.2	86.7	110.2	86.8	98.
Norfolk	86.8	94. 2	95. 2	69.0	99.4	92.6	87.
Philadelphia	92.4	95.9	96.7	71.7	96.3	94.4	105.
Pittsburgh	95.0	97.1	101. 2	80. 2	76.6	95.4	108.
Portland, Maine	88.4	97.8	105. 1	56.5	127.9	100.2	90.
Portland, Oreg	89. 2	94.4	111.8	54.4	93.7	99, 6	105.
Richmond	88.8	91.6	107.7	70.9	101, 2	104.9	90.
St. Louis	95. 2	96.8	97.5	80.5	76.0	93.0	111.
San Francisco	100.1	96.3	115.4	80.1	86.7	108.9	120.
Scranton	89.3	92.7	101.1	75.3	86.5	95.8	93.
Seattle	89.8	92.6	108. 2	55. 4	104.8	102.4	108.
Washington, D. C	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.

¹ Computing by applying, by groups of items, the Bureau of Labor Statistics' indexes of the cost of goods purchased by wage earners and lower-salaried workers, which show changes in costs from time to time in each of the cities, to the data on differences in costs from city to city, presented by the Works Progress Administration in its publication, Intercity Differences in Costs of Living in March 1935, 59 Cities, Research Monograph XII.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TARVER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and to include therein certain tables to which I have made reference.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair calls the attention of the gentleman from Georgia to the fact that his request to insert matter will have to be made in the House.

Mr. TARVER. I withdraw that part of my request but renew my request for permission to revise and extend.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 12 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Wigglesworth].

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and to include certain excerpts from reports of committees appointed by the Senate and the House.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will have to submit in the House his request to insert matter.

Is there objection to the gentleman's request for permission to revise and extend his remarks?

There was no objection.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I believe there is no Member of the House today who is not wholeheartedly in favor of adequate relief for the needy unemployed. Much as many of us may deplore policies which we believe have contributed to the present unemployment situation, policies which in our judgment have served to hamstring legitimate enterprise throughout the length and breadth of this Nation and thus to deny the opportunity for employment to millions of our fellow citizens who are now unemployed, I am sure that every Member of this House realizes under existing conditions that relief for those in need must go on, and that the Federal Government must assume its full share of responsibility in this connection.

Nevertheless, Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that no fairminded Member of this House can possibly condone or fail to condemn the present system of administration of relief which today stands before the country charged with waste and extravagance, with the scandalous use of money appropriated for the relief of those in need, and with the fostering of subversive propaganda even against the National Government itself.

When the House considered the appropriation for work and work relief for the principal portion of the present fiscal year last June the views of the minority were embodied in some detail in a minority report, from which I quote as follows:

#### POLITICAL EROSION IN RELIEF

Under the prevailing administrative arrangement the political

the providing administrative arrangement the political exploitation of relief workers is a demoralizing national scandal.

The public records, and the personal correspondence of the Members of Congress as well, offer voluminous documentary evidence that in many States, and especially in all the principal cities, the entire relief system is operated, in large measure, as an adjunct of the local New Deal political exemplants.

entire relief system is operated, in large measure, as an adjunct of the local New Deal political organization.

Under threats of dismissal, relief workers have been herded systematically to the polls by precinct captains; compelled to change their party registration; forced to contribute a portion of their subsistence wages to local campaign funds; mobilized in State campaigns for active political solicitation in the interest of whatever local faction at the moment enjoys the approval and support of the Roosevelt administration. Roosevelt administration.

Public scandals relating to such political trafficking in relief have been, from time to time, the subject of extended inquiry in Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, West Virginia, Ohio, California, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Georgia, Maryland, Louisiana, and Florida.

In several States the public demand for elemental honesty and efficiency in the administration of relief has been carried to the courts. In other States the subject has been a matter of formal legislative inquiry.

formal legislative inquiry.

Mr. Chairman, in my judgment the entire system of administration of relief has got to be revamped, in the interest not only of sound and efficient administration, but in the interest of those in need, that they may have the maximum share of every relief dollar appropriated for their benefit. Personally, I have long believed, and believe now, that a real step in the right direction will have been made if and when we put the entire relief administration on a basis of grants in aid to the several States along well-recognized principles with proper contribution on the part of each State. I hope that we may turn to some such system of administration in the near future.

In the minority report referred to, the fact was emphasized, as it has been today, that the number on the W. P. A. rolls has inevitably shown a very large increase coincident with every national election, regardless of the economic trend at the time. The record before your committee, Mr. Chairman, demonstrates clearly the same situation in respect to the recent election.

When Mr. Hopkins appeared before your committee late last spring in reference to the main appropriation for the present fiscal year, he gave an estimate of 2,600,000 people to be provided for by W. P. A. during July, August, and September, with a possible increase to as many as 3,100,000

in the final 3 months of the calendar year.

What has happened since that time? Between May and November the Federal Reserve index of production increased 21 percent. During the same period, employment increased by about 1,100,000. A further increase in employment is anticipated by Colonel Harrington by the end of the fiscal year of about 1,500,000. The number on direct or general relief in the same period decreased by over 200,000. Transfers from W. P. A. rolls to those of the social security and other Federal assistance rolls amounted to 45,000.

Yet, Mr. Chairman, as has been pointed out today, we find on the rolls of the W. P. A. through this 6 months' period not 2,600,000 for the first 3 months nor 3,100,000 for the last 3 months, but a total of 2,700,000 for June, 2,900,000 for July, 3,000,000 for August, 3,114,000 for September, 3,167,000 for October, and 3,257,000 on the 12th day of November, just after election day, with an immediate and substantial reduction thereafter. Generally speaking, this tendency has applied to all the States of the Union. There are some exceptions. One of those is the State of Kentucky where the peak of employment was reached on August 20, only a few days after the primary fight between Senator BARKLEY and Governor Chandler.

Reference has been made to the so-called Sheppard committee report, the recent report on senatorial campaign expenditures and the use of governmental funds. The report is the unanimous report of a committee headed by the senior Sentor from Texas and the senior Senator from Massachusetts. It is 440 pages long. Others will deal with this report in some detail. I merely emphasize in passing that the report is filled with examples of scandalous use of Federal funds appropriated for those in need; that the committee states that it received hundreds of complaints; that these complaints included: First, irregularities in registration and voting; second, abuse of the Senate franking privilege; third, excessive expenditures and unreported expenditures; fourth, solicitation or assessment of Federal officials and employees either by Federal officials and employees or others for contributions in behalf of a senatorial candidate; fifth, solicitation or assessment of State officials and employees receiving any part of their pay from money appropriated by Congress for such contributions; sixth, intimidation or coercion by Federal officials and employees or others in behalf of a senatorial candidate; seventh, use of funds appropriated by Congress in behalf of a senatorial candidate; and, eighth, promising of employment in private industry in exchange for the promise to vote for certain candidates; that many of the complaints involved the W. P. A.; that the report deals in detail with especially bad conditions in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania; and that the committee makes no less than 16 specific recommendations with a view to eliminating in the future the abuse discovered as a result of its investigation.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the recommendations at this point calling particular attention to recommendation No. 1:

#### RECOMMENDATIONS WITH INTRODUCTORY COMMENT ON WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

I. The committee in the course of its work has been compelled to give much of its attention to charges of undue political activity in connection with the administration and conduct of the Works Progress Administration in certain States. While many of these charges, after investigation, were not sustained, the committee nevertheless finds that there has been in several States, and in many forms, unjustifiable political activity in connection with the work of the Works Progress Administration in such States. The committee believes that funds appropriated by the Congress for the relief of those in need and distress have been in many instances diverted from these high purposes to political ends. The committee condemns this conduct and recommends to the Senate that legislation be prepared to make impossible, so far as legislation can do so, further offenses of this character.

II. The committee recommends legislation prohibiting contribu-

tions for any political purpose whatsoever by any person who is the beneficiary of Federal relief funds or who is engaged in the administration of relief laws of the Federal Government. The committee also recommends legislation prohibiting any person engaged in the administration of Federal relief laws from using his official author-

ity or influence to coerce the political action of any person or body.

III. The committee recommends that section 19, title 1, of the present Work Relief Act, making it a misdemeanor for any person

knowingly, by means of fraud, force, threat, intimidation, boycott, or discrimination on account of race, religion, political affiliations, or membership in a labor organization, to deprive any person of any of the benefits to which he may be entitled under the Work Relief Act, be so amended as to make such violation a felony instead of a misdemeanor.

IV. The committee recommends that all Federal relief acts should be so amended as to provide that all rederal relet acts should be so amended as to provide that any person who knowingly makes, furnishes, or discloses any list of persons receiving benefits under such acts or of persons engaged in the administration thereof, for delivery to a political candidate, committee, campaign manager, or employee thereof shall be deemed guilty of a misde-

meanor

V. The committee recommends that section 208, title 18, of the United States Code be so amended as to prohibit not only the soliciting and receiving of political contributions by officials, employees, and persons now named in that section but also by anyone

acting in their behalf.

VI. The committee recommends that section 211, title 18, of the VI. The committee recommends that section 211, title 18, of the United States Code be so amended as to prohibit political contributions not only by Federal employees to any Senator or Member of or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to Congress but also to any candidate for such offices, or to any person or committee acting with the knowledge and consent and specially in behalf of such Senator or Member of or Delegate to Congress or Resident Commissioner therein, or of any candidate for such office.

VII. The committee recommends that there should be a limitation upon contributions which individuals may make in behalf of

VII. The committee recommends that there should be a limitation upon contributions which individuals may make in behalf of a candidate seeking election to Federal office.

VIII. The committee recommends that section 209, title 18, of the United States Code, relating to solicitation for political contributions in any room or building occupied in the performance of official duties by any person in the employ of the Federal Government be so amended as to include solicitation by letter and telephone, as well as in person.

IX. The committee recommends the adoption by the Senate of a rule requiring all candidates for the Senate to file with the Secre-

rule requiring all candidates for the Senate to file with the Secretary of the Senate, in response to appropriate questionnaires, a full and complete statement of receipts and expenditures incurred by or in behalf of such candidate in their campaigns for nomina-

tion as well as for election.

X. The committee recommends that section 313 of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act be so amended as to prohibit any contribu-tion by any national bank, any corporation organized by authority of any law of Congress, or by any corporation engaged in interstate or foreign commerce of the United States, in connection with any primary or general election.

XI. The committee recommends that subsection (c), section 309,

of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act be so amended as to require candidates to report all their campaign expenditures, including those exempted in determining the amount they are allowed to

spend under the law.

XII. The committee recommends that section 310 of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act be so amended as to prohibit candidates from promising work, employment, money, or other benefits in connection with public relief.

XIII. The committee recommends the enactment of a law regu-

lating more strictly the use of the franking privilege.

XIV. The committee recommends that the Senate take under consideration the question whether or not a contribution for political purposes made either voluntarily or involuntarily by persons in the employ of the Federal Government should be permitted.

XV. The committee recommends that the Senate take under consideration the question of legislation in connection with coali-

tion and group tickets.

XVI. The committee recommends that the Senate adopt a rule authorizing the Vice President to appoint, at the beginning of each Congress, for the duration of said Congress, a Senate committee on investigation of senatorial compaign expenditures, campaign activities, and use of governmental funds for the purpose of influencing primaries and general elections.

Reference has also been made to the report of the socalled Dies committee, the House committee investigating un-American activities and propaganda. Others will also deal with phases of this report in some retail.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 5 additional minutes.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, there is startling testimony in this report, beginning at page 31. The testimony indicates the actual fostering of subversive propaganda through the Federal writers project of the Works Progress Administration.

The committee states:

The total number of employees on this writers project was about 300. It is therefore astonishing to find that one-third of the total number of writers employed by the Government in this project were admitted Communists. We think that the explanation of the thoroughness with which the Communists have penetrated the Federal writers project is that they recognized this project as a splendid vehicle for the dissemination of class hatreds.

The evidence is very conclusive that Communist activities were carried on openly in the Federal writers project.

Much of our evidence with reference to Communist activities

in the Works Progress Administration consists of documentary

In this connection I quote the following excerpts from the examination of those on the staff of the project and in a position, according to the committee, to speak authoritatively:

Q. Would you go so far as to say that the tenor of the Guide from New Jersey has been class hatred and incendiary propaganda?—A. Yes. ganda?-

Q. Di Yes. Did that Guide invariably condemn business and industry? A.

Q. And picture them as pro-Fascist?—A. As being the enemy.
Q. As being the enemy of the masses of the people?—A. Yes.
Q. The radical element in the C. I. O. was championed in this

Guide?-A Yes.

Q. While the business people and industrial classes were pictured as enemies of the mass of the people.—A. Yes, sir.
Q. Have you found, or do you know as a fact, that Mr. Coy and

Mr. Alsberg, at the headquarters of the Federal Writers Project, have shaped their material for propaganda purposes?—A. Yes, sir, Q. Against business and against industry as a class?—A. Yes, sir; and against the Government.

Q. Against the Government itself?--A. Yes, sir.

Q. So that, is it correct to say that those in charge here in Washington have invited propaganda for the purpose of stirring up strife between capital and labor and between the races?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have heard the testimony of the two preceding witnesses, have you not?—A. Yes.
Q. What can you add to that testimony?—A. All I can add is that

I can answer "yes" to every question that you have asked on whether or not the stirring up of race hatred and the stirring up of class struggle between labor and capital, between the working classes and the owning classes, is being disseminated in the United States through those guides. I can answer "yes" to that every time. The chief horror of this whole thing to me is that a situation does exist in what is manifestly a relief project, sponsored by the Government of the United States with money taken from its Treasury, which is put into the Treasury by the taxpayers.

One further point in this general connection. I refer to the statement appearing at page 132 of the hearings before your committee. The statement indicates that, in addition to minor investigations conducted locally, the W. P. A. itself has conducted no less than 64 major investigations of alleged improper political activities. These investigations resulted in the dismissal, suspension, or reprimand of 72 of the administrative or supervisory personnel in the Works Progress Administration.

Mr. Chairman, it seems to me it is absolutely impossible, in the light of evidence of this character in respect to the administration of relief, for the Congress of the United States to close its eyes and continue the type of administration which we now have. It seems to me that the Congress should conduct a thoroughgoing investigation into the whole situation in order that proper changes in the existing system may be made, with a view to honest and efficient administration in the future in the interest of the needy unemployed.

In my judgment, Mr. Chairman, every cent required for the operation of the Works Progress Administration during the winter months should be made available immediately. In my judgment, a special committee to investigate the entire situation should be appointed immediately. In my judgment, our policy as to the future should be determined in the light of the investigation and report of that committee.

An amendment to the pending bill will be offered at the proper time making it possible for the House to adopt such a policy. Adoption of the amendment means the elimination of any reduction in W. P. A. rolls between now and April 7. It means 3 months to investigate and make recommendations. It means action for the best interests of those in need in the light of 3 months' study. I hope the Members of the House will give the amendment their approval. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 13 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. MARTIN].

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, the question was asked of old time whether any good thing could come out of Nazareth, but the coming of something good out of Nazareth would appear to be simple compared with the modern miracle of political purity, sweetness, and light coming out of once darkest Pennsylvania, the feudal domain of Quay, Penrose, Vare, and Joe Grundy, according to Republican spokesmen here on the floor. From what I have heard from them on the floor it is possible that the Pennsylvania Democrats are being slightly tainted by their environment, and that if they are permitted to continue in power there for 60 years more, as the Republicans were, they may bring that State into at least an approximation of its former condition under Republican rule.

From what I have heard from a good many Democrats returning to Washington, it would appear that if the voters in Pennsylvania and some of these other States got too much W. P. A. money, they were seen by somebody else later, which frequently happens, and I am afraid it is going to influence some of their votes against relief legislation.

Mr. BRADLEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I have not the time. I am sorry.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I am sorry; I cannot yield.

Mr. Chairman, a wide range of figures is being discussed for the work relief appropriation for the remainder of the fiscal year ending June 30. They range all the way from \$500,000,000 to \$1,050,000,000, and there is also a proposal to be submitted by the minority to appropriate only \$300,000,-000 for the period ending April 7, by which time it is conjectured by them the work relief appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1940 will have been framed, and at which time they say we can know better than we do now how much money will be needed for the last 3 months of this fiscal year.

For the first time since the inauguration of a work-relief program, and that means giving the able-bodied unemployed work instead of a dole, a drastic overhauling of workrelief methods and mechanics has assumed equal, if not greater, prominence than the amount of money involved in the program, and practically all of the proposed changes in the methods and mechanics of work relief that I have thus far seen are designed to effect a drastic curtailment and the rapid drying up of work relief, and the substitution of some other and cheaper method of caring for the unemployed workers. This has been brewing for 2 years, although many, even of the people directly involved, seemed to be blind to the storm portents. On each work-relief bill in the Seventyfifth Congress the Republican minority submitted a motion to recommit the bill and report it back with an amendment turning unemployment relief over to the States on a dollarmatching basis. That meant the end of work. That meant

On the morning after the last election I knew the storm had broken, and I predicted that the big battle of the first session of the Seventy-sixth Congress would be over work relief. While I anticipated this, it has broken with a fury beyond my expectations and the air is full of formulas as to how work relief may be curtailed and liquidated and some other form of relief substituted.

In my brief time, I want to submit to the consideration of the Committee some formulas which have occurred to me which may serve to soften the process of transition and liquidation, if fundamental changes are to be made.

It would be cruel and inhuman to make a reduction in the winter months which it is admitted would immediately throw one-half million workers out in the streets. The amount of saving involved is not large enough to justify any such inhuman course. My own course is plain and easy. I am going to support the figure asked for by the President and stated to be necessary by the Works Progress Administrator, \$875,000,000. But if a reduction is to be made, which will reduce the two-hundred-and-odd million a month which work relief has been costing during this fiscal year, to \$150,-000,000 or less for the remainder of the year, then there has occurred to my mind several methods by which the reduction may be made with a minimum of hardship and suffering, and maybe with the acceptance of large areas of the country.

My first formula would be to maintain the present work-relief load until about April 1. This will be the period when the grass is again turning green and becoming fit for grazing. Under this formula, which may be termed "the grazing method," the country could be zoned off, with the first reduction made in those favored areas where the grass begins to green and the leaves to bud and the flowers to bloom and the birds to sing very early in the spring.

It could begin in the luscious valleys of the East and South; Kentucky, the Bluegrass State, where the grazing is always good; the level green stretches of Illinois and Indiana; the beautiful rolling hills of Ohio and Pennsylvania, all of which area in the early springtime becomes a verdant carpet which must gladden the eye of Heaven. Perhaps as we go farther south we might begin turning them out to grass about St. Patrick's Day. As we go west where the spring season is later, we could provide in the bill a corre-

sponding retardation of the process.

To be perfectly candid with Members, I have in mind my home State out in the Rockies where the grazing is not so good until along in June. It is not springtime in the Rockies until June. It would be a sectional discrimination against those people to put them out to grass at the same time they could go out in the more favored regions of the lowlands. If the grazing formula is decided upon, the country could be conveniently zoned off, and since work-relief appropriations are hereafter to be earmarked and a bill of particulars included in the act, the grazing system of relief could be readily worked into it.

Another formula which appeals to me is to inaugurate the drying-up program by first turning relief back to the States and districts that went Republican last November. The result in those States and districts could indeed be considered as a mandate to Congress to turn their share of the submerged one-third over to them. They must have understood that such was the program of the Republican Party in Congress the last 2 years. In my district it was put up to them in so many words, that relief was the proper burden of the States and counties and should be assumed by them. The voters

rejected the proposition.

This formula would require only a simple amendment, excluding the States and districts that went Republican in 1938 from having to accept work-relief appropriations. As a precaution against any possibility of mistake as to the mandate, I would make acceptance of the exclusion optional with the States and districts involved. I feel quite confident that none of them would take the money, but for fear any of them may come forward with a claim that they did not know it was "loaded" when they voted Republican last fall, I would include them in the appropriation and leave them the choice. It would be a noble experiment and the result might shed some light upon the growing controversial issue of work relief.

A third formula would relate to the southern section of the country, where there has been great and growing opposition in Congress to the work-relief program. It may not be known to all the Members that in that favored area Mr. Hopkins, who is charged with very expansive ideas about caring for the unemployed, set wage schedules as high as \$19 to \$21 a month. This munificence appears to have been wholly gratuitous, and had, besides, the effect of seriously disturbing the wage struc-

ture in that section of the country.

According to some views I have heard expressed here on the floor, it appears that nobody down there who could get as much as \$19 to \$21 a month on W. P. A. wanted a job at the prevailing wage in private employment. That was more money than they had ever seen or would know what to do with. While nature is not so prodigal there as in the Tropics, the favored people of that area can come much nearer to living off of nature than in the less friendly northern and western areas of the country. It is always springtime in the sunny South. I love to drive around that way to Washington and get the cold soaked out of my bones and absorb the inviting landscape, where every prospect pleases and which has produced the only real chivalry on American soil, and I mean that.

I think it would be a noble gesture were the Representatives from that most-favored area, perhaps under the leadership of Virginia, which has assumed the leading role at both ends of the Capitol in the campaign for drastic economy in Federal work relief, to propose an amendment excluding those States en bloc from the demoralizing effects of a program which they consider is not only costing the taxpayers too much money but is sapping the very vitals of the manhood of America. I can assure them in advance of my support of the motion and what little missionary work I may be able to accomplish in that behalf.

While these formulas I have suggested perhaps by no means exhaust the ways out of our dilemma, I would not care to clutter up the Record with a confusion of suggestions. No doubt under the inspiration of the suggestions I have made, the minds of other Members will get busy and devise other practical formulas, the sum total of which, embodied in a bill, may completely solve the burdensome work-relief problem, and without cost to anybody. The Federal Government would be rid of the great cost and the States would have nothing to pay it with. They can go back to Mr. Hoover's formula of selling red apples on the corner and hitting the Red Cross and Community Chest for a hand out.

In order, however, that my position may be perfectly clear, I give warning now that in the absence of the adoption of some or all of these formulas, I propose to vote for the sum of \$875,000,000. The President and the Administrator have both stated this sum to be necessary; theirs is the responsibility, and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon], a member of the committee, has just stated that there is absolutely nothing in the hearings upon which to base the cut of \$150,000,000 made by the Appropriations Committee or any sum less than \$875,000,000. [Applause.]

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Thomas].

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, reference has been made here today to communism in certain of the W. P. A. projects, particularly the Federal writers project and the Federal theater project. Reference has also been made to the report made by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

I should like to call the attention of the members of the Committee not only to the report but to the matter on this subject contained in the volumes of testimony, two of which I have here. In each one of these volumes are about a thousand pages. There will be 4,000 pages in all of testimony recently presented to the Dies Committee. Much in these volumes has to do with un-American activities on Federal Government projects. A large part of the testimony has to do with communism in the Federal theater project and in the Federal writers project.

Regardless of who reads these volumes, and I certainly hope every Member of the House will read them, one cannot get away from the thought that these Federal writers projects and the Federal theater projects in certain of our large cities, notably New York, are honeycombed with communism. Testimony was given the committee by one witness after another that Communist literature was given out on the projects, on project time, and that Communist meetings were held during the time workers were supposed to be engaged in their regular activities. One witness testified that 80 percent of the members on the Federal writers project in New York City were either members of the Communist Party or friendly to the Communist cause.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. FISH. Did the gentleman or his committee investigate the Workers' Alliance?

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Yes; we did.

Mr. FISH. Is that a Communist organization?

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Testimony was presented to the committee not by one witness but by many witnesses

that the Workers' Alliance is nothing more than a front organization for the Communist Party.

Mr. FISH. Does the gentleman know that Mr. Aubrey Williams, formerly Deputy Administrator of the Works Progress Administration, said to that group, "We have got to stick together, we have got to keep our friends in power"?

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Not only do I know that, but those exact words were presented to the committee as testimony.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman vield?

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. I cannot yield further. I have only 10 minutes. If I can get more time, I shall be pleased to yield to the gentleman from California.

One of the worst things about the Federal theater project in New York City is the plays put on by that project, plays of a very radical nature, advocating, among other things, a change in our form of government—plays that have been protested to the National Director of Federal theater project by not only patriotic organizations and veterans' organizations but leading police officials in the particular municipalities where these plays were staged.

Let me read from this testimony a statement by Byrnes MacDonald, sixth deputy police commissioner of the city of New York. This statement is contained in a letter written by him to Mrs. Hallie Flanagan, National Director of the Federal Theater Project, and has to do with a play called Revolt of the Beavers, a fairy tale, put on for the benefit of the youth of the Nation. This is what Byrnes MacDonald, sixth deputy police commissioner of New York City, had to say about that play, and while I shall not now read the entire letter, I shall ask permission to place the whole letter in the RECORD:

I know of no better way to conclude than to quote Mr. Atkinson's criticism of the play.

Mr. Atkinson is one of the leading dramatic critics of the New York Times. Mr. Atkinson said this:

The style is playful; the mood is gravely gay and simple-minded. Many children now unschooled in the technique of revolution now have an opportunity, at Government expense, to improve their tender minds. Mother Goose is no longer a rhymed escapist. She has been studying Marx; Jack and Jill lead the class revolution.

This is the kind of play the Federal theater project, at the taxpayers' expense, is putting on for the benefit of the youth of this Nation.

While mentioning plays, I wish to quote some testimony with respect to another play, a play we have all heard about, called Triple A Plowed Under. The witness in testimony before the Dies committee said:

That was one play which on the opening night required 30 New York policemen to guard the play and prevent a riot.

It contained a scene in which the secretary of the Communist Party condemns the judiciary of the United States Government. Such characters as George Washington and Andrew Jackson were removed from the play in order to give a prominent part to the secretary of the Communist Party, Earl Browder. The conclusion of the play is the establishment of a political party in accordance with the wish expressed by the secretary of the Communist Party, expressed by Mr. Earl Browder himself in a radio broadcast a short time previous to the production.

Other plays, like Created Equal, Injunction Granted, and Power, are all definitely propaganda plays. Not only that, but many of these Federal theater project plays are just as communistic as any play put on by the National Theater in the Soviet Union.

I want to say a word about another one of the W. P. A. arts projects, particularly the one in New York City, and that is the writers' project. A witness who came before the Dies committee stated that of the 15 supervisors on the writers' project in New York City, 13 were members of the Communist Party, and that of all the employees on that project, 80 percent of them were members of the Workers' Alliance and that you could not get on the project today unless you became a members of the Workers' Alliance; and it did not make any difference whether you were a veteran or how worthy you were or in what sort of straitened cir-

cumstances you were, you just could not get on the writers' project in New York City today unless you joined the Workers' Alliance.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 3 additional minutes.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. This witness also said that of the 500 workers, so-called, on that project they had published in 31/2 years, 5 books. Five hundred workers published 5 books and 2 of the 5 were gotten out since the Dies committee started its meetings, and of the 500 workers 1 man was responsible for 3 of the books and the 499 other workers were responsible for 2. The reason for this was the inefficiency of the project, the constant bickering, the constant communistic meetings, the constant protest meetings, and it was not until the Dies committee, which has been investigating un-American activities, started that the administrators of the project were able to make anything at all out of the chaos that had

I may say one more thing about these projects, and this has reference to a statement of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Wigglesworth], whose suggestion I believe it was to have an investigation of the W. P. A. If such an investigation is held, I hope the investigators will develop some testimony that was brought out in the Dies committee meetings by one of the witnesses, Mr. Revzin, who was asked this question:

Are you prepared to testify at a later date, before any other committee which may be appointed, a committee other than this particular one, as to the inefficiency, extravagance, and corruption in connection with the Federal theater project in New York City?

Mr. Revzin, who was an employee of the Federal theater project, answered, "Yes, sir."

Contrast this evidence of extravagance, corruption, and, as I have earlier pointed out, the existence of communism and other forms of radicalism on many of the Works Progress Administration projects with the unfortunate situation existing in New Jersey and perhaps most of the other States in the Union, whereby poor unfortunate people over 65 years of age are denied any assistance from the Works Progress Administration. In the month of November of 1938 the Works Progress Administration in New Jersey issued an order that all people over 65 years of age and all other people who might be eligible under the Federal law for social security benefits, including, of course, widows who have minor children, should be denied further assistance from the W. P. A. In New Jersey it means that instead of a family receiving in the neighborhood of \$60 a month, the W. P. A. wage, to live on, it must from now on be satisfied with something in the neighborhood of \$25 a month. Imagine—a whole family in many cases being forced to subsist on a bare pittance of \$25 a month.

This, to me, is brutal, cruel, and disgraceful, especially so when we take into consideration these poor people had their W. P. A. benefits taken away from them almost without notice.

I hope that instead of appropriating millions of dollars to care for many of the un-American activities on the Federal theater project and the Federal writers' project, and instead of appropriating millions of dollars with which to carry on the political activities of the W. P. A., we will divert these millions to the care of our worthy older people and to our worthy unemployed widows with minor children, who have been so abruptly thrown out in the cold.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK].

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, I doubt, after all, whether a discussion limited to the question of whether or not we shall or shall not vote money for relief is the important issue here today. Relief money in some adequate amount must be appropriated. To my mind it is clear that we should on this occasion, however, reexamine the affairs of government to the end that we determine, if we can, why, after 6 years of governmental administration under the New Deal, we still find it necessary to come here in the Congress of the United States and appropriate ever-increasing millions to take care of millions yet unemployed.

We are all for the relief that is necessary to be granted to the people who are out of employment. This almost goes without saying, but there are some of us who are very much interested in determining just what the future will be and just what we may expect. Personally, I have never quarreled with the W. P. A. as such. I have always said that if my Government and my society could not offer me anything better than a Government job under W. P. A. I would take it, but I would do so looking to the dawning of a brighter day when I could again go back into real industry and legitimate employment and make the wages and salary that only that kind of industry or business can pay.

Now, to go back a little, we had an election in 1932. The people of this country held the Government then in power responsible for the economic condition of the country and there were certain things said in that campaign. I realize lots of people do not like to have them referred to, but do you recall that in the course of that campaign it was said that excessive governmental spending is a brake on any return to normal business activity, and again it was said, "I consider reduction in Federal spending as the greatest contribution that government can make to business." It was recognized then that the problem before the country was to find jobs for the people who wanted to work, and on that platform and on such promises a new government came into power. They had not been in power 30 days until those promises were kicked out of the White House window and the Government was embarked, not on a policy of Government economy to provide jobs, as had been promised, but on a policy of spending to promote recovery. In my opinion, the statements made in the 1932 campaign were statements of fact. The tragedy is that they were not followed in

I have always held and still hold that excessive Government spending is a brake on any return to normal business

In determining the amount of money that should at this time be made available for relief, I do not have the confidence in the estimates sent down here that I would have if the people directly in charge of the Government and its program would cut loose from this foolish idea that we can spend ourselves prosperous. They should in all sincerity say to us, "We want this money to take care of relief, and we are no longer trying to prime the pump." We tried pump priming for 6 years, and it has not done the job. Witness the accomplishments. I say if you measure the New Deal on the basis of accomplishment, it has been an utter and dismal failure. It has not given jobs to the people out of employment. It has not given good prices to the farmers. And it is not a satisfactory answer to continually hark back to 1932.

We came along to 1936. We had an election that year. The new dealers stuck out their chests and said, "We are better off, and we planned it that way," and the people of the country apparently believed them and voted that way. Then following that election, the people in charge of our Government thought that they had some sort of a mandate from the people of America to make the country over. So we started early in January in 1937 to make the country over.

The people in charge of the New Deal failed to recognize that the emergency was over, that the country was beginning to get well naturally and normally, that jobs were being provided for people by the efforts of the people themselves. I say the vital error was made when the people in charge of our Government failed to recognize that the emergency was over. Disregarding the real interests of the country, they went ahead joyfully on this scheme to make the country over, to pack the Court, to destroy the balance of constitutional government. We argued and fought around here all through the 1937 first session. Then we were called back in

special session. The country had hit the toboggan. We dropped faster into this Roosevelt depression than we have into any other depression. And were we called back here to do anything to stem the tide of an on-rushing depression? Oh, no; we were called back here to pass a reorganization bill that nobody seemed to want, to establish seven little T. V. A.'s over the country, and to do a lot more things calculated to increase and heighten the depression. You can find in that the reason for the fact that we are here today, not to go on to a sound and permanent recovery but to find, after years of attempted pump priming, that the new dealers have nothing better to offer the people of our land, the unemployed, than subsistence jobs on made-work projects. On November 8 of last year the people rightfully held the Government responsible for economic depression.

In my opinion we are in an intolerable situation. We cannot go on in this country with half of our working people on the Government pay rolls and projects at starvation wages, and then have the other half of the people on the rolls of industry and agriculture drawing the wages that only that kind of industry and agriculture can pay. We have to go one way, or we have to go the other way.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALLECK. Yes.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. I think the gentleman from Indiana probably has overlooked one accomplishment of the present administration and that is that as a result of the policies of the administration the poor of this country have been fixed or frozen in their unfortunate position.

Mr. GIFFORD. And, Mr. Chairman, on this matter of spending ourselves into prosperity, has the gentleman ever heard about the advice of drinking yourself sober?

Mr. HALLECK. I have been told that that is poor advice. [Laughter.] No, Mr. Chairman, the answer does not lie in the direction of more Federal spending to promote recovery. Real and permanent recovery will come from the finding of real jobs, and as one way of getting started in that direction, why not use some economy in the spending of relief money.

There has been a lot of talk about relief in politics. Do you know the people who squawked the loudest about politics in relief? I heard plenty of real Democrats in the Congress, on whom the wrath of the New Deal was turned in the primaries, and I heard those people cry out louder and longer about politics in relief than any Republican. I heard Members of this House who were seeking to be nominated to the Senate of the United States come back to the House, to the cloak rooms and to the floor, and say that in their States white collar W. P. A. supervisors had been put on the pay rolls for no other purpose than to electioneer against them and to bring about the nomination of the persons favored by the New Deal.

The only permanent and lasting solution of this problem of relief is to find more work opportunities for the people who want to work.

I have no sympathy or patience with those people who say that we cannot put the people of America back to work. If you will look in the poorer homes of your own districts you will see there a consumer demand, crying to be filled, sufficient to keep every factory going night and day for years before it can be filled. Then why say with Mr. Hopkins, "We are perpetually to have an army of millions of unemployed people with no job other than W. P. A."? I hold for our unemployed better promise in the future of this land. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10
minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Healey].

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Chairman, I assume that the membership of this body is desirous of approaching this matter of providing for the unemployed of this country, in a non-partisan, nonpolitical, and nonsectional spirit. My Republican colleagues from Massachusetts did not campaign last fall on a platform pledging indiscriminate slashing of

W. P. A. appropriations. On the contrary, many of my colleagues on this side of the aisle campaigned on very liberal platforms during the last election. In many instances they held out promises to their constituents that if elected they would lend their support to appropriations sufficient to provide for the needy unemployed.

It seems to me that this whole question resolves itself into the issue of whether we are going to make adequate provision for the unemployed on the scientific basis of known factual information submitted by Colonel Harrington, Administrator of the W. P. A., and contained in the hearings, or whether you are going to submit to the arbitrary slash recommended by the committee without regard for the actual needs demonstrated by the report of the hearings.

I heard the very able argument of the chairman of the subcommittee this morning, a man for whom I have the greatest admiration. I heard him make the very optimistic statement, which is borne out also by Colonel Harrington, that it is estimated that some 1,500,000 persons will be absorbed by private employment within the next few months. We all hope that is so and hope that the number will really

exceed the estimate.

But I call to the attention of the able chairman of this committee the statement contained in Colonel Harrington's testimony on page 35 of the hearings, that he made allowance for this prospect in arriving at his estimate of \$875,-000.000 as necessary requirements until July 1. I call attention also to the statement of Colonel Harrington in reply to a member of the committee which is contained in the hearings on page 101 that there are 750,000 persons already certified as eligible for W. P. A. employment, who have been unable to get on the rolls of the Works Progress Administration. Therefore, these 750,000 persons who have full W. P. A. eligibility must be considered in addition to the more than 3,000,000 persons already on W. P. A. rolls in calculating the full needs of W. P. A.

The problem we must face is one that cannot wait. As I understand it, within a few weeks all of the funds that were made available for this agency during the last session of Congress will be exhausted. One week's unemployment to a family of persons depending upon W. P. A. employment in my district means suffering; means privation; means that they go without food and fuel, and possible eviction for failure to pay rent. It is their immediate and pressing concern. They cannot wait for prolonged congressional investigations. I do not believe that there are persons in this body who will be persuaded by political reasons to forget the needs of the unemployed. I believe most of us are of the opinion that adequate provision should be made to prevent serious

suffering and privation in this country.

Now, I refer to the statement beginning on page 149 of the hearings made by Mayor LaGuardia, who appeared before the committee, not only representing the great metropolis of New York City but also as the delegated representative of the United States Conference of Mayors, composed of mayors of cities of over 50,000 population. The factual reports from major cities of the United States with reference to W. P. A. needs are incorporated in his statement. He states that the mayors are absolutely unanimous in the opinion that even the \$875,000,000 requested by W. P. A. authorities is insufficient to take care of the needs of the unemployed of this country. They estimate that \$915,000,000 will be required. Who are more conversant with this situation than the mayors of our country, the men who, day in and day out in their several communities, are confronted with the relief problem? Now, if we are going to assume the obligation of providing employment for the unemployed employables of this country, and not throw the burden upon the States and their subdivisions, it seems to me that we should vote for the sum of \$875,000,000 recommended by the W. P. A. authorities as being the least amount sufficient to provide for the requirements of this agency for the balance of the fiscal year.

Mr. SOUTH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HEALEY. I am sorry, I have not time to yield. From this same source we have the statement that if the appropriation is cut to \$725,000,000, as recommended by the committee, one-third of the present rolls, or 1,151,000, will lose their jobs on the W. P. A. It is estimated that if only \$725,000,000 is appropriated the cuts in W. P. A. rolls in some of the States will run as follows: In Pennsylvania, 97,000; in Ohio, 97,600; in Texas, 42,000; in New Jersey, 38,500.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 additional minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. HEALEY. In Missouri, 40,800; in Michigan, 54,400; Illinois, 90,000; California, 44,000; Massachusetts, 47,800; Wisconsin, 29,500; while in the city of New York alone 66,700 will have to be taken from the rolls; and in the city of Chicago 43,500.

Mr. Chairman, the chairman of the subcommittee, Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia, admitted in his remarks that some 500,000 persons admittedly eligible for this relief will have to be taken from the rolls of the W. P. A. if we adopt the resolution presented by the committee appropriating \$725,000,000. Which 500,000 are you going to drop? Where are you going to start cutting? How can this be accomplished without immediate hardship? The figures submitted by Colonel Harrington have not been disputed. His testimony remains uncontroverted up to the present time. These unemployed people are depending upon Congress to provide some means of sustenance for themselves and their families.

Mr. Chairman, I trust that we shall be actuated in dealing with this matter only by the sincere desire to provide for the needy unemployed without partisan or political bias. [Applause.1

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from North Dakota [Mr.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Chairman, if you really have disposition to cut appropriations for relief at this time. I suggest that this is not the time to do it, not in the winter months. I come from the center of the Dust Bowl, where 80 percent of all the farmers in my county are on relief. Some of these families are now receiving \$10 to \$15 a month per family, and it is impossible to properly heat a building in that section of the country during the winter months for less than \$8 per month.

If you are going to cut relief below the plan suggested by the President, you surely do not want to do it at this time, because if you do you will have another 1,000 farmers on the highway as you have in Missouri today, driven out because the owners of the land do not want to divide the payments received from the Government-chase them out and hire men by the day so they can keep all the checks. In my State mortgage foreclosures are proceeding more rapidly now than ever. What are you going to do with this great body of people who through no fault of their own find themselves out on the highways in the winter months? Are you going to sit here and say you will cut the appropriations?

We have to pay for our independence in this body. I have had to pay for my independence. I have not served on committees in this House, and I do not presume I shall, because I have some independence; but there is no organization in this House which can take that independence away. Do your worst with your committees, so far as I am concerned, but I am not going to give up the theories I believe are right; and whenever the President of the United States is right I am willing to subscribe to it. He is right in the amount that he asks for in this appropriation bill.

If you want to regulate relief so there will be no politics in it—there is not very much politics in relief in my State because both Senators and both Congressmen belong to the Republican Party and relief has been in the hands of the Democrats. They have handled it all right in our State, but if you believe that there should be no politics in the organization at all, why do you not distribute these funds to the States, send the money to the States and let them handle it? [Applause.] Congress can do this. I have advocated this plan of relief distribution ever since I have been in Congress.

For God's sake, do not get so fast about doing this job that you forget to lay down the regulations yourselves and not leave that to some bureau. It is not the fault of the bureau; it is the fault of us who sit here and could do the job ourselves if we would. Can we not write a set of rules under which relief shall be distributed? It is our plain duty to give these directions; but having failed to do it, we should not be heard to complain of the rules laid down by a bureau.

As long as private business cannot employ these people, who can object to the Government's employment program?

The gentleman from Virginia, for whom I have a great deal of admiration, said that we shall have to borrow every dollar of the money we appropriate for this purpose. I have never heard such a doctrine in all my life, but I am convinced that he is speaking the sentiments of this House. I do not believe this House has nerve enough to write into this bill, or any other bill, the direction that we shall issue money, Treasury notes that do not draw interest, to pay for the relief administration—I do not believe you have—but some day that will be done right here in this body. What a crime to permit anyone to reap a harvest of interest off of relief money!

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin. Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. I have over 188,000,000,000 of German marks, printing press marks. I will give them to you if you want to pass them around, since you are advocating that kind of money in America.

Mr. BURDICK. Yes; and that is just exactly like our money will be when this Government goes down as the German Government did. When that happens neither currency or bonds will have any value.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. And we are pretty close to it now. These 188,000,000,000 German marks would not buy a schnit of German beer in Germany during the inflation.

Mr. BURDICK. You, of course, know that when any government fails, its money always becomes worthless.

The gentleman from Virginia also said that P. W. A. will take up the slack. Replying to that, I would point out that P. W. A. operations require the matching of Federal funds with State funds. In my section of the country we have not had a paying crop for 9 years. Consequently, the P. W. A. does not apply to our situation. I say to you that if you do not want thousands of farmers and workers along the high-ways of this Nation headed for the Capitol at Washington, you had better get busy and appropriate money to give them the bare necessities of life.

Remember that the strongest law recognized by the whole human race is the law of self-preservation. If we deny our citizens the right to live, when the situation is due to nothing they have done, can we expect them to peacefully fold their arms and expire? No, Mr. Chairman; they will not—their country; they are in want, their children are in want, and they will sustain themselves by violent action if necessary. This House fails to understand how critical the situation is with millions of our citizens. You do not want communism, neither do I; but if you persist in your intention to cut people off of the food that sustains life, you will make more Communists in America than all the organizers of communist in this country. Remember that communism is a symptom of a diseased government. Communism has never grown or developed in any country where the government guarantees

to its people the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Let people live, let them work, let them take care of their families under the American standard of living, and you can dismiss the danger of communism.

We all recognize that every man and every woman in this country has a right to live. Does anybody dispute that? If through no fault of their own they are unable to take care of themselves, what is the duty of this Government? I would like to have somebody answer this question.

Just merely because the President of the United States suggests this money is no reason in the world why I should vote against it. This time the President is right. Maybe something will come up here in the House, and we will think the President is not right. I will be just as free to vote against him then as I am free to vote with him on this proposition. To inject any political consequences into a question of this kind, when we have millions out of jobs, millions hungry and cold, and we sitting here where we are warm and refusing to appropriate that money, is more than I believe this Congress will ever do. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.
Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO].

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, any observer who has listened to the debate today has concluded that there has been more politics played here today with relief, and particularly with the unemployed who are dependent on W. P. A., than at anytime or anywhere else in the country. The reactionary forces in this House have devoted a great portion of the debate, not to the needs of the unemployed, not to the welfare of our country, but to petty politics, to political sniping, to an attempt to discredit the unemployed and their organization and have raised a huge smoke screen to hide the real issue; that is, the gross inadequacy of the \$725,000,000 suggested by the Appropriations Committee in the resolution under consideration.

It seems to me the proposition which we have before us is a proposition which deals with the welfare of our country; it deals with the welfare of the unemployed of our country; and whether you be Republicans or Democrats, no matter to what party you may belong, there is one fundamental principle which we cannot fail to recognize and that is that the civilization of the American people is dependent on the welfare of the unemployed millions of Americans. Tear down and destroy the welfare of the unemployed in America and you are aiming a most serious blow to the fundamental American institutions which we all revere.

Let us get down and analyze the effect of the reduced appropriations recommended. It is admitted on page 4 of the committee's report that 300,000 W. P. A. workers will be laid off if the President's request of \$875,000,000 were granted. The committee aggravates this situation by recommending only \$725,000,000. Let us see. How many workers on W. P. A. are going to be dismissed by cutting the appropriation to \$725,000,000? The committee report estimates about a million will be fired as a result of their reduced appropriation. I am not ready to agree with this report except for the purpose of argument and debate. I prefer to accept the report of the United States Conference of Mayors, which I believe is much more scientific and less speculative than the report submitted by the committee. The report submitted by the United States Conference of Mayors is based on the fact there are, as of January 1, 1939, 3,080,300 workers on W. P. A. If the reduced amount of \$725,000,000 reported by the committee is not substantially raised, the number of W. P. A. workers will be reduced to 1,930,000 by June 30. This means an actual lay-off of 1,151,-300 needy W. P. A. workers who are now employed on the useful W. P. A. projects throughout the United States.

You reactionaries today make unjustified and unwarranted attacks on the Workers' Alliance; you raise the smoke screen of relief in politics; you raise the issue of

maladministration, but why do you not tell what you propose to do with 1,151,300 workers whom you deprive of even the means of a bare existence? That is the real issue before you in this Committee. That is the proposition, and I challenge you to answer it. Are you ready in private industry to absorb the 1,151,300 W. P. A. workers who are going to be removed from the W. P. A. rolls as a result of this cut? How about the additional 500,000 certified for W. P. A. and not put on?

Mr. Chairman, we have a great deal of hope and optimism, but when you say that private industry is going to absorb them, I think it is a great deal of wishful thinking. We all agree there is an upturn in business, but the best way to destroy this improvement is by cutting W. P. A. appropriations. Any retrenchment of W. P. A. spending at this time or any cutting of public spending which gives the public purchasing power is bound to bring about a reverse in this upturn in business.

We need not speculate. Let us rely on experience. Let us see what has happened in the recent past when we cut W. P. A. at a time when business was improving.

The following is what we spent monthly on W. P. A. for the year 1936:

January	\$168,000,000
February	164, 000, 000
March	192,000,000
April	183, 000, 000
May	174, 000, 000
June	169, 000, 000
July	163, 000, 000
August	157, 000, 000
September	
October	181,000,000
November	168, 000, 000
December	185, 000, 000

At the beginning of 1937, with signs of improvement all over the country and business conditions in general, with a rise in sales and production, we cut W. P. A., and we spent as follows:

January	\$148,000,000
February	134, 000, 000
March	166, 000, 000
April	144, 000, 000
May	138, 000, 000
June	148, 000, 000
July	116, 000, 000
August	102, 000, 000
September	100, 000, 000
October	100, 000, 000
November	100, 000, 000
December	112, 000, 000

In 1938, realizing our mistake and in the midst of the recession, we commenced to increase our W. P. A. monthly expenditures as follows:

Total 1, 509, 000, 000

January	\$107,000,000
February	109, 000, 000
March	152, 000, 000
April	147, 000, 000
May	158, 000, 000
June	175, 000, 000

You will note, therefore, that the first big cut came at the beginning of 1937. The second cut came in July of the same year.

The average monthly expenditure, adjusted for seasonal variations in 1936, was \$172,000,000. The average monthly expenditure, adjusted for seasonal variations, the first half of 1937 was \$146,000,000. The average monthly expenditure, adjusted for seasonal variations, the second half of 1937 was \$105,000,000. So, at the very beginning of 1937, which marked the beginning of the recession, collection of taxes for old-age benefits began, and this withdrew another \$500,000,000 for the year out of consumption. Business withstood the shock of this combined drain on consumption for several months, largely by piling up inventories, also because of foreign rearmament demands, and because reduction in consumer buying power does not make itself felt immediately on orders received by producers.

Let us see what happened during the corresponding period on production. The Federal Reserve index of production for 1937 shows as follows:

January	114
February	116
March	118
April	118
May	
June	
July	114
August	117
September	
October	102
November	88
December	84

Department-store figures followed the same general course as production:

January	1936	81
January	1937	93
April 193'	7	93
		94
		93
Novembe	r	91
Decembe	r	89

The Department of Commerce Survey of Current Business of March 1938 showed also a sharp decline in index of incomes of 100 in 1929 down to 55 in 1933, up to 89 in 1937, and from there on went into a nosedive until W. P. A. expenditures were increased.

We find the following happened to industrial production in 1938:

January	
February	
March	
April	
May	
June	
July	
August	
September	

This rise in production followed along with the rise in W. P. A. spending. Consequently experience has taught us that by cutting down W. P. A. appropriations we necessarily cut down W. P. A. spending, and in so doing we are cutting down the purchasing power of the American people. The moment we cut down the purchasing power of the American people, particularly at a time when there is any sign of business recovery, that business upturn goes immediately into a downward spin.

Mr. Chairman, I feel that this experience should teach us that any cut in W. P. A. will not help business; it will not continue recovery; it will not help private industry; but, to the contrary, private industry will be hurt, recovery set back, and business will be dealt a staggering blow. Hence, instead of absorbing the discharged W. P. A. workers, more American wage earners and salaried workers will be thrown out of private industry. The removal of W. P. A. workers from W. P. A. must be a natural process. W. P. A. workers want jobs in private industry. As conditions improve, these workers will go into private industry as private industry offers jobs. This is the only process which will reduce the number on W. P. A.; improve business and cut down unemployment. Precipitous cuts mean only less jobs in private industry. Any cut in W. P. A. appropriations at this time is going to bring about another terrific recession in this country. I know the reactionaries in this country want a recession, because a recession is the best guaranty of electing reactionaries to public office and electing a reactionary to the White House. A recession at this time or within the next few months is the best guaranty of bringing about reactionary administrations throughout the country; and I say to the Members of this House who believe themselves to be liberal, who believe themselves to be progressive, that the best guaranty against the election of reactionaries to office is to keep up this business upturn, and the best guaranty toward keeping up that business improvement, as taught us through experience, is to keep up W. P. A. appropriations in order to take care of the needs of the unemployed and at the same time protect the purchasing power of the American people which is so necessary and so vital to maintain a sus-

tained improvement in business conditions in the United States.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to insert as part of my remarks the statement released by the United States Conference of Mayors.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. South). The gentleman will have to get that permission in the House.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Very well; I shall do that.

The matter referred to is as follows:

THE UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF MAYORS, WASHINGTON, D. C., January 11, 1939.

TOTAL OF 1,151,300 W. P. A. WORKERS TO LOSE JOBS BY JUNE 30 UNDER HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE AMOUNT OF SEVEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE MILLIONS

One million one hundred and fifty-one thousand three hundred needy W. P. A. workers must be discharged from their jobs by June 30 if the action of the House Appropriations Subcommittee in recommending a W. P. A. deficiency appropriation of only 725 millions is sustained by the Congress.

W. P. A. employment on January 1, 1939, totaled 3,081,300 workers. Under the reduced amount of 725 millions reported by the subcommittee, employment will have to go down to 1,930,000 by

This involves the discharge of 1,151,300 W. P. A. workers. The figures for each State, tabulated by the United States Conference of Mayors for the first time since action by the House Appropriations Subcommittee, are attached herewith. They range from a reduction of 1,000 W. P. A. workers in Nevada to a reduction of 97,700 in Penn-

Subcommittee, are attached herewith. They range from a reduction of 1,000 W.P. A. workers in Nevada to a reduction of 97,700 in Pennsylvania and 97,600 in Ohio. Texas must discharge 42,000 W.P. A. workers, New Jersey 38,500 workers, Missouri 40,800 workers, Michigan 54,400 workers, Illinois 90,000 workers, California 44,300 workers, Massachusetts 47,800 workers. Wisconsin 29,500 workers, Oklahoma 26,000 workers, and Virginia 11,800 workers.

A second tabulation from 24 major cities shows that reductions of over 33 percent of present W.P. A. employment quotas will be necessary by June 30. These figures show a range in the necessity for discharge of 1,800 W.P. A. workers in Baltimore by June 30 up to 43,500 in Chicago, 21,400 in Detroit, 66,700 in New York City, 13,200 in Los Angeles, 27,200 in Cleveland, 11,200 in Boston, 9,700 in Milwaukee, 12,600 in St. Louis, and 8,900 in Philadelphia.

The figures tabulated are based upon a gradual reduction beginning February in accordance with the limited amount recommended, namely, \$725,000,000. If, however, the W.P.A. maintains its present quota of 3,000,000 workers during the months of February and March it will then be necessary to get down to a quota of 1,375,000 workers by June 30. This would mean that, between April 1 and June 30, 1,625,000 needy W.P.A. workers would have to be discharged.

Employment schedule with deficiency appropriation of \$725,000,000

Employment schedule with deficiency appropriation of \$725,000,000 to the Works Progress Administration

RESIDENTIAL SELECTION OF A SELECTION	Employ- ment	Cost at \$61 per worker
February	3, 000, 000 3, 000, 000 2, 500, 000 2, 000, 000 1, 375, 000	Millions 183.0 183.0 152.5 122.0 83.9
Average	2, 375, 000	724.4

These facts are made available at this time in order that all concerned—the Federal Government, the States, and the cities—will know the exact situation which will exist under a deficiency W. P. A. appropriation of seven hundred and twenty-five millions.

PAUL V. BETTERS,

[Enclosures]

Executive Director.

Estimated W. P. A. employment in June 1939 under deficiency appropriation of \$725,000,000 1

(Assuming that relative distribution of need in the several States continues on present basis and that arbitrary discharge of workers begins immediately without regard to seasonal increases in need during winter months)

-on agreem ob st. best in est	Employ-	Estimated employ- ment, June 1939		
State	ment, Dec. 31, 1938	Number	Reduc- tion from Dec. 31	
Grand total	3, 081, 300	1, 930, 000	1, 151, 300	
Alabama Arizona Arkansas California Colorado	61,500 11,400 49,900 118,500 31,800	38, 500 7, 100 31, 300 74, 200 19, 900	23,000 4,300 18,600 44,300 11,900	

Includes employment on projects financed by transfer of Works Progress Admin-

Estimated W. P. A. employment in June 1939 under deficiency appropriation of \$725,000,000—Continued

	Employ-	Estimated employ- ment, June 1939		
State	ment, Dec. 31, 1938	Number	Reduc- tion from Dec. 31	
Connecticut	28, 900	18, 100	10, 800	
Delawara	4,000	2, 500	1, 500	
District of Columbia	13, 800	8, 600	5, 200	
Florida	52, 400	32, 800	19, 600	
Georgia	63, 500	39, 800	23, 700	
Idaho	11, 100	7,000	4, 100	
Illinoie	241, 000	151,000	90, 000	
Illinois		53, 800		
Indiana	85, 800	19, 700	32,000	
Iowa	31, 500		11, 800	
Kansas	36, 900	23, 100	13, 800	
KentuckyLouisiana	67, 000	42, 000 33, 300	25, 000	
	53, 100		19, 800 4, 100	
Maine Maryland	10, 900	6, 800 12, 200	7, 300	
Massachusetts	19, 500 127, 900	80, 100	47, 800	
Michigan	145, 500	91, 100		
Minnesota	66, 500	41,700	54, 400 24, 800	
Mississippi	48, 500			
Missouri	109, 100	30, 400 68, 300	18, 100	
Montana	20, 600	12,900	40, 800	
Nebraska	27, 800	17, 400	7,700	
Nevada	2,600	1,600	10,400	
New Hampshire	11, 200	7,000	4, 200	
New Jersey	103, 000	64, 500	38, 500	
New Mexico	11, 800	7, 400	4, 400	
New York City	179, 600	112, 500	67, 100	
New York (exclusive of New York City)	66,000	41, 400	24, 600	
North Carolina.	53, 900	33, 800	20, 100	
North Dakota	15, 100	9, 500	5, 600	
Ohio	261, 200	163, 600	97, 600	
Oklahoma	69, 500	43, 500	26,000	
Oregon.	19, 300	12, 100	7, 200	
Pennsylvania	201, 500	163, 800	97, 700	
Rhode Island	16, 400	10, 300	6, 100	
South Carolina	43, 600	27, 300	16, 300	
South Dakota	16,000	10,000	6,000	
Pennessee	53, 500	33, 500	20,000	
Texas	112, 300	70, 300	42,000	
Utah	14, 900	9, 300	5, 600	
Vermont	8, 200	5, 100	3, 100	
Virginia.	31,600	19, 800	11, 800	
Washington	53, 300	33, 400	19, 900	
West Virginia	50, 200	31, 500	18, 700	
Wisconsin	78, 900	49, 400	29, 500	
Wyoming	4,800	3, 000	1, 800	
Hawaii	3, 100	1,900	1, 200	
Virgin Islands	1,400	900	500	

Estimated Works Progress Administration employment in June 1939 in selected cities under deficiency appropriation of \$725,000,000

[Assuming that relative distribution of need continues on present basis and that arbitrary discharge of workers begins immediately without regard to seasonal increases in need during winter monthsl

	Employ-	Estimated employ- ment June 1939		
City and a transfer of the state of the stat	ment Dec. 24, 1938	Number	Reduc- tion from Dec. 24	
Akron, Ohio	18,400	11, 500	6, 900	
Atlanta, Ga	14, 700	9, 200	5, 500	
Baltimore, Md	4, 900	3, 100	1,800	
Birmingham, Ala	13, 600	8, 500	5, 100	
Boston, Mass	29, 900	18, 700	11, 200	
Buffalo, N. Y	10, 200	6, 400	3, 800	
Chicago, Ill	116, 400	72, 900	43, 500	
Cleveland, Ohio		45, 600	27, 200	
Dallas, Tex	6,300	3, 900 35, 900	2, 400 21, 400	
District of Columbia	12,600	7, 900	4, 700	
Flint, Mich.	5, 400	3, 400	2,000	
Kansas City, Mo	16,000	10,000	6,000	
Los Angeles, Calif	35, 400	22, 200	13, 200	
Milwaukee, Wis	26,000	16, 300	9, 700	
Minneapolis, Minn	15, 900	10,000	5, 900	
Newark, N. J.	17, 400	10,900	6, 500	
New Orleans, La.	21,800	13, 700	8, 100	
New York City, N. Y	178, 400	111, 700	66, 700	
Philadelphia, Pa	23, 800	14, 900	8, 900	
Pittsburgh, Pa	39, 400	24, 700	14, 700	
St. Louis, MoSan Francisco, Calif	33,600	21,000	12,600	
San Francisco, Cair	19,800	12, 400	7, 400	
Toledo, Ohio	20, 800	13,000	7, 800	

Mr. MARCANTONIO. This statement shows exactly what is going to happen in the various States as far as the W. P. A. workers are concerned. The statement shows reductions to a great extreme in the number of people employed on W. P. A. in the various States and cities. Now, let me ask, Who favors this condition and who is ready to assume the responsibility?

Let me ask, Is there any Member of this House who went before the people of his district and said, "If I am elected I

am going to cut the appropriation for W. P. A."? Well, there are mighty few. There certainly are not as many as those who are going to vote to cut the appropriation for W. P. A. Everybody is a pal of the unemployed and the W. P. A. worker in October before election. I wish that the W. P. A. worker would only see what his October pals are doing to him here in January. I say there would have been mighty few Members elected here if they had gone before the people in their districts and said they were going to cut W. P. A. if they were elected to the Congress of the United States. The mandate of the people was against any cutting of W. P. A. and you know it. Just because there may be one or two isolated instances of that character does not mean that the mandate of the American people was not to continue W. P. A., because the American people are interested in recovery and want to continue it by making it possible for anyone who cannot obtain a job in private industry to be able to get a W. P. A. job at a decent wage.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield two additional minutes to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. The attacks made here on W. P. A workers is wrong and un-American. The unemployed of this country do not want W. P. A. jobs and they do not want relief. The unemployed of this country want to work. They want to go back into private industry. However, as long as private industry fails to give the unemployed of this country an opportunity to work, then I say it is the solemn duty of the Government of the United States to give work to the unemployed Americans and to give them work at a decent wage, enough to support them in an American fashion during their period of unemployment. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from California IMr. WELCH].

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Chairman, I desire at this point to insert in the RECORD two telegrams which I received from the mayor of San Francisco with reference to the pending bill. The first telegram reads as follows:

Heartily urge your strong support of the W. P. A. deficiency appropriation bill recommended by the President for balance of fiscal year. On behalf of San Francisco I endorse without qualification Mayor LaGuardia's presentation of urgent need for appropriation. Wired details of San Francisco's relief situation appropriation. Wired details of San Francisco's rener situation to Conference of Mayors last week and most emphatically urge your support of conference efforts to have the bill approved.

ANGELO J. ROSSI,

Mayor of San Francisco.

Upon receipt of this telegram I asked for more definite information with reference to relief conditions in San Francisco and received the following telegram:

In re wire received this p. m. Public Welfare Department Agency increase for December 1938 compared with December 1937: Indigent relief 7 percent, old-age aid 23 percent, blind aid 21 percent, half-orphan aid 14 percent, average 18 percent. Funds expended for public assistance exclusive of hospitalization and institutional care as for December 1, 1938—kinds of aid: Needy aged, needy blind, needy children, children in State school, county indigents. Sponsors' contribution to W. P. A. projects for month of November, \$662,791.13. Number of persons involved, 55,464. State relief administration caring for 15,016, W. P. A., 20,284. You can see, therefore, that although we have a total 20,284. You can see, therefore, that although we have a total of 35,390 persons involved on S. R. A. and W. P. A., they are employable. Remainder of the 55,464 persons are unemployable unemployed. The situation in San Francisco has arrived at the point where we can no longer increase our output. It is imperative that the President's program be adopted.

Mr. Chairman, I am in accord with the recommendations of the President and the mayors of the principal cities of this country and will vote for the larger amount.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WELCH. For a brief question.

Mr. SIROVICH. If the recommendation of the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations is adopted, there will be \$150,000,000 less available for relief. The statement

has been made on the floor of the House that such a cut would be instrumental in dropping from the relief rolls 1,100,000 unemployed, besides affecting adversely 750,000 who are qualified to go on relief.

The allegation has been made today by many Members of the House that politics has crept into relief. Does the distinguished gentleman, who has been a strong supporter of the working classes and one of the foremost champions of the underprivileged of our country, feel that those who are in penury, hunger, and want should be penalized for the indiscretion of others?

Mr. WELCH. In answer to my distinguished friend from New York, I would like to say that human needs and human misery should transcend party partisanship.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. COLE].

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Chairman, to those of us of the minority who have on several occasions in years past brought out and dusted off the Democratic platform of 1932, and some of the earlier speeches of the President of the United States, which we believe to contain many sound fundamentals of government, it has been most gratifying to note today that there has been an apparent change in the disposition of some of the majority, that after 6 years of spending the public money without regard to the source from which it was coming the majority is beginning to realize that after all there is another class of people in this country who must be considered. For every 1 of the people who are dependent upon the public for support, there are 40 or 50 people who are supporting themselves, people who have had jobs and who have, through a voluntary self-denial, saved a little money and have been able to get along. Therefore, it is especially gratifying to see that the majority is beginning to realize that those 40 or 50 people must be considered along with that other 1.

It has been said by the former Administrator of the Works Progress Administration that unemployment will always be with us. He is alleged to have said also that this Government will continue to spend and spend and spend and to tax and tax and tax. Whether these words were ever spoken by Mr. Hopkins is of small moment. Certain it is that it is an expression of the philosophy and practices of the New Deal.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. COLE of New York. Please, no.

It is likewise encouraging to realize that the majority is beginning to understand that no government can continue to spend and spend and spend any more than it can continue to tax and tax and tax. There are definite limits beyond which we cannot go in either case. However that may be, it is apparent that the problem of relief is one which is going to face this country longer than from now until June, even further into the future than the next few years.

If that is so, or if it is true that unemployment is permanent, and that our relief system is to be permanent, then it is time for us to review the whole system of administration of relief in order that any abuses may be corrected, and we should view that problem realistically. Save in one instance, this afternoon I have heard but one person make the claim that there has been no political misuse of relief funds. I dare say each one of us will confess it has been abused, and probably most of us would be ready to see that these abuses

are corrected.

The minority is ready to go along and take care of the unemployed people who are in need. We do, however, disapprove of the system under which it has been administered. In the past we have taken the position that the administration of relief can be done more economically if done locally. A few days past the President said there would be as much politics in relief if administered locally as there would be if administered as at present.

I can agree with him in part. I agree that there will be politics in relief, although I do disagree that it will be on the wholesale scale that it is at present if it were in the hands of the localities. Human nature knows no political parties, and neither of them is a paragon of virtue. So long as two elements are lacking in the administration of relief, whether by the Nation or the State, there will be political abuse. One way to correct it is by making use of public funds for political purposes a criminal offense. This will tend to stop it, but another far more persuasive and effective instrument would be to require the localities themselves to foot a part of the bill. If any locality realizes that the money that is being spent, or a part of it at least, is coming from their own pocketbooks, they are going to be very sure that the person who gets the money actually needs it. They will see to it that there is no waste and no extravagance.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from New York 3 additional minutes.

Mr. COLE of New York. Likewise, they are going to be sure that any person is not held off of the relief rolls irrespective of his political affiliations if he is in actual need of help. The amount of the local contribution is unimportant so long as it is enough to make them realize that it is their money that is being spent.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman

vield?

Mr. COLE of New York. No; I am sorry.

A proposal will be made by the minority, which, to my mind, will test the good faith of the majority. It is proposed by the minority as evidence of their good faith. We do not quibble over the amount of money involved. If the money is actually needed and will actually go into the pockets of those who are in need, we are for it. Our whole dispute is with the system through which it has been distributed. The responsibility for continuance of the W. P. A. under its present color and complexion rests solely with the majority.

If you are willing to accept our readiness to cooperate with you to clear up the whole situation and devise a system of administration that will be fair and just and honest to the taxpayer and those in need, then may we not accept the amendment which will be offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber] that the whole problem may be studied and the evils remedied? If you refuse it and are unwilling to have the whole subject of relief scrutinized by this committee of Congress it must be taken by the country and your own consciences as an expression of your approval of the corruption, misuse, abuse, exploitation of the distressed and suffering of the country as has been characteristic of the W. P. A. in the years gone by.

The answer, of course, rests with you as to whether or not you want to continue the present system and thereby put your approval upon the continuance of such procedure and extravagance. For my own part I have consistently voted against every relief bill for that very reason. I am unwilling, by my affirmative vote, to give any semblance of sanction of the unwholesome mess of the present W. P. A. I am unwilling to have a single dollar spent for the very laudable purpose of relief knowing full well it is being diverted for purposes never intended, and unless some correction is made, I can see no other course for me than to act as I have in the past. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack].

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, when I asked the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. Cole] to yield, I wanted to call his attention to one of his statements. He is an honorable gentleman, and coming from him in particular I thought the inference of guilt with respect to the statement alleged to have been made by Mr. Hopkins was entirely unwarranted. We all know the story of that statement, and I do not think it becomes honorable gentlemen or honorable persons of either sex to try to send out to the public, by inference, that a man is guilty when his accuser is unseen and when the man himself has denied and denied and denied. I would take the same position if a similar accusation were made against anyone.

I value my character and reputation, and I respect the desire of all other persons to value and retain their character and reputation. The Dies committee, for example, has done a great job up to a certain extent, but the Dies committee made the unintentional mistake of permitting some witnesses to attack and to attempt to impair the character and reputation of some fine persons. I hope, as I am confident, that a future investigation will be careful in this respect. [Applause.] To hear Members on this floor try to send out by inference and innuendo the fact that Mr. Hopkins is guilty of an accusation made by some unseen person and admitted to have been made in a moment of relaxation, which the gentleman has denied repeatedly, seems to me to be unwarranted.

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I will be pleased to yield.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 1 additional minute.

Mr. COLE of New York. Of course, had I known the nature of the gentleman's interrogation I would have gladly yielded. The gentleman will recall I said "this alleged statement" which Mr. Hopkins made, and I completed the statement by saying "whether he made it or not is inconsequential."

Mr. McCORMACK. If the gentleman had made the direct statement, it would have been more insignificant than trying to subtly convey by inference and inuendo that Mr. Hopkins was guilty of having made the statement. If the gentleman frankly apologized for any effort or intent on his part to convey by inuendo any such thought, the gentleman's position would be more sound than trying to strengthen the erroneous impression that he attempted to convey.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, I suggest to the membership of the House that without regard to the truth of the assertion as to what Mr. Hopkins said, there has been much in the conduct of Mr. Hopkins to indicate that his idea and the idea of many more operating with him has been to spend and spend and spend and tax and tax and tax and elect and elect and elect. What he said may not be as important as what he has done. Sometimes actions speak louder than words.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Indiana has expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. HARTER].

Mr. HARTER of New York. Mr. Chairman, I am proud that my first appearance on this spot should be in behalf of two of the groups of this country which have, I hope, been made unintentionally to suffer through maladministration of the W. P. A. set-up. I refer to those millions who, through no fault of their own, are needy, unemployed, and want to work; and the other group, the plain, garden variety of taxpayer.

It so happens that I come from the county of Erie, New York State, with a population of over 800,000, of which over 580,000 are residents of the city of Buffalo. This population compares with the last reported population of the following States:

About as great as Maine and greater than any one of the following-mentioned States, and greater than some combinations of two or three of these States: Utah, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Nevada, North Dakota, South Dakota, Delaware, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, New Mexico, Arizona.

My only purpose in bringing out these figures is to show some of the problems confronted in Erie County from a population concentration point of view.

I feel that all of us recognize the present necessity of appropriating funds for a period for W. P. A. use. Whether this necessity has arisen because of misuse of public funds is a burning question that should be determined, and soon, to the end that remedial action be taken to eliminate the possibility of a recurrence. We must realize that this money shall, at least in the future, be wisely expended for the purpose appropriated and not for political purposes by any person, political party, or group of persons. Whether we want to face the fact or not, the taxpayers, present and future, must pay interest on this money and must likewise pay off the principal, so we cannot talk in millions and billions without those important thoughts in mind.

If we are sincere in these convictions, and I am sure we are, while voting to carry on this necessary work let us at the same time set up the necessary machinery for this Congress to at once study the grave problems of W. P. A. from top to bottom.

I know it is honeycombed with politics. I know funds from W. P. A. have gone to help swell the political campaign funds of the majority party. I know that much of these funds that you appropriated last year were improperly used.

I know that the secretary of the Democratic Party in Erie County is, or was until November 1938, a cog in dispensing jobs, promotions, and patronage in that county for W. P. A. I know that this same Democratic secretary, working in the Democratic headquarters in Buffalo, called superintendents of projects in and gave them schedules for contributions to be taken from workers on W. P. A. for the party's political campaign. I know that workers on W. P. A. were told to "kick into this fund, or else." I know that at least one timekeeper on W. P. A. through that same Democratic organization, was given lists of taverns with receipt blanks, blank checks, and a list of suggested contributions to that Democratic organization 1938 campaign fund. He was told to go out and get the subscriptions. I know that women hired at the paltry stipend of sewing projects were told to "kick into" the Democratic coffer-and did. I know that employees on all of the W. P. A. projects in our county were told to buy tickets for Democratic shows, picnics, and other money-raising schemes. I know that boss and administrative positions are held by faithful party workers, irrespective of their qualifications, let alone needs, while needy persons really qualified are literally crying for a chance to work. Yes; I know of many other things equally bad in this political W. P. A. mess, and mark you, I do not come from Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Maryland, or other States where, according to newspaper reports, these public funds have been misused largely in vain attempts to gain political advantage.

You say, "Do you know whereof you speak?" And I answer in this manner by referring you to the official report of the United States Grand Jury for the Western District of New York, which report was handed up to Judge Knight on December 19, 1938. This investigation was made as a result of some information which came to me. So that you will get a little more of the picture: The district attorney handling the presentation to the grand jury sat in the Democratic headquarters as the adviser, while some of these contributions were being obtained and were coming in. Do not misunderstand me—I do not know that he personally knew about them at the time; however, during that time there were press reports indicating what was going on. Let us see what the grand jury said. I now quote from its report:

We have learned during the course of the investigation that on or about the 20th day of October 1938, Robert Gillen, secretary of the Democratic county committee, contacted James W. Morris, superintendent of construction, and all of the group superintendents of the W. P. A. in this area.

Continuing, the report says:

He requested these employees of the W. P. A. to come to Democratic headquarters.

I will say they did; let us look at the schedule of "suggested contributions" taken from the grand jury report, given to these men for the purpose of obtaining Democratic campaign funds. I quote:

Men	earning—	
	\$90 to \$100	\$5.00
	\$117	10.00
	\$125	12.50
	\$150	20.00
	\$175	30.00
	\$200	50.00
	\$250	75 00

Later the jury said:

They persisted in soliciting money from men who sorely needed that money to provide the necessities of life for themselves and their families.

Further, they say:

The conduct, the acts of the superintendent of construction and the group superintendents, might be termed by some criminal. We have chosen to be charitable. We merely term it their stupidity, their disloyalty, the acts of just another group of public servants who failed in the performance of their duty. We do not indict, but we do severely condemn.

I have given you a quotation of a small part of the grandjury report. Incidentally, the grand jury commended the Administrator and Director of the W. P. A., as well as the district attorney. When the report was read, Judge Knight said, in part:

Now, it is obvious that the operation of W. P. A. and organizations of that kind cannot long serve their purpose if they are made the footstool of politics.

The purpose of W. P. A. is to furnish relief on an impartial and nonpartisan basis, not on the basis of political affiliation, because relief is not determined by affiliation but by circumstances.

In my opinion, a law is necessary to specifically prohibit political contributions from individuals on W. P. A. We have statutes which prohibit the solicitation of contributions through threats, intimidation, or coercion. Whether that statute was violated the court is inclined to take your view—that there was not sufficient cause for indictments.

So, with that conclusion, and in view of your recommendation, I feel that the public will be satisfied. This resolution will have a more far-reaching effect than the indictment and prosecution of a few individuals. I understand there have not been any indictments.

As a result of this report, 8 or 10 of the superintendents were discharged by the W. P. A. director. Needless to say, the same secretary who was at the bottom of the questionable quest for campaign funds still holds forth as the secretary of the Erie County Democratic organization.

Ladies and gentlemen, the story of capitalizing on the human misery and suffering of our needy people has created disgust that has permeated the atmosphere around our great country to the extent that we should act once and for all to put a definite stop to it, so that it cannot again be said that in this great democracy either the Democratic, or, yes, the Republican, or any other party, is taking these atrocious advantages of our needy, deserving people.

How can you know about such things in the W. P. A. organization without at once setting up the machinery in this body to go to the bottom of things? When can we to better advantage start the machinery running than now? If we do not do it now, having before us the official "inkling" of what is going on, is it not an outright indictment against this body? If we do not now so act, are not the needy justified in questioning our motives? Similarly, are not the taxpayers forced to look askance at our action? I stand for the fund appropriation, coupled with the setting up of a committee to thoroughly investigate. Yes, at the same time, let us protect the worker further. Let us make it a violation of the penal law to in any way solicit political contributions from W. P. A. workers. As an added incentive to the worker to repulse politics in the W. P. A., let us also make it similarly criminal for him to make such additions to a party's "hope chest."

By doing these things the people of this Nation will know that Congress is definitely putting us back on the road of true democracy. I am for appropriating the funds necessary, but I do urge that we couple with it this investigation. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Starnes].

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, I think that the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormackl inadvertently or unintentionally made a remark a moment ago that in a way did reflect upon the character and integrity of some of his own colleagues. Knowing him as I do, the good man that he is, the distinguished man and eminently fair man that he is, I feel that his remarks were not intentional. He made reference to a committee upon which I have served during the past few months, and inferentially or directly accused the committee of the very thing of which he accused my colleague from New York [Mr. Cole]. I say to him that no member of that committee has engaged in character assassination or in an attempt in any way to impugn the character or integrity of any American citizen. The committee in no way condoned some of the loose statements made by witnesses who appeared before it in an attempt to make it a sounding board for their own views, and the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts can no more accuse the members of that committee of engaging in the work of impugning the character and integrity of citizens of this country than he can accuse the Senate Judiciary Committee of attempting to assassinate the character of certain distinguished American citizens because of some loose statements, discreditable statements, that are being made before that committee with reference to Mr. Frankfurter, one of the ablest lawyers in this country, and other distinguished people in public office. I call upon my distinguished friend to clarify or correct his statement with reference to the Dies committee. Certainly as one member of that committee, I resent any accusation that I in any way was a party to an attempt to impugn the character of any American citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ala-

bama has expired.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10

minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LANHAM].

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman, the remarks which I shall make in the main may be more pertinent to the relief bill which this committee will bring in later with reference to the next fiscal year. I think there are certain constructive suggestions which should be offered in advance for the committee's consideration.

The question has been asked, How can we reduce the enormous amount of money which we have been appropriating for the very worthy purpose of relief? I wish to make some suggestions of ways in which I think these amounts can be decreased without doing injustice to any proper beneficiary

of relief funds.

In the first place, I think that the amount of money that is used in the administration of these relief funds is decidedly top heavy and can be very greatly decreased. I assume that there is not a Member of this House who has not heard the statement made in his own district over and over again that some people are drawing relief funds who are not entitled to such funds, and that others entitled to them are not receiving them. I am wondering if those who dwell in various political subdivisions in the States, and who are familiar with the people in their various localities, could not more adequately and more economically deal with these various beneficiaries of relief, and thereby reduce very greatly the expenditures for administration.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANHAM. I wish to make these four suggestions and, if I have any time then, I shall be glad to yield. I wish to make a further suggestion with reference to agricultural laborers. In a relief bill last year I offered an amendment which passed this House practically unanimously, but which was so modified in another body that it lost its force, to the effect that when these laborers were offered private employment they would either have to accept it or get off relief rolls, provided that private employment paid a compensation

equivalent to that they were drawing on relief. No longer ago than this week I received a letter from a farmer in my district telling me of agricultural laborers on relief in that section to whom he had offered greater compensation to do agricultural work than they were receiving on relief, but they preferred to remain on relief. The amendment I offered provided that they be reentered on the relief rolls after the termination of such private employment if still eligible.

Down in the section where I live that is peculiarly true of many domestic servants. So I say, if you will place in the relief bill for next year a provision that when such laborers are offered private employment and do not accept it, they shall have to get off of the relief rolls, provided it pays them equivalent compensation to that which they are receiving on relief, you will go a great way toward remedying the situation.

Now, if you want to reduce, and reduce very materially, the funds which are being applied to relief in this country, in what a staggering sum you can do that if you will provide that this money taken from American taxpayers shall be paid only to American citizens. [Applause.] I, for one, deplore the tendency in this country to tax our loyal people, to give relief through money or employment, to aliens; people who have lived here long enough to have become citizens of this country, if they had so desired, and have not done so. If we can believe the speeches we have heard upon the floor of this House today, then many of those to whom we are paying these funds are not in sympathy either with the ideas or ideals upon which our American Government is founded. I think in some respects we are international easymarks, and in my judgment you cannot find under God's shining sun a single nation which is giving anything like the equivalent consideration to American citizens abroad that we are bestowing upon aliens, who have lived here, some of them, through generations without evidencing any desire to become citizens of this country. [Applause.]

I would like to call attention to another thing. This would not reduce the amount to be devoted to relief purposes, but I think it is a pertinent suggestion, and I have

made it heretofore on the floor of this House.

The W. P. A. in its projects is peculiarly a civilian operation. There are many civil engineers, and competent ones, in this country out of employment. It has always seemed to me that those in charge of civilian engineering projects in this Government agency should be civil engineers as contradistinguished from military engineers.

I have no quarrel to find with Army engineers. They have done wonderful work. At the time I brought this to the attention of the House a year or two ago, there were 20 or 30 Army engineers holding key positions in the W. P. A., a civilian undertaking for the relief of civilians. We have heard today a message from the President of the United States with reference to the necessity for an appropriation for adequate defense in this country, in matériel and in personnel. Surely under such circumstances there must be places in the Army for those Army engineers to carry on the work for which they originally received their commissions. I say this in no spirit of animosity, but I say it in a spirit of the proper performance of duty; a duty to which men are properly assigned.

Military engineering is very different from civil engineering. These undertakings carried on through the W. P. A. are primarily civilian undertakings. Consequently, I think the militaristic aspect should be withdrawn from them, and they should be directed in key positions by men who are familiar with civil engineering in its various phases.

I am making no attack upon the distinguished gentleman who has been named as Administrator of the W. P. A. I am sure he is very competent and has performed his services with distinction. But there have been and there may be now throughout this organization many Army engineers who, in my judgment, might very appropriately be

put back to their work in the War Department, in military engineering, and leave these civilian engineering operations

to competent civil engineers.

I believe that these first three suggestions I have made, of reducing the cost of administration, of providing that these agricultural and domestic workers may not have the privilege of remaining on relief when offered equivalent positions in private employment, and by reducing the expenditures of the money taken from the pockets of American taxpayers by applying the funds to American citizens, and by placing the civilian operations in the hands of capable and efficient civil engineers and officers will, if adopted, materially reduce the appropriation required. Without doing any injustice to anyone properly a beneficiary of our bounty under relief we may be able to reduce greatly the expenses and to promote the efficiency of this agency of the Government. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as she may desire to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. Rogers].

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I rise to ask the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. Lanham] if he would be willing to answer a question in my time.

Mr. LANHAM. Certainly.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I trust the gentleman does not wish to remove the Army engineers from the work on flood relief. They have been invaluable to us in New England. If they were removed from that work, we would suffer very much.

Mr. LANHAM. May I say in response to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts that I realize there are some phases of this work which have a military significance, and perhaps for that reason it is very proper to have an Army officer in control of that work. One is now Administrator of the W. P. A., but I think the lady will find upon investigation that these many Army engineers who have been serving with the W. P. A. have been by no means restricted to work of the character that has to do with the things that are useful to us from a military standpoint, either in time of peace or in war.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I am very glad to have the gentleman say that he feels the Army engineers should

be kept in charge of certain W. P. A. work.

The gentleman has spoken of the fact that a good many have refused to leave W. P. A. work to go into private employment. One explanation of that is because if anyone once leaves W. P. A. for other employment and that employment ceases, it is almost impossible for him to be taken back on the W. P. A.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may need to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. LANDIS].

Mr. LANDIS. Mr. Chairman, I know we are all agreed that work relief must continue until we can transfer these people into private industry.

I have received many discouraging letters from the State of Indiana complaining about politics in W. P. A. It is

shameful that such a situation should exist.

At a recent meeting of some of the new Congressmen from Indiana with the State administrator, John K. Jennings, it was agreed by all that politics should be divorced from relief. I believe that Mr. Jennings will do everything in his power to eliminate such practices.

Be assured that I will cooperate in every manner possible to assist him, because it is my belief that the W. P. A. appropriation is meant for all of the people of all political parties. My vote for the new appropriation bill will be cast in that light.

I believe that all of those W. P. A. workers who were removed since the last election, November 8, 1938, should be returned to the rolls, unless they have received gainful employment in private industry.

I believe that bosses and timekeepers should be taken from the relief rolls.

I believe that bosses, timekeepers, and employees should receive the same wages.

I believe that wages should be uniform throughout the United States.

It was unfortunate, indeed, to have a shortage of funds, which made it necessary to remove our old people over 65 years, who were on W. P. A., and force them to accept direct relief, or to mortgage their little homes, earned by hard work and thrift, to accept old-age assistance.

This country has the natural wealth, the resources, the raw materials, the manpower, the factories and industrial machinery to give every American family all it needs in the way of food, clothing, education, luxuries, and pleasures.

There is food enough to feed every hungry person; there is enough wool, cotton, and silk to clothe every man, woman, and child in the country; there are materials in mines and forests, mills, factories, and warehouses to house every family in America in a modern home; there are raw products and modern machines sufficient to equip these homes with both necessities and luxuries; there are idle railroad engines and freight cars waiting to transport these needs of men to every nook and corner of the country. Are we going to use these things or are we going ahead with the present confused state of affairs?

The United States for years has been conserving forests, lands, wild game, and oil. We guard the flying geese and ducks and we protect the mineral wealth under our ground. I believe it is time we started to conserve human beings, to make life comfortable for our old folks and at the same time make life secure for our younger people by making them certain of jobs, plenty of food, and the comforts of life.

When the wage earner has toiled for 40 years or more he and she should be retired with a pension that will enable them to live in comfort the rest of their days. Our old people should not be relegated to the junk heap the same way as we do a worn-out machine!

We owe a duty to these old folks, and I believe we can perform this duty. Make jobs for the younger people and make America prosperous again.

Today we are borrowing billions to meet unemployment and to give the mass of our people a meager living, and we are only borrowing the United States into bankruptcy.

We have tried this plan and it has failed. I for one am ready to try something else.

In 1917 and 1918 we loaned billions of dollars to foreign nations, and while we never got this money back, it did create a velocity of spending in this country which gave us an era of great prosperity. If we put money in the hands of our old people to give them comfort, why will it not work out the same way when they spend it?

Look at this picture—millions are idle in a land of plenty. Cheap prison-made goods and foreign-made goods are flooding the United States markets. Men with big farms and money are holding down W. P. A. jobs. Crop control with millions undernourished and imported agricultural products. Shame on us for permitting such a situation to exist.

Give us the Townsend plan and we will not need the W. P. A., crop control, and many other Government agencies. The kind of America I want to live in will give all of our people the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. If anyone here has a better plan, bring it out before it is too late. [Applause.]

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gifford].

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I have, of course, together with most of the Members, been greatly disappointed that no permanent plan is yet specified for relief after 6 long years. We have the comforting assurance only, in the report before us, that it is patent that in this short time we cannot formulate a new plan and that a special committee or commission had better be set up, that a plan can be presented to us for a long-range program before the 1940 relief money is appropriated.

While the report is quite satisfactory in its brevity, and plainly written, there is one error I want to correct now, lest I forget it. You will recall that last year some of us made the statement, after information received, that 61

cents only out of the relief dollar found its way into the pocket of the reliefer; that the rest went for materials, supervision, more supervision, and racketeering. In this report it says \$52.50 per project worker; \$6.50 nonlabor cost, and \$2 administrative cost. I will remind you in this connection that the local municipalities are, of course, expected to furnish the money for the materials before they get W. P. A. assistance. Therefore it will still hold that 61 cents of the dollar is about the sum to reach the reliefer. One of my friends on my right rushed to the telephone at the time this computation was quoted, and called up Mr. Hopkins. Mr. Hopkins said that 69 cents out of the dollar reached the pocket of the person on relief. If he said 69, I think we had better be conservative and call it 61.

Last year there was great delight on the majority side of the House because the relief bill, having been loaded down with large sums for pump priming, the minority might not vote for it; and it was freely predicted that if we did not vote for it we would probably be defeated. Well, every single Republican in this House at that time, as you knowevery single one of them-was reelected; and all but seven or eight Republicans voted against that relief bill last year. So I say to you new Republicans that this W. P. A. business is not as persuasive with the voter, now, as you might think. I have noted the following comment, "The burial of the Republican Party was a poor job. You see it was a W. P. A. project."

A little while ago our colleague [Mr. Halleck] was talking about "spending ourselves into prosperity." I suggested that it was another brand of an old and impossible doctrine: "Drink yourself sober." I would like to enlarge upon that simply by saying that a man in a drunken condition had asked the waiter to bring him something to sober him up, the waiter replied: "I will immediately bring you the check." [Laughter.] And the check in that case, of course, meant his bill, lest you misunderstand me. And when the bill is presented later on to

our people, certainly there will be a sobering up.

Now, let us look at this thing seriously. The morale of our people. I want to talk about it. We get used to social security and lean too heavily upon it-and that is what we are even now doing, as everybody knows who has anything to do with the administration thereof, as was recently illustrated in one of my local papers a little while ago. Many have been on this relief program ever since it was started and obviously have no intention of getting a job. Why, it is more permanent than any private industry, apparently, But the illustration: He was injured on the job. The foreman met his little daughter. "Well, when will your father probably come back to work?" "I do not think for a long time; 'compensation' has set in."

The only real comfort, you know, if comfort it can be called, is, as I have stated before, that when the bill is finally handed down to our children and our grandchildren there will be back of it a knowledge that rather than pay, they having to pay it, it will probably be politely repudiated. I think we must feel that way. And this reminds me-it may be illustrative, I think-a friend who visited Sandy in the hospital after his operation was asked, "Did you offer Sandy any

comfort and encouragement?"

"Oh, yes; Sandy was complaining about the bill that he would have to pay the hospital for the operation, and I told him 'Well, Sandy, brighten up; you may not live to pay it.'"

If that is the sort of comfort you have, well and good. I have just noted that former Comptroller General John R. McCarl made a few statements recently which, I think, well put and which should give us real cause for consideration although I do not care to be too argumentative at this late hour in the afternoon.

He says that Congress must have learned from so many futile experiments. He wrote as follows:

We cannot make everybody rich and happy by law. We cannot tax our way to needed reforms and improvements.

We cannot borrow our way to prosperity.

We cannot build an enduring social security on the quicksands

of public debt.
We cannot succeed in self-government by building government and us down.

We cannot induce frugality, self-respect, or self-reliance by providing dole instead of opportunity.

cannot rob the country of money, tax our people white, and

expect jobs to increase or pay envelopes to expand. We have learned that cannot be done.

We cannot expect our youth to be filled with hope when it can see action in nothing but government—or wildly patriotic when its expectancy is a yoke of debt.

Government spending on public buildings, on publicly owned facilities and utilities which may in some measure add to the national wealth but not to that by which we live and grow—wheelturning national income.

Internal national income is what we want. I had voted for all relief bills until last year. After having tried to amend them as best we could, and those being the only bills which we had before us to vote up or down, I voted for them until one for \$4,800,000,000, with all sorts of pump-priming vagaries included therein, was presented.

Personally, I am inclined to compliment the gentleman from Virginia, chairman of the subcommittee. Even a little digression from the path of rectitude as outlined by the White House is highly suggestive of a purge to come. Stubborness is not lacking in the White House. You are expected to vote for the entire amount of eight hundred and fifty millions. It is apparently acknowledged that they do not expect times to get much better. I am therefore inclined at this moment to vote for the bill presented by the gentleman from Virginia, supported by a large majority of his committee. I am sure that if it can later on be shown that times are so bad and that people are starving or in need, we shall be glad to vote a supplementary appropriation before this Congress adjourns. But just now the basis of their request is not sufficient to cause us to vote the entire amount.

I again warn this House. We cannot spend ourselves into prosperity. We are being frightened into voting large sums for national defense. We should inquire into that most carefully. Certainly we should not be criticised, because sincerity and sympathy for the poor is just as deep in our hearts as in the heart of the occupant of the White House. We are merely not so stubborn, which proves that we are even more sincere in trying to arrive at a proper judgment.

I want to remind you further, that many items for relief are included in other appropriation bills and we should watch such items carefully. There are many ways in which our money is being wasted. One billion dollars has been squandered in the buying of silver and a large part of it has been buried in the ground. The people seem totally uninformed on the silver question. Somebody at some time should take the floor and make a complete statement with reference to that subject.

They have changed the name of the old resettlement vagaries. Is it not now the Farm Security Administration? They have some 90 of these resettlement schemes scattered over the country. The futility of them and the favoritism shown in reaching only a few and not taking care of the multitude, should be kept in mind, and better understood by everyone. If these wild schemes are to be called by new names and hidden somewhere under regular appropriations, how are we to learn the exact conditions and actual amounts expended for relief?

You perhaps read last week the statement of a man who resigned, regarding the 60 families in Gila Valley. An initial cost of \$500,000, built up absolutely on the Russian system, except that the Government was to get half the profits in cash, if and when there were any profits. He should now be willing to tell us about it since he has been separated from his job.

Those bad eggs have been transferred to another basket. but their upkeep is still there and they are still highly expensive, futile propositions. It is not only this relief proposition under W. P. A. which is in effect before us today. There are hidden many other methods of spending money

largely for the same general purpose.

I do not like the jokes on the W. P. A. You may think I do because sometimes I speak in a manner that may leave that impression, but I do so only for illustrative purposes. Frankly, I do not like to see a man work out in the snow and slush trying to put in his 3 days in order to get \$13, or see a struggling white-collared worker beside those always used to manual labor.

I have seen enough of this building of stone walls in sparsely settled areas, men from the cities being transported many miles by trucks in all sorts of conditions. These walls generally are built on land which is not worth \$1 an acre. This made work is just to preserve their manhood; at least, so it is stated. I would vote tomorrow for a direct payment of \$15 or more, according to a reliefer's necessity. I read that a Senator in the other branch will recommend that relief money be distributed to the State on a per capita basis. In some localities you can live cheaply, as compared to other sections where it costs much more even to exist.

Would it not be glorious for the wealthier States to furnish the money to other States which are located in favorable climatic sections, "per capita"? I favor sending Federal relief funds to the municipalities, to be administered by nonbipartisan boards and by persons not up for election year after year; boards which would not be politically minded and which would determine whether funds should be used for W. P. A. made work, so-called, or for direct relief methods, as might be deemed best by them. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. Voorhis].

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, we have heard this afternoon on one occasion something about the latent consuming power that is present in the homes in America, and in the same speech a suggestion that, therefore, the amount appropriated in this resolution for work for the unemployed should be reduced. I cannot understand the logic of such a position.

Of course, there is tremendous latent consuming power in the homes of America. The only trouble is that the people do not have the money with which to express that consuming power and to become an active part of the market. Our job in this Congress is to work out a way in which that can be done, and to do this without a continuously mounting national debt. The only reason we do not attack this job more directly than we are doing is because of the opposition of the very same people who want to cut this appropriation.

However, that is not the immediate problem that confronts The problem that immediately confronts us is one in which the livelihood and opportunity to work of some 500,000

people is immediately at stake.

May I say at this point that if anyone offers an amendment, with as much teeth in it as he wants, to make it a punishable offense for any official to use any of the money we will appropriate in order to bring political pressure on W. P. A. workers I will vote for that amendment? I may say further that I wish the Hatch amendment had passed the Senate last year. May I say in the third place that the people who are going to get hurt if you cut this appropriation are not any of those who have benefited either on the Republican or on the Democratic side by political activities, such as there may have been, but those who have been the victims of such circumstances-people who now need a job of some kind to carry on and support their families.

## ABOUT POLITICS IN RELIEF

My experience in California-and I know something about the situation in California—has been this, and it is also the situation in every other State where the State has taken the trouble to set up relief machinery of its own. No one in our State has been able at any time to get a job on W. P. A. unless certified by the State relief administration. The State relief administration was until the 1st day of this month in the hands of the Republican State administration of California.

In every State where there has been such a certifying agency the W. P. A. has used it. Therefore, in studying the situation carefully, I find there was no politics in relief to any great extent in our State, and such as there may have been was probably to a large extent Republican politics rather than Democratic politics. I do not believe that is the issue. Certainly I have never in my life asked a man who needed a job what political party he belonged to.

Let me cite this example: The rolls in California last fall were increased somewhat. Why? Because on the basis of the figures submitted by our Republican State relief administration it was found there was need for an increase. That was the reason. It was a matter of need concerning which

Republicans and Democrats agreed.

It also is true that my State has carried over a period of time approximately one-half of the load of the employable unemployed in addition to direct relief for the unemployable people all the time, and we are asking that we not be requested to do more.

#### WHAT DOES THIS PROPOSED CUT MEAN?

The situation I wish to present to you is this: To appropriate \$875,000,000 at this time means cutting 300,000 people from the rolls before the end of the present fiscal year. To appropriate \$725,000,000 means that 500,000 additional people must be kicked off the jobs they now have. And that means 500,000 heads of families deprived of jobs and forced onto relief rolls—if any.

#### THE REAL ISSUE

The real issue that confronts us does not involve the President or Mr. Hopkins or Mr. Williams or anyone else like that, except insofar as these men have defended the unemployed. But I do say this: If anyone could have undertaken this tremendous task, ordered forward and back by the Congress from time to time, employing now 3,000,000, now 1,500,000 people. subjected to all manner of local pressures, and done a better job than has been done, I would like to know who it is. The issue, however, is what you are going to do about the unemployed and the revival of consumer demand in this country in the next 5 months.

The arguments of the distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon] have not yet been answered. None of the authorities he cited showing the need for at least \$875,000,000 has been answered. Not a speech has been made on this floor that has successfully refuted the argument submitted by the gentleman from Missouri. I say that because I will not have anywhere near the time I need to complete my speech. I refer you, therefore, back to his.

#### WHO IS THIS MAN?

The man you have to consider in this situation is a type of man that we all too often forget here in the House. May I picture him to you as though he were standing before you. He is the typical W. P. A. worker as I know him. He has come to my office, over and over, not to ask direct relief, not to ask something for nothing, but because he wants more efficient work, because he wants a harder job, yes, because he wants better pay, and I think he should have it.

This man has gray about his temples. He is about 48 or 50 years of age, and I challenge anyone on either side of the House to stand up and say a man of that age can get a job in private industry today. He simply cannot do it.

This typical worker is a man with a family. He has three children, the oldest of whom is just getting through high school. He either has a mortgage on his home or he pays rent and has a hard time to meet his rent payments. He is not a Communist, a Nazi, or anything else but a perfectly good American, like you and me.

I have heard the innuendos that have been cast at this man this afternoon by some Members. If I should rise here today and pick out one wealthy individual in this country and talk about the things he has done and how bad they were, I would be subject to the very logical charge that I was not representing honestly or fairly the people of means in this country. I counter with the statement that neither is it fair to charge the poor people of the country with all of the things that have been mentioned here today. They are the victims not of one man or of any one political party's policies but the victims of our failure as yet to adjust our national life to the machine age. This typical man wants a job, that is all.

#### A CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSAL

I am going to tell you a little bit about a bill I have introduced. It provides for a combination of W. P. A. and P. W. A. in one bureau, the carrying on of all public works employment by that bureau, the oversight over that program by a board of nine people, no more than five of whom shall be of one political party. My bill provides for the unemployed a program of work that needs to be done in this country, and a program whereby the work would be run on the basis of a standard number of hours per week, with prevailing wages paid. Under my bill work could be carried on either by contract, through grants to States and cities, or through Federal direct employment.

I cannot describe all the features of this bill at this time, but I have introduced it because for years I have believed this program should not be on a relief basis, but that people should be certified for work by the United States Employment Service rather than by a relief agency. I still believe that. I submit, however, that the consideration of any such measure—and I do not know that my own bill is the best one that could be drawn-is going to take time. It cannot be done in a moment and should not be done in a moment. Provision must be made for shifting people from one program to another. The issue before us today is whether or not we are going to vent such feeling and prejudices as we may have on the helpless unemployed people of this country by cutting the appropriation, or whether we are going to vote the \$875,000,000 which as a minimum is necessary in order to protect the right to life of these people whose very lives lie in our hands now, and, having done that, proceed to the constructive job of working out a unified, flexible, long-range program of public works.

## WHY NOT READ THE RECORD?

If you will go back to the Congressional Record of 1937, you will find that in the spring of 1937 the same speeches were made about cutting down Government expenditures, about turning business loose, about how business would reabsorb these people. The very same things were said then that are being said now. The House listened, cut the appropriation, and the recession followed.

I have talked to people who are little-business men in this country. We have not got prosperity back yet, and if you cut off these 500,000 people you are going to deal a severe blow to the revival now taking place. We still need expansion; and, though this is frankly not my first choice of a way to get it, it is far, far better than nothing.

When we had a cut of 5,000 out in my State a little while ago there was a meeting that took place, an orderly, quiet meeting of about 300 heads of families in a vacant lot on one of the boulevards that runs between a couple of the towns in my district, and in that meeting there were speeches made by these men who said, "We believe that we, as American citizens, have a right to work. We ask not that we be given something for nothing, but we ask a chance to make our constructive contribution to the life of the American Nation."

This is the task of Congress. Bring in suggestions, for Heaven's sake, that are constructive suggestions. Bring in suggestions as to how we can improve the program, but do not think that anybody is going to be deceived about your real intention if you start out to improve the program by first kicking 500,000 people out into the street in helplessness.

ACTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

We have heard a lot today in the way of criticism of the W. P. A. To keep the record straight, I wish to include something on the constructive accomplishments of the people employed on W. P. A.

In the 4-month period from July to November 1938 W.P.A. workers built or improved 30,000 miles of roads and streets, the largest proportion of which was in rural areas.

In that same period W. P. A. workers completed 4,000 new bridges and 52,000 new culverts, laid 1,500 miles of sidewalks and paths and more than 56,000,000 linear feet of roadside drainage ditches. The figures I mention represent only projects brought to completion during the 4-month period, and do not include work done on approximately 10,300 other highway projects which still were in operation at the end of the period.

Because of the large opportunity for the employment of unskilled labor, and because of the widespread demand for better roads, highway projects constitute a major phase of the W. P. A. construction program. More than 47 percent of all persons employed by the W. P. A. are at work on projects of this type.

The attached figures show that 2,531 miles of new highways were built by the W. P. A. from July to November 1938, and that repairs and improvements were made on 28,085 miles of existing roads. Rural roads, mostly of the farm-to-market type, comprised the biggest group within the category, with 1,372 miles of new construction (622 miles of which were paved) and 24,395 miles repaired or improved.

Such roads are vital lines of communications to millions of farmers throughout the country, being in many instances their only access to urban markets. Many of these roads have been in a poor state of repair and impassable during much of the year. The improvement of farm-to-market roads has been an important objective of the W. P. A. since its inception  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years ago, and in that time the program has converted tens of thousands of miles of fair-weather roads to year-round usefulness.

Bridge construction and repair formed another important phase of the highway program, with 4,090 new structures completed and repairs and improvements to 1,728. Of the total, 4,137 were wood, 1,020 masonry, and 661 steel. Their aggregate length was 173,395 feet, or slightly more than 32 miles.

Other accomplishments during the 4-month period include 1,550 miles of new or improved sidewalks and paths, 1,233 miles of new or improved curbs, 297 miles of new or improved gutters, 10,790 miles of new or improved roadside drainage, and 1,315 miles of roadside landscaping. New culverts numbered 52,040, with an aggregate length of 243 miles.

Following is a tabulation showing the projects completed during the period July 1 to November 1, 1938, with a breakdown of the data by States, on the basis of reports received by Colonel Harrington, Works Progress Administrator:

Physical accomplishment on W. P. A. highway, road, and street projects, completed between July 1 and Nov. 1, 1938

[Preliminary—Subject to revision]
UNITED STATES SUMMARY

	****	Nu	mber
Type	Unit of measure- ment	New con- struction	Improve- ments
HIGHWAYS, ROADS, STREETS, AND RELATED FACILITIES			activities of
Highways, roads, and streets (total)	Miles	2, 531. 2	28, 084. 7
PavedUnpaved	Miles	1, 544, 4 986. 8	
Rural roads (total)	Miles	1, 372. 3	24, 395. 1
PavedUnpaved	Miles	622. 3 750. 0	
Urban roads and streets (total)	Miles	956. 5	3, 106. 6
PavedUnpaved	Miles	892. 9 63. 6	

Physical accomplishment on W. P. A. highway, road, and street projects, completed between July 1 and Nov. 1, 1938—Continued
UNITED STATES SUMMARY—continued

THE REAL PROPERTY AND ADDRESS OF LABOR		Nun	nber
Туре	Unit of measure- ment	New con- struction	Improve- ments
HIGHWAYS, ROADS, STREETS, AND RELATED FACILITIES—continued	nggaan rago s	ann eadl alongsba	ar and the
Highway, roads, and streets (cont). Other—parks, cemeteries, etc. (total).	Miles	202. 4	583. 0
PavedUnpaved	Miles	29. 2 173. 2	
Road shoulders (not included above)Bridges (total)	Miles Number	270. 3 4, 090	2, 220. 7 1, 728
properties with a seling III.	Length in feet	99, 789	73, 606
Wood	Number Length in feet Number Length in feet. Number Length in feet. Number Length in feet. Number Length in feet. Number of cross- ing eliminations.	3, 164 68, 318 197 10, 306 729 21, 165 52, 041 1, 285, 050 3	973 29, 873 464 36, 341 291 7, 392 3, 917 108, 215
Sidewalks and paths (total)	Miles	1, 144. 7	406. 0
PavedUnpaved	Miles	996. 5 148. 2	
Curbs	Length in miles Length in miles Length in miles Number Miles of road equipped.	1, 037. 9 269. 0 62. 5 682 16	196. 2 28. 8 32. 0 706 33
Roadside drainage	Linear feet of ditch. Linear feet of pipe.	19, 153, 458 682, 021	37, 193, 354 61, 994
Roadside landscaping Removal of car and railroad track_	Miles of single- line track.	002,021	1, 315 72, 4

# ALL HIGHWAYS, ROADS, AND STREETS

U.S. Petrol Phil Convidence	Ne	w construc	onstruction		
State	Total miles	Miles of paved roads	Miles of unpaved roads	Improve ments— total miles	
Grand total	2, 531. 2	1, 544. 4	986.8	28, 084. 7	
Continental United States	2, 529. 5	1, 543. 6	985, 9	28, 084. 7	
Alabama	17.8	17.8	(1)	87. 8	
Arizona	9.0	5.7	3.3	139.8	
	50.8	19.0	31.8		
Arkansas.	63. 9			953. 9	
California		34.4	29.5	193.	
Colorado	39.1	13. 2	25. 9	340.	
Connecticut	56.0	12.2	43.8	336.	
Delaware District of Columbia	5. 2	.2	5.0	8 1	
District of Columbia	1.2	.7	.5	2.0	
Florida	24.1	7.6	16.5	114.	
Georgia	7.7	7.7	(1)	67.	
Idaho	2.7	.3	2.4	250.	
Illinois	443. 5	315.8	127.7	3, 572.	
Indiana	257. 5	213. 0	44.5	1,898.	
Iowa	4.2	1. 2	3.0	1, 021.	
	12.7	4.3	8.4	204.	
Kansas	24. 0				
Kentucky		22, 9	1.1	743.	
Louisiana	2.7	2.0	7	(1)	
Maine	11.4	(1)	11.4	18.	
Maryland	3.7	1.6	2.1	37.	
Massachusetts	20.4	8.0	12.4	96.	
Michigan	150.9	141.1	9.8	1, 129.	
Minnesota	11.1	1.1	10.0	741.	
Mississippi	55, 8	55.0	.8	1, 962.	
Missouri	47.7	11.5	36.2	669.	
Montana	2.0	(1)	2.0	440.	
Nebraska	52.1	1.9	50. 2	236.	
	(1)	(1)	(1)	134.	
New Hampshire	1.4	1.0	.4	74.	
New Jersey	120.0	104.5	15.5	324.	
New Mexico	22. 2	1.7	20.5	77.	
New York	104.9	56. 6	48.3	252.	
North Carolina	3. 5	1.6	1.9	770.	
North Dakota	4.0	2.1	1.9	293.	
Ohio	33. 5	32.4	1.1	236.	
Oklahoma	10.1	8.1	2.0	1, 587.	
Oregon	8.4	(1)	8.4	336.	
Pennsylvania	146. 5	91.2	55.3	366.	
Rhode Island	10.9	10.8	.1	62.	
South Carolina	10. 7	10.5	1 :2	311.	

1 No report received.

Physical accomplishment on W. P. A. highway, road, and street projects, completed between July 1 and Nov. 1, 1938—Continued

ALL HIGHWAYS, ROADS, AND STREETS—continued

e dealer mail resident mil'	Nev	w construc	tion	
State	Total miles	Miles of paved roads	Miles of unpayed roads	Improve ments- total miles
South Dakota	5. 6	1.6	4.0	515.
Cennessee	72.4	71.3	1.1	1, 162.
Utah	146. 2 49. 2	142.2 1.9	4.0	1, 884. 271.
Vermont	2.5	2.5	(1)	44.
Virginia	10.6 59.4	10.4	48.1	211.
Virginia Washington West Virginia	321.7	11.3 82.3	239. 4	2, 094. 1, 575.
W ISCONSIN	8.6	1.4	7.2	223.
Wyoming	1.7	(1)	(1)	(1)
RURAL	ROADS	5000	transfer to	
Grand total	1, 372. 3	622, 3	750.0	24, 395.
Continental United States	1, 371. 2	622. 1	749.1	24, 395.
Alabama	16.6	16.6		
Arizona	7.3	4.0	3.3	77. 138.
Arkansas	26. 2	2.5	23.7 11.0	938.
Colorado	31. 8 26. 9	20.8 2.0	11. 0 24. 9	148. 326.
Colorado	41.3	(1)	41.3	309.
Delaware District of Columbia	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Plorida	20.6	(1)	15.1	(1)
FloridaGeorgia	6.3	6.3	(1)	65.
daho	1.0	(1)	1.0	182.
Illinois	115. 6 150. 8	29. 4 122. 4	86. 2 28. 4	2, 995. 1, 655.
lowa	(1)	(1)	(1)	987.
Kansas Kentucky	(1)	(1)	(1)	139.
Louisiana.	1.3	1.3	(1)	717.
Maine	10.8	(1)	10.8	(1)
Maryland Massachusetts	1.2 11.2	.2	1.0	34.
Massachusetts Michigau	11. 2 119. 2	118.0	11.1	55.
Minnesota	(1)	(1)	(1)	407. 683.
Minnesota	(t) 17.3	16.9	.4	1, 954.
Missouri Montana	2.6 1.5	1.0	1.6	402. 404.
Nebraska		(1)	47.0	214.
Nevada	(1) 1.2 18.3	(1)	(1)	54.
New Hampshire	1.2	1.0 5.1	13.2	61. 122
New Jersey New Mexico New York	16. 9	(1)	16.9	58.
New York	81.4	33.8	47.6	195.
North Carolina	(1)	1.4	(1)	691, 216.
Ohio	(1)	(1)	(1)	170.
Oklahoma	7.6	7.6	(1)	1, 566.
OregonPennsylvania	4.9 52.9	(1) 25. 6	4.9 27.3	232. 269.
Rhode Island	(1)	(1)	(1)	20.
South Carolina	2.2	2.2	(1)	287.
South Dakota	1.4	49.0	(1)	489. 1, 138.
Texas.	94.6	90. 9	3.7	1,746.
Utah	42.8	1.0	41.8	144.
Vermont	(1)	(3)	(1)	36. 205.
Washington	48.8	6.5	42.3	2,006
Washington	286.1	51.0	235.1	1, 533.
Wisconsin Wyoming	(1) 5. 2	(2)	(1) 5. 2	179.
Hawaii	1.1	.2	.9	(1)
URBAN ROADS	AND STE	EETS		Unite St
Grand total	956. 5	892.9	63. 6	3, 106.
Continental United States	955. 9	892. 3	63. 6	3, 106.
Alabama	1.2	1.2	(1)	5.
Arkansas	1.7 17.2	1.7 15.4	1.8	(1)
California	15.3	13.6	1.7	38.
ColoradoConnecticut	11.2	11.2	(1)	5.
Delaware	14.6	(1)	2.5	23.
Delaware District of Columbia	(1)	(1)	(1)	(4)
Florida Georgia Georgia	1.9	1.6	(1) .3	13
GeorgiaIdaho	1.4	1.4		16
Illinois	313. 2	281.0	32. 2	539
IndianaIowa	91.6	86.2	5.4	237 30
Kansas	1.8 2.9	1.1 2.9	(1) .7	62
Kentucky	21. 2	21.2	(1)	25
Louisiana Maine	2.2	(1)	.2	(1)
Maryland	1.1	1.1	(1) .4	2
WISFYISHO	7.3	6.6	.7	7

Physical accomplishment on W. P. A. highway, road, and street projects, completed between July 1 and Nov. 1, 1938—Continued

## URBAN ROADS AND STREETS—continued

State	_	New construction				
	rotal niles	Miles of paved roads	Miles of unpaved roads	Improve ments— total miles		
Michigan Minnesota Mississippi Missouri Missouri Montana Nebraska Nevada New Hampshire New Jersey New Mexico New York North Carolina North Dakota Ohio Oklahoma Oregon Pennsylvania Rhode Island South Carolina South Dakota Tennessee Texas Utah Vermont Virginia Washington West Virginia Wissonsin	26. 8 2.0 (3) 38. 2 9. 6 5 2.0 (1) 99. 5 23. 3 1. 6 29. 2 1. 6 68. 6 10. 7 8. 5 1. 6 10. 6	21.6 1.1 1.38.0 9.6 (t) 1.9 (t) 98.7 8.8 22.8 22.1 5.5 22.1 1.6 63.2 2.6 8.3 3.1 6.6 22.3 10.4 4.8 8.30.9 1.4	5.2 .9 .2 (*) .5 .1 (*) .8 (*) .5 (*) .1 1.1 (*) .4 5.4 .1 .1 .2 (*) (*) (*) (*) (*) (*)	718. 1 51. 6 7. 9 65. 0 15. 4 19. 1 8. 7 8. 2 201. 7 78. 2 78.		

#### BRIDGES AND CULVERTS

		Bri	dges			Culv	erts		
State		w con-		prove- ents		New construc- tion		Improve- ments	
	Number	Length in feet	Number	Length in feet	Number	Length in feet	Number	Length in feet	
Grand total	4, 090	99, 789	1,728	73, 606	52, 041	1,285,050	3, 917	108, 215	
Continental United States.	4, 089	99, 741	1, 728	73, 606	52, 041	1,285,050	3, 916	108, 166	
AlabamaArizona	106 22	2, 044	1 2	90 529	58 441	2, 369 15, 293	(1)	(1)	
		12, 884	1 1	100	3, 354	79, 289	138	3, 036	
Arkansas California	23	1, 120	4	920	745	28, 769	105	3, 044	
Colorado	67	2, 180	17	900	962	24, 493	2	128	
Connecticut	5	108	2	214	315	11, 639	52	1, 163	
Delawara		(1)		(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	
Delaware District of Columbia	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(6)	
Florida	43	796	2	1,835	113	3, 890	5	80	
Georgia	21	928	2	156	276	7,764	(1)	(1)	
daho		2, 191	28	940	459	8, 151	17	638	
Illinois	206	5, 089	451	17, 456	7, 478	178, 774	923	24, 815	
Indiana	29	781	109	6, 351	2, 069	57, 877	76	3, 926	
lowa	58	1, 799	176	9, 189	871	28, 553	45	1,800	
Kansas	25	1, 151	(1)	(1)	654	16, 156	6	148	
Kentucky		6, 638	47	1,056	5, 890	153, 939	(1)	(1)	
Louisiana	2	80	(1)	(1)	18	786	(1)	(1)	
Maine	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	189	4, 798	(1)	(1)	
Maryland	2	38	(1)	(1)	166	3, 931	(1)	(1)	
Massachusetts	2	42	5	123	56	3, 151	105	2, 168	
Michigan	20	690	6	2, 271	6, 381	76, 943	100	2, 100	
Minnocoto	54	1,639	20	962	821	25, 270	7	256	
Mississippi	1.377	29, 937	33	428	2,098	54, 525	18	510	
Missouri	8	239	4	682	811	22, 352	54	1, 551	
Montana	48	1, 087	40	784	277	8, 490	23	684	
Nebraska	145	2,642	425	10, 243	783	23, 272	59	1,622	
Nevada	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	20	438	(1)	(1)	
New Hampshire	3	71	1	50	227	7,579	113	2, 634	
New Jersey	12	367	2	403	22	750	3	1, 426	
New Mexico	350	3, 700	(1)	(1)	59	1,499	6	108	
New York	25	482	16	895	717	21, 639	27	694	
North Carolina	12	555	(1) (1) (1)	(1)	2, 351	48, 399	(1)	(1)	
North Dakota	2	60	(1)	(1)	647	22,066	22	1, 180	
Ohio	21	325	(1)	(1)	575	19, 949	110	10, 794	
Oklahoma	68	4, 268	3	360	2,580	68, 696	8	236	
Oregon.	24	708	3	60	504	16, 650	620	11, 991	
Pennsylvania	34	890	5	872	1,307	20, 815	204	4, 143	
Rhode Island	2	40	(1)	(1)	7	174	(1)	(1)	
South Carolina	14	415	(1)	(1)	325	9, 687	(1)	(1)	
South Dakota	27	761	52	2,619	677	24, 245	(1)	(1)	
Fennessee	27 30	1,409	30	2, 101	867	18, 675			
rexas	262	1,409 7,330	199	8, 065	649	17, 105	1,058	27, 071	
Jtah	18	466	6	100	441	11, 990	62	1, 210	
Vermont	(1)	(1)	2	81	164	4,854	21	513	

<sup>1</sup> No report received.

Physical accomplishment on W. P. A. highway, road, and street projects, completed between July 1 and Nov. 1, 1938—Continued BRIDGES AND CULVERTS—continued

State		Bric	lges		Culverts			
		ew con- ruction Improve- ments		New construc-		Improve- ments		
	Number	Length in feet	Number	Length in feet	Number	Length in feet	Number	Length in feet
Virginia Washington West Virginia Wisconsin Wyoming Hawaii	9 8 64 12 13 1	249 607 1, 671 350 228 48	1 23 1 3 6 (1)	600 834 13 1,179 142 (¹)	46 2, 959 1, 515 97 (1)	1, 354 86, 442 38, 332 3, 238 (1) (1)	1 18 18 6 (1)	30 60 314 173 (1)

#### SIDEWALKS AND PATHS

	Ne	w construc	tion	Improve
State	Total miles	Miles of paved walks	Miles of unpaved walks	ments, total miles
Grand total	1, 144, 7	996. 5	148. 2	406. 0
Continental United States	1, 144. 3	996. 2	148.1	406.0
Alabama	8, 2	8.0	.2	(1)
Arizona	3.7	3.7	(1)	
Arkansas	8.3	7.1	1.2	
California	35. 7	27.6	8.1	4.9
Colorado	5. 1	4.0	1.1	
Connecticut	44.0	39. 5	4.5	3.
Delaware	.1	.1	(1)	(3)
District of Columbia	.3	. 3		(1)
Florida	3.8	2.5	1.3	2.4
Jeorgia	1.9	1.8	.1	(1)
daho	8.6	6.4	2.2	
llinois	158. 0 102. 7	145, 9	12.1	125.7
ndiana		101.3	1.4	7.2
owa	4.4	4.0	.4	(2)
	6.3		.1	
Kentucky	15.4	4.8 15.4	1.5	· · · · ·
Louisiana	4.0	1.6	(1)	(1)
Maryland	4.0	4.0	(1)	3.6
Massachusetts	98. 5	93.9	4.6	77.
Michigan	64.0	57.3	6.7	70.8
Minnesota	31.1	30. 4	.7	.1
Mississippi	14.9	14.7	.2	7. 3
Missouri	11.6	8.8	2.8	(1)
Montana	1.4	.7	.7	(1)
Nebraska	1.8	1.2	.6	.1
Nevada	.1	.1	(1)	(1)
New Hampshire	1.7	1.5	.2	.8
New Jersey	86.3	47.6	38.7	24.7
New Mexico	18.3	18.3	(2)	(1)
New York	51.2	49.8	1.4	33. 7
North Carolina	34.8	26.3	8.5	(1)
North Dakota	14.6	8.0	6.6	2.3
Ohio	29, 4	22.6	6.8	4.4
Oklahoma	15.8	13.9	1.9	(1)
Oregon.	4.0	3.8	.2	1.4
Pennsylvania	51.9	42.1	9.8	11.5
Rhode Island	37.7	37.4	.3	(1)
outh Carolina	4.3	4.1	.2	2.1
outh Dakota	10.0	10.0	(1)	.1
ennessee	10.5	1.6	8.9	(1)
Pexas	44.2	43.8	.4	2.8
Jtah.	10.5	7.5	3.0	9.0
Vermont	5. 6	5.3	.3	2.7
Virginia	15.5	15.5	(1)	(1)
Washington	14.9	7.3	7.6	2.7
West Virginia	12.7	12.3	.4	3.3
Wisconsin	28.3	28.3	(2)	(2)
Vyoming	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Iawaii	.4	.3	.1	(1)

<sup>1</sup> No report received.

## JUST A FEW SHORT SENTENCES

In conclusion, I should like my remarks to include a few short lines from a letter I received yesterday from one of the citizens of my district. The letter speaks for itself and speaks louder than I could speak or any other Member could speak on the floor of the House in urging two things: First, enough money for W. P. A. now to protect these people in their meager jobs; second, a sincere, earnest attack by the Congress at this session on this whole problem and the setting up of a stable program of employment which all will understand, from which this fear and uncertainty will be removed, on which at least somewhat better wages will be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Less than 0.05 mile.

paid and by means of which as much constructive work as possible will be done. Here is a part of the letter:

I enclose a clipping from this morning's Post. This is the kind of thing that is terrifying to those on W. P. A., the uncertainty of employment. It is a monster that keeps those on W. P. A. in constant dread. Can't something be done to take away this nightmare? I suppose those in authority fail to realize what effect this has on the lives of those who hope to be able to keep their families alive. If some of those in authority could see the budgets these people have to follow, their hearts might be touched.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from California [Mr. Thomas F. Ford].

Mr. THOMAS F. FORD. Mr. Chairman, I have listened with close attention and deep respect to the very clear and logical statement of the distinguished gentleman from Virginia, chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations.

My reaction to his plausible and logical arguments for a cut of \$150,000,000 in the W. P. A. appropriation is that while it would save the Treasury that amount of money in the next few months, it is, in my opinion, "a penny-wise and pound-foolish policy" that later will cost many times the sum thus temporarily saved.

It seems to me that if Congress adopts this resolution as presented that our action would be like that of a sick man who leaves the hospital a week too soon in order to save expense, suffers a relapse, and then is forced to spend several additional weeks in the hospital to regain the strength that might have come as a result of spending the additional week in the first place.

If this was pure speculation, I would not ask my colleagues to give it much consideration; but, my friends, we have had one experience with attempting to cut down on work relief, an experience for which we are now paying dearly for and will continue to pay.

It is my reasoned opinion that any attempt to cut work relief at this time is premature. Let us not make the same mistake twice. Let us go the last mile, as our distinguished colleague from Missouri suggests. Let us keep priming the pump until the return flow is sufficiently steady and adequate, in the form of increased private employment, to warrant the Government stepping out gradually.

I am just as anxious as the gentleman from Virginia to get the Government out of relief. In saying this I do not mean to infer that I am more humane than he is; more compassionate than he is; that I have a greater love for or more sympathy with poverty and suffering than he has. The fact is, we differ only as to time.

These are my reasons for opposing this cut.

I shall vote for replacing the \$150,000,000, thus bringing the appropriation up to \$875,000,000. In fact, my study of the situation leads me to the conclusion that a full billion dollars would not be too much at this critical period.

However, Colonel Harrington states that \$875,000,000 will suffice. The President recommends that sum; and since that seems to be the maximum we can secure, I shall vote for the original sum asked, namely, \$875,000,000.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Warren, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, had come to no resolution thereon.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. Lanham and Mrs. Rogers of Massachusetts asked and were given permission to revise and extend their own remarks in the Record.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include therein an address delivered by Rev. Linus A. Lilly, S. J., regent of the school of law, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo., commemorating Constitution Week.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and include therein extracts from letters and telegrams in regard to the relief appropriation bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and include therein certain excerpts.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include certain excerpts from committees appointed by the Senate and the House.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend in the Record the remarks I made this afternoon and to include therein a table showing the physical accomplishments of the Works Progress Administration and also just a very few lines from a letter received by me from one of my constituents.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHANLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and include a telegram from the president of Social Agencies, the chairman of Family Welfare and Relief, and the mayor of New Haven, Conn.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend the remarks made in Committee and to include therein a statement from the United States Conference of Mayors on the W. P. A. appropriation.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record by including therein a speech I delivered on the floor of the House at the last session.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

# REQUEST TO WITHDRAW PAPERS

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House the following request to withdraw papers.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Sacks asks leave to withdraw from the files of the House, without leaving copies, the papers in the case of Silvio Bonanni, pending before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in the Seventy-fifth Congress, no adverse report having been made thereon.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the request will be granted.

There was no objection.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Tarver] may have unanimous consent to extend his own remarks in the Record and include certain statements.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I make a similar request as to myself.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, January 13, 1939, at 11 o'clock a. m.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows: 236. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend sections 7, 14, and 20 of the organic act of the Virgin Islands of the United States (49 Stat. 1807); to the Committee on Insular Affairs

237. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting one copy of legislation passed by the Legislative Assembly of the Virgin Islands; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

238. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend an act entitled "An act limiting expenditures for repairs or changes to naval vessels," approved July 18, 1935 (49 Stat. 482; 5 U. S. C. 468a), so as to increase the limit on expenditures for vessels and changes to any naval vessel during the second half of its life; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

239. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a certified copy of several ordinances enacted by the Public Service Commission of Puerto Rico; to the

Committee on Insular Affairs.

240. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 16, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Indian River (Vero Beach), St. Johns River Waterway, Fla., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

241. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 16, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Southern Branch of Elizabeth River, Norfolk Harbor, Va., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

242. A letter from the Secretary of War transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated October 19, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on reexamination of Hudson River at Ossining, N. Y., requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted January 27, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

243. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated October 19, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination and reexamination of Hulls Creek and Rogers Creek, Northumberland County, Va., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937, and requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted January 27, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

244. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated October 19, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Kenosha Harbor, Wis., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

245. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 16, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Necanicum River, Oreg., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

246. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 16, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Padanaram Harbor at South Dartmouth, Mass., authorized by the River and Harbor Act, approved August 26, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

247. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 16, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on reexamination of Old (Trinity) River, Tex., requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted November 30, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

248. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting compilation of the preliminary examinations, surveys, and appropriations for works of river and harbor improvement authorized by the River and Harbor Acts approved July 3, 1930, and August 30, 1935 (H. Doc. No. 106); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with illustrations.

249. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the transfer to the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Treasury of portions of the property within the military reservation known as the Morehead City Target Range, N. C.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

# REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII,

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: Committee on Appropriations. House Joint Resolution 83. Joint resolution making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939; without amendment (Rept. No. 4). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

# PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. MASSINGALE:

H. R. 2371. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products; to prevent unfair competition; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to promote the general welfare by assuring an abundant and permanent supply of such products by securing to the producers a minimum price of not less than cost of production; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. LEMKE:

H. R. 2372. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products; to prevent unfair competition; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to promote the general welfare by assuring an abundant and permanent supply of such products by securing to the producers a minimum price of not less than cost of production; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. O'CONNOR:

H. R. 2373. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products; to prevent unfair competition; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to promote the general welfare by assuring an abundant and permanent supply of such products by securing to the producers a minimum price of not less than cost of production; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. PIERCE of Oregon:

H. R. 2374. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products; to prevent unfair competition; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to promote the general welfare by assuring an abundant and permanent supply of such products by securing to the producers a minimum price of not less than cost of production; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. STEFAN:

H. R. 2375. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products; to prevent unfair competition; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to promote the general welfare by assuring an abundant and permanent supply of such products by securing to the producers a minimum price of not less than cost of production; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. GEHRMANN:

H. R. 2376. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products; to prevent unfair competition; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to promote the general welfare by assuring an abundant and permanent supply of such products by securing to the producers a minimum price of not less than cost of production; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. MUNDT:

H. R. 2377. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products; to prevent unfair competition; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to promote the general wefare by assuring an abundant and permanent supply of such products by securing to the producers a minimum price of not less than cost of production; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. KERR: H. R. 2378. A bill to prohibit the exportation of tobacco seed and plants, except for experimental purposes; to the

Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 2379. A bill to provide that payment of adjustedservice credit may be made to the estate of the veteran if no eligible dependent is surviving; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2380. A bill to provide that 50 percent of Federal highway-aid funds shall be applied to secondary and feeder roads, including farm-to-market roads and rural free delivery mail routes; to the Committee on Roads.

H. R. 2381. A bill to appropriate funds for research in the production of peanuts; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. O'LEARY:

H.R. 2382. A bill to amend section 704 of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, as amended, and to amend section 706 (a) of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 2383. A bill to increase further the efficiency of the Coast Guard by authorizing the retirement under certain conditions of enlisted personnel thereof with 20 or more years of service; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. O'TOOLE:

H. R. 2384 (by request). A bill to clarify the status of custodial employees in buildings operated by the Post Office Department; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. MAAS:

H.R. 2385. A bill to place warrant officers of the Coast Guard in the same status with warrant officers of the Navy as to being commissioned chief warrant officers upon length of service; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. RAMSPECK:

H. R. 2386 (by request). A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the establishment of a national employment system and for cooperation with the States in the promotion of such system, and for other purposes," as amended, by extending the scope of services thereunder, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. HUNTER:

H. R. 2387. A bill to restore to Congress the sole power to issue money and to regulate its value as provided in article I,

section 8, of the Constitution of the United States; to restore full employment and production; to prevent inflation and depression; and to provide a stable currency; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. RISK:

H. R. 2388. A bill providing for the cancelation of certain charges for salvage operations conducted under section 20 of the River and Harbor Act of March 3, 1899; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. KNUTSON:

H. R. 2389. A bill to make permanent the reduced interest rates on Federal land bank and land bank commissioner loans; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. HILL:

H. R. 2390. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States Court of Claims to hear, examine, adjudicate, and render final judgment on any and all claims which the Yakima Indian Tribes may have against the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. SWEENEY:

H. R. 2391. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products; to prevent unfair competition; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to promote the general welfare by assuring an abundant and permanent supply of such products by securing to the producers a minimum price of not less than cost of production; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. ANGELL:

H. R. 2392. A bill to amend the Social Security Act with respect to its application to employees of fraternal beneficiary societies, orders, and associations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 2393. A bill to provide for the free importation of flax-scutching machinery; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 2394. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to cooperate with the State of Oregon in the preservation and maintenance of the battleship *Oregon* as a national memorial; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 2395. A bill to amend paragraph (14) of subsection (a) of section 203 of the Motor Carrier Act, 1935; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 2396. A bill to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the completion of Bonneville Dam; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

H. R. 2397. A bill to authorize the distribution to persons admitted to citizenship of the patriotic poster entitled "Look the Truth in the Face"; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 2398. A bill to amend section 4401 of the Revised Statutes with respect to the operation of private yachts on inland waters; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee:

H. R. 2399. A bill to amend the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1935, to reduce the rate of interest to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  percent, to extend the time of maturity to 25 years, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BLOOM:

H. R. 2400. A bill to give certain civil-service employees of the War Department credit, under the Retirement Act of May 22, 1920, and such act as amended, for service rendered as telephone operators between March 1, 1918, and August 15, 1925, inclusive; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. REES of Kansas:

H. R. 2401. A bill to amend the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, 1925, approved February 28, 1925, and acts amendatory and supplementary thereto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SHAFER of Michigan:

H. R. 2402. A bill to abolish and correct unfair practices and substandard working conditions and to raise living standards among the employees of the United States Veterans' Administration; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

#### By Mr. SCHIFFLER:

H. R. 2403. A bill to provide lower interest rates on loans made by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

#### By Mr. SIROVICH:

H. R. 2404. A bill providing for a surgeon and ship hospital on vessels; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

#### By Mr. ANGELL:

H. R. 2405. A bill to amend the Inland Waterways Corporation Act, approved June 3, 1924, as amended, authorizing the Secretary of War to extend the services and operations of the Inland Waterways Corporation to the Columbia River; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

#### By Mr. DARDEN:

H. R. 2406. A bill to provide for the adjustment of the status of planners and estimators and progressmen of the field service of the Navy Department; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

#### By Mr. CELLER:

H. R. 2407. A bill to amend section 118 of the Judicial Code to provide for the appointment of law clerks to United States district court judges; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. BALL:

H. R. 2408. A bill providing for the cancelation of certain charges for salvage operations conducted under section 20 of the River and Harbor Act of March 3, 1899; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

## By Mr. CRAVENS:

H. R. 2409. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the general welfare by establishing a system of Federal old-age benefits, and by enabling the several States to make more adequate provision for aged persons, blind persons, dependent and crippled children, maternal and child welfare, public health, and the administration of their unemployment compensation laws; to establish a Social Security Board; to raise revenue; and for other purposes," approved August 14, 1935; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

#### By Mr. CURLEY:

H. R. 2410. A bill to fix and regulate the salaries of coal passers, firemen, firemen-custodians, assistant engineers, assistant engineer-custodians, engineers, and engineer-custodians who are engaged in the operation, maintenance, and repair of steam boilers and mechanical equipment and the supervision of custodial work in the public schools of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

## By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 2411. A bill transferring the jurisdiction, supervision, administration, and control over the salmon and other fisheries of Alaska, except the fur-seal and sea-otter fisheries, from the Department of Commerce to the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 2412. A bill to authorize the construction of a bulkhead along the water front of the town of Nome, Alaska; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

H. R. 2413. A bill for the protection of the water supply of the city of Ketchikan, Alaska; to the Committee on the Territories.

# By Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT:

H. R. 2414. A bill to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to control emergency insect infestations on the national forests; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 2415. A bill to authorize the addition of certain lands to the Plumas National Forest, Calif.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H. R. 2416. A bill to authorize the establishment and maintenance of an experimental range in California for conducting research in the management of range lands for sheep grazing; to the Committee on Agriculture.

# By Mr. ELLIOTT:

H. R. 2417. A bill to facilitate the control of soil erosion and/or flood damage originating upon lands within the exte-

rior of boundaries of the Sequoia National Forest, Calif.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

# By Mr. PIERCE of Oregon:

H. R. 2418. A bill to extend the provisions of the Forest Exchange Act, as amended, to certain lands, so that they may become parts of the Whitman, Malheur, or Umatilla National Forests; to the Committee on Agriculture.

## By Mr. VOORHIS of California:

H. R. 2419. A bill to provide for the rank and title of lieutenant general of the Regular Army for commanders of corps areas and foreign departments; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

#### By Mr. CELLER:

H. R. 2420. A bill to provide for the naturalization of certain veterans of the World War; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 2421. A bill to incorporate the American National Institute (Prix de Paris) at Paris, France; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## By Mr. JONES of Texas:

H. R. 2422. A bill to provide for the further development of cooperative agricultural extension work; to the Committee on Agriculture.

#### By Mr. MAY:

H. R. 2423. A bill to establish a United States postgraduate Medical and Surgical College and Research Institute, to provide properly trained medical, surgical, and health personnel for the Military, Naval, and Public Health Services, to coordinate and improve health research activities of the Federal Government, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 2424. A bill to establish the Breaks of Sandy National Park in Virginia and Kentucky; to the Committee on

the Public Lands.

H. R. 2425. A bill to amend existing law to prevent denial of compensation for service-connected disability by reason of willful misconduct which did not interfere with full performance of duty during service; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

# By Mr. PARSONS:

H. R. 2426. A bill authorizing the city of Shawneetown, Ill., to construct, maintain, and operate a toll bridge across the Ohio River at or near a point between Washington Avenue and Monroe Street in said city of Shawneetown and a point opposite thereto in the county of Union and State of Kentucky; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

# By Mr. THOMASON:

H. J. Res. 102. Joint resolution providing additional funds for the expenses of the special joint congressional committee investigating the Tennessee Valley Authority, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

## By Mr. COFFEE of Washington:

H. J. Res. 103. Joint resolution to provide for a survey of the narcotic-drug conditions in the United States by the United States Public Health Service; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

#### By Mr. BARRY:

H. J. Res. 104. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, prohibiting employers from hiring child labor; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### By Mr. KERR:

H. J. Res. 105. Joint resolution to authorize the preparation of a comprehensive plan for controlling the floods, regulating the flow of waters, land reclamation, and conserving water for useful purposes in the basin of the Roanoke River, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

## By Mr. KNUTSON:

H. J. Res. 106. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## By Mr. SIROVICH:

H. J. Res. 107. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States for the admission

to the status of citizens of a State the residents of the District constituting the seat of government of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT:

H. Res. 49. Resolution to provide additional compensation for a minority employee (Frank W. Collier); to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky:

H. Res. 50. Resolution creating a special committee of the House of Representatives to investigate the Works Progress Administration; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. KERR:

H. Res. 51. Resolution to pay a gratuity to William Duke Jones, son of the late Howard F. Jones; to the Committee on Accounts.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANGELL:

H. R. 2427. A bill for the relief of the George Waale Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2428. A bill for the relief of Allie F. Muth; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2429. A bill to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of Suncrest Orchards, Inc.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2430. A bill for the relief of the Portland Iron Works; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2431. A bill for the relief of Multnomah County, Oreg.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2432. A bill for the relief of the legal guardian of Roy D. Cook, a minor; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2433. A bill for the relief of M. Seller & Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ARENDS:

H. R. 2434. A bill granting a pension to Florence G. Miller, widow of Capt. Edward Y. Miller; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BLOOM:

H.R. 2435. A bill for the relief of Helen Rauch and Max Rauch; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CANNON of Florida:

H. R. 2436. A bill for the relief of certain purchasers of lots in Harding Town Site, Fla.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. CARLSON:

H. R. 2437. A bill granting a pension to Deana Cross; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2438. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary I. Wise; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 2439. A bill granting a pension to Clara Belle Cross; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2440. A bill for the relief of Thomas J. Smith; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2441. A bill for the relief of Maj. Wilbur Rogers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2442. A bill granting a pension to Emma J. Fulton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2443. A bill granting a pension to Ella Manwarren; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CELLER:

H. R. 2444. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Peter Galatro, parents of Michael Galatro, deceased minor son; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CHURCH:

H. R. 2445. A bill granting a pension to Louise O. Bowman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2446. A bill for the relief of Bridget Della Cawley Ebbole; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 2447. A bill for the relief of Richard John Tomlin; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. CLARK:

H.R. 2448. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mertie Lorain Anderson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CRAVENS:

H. R. 2449. A bill authorizing the President to present a Distinguished Service Medal to Harold R. Wood; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. DARDEN:

H. R. 2450. A bill to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claims of Herbert R. W. Lauterbach and others for overtime labor performed at the Norfolk Navy Yard, Portsmouth, Va., in excess of the legal day of 8 hours; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2451. A bill for the relief of Sarah Elizabeth Elliott, widow of Joseph Elliott deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2452. A bill for the relief of George Slade; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2453. A bill for the relief of the heirs at law of Barnabas W. Baker and Joseph Baker; to the Committee on War Claims.

H.R. 2454. A bill for the relief of Maggie E. Walters; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DUNCAN:

H. R. 2455. A bill granting a pension to Bertha E. Haroff; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2456. A bill granting a pension to Daniel F. Glenn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ELLIOTT:

H.R. 2457. A bill for the relief of W. L. Toland; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2458. A bill granting a pension to Mrs. William M. Weatherford; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT:

H. R. 2459. A bill for the relief of Emil V. Lehmann; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2460. A bill for the relief of L. W. Collins; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2461. A bill for the relief of Alfred T. Johnston; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2462. A bill for the relief of Emma A. Haessig Harte; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 2463. A bill for the relief of William Estes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2464. A bill for the relief of Frank Tonin; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2465. A bill granting a pension to Herman Acty; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2466. A bill to correct the military record of Granville B. Bryant: to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2467. A bill to confer jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Northern District of California to determine the claim of Madelena Carattini; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FLAHERTY:

H. R. 2468. A bill for the relief of John Raymond Sullivan; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 2469. A bill for the relief of Daniel J. O'Neill; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. GILLIE:

H. R. 2470. A bill granting a pension to Eliza Jane Wilkinson: to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2471. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Swander: to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GOLDSBOROUGH:

H. R. 2472. A bill granting a pension to Fred B. Tawes; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2473. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth B. Kemp; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2474. A bill granting a pension to Mary B. Sherwood; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 2475. A bill for the relief of Mrs. George E. Richardson: to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2476. A bill for the relief of Howard P. Bryan; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HOUSTON:

H. R. 2477. A bill granting a pension to Thomas J. Robinson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HULL:

H. R. 2478. A bill for the relief of the Wisconsin Milling Co. and Wisconsin Telephone Co.; to the Committee on Claims. By Mr. KELLER:

H.R. 2479. A bill for the relief of Martha Elizabeth Dry, widow of Frank Dry; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KERR:

H.R. 2480. A bill for the relief of the estate of John B. Brack; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2481. A bill for the relief of Pomeroy Parker; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. LANHAM:

H.R. 2482. A bill for the relief of Harry W. Boyd; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H. R. 2483. A bill for the relief of Louis Gershon; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 2484. A bill for the relief of James J. Orme; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McLEOD:

H. R. 2485. A bill granting a pension to Arminta B. Chesnut; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 2486. A bill granting a pension to George Austin; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2487. A bill for the relief of Krikor Haroutunian; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2488. A bill for the relief of Michael Francis Spillane; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. MAY:

H. R. 2489. A bill for the relief of Angle Ward; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2490. A bill for the relief of Fulton Combs; to the Committee on claims.

H. R. 2491. A bill granting a pension to Elbert Newberry; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2492. A bill granting a pension to Lizzie Collins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2493. A bill granting a pension to Lizzie Parker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2494. A bill granting a pension to Emily Jane Poe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2495. A bill for the relief of the heirs of the late Lawrence Conley; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2496. A bill for the relief of Dewey Daniel; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2497. A bill granting a pension to Polly Stewart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2498. A bill granting a pension to Lucinda McDaniel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2499. A bill granting a pension to Emaline Gambrel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 2500. A bill granting a pension to Colonel L. Stacy; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2501. A bill granting a pension to Lillie Patrick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2502. A bill granting a pension to Arvil Roberts; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2503. A bill granting a pension to Harrison Lykins; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2504. A bill granting a pension to Sarah Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2505. A bill granting a pension to Silas E. Shepherd; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2506. A bill granting a pension to Perry Osborne;

to the Committee on Pensions. H. R. 2507. A bill granting a pension to Stephen Hays; to

the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2508. A bill granting a pension to Minerva Wells; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2509. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Hall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2510. A bill granting an increase of pension to Manerva Collins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2511. A bill granting an increase of pension to Cynthia Conley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PLUMLEY:

H.R. 2512. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Harris A. Roberts; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. RANKIN:

H. R. 2513. A bill for the relief of C. B. Reagh; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. RAYBURN:

H.R. 2514. A bill for the relief of G. E. Williams; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. RICH:

H. R. 2515. A bill granting an increase of pension to Julia A. Poust; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2516. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Sturm; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2517. A bill granting a pension to Lulu Maude Williams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2518. A bill granting a pension to Anna L. Harman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROMJUE:

H. R. 2519. A bill granting an increase of pension to Estline Baker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin:

H. R. 2520. A bill granting a pension to Carl H. Ziebell; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SEGER:

H. R. 2521. A bill granting a pension to Carrie M. Gould; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SIROVICH:

H. R. 2522. A bill for the relief of Dymtro or Jim Gural; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 2523. A bill for the relief of Alfonsina Maurina Corradini; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 2524. A bill for the relief of John Joseph Defeo; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Maine:

H. R. 2525. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lizzie H. Webber; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2526. A bill granting an increase of pension to Harriett Chamberlin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SPENCE:

H. R. 2527. A bill for the relief of Sarah Daily; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SPRINGER:

H. R. 2528. A bill for the relief of James W. Kiplinger; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia:

H.R. 2529. A bill for the relief of W. F. Towson; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2530. A bill for the promotion and retirement of Capt. Taylor Branson, leader of the United States Marine Band; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

# PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

125. By Mr. BALL: Petition of the citizens of Pomfret Center, Conn., and vicinity, requesting that we adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and the act of May 1, 1937, and a resolution adopted by the Bridgeport Council of Catholic Women of Bridgeport, Conn., protesting against lifting the embargo on arms to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

126. By Mr. COCHRAN: Petition submitted by W. R. Green and 110 members of the veterans' Civilian Conservation Corps camp at Perryville, Mo., concerning pensions and advantages that would come to members of veterans' camps; to the Committee on Pensions.

127. By Mr. COFFEE of Washington: Resolution of Wild West Post, No. 91, Veterans of Foreign Wars, E. E. Hurd,

adjutant, Tacoma, Wash., pointing out that Congress has provided for the establishment of eight antiaircraft National Guard regiments in the United States, detailing the advantages of Tacoma as a prospective site for the establishment of such regiment, pointing out the proximity of the McChord Field (the Northwest Army air base) to Fort Lewis and Bremerton Navy Yard, and therefore urging that such regiment be established in Tacoma in Pierce County; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

128. Also, resolution of Veterans' Democratic Club of Washington, Inc., Rufus J. Hewes, secretary, Seattle, Wash., opposing the sale or shipment of material or goods that might be used as munitions of war from the United States to any country that has taken an aggressive position in the waging of declared or undeclared warfare; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

129. Also, resolution of John R. Thompson Camp, No. 1, United Spanish War Veterans, Department of Washington and Alaska, Z. S. Stark, adjutant, pointing out that Congress has provided for the establishment of eight antiaircraft National Guard regiments in the United States, detailing the advantages of Tacoma as a prospective site for the establishment of such regiment, pointing out the proximity of the McChord Field (the Northwest Army air base) to Fort Lewis and Bremerton Navy Yard, and therefore urging that such regiment be established in Tacoma in Pierce County; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

130. By Mr. FLAHERTY: Petition of the Young Men's Catholic Association of Boston, opposing the lifting of the Spanish arms embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

131. Also, petition of St. Catherine's Guild of Professional Women of Boston, opposing the lifting of the Spanish arms embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

132. Also, petition of the Catholic Alumni Sodality of Boston, opposing the lifting of the Spanish arms embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

133. Also, petition of the Men's League Sodality of Boston, opposing the lifting of the Spanish arms embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

134. Also, petition of the Catholic Nurses' Guild of Boston, opposing the lifting of the Spanish arms embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

135. By Mr. GEYER of California: Resolution of the Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Association of San Pedro, Calif. (Joseph O. Connor, secretary), requesting that the matter be taken before the Seventy-sixth Congress of building a marine hospital in San Pedro, Calif.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

136. By Mr. GWYNNE: Petition of L. J. Salz and others, relative to general policy of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

137. By Mr. HALLECK: Petition of citizens of Knox, Ind., and vicinity, submitting a declaration of policy on the subject of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

138. By Mr. HAWKS: Petition of members of Holy Name Society of Beaver Dam, Wis., protesting against any change in the neutrality policy of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

139. Also, petition of 74 residents of Waukesha, Wis., protesting against any change in the present neutrality policy of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

140. By Mr. KUNKEL: Petition of members of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Market Square Presbyterian Church, of Harrisburg, favoring retention of the embargo on munitions to countries engaged in war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

141. By Mr. LANDIS: Petition of certain citizens of Sullivan, Ind., urging the continuation of Works Progress Administration; to the Committee on Appropriations.

142. By Mr. MERRITT: Resolution of the Allied Patriotic Societies, Inc., requesting that the present policy in force in this country, especially since the passage of the first quota law in 1921, of not excepting alien refugees from the restrictions on immigration, be firmly adhered to by Congress

as necessary to the protection of our own people, including millions of legally admitted immigrants, from the excessive injection of foreign elements difficult to assimilate, from greatly increased unemployment and from other political, social, and economic evils; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

143. By Mr. PLUMLEY: Petition of Burlington (Vt.) Women's Christian Temperance Union, seeking Federal legislation to prevent advertising of alcoholic beverages by press and radio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

144. By Mr. ROMJUE: Petition of the State Advisory Council of the Missouri State Employment Service, favoring the continuance of the United States Employment Service under the Wagner-Peyser Act within the Department of Labor as a distinct and separate service so that its identity will not be lost within some other governmental division; and that Congress appropriate to the United States Department of Labor funds sufficient to maintain an adequate United States employment service in cooperation with the States; to the Committee on Labor.

145. By Mr. SACKS: Petition of William J. Keyser and 28 others, favoring the continuation of the embargo on arms; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

146. By Mr. SCHIFFLER: Petition of the American Legion, Indianapolis, Ind., demanding the immediate trial and deportation of Harry Bridges and like undesirable aliens, etc.; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

147. By Mr. SHAFER of Michigan: Petition of 143 members of Townsend Club, No. 1, Union City, Mich., urging passage of the Townsend plan; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

148. By Mr. THORKELSON: Resolution of the executive committee, Department of Montana, American Legion, reaffirming the action of the national convention at Los Angeles, relative to further appropriation for continuance of the Dies committee investigation; to the Committee on Appropriations.

149. Also, petition of the International Association of Fire Fighters, of Missoula, Mont., protesting against the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

150. Also, resolution of the Montana-Wyoming Beet Growers Association, protesting against any further reduction in the import duty on Cuban sugar; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

151. Also, petition of Montana-Wyoming Beet Growers Association, requesting the Secretary of Agriculture that the amount due beet producers to be paid from the United States Treasury, under the terms of the 1937 Sugar Act, especially in producing areas having a long factory run, be made in two installments in essentially the following ratio: 70 percent immediately upon completion of delivery of all beets to the factory and the remaining 30 percent upon completion of the annual factory operations; to the Committee on Agriculture.

152. Also, resolutions of the Montana-Wyoming Beet Growers Association, requesting remedial legislation to effectively regulate the quantity of sugar to be made available for consumption to the end that the domestic sugar industry may be maintained and farmers encouraged to continue to produce with reasonable assurance of a fair return for their labor (re Sugar Act of 1937, sec. 201, which provides the basis upon which the Secretary of Agriculture must determine the quantity of sugar necessary to be made available for consumption in any calendar year); to the Committee on Agriculture.

153. Also, petition of the Farmers Union of Pondera County, Mont., requesting enactment of a bushelage quota bill, in which all farmers shall be allotted an equal number of bushels and not according to his farm acreage; that this wheat have a set parity price at all times, based on 12 percent protein to protect protein differentials and that this

set parity price be adjusted to comparative freight rates and zones; to the Committee on Agriculture.

154. Also, petition of the Sons and Daughters of Montana Pioneers, of Great Falls, Mont., petitioning appropriation to assist in financing or to directly finance construction of an appropriate building for the Montana Historical Society and the Sons and Daughters of Montana Pioneers, in which historical data, records, and relics may be safely kept; also endorsing effort to preserve the ruins of Fort Benton as a historical site, and to make such replacements and restorations at old Fort Shaw as to render it a community hall for the Sun River Valley and a historic site and museum; to the Committee on the Library.

155. Also, resolution of the Clan-Na-Gael and Irish Republican War Veterans, of Butte, Mont., protesting against the use of the words "Northern Ireland," from the draft of the trade treaty between the United States and Great Britain; to the Committee on Printing.

156. Also, resolution of Local No. 367, Farmers Union, Sheridan County, Mont., petitioning that the base wheat acreage for Sheridan County, which has been reduced to 40 percent of cropland, be raised, so as to permit the raising of wheat on a greater percentage of the cropland; to the Committee on Agriculture.

157. Also, resolution of the United Mine Workers of America, District No. 27, Montana, protesting against the granting of the application of the Montana-Dakota Utilities Co., made to the Federal Power Commission, to import Canadian gas; also protesting against the granting of application made by the Montana-Dakota Utilities Co., to the railroad commissioners of the State of Montana to distribute the same in Montana; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

158. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Bridgeport Council of Catholic Women, Bridgeport, Conn., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

159. Also, petition of J. G. Kramer, of Cullman, Ala., and others, petitioning consideration of their petition with reference to embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

160. Also, petition of Frank A. Hourihan, of Chicago, Ill., petitioning consideration of his petition with reference to his constitutional rights; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRIDAY, JANUARY 13, 1939

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, our Father, we pray for Thy blessing upon the truth as it shall be spoken today; may it do good, excite thought, and lead us to do our whole duty. Oh, let us see the pitying Saviour in the city and in the desert place and transform all closed hearts. Let us hear the cry of the weary, feel the pulse of the struggling; haunt us with the thought of the homeless, and thus shall our love be perfected in stony places. Almighty God, let Thy will be done in our Nation. Make it strong, not for selfishness nor aggression but for those who seek liberty and sit in darkness. Help us to see ourselves; it is easier to be good in a garden than in the slum; it is easier to love God on the mountain peak than in the throes of poverty. Blessed Lord, the opportunity is ours; the door is open; lead us on. In the name of our Saviour.

Now we wait, Heavenly Father, and hear us. The clouds are low and forbidding. Again we stand on Jordan's banks and hear the sighing of the turbulent waves. One faithful and true in public and private life has left us. The other hour, when he breathed his last, the heavens opened and his manly soul became immortal. God bless his memory unto us and abide with great comfort and peace with his loved ones. In the blessed name of our Redeemer. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that Mr. Walsh, Mr. Connally, and Mr. Longe had been appointed as members on the part of the Senate of the Special Committee on the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise, created under Public Resolution 124, approved June 22, 1938.

#### LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday next, after the disposition of matters on the Speaker's program and the legislative program, I be allowed to address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent that on Wednesday next, after the disposition of matters on the Speaker's table and the legislative program, he may be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. GEHRMANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a communication addressed to me by Mayor James R. Law, of Madison, Wis., president of the League of Wisconsin Municipalities.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

#### REPRESENTATIVE DIES, OF TEXAS

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the following article appeared in this morning's Washington Post:

#### REPRESENTATIVE DIES GIVEN AMERICANISM AWARD

New York, January 12.—The National Americanism Award Committee tonight announced Representative Martin Dies (Democrat), Texas, as the outstanding winner of its "Americanism award for 1938" for outstanding patriotic service."

Dies is chairman of the House Committee Investigating Un-Amer-

ican Activities.

## ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to ask the majority leader a question.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, several on this side desire to ascertain, if they can, what the legislative program will be for next week. They want to make their plans accordingly.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, the committees, of course, have not been named as yet. The general committees, I think, will not be able to report legislation next week. As to what the Committee on Appropriations will be ready to do, I would rather have the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] answer the inquiry.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, we have a number of very urgent deficiency items which have been sent up by the Bureau of the Budget, which the deficiency subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations will take up on Monday next and hold hearings on. I hope that they may be ready for presentation to the House on Thursday next. We should be able to dispose of them in 1 day.

Mr. MAPES. Then it is safe to say that no important legislation will be up before Thursday?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes; as far as I can answer the inquiry.

Mr. RAYBURN. There will be no other legislation until the Appropriations Committee reports.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I should say that it is barely possible that we could get the deficiency items before the House on Wednesday. I would not like to foreclose myself, though my judgment is that it will not be until Thursday.

Mr. MAPES. Then I ask the gentleman from Virginia whether it is the intention of the Committee on Appropriations to keep the House in session today until a final vote is had upon the relief bill?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. That is the intention; yes.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of House Joint Resolution 83, making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of House Joint Resolution 83, with Mr. WARREN in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the House joint resolution.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cochran].

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield to no Member of this House when it comes to trying to hold down Government expenditures. I have been fighting for reduction in expenditures when many who are now opposing the recommendation of the administration were urging that they be increased.

The greater part of the time allotted to discuss this bill has been used to advance a lot of political bunk and this at the expense of human misery.

I want to say to my democratic friends the situation which confronts us today is not of our making. It developed during the administration of Herbert Hoover, and for 4 long years he denied—

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COCHRAN. No; not now. For 4 long years he denied suffering people any relief. I was here at the time. I remember when the present Vice President, Mr. Garner, included in a bill he introduced the recommendations of Mr. Hoover's Board of Army Engineers and the recommendations of Mr. Hoover's building commission, in an effort to give some relief to the unemployed, but Mr. Hoover said, "No; it "is pork barrel." Well, if it was "pork barrel," it was his own appointees who made the recommendations to the Congress.

Then what happened? The American public drove Mr. Hoover from office, and drove most of the Republican Members of Congress from office for their inactivity. They elected a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COCHRAN. Not now.

If we do not look after these unfortunate people, I say to you, Republicans and Democrats, they will drive you from office, and rightfully so. [Applause.]

Mr. BEAM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COCHRAN. I am sorry, but I do not have sufficient time.

There are men in this House today who are opposing the recommendation of the President for \$875,000,000 for the remainder of the fiscal year for W. P. A. who pledged their vote in the campaign preceding the election on November 8 for almost every conceivable wide-eyed proposition that was advanced in order to secure the support of groups. I hope that there will come a time one of these days when we will have the opportunity to have a yea-and-nay vote on some of the proposals, including the Townsend bill. When we do, if the pledges are kept, you are going to see some of the leaders of the Republican Party voting for measures which they know have absolutely no chance of becoming a law. I was not so cruel as to lead the aged in my district into believing that it was possible to secure the passage of a bill in Congress such

as advocated by Dr. Townsend. Those of us who were honest with our constituents might have been criticized at that time, but in the end, when they find that we were right, we will be commended for an honest expression.

I come from a great city that has been affected by the unemployment situation just as much as any other city in the United States.

It is a great industrial center. Thousands have appealed to me, either by letter or in person, to secure employment with W. P. A. I defy anyone, man or woman, white or black, to say that at any time that I have asked the applicant his or her politics, nor at any time did I send any kind of a letter that could be classed in any way as political to anyone who had appealed to me.

I brought to the attention of the W. P. A. officials the situation that confronted applicants who appealed to me, but I always said in the appeal to the local administrator that if the investigation disclosed that the applicant did come within the policy of W. P. A., then I felt that they should be considered for an assignment.

It is necessity that requires men and women to apply for work with W. P. A. If we are honest, you and I must admit that our constituents certainly would rather have employment in industry than be classed as a beneficiary under W. P. A. I know bank clerks, secretaries, skilled mechanics, two former Republican judges, one who was a circuit judge, railroad clerks—in fact, men that followed almost every line of employment—that are now working on W. P. A. And what work are they doing? Digging sewers, cleaning streets and alleys, breaking rocks, beautifying parks, and other such employment. Do you feel for a moment that such men and women are satisfied with such a life? It is the fact that they have families dependent upon them that requires them to do so.

Now, I am not going to tell you what happened in the past, but I am going to tell you what is happening in my city today. In the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of Wednesday morning, January 11, you find a two-column headline on the first page, which I quote:

One thousand mothers join sob line as relief agency closes.

And then comes an article saying that more than 1,000 mothers who have been dropped during the last month from W. P. A. employment are told to have their names placed on the aid to dependent children rolls and aid is not forthcoming from this source.

The article goes on to say that some of the women who were gathered in front of the Social Security office Tuesday night had been waiting there since before 7 a. m. Some claim that they had been trying to even secure an interview for days and nights without success. The article further says that a stream of about a half block long generally gathers before 6 o'clock in the morning and from that only 10 women are interviewed in a day.

This statement does not originate with me, but I am just telling you what this article says. It describes a situation that I want you to picture. Women building fires in washtubs huddled around in an effort to keep warm, white and black, waiting to tell their story.

These women had W. P. A. jobs but were dismissed.

Last week I took this matter up with Colonel Harrington, the W. P. A. Administrator, who had the regional director come to Washington from Chicago for a conference and then had that regional director go to St. Louis to investigate. Colonel Harrington told me that lack of funds required a reduction in the roll. I had a wire from his assistant today in response to mine, saying 41,000 leave the rolls if we pass this bill as reported. This reduction applies to Missouri.

Not only women have suffered but men with dependent families have been discharged. I ask you to place yourself in their position. What would you do if after tramping the streets all day looking for work and you come home and find your wife and children crying for food? You know what you would do, and I know what I would do. I warn you that in the coldest month of the year this is no time to

send word to unfortunate people that we are going to cut and they are no longer going to be able to earn the few dollars that they have been getting from the W. P. A.

I have a telegram from the mayor of St. Louis this morning telling me that 33 percent of those now on W. P. A. rolls in St. Louis will be taken off the rolls and thrown on the local authorities, which he says cannot carry the load. It reads—I quote:

Reduction of W. P. A. allotment to \$725,000,000 means 33 percent cut in W. P. A. rolls in St. Louis or practically 11,000 people to be taken from rolls and placed on relief. You know financial condition of city and State at present time. Impossible for us to assume this load. We feel full amount asked by President should be approved.

BERNARD F. DICKMANN, Mayor.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. COCHRAN. Not right now. I say to you that this is not a fight on the President. The President submits to us what the people in charge of this agency say is needed to carry on the activities. The fight to cut the amount is a fight upon the poor people of this country who cannot get work in private industry.

The President of the United States is not going to suffer except from peace of mind. He does not like to see anyone suffer. Those of us who have a roof over our heads, good clothes to wear, and plenty to eat should place ourselves in the position of those unfortunate people and then decide how we would look upon our Representative in Congress who took away from us a meager existence.

I repeat, I have never at any time asked a person his or her politics who appealed to me for assistance. I have never at any time injected any politics into W. P. A. Some of you say there is. Those who do can draw the strongest section you can write and add it to this bill and make it a felony for anyone who does and I will support it and I will speak for it. [Applause.] If there is any politics in W. P. A., take it out. Put a section in this bill, if you please, that will send people to the penitentiary who play politics with human misery. That is the way to keep W. P. A. free from politics.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COCHRAN. Not now. We are faced with a very bad parliamentary situation here today. Now, listen. We are not going to be able to get a record expression upon the recommendation of the administration unless we can amend this resolution in Committee of the Whole. This resolution is brought in so framed that it will be an absolute impossibility to get a record vote unless we amend it in Committee of the Whole. It has always been the policy as long as I can remember that when a committee decides to change an amount in a matter of this character to insert in the resolution the original recommendation of the Budget and then strike it out and amend it and report the resolution to the House.

That was not done, however, in this instance. The committee's figure, the reduced amount, is in this resolution. So if we do not amend this resolution in the Committee of the Whole we are not going to be able to get a record vote on the \$875,000,000. The ranking Republican member will be recognized to offer the motion to recommit and he is for the reduction.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield on that point?

Mr. COCHRAN. I yield.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. The gentleman cannot cite me a single appropriation bill reported to this House in certainly 8 years where the Appropriations Committee has taken a Budget item and amended it.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COCHRAN. I yield.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. In the last 8 years there has never been a single bill of this character introduced in this House except a Budget item with an amendment by the committee. This proceeding is unprecedented. It is a departure from the routine followed for years in the presenta-

tion of this class of appropriations. And the only effect of the change in procedure is to prevent a record vote in the House. It can have no other effect. There can be no other purpose in adopting it. The appropriation bills to which the gentleman from Virginia refers are an entirely different class of bills and handled in an entirely different manner. If anyone has any doubt about it, they have but to consult the files of the committee and the House.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 additional minutes to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. COCHRAN. I think in all fairness to the Members of this House the gentleman from Virginia should give us an opportunity to get a record vote on this proposition. Let the people of the country know who is in favor of \$875,000,000, who is in favor of any other amount you want to vote on. I am willing to go on record.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. COCHRAN. Not right now.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. COCHRAN. I am willing to accept my responsibility, but I would like to see the Members of the House be forced to vote upon the administration's recommendation. I repeat that when you do vote you will not be voting against the administration, but will be voting against these poor, unfortunate people who are going to be taken off the rolls of W. P. A., people who have wives and children at home dependent upon them.

Some mighty strong statements were made before this subcommittee, off the record, and I pray that the situation they predicted was going to happen in the large cities never will happen. I am not, however, going to place myself in the position where anybody can say that I was in any part responsible if it does happen.

I do not know what pledges you made in your campaign, but I do know the pledge that I made in mine in every speech that I made. I told the people of my district that it was my purpose to uphold the President of the United States in his efforts to assist the unfortunate citizens who could not secure employment in private industry. I am going to keep that pledge, and I am going to vote for the President's recommendation.

I express the same hope that many of you do, and that is that the day is not far distant when it will be no longer necessary for us to carry on W. P. A. We will be happy when that day arrives, but not nearly as happy as the millions who are on W. P. A. who will have employment in private industry. That day, however, has not arrived, and until it does arrive, it is your duty and my duty to recognize the situation that confronts our country and meet it courageously. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys].

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, we have heard much these last 2 days about political misuse of the W. P. A. during the past year. I wish to call to your attention a particularly vicious form of political manipulation of W. P. A. which is going on right now and to which the last speaker has just referred.

I have received heart-rending letters from widows with children to support who were dropped from W. P. A. this month. There were 750 such dismissals in my district, Franklin County, Ohio. I am told that this was done in accordance with the Nation-wide order dropping widows with children in States that had mothers' pension laws; but in my district most of these women are ineligible for aid under our pension laws, and for all of them no mothers' pension funds will be available for over a year. These women who write to me are able to work, are in dire need. Others who were less deserving were kept on W. P. A. Why this apparently senseless, brutal discrimination at this time? As one weman wrote—

Are American women to be penalized for having children?

Another distracted but discerning woman gives the clue to this move when she writes—

If this is a move to marshal protests and resultant support for additional appropriations, it appears that it will have to be accomplished at the expense of hungry children and worried, defenseless women.

There is your answer! Protests and resultant support for W. P. A. are being marshaled at the expense of hungry children and worried, defenseless women. What should be our reply?

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. VORYS of Ohio. I am sorry; no, I have not time.

First, we should make a stopgap appropriation to take care of immediate needs, and see that it goes to the needy.

Next we should rewrite the law to make impossible the manipulation of work relief to influence votes in primaries, in elections, or in Congress. We should determine and define work-relief classifications by law and not leave this to the caprice of bureaucrats. Surely this must now be possible. After 6 years of experiments, based on an emergency 6 years long, we should have something besides experimental emergency legislation on work relief.

And, last, let us take time while we are writing such a law to find out the amount we really need.

Last summer the initials "W. P. A." stood for the words "We Purge Anti New Dealers." Now the slogan appears to be, "Spend and spend, elect and elect, then deny and deny." For the sake of these exploited widows and children, let us provide not only immediate money, but protection against a capricious self-perpetuating bureaucracy. [Applause.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish].

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, I want, first, to call to the attention of the Members of the House the fact that there is a motion-picture show in this city entitled the "Grand Illusion." It is a war play, one of the best ever produced in any nation. Members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I think, have been invited as guests to see that movie. I hope all other Members will buy tickets to it if they want to see one of the best plays ever put out in these days of war hysteria and war propaganda. This play exposes war as it really is and is a powerful antidote to war hysteria.

I am glad to follow my friend the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cochran] and answer his charges. He says that the Republican administration back in 1928-32, when Mr. Hoover was President, is responsible for the relief situation today. I do not quite understand why he stopped at Mr. Hoover and does not blame George Washington. It would make just as much sense. The fact is, however, I may say to some of the newer Members of the House, that when Herbert Hoover, as President in 1931 and 1932, made certain recommendations to the Congress that would have helped the economic situation, stabilized business, and restored confidence, the Democratic Members sabotaged all of his sound recommendations for partisan reason and advantage. I say to the Democrats that had they accepted the sound recommendations made by Herbert Hoover at that time there would have been confidence in the country today, and we would know which way we are going. [Applause.]

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. FISH. Not in my limited time.

This question of politics in the relief administration is not a new one. It has been going on ever since the New Deal came into power. Four years ago I put into the Record a letter written by the relief workers in my district at the instigation of the relief officials asking all relief voters to vote the Democratic ticket. I called that letter to the attention of the then Administrator, Harry Hopkins. He refused to take any action.

This is not a partisan matter as far as we Republicans are concerned. It far transcends party lines and affects the very existence of the free institutions under which we live and our American system of government.

We Republicans have a right to bitterly resent the injection of partisan politics into relief. We join also with many anti

New Deal Democrats and those Democratic Members of Congress whom the New Deal attempted to purge through the use of relief funds by intimidating and coercing the voters because they would not be rubber stamps and because they would not vote to destroy the independence of the judiciary or the independence of the Congress by jamming through the court-packing bill or the reorganization bill.

Mr. Chairman, I am particularly mindful of what happened to the chairman of the Rules Committee in the last Congress, John O'Connor, one of the most distinguished Members of this House, who refused to be a rubber stamp. On primary day all the relief workers were let off at 2 o'clock in the afternoon in the city of New York so that they could march into the Sixteenth District of New York City when the primary polls opened at 3 o'clock. These relief workers by the thousands moved into that district under the leadership of the Workers' Alliance, a Communist organization, and by a slim majority defeated John O'Connor, who served in this House with distinction for 16 years.

I say nothing against the Member who was elected in his place, but he was elected by the relief workers under the leadership of the Workers' Alliance, a Communist organization, and it was only through the use of coercion and the political activities of those on relief in the city of New York that the able chairman of the Rules Committee was defeated and an end put to John O'Connor's political life in the House of Representatives, at least for the time being.

Mr. Chairman, the Works Progress Administration has become a national scandal, with relief workers being used for partisan purposes until it has permeated and honeycombed the entire Nation. If our free institutions, a free ballot, and our representative form of government, are to be preserved this fraudulent use of public funds to influence elections and to prime primary and election pumps must be stopped.

The administration of Federal relief became a stench in the nostrils of the public as political debauchery flourished like a green bay tree. All Federal funds for relief purposes should be turned over to the States, to be administered by local communities on a nonpartisan and humane basis, in order that the money may go to the needy and not into the pocket of a partisan bureaucracy in Washington or to a host of partisan New Deal supervisors all over the Nation.

The contemptible political activities in the W. P. A. including pay-roll padding and use of funds for partisan political purposes, are now known to the Nation. The whole rotten mess stinks to high heaven, and, like a dead mackerel in the moonlight, "it stinks and shines and shines and stinks." [Laughter and applause.]

The friends of the Administrator, Harry Hopkins, are trying to clear him from all responsibility for building up this gigantic political machine. Harry Hopkins, as Administrator, was responsible for the acts of his agents. He was an effective political manipulator and up to his neck in permitting relief funds to be used to influence and coerce the voters of this country. He publicly while Administrator urged the defeat of Democratic Senators and Representatives in primary elections. He permitted Aubrey Williams, the Assistant Administrator, to speak to groups of Communists and the Workers' Alliance, and to say to these Communists that, "We must stick together and elect our friends." He was never rebuked and he continued to hold that office under the administrator of Harry Hopkins. President Roosevelt, instead of rebuking or dismissing his Administrator of relief Harry Hopkins gives him the accolade and promotes him to be a member of his Cabinet and thereby endorses the use of relief funds for partisan and political purposes. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 7 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. Pierce.]

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. Mr. Chairman, I do not agree with my colleague from Missouri [Mr. Cochran] that our present economic condition is the result of the 4 years' administration of President Hoover or anybody else. I believe it is the result of a long series of events and conditions pointed out many years ago by competent economists and students.

I have a thought which I want to present to the Committee, and it has reference to something which is being done in the West to help solve this relief problem. First, I want to compliment the subcommittee that has charge of this relief appropriation. I cannot think of a harder place to serve in this body than being in charge of these appropriation bills. I believe it would be well to vote with the committee, if we can, because that committee has given days and weeks of study to this particular question.

The experience from the West upon which I wish to comment is the unique and admirable record of a church.

The Mormon Church, or Latter-Day Saints, with headquarters at Salt Lake City, Utah, has a membership of about 1,000,000. They are setting an example for the care of their unemployed membership that should be highly praised and given wide publicity.

The plan of this church is to find jobs for their own members and keep them off of the relief rolls and the W. P. A. The plan should be emulated everywhere. The president of the church, Heiber J. Grant, has several times stated that no good member of the Mormon Church should stay on the W. P. A. rolls, apparently thinking it breaks their morale, their ambition, and their desire to do anything for themselves. This organization, through its local bodies, or stakes, has held many meetings seeking jobs for those on relief or those likely to apply for relief. I have personally attended some of these meetings and have aided the organization, as I could, to secure jobs for members. So far as I know, this is the only religious organization that is making a really determined effort to meet the problem. The church is succeeding in a marvelous way in fitting its membership into the active affairs of life so that they are not depending upon relief or charity. It has great warehouses, organized industries and projects, and cooperative plans which are effective and stimulating to participants and to observers.

May other organizations imitate the example of the Morman Church and make a determined effort that those that come under the influence of their organization will be given jobs, so, in a satisfactory way, they may earn money to care for themselves.

I am truly alarmed at the employment and relief situation. When I took my place in this House 6 years ago I freely voted for the relief asked for, believing that it was a temporary condition, and I was willing to borrow money on the credit of the Nation to give relief to the unemployed. I am now convinced that it is a permanent condition which we must face, not a depression nor a recession but a development in American economic life which is going to leave a constant line of millions of unemployed unless drastic changes are made.

As a Member of the Seventy-sixth Congress on the Democratic side I am willing to record my concern over the mounting national debt. There must be a limit somewhere and a time not far in the future when Government bonds will not find the ready purchasers that they now have. Quite distinctly I remember when I sold Government bonds after the war for 83 cents on the dollar. Such a price today would close one-half of the banks of the United States and would wreck our economic machine. If we must continue to vote these uncounted millions for W. P. A. and other relief, like Surplus Commodities Corporation, the C. C., and so forth, then I want to vote for tax measures that will raise the money. Oh, I know it will be a terrific strain and will probably defeat the party that proposes or imposes such a tax, but let it be so. The one thing dearest to all of us is perpetuation of this form of government, and it surely cannot safely be maintained many years with such a line of unemployed and such a mounting unbalanced Budget. [Applause.] Perhaps we have got to pass laws in the very near future that will divide up the jobs so that all may share and have a chance to earn something.

Of all the different forms of relief, nothing appeals to me as being as valuable as the C. C. More than a million boys have been taken from the homes of those on relief or

those homes that are needy. Of the more than \$2,000,000,000 that this activity has cost the Government, 80 percent has been sent directly to the homes of the needy. It is a far better form of relief than the W. P. A., though more costly and limited to youth. In the years to come it may be considered the outstanding social achievement of this administration. The boys are busily engaged in useful work and in school, receiving food, shelter, and medical care. They are employed in caring for the forests and in doing needed work from one end of the country to the other. I believe in increasing their activities, and most especially their educational opportunities and training for useful avocations.

Yes; we must vote this appropriation; but let us do it by saying to our Ways and Means Committee, "Present to us also the bills for laws necessary to raise the money, so we may no longer be forced to borrow either from the Social Security, the banks, or the public." Perhaps we must pass laws still further reducing interest and fixed dividends, which, many students believe, are contributory causes of the present desperate condition.

We cannot discard machinery, but it is certainly in a large measure responsible for the unemployed. We have got to learn to live with the machinery and use it rightly for the benefit of all. It is either that or disaster beyond comprehension and imagination. [Applause.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Keffe].

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Chairman, in the last session of Congress the great State of Wisconsin was represented in the Senate by a New Deal Progressive and a New Deal Democrat, and in the House by three New Deal Democrats and seven New Deal Progressives.

The State government in all of its executive departments and in both houses of the legislature was occupied and con-

trolled by the La Follette Progressive dynasty.

On November 8 last the voters of Wisconsin, without previous indication of their attitude, went solemnly to the polls and by their votes emphatically told the Nation, while we still place human rights above property rights, while we still believe in progress and true liberalism, we are sick and tired of cheap political intrigue. Tired of broken platform promises, tired of New Deal experimentation, tired of being exploited, tired of rubber-stamp representation, tired of class legislation, tired of rabble rousing, tired of industrial strife, tired of governmental interference in business, tired of reckless and incompetent Government spending, of waste and extravagance and the brazen attempts to regiment business and agriculture, tired of cheap demagoguery that promises everything and delivers nothing, tired of constantly mounting taxes, tired and ashamed that there should be privation, poverty, and want in the midst of plenty, tired of destroying wealth and curtailing production, sick and tired of brazen attempts made to pack the Supreme Court and to circumvent and destroy constitutional government, tired of seeing our domestic markets flooded with cheap foreignproduced competitive goods and agricultural products, tired of hearing politicians talk of overproduction and surpluses of food and milk when men and women are undernourished and babies throughout the land cry for more milk, tired of paying farmers and great corporations for taking land out of production and then spending hundreds of millions of dollars to irrigate more land to make more production, tired of blank-check appropriations, tired of a Congress that abdicated its constitutional functions and abjectly surrendered to the will of the Executive. In short the voters of Wisconsin clearly said: While we recognize the beautiful expressions of laudable purpose as exemplified by the New Deal and its Progressive copartners the net result is, after 6 years, we are still out of work. We are still losing our homes and farms through loss of income and inability to meet the rapidly mounting tax burden. We just are not getting anywhere, despite the President's oft-repeated statement that we are "on our way." The people of Wisconsin have come to believe that while we are headed some place, the way we are going, they no longer choose to follow.

Note the result of this November 8 declaration made by the voters of Wisconsin. The New Deal Senator was overwhelmingly retired to private life; the three New Deal yes-men Democratic Congressmen were overwhelmingly defeated and five of the seven New Deal Progressive Congressmen were likewise told that their services were not longer needed by the people of Wisconsin.

Not only this, but the entire La Follette dynasty in the State government was ignominiously retired under an overwhelming avalanche of votes.

This unusual and unexpected mandate coming from the great State of Wisconsin, that for 40 years has been the legislative guinea pig of the Nation and has been looked upon as the source of radical legislation, is indeed significant. It does not mean that we have been told to stop progress and true liberal thought, but it does mean that the people of Wisconsin demand a change toward a new objective that will bring results and relief from the intolerable conditions that still exist despite the wasteful and extravagant expenditures of public funds under the New Deal.

This mandate, therefore, places a grave responsibility upon the chosen Representatives from Wisconsin and as applied to the present resolution it demands that we give consideration to the thousands of farmers, small-business men, property owners, and workers who have valiantly fought to preserve their homes and to stay off of relief instead of devoting all of our time and energies in class appeals in behalf of the so-called underprivileged.

It means that the people of Wisconsin want honest, decent people who are unemployed, through no fault of their own, to be taken care of in a sane and humane manner. But it further means that they demand a change in the W. P. A. set-up and administration, and an investigation to determine whether the administrative structure of this great organization cannot be improved, permitting a larger portion of moneys appropriated to come into the hands of those really in need and entitled to it, rather than a diversion of a large part thereof for political purposes and the building of a top-heavy administrative personnel.

I shall vote to maintain W. P. A. in the present emergency because I know full well that the necessity exists throughout the Nation and because I know that in Wisconsin the municipalities charged with the duty of administering relief cannot absorb this W. P. A. problem without a complete break-down of local government.

If those who are now on W. P. A. are thrown back to the local governments to maintain on direct relief, the expenses incident thereto in Wisconsin will become a direct charge against all real property in the State and real estate can bear no increase in tax burden.

Under W. P. A. it can at least be said that the ultimate repayment will come from the direct and indirect taxes that all of the people, including the recipients of relief, will ultimately have to pay.

I trust that the appropriation may be limited so as to permit of an immediate investigation by the Congress and the establishment of rules and regulations by the Congress that will clarify, reorganize, and revitalize, if you please, this emergency department of the Government.

I further hope that the Congress, without delay, will attack the fundamental problems that are the cause of unemployment in this country and give encouragement to business, industry, and the investing public and through a constructive and helpful program advise the Nation that it can proceed full steam ahead with private works, with assurance of a continuity of helpful governmental attitude. [Applause.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Rees].

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, I realize this Committee has done the very best it could in bringing in a measure which would, as far as possible, comply with what the Members of Congress think is a sufficient amount to take care of the country's needs for this purpose. I am just as much

in favor as any one of you of furnishing sufficient funds to provide work for those who are unable to find it in private industry. Just as long as the men and women of this country are unable to find work I am willing to support any reasonable measure which will help provide employment for them that is worth while. I have listened with a great deal of interest to the discussion of this measure, and especially to the discussion of the W. P. A. program generally.

I would like to make one or two observations: First, it is a shame, a crime, and a disgrace that under our democratic form of government, after 6 years of trial, we have been unable to provide sufficient labor for men and women who are willing and want to work. It has been acknowledged by the Republicans and Democrats that money appropriated by this Congress to provide jobs for the unfortunate unemployed has been manipulated, mishandled, and in many instances deliberately wasted. No one can justify the mismanagement and misuse of the funds intended for these unfortunate people.

It has also been admitted on both sides of the aisle that in many cases those in authority have been responsible for the manipulation of W. P. A. funds for political purposes. The use of these funds in the hands of local political machines, whether new dealers, Democrats, or Republicans, must be stopped. This very thing is one of the severest criticisms that can be leveled at a great democracy.

Let me call your further attention to the fact that in all the discussion we have had on the floor during the 10 hours' debate—that those who propose this measure have not provided any means whereby W. P. A. funds are to be taken out of politics. There is nothing in this bill that would help to do it. They have told us that we have some 37,000 men and women employed in the administration of these funds. I do not know how much of these funds go to the men and women who are actually on relief, but the best figures I can get show that about 25 to 30 percent of the money does not actually go to those who are without work and cannot get it. Of course, these figures are approximate. But there are some 37,000 employees, many of whom receive handsome salaries, that are paid out of these funds, and who receive a larger share than they are entitled to from these appropriations.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. REES of Kansas. I do not have time; I am sorry.

Why not begin by cutting the administration expenses and cutting them to the core? Why not cut the salaries of the thousands of political appointees who are receiving extravagant wages at the expenses of the fellow who barely gets enough to provide food and shelter for his family? We are not cutting that expenditure a bit; nothing is even said about it. In my judgment, we should do at least three things:

First. Once and for all, take the W. P. A. out of politics; make it a misdemeanor or a felony, if necessary, for anyone to use political power or authority directly or indirectly in connection with the disbursement of these funds.

Second. Let us reduce the administrative expenses while we are at it. Cut them to the core. Let us eliminate all waste and extravagance.

Third. Let us see that these funds are used for real, honest-to-goodness constructive purposes. Let us give these people jobs where they can earn a dollar by doing a dollar's worth of constructive work and have something to show for it. Let us make the people who are earning this money feel that they are doing something that is really worth while and that they are not being paid for just putting in their time. Let us quit boondoggling these funds. The people who provide them are entitled to have them spent in the most economic way possible, and the people who receive these funds and who need the money ought to have every dollar that can be provided for them. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. RAMSPECK].

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Chairman, the resolution we have under consideration contains on page 2, in line 19, a proviso undertaking to avoid the effect of the President's Executive order of June 24 extending the merit system to certain agencies of the Government. I believe the committee had in mind only the W. P. A. when it put that provision in this resolution. I understand from the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Woodrum] that he has prepared an amendment which will protect employees in other agencies who are to be paid out of the funds appropriated in this resolution and in the resolution of similar purport passed last year.

If the amendment of the gentleman from Virginia is agreed to it will protect 25,000 employees not in the W. P. A.—10,000 in the Treasury Department who will be affected by the language now in this resolution, 200 in the War Department, 2,200 in the Interior Department, 400 in the Justice Department, 350 in the Navy Department, 14,000 in the Agriculture Department, 100 in the Commerce Department, 2,000 in the Labor Department, 2,600 in the General Accounting Office, 200 in the National Emergency Council, and 200 in the National Resources Committee. These people would be denied civil-service status under the Executive order if the language now in the resolution is adopted.

When the resolution comes to the amendment stage it is my purpose to offer an amendment striking out this proviso in order that the President's Executive order may operate as to all of the employees paid out of the funds appropriated in

this resolution.

We have heard a great deal yesterday and today about politics in the W. P. A. I should like to ask those who have spoken on that subject how they propose to keep politics out of the W. P. A. as long as we permit appointment, employment, promotion, and supervision under this agency to be outside of the civil-service laws?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAMSPECK. I yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Does the gentleman believe that blanketing people into the civil service without competitive examinations is taking the W. P. A. out of politics? It seems to me it is just putting it in the political power of the people in charge of the administration, not taking it out of politics.

Mr. RAMSPECK. The gentlewoman from Massachusetts knows my personal views about that matter. I prefer the competitive method.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I know the gentleman does.

Mr. RAMSPECK. However, we must be practical here. This is the best we can get. Under this Executive order no person will get civil-service status without passing a non-competitive examination and demonstrating his fitness for the position which he proposes to occupy.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Chairman, will the distinguished gentleman yield?

Mr. RAMSPECK. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SIROVICH. Since 1884, when Grover Cleveland promulgated the first civil-service rules and regulations, every Republican President has blanketed into the civil service all the new agencies that have been created. This is only following the precedent of the Republican Presidents of the past.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAMSPECK. I am sorry; I cannot yield further. I have only 5 minutes.

There is one matter about which I wish to disabuse the minds of the Members of the House. The gentleman from Virginia stated yesterday that his objection to civil service for these employees was that it would make the W. P. A. permanent. There is no such thing as a permanent job in

the United States Government except as concerns United States judges. Civil-service employees have no more permanency than non-civil-service employees if the Congress abolishes the agency in which they are employed or the agency abolishes the job any particular employee may occupy. Giving the workers civil-service status does not make the agency permanent. It does not even make permanent the jobs they occupy. The jobs can be abolished just as can any other jobs.

If you want to take this agency out of politics, there is only one way I know of to do it and that is to place the employees under the compulsion of the civil-service law so the Commission itself can discharge them if they are found guilty of engaging in political activities.

I hope the Committee will vote with me when I offer my amendment to strike out this provisio. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. STARNES].

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, I think we have failed to stress some of the benefits which we have received from the W. P. A. program. The building of thousands of miles of paved roads, of farm-to-market roads, the construction of streets and sidewalks, the building of sewers and waterworks systems in many of the towns and cities of this country are outstanding accomplishments of the Works Progress Administration which do have a lasting social and economic value which I think is a point which has been overlooked in the debate on this subject. [Applause.]

I was happy to see my good friend and colleague from Oregon stress the work that has been done with reference to the C. C. C., which is one of the outstanding accomplishments of this administration. Personally, I have been happy to see educational opportunity provided for hundreds of thousands of worthy boys and girls in this country through the National Youth Administration. I feel there has been a stimulation of business through the Works Progress Administration and I think these are benefits that all of us can recognize as being worth while.

Having pointed out these benefits, I call your attention to some of the mistakes which I think we have made with reference to the Works Progress Administration. I have heretofore said, and I repeat, that the mere appropriation of huge sums of money out of the Federal Treasury does not offer a permanent solution of the problem of unemployment in the United States. Furthermore, it brings about a growth of the public debt which is absolutely unhealthy. The Government credit is good at the present time; we want to keep it good; it must be kept good; but we cannot retain a healthful public confidence in our Government if we continue year after year to appropriate more money than we take in. This is an unsound business principle for the Government to engage upon as a permanent policy.

I, for one, have voted for these relief funds and I shall vote for this bill providing \$725,000,000 for relief in this country, but at the same time I want to here make known the fact that I am perfectly willing to vote for whatever taxes are necessary to balance the entire Federal Budget as soon as we can possibly do so. This is the honest thing to do and it is the thing we have got to face or someone has got to face sooner or later.

I think, too, we have had too many career reliefers. There should be an overhauling of our entire set-up.

I feel there has been a discrimination in the expenditure of public funds against certain sections of the country. I also feel there has been a discrimination against certain sections of the country in the amount required of the sponsor to put up to carry out a W. P. A. project. For instance, the national average is 16 percent and yet my State, which is one of the so-called poorer States of the Union so far as wealth is concerned, puts up 20.9 percent. The great State of New York, which is the richest State in the Nation, puts up approximately 11 percent, which is below the national average, and yet when it comes to the payment of public funds to give relief, the great State of

New York, or the people who work there, receive two and a half times as much per person as in the State of Alabama.

I am one of those who voted to put a floor under wages and a ceiling upon hours in private business and industry of this country, and I may say here that it is sheer hypocrisy if these discriminations I have referred to in the expenditure of public funds are not recognized and remedied. We cannot lay down one policy for private business and private enterprise on the one hand with respect to hours and wages and then practice another insofar as the Federal Government is concerned.

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. STARNES of Alabama. When I have finished my statement I shall be happy to yield to anyone.

I am a little bit astonished at some of the arithmetic used in the debate yesterday by some of my distinguished and lovable colleagues. We were told that by trimming this appropriation \$150,000,000 at this time we would throw more than 1,000,000 people off the relief rolls; in other words, \$725,000,000, if I get their arithmetic correctly, is to maintain approximately 2,000,000 on the relief rolls, whereas if we cut off \$150,000,000 in the appropriation, would take off 1,000,000 people. I cannot understand that.

Furthermore, under this act we will have \$725,000,000 available now, and I think the statement was inaccurate that we would put from 4,000,000 to 6,000,000 people off the relief rolls in want and hunger and in poverty in midwinter, if we appropriate \$725,000,000 instead of \$875,000,000, because the Works Progress Administration will have at its behest \$725,000,000 to meet the situation.

I will let some of you newcomers in on a little secret. We are going to be here certainly until after June 30, and if the amount of money we are appropriating now is not sufficient to run us until June 30, you need not worry about additional requests being made to meet the situation, because such requests will be made and if the facts justify the requests we are willing to appropriate the necessary amount.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. STARNES of Alabama. In a moment. What are
some of the solutions of this problem? I do not offer any
sure cure. I do not think anybody has a cure-all for this
situation.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Just let me finish my statement first. I think as a temporary solution we should require a matching by States and localities on a uniform basis. I for one will favor hereafter a policy which will require matching by States and permitting the States to administer the funds. I believe that security wages should be set up to encourage people to seek private employment when better wages are paid. For a permanent solution I favor the following approach: First, we should liquidate the Works Progress Administration as fast as time and circumstances will permit and provide for all unemployables by broadening the base of our Social Security Act. The Social Security Board is the proper place to get a nonpartisan and nonpolitical administration with reference to our unemployables in this country. If we have to place the cost on the taxpayers of this country, why not do it through a permanent agency we have set up already to handle social security for our American citizenship?

Second, I believe we should expand our social security insurance program to care for widows and orphans and wives and disabled people who are unemployable.

Third, I believe in a sound public-works program with a backlog of approved sound constructive public-works projects to be available to this Nation in an era of economic depression, so that we could accelerate the expenditure of Federal funds upon a sound basis upon projects of a lasting social and economic value to provide employment for those who are capable of being employed. In this connection the P. W. A. has done a magnificent job. Sponsor's contribution

is uniform, wage scales sound, and private business has been stimulated.

Fourth, and finally, I believe in a legislative policy and a governmental policy which will encourage private business and labor to get together and work out a satisfactory solution or program for providing employment for the American people.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 5 minutes more.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. I hold that it is the duty and responsibility of private business and industry to provide employment for American citizenship. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The gentleman has made a very able and effective presentation of the case, and I am sure that the House generally is in hearty accord with his suggestion that we dispose of this matter as quickly as conditions will permit, and when he asks as to the accuracy of the statistics, I know that he does it sincerely. If he will consult the hearings he will find those statistics were given us by the Department, and in giving them to the committee the witnesses were subjected to an exhaustive investigation and cross examination.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. What is the gentleman's question?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I am answering the gentleman's question.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. But I did not ask a question. I yielded for a question by the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Then I am glad to give the gentleman information which he wants, and if he wishes further information, he has but to read the hearings and he will find an answer to every question he has asked, including the one as to why we should wait for further appropriations at this session.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. I read the hearings, and I read the distinguished gentleman's statement, and I am still unable to use the same formula as a mathematical solution he used in reaching his conclusion.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. STARNES of Alabama. For a question.

Mr. SIROVICH. If an amendment is offered on the floor of the House this afternoon providing for the unemployed so far as unskilled workingmen, intermediaries, skilled and professional and technical work are concerned, providing for a minimum uniform wage throughout the United States on a differential of 25 percent, would the distinguished gentleman from Alabama vote for the \$875,000,000 to equalize it?

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. No. I think \$725,000,000 is sufficient at the present time. I will vote for an amendment to equalize wages, but I will not vote to couple with it a provision that Congress grant additional funds.

Mr. SIROVICH. Then in other words, the gentleman— Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Oh, let me answer the question.

Mr. SIROVICH. Would be in favor of a policy of starvation wages?

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Oh, that is untrue. I will vote for any amount necessary to provide food for the starving people in America and clothing for them, but I reserve the right to pass on the necessity for any given amount.

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Yes.

Mr. LUDLOW. The gentleman has made a thoroughly sound and constructive address. I was impressed very much by his observation in regard to the discriminatory effect of W. P. A. wage scales as between States and sections. I

wonder if the gentleman will give us the benefit of his opinion as to the proposition made by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Tarver] of a 25-percent differential. Would that meet the situation?

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. I think so. I think the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Tarver] has offered a sound approach to the solution of that problem.

Mr. LUDLOW. Does the gentleman think that is as good a remedy as could be chosen?

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. I do.

Mr. LUDLOW. I agree with the gentleman that it ought to be corrected.

Mr. FADDIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. STARNES of Alabama. I yield.

Mr. FADDIS. Does not the gentleman believe that it is true that the proposition of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sirovich], if applied to the \$725,000,000, will go a long way toward making the \$725,000,000 more sufficient than it would otherwise be?

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Absolutely.

Before I close I want to say that most of the testimony before this committee—in fact, all of it, other than that by the present Administrator of W. P. A.—came from only three organizations, namely, the mayors of this country, the C. I. O., and the Workers' Alliance. I have not had a single request—and I am voting for the \$725,000,000 appropriation—I have not had a single request from my district to vote for any sum for relief at this time. I have had no requests from the entire State of Alabama, except two of the organizations referred to, to vote for any appropriation. Not a single mayor has asked me to vote for any amount or any additional amount. The only two organizations I have heard from are the Workers' Alliance in Birmingham, Ala., and certain C. I. O. organizations.

So long as we permit the mayors and local officials to say how many of our people shall have relief, and the Federal Government has to furnish the bulk of the funds to care for them, you are going to have to cope with this problem. You will have to get a different system for handling it. [Applause.]

The following table furnished by the W. P. A. Administrator is illuminating and shows expenditures by States. It illustrates the discrimination made in allocating funds and the amount required of the sponsors:

Table 8.—Expenditures on Works Progress Administration operated projects, by States and by sources of funds, through Nov. 30, 1938

	Cun	5 months ending Nov. 30, 1938						
State	The second secon	Federal funds	Sponsors' funds				Sponsors' funds	
	tures		Amount	Percent of total expendi- tures	Total expendi- tures	Federal funds	Amount	Percent of total expendi tures
Total	richme mailifee an	\$5, 206, 312, 670	\$988, 737, 694	16.0	\$1, 093, 521, 558	\$897, 892, 694	\$195, 628, 864	17.
Alabama	67, 946, 931 26, 006, 875 54, 032, 946	53, 744, 645 19, 243, 186 44, 622, 390	14, 202, 286 6, 763, 689	20.9	13, 496, 711 4, 457, 965	10, 725, 337 3, 374, 784	2, 771, 374 1, 083, 181	20.
rizona Arkansas	26, 006, 875	19, 243, 186	6, 763, 689	26.0	4, 457, 965	3, 374, 784	1, 083, 181	24.
rkansas.	54, 032, 946	44, 622, 390	9, 410, 556	17.4	10, 543, 625	8, 963, 121	1, 580, 504	15.
Palifornia	319, 970, 376 71, 885, 189	268, 857, 632	51, 112, 744 13, 212, 599	16. 0 18. 4	45, 114, 675 10, 989, 501	36, 372, 125 8, 886, 189	8, 742, 550 2, 103, 312	19.
Connecticut:	69, 334, 885	56 732 834	12 602 051	18.4	19 403 553	10 937 608	2, 103, 312	19.
Valowere	5 089 398	58, 672, 590 56, 732, 834 5, 184, 750 17, 370, 617	783 636	13.1	1, 216, 288	976, 775	2, 255, 855 239, 513	18. 19.
elawareistrict of Columbia	5, 968, 386 20, 139, 667	17, 370, 617	2, 769, 050	13.7	4, 112, 805	3, 541, 446	571, 359	19.
lorida	62, 751, 844	50, 555, 122	783, 636 2, 769, 050 12, 196, 722	19.4	13 006 345	10, 642, 366	2, 453, 979	13 18 21
eorgia	69, 684, 688	50, 555, 122 56, 327, 417	13, 357, 271	19.2	14, 288, 818 3, 666, 446 94, 675, 647 36, 657, 738	10, 642, 366 11, 281, 609	2, 453, 979 3, 007, 209	21
aholinois	22, 899, 371 462, 489, 908	16, 411, 498 384, 307, 671 162, 740, 041	6, 487, 873 78, 182, 237	28.3	3, 666, 446	2, 640, 731 78, 500, 384	1, 025, 715 16, 175, 263	28
linois	462, 489, 908	384, 307, 671	78, 182, 237	16.9	94, 675, 647	78, 500, 384	16, 175, 263	28 17
diana	191, 693, 147	162, 740, 041	28, 953, 106	15, 1	36, 657, 738	29, 853, 039	6, 804, 699	18
wa	191, 693, 147 68, 984, 079 83, 391, 354	51, 953, 223 65, 063, 008	17, 030, 856 17, 328, 346	24. 7 21. 0	13, 157, 554	9, 292, 076	3, 865, 478	18 29 22 19
BISSS	90, 496, 694	71, 099, 257	17, 325, 340 18, 404, 327 13, 454, 022 3, 757, 603 5, 584, 907 37, 755, 890 42, 598, 786 26, 725, 813	20.6	11, 492, 568 19, 750, 483 12, 532, 421 3, 233, 604 5, 415, 841 49, 278, 572 68, 002, 613	78, 500, 384 29, 853, 039 9, 292, 076 8, 871, 517 15, 861, 358 10, 199, 240 2, 445, 232 4, 129, 872 42, 928, 371 59, 562, 953 22, 213, 379 7, 837, 087 29, 145, 682 7, 019, 248	6, 804, 699 3, 865, 478 2, 621, 051 3, 889, 125 2, 333, 181	22
entucky	89, 426, 684 74, 443, 909	71, 022, 357 60, 989, 887	13 454 022	18.1	19, 700, 400	10, 001, 000	9 232 191	18
oina	18, 706, 403 36, 183, 300 266, 762, 260 257, 036, 733	60, 988, 887 14, 948, 800 30, 598, 393 249, 006, 370 214, 437, 947 125, 146, 242 40, 104, 091 148, 643, 807	3 757 603	20.1	3 233 604	2 445 232	788, 372	24.
ndiana )wa _ansas _entucky outsiana faine taryland lassachusetts fichigan linnesota lississippi lissouri fontana	36, 183, 300	30, 598, 393	5, 584, 907	15.4	5, 415, 841	4, 129, 872	1, 285, 969	23.
lassachusetts	266, 762, 260	249, 006, 370	37, 755, 890	13. 2	49, 278, 572	42, 928, 371	6, 350, 201	12
lichigan	257, 036, 733	214, 437, 947	42, 598, 786	16.6	68, 002, 613	59, 562, 953	8, 439, 660 6, 280, 712	12 22
linnesota	151, 872, 055	125, 146, 242	26, 725, 813	17.6		22, 213, 379	6, 280, 712	22.
Tississippi	53, 421, 627 172, 604, 112	40, 104, 091	13, 317, 330	24.9	10, 261, 383 33, 878, 768 8, 944, 195	7, 837, 087	2, 424, 296 4, 733, 086	23. 14.
lissouri	172, 604, 112	148, 643, 807	23, 960, 305	13.9	33, 878, 768	29, 145, 682	4, 733, 086	14
fontana	20 001 007	34, 411, 245 46, 272, 250 4, 534, 309	6, 866, 291 13, 409, 557	16. 6 22. 5	8, 944, 195 10, 690, 754	7, 019, 248 8, 356, 795	1, 924, 947 2, 333, 959	21
ebraska	8 501 457	4 524 200	1 067 148	30.3	1 171 050	700, 961	470, 998	21 40
aw Hamnshira	19 805 649	16, 044, 870	1, 967, 148 3, 760, 779	19.0	1, 171, 959 3, 770, 713 44, 458, 161	3 075 370	695, 343	18
ew Jersey	249 746 408	208, 701, 496	41, 044, 912	16.4	44, 458, 161	3, 075, 370 34, 677, 560	9, 780, 601	22
evada ew Hampshire ew Jersey ew Mexico	24, 036, 235	19, 863, 932	4, 172, 303	17.4	4, 248, 708	3, 425, 695	823, 013	19
ew York	6, 501, 457 19, 805, 649 249, 746, 408 24, 036, 235 957, 897, 170	846, 489, 627 40, 347, 484	111, 407, 543	11.6		3, 425, 695 95, 112, 278 8, 431, 837 3, 839, 543	19, 582, 992	17
orth Carolina	52, 730, 411	40, 347, 484	12, 382, 927 7, 485, 765	23.5	114, 695, 270 11, 112, 574 5, 353, 859 104, 386, 777 17, 391, 551 7, 066, 557 104, 375, 269 7, 731, 210 10, 340, 462 5, 26, 147	8, 431, 837	2, 680, 737 1, 514, 316	24
ew York orth Carolina orth Dakota	37, 914, 201	30, 428, 436	7, 485, 765	19.7	5, 353, 859	3, 839, 543	1, 514, 316	28
hioklahoma	452, 033, 485	393, 923, 650	58, 109, 835	12.9	104, 386, 777	91, 316, 129	13, 070, 648	12
Kianoma	108, 821, 802	84, 719, 822	23, 002, 480	21. 8 18. 9	7, 091, 001	14, 090, 880	3, 295, 071	18
oppovlyopia	698 514 360	565 059 096	58, 109, 835 23, 602, 480 8, 494, 471 63, 456, 283 6, 067, 562 9, 826, 766	10.1	104 275 260	91, 316, 129 14, 095, 880 5, 476, 325 90, 737, 611	13, 070, 648 3, 295, 671 1, 590, 232 13, 637, 658 1, 015, 079 1, 902, 938 1, 327, 946 2, 252, 220	18 22 13
hode Island	35 248 891	20 181 329	6 067 562	17.2	7 731 210	6, 716, 131 8, 437, 514 3, 908, 201 8, 683, 521 17, 726, 908	1 015 079	13.
outh Carolina	47, 172, 123	37, 345, 357	9, 826, 766	17. 2 20. 8	10, 340, 452	8, 437, 514	1, 902, 938	18
outh Dakota	42, 263, 313	35, 141, 026	7, 122, 287	16.9	5, 236, 147	3, 908, 201	1, 327, 946	25
ennessee	70, 026, 648	46, 791, 125	23, 235, 523	16.9 33.2	5, 236, 147 11, 941, 851 24, 329, 529	8, 683, 521	0, 200, 000	25 27 27
exas.	140, 242, 552	105, 513, 240	34, 729, 312	24.8	24, 329, 529	17, 726, 908	6, 602, 621	27
randins regon ennsylvania. hode Island uuth Carolina outh Dakota ennessee exas. tah	37, 914, 201 452, 033, 485 108, 321, 802 44, 888, 092 628, 514, 389 35, 248, 891 47, 172, 123 42, 263, 313 77, 026, 648 140, 242, 552 29, 573, 286 10, 579, 012 44, 618, 890	40, 347, 484 30, 428, 436 383, 923, 650 84, 719, 322 36, 363, 621 565, 688, 686 29, 181, 329 37, 345, 357 35, 141, 028 46, 791, 125 105, 513, 240 22, 034, 972 8, 018, 757 34, 200, 027	7, 122, 287 23, 235, 523 34, 729, 312 7, 538, 314 2, 560, 255	25. 5	4, 768, 460 2, 280, 305 7, 310, 169	3, 429, 423 1, 779, 897	1, 339, 037	28.
ermont	10, 579, 012	8, 018, 757	2, 560, 255	24, 2	2, 280, 305	1, 779, 897	500, 408	21.
ear ermont. Irginia ashington est Virginia issensin yoming	44, 610, 890 92, 253, 260	34, 930, 027 77, 044, 955	9, 680, 863 15, 208, 305	21. 7 16. 5	7, 310, 169	5, 360, 028 15, 145, 860	1, 950, 141 4, 447, 377	26.
act Virginia	92, 253, 260 88, 011, 258	74, 520, 200	13, 491, 058	15. 3	19, 593, 237 14, 760, 250	11, 813, 994	2, 946, 256	22. 20.
liconsin	160, 317, 091	132, 811, 632	27, 505, 459	17. 2	31, 276, 989	25, 348, 247	5, 928, 742	19.
voming	11, 709, 374	8, 283, 691	3, 425, 683	29.3	1, 815, 088	1, 201, 318	613, 770	33.
laska	20, 743	20, 743		20, 0	-118	-118	010, 770	00
awaii	7, 349, 554	5, 115, 752	2, 233, 802	30.4	1, 436, 765	867, 305	569, 460	39
irgin Islands	4.015	4, 015	7,000		7,,,,,,			
lassa iawaii irgin Islands entral office entral textile account	4, 015 4, 944, 808	4, 944, 808			200, 845	- 200, 845		
antral textile account	-9, 231, 805	-9, 231, 805	100000000000000000000000000000000000000	THE PARTY OF	-7, 473, 983	-7, 473, 983		10113

Source: Federal funds represent voucher payments reported by the Treasury Department, sponsors' funds based on Works Progress Administration State office reports of sponsors' certifications.

The following table shows the rank and unjustifiable discrimination practiced in the wage scales used by W. P. A. and, when considered with the first table shown herewith, forcibly illustrates the double discrimination practiced and how it has benefited certain sections of the country where the relief load is heaviest:

	Unskilled		Intermediate		Skilled		Professional and technical	
person here are	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
United States:	boot b	100	DE TOTAL	2011		day'ra	3/10	O.V.
Alabama	\$0.40	\$0.19	\$0.60	\$0. 24	\$1.50	\$0.31	\$1.11	\$0.34
Arizona			. 75	.41	1.00	. 56	1. 25	. 62
Arkansas	. 28	. 36	. 55	. 25	1. 25	. 33	. 70	. 36
California	81	.33	1.45	.38	1.75	.46	1.67	.51
Colorado	.72	. 30	1.00	.41	1.50	.50	1.07	. 56
Connecticut	.50	.40	1.05	.45	1.65	. 57	1.30	.63
Delement	.411/4	. 24	.90	.28	1.50	.34	1. 36	.60
Delaware	- 4174	10	.73	. 43		.04		
Florida	. 30	. 19	. 13	. 24	1.75	. 32	1.05	. 35
Georgia	. 30	. 20	. 43	. 25	1. 25	. 33	1.50	. 36
Georgia Idaho Illinois	. 55	. 231/2	. 621/2	. 32	. 781/2	. 39	. 86	. 431/2
Illinois.	1. 02/2	. 31	1.371/2		1.95		1.50	. 44
Indiana	. 95	. 40	1. 10	. 41	1.50	. 46	1.66	. 50
	. 671/2	. 31	1. 20	. 35	1.50	. 43	1. 50	. 47
Kansas	. 50	. 27	. 85	. 32	1. 37	. 37	. 81	. 41
Kentucky	. 50	. 25	1. 371/2		1.75	. 31	1. 171/2	
Louisiana	. 35	. 20	1.00	. 25	1.38	.32	1.50	. 35
Maine	.40	. 31	.70	. 35	1.35	45	1.60	.49
Maryland	. 44	. 25	. 55	. 32	1.50	. 38	1, 10	. 48
Massachusetts	. 85	. 35	1.50	.39	1. 6624	. 48	1.60	. 53
- Michigan	.60	. 33	1.00	. 371/2	1. 581/2		1. 47	. 501/4
Minnesota		32	1.15	. 41	1.50	. 46	1.79	. 551/
Mississippi	.40	.19	90	. 25	1.50	3116	2, 50	. 40
Missouri	50	. 25	. 68	.30	. 88	. 34	.82	. 38
Montana	.50	. 451/2	1, 12	.41	1.771/2	.50	.96	. 551/
Nebraska	47	.30	.70	.33	1. 3716		1.00	.46
Nevada	6216	.481/2	1.50	. 55	2.00	.67	2.00	.7414
New Hampshire	.621/2	.35	. 66	.43	1.30	. 53	1.00	.51
		. 25	1. 3056		2. 25	.39	1.50	. 44
New Jersey	1.00							
New Mexico		. 29	1.00	.35	1.50	.43	. 86	. 68
New York 1	. 621/2	. 26	1. 25	. 33	2.00	. 391/2		. 4334
North Carolina	1 . 29	. 20	. 64	. 25	1.00	. 34	.91	. 60
North Dakota		.40	. 55	. 45	1.35	. 55	.77	.61
Ohio	. 679	. 31	1. 25	. 35	2.00	.43	2.50	. 471/
Oklahoma	. 41	. 25	. 73	. 35	1.50	. 43	1.00	. 47
Oregon	. 50	. 34	. 80	.38	1.50	. 46	1. 25	. 51
Pennsylvania	. 65	. 50	1. 241/2	. 57	2.00	. 651/2		.711
Rhode Island	.50	. 40	. 591/2	. 461/2		. 61	. 781/2	.675
South Carolina		. 19	.48	. 24	1. 25	. 32	. 521/2	. 343
South Dakota		.37	. 42	.38	1. 371/2		. 58	. 55
Tennessee		. 18	. 43	. 23	1.62	.31	. 64	.35
Texas	. 35	. 20	. 55	. 26	1.50	. 32	1. 22	. 35
Utah	. 50	. 41	.75	. 50	1.50	. 63	1.00	.70
Vermont	. 40	. 32	. 50	. 35	1. 25	. 43	1.10	. 48
Virginia	.40	. 19	. 57	. 24	1.50	.31	1.50	. 34
Washington	. 58	.34	.99	.38	1. 67	. 46	1.44	. 44
West Virginia	. 45	.40	. 58	.47	. 84	. 54	. 90	.84
West Virginia Wisconsin	1.00	.331/2		. 371/2	1.66	.391/2	1.51	. 431
Wyoming	42	.42	. 48	.471/2	. 613/2		. 66	.64
New York City		.461/2	1.57	.48	2, 21	.589	1.518	.70
District of Colum-		1 40/2	1.01	. 10	2. 21	.000	1,010	
bia	. 50	. 33	1. 15	. 43	2.00	. 67	1.22	.76
W10	1 .00	.00		1				1

<sup>1</sup> Exclusive of New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has again expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY].

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, the fact that this Congress every year has been called upon to vote staggering sums for the relief of unemployment is the most convincing evidence that could be adduced of the utter failure of the administration's recovery program.

According to the President's recent Budget message, nearly \$28,000,000,000 will have been spent for recovery and relief by the end of the next fiscal year. If the unemployment problem had been cured in 6 years' effort on the part of the administration, the pending bill would not be necessary. But it has not been cured, and so long as the administration fails to cure it relief must be continued.

It is obvious by now that the Roosevelt administration will never solve the problem during its incumbency. In 6 years it has never put forward a real recovery program.

Relief measures, while necessary as a temporary expedient, do not cure unemployment. They do not put men back to work.

The results of the last election are an indication of the growing despair of those on relief of ever securing permanent employment so long as the present administration remains in power. They are an indication also that the taxpayers of the country, while they do not begrudge the unemployed the

relief that is being given them, do hold the administration responsible for the fact that the relief is still necessary. Likewise, they are an indication that the electorate in general look with extreme disfavor upon the administration's misuse of relief funds for political purposes.

The administration of relief under the present set-up has been nothing short of a national scandal. Money appropriated for human needs has been used to build up a political machine and entrench the present administration in office.

An investigation of this matter by a committee of the Senate has resulted in shocking revelations which stand as an indictment of the Administration's relief methods. Let me quote just one paragraph from the so-called Sheppard committee's report:

The committee in the course of its work has been compelled to give much of its attention to charges of undue political activity in connection with the administration and conduct of the Works Progress Administration in certain States. While many of those charges, after investigation, were not sustained, the committee, nevertheless, finds that there has been in several States, in many forms, unjustifiable political activity in connection with the Works Progress Administration in such States. The committee believes that funds appropriated by Congress for the relief of those in need and in distress have been, in many instances, diverted from those high purposes to political needs. The committee condemns this conduct and recommends to the Senate that legislation be prepared to make impossible, so far as legislation can do so, further offenses of this character.

Mr. Chairman, this is a pretty strong indictment, coming from a committee composed of four Democrats and only one Republican, all of whom signed the committee report.

So when we are told by Members on the other side— Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. No; not at this time.

So when we are told by Members on the other side that there is no political feature connected with the administration of W. P. A., let us refer them from now on constantly to the so-called Sheppard report.

Now, the President's action in transferring the head of the W. P. A. along with his principal assistant to other positions is simply an attempt to take the sting out of the forthcoming investigation of the handling of relief.

Everyone else, of course, has known for a long time that matters were not conducted as they should be, but the President apparently was content with their methods. Not only was he content with them but he used the power of his office to influence the rejection of the so-called Hatch amendment as proposed in the other body last year, which would have provided punishment for the use of relief funds for partisan purposes.

Mr. Chairman, heretofore, when the annual relief bills have come up the Republican minority have consistently supported an amendment proposing to transfer the actual administration of Federal relief funds to nonpartisan local boards. Such an amendment has usually been sponsored by our late beloved colleague the Honorable Robert L. Bacon, whose untimely death deprived this House of one of its ablest Members.

I should very much like to see the amendment considered in connection with the pending bill. However, in view of the emergency that exists, due to the exhaustion of present relief funds, it is necessary to vote a lump-sum appropriation once more to be administered in the usual manner.

Every time these bills have come up we have been told that there is not time to put the machinery in operation that would be required by the Bacon amendment. There is plenty of time now, however, to change the method of distributing relief if consideration is given to the question before the general relief bill for 1940 is taken up—the measure that must come up in Congress starting when this appropriation is exhausted. Let the committee in charge now get under way with the principle involved in the Bacon amendment.

The so-called Bacon amendment embraces the Republican minority's position on the question of relief. Let me just explain its provisions briefly.

Under the amendment the Federal Government would continue to bear the bulk of the relief load, but the States would be required to put up 25 cents for each \$1 of aid granted by the Federal Government. The effect of the amendment

would be to increase the total appropriation for relief by the amount of the State contribution.

The Federal appropriation would be allocated by a bipartisan Federal board upon the basis of the number of unemployed in each State, population, financial resources, and living costs. The money would be turned over to the States when they set up bipartisan local boards to administer the funds. This would eliminate politics from relief and insure those in need of fairer treatment and a larger percentage of the money appropriated for them. Moreover, it would permit the elimination of the present Federal relief bureaucracy which requires an overhead of \$125,000,000 a year to

I firmly believe that the great majority of the people of this country, including those receiving relief, favor the adoption of the principle of the Bacon amendment. I myself feel very strongly on the subject, and I sincerely regret that because of the emergency character of the present bill, consideration cannot be given to a change in relief methods at this time. However, the question is certain to be raised in connection with the general relief bill for next year.

About the only argument which has been advanced in opposition to the amendment by administration leaders is that we are not going to be permanently in the relief business, and therefore there is no need to change the existing set-up. I concede that we are not going to be permanently in the relief business, because very soon the people are going to restore to power the party which can and will eliminate the necessity for relief. But so far as this administration is concerned, it is now permanently in the relief business, and it will continue to be in the relief business as long as it is in

If there is to be anything approaching permanency in Federal relief grants, then they should be administered in the manner proposed by the Republican minority under the so-called Bacon amendment. We of the minority are not necessarily wedded to the details of that amendment, as heretofore proposed, but we very definitely favor the principle of returning the actual administration of relief funds to the States through nonpartisan local boards.

The real reason why the administration does not want to give up control over relief is that it would then lose its influence over thousands of votes. That is the answer, and there is no denying it.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Does not the gentleman feel that the elimination of men 65 years old from the W. P. A. rolls is a very cruel thing? They cannot secure employment outside, yet they are perfectly able to do W.P.A. work, office work.

Mr. TREADWAY. The gentlewoman from Massachusetts has touched on one of the details that, of course, is a very serious objection to the present method of administering the

Mr. Chairman, I would like to devote my remaining time to a discussion of why it is still necessary to appropriate billions for relief after 6 years of the New Deal. The answer to that question can perhaps be summarized in one sentence: Because the President has turned his back on the New Deal platform of 1932 and everything for which he stood before he was elected President. In his economy message of March 10, 1933, he did take one step toward carrying out his promises, but he soon forgot all about the warnings he uttered in that great message.

Why, Mr. Chairman, are there still ten or twelve million unemployed? Why are one-sixth of our people dependent upon relief? Let me quote from the President's economy message of 1933.

I paraphrase it as he would have had to deliver it today: For 9 long years the Federal Government has been on the road

toward bankruptcy.
For the fiscal year 1931 the deficit was \$481,000,000.
For the fiscal year 1932 it was \$2,529,000,000.
For the fiscal year 1933 it was \$1,784,000,000. For the fiscal year 1934 it was \$2,895,000,000.

For the fiscal year 1935 it was \$3,210,000,000.

For the fiscal year 1936 it was \$4,550,000,000.

For the fiscal year 1937 it was \$3,148,000,000. For the fiscal year 1938 it was \$1,384,000,000.

For the fiscal year 1939 it will probably exceed \$3,972,000,000. For the fiscal year 1940, based on my own budget estimates, the deficit will probably exceed \$3,326,000,000 unless immediate action

Thus, we shall have piled up an accumulated deficit of \$27,-279,000,000.

Now, to go on with the original message of March 10, 1933:

With the utmost seriousness I point out to the Congress the profound effect of this fact upon our national economy. It has contributed to the recent collapse of our banking structure. It has accentuated the stagnation of the economic life of our people. It has added to the ranks of the unemployed. Our Government's house is not in order and for many reasons no effective action has been taken to restore it to order.

It should be remembered that when the President originally delivered this message, he was speaking about an accumulated deficit of five billions, and not the present accumulated deficit of twenty-seven billions.

In this last paragraph just quoted lies the answer to the question: "Why are there still ten or twelve million unemployed?" The President said in 1933 that an accumulated deficit of five billions had added to the ranks of the unemployed. Such being the case, it is not unreasonable to suppose that an accumulated deficit of twenty-seven billions would have an even more profound effect upon the ranks of the unemployed. Of course, the effect is largely indirect; it results from the fact that the accumulated deficits cause fear and uncertainty as to the future.

In this connection, let me quote just one more passage from the President's economy message of 1933:

Upon the unimpaired credit of the United States Government Upon the unimpaired credit of the United States Government rest the safety of deposits, the security of insurance policies, the activity of industrial enterprises, the value of our agricultural products, and the availability of employment. The credit of the United States Government definitely affects these fundamental human values. It, therefore, becomes our first concern to make secure the foundation. National recovery depends upon it.

Too often in recent history liberal governments have been wrecked on rocks of loose fiscal policy. We must avoid this danger.

When the President took office in 1933 the national debt was slightly less than twenty-one billions. Today it stands at the staggering and unprecedented total of thirty-nine and one-half billions, and by the end of the fiscal year 1940 it will reach forty-four and one-half billions.

We need look no further in searching for reasons for the present number of unemployed and for the failure to achieve economic recovery. Yet there are other reasons, such as the burdensome and repressive taxes which have been imposed, which, great as they are, do not begin to cover the extravagant expenditures of the New Deal. The administration's harassing restrictions on business have been another factor. The trade-treaty program, under which our tariffs on competitive foreign products are being drastically reduced, is another important factor, since it results in taking work away from our own people and giving it to men and women in other countries. Not the least of the factors retarding recovery have been the President's efforts to centralize authority in his own hands and to gain control over the courts.

Mr. Chairman, the Bible tells us:

Charity shall cover the multitude of sins. (1 Peter 4: 8.)

The New Deal, through its relief program, certainly is trying to cover its sins of omission in failing to bring about reemployment. But the unemployed cannot be fooled indefinitely. They are beginning to realize that the New Deal offers them no hope.

I shall conclude, Mr. Chairman, by summarizing my position on the bill:

First. As a matter of ordinary humanity I shall vote to continue giving relief to the unfortunate victims of the New Deal's job-destroying policies.

Second. However, I am strongly opposed to the continuation of the present costly and reprehensible method of directing the relief program from Washington as an adjunct of the New Deal political machine.

Third. As an alternative I favor the administration of Federal relief funds through nonpartisan local boards.

Fourth. What the unemployed need is not more and more relief, but the elimination of the necessity for relief by encouraging, rather than discouraging, the creation of jobs in private industry.

In his remarks of yesterday, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Woodrum] expressed the opinion that private industry should take up a large part of the slack in unemployment. Of course, the gentleman knows that businessmen would be overjoyed to take on every one of the unemployed if there were sufficient demand for their products. They fully realize what this administration apparently does not realize, namely, that wealth is created only by production, not by nonproduction.

There is nothing in this bill to encourage private industry to go forward. But it is possible for the administration to bring about such encouragement without spending a single additional dollar of the taxpayers' money. Here are a few suggestions:

First. Eliminate waste and extravagance.

Second. Revise the tax structure, giving full recognition to the law of diminishing returns.

Third. Stop the deficits and make provision for orderly retirement of the public debt.

Fourth. Remove the hampering restrictions from business. Fifth. Repeal the Trade Agreements Act, or at least confine duty reductions and concessions to noncompetitive articles.

Sixth. Encourage cooperation between capital and labor. Seventh. Let Congress resume its constitutional functions. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Hook].

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Chairman, we are now in the midst of the discussion of a problem that is very vital to democracy and economic freedom, and the people of this Nation are pinning their faith on the intelligence and fighting qualities of the men and women of Congress.

We of the Democratic faith believe that we are laying the foundation for a finer, cleaner, saner, and fairer democracy with a more just and more equitable distribution of prosperity and we shall all bear the torch and lead the van in the neverending fight to progress.

We all know that the work of recovery is by no means complete. Our opponents are harping on an unbalanced Budget. Nobody denies the importance and desirability of a balanced Budget. It is simple, good, sound business sense to balance a budget, but the extraordinary situation which has existed and still exists in this Nation makes it impossible to balance the Budget at this time. Our opponents are continually spreading gloom of the great amount of money being expended by the Democratic administration and fail to see the good which has been brought about by the expenditure of this money.

The Democratic administration spends money to conserve our natural and human resources. If we do not spend enough to conserve them they will be lost to the people of this country-water power, rich soils, forests, minerals, oil, and human resources, health, energy, skill, morale, and brain power. Should we lose this national wealth, which once destroyed can never be regained? Should we let our country be ruined because it costs money to save it? These are the questions that we of Congress must decide.

The relief appropriations are subject to violent attacks. Nobody is happy at the idea of continuing the drain on the Treasury of the United States as is involved in these billions to be spent on the vast army of people rendered destitute by reason of unemployment, but what else is there to do? A dictatorial government such as we see in Germany, Italy, and Russia can muster the unemployed into the army and by regimentation of business can, for a time at least, abolish unemployment, but a democracy mindful of the people's liberty and rights abhors such systems and so adopts the alternative of relief appropriations. What other course is possible?

The question resolves around the amount of money that is to be expended. It is my contention that the committee has made a horrible mistake in reducing the amount recommended by the Budget by \$150,000,000. When the question is presented on the floor of this House I shall vote to restore the one hundred and fifty million.

I have come from a district where there are thousands upon thousands of men and women employed on work relief. These men and women are not there through their own fault but through the fault of those whose short-sightedness brought about economic chaos.

I have heard many statements during this debate charging men and women responsible for the administration of this program with graft and corruption. They have not been able at any time to show any major scandal. Inasmuch as the opposition has raised the question of politics with regard to relief, I consider it my duty to present some facts to you and let you determine who has been playing politics with relief.

I heard the gentleman from Pennsylvania yesterday plead eloquently and say that relief should not be contaminated with slimy and filthy politics. He may know what slimy and filthy politics is because I understand he comes from a State, from the party that was controlled by the Vare machine. I do not consider politics slimy and filthy. The politics that I have been connected with cannot be described by those adjectives. I know that the politics that most of the Members of this House are connected with cannot be described with those adjectives.

But during the last campaign certain things happened that bear scrutiny. The opposition claims that the Democratic administration has used the W. P. A. for political purposes, and still in those States where the W. P. A. was very prominent Republicans were sent to this House replacing Democrats. If the W. P. A. was so strong politically, if the W. P. A. was used for politics, then by virtue of statistics was not it Republican politics that was being played because it was Republicans that were elected where the W. P. A. was strongest?

I cite, for instance, the three Lake States of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. In furtherance of my argument. I hold in my hand an advertisement that was run in one of the newspapers of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan during the last campaign. This ad was run in the Eleventh District of Michigan, the district next to mine. I want you to know also that there were some 40,000 pamphlets of the same type spread and even worse politically by the Republican organization on every W. P. A. project by W. P. A. workers who were paid with Republican funds in my

In the Escanaba Press, a paper published in the Eleventh District of Michigan, here is what was advertised:

Voters, ride to the polls. Phone 914, Republican headquarters. (Paid political advertisement.)

## ATTENTION! W. P. A. WORKERS!

The \$44 a month minmum wage paid to W. P. A. workers in this District of Michigan is the lowest paid anywhere in the North Central States. In the Lower Peninsula and in the State of North Central States. In the Lower Pennsula and in the State of Ohio, our neighbor on the south, the minimum W. P. A. wage is \$60 per month. The workers there are the same as the workers here. The cost of living there is the same as here. Yet those people are getting \$60 and you are getting \$44.

Where was Congressman Luecke when the minimum wage was being set at \$60 in lower Michigan and \$44 up here?

Your Congressman's neglect has cost you exactly \$16 per month for the lest 3 years

for the last 3 years. Vote for Fren Bradley for Congress on the Republican ticket. He will see that the W. P. A. men get the same treatment in this district as they are getting in other places. And Bradley will not force you to pay for his political campaigns either.

Take the politics out of relief.

Vote Republican.

This advertisement paid for and sponsored by a committee of W. P. A. workers.

You will note at the top of this advertisement is an ad by the Republican headquarters offering free rides.

They led the voters to believe they were going to pay the W. P. A. workers \$60 a month, raise them up from \$44 a month, when they knew that they were playing the part of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. They are coming down here now asking that the appropriation be cut down. During the campaign, however, they were promising the W. P. A. workers to give them \$60 or \$75 a month. I know my opponent offered \$75 a month when he knew it was just a bait for votes. The same was done in the Eleventh District, Michigan, where a Republican was elected.

They say further in this advertisement:

Take the politics out of relief. Vote Republican. This advertisement paid for and sponsored by a committee of W. P. A. workers.

I charge that it was not paid for by the W. P. A. workers but was paid out of the slush fund of the Republican Party. Who was playing politics with relief?

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 additional minutes

to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOOK. Who was it that went out into the highways and the byways and offered these unsuspecting people as high as \$75 a month? Some of the same men now come on the floor of this House and ask that the appropriation be cut. If the appropriation is cut, you will reduce the wage and the number on relief.

Oh, let us cut out this Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde stuff!

During the campaign certain things happened that would bear scrutiny. The opposition claims that the Democratic administration used the W. P. A. for political purposes. Notwithstanding that statement, in those States where the W. P. A. was most prominent, Republicans were sent to this House, replacing Democrats.

In closing may I also say there was only one major scandal in my district, and I have here in my hand the affidavit covering the facts. One John Burt was placed on the W. P. A. rolls through the Republican influence of my political opponent for a definite purpose. The files were rifled by him for the Republican organization, and here is evidence where a Republican on the W. P. A. sold W. P. A. jobs for \$15 apiece. Who was responsible for the scandals in the W. P. A.? Not a Democrat but an admitted Republican, who was given a job because he was supposed to be in need. If they will sneak in and sell jobs now, what would they do if they were in charge? [Applause.]

In closing let me say that if the amount requested by the Bureau of the Budget is reduced, there will be widespread suffering in my district and throughout the whole north country, where there is below-zero weather, where men and

women need clothing and need food.

Should we who believe that we should reduce human suffering cut down on the amount of money that is necessary to relieve that suffering? Could any one of you men and women in this House begin to feed a family on \$44 a month?

You Republicans who raided the W. P. A. projects, advertised in the newspapers, and led the W. P. A. workers to believe that they were going to get an increase in pay, are now coming down here and arguing against an appropriation sufficient to even keep them on at their present rate of pay. I believe that pay should be increased to a point where men and women could have at least the necessities of life, and I challenge you, especially you Republican Members who led the people to believe that you were going to increase their wages—I want you to show your good faith now, if you ever had any, and when the time comes to cast your vote cast it for the increased appropriation so that these unfortunate people can be properly cared for. Oh, but you will not, because none of you ever intended to do that.

At the proper time I will offer an amendment that will guarantee these men and women at least the necessities of life. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield one-half minute to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Reed.]

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, the last Congress appropriated a sufficient amount of money to take adequate care of relief in this country up to the 4th of March. The reason we are now considering this problem is because the funds were dissipated for corrupt political purposes.

Last year the New York Times compiled figures relating to relief in New York City. While this is an unofficial survey, it does show the extent of a domestic break-down that is typical of cities throughout the Nation. This survey demonstrates the extent to which a large proportion of the public is relying on public funds for support, for example, in New York City:

W. P. A. relief	471, 200
Home relief	567, 300
City government jobs	155, 486
Federal jobs	50,000
State government jobs	8,796
City pensions	23,959
Unemployment insurance	100,000
In hospitals, public expense	24, 750
In jail, public expense	6,700
Dependent children, blind, aged	116,000

It is estimated by the Times that several dependents are maintained by each Government job or pension, which brings the gross total to 2,200,000. To put it another way, 29 percent of New York City's population is now supported by the Government.

Next let us turn to the question of taxation as we consider this relief bill calling for \$725,000,000. In Fortune of December 1937 there appears this statement:

The annual tax bill of the United States is now in the neighborhood of \$12,000,000,000. That is almost \$100 a year apiece for every man, woman, and child in the Nation. It is almost \$400 apiece for every head of a family. It is one-fifth of the national income. It is the biggest tax bill in the world. \* \* \* As a matter of fact, the average American does not even realize that 20 cents out of every dollar he earns goes to taxes of one sort or another, Federal, State, or local.

Mr. Chairman, there will be no end to this ever-increasing crushing load for relief until its dispensation is taken out of the hands of wasteful, corrupt politicians and placed in charge of nonpartisan local boards under State supervision. The sordid story of waste and corruption in the administration of relief is now being revealed at the other end of the Capitol. The use made of relief funds to buy, bribe, and corrupt the voters in the recent election has no parallel in history except under the tyrannical and dishonest rule of King James and Charles I.

I have voted against previous relief appropriation bills, not because I am opposed to relief, but as a protest against the use of relief funds for corrupt political purposes. Unless this ill is so amended as to insure State and local administration of these funds, I shall vote against this measure. There is no justification for any Member of the House to continue to bleed the taxpayers white to fatten the pockets of politicians and by so doing deprive the innocent victims of this depression of what a generous public would gladly bestow upon them. This issue of honesty in the administration of relief may as well be settled now as later.

Under State and local administration of relief those in need will receive it, while the mountebanks, the chiselers, and the corrupt politicians will be prevented from diverting the funds to illegitimate ends.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Bolles].

Mr. BOLLES. Mr. Chairman, the great tragedy of relief is found in the miles of closed factories wherever you may go in any city of the United States. Since 1929, 2,744 factories have been closed in Wisconsin. There are about 100,000 less factories operating in the United States today than in 1929. Through the methods of the New Deal and the legislation that it has passed, through penalizing taxation and other acts, industries today are no longer able to operate in the way they formerly did. Small factory after small factory died under the blasts of the Blue Eagle. There are 100 factories in two great industrial cities in one county I represent that employ an army of men and women under normal circumstances. Between surplus-profits taxes, penalizing income taxes, and no indication on the part of the Government of this Nation to give industry confidence in operation, these plants have either closed or curtailed production. We have thus destroyed buying power and source of income.

After examining this relief proposition, and as an editor of a newspaper having been in favor of the W. P. A. fund when last passed under the promise that by March 4 these

industries would be opened and employment would come to a normal base, I gave my most hearty approval. I expect to vote for a sum that will take care of relief of the people who have been so viciously treated. We cannot take away from that form of relief until we substitute something else. If there had been no waste in its administration, if the W. P. A. had not been used as a political reserve corps for the New Deal, if hundreds who were not eligible for relief had not been paid from those funds, I feel certain we would still have enough money to carry on far beyond January 31 this year. The once prophet of the Democratic Party, now abandoned and utterly discredited by the New Deal, Thomas Jefferson, with the spirit of a Jeremiah, said:

In every government on earth is some trace of human weakness. some germ of corruption and degeneracy, which cunning will discover, and wickedness insensibly open, cultivate, and improve. cover, and wickedness insensibly open, cultivate, and improve. Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves, therefore, are its own safe depositories.

Oh, yes; Jefferson said something else, which has been voiced on the Democratic side, from which I heard several very excellent Republican speeches here this morning. He talked of debt and economy, which made the Sage of Monticello an unquotable person at the other end of the avenue.

There is a great difference in the manner of operating W. P. A. I ask to revise and extend my remarks by printing an editorial from the Janesville Daily Gazette of January 11, 1939, as follows:

## W. P. A.'S LEANING SHOVELS

A traveler came into Janesville the other day and remarked that he had just arrived from Milwaukee. Near the Milwaukee city limits in a field was a forest of shovels, all leaning at gentle angles, and each supported by a reclining W. P. A. worker.

There was, of course, nothing new in that part of the story. It

There was, of course, nothing new in that part of the story. It wouldn't even have been worth noting had not the man continued in somewhat this language: "When I came into Janesville I saw another forest of shovels, but there was great activity in the forest, the handles were moving with regularity, and each movement of the handle brought from the soil a sizeable load of dirt."

What could have made the difference? That was what the Milwaukee man wanted to know, and here was our answer:
"Whether on the W. B. A correct we there combination of the New

"Whether on the W. P. A. or any other combination of the New Deal alphabet, the workman is pretty likely to react to conditions as he finds them. Mostly he finds a bureaucratic political regime which is much more interested in his vote than his work, and that

is why the W. P. A. has gained an unsavory reputation, the odor of which it shares with its political sponsors.

"In Janesville the situation is different. The W. P. A. worker sees a great public work laid out for him; he catches the contagion of honest devotion to accomplishment from the city officials, who have no political axes to grind. He joins with his comrades in the happy task of delivering a full day's work for his pay. "That, mister, is why they lean into the shovels in Janesville instead of on them; and if you want to read between the lines,

there, too, is the answer to the rest of your question."

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. MILLER].

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Chairman, I yield to no Member of this House in my desire or willingness to vote for any needed appropriation to care for those who need and want work. have just one thought in the discussion and argument that has been taking place in the House for the last 2 days, and that is to express the hope that somewhere in this bill there be written regulations which will make sure that those who should not be on the W. P. A. rolls will be purged from those rolls. [Applause.]

I am sure that in my State of Connecticut there are hundreds of such cases on the rolls. I know of two cases, one of which involved a man who had a full-time, 44 hours a week job in a munition factory and he was on the W. P. A. rolls as a night watchman. Those are the things that I hope will be corrected by writing into this act language which will prevent such occurrences.

We campaigned in Connecticut for a cleaning up of the W. P. A., for a return to State administration and supervision of relief. I urge those Members of this House who believe this cannot be administered by the State without the injection of politics to come to my office and observe the record of the Connecticut Emergency Relief Commission, a nonpartisan commission appointed by a Democratic Governor. This is a commission composed of businessmen who frequently

met and supervised the spending of the emergency relief money until the W. P. A. came into the State.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield one-half minute to the gentleman from New York [Mr. LORD].

Mr. LORD. Mr. Chairman, the amount of \$875,000,000 carried in the relief bill before us seems to be greater than is actually needed to take care of the W. P. A. workers. However, the amount is not so important as the methods that have been used in the past, and which no doubt will continue until some drastic change is made in administering this relief.

In the first place, I believe the rate of pay should be the same to all in the locality and that the man with the pick and shovel should receive as much as the white-collar man who knows little about his job.

In my district we have men in charge of work relief receiving a much higher salary than the men who are doing the work, and in many instances these men are not as competent as many of the workers, and, moreover, they do not need the job. They are political appointees pure and simple and they hamper rather than help the work along because of their lack of knowledge of the work they are doing, which, in a great part, is the building of highways. For this work we have men elected in every town to supervise and carry on the construction of roads; they are competent men; yet, when a W. P. A. project is started in a town and the town machinery is tied up with the job, the W. P. A. officials insist on appointing some faithful Democrat to oversee the job, and in most cases this man knows little or nothing about constructing highways. Under this system it takes much longer to complete a job and the road is poorer when it is completed than it would be if the superintendent of highways supervised the work of constructing the highway.

It would be a saving of W. P. A. funds, as the superintendent of highways is paid by the town, and more needy persons could be given work with the same amount of money, providing this was not controlled by a political machine. Before election the higher-up officials come around to these men and tell them how they shall vote on election day if they intend to hold their job. They watch them very closely to see that they do vote the Democratic ticket. However, the W. P. A. workers should not be made to suffer by the unscrupulous acts of these political bosses.

I believe work relief should be returned to the States and the localities; that the politicians who do not need a job should be eliminated and work given only to the men who need the work. If the funds were to flow through the ordinary channels of elected officials, we could carry on our work with half the money that is now expended for work relief and take care of our people who need work in the rural counties.

Money is wasted right and left in our highway construction, and, I believe, in other construction, on account of the incompetent supervision of the work. They have no one to answer to, and this, taken with their political activities, makes a very disgraceful mess of work relief. As I have said before, I believe with half the money expended directly through the State, town, and counties the people could be better taken care of and more efficient work would be done.

Back in the days when the Red Cross distributed the supply of flour, pork, and other foods, and clothing made from the cotton turned over by the Government, people could be supported at a very reasonable price. Now, with the Surplus Commodities Corporation, they ship the locality whatever they seem to have the most of. They may get potatoes when they need clothing, they may get butter when they need flour, they may get a large shipment of cheese when they need flour and potatoes, and the lack of efficiency keeps the whole thing in a turmoil and the poor seldom have the right commodity.

During the latter part of the administration of President Hoover he had turned over to the Red Cross wheat for milling, making flour for the needy, and cotton for making clothes for them. With flour and clothing it was not hard to take care of the people in the localities and I hope that

We may return to those days and let the Red Cross administer the relief to the people in need.

We have kept on spending for nearly 6 years, just doling out relief money and we find ourselves worse off than we were 6 years ago. There are no more jobs for we still have some 13,000,000 people unemployed and we have an enormous increase in the national debt.

It would seem to me that it is time that we considered a change and let the local elected officials carry on this work with the Government furnishing a reasonable amount of assistance to do it.

While this plan of the President has been somewhat successful politically, the people seem to have turned against it, as they no doubt should, and will continue to oppose these plans of using the taxpayers' money for political purposes. Until such time as the Government stops harassing business and tax them out of existence we cannot look for much improvement in industry. If the President would let it be known to the business world that he is going to stop trying to hamstring them, the businessmen of the Nation could then go ahead and give real jobs to the unemployed and we could stop this dole. Confidence is what is needed.

All we of the minority can do is to protest and point the way. I believe what I have suggested with regard to returning funds to the States to expend through normal channels would go a long way toward helping solve the problem of unemployment, and that cooperation with the businessmen, or at least letting them alone, we could return to the good old days of Calvin Coolidge.

I intend to vote for this bill if the reduced amount proposed by the committee prevails, for many are in need and there is little time to amend the law now. However, I shall work for a return of work relief to the States, with such appropriations from the Government as may be needed and available for assistance to the States.

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Casey].

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I assume that every Member of this House will subscribe to the proposition that it is the duty of this Government to take care of those who through no fault of their own are out of work. If that be so, the question comes down to a matter of the method to be used. The only legitimate argument against granting a full appropriation would be the argument to cut and reduce taxes.

I have heard a great deal said by Republicans and Democrats with reference to why we should reduce the amount of \$875,000,000 which the administration asks.

It has resolved itself into arguments about communism and about the appointments of Frankfurter, Murphy, and Hopkins. It has seemed to me to have been merely a lot of political gossip that has confused the issue.

Our duty is clear. I favor the reduction of taxes. I yield to no man in my desire to reduce taxes. However, I decry the injection of politics into this discussion. I also question the intellectual honesty of the Republican objections to the appropriation of \$875,000,000. You all know that during the last campaign, at least in New England, the Republicans ran upon a platform of favoring the Townsendites. How do they expect to carry in one hand the emblem of reduced taxes and in the other the torch of the 2-percent transaction tax? I question their sincerity. I do not believe they are sincere with the Townsendites. I for one am willing to vote to bring that bill on the floor in order to test their good faith and put them on record. [Applause.]

I have listened this morning to Republicans manifest their sympathy for people over 65 years of age. They have used weasel words, insincere words, words of sympathy, in order to catch votes. You cannot keep the men and women over 65 on the rolls unless you keep this appropriation at \$875,000,000. If you are a friend of the men and women over 65, if you want to see them employed, you will vote for a \$875,000,000 appropriation. That is a test of whether or not you are friendly with them.

Now, we are faced with this situation: We have a Works Progress Administration run as efficiently as any private business in this country. I have the utmost respect for Harry Hopkins. I believe he is a man of great ability. You do not question his personal integrity or his personal honesty. I, who know how this Administration has been run in Massachusetts, say that the cost of administration of W. P. A. has been kept at a minimum in order that as much as possible of the dollar for relief may go to the man at the bottom.

Sympathy for those on relief is manifested in so many ways. We are here to consider the report which shows how much each dollar will do in the way of giving employment to the men and women. If \$875,000,000 is appropriated, there will be a normal reduction in the W. P. A. rolls by June from 3,000,000 to 2,700,000. If you vote for the \$725,000,000 appropriation, you will have a reduction to 1,930,000 by June, a decrease of 800,000 in the number of men and women on the W. P. A. rolls; and this country cannot stand such a violent decrease. By that decrease you will not only put out of employment the 800,000 men and women who will be dropped from the W. P. A. rolls but you will inflict suffering and misery and hardship upon those dependent upon them, an additional 3,000,000 of our citizens.

Of course, the W. P. A. is run by a national W. P. A. administration. You who call for a separation of this administration into 48 divisions will have to convince me that 48 units working separately can do this job more cheaply and more efficiently than one national unit which has had the benefit of experience. Why, as far as local authorities are concerned, the W. P. A. is a local proposition now to a great extent. It is the local authorities in the towns and in the cities who set up the specifications for the kind of projects they want. It is the local authorities in the towns and in the cities who certify the men they want for relief.

I hope you do not take the bread out of the mouths of these hundreds of thousands of people who will have to be dropped from the rolls unless you give them the full appropriation of \$875,000,000. [Applause.]

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Patrick].

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Chairman, there is one question we should think over before we vote. Much has been said here about partisan matters. I believe we can remove that feature from consideration. I do not see why on earth so many things of that character have been said. This resolution will not be in effect after the last of June. No matter how many iniquities may have been practiced, let us not visit the penalty for them upon the heads of the hungry and the needy. There is no national election between now and the first of next July; therefore, the charges that are played upon cannot obtain, and that argument goes out the window.

This seems to be the last mile. If the idea of priming the pump was correct in the beginning—the analogy is not complete, of course—then unless we go the last mile, until we make the priming meet the body of the flow desired, the whole priming program may fall down.

I know the Democrats do not want us to degenerate into a tax-ridden, hopeless nation. The Republicans do not want people to go hungry in the cold of the winter. I am afraid that we can make a mistake.

The suggested cut was \$150,000,000. On what is that based; by what measure, what line, or in what compass; by what enclosure do they encase their logic? Is that figure merely an arbitrary one that gives them the opportunity to say they are making some cut in the appropriation? Until I see what it is, until I see whether or not the first and original theory of pump priming was in error, I shall be forced to go the last mile. [Applause.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 18 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Robston].

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, we have before us a deficiency appropriation measure calling for \$750,-000,000 to carry on relief for the balance of this fiscal year. Congress before it adjourned in June appropriated over \$12,-000,000,000 for relief and all other purposes for this same fiscal year ending June 30, 1939. The President called for an additional \$875,000,000, but the Appropriations Committee

of the House, which is made up largely of Democrats, brought in this bill for \$750,000,000. The relief problem is a vital and pressing problem. This large sum may not have been necessary if the W. P. A. had not engaged so actively in politics in Kentucky and throughout the Nation during 1938. The President's message delivered in person to the House and Senate did not bring much encouragement to either agriculture, industry, the millions of unemployed, or the needy of our coun-There was scarcely a word of comfort in his message for either of these groups. The greater portion of his message was devoted to foreign affairs and to the threat that we were about to be involved in another World War. This war scare in my opinion was really a smoke screen to cover up conditions in our own country and take the minds of the people of this Nation off of their sad plight. If the President had devoted more time to our domestic problems and less time to foreign affairs, I am sure it would have been more helpful to all of us. The President, however, did emphasize in his message that we should continue to borrow and waste and spend more and more. Was this good advice in view of our present economic and financial condition?

### UNSOUND ADVICE AND POLICIES

He has already called on us to appropriate during this session of Congress more than \$10,000,000,000. Of course, other demands will be made before the end of this session. If we appropriate this ten or more billion dollars and no more, then the Congresses under him will have appropriated for the 7 years of his administration more than \$66,000,000,-000. When we realize that only a little over \$32,000,000,000 were appropriated by all the Congresses in the 124 years from George Washington down to Woodrow Wilson, we can see at once what the New Dealers are doing to our country. With less than half of that amount of money in 124 years we paid off the debt of the Revolution, fought all of our wars except the World War, acquired all of the territory we ever bought, dug the Panama Canal, spent billions in improving our rivers, harbors, and highways, carried on all the expenses of our Government, and paid the pensions due the veterans and their dependents. But, with the \$56,-000,000,000 that was appropriated up to June 1938, and that the administration has been spending what results have been accomplished? There are now 3,000,000 on W. P. A. There are at least 10,000,000 more unemployed workers. Car loadings last week were 24 percent less than they were the corresponding week in 1937. There are less railroad workers now than there has ever been in 50 years. There are less coal miners busy now than there has been in 40 or 50 years. Farm prices have come down and down until they are now only about half or a third what they were in 1937. Business is stagnated. The national debt, if we appropriate this Congress what the President has asked, will go beyond \$45,000,000,000.

The President, running true to form, has given Congress and the country to understand that taxes will be increased. This administration has never failed to create more deficits, more debts, and increase taxes at each and every Congress. The credit of the Nation is threatened. The economic outlook is depressing. For this condition the country can thank the new dealers and their unwise, unworkable, and un-American policies.

## REPUBLICANS FAVOR RELIEF FOR THE NEEDY

The Republican Party, as well as myself, is deeply interested in relief for the needy. The President has promised time and again that he is in favor of appropriating sufficient money to take care of the needy of this country. This bill does not do that, and no bill that the President has ever proposed did that. There are 10,000,000 unemployed, needy workers in America, other than those on W. P. A. There are 1,500,000 of the sick, the halt, the blind, and the disabled, and most of them are heads of families. There are hundreds of thousands of needy widows with children who have been denied work on the W. P. A. Altogether we have in addition to the 3,000,000 W. P. A. workers some 12,000,000 of other unemployed workers, needy unemployables, and needy widows; so if this bill is passed in any form or any other bill that the

President has proposed, it would not take care of more than 20 percent of the needy. You ignore the other 80 percent of the needy. Therefore, if you are going to take care of the needy, it will have to be in some other way than the plan that has been suggested in this bill or any other bill that the administration has proposed. The bill favored by the President will not care for more than 3,000,000 of the 15,000,000. These 12,000,000 that are neglected and ignored have the same right to relief as the 3,000,000 who get on the W. P. A.

HAS THERE BEEN POLITICS IN RELIEF?

For the first time since I returned to Congress in 1935, when these relief bills were up for consideration, the Democrats freely admit now that politics and favoritism have created a national scandal. The Sheppard committee, headed by Senator Sheppard, of Texas, in its recent report made a scathing indictment of those in charge of W. P. A. and the scandalous use of the relief money in politics. In Kentucky last year we had a hot race for Senator between Senator BARKLEY and Governor Chandler. Judge Stewart, the county judge of Senator BARKLEY's home county, was campaign manager for Governor Chandler. He saw and knew what was going on in Kentucky, and on May 23, 1938, he wrote a letter to President Roosevelt. in which he said:

You will not countenance the use of taxpayers' funds set aside to feed the hungry of the Nation to be employed in this Commonwealth in such a manner as to result in public scandal. Meetings and conferences have been held in practically every county in the State by keymen in places of importance with the W. P. A., at which definite instructions were given to selected agents that no one should be placed on Federal relief except upon the advice of Senator Barkley's campaign managers in the respective countles. Furthermore, these same agents have been required to inform all those individuals who seek Federal assistance that unless they are for the candidate for Senator whom the heads of the relief administration are supporting there will be neither relief funds nor jobs for them.

He goes on to say that a great army of men and women put on the W. P. A. render no service except going about over Kentucky campaigning and organizing for Senator BARKLEY, drawing all the way from \$100 to \$500 a month out of your relief funds. He also says, as does Senator Sheppard's committee, these poor relief clients were shaken down for thousands of dollars for campaign funds to take care of the campaign expenses of Senator BARKLEY. Let me bring to your attention just one of the many cases brought to my attention. In a certain town in my congressional district there lived a disabled veteran of the World War. Because of some technicality, his pension was cut off under the Economy Act. He has a wife and young children. She secured a little job on the W. P. A. at \$30 per month. This is the story she told to me, with tears streaming down her cheeks, in the presence of her husband:

Last July she was called upon by her W. P. A. boss to contribute \$10 of her meager wages to the campaign fund of Senator Barkley. She said:

I cannot do that; it takes \$15 a month of my \$30 to buy medicine and give medical treatment to my husband. I have already pledged the other \$15 to pay my store account, and I cannot do that.

What happened? A few days after that she was removed from the rolls, and when she inquired as to the cause her boss said it was because she had refused to "cooperate."

In that same town a certain Democrat who is a professor in the high school with a salary of \$150 per month had a relief job on the side that paid him about \$100 a month.

Mr. Chairman, my State last year had thousands of cases where men and women, if they refused to change their registration as Judge Stewart says, or refused to promise to support Senator Barkley, were either denied any work on the W. P. A. or were taken off the W. P. A. rolls. W. P. A. work was denied Chandler Democrats as well as Republicans. Where is the sympathy for the needy? Where is this wonderful feeling for those who are in distress? I have said publicly in Kentucky, and I shall say here, if any county judge or other county officer in Kentucky used the public funds as these W. P. A. funds were used in Kentucky, they could be and would be indicted and convicted for malfeasance in office. Yet this goes unpunished. And the same

men who carried on that program of intimidation and political coercion in Kentucky last year are still in charge, and will continue in charge, to spend this money that we are proposing to appropriate.

Some one said that there is no national election on between now and next July. I see some of my Democratic colleagues here from Kentucky, and I ask them if they can challenge the statement that the W. P. A. funds were used in the same way in the election for Governor in 1935. The W. P. A. funds made Governor Chandler happy in 1935 but unhappy in 1938. I know of other instances in my home county where the W. P. A., under this same influence and coercion, was used in a local-option election and used in many county races. These funds may be used in Kentucky this year to undertake to elect a house and senate and nominate a Governor who is in line with the New Deal and against those who are opposed to the New Deal. You do not have to have a national election to use these funds and this political coercion.

I have many letters from my district, and I can only read a few of them. Here is one that says:

I am a World War veteran. I was a supervisor on a W. P. A. job and experienced in that work. They took my job away from me and gave it to an inexperienced man who was a Democrat and a new dealer. It was for political purposes, because I refused to go out and get cards signed up for a young man's Democratic club to support Senator BARKLEY for Senator.

#### Another states:

I am writing to inform you of something that should not go on on W. P. A. One wealthy woman, who owns a beauty shop, and her mother is rich, teaches one man, who is just out of the home for the feeble-minded, I hour a day and draws \$60. Another daughter works in the W. P. A. Her husband teaches school. They drew three salaries last year.

#### TAKE THE POLITICIANS AND CHISELERS OFF W. P. A.

You could take care of at least 500,000 more needy people if you would take the politicians off the pay rolls of the W. P. A., and it would afford relief for many hundreds of thousands more if those who are not entitled to relief but who are on W. P. A. because of politics, favoritism, and partiality should be taken off. The W. P. A. rolls are honeycombed with politicians and favorites. These politicians and favorites get the good jobs ranging from \$100 to \$500 per month. They absorb a great bulk of the relief money.

# FAVORITISM-NEPOTISM

In one county of my district there are eight people of the same family, all of them well-to-do, all of them have goodpaying white-collar jobs. Their salaries, I would say, range from \$125 to about \$300 per month. In another county I know of one man with two big farms, plenty of stock, and with money in the bank, receiving a high salary as a W. P. A. foreman. He had influence enough to get his son in the C. C. C. and his daughter a job with the N. Y. A. In another county there are four brothers who own farms and city property and are well-to-do. They have responsible positions with the W. P. A., and other Government agencies, receiving good salaries. This same partiality and favoritism with people on the W. P. A. and other relief agencies who do not need it can be found in practically every community in my district, and I am satisfied these conditions prevail throughout the Nation.

I receive many letters from widows with young children. They want to know why they are not permitted to work on the W. P. A. to clothe and feed their children and send them to school. They are informed that they cannot be given work because they had not been employed 6 months before the application was made. In most instances they were merely mothers and housekeepers. Their husbands died and left them with these children.

I have other letters from veterans and disabled veterans who have been denied jobs or who have been taken off their jobs because they refused to register and vote according to the demands of their W. P. A. bosses.

#### FAVORITISM AND PARTIALITY

Other evidences of political use of the W. P. A. funds is seen on every hand through partiality and favoritism. The amount received by relief workers-for instance, the lowest paid W. P. A. workers per hour in Tennessee is 18 cents for common labor. A W. P. A. worker doing the same kind of common labor in the State of Illinois may be paid \$1.021/2 an hour. The minimum paid for the same common labor for relief work in Kentucky is 25 cents an hour. The minimum paid to a skilled worker in Kentucky is 34 cents an hour, while a skilled worker in Pennsylvania may be paid as much as \$3.03 an hour.

There is a tremendous discrimination between the W. P. A. workers in the so-called Republican States as against the W. P. A. workers in the solid South. In 1 year there was expended on W. P. A. in Pennsylvania the sum of \$234,000,-000 while the amounts spent on W. P. A. in the 11 so-called Democratic States of the solid South was about \$210,000,000. Of course the population was greater and the need of relief greater in these 11 Southern States than in Pennsylvania, but these Southern States were safely in the Democratic fold. The new dealers were out to capture Pennsylvania, Illinois, New York, Ohio, and other so-called Republican States. The President and others in control of these various relief funds have been using this money to influence elections, both primary and final. The President went to Maryland last summer in his effort to purge Senator Typings and in one of his speeches proposed building certain bridges on the Chesapeake Bay. The relief bosses and clients were busy in South Carolina, Georgia, Maryland, Kentucky, and other points where the President was trying to purge the real Democrats out of his own party. This might not be so bad if there were not millions of unemployed and needy workers, men, women, and widows, crying for food.

Judge Stewart in his letter to the President pointed out that many of these W. P. A. so-called bosses did nothing but go over Kentucky and work in the elections. He said the W. P. A. trucks were used to haul people to register and to change their registration, and he wound up with a most bitter

indictment of the whole mess:

Those with starving mouths to feed are forced to surrender their one remaining privilege of choosing for whom they shall vot otherwise they and their dependents must go hungry and naked.

We must take relief out of politics. This partiality, favoritism, and nepotism must go. Those who are not in need of relief must be taken off and the places given to those who need it. This wide difference in the wages in the different parts of the country must be eliminated. Persons, simply because they have passed the age of 60 or 65 years, must not be denied relief. Widows with dependent children must be included, and last but not least, I hope to have an opportunity to vote for an amendment to make it a felony for anyone to chisel on relief or to attempt in any way at all to intimidate or coerce needy people to change their registration or to vote for any man or group of men or any party in order to receive the benefits from the W. P. A. and other relief agencies of this Nation. Aliens must be taken from the relief rolls and preference given American citizens.

There is every indication that the real Democrats of the House and the Republicans are going to clean up this relief mess and make it possible for the relief to go to the needy.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the

gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Gross].

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I am going to vote to recommit this joint resolution and I am going to vote for 2 months' appropriation in order that we may have an investigation of the entire set-up.

I am compelled to take this stand because of the rottenness that exists in the set-up as well as in the Administration.

I know that the relief pay rolls in Pennsylvania have been padded before the recent election. Anybody from high-school boys to old men could get on relief.

I know that immediately after election, when the lay-off came in W. P. A., they did not lay off the men in the same

rotation as they had hired them. They laid off those men with large families in order to load the direct relief rolls for the incoming Governor.

The relief rolls of Pennsylvania have on them many men who own real estate, farms as well as city real estate, particularly in the white-collar group in those 37,000 composed of the administrative group.

I am convinced if the rolls were purged, if plain ordinary horse sense were used, an appropriation of \$500,000,000 would be sufficient.

I know where the W. P. A. cut locust trees on a school ground where I am president of the board that cost \$60 to cut a cord of wood.

I know of a road job in my vicinity where 40 men were employed all summer where on the 9th of October the whole gang were intoxicated and when they went home in the evening some of them took the bottles along to show what brand of liquor they were drinking.

This kind of procedure is going to make it impossible for worthy poor people to get relief—that is why I am for an investigation.

If the President is so much interested in helping poor people why, when the price of wheat in this country is around 50 cents as it has been for a long time, does he not see that the people get a 5-cent loaf of bread? Why does he not see to it that the poor consumer gets his living at the same low cost that the farmer receives for his crops?

If this were the case we would not have many surpluses. People would be well fed and appropriations such as they are now asking for would be unheard of. The money for these appropriations can only come from one source and that is from taxes.

Many of our industries are now overtaxed; for instance, in my district the taxes on a job are as much as \$1.80 per day and that is as much tax on a job as the wages were when I was a boy.

I am for an investigation of the relief set-up because many tradesmen have abandoned their trades to live on relief and if it is so attractive then there is something desperately wrong. I know in many cases where men hired on farms contented for years moved into a little tenement house somewhere in the community where they knew they could beat the rent and went on relief.

I know where relief administrators refused to tell those on relief that there were jobs awaiting them in their communities because they wanted them on relief to control their votes.

If the President is interested in poor farmers why did he, in the recent session, veto a bill to keep the interest rate on Federal land bank mortgages down? I can tell you that if a farmer who has a heavy mortgage on his farm can save \$100 a year on his interest that is the best type of farm relief I know of and I would like to have some new dealers tell me why the President was against that type of farm relief.

To make a long story short relief has been a club held over the heads of millions of people ever since its beginning. Common decency, honesty, and sanity demands that this be investigated and relief from now on be administered in a different manner. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. Geyer].

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Chairman, I am a new man in Congress, but even the customs of the House of Representatives, rigid as they might be, do not preclude a Member from expressing himself when human welfare is at stake. I come from a district in California where this matter of caring for the unemployed is a vital matter. There are sections in my district where a greater percentage of the people are dependent on some form of relief. Let us get the record straight. These people are out of work through no fault of their own, and neither do they remain in that condition from any choice of their own. We are living at a time when the machine, the automatic machine, if you please, has taken the place of human beings. Every day we read, if we read the

right papers, where hundreds of men are being displaced by the installation of new and up-to-date machinery. Where are these men to turn? If they go to another similar place of employment they either find the same or a like machine has been installed there or the length of the line awaiting jobs so long that it is impossible to get employment even at the low wage resulting from the flooding of the labor market by this same machine. There was a time in the history of our country when if a man found himself out of a job he could move a little farther west and make his home on 160 acres of virgin land, furnished to him by a beneficent Government. But this time has passed into history. Now there remains but some Government agency to give him a job or starvation.

Some of the arguments that have been given here against continuing or adequately financing the W. P. A. program sound to me very simple and childish.

Those very people crying out the loudest about their Americanism are the very ones that are the bitterest foes to giving our people the rights that our form of government under our Constitution guarantees to all of its citizens. I believe that every man under this Constitution, which you and I have sworn to uphold, has a right to a job at a decent living wage; and if business, industry, and finance cannot or will not supply him with that job, it is the duty of government to do so. For, as our First Lady has said:

Whenever democracy fills the needs of the people, one need have no fear of "isms."

The President has, according to those who have testified before the committee, been entirely too modest in his request for money with which to carry on the W.P.A. He has asked for but \$875,000,000, when the Mayors Conference called for \$950,000,000. Now, under the terms of this bill there would be slashed from the conservative request of the President \$150,000,000. This, we are told by the experts, will bring suffering to almost a million people besides cutting down the purchasing power to the point where we will again sink deeper into the depression, just when the economists tell us we are starting on the upward trend.

Mr. Chairman, I think it time we cease this talk of communism, politics interfering with business, making loafers out of our people, and the like, and face the issue squarely. Do we want starvation, misery, and suffering or do we want our people to at least subsist until something permanent can be worked out? I, for one, favor first the billion-dollar amendment that has been requested; next, if that fails, the eight hundred and seventy-five million that the President requested; and, that failing, the lesser amount that the committee recommends. Anxious as I am to balance the dollars and cents budget, I am still more anxious to balance the human budget. [Applause.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER].

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Chairman, the House is again engaging in that annual—no; semiannual—pastime necessitated by the New Deal of considering a relief appropriation bill. We have had 2 days of interesting debate. It is the same old story. We are on the way, but where? However, very little additional information has been developed. True, much additional proof has been offered showing just how politics has been used in the administration of W. P. A. to the benefit of subservient New Deal adherents. I have heard nothing about changing the policy to be pursued to get out of the mess.

Of course, when the first spending-lending bill was before the Congress we all thought in prospect. When the next one came along we still thought in prospect, but knew a little more about the subject matter. Today, after 6 years of pump priming, P. W. A., W. P. A., C. W. A., F. E. R. A., and all the others, we can speak and think in retrospect. To use an apt expression, "The proof of the pudding is the eating thereof."

In June 1933 President Roosevelt asked Congress for an appropriation of \$3,300,000,000, which he said would put

10.000.000 unemployed persons back to work and restore prosperity. If you will recall, 6,000,000 of these people were to be back at work before Labor Day in September 1933. Of course, that did not happen.

In January 1935 the President again demanded an appropriation of \$4,880,000,000, and again we were promised that this would eliminate unemployment and restore prosperity.

Of course, that did not happen.

In May 1937 Mr. Roosevelt demanded another appropriation of \$1,500,000,000, which later was supplemented by \$225,-000,000 more. We were assured that the depression was over and that this sum would take care of the needy to July 1. 1938. Of course, that did not happen; and on February 10, 1938, the President, by special message to Congress, demanded \$250,000,000 more to carry on necessary relief to July 1, 1938.

On May 12, 1938, the House passed another mammoth spending-lending bill, title I of which carried \$1,250,000,000 more for W. P. A. and relief. This was election year and, in order not to make the amount too large, it was provided that this appropriation would take care of the needy only until March 1, 1939. In other words, the usual custom of appropriating for the fiscal year, or to July 1, 1939, was not followed. Most of the money was spent before election. The election is over. All of the \$1,250,000,000 will be gone on February 7, 1939. In short, millions of people throughout the country, whose only means of livelihood today is W. P. A. employment or direct relief, will be thrown out into the cold. This is really an emergency bill. The Committee on Appropriations has given careful consideration and the subcommittee recommends \$725,000,000 as being absolutely necessary at this time if suffering is to be averted and starvation prevented. I have heard no one having knowledge of the facts deny this assertion. Therefore, I am constrained to accept this condition and vote to prevent this suffering or to vote against this whole appropriation because I do not believe in the efficacy of the New Deal policy.

It is not claimed that this is a recovery bill in any sense of the word. It has no recovery features. It is simply a relief bill to provide sustenance for the needy. When this money is exhausted we will be no nearer recovery than we are today if present methods adhered to by the administration are doggedly pursued in the future as they have been

during the last 6 years.

We all know and admit that there are as many unemployed in the country today as there were in the darkest days of 1932-33, and that the prospects for recovery are not as bright as they were in 1933. The patience, the endurance, and confidence of our people are about exhausted. This money may prevent suffering but it will not inspire that which is necessary in order that these W. P. A. workers may secure decent jobs in honorable employment at living

When the last relief bill was being considered in debate on May 12, 1938, less than a year ago, I expressed my views on this general subject, and at that time I called the attention of the House and the country to the fact that relief has become the Nation's fourth largest industry. Only farming, manufacturing, and service industries engage more workers than are getting some form of relief subsidy. More people are obtaining Government aid in some form or other than secure their living from all the mining, public utilities, transportation, and construction employment in the country. condition obtained on May 12, 1938, and it obtains today in an even more aggravated form.

Of course, this has nothing to do with whether or not these unemployed citizens need relief, but it is most relevant in determining whether or not the Congress is to pursue the present huge pump-priming and spending policy, which has failed so completely after 6 years' trial. Those who do not believe in these New Deal extravagances have said so many times that "we cannot spend ourselves out of debt and into prosperity" that the statement has become threadbare. Yet repetition sometimes is necessary before the people fully realize.

The days of our national Santa Claus are numbered. The pocket is empty. The national debt is more than

\$40,000,000,000. The national credit is in jeopardy, and at last the people are realizing that a National Santa Claus is no more real than the Santa Claus who filled our stockings in childhood. As long as we believed in Santa Claus as children and as long as our parents were able to supply the gifts, trim the tree, and fill the stockings, we were all happy, but in due season the children all learn that in turn they have to be Santa Claus if the tradition is to be continued. The children of today, therefore, are not only going to be asked to provide the gifts for the future but to pay for the presents that the Federal Santa Claus has been distributing for the last 6 years. We just cannot place any more burden on those who are to follow. We just must take another route.

The Republican Party made this matter clear during the last campaign. The people now understand, and on November 8 returned this large, independent Republican membership, with not only instructions but a mandate to join with independent, patriotic Members of Congress, regardless of their politics, in putting an end to profligate, useless, and unreasonable expenditures. From the Republican standpoint we might say that a great victory was ours on November 8. I prefer to say that this last campaign was not a fight between Republicans and Democrats as we have always known them, but was a fight between the New Deal and the rest of us.

The people whom I represent and who elected me to Congress have no use for that brand of representation commonly known as "yes-man" in present-day vernacular. By the same token, they have no use for narrow-minded "no-men." What the people want is less politics and more cooperation in the common interest. I am sure that an overwhelming percentage of those on this side of the aisle will give approval to this statement.

Every Member in the Chamber knows right now just how he is going to vote on this resolution. For my part, I shall vote for the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber], the ranking Republican on the committee. which provides for sufficient funds to carry on W. P. A. relief to April 7, 1939, and provides further for the creation of a committee to investigate the relief situation and report back to the House before that date, a method whereby the administration of relief will be turned back to the States, with contributions from the States. This is what should be done. We who believe that relief should be administered by local authorities and the States will have an opportunity to go on record expressing our views and indicating what would happen if the Republicans were in the majority at this time. Relief cannot be discontinued until something else takes its

If the Taber amendment is defeated, then I shall vote for the \$725,000,000, the amount which the committee advises is sufficient to carry on proper W. P. A. activities to July 1,

Up to this time I have consistently refused to vote for any of these large lending-spending bills. I did, however, vote for the \$250,000,000 deficiency appropriation to carry through from February to July 1938. That was relief money. We knew where and how it was going to be spent. This resolution likewise provides relief money. I have never refused to vote for relief. The committee has been advised where this money is going to be spent. Practically speaking, it cannot be called a blank-check bill. I will not vote to give the President a large lump sum to spend if, when, and how he desires, limited only by the watchful eye of the Comptroller General, which office the administration, through its reorganization bill, hopes to abolish.

The people whom I represent are almost unanimous in their demand that this wasteful, reckless New Deal spending shall be stopped. At the same time they are just as anxious that the deserving who, through no fault of their own, are out of employment shall be cared for. The fact that so much money heretofore appropriated has gone to administration, been spent unwisely and, in some cases, possibly corruptly, and the fact that politicians have prostrated the purposes of the relief, are not sufficient justification to deny

innocent victims of economic conditions the right to eat and keep warm.

There should be investigation. W. P. A. should be discontinued. Conditions should be changed. I hope that will come at the earliest possible moment. However, the fact is that millions of persons will be out of W. P. A. work, and thereby out of a means of livelihood, on February 7 unless this resolution is passed. Under all the circumstances, I cannot find justification for voting against this relief, even though I rebel against the policy that makes the relief necessary. It is a condition we face and not a theory. Let us be practical and nonpartisan.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I have only one more speaker. Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. There is only one more speaker on this side. If the gentleman will use his time, we will then use ours, and the debate will be closed.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen of the Committee, the thunderous oratory from this Well on a very realistic problem is just about over. In a little while the Seventy-sixth Congress will go on record with its first roll-call vote. It will be rather interesting to see whether the "spirit of "76" is going to animate the Seventy-sixth Congress as the word relative to that roll call goes out to the country.

It is an important vote and it is an important issue. Human need is always important. Human need is a very realistic problem, and after all the banter and criminations and recriminations from this well and on this floor during the past 2 days, I am still of the opinion that there is a great swelling heart in every Member of this body, and that there is no monopoly of humanitarian impulses and instincts at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. But this vote is going to be important because it is going to be in the nature of a test of strength. It is going to be a message to the business and industry of this country as to the determination of this Congress to do something genuine in the field of unemployment and relief.

This begins my seventh year in this body and there has not been a session that one after another has not paraded through this well and shouted to the heavens about the necessity of private industry taking up the slack in order to solve the unemployment problem. Then in the same breath and under the same legislative action we have so often beaten business over the head and taken away all initiative and all effort to get out of the trough of this depression. Is it not high time that Congress take the initiative and make a start toward bringing reassurance to industry in the hope that absorption of the unemployed may get under way? If it fails, we shall then know what to do.

So it is important as to what will be reflected and recorded in the minds of the country when those boys up in the press gallery sent out the record of the first roll call of the Seventy-sixth Congress.

There are more than 100 new Members in this body, and, in my judgment, they have sufficient legislative power to defeat, to change, to alter, or to modify the pending bill. I would address myself very specially to those who were not Members of the Seventy-fifth Congress when the 1938 work-relief bill was on this floor for 3 days. The debate occupied 125 pages in the Congressional Record on the 12th, 13th, and 14th of May of that year. The pattern is exactly the same. You can read almost the identic speeches that were made on this bill. So let us forget for a little while some of this hysteria and emotionalism and get down to the verities and realities, because it is not only important how you vote, but it is important whether or not you can defend your vote. Now to that I want to address myself for a little while.

I can talk with dispassion and fairness about W. P. A. I am one Republican who can pat the district director out in Illinois on the back and say, "Good and faithful servant. You have done a good job in this district." There was no

politics in that district. He is an independent businessman, two-fisted and four-square, who has never permitted any politician to come into those 26 counties to tamper with or to seek or solicit funds and do the other things that have prostituted W. P. A. in some of the other States. So you are looking at one Republican today who can talk with fairness and with neither malice nor passion in his heart as he talks about W. P. A.

Now, let us take a look at the history of this thing. Here was this bill in 1938. About one and one-third billion dollars were made available, and we put an escape clause in that bill to provide certain emergency powers for the President. If an emergency arose, he could chop down the 8 months' period over which that appropriation was to be expended and reduce it by not to exceed 1 month. That is the power that the Congress gave him. He exercised that power and said: "The money you gave me shall be apportioned over a 7month period." Accordingly, the funds were apportioned to cover a 7-month period, and it now develops that they will be sufficient only to the first week in February, and that additional funds are required to carry on for the balance of the fiscal year 1939. On that basis they come here now and ask for a deficiency appropriation to carry on for the next 5 months. To me it is rather singular that there has been some alteration in estimates. Every Member ought to provide himself with a copy of the Budget-it is as big as a Sears, Roebuck catalog-and examine it, particularly the pages that are numbered in roman numerals. From that you will find that the recommendation of the Bureau of the Budget is not for \$875,000,000 but for \$750,000,000. That was considered in September, October, and November when they were getting ready to assemble the Budget figures and send them to the press-\$750,000,000, not \$875,000,000. Then, on the 5th day of January comes the message that they are asking for how much?-\$875,000,000. Why are these amounts changed? Why this constant increase? And exactly what is the reason behind this thing? I would like to know.

Nobody has a monopoly of expert wisdom on whether the amount ought to be less or greater than a specified figure. The Congress of Industrial Organizations wants at least \$1,000,000,000. You will find their testimony in the hearings. The American Federation of Teachers want at least \$1,000,-000,000. The Farm Bureau Federation has memorialized the President, and they want a continuance of relief. Then, the Conference of Mayors, represented by Mayor LaGuardia, wants \$915,000,000. So you can start with zero for those who would destroy this program and go up to \$1,050,000,000 wanted by the Workers' Alliance, represented by Mr. Lasser, who came before the committee. Now, you use your own judgment as to what the right amount will be, but let me submit this to you as you think about the amount: as they talk about those who are to be laid off. What about the 225,000 who were laid off from the 29th of October to the 24th of December? If your hearts bleed as much for them as for those who it is expected will be laid off, why not include other hundreds of millions for them? What about the 112,000 who have been and will be laid off between December 24 and the 1st day of February? What about the 750,000 who are eligible for W. P. A., according to Colonel Harrington, but for whom there are no funds? If you gentlemen want to increase this amount to take care of all human needs, then you ought to add not \$100,000,000, but another billion to the bill. That is where your logic will carry you, but I have heard no suggestion from any quarter that an effort will be made for an extra half billion dollars for these distressed persons.

I have some different notions about it. Gentlemen, it seems to me there is one thing we can do today thinking as citizens of a common country, with every Member moved by the impulse to take care of the needs of the country; and that is to use reason on both sides. Some no doubt will be laid off, perhaps 200,000—not in a year, not in a month. The accumulative total may be 1,000,000, as stated by the gentleman from Missouri. But it must be understood that this is a cumulative total, and you ought to have that in

Can we not, out of the welter of effort, out of all the protestations we have made that industry must absorb the unemployed in the country, extend a challenge to business and to industry today as we go on the record and say: "We will strike a bargain with you. We do not know which comes first, the hen or the egg, but we will just forget all that metaphysical logic and will say to you that if you give the unemployed a break and start taking up the slack, we will initiate the thing, we will reduce it to \$725,000,000, and then see what reaction sets in during the next 30 or 60 days."

I am willing to give them that kind of chance, and I think that was the mandate of the people on the 8th day of November 1938. Have we not carried on long enough in a futile way to find the solution to this unemployment and relief problem, and is it not now time to strike boldly in the

fervent hope that we can find the solution?

There are some other considerations, however, that ought to be carried in mind that have not been overly discussed. One is: What is this Congress going to do about the report made by the Sheppard committee? Every Member ought to get himself a copy of this Senate report and read what they said about Tennessee, about Kentucky, about Pennsylvania, and the other States of the Union where there was a great deal of difficulty, and then look at the recommendations of the Sheppard committee, especially recommendation No. 3. This Senate committee, under the able leadership of Senator Sheppard, has made some odorous disclosures, and it would be difficult indeed to pass them off with a shrug and ignore them for another 5 months while three-quarters of a billion is to be spent by W. P. A.

The committee recommends that section 19, title I, of the present Work Relief Act making it a misdemeanor be amended to make it a felony.

What are you going to do about it? Are you going to follow the language of the message and not amend this bill and have no program and no investigation of these abuses and no background of information when the next measure for the appropriation for relief for the fiscal year 1940 comes to this floor within the next few months? Are you going to ignore that recommendation of four distinguished Democratic Senators and one Republican? Are you going to ignore recommendation No. 4 of the committee with respect to making fraudulent statements in using relief for political purposes and in a campaign? Are you going to ignore that? We do not believe that you can defend that kind of position before the country. Are you going to give a blank check now and say, "Oh, well, we will just forget that for about 5 or 6 months"? Shall we confess that in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and Tennessee an odorous situation existed but it must wait until later for consideration?

Or are you going to take cognizance of these charges and recommendations that have been made and assure the people of the country that we are going to eliminate abuses and investigate charges of rottenness in the W. P. A. in the various States as disclosed by a committee which contained

four members of the administration party?

I do not believe that the position can be defended. This Congress is going to have to take some action on it. What kind of action can we take? You will find it summarized in the minority position. It seems to me it would have been a splendid idea to develop an appropriation to cover, say, a 90-day period, long enough to continue W. P. A. on its present basis, and long enough also to give this Congress an opportunity to make a reasonably exhaustive investigation into these recommendations and into the facts and figures that were disclosed. We could then determine how we are going to earmark and probably restrict the appropriation for the rest of the fiscal year and have a basis on which the 1940 work-relief and relief bill will be written. That sort of thing cannot be ignored, Mr. Chairman. That position will be offered by the minority side, and I am reasonably sure that it is sound. It also works in harmony with the total amount carried in this bill, namely, \$725,000,000. We want to stay within that provision because we believe it will be adequate

and we believe this alternative position will be an assurance to the taxpayers of the country that the Congress of the United States has taken cognizance of this situation, not on June 30 or July 1 but right now, and proposes to go into it. That kind of position can be defended.

Let me say a word about the civil service. I think the committee has done a good job by putting a provision in this bill that will prevent the operation of an Executive order to cover all administrative personnel of W. P. A. under the civil service at this time. I heard the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Ramspeck], one of the most able Members of the House, present the case a little while ago in behalf of striking this provision; but our side of the case is simply this: Read the report of the Senate committee and see how many administrators and how many directors and others in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and Tennessee have been charged by the senatorial committee with known political activity in behalf of certain candidates. If you are going to cover them all in, those gentlemen will have to be covered in. Everybody whose name is mentioned in this report will have to be covered in without exception. Do you want the Congress of the United States to take that position?

Mr. MAY. In the face of that report.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Yes; in the face of a report by a senatorial committee consisting of four sound, stalwart Democrats and one Republican, all of which has been made public. I think the people of this country owe a debt of thanks to Morris Sheppard, of Texas, who has represented the Lone Star Republic in the Senate with such distinction all of these years.

I do not believe you can tamper with the work of the committee and eliminate that provision without covering and freezing into the civil service among the 28,000 W. P. A. personnel a lot of folks who are under suspicion or who may be open to objection in the language and in the recommendations of the senatorial committee.

Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky. Mr. MAY. I would like to inquire of the gentleman in reference to the approximately 28,000 employees of the W. P. A. who would be covered into the civil service by an Executive order if the gentleman thinks it is right to place them in the position where they cannot be discharged and leave the underworkers subject to discharge?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Certainly not at this time, and not until the matter has been thoroughly investigated.

May I suggest still another thing that needs attention? If you will read this report, you will find that in Tennessee, for instance, they built private driveways, and the inference was, according to the Senate committee, it was done for political purposes. They said with respect to the State of Pennsylvania there has been an abuse of the highway funds and the road-building program up there; that more money was given to Pennsylvania than should have been; that the sponsor failed to put up its share under the regulations; all done ostensibly for political purposes, according to the language of the senatorial committee.

If you will resolve this thing as we wrote it in the first place and expected it to be administered, every sponsor will put up its share, and there will be a saving of Federal funds, and we will make up some of the \$150,000,000, no doubt, that represents the difference between the \$725,000,000 carried in this bill and the \$875,000,000 requested in the special message.

There is one other thing I want to bring to the attention of the committee. I believe that today the W. P. A. is immune from any efforts on the part of the Comptroller General to look into the W. P. A. At least I have no record of it. I examined the old language of the act, and I could find no place where an audit is provided for. I believe the finest self-purge measure that could be written into this bill—and it would not be subject to the criticism that it is hasty and ill-conceived—would be to put an amendment in the pending resolution to the effect there ought to be a public audit monthly, and it ought to be open to public inspection; then those who do the administering will be pretty careful whose names go on, who the recipients are, and what the amounts

are, because the sunshine and the daylight is going to shine in; and those, in my judgment, are the most salutary remedies that we have in our form of democracy.

Mr. PATRICK. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.
Mr. PATRICK. Is the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DIRK-SEN] mindful of the fact this entire program is extinguished on the 1st of July?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Oh, yes; I am quite mindful of that fact. Mr. PATRICK. Do those things obtain, even under the purview of the Sheppard report? Can they assail it and is the gentleman advising that to beat down the sum that would likely be voted, when there is absolutely no political activity, State or National, that can be applied to the W. P. A. between now and then?

Mr. DIRKSEN. If the gentleman will stop and think that during this winter and spring there will be municipal elections from one end of the land to the other, and that in some States the W. P. A. has been subject to use in such local elections, he can discern that any proposal to improve the operations of W. P. A. is as applicable now as when a State or national election is in progress.

I am of the opinion that administrators, directors, engineers, and other personnel of W. P. A. in those States that have operated above reproach and criticism, would like to see the bad spots in the organization overhauled. People refer generically to W. P. A. and so often fail to distinguish the States and areas that have been good and above reproach from those where there has been proven culpability. Consequently, the derelictions of officials in one State reflect upon the whole organization and upon all its personnel, and

Permit me one final observation. Everybody in this House entertains a deep and abiding sympathy for those in distress. Our problem is to find a solution that will be in the interest of the taxpayers, the Federal Treasury, and in the interest of developing a spirit of confidence in the business structure of the country whereby definite inroads will be made upon unemployment and upon relief.

Heretofore we have followed the policy of continued spending at high levels in the hope that a business momentum would be generated. That momentum began in 1937 and was eclipsed by the recession of 1938. Once more we are confronted with the same problem-shall we spend at present levels or curtail and retrench moderately and see whether that course does not offer the solution? I for one believe that it is worth the attempt.

Mr. PATRICK. The gentleman feels that by cutting down the appropriation and reducing the extent of the program we will remedy that evil?

Mr. DIRKSEN. No. Mr. PATRICK. Then what is the argument?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I was simply answering the gentleman's observation that there is no election between now and the 5th of July 1940. If the gentleman will read the report of the Senate committee he will find the activities of the W. P. A. in some States have not been confined to Federal elections and State elections. Oh, no; it has been used in the case of municipal elections also, and that is an answer to the rebuttal the gentleman makes. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. COFFEE].

THE NEED FOR ADEQUATE DEFICIENCY W. P. A. APPROPRIATION

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I am speaking here today, not in favor of a cut in W. P. A. appropriations, not in favor of the President's appropriation request, but in favor of an increase in the deficiency appropriation to \$1,050,000,000.

It is my intention to introduce an amendment to this effect because I believe that this expenditure is the soundest kind of an investment for the continued recovery of our Nation.

REDUCTIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS HAVE STOPPED PROSPERITY BEFORE

The problem we are faced with here is a very simple one. On two occasions during the depression that started in 1929

the Government sharply reduced its contribution to unemployment relief and recovery. That was early in 1934 and in 1937. The first was by the demobilization of the C. W. A. program; the second was by the discharge of seven or eight hundred thousand W. P. A. workers. Each such cut was followed by a sharp business recession in which we lost a great deal of the recovery gains we had made. In each case, upon the resumption of Government aid, the recovery movement started anew; purchasing power increased; the shelves of merchants were cleared of goods; factories began to increase operation; employment increased.

Now, we again have a recovery movement. It is just acquiring strength and vitality; and these impatient Budgetbalancers, these theoretical economists on the Appropriations Committee, already want to cut Government aid and give a deathblow to the recovery movement.

I share with these gentlemen their desire to bring Government expenditures in line with Government income. But I say that, since experience has demonstrated on two occasions that their hasty and ill-advised cuts in Government aid have proved disastrous, in the name of reason and common sense. why should they insist upon another disastrous blunder?

#### LET US STIMULATE RECOVERY

I say let us give this recovery movement the aid necessary to get it safely over the hilltop. Let us give the recovery movement enough vitality and strength so that we will be beyond the danger of a decline such as we had in 1937. Then would be the proper time to consider, not in a hasty manner such as we are doing now but with calm and considered judgment, how and where cuts might be made.

In proposing my appropriation request of \$1,050,000,000, I and not those on the Appropriations Committee am the true friend of Government economy.

THE EXIGENT NEED FOR ONE BILLION FIFTY MILLION NOW

I propose this \$1,050,000,000 appropriation, first, because the recovery movement, after its great gains, is now beginning to falter and hesitate. The danger signals are appearing; employment is no longer increasing at the rapid rate of last fall; increased consumer purchasing power is greatly needed; the index of business activity is beginning to drop; the recovery front is beginning to weaken; it needs

My proposal would keep employed on the W. P. A. rolls the 3,200,000 workers who were employed before the cuts began in November.

### INDICTING THE W. P. A. WORKER IS NOT THE ANSWER

I have listened carefully to the remarks and to the testimony of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Woodrum], giving his calm assurances that the need for W. P. A. jobs is not 3,200,000, not 2,800,000, as the President proposed, but is actually only 2,000,000. Mr. Woodrum informs this Committee that by purging the rolls; that by taking off the unemployables; that by taking off the malingerers, we can cut the rolls to 2,000,000 in the period of the next few months. Can the honorable gentleman from Virginia seriously mean these statements? Does he not know that every project worker on W. P. A. has had to pass a means test; that in most of the States there have been continual check-ups by the relief authorities; that, in addition, every W. P. A. worker has recently filled out a quarterly statement of outside earnings; and yet, with all these things, plus the drop of those who went into private industry, the authorities had to resort to hundreds of thousands of arbitrary lay-offs in order to make necessary reductions of 150,000 a month, throwing W. P. A. workers onto the streets in the middle of winter, without any possibility of aid, either from relief or social security, because these rolls are already choked.

And does not the honorable gentleman from Virginia know that today there are on the certification lists of the Works Progress Administration nearly 1,000,000 certified eligibles who have passed every requirement of employability and need, but for whom there are no jobs?

# THE GENTLEMAN FROM VIRGINIA ERRS

And does not the honorable gentleman from Virginia know further that the present rolls of those certified are far from complete, because the W. P. A. authorities admit that many of the certifying agencies certify just so many and then stop their certification? And that there are another million or two who are eligible for certification but have not been certified?

And does not the gentleman from Virginia know, further, that the million people now securing unemployment compensation are exhausting their benefits at the rate of more than a hundred thousand a month and joining the ranks of those in need of Government aid?

And yet, in spite of all these facts, Mr. Woodrum gives us the calm assurance that it is possible to cut the W. P. A. rolls by 1,200,000 in the next 5 months.

#### ACUTE UNEMPLOYMENT CANNOT BE DENIED

Mr. Woodrum's figures are a tissue of rosy hopes and selfdelusion. They have absolutely no basis in fact or experience. The few figures that he has submitted do not stand the light of day.

One million workers were reemployed in private industry in the last 5 or 6 months. What share of these private jobs did the W. P. A. workers get? On a proportionate basis they would have gotten 250,000 jobs. But we know that the W. P. A. workers do not share proportionately in reemployment.

If there is a reemployment during the next 5 months of 1,500,000 workers in private industry, how many of these jobs will the W. P. A. workers get? On a proportionate basis they would get a total of about 350,000, but actually they would get far less. Yet Mr. Woodrum proposes an appropriation that would cut 1,200,000 off the rolls.

And let us also examine the question of under what circumstances the 1,500,000 are to be reemployed. I am sure he will agree that this reemployment is based upon the continuation and expansion of business recovery. What will happen to this business recovery if the Federal Government cuts its own contribution to it by fifty or sixty or seventy million dollars a month—a direct contribution which in its net effect means hundreds of millions of dollars a month in purchasing power?

## A CUT IN FEDERAL RELIEF WEAKENS RECOVERY MOVEMENT

Is it not more likely, on the basis of our past practical experience, that a cut in Government aid such as is proposed by the Appropriations Committee will weaken the whole recovery movement and mean not more private employment but less?

The fact that there were before the present cuts 3,200,000 W. P. A. workers on the rolls; the fact that there are a million certified eligibles; the fact that those not yet on the relief lists are rapidly exhausting their resources—these facts make my request for a continuation of 3,200,000 a modest and reasonable one.

There is a second element in this picture, and that is the income received by the W. P. A. workers. I have before me a copy of a letter sent by the officers of the Workers' Alliance of America to the Works Progress Administration as a result of a 3-day wage conference and open hearing held between the Alliance and the Administration.

During this conference the Alliance brought forward as witnesses W. P. A. workers from all over the country to give testimony as to their experiences on the W. P. A. program. It is amusing, in light of this testimony, to hear the statement of Mr. Woodrum that the W. P. A. rolls have a large percentage of malingerers, people who insist on remaining in W. P. A.

### W. P. A. WAGES ARE NOTORIOUSLY INADEQUATE

The testimony of the W. P. A. workers indicated that the wages paid them are so inadequate, for even a minimum standard of living, that the W. P. A. workers are enduring great suffering and privation.

I wonder if Mr. Woodrum thinks that, in his own State of Virginia, where W. P. A. wages are as low as \$26 a month, that people malinger on the program for that income—approximately \$6 a week.

In my own State of Washington, where the minimum W. P. A. wage is \$40 a month, I know that the W. P. A. workers are suffering great privation. And I know that there is not

5 percent who would not take a job in private industry at decent wages if such employment were possible.

I would like permission to insert in the Record the letter of the Workers' Alliance of America to the Works Progress Administration containing the conclusions of this wage hearing.

I believe that there has been a case established for an increase in the W. P. A. monthly wages, to give these people, who are Government employees, at least a better chance than at present to meet the minimum requirements of the essentials of life.

Therefore my proposal for \$1,050,000,000 not only covers the need for 3,200,000 jobs but also for a desperately needed increase in the W. P. A. wage scale.

### THE PROPOSED W. P. A. CUT NOW WILL BE DISASTROUS

I say that every dollar of this money will be spent immediately by the W. P. A. workers to quicken the pulses of trade; to increase employment in private industry; and to make possible a really sound and practical reduction in further Government aid.

I want to say, in conclusion, that I view the report of the Appropriations Committee not only as a blow at the four or five million men, women, and children who will be made destitute by the committee's appropriation request, but I view it also as a serious blow at recovery itself.

I say that this Congress, if it votes the \$725,000,000, will have the responsibility of telling these four or five million men, women, and children what they should do in order to keep themselves alive.

I say that this Congress will take upon itself the responsibility for the serious consequences that will undoubtedly result.

You have read the statement of Colonel Harrington in the Record, the statement of the new W. P. A. Administrator, a safe and sound Army officer. He declares that the people of America will not starve peacefully.

This Congress will have upon its head the responsibility for the riots, the bloodshed, the social disorders that may occur following the voting of \$725,000,000.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Connery].

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Chairman, in the closing minutes of this debate on this most important subject I want to go on record as being 100 percent in favor of restoring this appropriation from \$725,000,000 to its full amount, \$875,000,000.

If the present cut from \$875,000,000 to \$725,000,000 goes through, 50,000 W. P. A. workers in my State of Massachusetts will lose their jobs. At the present time in the great textile city of Lawrence, in the great leather city of Peabody, in my own home city, the shoe city of Lynn, as well as in Salem, Revere, and Wakefield and other industrial communities in my district, there are thousands of certified eligible applicants for W. P. A. work who are still waiting to take their places in this great relief program if given the opportunity. These eligibles are not seeking this relief employment through choice but rather through sheer necessity because of unfortunate circumstances beyond their control.

The W. P. A. program barely scratches the surface of unemployment in Massachusetts. And now we are faced with the possibility, should this cut go through, of 50,000 workers now on W. P. A. being added to our already heavy list of unemployed. Our Massachusetts industries cannot absorb them and this cut coming as it will now in the dead of winter will but result in untold distress, hardship, and misery. Our local agencies are carrying capacity loads right now and the local cities and towns cannot stand further burden.

The pleas of economy and balance the Budget have been made on this floor during the last 2 days, but I know that the membership of this House, both Republicans and Democrats, are not going to favor any economy that means the depriving of men and women and children throughout this country of their daily sustenance—depriving them of the roof over their heads and the bread and butter for their mouths for which they have had to turn to their Government and

for which they now turn to us here in Congress in order to insure their future well-being.

Very shortly we will be called upon to appropriate hundreds of millions of dollars for armament in order that our country may be properly defended and safeguarded against any and all possible aggressors. We are going to spend hundreds of millions to manufacture guns, cannons, airplanes, and war supplies. And still with the knowledge of this forthcoming tremendous expenditure, we quibble over the cutting of \$150,-000,000 from this relief when we know that it is safeguarding the people of our country by insuring them against misery, distress, and possibly starvation.

For heaven's sake, gentlemen, if we must economize, let us do it elsewhere. Let us not do it here in this bill at the expense of the unemployed of the Nation—those who are less fortunate than we. Let us, when the amendment is offered later on today, restore to this bill the full amount of \$875,000,-000 which was originally requested of us and which we have been told is in itself entirely inadequate.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Sacks].

Mr. SACKS. Mr. Chairman, I believe that in view of the present economic situation it is absolutely necessary that we appropriate an amount sufficient to carry on the W. P. A. for the next few months. Therefore, I am in favor of going along with the President's suggestion, and perhaps appropriating a larger sum. [Applause.]

Too many of our citizens are being put in a position today where truth and candor are not given with fairness and sincerity. The recent elections in this country have given those reactionary interests an opportunity to demagogue upon human misery. I recall the recent election in Pennsylvania. During that period the Republican candidates, from governorship down to the election officials, promised the electorate that they would continue W. P. A. and relief upon the present basis, and even increase their lot. They smilingly and with forensic fervor lamented the poor lot of the W. P. A. worker, but today the solid Republican membership of the Pennsylvania delegation in Congress are voting to cut over 100,000 people, heads of families in Pennsylvania, from the W. P. A. rolls; to go back on the inadequate dole of relief. Too soon their promises are broken; too soon their breach of faith with the people is discovered; too soon, my friends, their unwavering worship and subservience has been displayed to the big financial interests of Pennsylvania; too soon, my friends, their loyalty to Pew, Grundy, Weir, and other special interests has overshadowed their duty to their constituency. This is the first example of Republican faithlessness to their public trusts. I, for one, keep my promise to my people. I promised support of W. P. A. I am voting for an appropriation of \$1,050,000,000 and if defeated for the mayor's proposal of \$915,000,000, and if defeated for the President's proposal of \$875,000,000.

Let Pennsylvania citizens know their Representatives, their votes, and their bosses. Mine are my people. The people of Pennsylvania can judge whose orders the Republican Representatives are following when they vote solidly to cut work relief.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack].

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, on one hand President Roosevelt, by his recommendation, advises us that \$875,-000,000 is necessary for W. P. A. relief activities during the remainder of the fiscal year; and on the other hand, a majority of the Committee on Appropriations decides that \$725,-000,000 is sufficient. Between these two estimates you and I must decide.

With all respect to the views of the members of the Appropriations Committee who voted for \$725,000,000. I feel that President Roosevelt is in the best position to know the conditions existing throughout the country. Furthermore, he views this problem from a national angle and not from a sectional or local angle.

Furthermore, the evidence of the printed hearings clearly support the amount he recommended.

We also have the evidence of the United States Conference of Mayors. They know the local conditions of employment, permanent, temporary, and seasonal; they know their relief load, and they know the financial limitations of their cities. Certainly their views and opinions cannot be ignored.

The mayors of our cities have a very difficult task confronting them. One of the most difficult public offices in these days is to be a mayor. The means of raising revenue in a city are very limited, with 80 to 85 percent of all revenue raised coming from and through property taxes. Already the tax rates of most cities are prohibitive, and yet it has been the cities of the country that have borne the main burden of relief and welfare assistance during the entire depression. The reduction of W. P. A. workers resulting from the cutting of \$150,000,000 from the amount recommended by President Roosevelt will be immediately followed by increased relief and welfare burdens on our cities.

In a recent news release dated January 11 of the United States Conference of Mayors it was stated:

One million one hundred and fifty-one thousand three hundred needy W. P. A. workers must be discharged from their jobs by June 30 if the action of the House of Representatives subcommittee in recommending a W. P. A. deficiency appropriation of only seven hundred and twenty-five millions is sustained by the Congress.

hundred and twenty-five millions is sustained by the Congress.

W. P. A. employment on January 1, 1939, totaled 3,081,300 workers. Under the reduced amount of seven hundred and twenty-five millions reported by the subcommittee employment will have to go down to 1,930,000 by June 30.

In the news release the effect in reduced quotas of various States and cities was stated.

The release then stated:

The figures tabulated are based upon a gradual reduction, beginning February, in accordance with the limited amount recommended, namely, seven hundred and twenty-five millions. If, however, the W. P. A. maintains its present quota of 3,000,000 workers during the months of February and March, it will then be necessary to get down to a quota of 1,375,000 workers by June 30. This would mean that between April 1 and June 30, 1,625,000 needy W. P. A. workers would have to be discharged.

With the tremendous financial strain cities are under. with a sharp increase of local aid, which a reduction of W. P. A. quotas will bring about, the load is likely to become so great in many cities that they will be unable to carry on. To reduce the W. P. A. rolls and have them passed on to local government is only having our strongest financial unit of government pass the burden over to our unit of government that is the least able to assume the same. In connection with this we must bear in mind that the Federal Government made an implied, if not expressed, promise to take care, through the W. P. A., of the unemployed needy persons, and that it is the primary duty of local government to take care of the needs of unemployable persons who require assistance. The cities of the country have done their job well. We are now passing on to them the responsibilities of the Federal Government.

There is no question but what the W. P. A., with all of the human mistakes that have been made in administration, and which honest-minded persons expect to happen, has served a great purpose.

Meeting the very minimum demands of millions of our citizens-of human beings-for existence, through the aid and assistance given, the W. P. A. has prevented enemies of our Government from capitalizing the discontent that would exist if millions were allowed to starve or to face starvation. Undernourishment on a national scale has been prevented, and undernourishment does not end with one generation. It has enabled employable persons in need to obtain and accept assistance and still retain their selfrespect. Few persons who are economically secure give consideration to these important results. The money paid to those employed goes into the hands of consumers and then into the channels of trade. These are results that flow, results that are beneficial to the country. Human suffering and distress calls for relief appropriations; the money is not wasted, the prevention of undernourishment, the allaying of discontent following complete economic insecurity, the feeling of respect that follows when one is rendering work, and the benefit to local business cannot be ignored as results of a beneficial nature. These results are not consciously appreciated because the opposite, undernourishment of millions, assistance based upon the so-called pauper's oath, have been averted mainly through W. P. A. appropriations.

The undernourishment that would have existed generally, with the results therefrom flowing for at least two generations, with the harmful effect upon our national life, have

been averted. That aspect is overlooked.

Appropriations for relief are based upon necessity and exigency. We should not and cannot let people starve. Every one of us regrets the existence of conditions which require relief appropriations. However, our economic system has been seriously disturbed, as a result of which millions of employable persons in need are unable to obtain work. We were and are still faced with a practical problem, and we had to and must continue to meet it in a practical manner. Pending the pick-up of private business, we must make appropriations that will meet the relief needs. Recently 69 economists wrote President Roosevelt calling attention to the danger of curtailment. In the concluding paragraph of their letter to the President they stated:

We conclude, Mr. President, that the curtailment of the W. P. A. at the present time would be particularly ill-timed from an economic as well as from a humanitarian viewpoint, and we strongly urge that the contemplated policy of curtailment be abandoned.

The evidence is strong that \$875,000,000 is needed for the remainder of the fiscal year. It is false economy to reduce the appropriations below what is needed. In my opinion, the amount recommended by the President is the minimum needed.

When the amendment is offered to strike out the \$725,000,-000 reported by the committee and to restore the \$875,000,000 recommended by President Roosevelt, I shall vote to support the President. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the remainder of the time.

Mr. Chairman, in a few minutes the Committee will come to consider such amendments as may be offered to this joint resolution. Before we get to that I feel it timely to brush away a few of the cobwebs the wide-ranging and far-flung debate may have injected into the situation. It has been very interesting and somewhat illuminating but, with all deference to my brethren, it has not been very much confined to the real issue. The debate was supposed to be confined to the joint resolution, but, as you will witness, Members have been permitted to say just about what they felt like saying, in the hope that they would get it out of their systems and we would all feel better and get down to business.

Mr. Chairman, I venture to express the very earnest hope that the debate on this first bill we have taken up is not an index of what we are going to have all through this session of Congress. I believe my colleagues will bear witness to the fact that I can be just as partisan as the next fellow when the occasion calls for it, but I certainly hope every bill that comes up will not provide an opportunity for holding a field day for the 1940 campaign. [Applause.] If it is, that is just going to be too bad for the American people.

There was no reason for injecting a lot of partisanship into the consideration of the joint resolution. The resolution does not undertake at all to settle permanently the relief problem. Its purpose is merely to provide temporary funds to carry on the W. P. A. until Congress can approach the problem in a more leisurely, a more logical, and a more orderly way.

Addressing my remarks now somewhat to the democratic side of the aisle, one of the first cobwebs I should like to brush away is the suggestion made if not directly, then very inferentially, that unless a Democrat in voting on an appropriation item votes for every penny the Budget estimates should be appropriated he is taking a slap at the President of the United States. That is a ridiculous and a childish position for anyone to take. [Applause.]

I heard the President from that rostrum a few days ago say the matter of appropriations is for the Congress, for the

legislative branch of the Government. If the resolution is finally enacted into law as our committee has brought it to you, it is an administration victory. Why? Because the policy, the humanitarian purpose of the President to provide for the unemployed and those who need relief, is written into this joint resolution.

The determination of the extent to which that program should go and the amount of money needed for that purpose is a legislative function, and the President of the United States himself would be the last man in the world to tell you that it is his function, not ours.

Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Not right now; I will yield a little later.

Mr. Chairman, the request of the President was that the Congress appropriate sufficient funds to carry on the W. P. A. during the remainder of this fiscal year, that it bear in mind the economic conditions, that it not overload the legislation with restrictive amendments, and that the Congress wait, if you please, until the regular 1940 appropriation to settle any fundamental change of policy which it might wish to write into the law. This bill does that. The President told you his estimate of the amount necessary was \$875,000,000. The legislative committee handling the problem practically unanimously has told you that in their judgment, after very careful hearings and after very careful consideration, bearing in mind the same humanitarian objectives the President had, they believe that with certain economies and certain reforms which can and should be put into operation by the W. P. A. these objectives can be obtained with the amount reported in this joint resolution.

Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman. Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky. Does not the gentleman recall

that the day his committee reported this bill, all the daily papers carried the headlines that your committee had snubbed the President, and does not the gentleman know that if we vote to cut the amount down to what the committee has put in here, the newspapers will carry the headline that the Congress has snubbed the President?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. And I suppose the gentleman contends that in order that we may keep the headlines of the newspapers right we ought to appropriate more than we think is necessary. [Laughter.] Is that the gentleman's idea?

Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky. The gentleman has not answered my question. Will it not be read throughout the country, if we follow the committee, that this is a snub of the President?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I imagine that will be said in the press and I imagine that if Congress goes wild and continues to go wild and appropriates money that it has not got and which is not needed, just in order to demagogue in the newspapers, some other things are going to be said about Congress, not only in the newspapers, but by ballots in future elections. [Applause.] I am not interested in what is going to be in the newspapers tomorrow. I am interested in trying, after 6 years, to start the curve of public expenditures downward instead of upward. [Applause.]

Now, with respect to another cobweb, a friend of mine, a dear, splendid fellow, rushed into the Chamber this morning, a man with a big, warm heart, and said, "I just must have some time to speak on this bill. I have got to speak on it." I said, "Take it easy," and he continued, "As I came down the street in the snow this morning I happened to think that here we are in Congress about to take some jobs away from some poor people." I brushed the tears away. Let us reason logically. All through this program there have been from 10.000,000 to 15,000,000 unemployed people in There have never been more than 3,000,000 of America. them on these rolls. No one in the administration has ever seriously asked to put them on and we have never undertaken to do more than this. Of course, there are going to be men out of jobs. Appropriate the \$875,000,000 and there

will be unemployed the next day after it goes into operation. No one claims that even \$875,000,000 will provide a job for everyone.

Another friend of mine said, "Why, I read in the newspapers this morning that out in my State there are a thousand mothers who want to get on W. P. A. and cannot get on." Sure, there are, and why can they not get on? Because the day W. P. A. opened for business two or three million applicants got in line and they are sitting on the job and some of them will be there until the crack of doom unless those rolls are purged.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Always, to my friend from Missouri.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The testimony before the committee, which has not been controverted, is that less than 10 percent have been on since 1936 and that out of the last 300,000 men put on, 50 percent have never been on before. Of course, it is inevitable that a few here and there would remain on, but the great bulk of these places change from day to day and it is only necessary to read the hearings to know that thousands are going off and thousands are coming on every week. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. But about 300,000 of the 3,000,000 W. P. A. employees today have been there from the first day the program started.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The real question is about the 2,700,000 who are answering every requirement suggested by the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I say to you solemnly— Mr. McGRANERY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I would like to finish this statement

Mr. McGRANERY. Would the gentleman make the statement the members who have been on since the beginning of the W. P. A. are administrative employees?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Oh, no; I refer to W. P. A. workers and not the administrative people.

Mr. McGRANERY. How many of them are administrative?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. None of the 10 percent. The 10 percent that I refer to are W. P. A. workers and not the administrative personnel.

Mr. McGRANERY. I do not refer to the administrative personnel in the central office here, but throughout the country. How many are there of them?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. That does not contemplate any of the administration personnel. That is the relief people, the W. P. A. workers. I say to you solemnly there if in every locality of America the certifying agency will purge the relief rolls they will find thousands and thousands of people there whose relief status and need have changed in the last three and a half to four years, and who are now able to make it for themselves, and in that case a place will be made for some of these mothers and some of these heartbreaking cases that are now developing every day all over the country. And that is what this Committee wants to see done. We want to see a purging of the relief rolls.

It has been very interesting to see how some of our good friends have magnified their mathematics, and facetiously I want to make this remark, and I make it very facetiously. Someone has said that "figures do not lie, but that liars figure." I know that nobody would tell a lie here, but when we are advocates do not we just let the thing keep going, as it grows in front of us until some of the gentlemen here say that four or five million are going to be taken off the relief rolls.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Always to my friend from Missouri.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. We would be glad to have the gentleman give the name of any Member who has made

such a statement. I have listened to all the debate, and I have never heard such a statement by anyone here either yesterday or today. No one to my knowledge has ever asserted that five or six million people were being taken off the rolls.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Perhaps I have exaggerated a little.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The gentleman has exaggerated a great deal. I said that 1,151,300 breadwinners, the heads of families, would be taken off the rolls and that was the testimony before our committee, and the gentleman himself examined the witness and he was unable to reduce it by a single family.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Then the gentleman multiplied that by how many in the family?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I did not say any multiplication of any number were going to be taken off the rolls. I said that millions would be dependent, and I am certain this House will agree that when a breadwinner goes off the roll his family is without sustenance.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I think the gentleman added about three or four million. I think he figured it up to that.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlemen yield? Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. MAY. I understand there are about 40,000,000 people in the United States who make their living by work, and if there are eleven or twelve million now unemployed and industry were to absorb its part, would the gentleman not think three million enough for the Government to care for as a part of that load?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. My colleagues, everyone tells us that business is improving. The W.P. A. tells us there will be a million and a half new jobs in the next 5 months, and if you are ever going to reduce the W.P. A. rolls the time to do it is now.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Not for a moment. There are a few things yet that I want to say. Gentlemen will find in the committee's report on this bill a statement, on page 4, which is so clear that every wayfaring man can understand it. It sets out a table, furnished to us by the Works Progress Administration, as to the manner in which they would use the funds if appropriated as requested. They have on their rolls as of January 1 a little over 3,000,000 people. If the \$875,000,000 is appropriated as the Budget requested, that program will taper off to 2,700,000 on the 1st of July. follows a statement by the committee showing that if the \$725,000,000 is appropriated the rolls may be reduced to only 2,800,000 in February, and that is only a reduction of 200,000. to 2,600,000 in March, which is a reduction of another 200,000, to 2,400,000 in April, another 200,000 reduction, and to 2,200,000 in May, and to 2,000,000 on the 1st of July-a gradual tapering off of this program—no such wholesale turning out of millions of people as some of our friends in their emotionalism and melodramatics have undertaken to present to the Congress.

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. SWEENEY. The gentleman stated that everybody says that business is improving and I take it the implication is that industry may absorb some of these unemployed. How does the gentleman harmonize that statement with the statement in the Record from the mayors of 86 cities in the United States who came here and asked this Congress to appropriate \$915,000,000 to take care of the needs of their respective communities?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I am very glad the gentleman has asked that question because I wanted to comment on it. That is the milk in the coconut. Every person that the mayor can put on the W. P. A. rolls is paid out of the Federal Treasury and the city budget is reduced that much, and that is the way you harmonize it; and if you take the unemployables, the people who cannot participate in the

works program, and take them off the relief rolls and put them on local relief, where they are supposed to be under this program, you will absorb a large part of the reduction called for in this appropriation.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The gentleman will recall that the representatives of those mayors testifying before the committee told us that instead of their local budgets being reduced by the amount paid out in Federal funds, they were already carrying, in direct relief burdens, more than they could afford. Forty million dollars per month are being spent in direct relief, and they testified that if families were taken off the W. P. A. they would be unable to carry the additional load, as they were already burdened to the limit of their tax capacity in taking care of direct relief cases.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes. That gentleman also

testified that the \$875,000,000 was not enough.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield. Mr. MARCANTONIO. The mayors' representative also testified that the various cities and States are taking care of 1,650,000 cases now. Do you think the cities and States can afford to take care of any more?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I think a great many of them can afford to do a lot more than they are doing.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. In view of the present status of their treasuries?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. A great many of the States

can do more than they are doing, I think.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to say just a word before I take my seat and yield the floor to read the bill. However much we may differ as to amounts, methods, and programs, I am sure there is not a Member of the Committee who would want to see the situation arise where on February 6 funds would not be available to the W. P. A. to meet their pay rolls. For that reason I want to express the very earnest hope that the Committee will permit this legislation to pass, substantially in the form in which the committee has reported it. We will very shortly get Budget estimates for the 1940 relief program. Then the way will be wide open for the Congress to do whatever in its wisdom it may wish to do with reference to a permanent program or a change of permanent policy.

Undoubtedly, there are many things that should be done. Some amendments will be offered here today that embody fine suggestions. My good friend from Georgia is going to offer an amendment which will seek to more nearly equalize the rate of pay by W. P. A. in the different localities of the country. There is much merit in that suggestion. My good friend from Alabama is going to offer an amendment which will have for its purpose preventing the exploitation of W. P. A. workers and to prevent money from being paid to workers who belong to communistic organizations.

Our friends on the minority are going to offer an amendment, in the way of a motion to recommit, which, if enacted into law, would dismantle relief in America. If you would pass the minority viewpoint today and only appropriate money until April, you would absolutely throw chaos and confusion into the ranks of the relief situation in America. I am perfectly willing for those boys to have their little game of politics on that and introduce their amendment and have it voted down, but the worst thing that could happen for the relief situation in America today would be to adopt any such

So I do hope that my colleagues will permit this legislation to go forward, go to the other end of the Capitol, and we will send it there with our prayers that it may be speeded on its way, and that temporary funds may be made available. and that the Congress then, in a more orderly, logical, and leisurely fashion, may approach this broad question of public policy and change of policy.

I yield the floor, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the unanimous-consent agreement heretofore entered into, the time for general debate has expired. The Clerk will read the joint resolution.

The Clerk read the House joint resolution, as follows:

The Clerk read the House joint resolution, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That in order to continue to provide work relief on useful public projects, and relief, as authorized in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, and subject to all of the provisions of such act, there is hereby appropriated to the Works Progress Administration, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$725,000,000, which amount shall be added to the \$1,425,000,000 appropriated to that Administration in section 1, subsection 1, of such Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 and shall proportionately increase the amounts specified in limitations (1), (2), and (3), of (d) of subsection (1) of section 1 of such act: Provided, That the provisions of section 2 of such act prescribing February 28, 1939, as the end of the period over which the funds appropriated to the Works Progress Administration shall be apportioned and distributed are hereby amended so as to prescribe June 30, 1939, as the end of such period: Provided further, That notwithstanding any of the provisions of section 2 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, the amount herein appropriated shall be so apportioned by the Works Progress Administration as to cover the entire period from the date of the approval of this act until June 30, 1939: by the Works Progress Administration as to cover the entire period from the date of the approval of this act until June 30, 1939: Provided further, That the limitation of \$60,000,000 in section 3 of such act, on the amount that may be allocated to other Federal departments, establishments, and agencies is hereby increased to \$83,000,000: Provided further, That the words "and prior to February 28, 1939," are hereby deleted from section 23 of such act: Provided further, That the provisions of Executive Order No. 7916, dated June 24, 1938, shall not apply to positions the compensation of which is payable from appropriations contained in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or from the amount appropriated in this coint resolution, and such appropriations shall not period the appropriation act of 1936 or from the amount appropriated in this joint resolution, and such appropriations shall not be available for the compensation of the incumbent of any position placed in the competitive classified civil service of the United States after January 10, 1939.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman-

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Virginia yield to the gentleman from South Dakota for the purpose of propounding a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I do, Mr. Chairman. Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I would like to propound this parliamentary question, Mr. Chairman. I would like to ask again for the benefit of the House and the Committee, particularly for the newer Members of the House, whether the Chair will interpret this as a strictly appropriation bill or a joint appropriation and legislative bill, under which legislative amendments are in order? I may say that in view of the large number of new Members, the present distinguished occupant of the chair could help, I think, in our deliberations, since this is the first bill of this character.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. WARREN). The Chair will be glad to answer the gentleman. This is not strictly an appropriation bill. However, it is a legislative bill carrying an appropriation. Therefore amendments to it would depend upon their germaneness. Prior to going into Committee of the Whole certain points of order were waived by unanimous consent. The present occupant of the chair cannot see why that was at all necessary, because the Committee on Appropriations was well within its rights, well within the rules of the House, in bringing in the bill as it did.

This being a bill for work relief and for relief, it would depend entirely upon the germaneness of the amendments hereafter offered.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM].

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I offer a committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Woodrum of Virginia: On page 3, line 3, before the period, insert ", but this proviso shall not apply to positions the compensation of which is payable from appropriations made in subsections (5), (6), (7), and (8) of section 1 of the said Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938."

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of this provision is to clarify the so-called civil-service provision in the joint resolution. Without this provision the inhibition aganst paying funds to civil-service employees would reach

out into several departments of the Government where civilservice employees are engaged in carrying on work for the Relief Administration, while in some other departments temporary personnel has been covered into the civil service. The General Accounting Office, as a matter of fact, has some temporary employees who will go into the civil service under this same Executive order.

What the committee particularly meant to reach was the supervisory personnel of the Works Progress Administration in the Washington office, which numbers about 2,000, and in the field, which numbers about 35,000. With the adoption of this amendment that will be clarified.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. TABER. This is an amendment which would throw all of the Treasury and General Accounting Office employees under civil service and give them a civil-service status.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes; and employees of other Federal agencies paid out of emergency relief funds.

Mr. TABER. And after they have been given civil-service status, as W. P. A. operations decline, as some of us hope they will some time, and these people are thrown off the rolls, they will have preferential status over everyone who has taken a competitive civil-service examination for any appointments that were made in the Government. Is not that correct?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. The gentleman and I have discussed that. I do not quite agree with his viewpoint. There are temporary employees in the General Accounting Office and in the Treasury who are covered into the civil service by this Executive order, that the language in this bill would not touch; but I do not understand that they are entirely engaged on W. P. A. work.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Does it affect employees of the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. This proviso will save those

Mr. VOORHIS of California. The gentleman means that his amendment will protect those people now covered under civil service?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. It is true, is it not, that those people are not regularly on the W. P. A. at all but that they are merely paid out of funds which are appropriated in the same bill,

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, the last appropriation bill which this amends carries a provision giving preference to American citizens and preference to veterans. I would like a ruling from the Chair to ascertain whether under this particular bill which does not carry that preference, the old preference would carry over as to American citizens and veterans of the World War and Spanish-American War?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair, of course, would not attempt to answer that inquiry at the present time, because it is entirely premature and would only attempt to answer it in the event amendments along that line were offered.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, if I may be permitted, I can answer the gentleman's question. The provisions to which he alludes are in the permanent law and will apply to this appropriation the same as to any other.

Mr. FISH. The gentleman has studied the problem and is sure of that fact?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. One does not have to study it to know that it does; yes.

Mr. FISH. The reason I said that was that this bill is being brought up in a peculiar way, and I did not know whether it included what was done before.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Taber: Page 1, beginning in line 8, strike out "\$725,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$350,000,000." Page 2, line 13, strike out "June 30, 1939," and insert in lieu thereof "April 7, 1939." Page 2, line 17, strike out "\$83,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$75,000,000."

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I offer this amendment with the idea of providing funds to carry the W. P. A. through April 7. I recognize it is absolutely impossible to abruptly cut off a set-up of this kind. You must give some time and thought to the matter. However, I believe the 23/4 months that will elapse between now and April 7 is ample time to permit the Congress to establish a definite program with reference to the administration of relief. I have fixed a figure that will carry through until April 7. It is a figure which will really carry it from February 7 to April 7, a period of 2 months. There will be plenty of money to carry on the operation through the winter months. There will be plenty of time to establish and put into effect a positive, definite program of relief, so that it may be handled without the abuses we have had, which have discredited our entire governmental set-up.

Mr. MAAS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. MAAS. Under the gentleman's amendment would the amount to be made available during those 2 months be more or less than proposed in the present bill?

Mr. TABER. During those 2 months the average amount to be made available would be \$175,000,000 per month from February 7 to April 7. The average amount made available under the \$725,000,000 appropriation is \$145,000,000 a month.

Mr. MAAS. So this is not a proposal to cut the amount of relief?

Mr. TABER. During the winter months, no. It is a proposal simply to take some cognizance of seasonal situa-

Mr. Chairman, it seems to me, if we are ever to get out of this situation, we must adopt some positive, affirmative program, something like this, and follow it up with a resolution and a study on the part of the committees of the House which will give us something to go by and an opportunity to solve this problem. I hate to see this dragging along in the same old way. I think it is about time for the Congress to take some positive, affirmative action.

Mr. Chairman, I hope my amendment will be agreed to and that we will have started on our way. This is not a destructive amendment. It gives plenty of time to work the thing out, and it points out and gives us a start toward a solution of the relief program on an intelligent basis. [Applause.]

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER].

Mr. Chairman, everything that is produced in our country through agriculture and industry is the result of the labor of the beast of burden, of machinery, and human beings. What are the wages of the beast of burden today in our country? All that he receives from his master whom he serves loyally and faithfully are the food products necessary to keep him alive, besides a roof that shelters him from the ravages of inclement weather. His compensation is just enough so he can live and exist as an animal to protect the property rights of his owner invested in him.

What is the wage that the modern machine receives? Its compensation consists in being well oiled, well cleaned, well housed, and better taken care of than the beast of burden in order that the ravages of storm and weather may not disintegrate the highly mechanized machine that costs so much

What are the wages of human beings throughout the length and breadth of our country in agriculture and industry? First, starvation wages which cannot keep body and soul together and are less than the beast of burden receives, and are responsible for all the malnutrition, undernourishment, and anemia that is found in our Nation, which makes men, women, and children susceptible to all the ravages of infectious diseases. Second, we have living wages, which just barely keep body and soul together and do not permit a modern workingman to save. His wages do not equal the cost of shelter that the modern machine receives. Third, is the principle involving saving wages whereby the modern workingman may be able to receive wages that would enable him to save in times of affluence and prosperity for days of adversity and misfortune, which should be the great American formula and standard that we as Democrats and Republicans should battle and struggle together to help achieve and realize for the American worker and toiler.

Mr. Chairman, to what great principle in life does every spiritual human being dedicate and consecrate his life? In my humble opinion it is to preserve his home. To me the home is the symbol of our great American institutions. It is the barometer of our civilization. It is the foundation upon which the superstructure of our Nation must rest. To protect its welfare we are ever ready to sacrifice life and everything we hold near and dear. The home is hallowed by memories and traditions of our grandparents, parents, brothers, sisters, children, and all those whom we love and cherish.

Mr. Chairman, as go the parents, so go the children. As go the children, so goes the home. As goes the home, so go the Nation, the world, society, and civilization. If a workingman cannot earn enough to preserve his home for his wife and children when he is willing to work and work at anything, then it is the duty of the Government of the United States, interested in the welfare of spiritual human beings and interested in the preservation of its institutions, to help him preserve his home.

The purpose of my address is to speak in opposition to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER], who has just concluded his remarks in offering an amendment to reduce the appropriation for the relief of unemployed for the next 2 months to \$375,000,000. Mr. Chairman, while I have a wholesome respect for my colleague, I believe this amendment is grossly unjust, unfair, and undeserving to millions of self-respecting Americans who are today the tragic victims of our economic depression and who are looking for an opportunity to preserve and keep intact their humble homes. If we pass the bill that the Committee on Appropriations recommended, which is \$725,000,000, while the President of the United States asked for \$875,000,000, it would be instrumental in liquidating from the relief rolls of the unemployed 1,100,000 men and women, while an additional 750,000 who have already been examined, certified, and approved would likewise flounder as hopeless and helpless victims on the ocean of unemployment.

The amendment of Mr. TABER would proportionately throw out of work almost one-half a million people during the next 2 months, which would be instrumental in destroying the consuming and purchasing power of these unfortunate people and help to bring about a new recession and a new catastrophic disturbance in our economic order.

Mr. Chairman, I therefore appeal to the patriotic sentiments that animate the Republicans and Democrats on both sides of this aisle to interest themselves only in the agonizing cries of human misery and suffering throughout our Nation appealing to us to help them in this great hour of their need to preserve their home, their hearth and fireside, by voting down the amendment of the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber]. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in 5 minutes.

Mr. SWEENEY reserved the right to object.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I modify the request and ask that all debate on this amendment close in 10 minutes.

Mr. DIRKSEN and Mr. GIFFORD reserved the right to object.

The CHAIRMAN. Because so many gentleman have risen, the Chair will be unable to distribute the time unless the Chair knows in advance who should be recognized.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I see three gentlemen on their feet. I again modify my request, Mr. Chairman, and ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in 15 minutes.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Chairman, I have not taken any time to speak on this bill up to this hour, and I should like to have 5 minutes.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Again modifying my request, Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the amendment close in 20 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

Mr. BULWINKLE. I object, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I did not understand the gentleman from North Carolina wanted to speak.

Mr. BULWINKLE. I do not want to speak, Mr. Chairman. Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on this amendment close in 20 minutes.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I should like to have 3 minutes of the time at the end, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair may state to the gentleman from Virginia that four gentlemen rose, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Sweeney], the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gifford], the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Crawford].

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Sweeney].

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment presented by the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber] which seeks to reduce the amount of appropriation agreed upon by the committee from \$725,000,000 to \$350,000,000.

Today I sat in conference with the representative of the mayor of the city of Cleveland and members from the City Council of Cleveland, who pleaded with the Ohio delegation to support the sum suggested by the President of the United States; to wit, \$875,000,000 as necessary to continue W. P. A. operations for the balance of the fiscal year. These gentlemen presented a gloomy, discouraging picture, registering despair and tragedy in my city of Cleveland, where there are now 71,000 men and women employed on the W. P. A. program in that area, and approximately 16,500 men and women certified as eligible, and waiting for assignment to W. P. A. projects. Daily thousands are being laid off, and an attempt is made to have the city and other social agencies assume the responsibility of caring for these unfortunates. The municipality, and the State departments of old-age pension, mother's pension, and other agencies are not able to carry the load. The result, these people are facing a critical situation. Let us be practical about this Federal aid to the unemployed. Whether you believe it or not, it is my humble opinion that we are going to have a permanent Federal relief The greatest problem before our country today is set-up. the solution of unemployment, which has been made possible by technological advances, especially in the mass-production fields. Mass production must have its corollary, mass consumption. There is no consuming purchasing power worthwhile talking about in this country with its vast resources unequaled in any country in the world. I wonder how many Members of this Congress are familiar with this subject? Have you ever made a personal study of this problem as it

affects large industrial centers? Let me take you in fancy into a mass-production factory. For instance, the Ford Motor Co., the Fisher Body, and similar corporations who employ thousands of men, sometimes as high as 75,000. As we enter these factories we notice the absence of men who are 45 years of age, or over. All the employed are young men, employed because of their muscle, their sinew, and their ability to endure physical strain.

In some of these factories a turret automobile top can be stamped out in 14 seconds. The operator of a modern machine is literally chained to its handle. Listen to the humming of the machinery as we start through a mass-production factory. Interpreted, it is repeating "production, production, production, and more production, causing workers to tax their strength to the straining point. In many cases these men cannot live over 5 years, because of the pace that modern industry exacts. Except but for the recent efforts of organized labor, they were never paid a decent wage. Their work was seasonable. When unemployed they had in recent days to seek W. P. A. aid and other agencies. My good friend, Congressman Sirovich, of New York, has discussed this matter of mass production on the floor of this House many times.

I recognize there is politics in W. P. A. Republican and Democratic leaders have prostituted the agency. In many cases there is incompetence on the part of the administrators in charge of employing thousands, who, physically strong and through no fault of their own, are unable to find work to support their families and themselves. In the State of Ohio we have an administrator who is charged with the employing and supervising of 288,000 of our citizens. This man in charge of this great segment of our human family is a horse doctor, who never had any knowledge or experience, so far as I can determine, in the handling of human beings. He has been discourteous, arrogant with Members of Congress, and has loaded the pay roll in the administrative brackets with alleged professional social workers and freaks of every description. However, I am more concerned today with the allocation of funds to carry on the W. P. A. than I am with the political aspects of this controversy. By his conduct he was responsible for the defeat of 15 Democratic candidates for Congress in Ohio and the entire State Democratic ticket. He demoralized the trucking industry by insisting upon the competitive-bid system for truck hire and discriminated against the singleoperator truck owner. It is my judgment that the mayors of the 86 cities of the United States whose report is contained in the hearings before the subcommittee on this appropriation bill are correct in their statement that business and industry have not improved sufficiently to absorb large numbers of the unemployed, as stated on the floor of this House today. That it will be necessary to appropriate \$915,000,000 in this deficiency appropriation bill is the opinion of the mayors of these large cities, and in a sense they are a factfinding body or commission. They reached their conclusion after a thorough study of facts in their communities and their experience with the unemployment situation for the past few years.

I will support the amendment for \$915,000,000, suggested by the Conference of Mayors. Failing in that, I ask you in God's name to at least support the amendment suggested by the President of the United States, who also has knowledge of the true situation in the Nation. This amount is \$875,000,000. The amount under consideration is nothing more or less than a stopgap, and in my opinion, would necessitate renewing the controversy in April for the purpose of making political capital for the Republican minority. I stand here today cognizant of the situation in my congressional district, which is a good cross section of conditions as they exist throughout the United States, and plead for aid for these unfortunates. I have lived with this W. P. A. problem for a long time. Since the Seventy-fifth Congress adjourned in June 1938, it was my experience to talk to 75 to 100 applicants daily, all seeking employment. I heard strong men, responsible for the care of their fam-

ilies, threaten to commit suicide. Reports disclose that suicides are common throughout the country as the result of unemployment. I can fully appreciate the sentiment of those who believe that the Federal Government should get out of this employment and relief business, but until such time as industry can assume its full responsibility in taking from the Government pay rolls those who should be working in the factories and shops of our country, there is no alternative for the Nation except shoulder the responsibility of at least feeding, clothing, and giving shelter to those making up the Government itself.

On several occasions I have bluntly stated on the floor of this House that unless the Government does continue its responsibility I am fearful of the riots and disorder that may follow. In other words, putting it bluntly again, you have to feed them or fight them.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen].

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, I know how persuasive these emotional and sometimes near-hysterical speeches can be; but, after all, we must be guided by the Record, and that is the only thing on which you can defend your position when you go back home. All the melodrama of this Well will not be there as so much theatrical background. You will have to go by the Record.

My esteemed and scholarly friend the gentleman from New York, Dr. Sirovich, did not exactly state the case. The amendment of the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] does not take anyone off the rolls. Colonel Harrington, who is now administering the W. P. A., came before the committee and gave the figures which are shown on page 61 of the hearings. For 2 months, February and March, there will be about 3.000.000 people on the rolls, at an estimated cost of \$183,-000,000 per month. Multiply \$183,000,000 by 2, and you get \$366,000,000. The gentleman from New York proposes to appropriate \$350,000,000 for those 2 months; that is all. This might necessitate taking a few people off the rolls, but very few, indeed. There is no intent to knock anybody off the rolls. The amendment is designed to give 60 days in which to keep W. P. A. going, not interfering in any way whatever with the administrative set-up and changing exactly nothing here or in the field offices, and at the same time give the Congress 60 days in which to look into the problem.

The chairman of the subcommittee stated a little while ago that in a short time there will be a message before the Appropriations Committee with respect to the proposed relief act for 1940, or the next fiscal year. We have not an lota of fact at the present time on which to change the set-up as written into the act in 1938. We expect to take about 60 days in which to make an investigation, probably prepare some very necessary amendments that even the President of the United States recognizes as necessary as stated in the message that came here on January 5, dealing with the request for \$875,000,000.

Mr. DALY and Mr. SIROVICH rose.

Mr. DIRKSEN. The so-called stopgap that my friend the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Sweeney] refers to is not a stopgap at all. We will be here 60 days hence, and we will hear the clamor, if there be any, and we will hear also the demand of the people of this country to see that there is a house-cleaning in the States where necessary, and that there is an efficient expenditure of the taxpayer's dollar. You can scarcely defend your position in view of the disclosures of the Senate committee under the leadership of Senator Shepard unless you vote for this proposal which will give us an opportunity then to make the best of the many recommendations made by that committee relative to work-relief acts in the future and providing a penalty for fraud or for prostituting the purposes of the act.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield to my friend from New York.

Mr. SIROVICH. The distinguished gentleman quoted the Administrator of W. P. A., Colonel Harrington. I am not a member of the Committee on Appropriations, but I have heard members of that committee on the floor of the House

quote Colonel Harrington as insisting that we need \$875,000,000 to continue adequately the work of W. P. A. Now, if you cut the amount of \$875,000,000—

Mr. DIRKSEN. I must refuse to yield further in order that I may answer that statement.

The gentleman from New York did not make that announcement here a moment ago. What he aimed to persuade this House on was that the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York would virtually hamstring and knock all these people off of the relief rolls or the W. P. A. rolls at the present time. This does not interfere with the administrative set-up one whit. It only gives us 60 days within which to look into the matter further, and we are entitled to that because this Congress is only 9 days old. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I did not intend to speak on this matter, but when the chairman of the subcommittee attempted to limit the debate on this most important matter which will be the motion made later to recommit, it is highly important that a reasonable time should be allowed to discuss it.

It is very unfair of the chairman of the subcommittee to say simply that if this motion prevails it will sabotage the whole program. The gentleman did not explain why, and he did not want to explain why. He simply said we would have plenty of time after this resolution is passed and before Congress adjourns to bring in a permanent plan. How familiar is the ring of that statement. The gentleman has made it practically every year now for the last several years. permanent plan is apparently yet in a dim future. We should recall the C. W. A., which smelled to heaven. Its name was changed so that the public might forget it. They renamed it the E. R. A. Later they changed that name to W. P. A., and year after year has gone by without any attempt whatsoever to bring in here any permanent set-up or plan. The gentleman himself is busy day in and day out on the Appropriations Committee. The gentleman is apparently much too busy to give attention to a permanent plan.

The last speaker, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], clearly showed you, and made it fully understood, that this does not interfere in the slightest with the plan or set-up of this relief question.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Sweeney] talked about the songs of the wheels of industry. I listened to them formerly in the city which I represent. Many of those wheels turn no longer, largely because of what the Government itself has done to the industry. The assessed values in that city have decreased more than one-half in a few short years. It needs a large share of relief funds. Many cities do not. The wealthiest city in this country, the city of New York, where we from the country constantly take our savings largely for entertainment or investment. Yet this wealthy city seems begging for tremendous amounts of money from Federal funds to save its tax rate, as do many others, and this was clearly shown by the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Virginia. It has been shown that wealthy towns and cities have taken their full share and reduced their tax rate. Many were fully able to take care of their own relief needs. Truly, a new method of apportioning funds for relief should immediately be adopted.

There has been no attempt to apportion this money according to need. We of the minority are mindful of the sentiment reflected by the vote of last November and insist that you formulate at once a permanent method for distribution of these funds to the needy and not for other purposes. I hope, now that the situation is getting a little clearer, that the chairman of this committee cannot influence us by a broad statement saying we would sabotage the whole thing if this passed without any explanation whatever. We do not take his extravagant statement without a demand for a fuller understanding of the effects of the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired. Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to indulge in partisan politics in relief, because I feel that we are discussing primarily cause and effect. The other day in speaking in New York, Chairman Eccles, of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, said:

What, to my mind, we can and should have is the fullest possible encouragement to private enterprise upon which our system essentially depends. Private enterprise, business, industry, agriculture, have always, even in the depth of depression, provided employment and income for the overwhelming majority of our people. At best, government, through relief, made work, or otherwise, can hope to provide for only a relatively small proportion of the total. Certainly we cannot substitute government for private enterprise and still have our system.

I have emphasized those two words, "our system." At the same time the Governor said this:

I feel that, functionally, the Government through monetary and fiscal policy, through taxation, through Budget and other policy can do much to make economic progress smoother and steadier, with the main objective always of a maximum of employment in private enterprise.

The Governor also said:

The banking system as a whole creates money by its lending and investment operations. Conversely, when loans and investments will decrease, deposits, that is money, decrease correspondingly. Because of this function of creating money, the banking system as a whole plays a role of the greatest importance in the functioning of a debtor-creditor economy.

We are dealing with debits and credits, the issuing of debtbearing securities, which we must feed into our banking system. The Federal Reserve Board quotes under date of January 5 that the excess reserves of member banks were, on January 4, 1939, \$3,300,000,000, and that they increased \$230,000,000 for the week.

The banks have no place to invest their excess reserves today except in Government paper, and that brings about an absolute stagnation of industry and industrial enterprise and private employment, as evidenced by further information which has just been furnished me by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve Bank, in which they show that in 1929 the total debits to individual deposits accounts at reporting banks amounted to \$983,000,000,000; in 1936 it amounted to only \$462,000,000,000; in 1937 to \$469,000,-000,000; in 1938 to only \$406,000,000, which is conclusive evidence that the program we are following through this pump-priming policy is further stagnating industry and keeping people off the private pay rolls of industry. Governor was right when he said this would not solve the problem. Furthermore, since we instituted baby bonds in this country we have sold through December 31, 1938, baby bonds with maturity values of \$2,075,000,000 and cash values of \$1,556,000,000. We are sucking all of our private capital out of industry, away from jobs, away from employment, into the purchase of Government paper issued to finance programs such as you are advocating here today. I shall support the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber]. I believe this policy of pump-priming and debt building is a sure road to economic suicide, and I feel that it will deprive my son and your son and their sons of any opportunity whatsoever under the American system, to which the Governor of the Federal Reserve Board has so impressively referred. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired:

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, Colonel Harrington of the W. P. A. testified unequivocally and positively before the committee that to undertake a W. P. A. program on a month-to-month basis would absolutely demoralize it, that they have to pick their projects, plan them, order material, get up their rolls, and have to put people to work, and this amendment, if carried, instead of putting men to work between now and April would absolutely make chaos and confusion out of the whole thing, and I am confident that nobody in this House wants to see that situation arise. I hope the amendment will be rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Virginia has expired. All time has expired. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Taber) there were—ayes 154, noes 214.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Cannon of Missouri: On page 1, in lines 8 and 9, after the word "of", strike out "\$725,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$875,000,000."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is out of order. The gentleman from Missouri has been recognized.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for an additional 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish] just now said this resolution was introduced in a peculiar manner. As a matter of fact, the manner in which this resolution was introduced is unprecedented in the history of the House.

In referring to this same question this morning the gentleman in charge of the bill [Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia] insisted that this was the usual procedure, and he called attention to the supply bills. That is an entirely different class of bills. The supply bills are always introduced as amended by the committees. But appropriations of this character have always been introduced as received from the Budget with committee amendments. There has not been an instance within the memory of the oldest Member on this floor when one of them has been subjected to this unprecedented procedure and has been introduced in this peculiar fashion. And inasmuch as the gentleman has persisted in such statements as he has made here today, I give below a complete list of all such bills which have been introduced from the Seventy-third Congress down to the Seventy-fifth Congress. inclusive. Here they are:

73-2. H. R. 7527.

74-1. H. J. Res. 117.

74-2. H. R. 12624.

75-1. H. J. Res. 361.

75-2. H. J. Res. 596.

75-2. H. J. Res. 679.

The gentleman from Virginia says it has been the practice to introduce such Budget estimates in this fashion. On the contrary, there is a complete list of every such appropriation since the Seventy-third Congress and not a one of them has been introduced in the exceptional manner followed in the introduction of the pending resolution. In fact, the procedure in handling a resolution of this character is so long established and so well understood that the clerk of the committee always prepares the resolution as a matter of routine. And when I first saw this resolution the clerk of the committee, following the usual practice, had drawn it as all preceding resolutions had been drawn. But when received from the document room after being reported from the committee it was in the form in which it is being considered here this afternoon. I went to the gentleman's office. I told him it was important from a party point of view that the Republicans, practically all of whom had made prodigal campaign promises, be put on record in this vote. He assured me he would call the committee together and make the change. He announced to the press that he would make the change. But in the meantime it was rumored about that if the Republicans were put on record some of them would have to support the Budget estimate in order to redeem campaign pledges and the change was not made.

Now, what is the significance of this change in procedure? There is one result, and only one. When introduced in this exceptional form the House cannot be assured of a record vote on the reduction. That is the sum and substance of

the whole matter. It is a question of getting a record vote. That is all there is to it.

Mr. Chairman, to deny a record vote is subversive of representative government. When the Constitution of the United States was written the founding fathers put into that great document only two House rules. First, they provided that the House could not transact business without a quorum. Then they provided that, on the request of one-fifth of the Members, you could have the yeas and nays on any vote in the House. And to be certain that the citizens of the Republic were informed of the position of their representatives on any question brought to a vote in the House, they also provided at the same time that the Journal of the House containing those roll calls should be printed and published. Such a provision is indispensable in a democracy. And in that respect the newspapers of the country are rendering an invaluable service to free government.

Correspondents in the press gallery have inquired as to the manner of taking the vote on this question. They suggest that it is an important vote and that their newspapers want to carry the roll call. I have explained that the question will be taken by tellers, and an opportunity will be afforded to tabulate the vote as it passes down the aisle.

But the form in which the resolution is presented is not the only extraordinary feature of this proceeding. We have been sitting here on this side of the aisle all day yesterday and all day today listening to the most abusive debate from the Republican side of the aisle that has ever been heard on the floor of this House. They have abused our party. They have abused our administration. They have abused our leadership. They have maligned and abused the administration of this law. And there has been no answer from the Democratic table on this side of the House. Read again the report of these speeches in the RECORD for the last 2 days. And now we are asked to condone all this abuse and endorse and approve these partisan and vituperative harangues by voting with the Republican Members who made them. Never have the Democratic Members of the House found themselves in a more humiliating position.

It was a very significant thing, my friends, that when the gentleman in charge of this bill made his last speech closing the debate he was repeatedly and vigorously applauded from the Republican side of the House, while the Democratic side of the House throughout his speech remained silent.

We are nearing a vote on the resolution, one of the most important votes to be cast in this Congress. The vote is on the one issue presented by the resolution, whether to continue the W. P. A. program, whether to give the President the amount he has requested, the actual requirements of the country, or whether to arbitrarily, unscientifically, without supporting evidence either in the hearings or on the floor, vote to put 1,151,300 heads of families out of employment when there are no opportunities in private industry for them, and when there is no place to which they can turn for work or for daily bread.

That is the one issue before us and before the country this afternoon, and on that issue I submit the question. [Applause.]

Mr. O'NEAL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I have not taken occasion to make any remarks on this bill up to this time.

Today I have seen happen in this House what I have seen happen before—very unpopular positions taken by gentlemen who were doing what they thought was their duty to their country, and I have seen them receive inferential abuse and misunderstanding, all because they were trying to do that duty.

The chairman of this committee, my friends, is as sympathetic, is as warm-hearted, is as much interested as any man who has spoken on this floor in the problem of the man who is the beneficiary of W. P. A.; yet he, as a matter of duty, as a matter of right, has stood here and dared to take the unpopular side. Undoubtedly he will pay the penalty as has been suggested to you by the press of the opposition and by

the abuse of some of the people in his own district, and all because he has tried to do what he thinks is the right thing for his country.

In addition, Mr. Chairman, there is not a man on this committee who would not like to stand here and vote for \$1,500,000,000, or any amount over the seven hundred and twenty-five millions, so that he could go back and say to the people in his district, "Look what a good fellow I am! Look how tender-hearted I am! Look what I did for you!" That is a delightful position to be in, but it is an impossible position for one who sat through the hearing and listened to the testimony. We are trying to do what is best for our country.

I care not, Mr. Chairman, about all the discussion of how the bill came before us. To me that is unimportant. And in a bill appropriating this amount of money I do not think political arguments and many of the other arguments that have been used are applicable or that they touch the problem at hand. Those things may be all right on other matters, but today we are dealing with the question of human misery and we are trying to relieve it. At the same time we are trying to start our country up the hill to bring us back to the country we knew before, the land of the free, where everybody is treated alike, where the rights of everyone are considered, not only the rights of the poor but of the average fellow who is on a salary, who has to pay the tax, and of all others of our citizens. Let us look the question fairly in the eye and see what we can do to take care of the load that we all want to take care of, but at the same time to give the taxpayer fair consideration.

Your committee had some things in mind when they went into the consideration of this bill that were equally important, and when they decided on \$725,000,000 they had in mind that if it were possible to economize and still meet our obligations to the unfortunates, we should do it; and we have made a start. Let us do it. Second, the committee had in mind that the long-range interests of our country, including the beneficiaries of the W. P. A., require an ever-continuing effort to bring our country into a sound financial condition. The W. P. A. beneficiaries are as much interested in this, Mr. Chairman, as we are. We must bring this country back into a sound financial condition if it is to survive and even if the beneficiaries of W. P. A. are to continue receiving help.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. O'NEAL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'NEAL. Another consideration in our minds was that this is not an obligation wholly of the Federal Government. Because there is misery and hunger does not mean that we can dump the entire problem into the lap of the Federal Government and say: "You take care of it." It is a load of which the Federal Government should carry its part, but the obligation also rests on the other subdivisions of our country. This should be borne in mind. The committee did have in mind that there should be a proper apportionment of the

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. O'NEAL. In a moment I shall be glad to yield.

The committee also considered that it should be ever vigilant in requiring prudent and careful management. With this in mind the committee received the Budget estimate, and with the same sympathy that all the rest of you would have, that every Member here has, we thought the Budget estimate could be safely reduced. Now, please remember that nobody would reduce it a dime if it could not be done safely, without causing suffering. If there were no way out, nobody would cut the amount. The W. P. A. officials stated that they need many millions more than their recommendation to take care of the entire load, so they cut the amount to \$875,000,000. The committee felt that it knew where reductions could be made without undue hardship. We have studied the question. We have studied it more than the Budget Bureau has, and possibly more than most of the Members of the House have, and we felt it could be reduced and economies effected. You gentlemen know, if you have watched the business situation in your own State or cities, that business improvement has already started and that this will provide jobs for a great many people and should really make possible a greater decrease than has been anticipated.

We believe further that many of the W. P. A. enrollees, namely, the unemployables, are, technically, and probably

improperly, on the rolls.

This is a work-relief program to help those men get work who are able to work. Those who are not able to work are not supposed to be on the roll. Colonel Harrington said he could effect tremendous economies if he might be allowed to take the unemployables off the rolls and put men to work who were able to work.

Further, Mr. Chairman, I think it is an unkindness-it is wrong, in order to permit the unemployables to receive these benefits, to require them to work when they are not physically able to work. They should be taken care of in some other way than through W. P. A. funds.

We also found out that other governmental activities would furnish additional employment not considered by the Budget or W. P. A.; for example, the P. W. A. This was not taken into account, but if you will look at the hearings you will find that the P. W. A. will in the near future take a large number of employables, which will be of great assistance in relieving the load of the W. P. A.

In conclusion may I say that all of us are perfectly conscious of what it means to stand up here and talk about economy. All of us are perfectly aware of the fact that it is not a popular thing to do. I would give a great deal if my conscience would let me, after hearing this testimony and considering all factors, vote for the full amount, and if I could feel that I was doing the right thing; but I do not feel that way. I heard the testimony and I recognize the necessity for reasonable economy.

I believe we can safely cut the appropriation from \$6,000,-000 a day, as it is now, to \$5,000,000 a day, and that is what this cut means. I would like to join with you gentlemen, but I feel, as did the committee, that it is my duty after hearing the evidence to try to bring this country back to a sound financial condition, if in doing so we do not take one dime from the people who deserve it.

Mr. SABATH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'NEAL. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois. Mr. SABATH. Was there any evidence at all to show that the municipalities would take care of these men who are to be released, discharged, or dismissed, or was there evidence to the effect that in many of the larger cities it is absolutely impossible for the cities and for the States to take care of these unfortunate people?

Mr. O'NEAL. I will answer that question. Many of these mayors represented towns that were not doing proportionately what other towns were doing and the contribution of some of the cities as compared to others was comparatively little.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the amendment, which I send to the Clerk's

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I would like to see if we cannot agree to time on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon].

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair may say to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Woodrum] he was about to recognize the gentleman from Washington to offer an amendment to the amendment.

Mr. CELLER. Is that a pro forma amendment or an actual amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. A bona fide amendment.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I wonder if we could limit debate on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon] and all amendments thereto to 30

Mr. Chairman, in view of the apparent number who wish to speak, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the pending amendment and all amendments thereto close in 45 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Woodrum]?

Mr. DUNN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I have an amendment on the desk on which I would like to have the opportunity to speak.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I am sure the Chair will recognize the gentleman.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, there are a number of other amendments that will be offered here and I want to speak on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon]. I am afraid if the time is limited those of us who wish to speak on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri will not have that opportunity.

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I object. Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on the pending amendment and all amendments thereto close in 45 minutes.

The motion was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Washington [Mr. Coffee] offers an amendment to the amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Coffee of Washington to the amendment offered by Mr. Cannon of Missouri: Page 1, line 8, after the word "of", strike out the words and figures "\$875,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof the figure "\$1,050,000,000."

## WE MUST NOT "LET THE PEOPLE DOWN"

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I have offered an amendment in the amount of \$1,050,000,000, which is the Workers' Alliance recommendation as to the Works Progress Administration, in order to bring before this honorable body a discussion of the exigent need for further financial appropriation for the W. P. A. workers.

Much has been said upon the floor and in the sui generis Dies committee concerning the Workers' Alliance as to whether or not it is a patriotic organization. I am concerned solely with the 3,000,000 Works Progress Administration workers in the United States, and for them I am speaking on this floor today.

The amendment which I have offered proposes to restore to the Works Progress Administration 3,200,000 workers in all, including those employed at the present time; in other words, to bring back to the rolls of the W. P. A. the same number who were on those rolls on October 15, 1938.

## NEED OF HUNGRY SOLE ISSUE

I have heard statements made on this floor by distinguished gentlemen to the effect that political repercussions, deleterious of their political ambitions, would accrue by reason of their championship of a reduction in the W. P. A. I think some of the gentlemen may come from districts where the championship of rigid economy at the expense of the unemployed would redound to their advantage politically. Hence, it requires no courage for them now to advocate drastic curtailment of W. P. A.

However, regardless of that fact, I am not viewing this situation subjectively; I am trying to look at it objectively. We should not be concerned with our political fortunes in this controversy. Personally, I am not worried about them. I came back here with a 41,000 majority, an increase over the vote I received in the Democratic landslide of 1936. However, I do know that out on the Pacific slope there is imperative need for the restoration to the W. P. A. rolls of a vast number of workers.

Mr. GORE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. COFFEE of Washington. I am sorry, I have only 5 minutes.

### SPENDING AS AID TO PROSPERITY HAS BEEN PROVEN

We do know that such prosperity as we have achieved in the last 6 or 7 years was brought about to a large extent by Federal spending. I well recall that on April 20, 1937, when the first drastic cut in the W. P. A. was proposed, a few of us sitting on this floor then said the date would be historical because that date would be contemporaneous with the inception of the new depression. Our prediction made at that time during the debate on this floor concerning the W. P. A. was proved subsequently to be true, when in the winter of 1937-38 the recession attained its full velocity.

### SHALL WE BE THE HOPE OR NEMESIS OF THE UNEMPLOYED?

I now provide this body an opportunity to vote to restore to the W. P. A. rolls the same number of workers that were employed on October 15, 1938. I appeal to the Members of this body to put human rights above property rights. I appeal to the Members of this body and ask them whether or not the first economies proposed are going to be taken out of the hides of the unfortunate, the starving, and the needy of the United States? What kind of message are you going to take back to those who are unemployed in America? When you go back home this summer, are you going to say you were so interested in economy you saw to it the first attempt at economy should be imposed upon the needy and the starving?

### PITIFUL EPISODES SHOULD MOVE US

Some reference was made in this debate to a certain city where a thousand women were lined up in front of the W. P. A. headquarters hoping for relief. I will tell you in what city that incident occurred. It was in the great city of St. Louis, ably represented here by some of the distinguished gentlemen who have spoken in this debate. My heart aches with pity when I think of the thousands of these needy people in the richest land on the face of the earth, which is now contemplating appropriating more money for its Navy than any other nation on the face of the earth. Yes, we are crass and callous when it comes to spending money freely for the birds in the air, for the beasts in the forests, and for the insects in the ground, but when it comes to relieving poverty and distress among our unemployed, we are too often apathetic to their piteous appeals. [Applause.]

# ECONOMISTS SUPPORT SPENDING AS NECESSARY NOW

Mr. Chairman, recently seven nationally prominent economists identified with Harvard University and Tufts College—Richard V. Gilbert, Paul M. Sweezy, Maxine Y. Sweezy, George H. Hildebrand, Jr., Arthur W. Stuart, John D. Wilson, and Lorie Tarshis—wrote a provocative brochure entitled "An Economic Program for American Democracy." In this arresting little volume will be found confirmation, in logical arguments set forth by these experts, of the soundness of the views expressed by that school which ascribes prosperity in the machine age in America as inseparable from a program of governmental spending. I quote from a trenchant statement in this work:

The conclusion is inescapable that the 1933-37 recovery had its origin in the Federal Government's contribution to community expenditure, and that the whole process of cumulative expansion of income, output, and employment rested upon public spending as a foundation.

spending as a foundation.

The Government must assume responsibility for maintaining the national income at a sufficiently high level to assure full and effective utilization of our human and material resources if needless hardship and suffering are to be averted and a decent standard of life for the common man attained.

These economists deny that spending menaces Federal financing. There was a gross increase of debt of \$15,500,-000,000 over 5 years, which increased national income by \$30,000,000,000 a year, while annual debt charges increased by but \$238,000,000, yet national revenues increased \$4,400,-000,000 per year.

### TREMENDOUS INCREASE IN NATIONAL ASSETS MADE POSSIBLE

Investments in flood control, in housing, in public health and reforestation, in communications and water power, it is contended, will lead to a net increase of general welfare, and effectuate, within a reasonable time, a national income of \$80,000,000,000 a year.

Certainly no reasonable person can deny that the cycle of prosperity has moved up or down in just the proportion that Federal expenditures have increased or decreased. One cannot laugh off nor exorcise this situation.

#### POLITICS BUGABOO GREATLY EXAGGERATED

Much has been said in this debate to the effect that politics has saturated the W. P. A. The gravamen of this viewpoint has been carried by our Republican friends in this House. The irony of it is that many of them are in this body by reason of the espousal of their candidacy by W. P. A. workers. It has been my observation that politics works both ways. In any large organization, controlling the livelihood of millions, there is bound to occur now and then an instance, sporadically, of maladministration, corruption, discrimination, political influence. I do not exculpate the W. P. A. of these charges, but I emphatically deny that the proportion of such instances reaches anything like the degree insisted upon here by the proponents of a drastic cut.

### WHY SHOULD WORKERS SUFFER FOR MISTAKES OF FEW?

Mr. Chairman, the attitude of those who indict W. P. A. executives with the charge of political chicanery is beyond my comprehension. They would visit their anger upon the helpless and inarticulate, just as they have vented their indignation in this debate. I categorically deny the justice of imposing upon the unemployed rank and file vengeance or hatred against men in executive positions false to their trust. It seems to me that it savors in some degree of the policy recently inaugurated by a European dictator, who persecutes the Jewish race in his own country unmercifully because of the demented, criminal act of one misguided member of that race residing in a foreign country.

### MINIMUM W. P. A. WAGE SHOULD BE 25 CENTS PER HOUR

The W. P. A. has so far failed to enforce the 1938 Relief Act with reference to minimum wages. The Fair Labor Standards Act became effective October 24, 1938. Since that date the W. P. A. has failed in its duty to pay 25 cents per hour minimum wage universally on the W. P. A. through lack of funds. It seems to me that we should enable the Government to set the example by paying its own employees in the W. P. A. a minimum of 25 cents per hour, even though it may be contended such employees are not engaged in interstate commerce.

### MAYORS ARE AWARE OF NEED

The United States Conference of Mayors has, in condensed language, notified each Member of Congress of the tragic situation which will ensue if the recommendation of the Subcommittee on Appropriations, to wit, to reduce the approprition to \$725,000,000 is accepted by the Congress. Under the reduced amount employment on the W. P. A. will drop from 3,081,300 January 1, 1939, to 1,930,000 by June 30, 1939, a net reduction of 1,151,300 needy workers in a brief period of 6 months. Can anyone here conceive of the poignant suffering which will be the inevitable lot of these heads of families, as they are dumped upon a cruel and merciless world by a Congress, so motivated by economy, and so impressed by Tory editorials with the need for retrenchment that it imposed the restriction upon the very folks least able to bear the pain?

### WE SHOULD NOT ISOLATE OURSELVES FROM THE PROBLEM

Mr. Chairman, I appeal to the Members of Congress: Do not isolate yourselves in ivory towers and view the situation cold-bloodedly from afar. Are we a group of heartless philosophers assembled upon a lonely peak in Darien, who wish to cut ourselves off entirely from the problems of the world? I sometimes think that residence in this beautiful city of Washington insulates Members of Congress from the heartaches of the plain people at home. I hope I will be disillusioned in that conviction by the vote cast by the Members here today. But, Mr. Chairman, I am not very optimistic. I have heard the rumblings already here in this House. Though our Republican friends will almost unanimously vote for the final appropriation, it is regrettable that the votes they individually cast upon important amendments to this measure will not be revealed in the Congressional RECORD so that their constituents at home may know how they stood.

### STATE OF WASHINGTON FACES SERIOUS HARDSHIP

In my own State of Washington, where unemployment conditions have been acute for years in the industrial areas,

the retrenchment proposed by the committee will unavoidably necessitate a reduction in the total employed on the W. P. A. from 53,300 on December 31, 1938, to 33,400, as of June 30, 1939, a total net reduction of 19,900 heads of families.

I have never contended that the W. P. A. was a solution for unemployment. At best, it is a panacea of transitory character. It is a stop-gap. I compare it with the effectiveness of insulin in the treatment of diabetics. Insulin does not cure, but it keeps the patient alive. This Congress has lacked the intestinal fortitude necessary to attack the economic problem head-on. It has dodged, it has temporized, it has indulged in circumlocution. In this streamlined, machine age we have permitted the machine to emerge as the master rather than the slave of its creator.

### THE PEOPLE ARE LONG SUFFERING

How long, O Lord, how long must the long-suffering people wait for reform in the form of substantial national oldage pensions, money reform, agricultural relief, and so forth? Until that day arrives, Mr. Chairman, I contend that it is the burden of the Government to show by legislation that no able-bodied unemployed head of a family shall be sent out into the pasture alone and forsaken. That is our duty and our obligation. Will you join me, then, in supporting my amendment? [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Dunn].

Mr. DUNN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Washington [Mr. Coffee]. I sent an amendment to the desk seeking to increase the appropriation to \$1,100,000,000.

Mr. Chairman, last fall the majority of the Members of Congress did their utmost to impress upon the minds of their constituents that if they were elected to Congress they would do what they could to provide adequate relief for the unemployed. When there are approximately 14,000,000 people unemployed in the United States, \$1,100,000,000 is not one cent too much to appropriate for their relief; therefore this progressive and humanitarian amendment should be adopted. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. As the Committee knows, debate has been limited on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri and all amendments thereto. In view of the fact that other amendments to that amendment may be desired to be offered, the Chair thinks that in the interest of orderly procedure a vote should now be taken on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Washington to the amendment, because as long as that is pending no further amendment to the amendment can be offered.

Therefore, the question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Washington [Mr. Coffee] to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon].

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Daly], a member of the committee, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DALY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri.

After the election of 2 months ago the Republican newspapers of the country, the Republican press of this country, the Republican editors, and Republican leaders all over the country boasted of the fact that they had gained a certain number of new Members in the House, and that a coalition was about to be formed between them and Members on the Democratic side of the House who were opposed to the New Deal and desired to hit the Chief Executive of the Nation.

In the light of the peculiar legislative procedure we have adopted here, the details of which the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon] gave you in a manner on which I could not hope to improve, we are confronted with a remarkably peculiar situation that would prevent a roll call and give Republicans a chance to avoid placing themselves on record on this grave matter.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish], in alluding a few moments ago to something that for the moment I have forgotten, said, "It stinks and shines and it shines and

LXXXIV-21

stinks." I wonder if he had in mind this very procedure, because to me it both shines and stinks.

I want to put on record not only the Republicans, whom I do not blame very much for their partisanship, because it is all they have to boast of and all they have ever stood for, but also put on record what I call the reactionary Democrats, who have joined with the Republicans in this desire to thwart the beneficial effects of the New Deal and to snipe at the President of the United States. I venture to say right now that if I asked if any Republican was willing to have a roll call on this matter, not one of them would stand up; and if I applied that test to my own side of the House, I wonder how many of those who may have joined in this agreement that is most peculiar would be willing to stand up.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DALY. I will not yield.

What we have before us is this: As I understand, the only evidence adduced before the subcommittee was the evidence of Colonel Harrington, the Budget Bureau, and the message of the President of the United States delivered on the floor.

This was the only evidence, and they all agreed that at least \$875,000,000 was necessary, and absolutely necessary, to have the W. P. A. set-up carry on. Where was there any evidence otherwise, and when the gentleman from Virginia stated that they carefully considered the evidence offered before the subcommittee, if I understand it correctly, all the evidence they had was evidence in support of at least \$875,000,000. This is the sum that is necessary in the opinion of those who know. We had an appropriation made up to the 1st of March of \$1,425,000,000, which reduced practically to \$1,400,000,000 by certain provisions, and this provided for 7 months, or \$200,-000,000 a month, and even at that P. W. A. projects had to be cut, P. W. A. employees had to be laid off; and, taking that figure, it would require at least \$1,000,000,000 for the remaining 5 months of the present fiscal year; and yet there are gentlemen who say that with those figures and facts known to them \$725,000,000 will be a sufficient sum to provide for the unemployed and destitute in the Nation. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. VREELAND. Mr. Chairman, being a freshman, I do not want to seem presumptuous in addressing this body within the first 2 weeks of its opening. However, the introduction of House Joint Resolution No. 83, calling for an additional appropriation for the Works Progress Administration to meet the deficiency for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, has precipitated my making some brief remarks as to what, in my opinion, motivated the people of the United States in electing Republicans and real Democrats as distinguished from new dealers.

On November 8, 1938, the people rendered a decision in a series of trials which were started some time prior, wherein the administration and its representatives were on trial defending themselves against charges made by the Republicans, and in many cases the real Democrats. Their defense was the record of 6 years of unprecedented expenditures and an all-time high of the public debt. The prosecution, in laying its case, had many charges of governmental waste, unnecessary expenditures, fantastic undertakings, and the use of public funds indiscriminately as a campaign fund to perpetuate in office the administration and its representatives, to say nothing of the constant delegation of power from Congress to the President. Both sides submitted to the jury, the electorate, on election day. The result is apparent. The defense, the administration, was found guilty, and we now have a Congress made up of a greatly augmented delegation of Republicans and real Democrats. The people have spoken. It is a mandate and an order to us, representing the people, to carry out those statements and promises made by us in the campaign which resulted in our election, to wit, to do everything reasonable and in our power to stop governmental waste and expenditure of public funds, the removal of politics from relief, and to bend every effort to prevent the use of the suffering of our unfortunates and unemployed as a political sinecure.

Immediately upon our entry into the Halls of Congress we are informed by the administration that due to excessive expenditures and waste of W. P. A. funds for election purposes that there is a deficiency for the balance of the fiscal year, and it is necessary to appropriate \$875,000,000 to carry on the W. P. A. program for the balance of the fiscal year.

I might say in the outset, having been associated with a municipal government for 9 years, I recognize the desperate financial plight of the average municipality in trying to cope with the crying need of those who are victims of the depression, to keep them from want, and I am heartily in favor of the Federal Government subsidizing the States and municipalities to assist in their burden of relief. Until this country has risen from the depths of depression and once more business and industry can function, I cannot conscientiously stand by and see anyone go hungry or in want for clothing or warm homes. But how can business recover as long as the Government continues to excessively spend money? Under the present form of the legislation now to be considered, and having been introduced, hereinbefore referred to, the appropriation will be allocated and administered in the same manner and method as it was prior to the first of this year, without restrictions as to what amount will actually find its way to the relief and assistance of those in want or what amount will be used for the administration of it.

In my State, New Jersey-and I believe in a great many other States, if not all—there is in the State government at the present time a relief administration adequately manned with properly qualified investigators and administrators well versed in the methods of administering relief; and in my city—and I believe in a great many cities in the United States—under the director of relief, there is also an organization composed of experts in the administration of relief and a full and competent staff of investigators, all of whom are competent and better acquainted with the needs of the people to handle the expenditure of public funds than is the present W. P. A. administration. We are all aware of the method used in the appointment of the district employees of the W. P. A. administration, and I speak with complete knowledge of my own district, without presuming to have knowledge of others, and I may be in error as to some districts. I am well aware that in my district the administration of the W. P. A. and the employees, as distinguished from the recipients, have all been appointed because of their political position and not because of their knowledge of relief. The higher a person is in the Democratic political machine, the better the job he has received in the W. P. A. administration office. Also, we are all aware of the fact that a man's voting record indicates, even to the recipients, what classification he is in. Is it not a duplication of effort and an unnecessary expense to maintain a W. P. A. administration when the State is equipped to handle it? Would not it be less expensive to the taxpayer to allow the present State relief administration to administer the funds? Would not a much decreased appropriation through the State render more benefit to the unemployed?

I would be heartily in favor of an appropriation to care for the needs of those in want, in spite of the fact that the deficiency was caused by wasteful spending in a desperate and vain attempt to carry an election, providing such funds were under the supervision and control of the State relief department and distributed through the municipal relief department and the funds necessary to maintain and keep in office the members of the political machine be stricken from the appropriation. I think an examination of the figures will disclose that adequate relief can be given to the unfortunates deserving it with a far less amount than is intended to be appropriated were the administration directed as I have stated. We are all cognizant of the methods used in October to further the political desires, and many were discharged from the rolls to starve because they refused to be dictated to as to whom they should vote for. The exploitation of the misfortune of our people for political purposes is deplorable and despicable and should be stopped.

It is because the resolution to be voted on does not restrict the expenditures that I am going to vote against it, and not because I am against relief. [Applause.]

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Marcantonio to the amendment offered by Mr. Cannon of Missouri: Page 1, lines 8 and 9, after the word "of", strike out "\$875,000,000" and insert "\$915,000,000."

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, at the very outset I would like to state for the RECORD that not only did I vote for the amendment offered by the gentleman from Washington [Mr. Coffee], providing \$1,050,000,000, but I feel it is the most equitable figure and the most adequate figure. Failing that, I now offer the amendment providing for an appropriation of \$915,000,000, which is the figure suggested by the United States Conference of Mayors. If my amendment fails, I shall vote for the Cannon amendment, which provides for the appropriation recommended by the President of \$875,000,000.

It was stated by the gentleman from Virginia, the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee, that the cities and States could very well handle the men and women who are thrown off W. P. A. and not absorbed by private industry. Experience has taught us that private industry has absorbed mighty few of these people who have been thrown off W. P. A., and the report of the Mayors' Conference shows that where W. P. A. failed to make replacements in November and December the direct relief rolls increased, for which the cities are paying. The United States Conference of Mayors is an organization of the mayors of 86 cities. You must admit that the mayors know what the financial conditions of their cities are. They know the needs of the unemployed of their cities, and I submit that the opinion of the 86 mayors of 86 major cities, with all due respect to the majority on this committee, should have more weight with us here in determining this question than the recommendation of the majority of the full committee.

I would like to cite, for instance, an analysis which was submitted by the Conference of Mayors and which states:

1. The cities, together with the States and counties, are paying all of the costs of direct relief (now estimated at 1,650,000 cases for all of the costs of direct relief (now estimated at 1,650,000 cases for January 1 involving a monthly cost of nearly \$40,000,000), 45 percent of the cost of all Works Progress Administration projects [about 25 percent of the cost of all Works Progress Administration projects], and the statutory share of the various social-security aid programs. The local share of financing this huge relief and welfare load must come, and is coming, from the only two major sources of revenue available: (1) Taxes on real estate, and (2) bond issues. To request the cities to carry any increased financial burden, under the system of taxation which they are forced to utilize, is impossible.

2 Works Progress Administration and direct-relief needs for the

2. Works Progress Administration and direct-relief needs for the next 5 months will be such as to require the maintenance of an average national Works Progress Administration quota of at least 3,000,000 workers. This will require a deficiency appropriation of approximately \$915,000,000 for the balance of the present fiscal year if Federal responsibility for the destitute employable group is to be fulfilled.

3. The cities recognize that the ultimate solution of this most serious problem is to get employable destitute persons back into private employment, but pending accomplishment of this goal, it is the duty of the Federal Government to provide adequately for the needy employable unemployed. As we have so often enunciated over the past years, the American way of meeting the problem is through work and not the dole. Likewise, it is the duty of the cities and States to provide adequately for the needs of destitute unemployable persons.

This is the statement of the mayors. I suggest you read their full report which is contained in the hearings and see what W. P. A. cuts will mean to your city. When these mayors asked for \$915,000,000 it was not politics. These are Republican mayors and Democratic mayors, including the mayor of Philadelphia and the mayor of Pittsburgh and the mayor of Detroit, as well as the mayor of the city of

These mayors know what they are talking about. They know just what their cities need. They are not sponging on the Government of the United States. They are taxing the people of their cities to the fullest extent in order to care for the people who are on relief. The cities can hardly assume any additional burden. Private industry cannot at this time absorb the W. P. A. workers that will be discharged as a result of reduced appropriations. Therefore, I again ask you, What do you propose to do with the 1,151,300 W. P. A. workers whom you force off W. P. A.? [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I now include in the RECORD a letter from the Commissioner of Welfare of New York Cily, Hon. William Hodson, which gives the direct relief and W. P. A. picture in

CITY OF NEW YORK, DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE, New York, N. Y., January 11, 1959.

Hon. VITO MARCANTONIO,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.
MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN MARCANTONIO: There is no question but

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN MARCANTONIO: There is no question but that a curtailment in the W. P. A. appropriation may well work substantial hardships on the unemployed in New York City. Our recent experience proves this beyond a peradventure of a doubt. In November the W. P. A. in New York City started to reduce the number of placements on its rolls, and by December it had stopped making any replacements. As a consequence, our caseload immediately began to rise, so that in November and December there was a net increase in our home-relief caseload of approximately 8,600 cases. Today we have approximately 17500 cases. mately 6,600 cases. Today we have approximately 175,000 cases receiving relief in the city of New York. Included in these cases are about 550,000 individuals. Applications are still coming in at a very heavy rate—between 5,000 and 6,000 a week. Therefore, if W. P. A. does not resume its policy of filling vacancies as these occur, the city and State authorities will have to bear the full cost

occur, the city and State authorities will have to bear the full cost of this rising relief load.

We have estimated that at the present rate of rise the total relief bill in 1939 will be \$128,000,000, of which the city's share will be approximately \$81,000,000. The comptroller of the city of New York has estimated the total yield from relief taxes at \$71,300,000. Therefore the city faces a probable deficit of \$9,700,000.

This picture, pessimistic as it may seem, does not assume forced W. P. A. lay-offs. Obviously a drastic cut in the W. P. A. appropriation will result in such lay-offs. Past experience has indicated a very large percentage of the persons dismissed from W. P. A. promptly return to relief. Therefore our potential deficit will still further be increased as a result of new cases that may have to be taken on in the event of a drastic W. P. A. cut. It is impossible at this time to make any estimate as to what the additional burden will be because we do not know how many W. P. A. workers would have to be forcibly separated from the pay roll in the event of such a cut.

It is clear from these figures that a difficult situation would be

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM HODSON, Commissioner.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Marc-

Mr. Chairman, we now have a situation which is very much as follows: The Conference of Mayors have asked for \$915,000,000, the Appropriations Committee has brought in a bill for \$725,000,000, the gentleman from Washington [Mr. Coffeel has offered an amendment which was defeated, providing for \$1,050,000,000, and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon] offered an amendment which is still pending, in the sum of \$875,000,000, which is the recommendation of our distinguished President.

Now, apparently, there is grave doubt in the minds of many as to what the exact amount ought to be to carry us forward in this relief efficiently and judiciously. I would think that the great President and his very wise and sagacious aides ought to know what is appropriate and proper, and for that reason, despite the fact that I have the highest regard and respect for the judgment of the mayor of my own city and for the Conference of Mayors and their deliberations and their judgments, nevertheless I feel it incumbent to stand by the President, and I shall support willingly and with all the power within me the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri in the sum of \$875,000,000.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. Yes.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Does not the gentleman realize that Colonel Harrington, in defending the figure of \$875,000,-000, stated that that in and of itself was not adequate?

Mr. CELLER. That may be so, but we must realize that we are approaching a very gigantic relief figure and the time must come when we will have to "haul in our sails"; and even in this extremity, if I may put it that way, we must compromise, and the figure set by our distinguished President is primarily a compromise that should meet all reasonable needs and demands. I recognize that cities, particularly my own city, are approaching situations highly dangerous. If we adopt, for example, the figure of \$725,000,000, there will be placed out of jobs, those who have jobs now, many thousands in my own city of New York, and in a tabulation of 24 major cities we are shown that reductions of over 33 percent of the present W. P. A. employment quotas will be necessary by June 30. With the committee appropriation of \$725,000,-000, these figures show a range in the necessity for discharge of 1,800 W. P. A. workers in Baltimore by June 30, up to 43,500 in Chicago, 21,400 in Detroit, 66,700 in New York City, 13,200 in Los Angeles, 27,200 in Cleveland, 11,200 in Boston, 9,700 in Milwaukee, 12,600 in St. Louis, and 8,900 in Philadelphia. Also, we are aware, Mr. Chairman, that these cities have reached the limitations on their debt or are approaching those limitations and are unable to borrow any more money. Their credit is practically ruined in many of these cities, and no one will purchase their bonds if they keep on issuing them. I know also that many cities cannot tax to any greater appreciable degree. We cannot increase our real-estate tax rate or assessment in New York City. We were compelled there recently to inflict upon our citizens an obnoxious sales tax, but it was necessary to take care of the city's needs. When the Government fails to provide employment by W. P. A., the cities must so provide. To do so means greater taxation to be inflicted upon an overburdened citizenry in the cities. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I hope that the President's judgment will be the judgment of this House. I say this in the spirit of compromise and fair play. The President knows better than any of us. Trust his judgment.

Furthermore, cutting down the appropriation to \$725,000,000 would mean divorcing from W. P. A. employment some 1,100,000 or so men, all heads of families. Thus that many families would be dreadfully hard hit. Each family comprises, on the average, a father, a mother, and three children—five. Thus over 5,500,000 persons would face a dark, dismal winter with fear and trepidation.

Also, such a drastic cut as the committee offers would hit hardest the white-collar projects, especially the Federal art projects.

Permit a word at this juncture concerning the Federal art projects. I commend in that connection your reading carefully the splendid statement entitled "Federal Art Project," placed in the record of the hearings at page 111 et sequentia.

Yesterday some very disparaging remarks were made concerning those in charge of these projects. That was unfortunate. In general I know of no aggregation of officials that are more patriotic, efficient, and hard working than those in control of these works. Here and there you may find exceptions. Some may be Communists or dangerous radicals. Get rid of them by all means. They should have no place in any Government service. If attention is called to such employment and those in charge refuse or fail to respond properly by dismissing such Communists, those thus negligent should be fired, together with such Communists.

But, because of the wrongs or derelictions of a few in the administration of the art projects there is no reason for bringing a wholesale indictment against the entire administration.

The Federal art project is a wonderful means of interpreting America to Americans in the graphic arts—music, painting, sculpture, murals, mosaics, drama, and so forth.

Life at best is often difficult. Art removes much of life that is dull and drab and unhappy. These art projects have brought much sunshine and happiness into the lives of thousands and thousands of the poor, impoverished, and downtrodden.

We are told that all that is past is but prologue. These art projects interpret for the masses the past of America to enable us in the future to live a better and more useful life.

The work of the professional artists employed by the Works Progress Administration has been made available to millions of American people in hundreds of American communities heretofore lacking in art facilities. Works Progress Administration artists are interpreting America to Americans through almost every form of the visual arts—from vast mosaics and murals through sculpture and easel paintings, through teaching and community art center programs from eastern metropolitan areas to small communities of the far West and South.

Professional artists of all types were hard hit by the depression. The Works Progress Administration Federal art project, set up to employ jobless mural and easel painters, sculptors, art teachers, and allied workers, has operated in 41 States, New York City, and the District of Columbia. At its peak it employed 5,212 artists of all types and at the end of December 1938, 4,979. Effective January 15, 1939, this figure will be reduced to 4,700 persons.

A total of 13,458 tax-supported public institutions have received allocations of project work for which they have contributed the material and other nonlabor costs. On the walls of schools, hospitals, armories, and other public buildings all over the country hang the works of project artists. A total of more than 100,000 works of art created by Works Progress Administration artists in the fields of painting, sculpture, and graphic arts have been allocated to these institutions. Other art workers have created 550 dioramas and models, 450,000 posters, 35,000 map drawings and diagrams, 45,000 arts and crafts objects, 350,000 photographs, 10,000 lantern slides and various types of visual aids, and 10,000 Index of American Design drawings, making a grand total of about a million works of all kinds allocated by the project to tax-supported institutions during the past 3 years. In addition to these allocations there are another 25,000 works circulating in traveling exhibitions throughout the country, which will be included in future allocations. This means that for every worker now employed on the program the public has received 200 works in creative and applied art. Over 1,200 artists who are not producing work for allocation are engaged in the art educational and teaching program.

The constant drift of talent away from home communities toward the great cities has been counteracted for the first time in American art history. The initiation of the Federal-sponsored community art center program has enabled the Federal art project to carry art into areas of the country, especially in the South and West, where the people have had few opportunities to enjoy art. Since January 1936 it has established, in cooperation with local communities, 62 Federal-sponsored community art centers and galleries in Alabama, Arizona, California, Florida, Iowa, Maryland, Mississippi, Montana, New Mexico, New York State, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia, Washington, Wyoming, the District of Columbia, and New York City. Other art centers are now being projected for South Dakota, Michigan, Minnesota, West Virginia, and Kansas, where communities have formed their organizations and secured sponsors' funds to make possible the establishment of art centers for these States. The interest of the communities in these art centers is attested by the fact that over \$300,000 has been contributed toward the program by the communities themselves.

During this comparatively short period more than four and one-half million persons have participated in the activities promoted by these galleries. They have attended regular lectures by leading authorities on art. There have been demonstrations of the processes of art print and poster making, easel painting, fresco painting, and sculpture. They have received free instruction in art classes, and they have seen 256 exhibits circulated by the national headquarters

of the Works Progress Administration Federal art project, containing the work of America's creative artists in all fields—painting and sculpture, in the graphic arts, the decorative and industrial arts, and the arts and crafts. These exhibitions have had 1,252 individual showings at the centers. More than 250 other exhibitions of local works have also been exhibited. All this has been accomplished with an employment of 425 artists who staff and operate the centers and galleries.

#### MUSIC PROJECT

The Works Progress Administration Federal music project was established to provide employment for professional musicians on the relief rolls. At the peak of its employment there were almost 16,000 persons engaged in carrying out its program. On December 1, 1938, the number was 11,618, and as of January 15, 1939, 9,700 will remain. The music project is operating in 42 States, New York City, and the District of Columbia.

Inherent in the program has been the principle that while the professional skills of these musicians are being preserved the workers must return certain services to their communities. Each month approximately 3,000,000 persons attend the 5,000 performances of Works Progress Administration musicians. Hundreds of musicians, their skills preserved and even improved, have returned to private employment; music teachers have been absorbed into public-school systems or have reopened private studios, and players have found work with symphony orchestras and bands.

On December 1, 1938, 428 units of the music project were in operation. They included 125 symphony and concert orchestras, 135 concert, military, and dance bands, 17 chambermusic ensembles, 32 choral and opera units, 74 teaching projects, 15 projects for copyists, arrangers, and librarians, and

30 administrative and supervisory units.

When the Federal music project was created in July 1935 thousands of musicians were unemployed. The introduction of the talkie track had removed more than 20,000 from moving-picture theater pay rolls, and with the economic depression many others lost opportunities for earning their livelihood.

In developing the program under Works Progress Administration, a first consideration was whether the unemployed musicians in a community were professionally qualified. Needy musicians were required to appear before audition committees, which judged their qualifications, and only those persons who passed their auditions were placed on the music-project rolls.

Cosponsors of music-project units include the universities of Harvard, Columbia, New York, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Temple, Ohio State, Chicago, Loyola, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Oklahoma, North Carolina, New Mexico, California, and Southern California; and the colleges of Bennington,

Boston, and the City of New York.

City commissioners, city councils, county and township boards; school districts and boards of education; recreation groups, chambers of commerce, locals of the musicians' union, service clubs, fraternal orders, and veterans' organizations are also active as cosponsors. The National Federation of Music Clubs, with more than 5,000 member bodies in 48 States, was among the first to assume the responsibilities of cooperating sponsorship for the Federal music project program.

The firm insistence upon proved musical integrity in concert performances and educational activities has resulted in a significant penetration into the cultural life of many communities. Great music has been taken to millions for the first time and music instruction and music leadership generally have been carried to the underprivileged, the relief population, and the needy in remote rural regions and into the congested sections of the cities. Approximately 132,000 children and adults are receiving musical instruction in class units directed by project teachers in 26 States and the District of Columbia. All instruction is in class groups in order to avoid competition with the private teacher of individual students.

Distinguished educators and musicians have contributed their services to the project. Among those who have appeared in public concerts with project units are Arnold Schoenberg, Erich Wolfgang Korngold, Paul Hindemith, Frederick Stock, Willem van Noogstraten, Eugene Ormandy, the late Henry Hadley, Rudolph Ganz, Carles Chavez, Ferde Grofe, Arthur Fiedler, Paul Stassevitch, Giovanni Martinelli, Nina Koshetz, Carl Friedberg, Goerges Barrerre, and Ernest Hutcheson

#### THEATER PROJECT

Statistics: The Works Progress Administration Federal theater project, designed to give work to the theater's unemployed, gives more than a thousand performances each month before nearly a million people, 78 percent of whom pay no admission charge and many of whom have never before seen a play with living actors. To date 2,754 productions of approximately 950 different plays have been given 80,000 performances. Units at present operate in 40 cities in 20 States, playing not only in city theaters but in community halls, tents, schools, prisons, armories, churches, parks, hospitals, and Civilian Conservation Corps camps.

During the week ending December 24, 1938, the Federal theater project employed 9,841 actors, designers, technicians, playwrights, theater musicians, stage hands, ushers, and boxoffice, accounting, and secretarial people, as against a peak in 1936 of 12,700. Effective January 15, 1939, employment will be reduced to 7,900. Over a period of 3 years more than 2,000 workers have left the pay roll to return to private

employment.

Plays: Plays so far produced by Federal theater fall into the following categories, some of which are, of course, overlapping: New plays, classical plays, former Broadway plays, foreign plays, stock plays, children's plays, revues and musical comedies, vaudeville, dance plays, early Americans, American agents, and marionette plays. Opinions of the project's success with such material have come from widely divergent places and people. Sinclair Lewis voiced his tremendous enthusiasm and released the dramatization of his antidictatorial, It Can't Happen Here, for simultaneous production by 21 Federal theater units. Samuel Eliot Morrison, professor of history at Harvard, expressed his hearty approval. Burns Mantle, New York drama critic, declared the project has turned the theater back to the people, to whom it rightfully belongs. Paul Green, playwright and educator, called the Federal theater the most important thing ever to occur in the history of the American drama.

Federal theater stresses, especially in cities which have no theater, production of plays by established American dramatists of the past and present. In addition, Federal theater has produced over 100 new plays by American authors, many of whom were given their first opportunity on the Federal theater project. Federal theater has produced living newspapers which originated on the project, among them Triple-A Ploughed Under; Injunction Granted; One-Third of a Nation; Flax; and Spirochete. The list of new works also includes several musical shows written on the project, among them Ready; Aim, Fire; Revue of Reviews; Swing It; and Two-a-Day. Less than 10 percent of these works of established or new American authors are concerned primarily with social problems.

In many cities Federal theater has developed a classical series giving, in addition to an extensive religious cycle from the Middle Ages, plays by Euripides, Plautus, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Lope de Vega, Molire, Sheridan, Goldsmith, Ibsen, Tolstoy, Shekhov, Shaw, and O'Neill.

Federal theater emphasizes certain lines of activity not usually stressed by commercial theater, such as children's theater, dance theater, religious theater, marionette theater, and the celebration of various civic, State, and National holidays.

Federal theater includes among its units Negro groups in several centers, among them New York City, Boston, Raleigh, Seattle, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles.

Service and research: The National Service Bureau, with offices in each of the five regions of the Federal theater project, offers advice on plays and production methods, publishes catalogs of all types of plays, and provides much other information not only to the project itself but to little theaters, schools, churches, welfare organizations, and tax-supported institutions.

Within the National Service Bureau a unit has been set up to make a historical survey of the American theater and thereby provide for the first time a comprehensive picture of the American theater, not only in book form but in photographs, microfilms, voice recordings, designs, models, life masks, and so forth.

The project also studies the theater as a force in education, therapy, and prison welfare. Cooperation with Bellevue Hospital authorities in New York City has resulted in successful experiments which have aided the progress of mental therapy. Hand-marionette companies work in hosiptals with children whose hands are paralyzed. Marionette companies have dramatized Death Takes the Wheel to cooperate with local police in a campaign against reckless driving.

Retraining: Federal theater undertakes the retraining of its personnel. In New York City, for example, when an actor finishes an engagement he reports at once to the Provincetown Theater, where, until he is again cast, he takes courses in diction, body work, fencing, reading rehearsals, and voice.

Provincetown Theater is also the center of training for an activity which provides a good avenue of reemployment for professional theater people, namely, professional leadership for community groups. Thus 300 dramatic coaches have been provided to the New York City community with the purpose of building, through community participation, new outlets for community expression and better audiences for the theater

Radio: The Federal theater radio division, which plays to an estimated weekly audience of 10,000,000, has established units in a dozen cities. A series of dramatic versions of Paul de Kruif's studies of science, Men Against Death, has been a leader among dramatic programs on the air. The radio unit also cooperates with other governmental agencies; for example, it has made a series of recordings entitled "Slums Cost You Money" for distribution by the United States Housing Authority.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired. The question is on the adoption of the amendment to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Marcantonio) there were—ayes 21 and noes 199.

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Massingale] for 3 minutes.

Mr. MASSINGALE. Mr. Chairman, perhaps I can do nearly as well on 3 minutes as I could on 30 minutes, but I do hope to state to this House that I am in favor of the Cannon amendment. It is a very serious matter to my mind that we are considering here today, and there may be no telling what the consequences will be if we go ahead here cutting and slashing in the beginning of an economy campaign for the purpose of trying to balance the Budget. Just as a lawyer-and most of us here in this House have licenses to practice law-I submit this to you as a proposition. The chairman of this committee is a lovable character and very good lawyer. I believe every man who practices here, however, will agree with me that if all of the evidence that the chairman has brought forward and that those supporters of his have brought forward should be taken before a justice of the peace court, and assuming now, of course, that the Budget Committee and the President of the United States can make an issue upon which to predicate a procedure for the passage of a bill in the House, then the average justice of the peace would sustain a general demurrer to the evidence of the committee to overturn that recommendation.

The chairman of the subcommittee has been very frank about it. He says that he has no evidence. All he is acting on is rumor-rumor from somebody that we are just about now to set in on a great business upturn; and if we have that upturn, in the opinion of somebody else, there will be lots of men put to work; and he is going to put a lot of them on the P. W. A., which will absorb a lot of them and absorb also a lot in the national youth movement. My God; these W. P. A. fellows are not qualified for the youth movement: and you cannot put these girls that are going to be taken care of in the National Youth Administration on the W. P. A. It is just foolishness. Why not get down to business and pass this Cannon amendment, because it is an estimate of some capable authority, and the subcommittee recommends nothing except that we follow somebody's prediction as to what may happen. There is no fact shown by the subcommittee report upon which this committee can intelligently act. If the subcommittee's guess recommendation for a cut of \$150,000,000 from the recommendation of \$875,000,000 by the Budget should be followed it will put us in the attitude of endangering the lives of many who are getting a small amount of money a month upon which to live. If we have due regard to the general welfare we ought not to act upon guesswork, but should follow the recommendations of the Budget, which has given us the only evidence of what should be done. [Ap-

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Oklahoma has expired. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California [Mr. TOLAN] for 1 minute.

Mr. TOLAN. Mr. Chairman, in supporting this amendment increasing the amount for the W. P. A. appropriation, may I say that I do so with all sincerity after listening yesterday and today to the interesting debates on this very important piece of legislation.

This is not a political issue but one that strikes at the very hearts and souls of the American people regardless of party. As it has been repeatedly stated on the floor, the committee's recommendation of \$725,000,000 means the discharge of over 1,000,000 workers and will necessarily affect other millions of dependents, and this, too, in the dead of winter.

Please let us pause and ask ourselves the question just who are these millions of workers and dependents? Why, they are the very bone and sinew of America. Thousands upon thousands of them have helped this country to be what it is today, and now they are in want and misery. And from whom are they asking help but from their paid representatives in Congress?

May I ask you just what are these millions of workers and dependents to do? The States and counties cannot take care of them. They are too intelligent to starve. What would any one of you Members do if you were cut from the W. P. A., your rent not paid, and the children hungry, and yet your next-door neighbor kept on the rolls?

As far as I am personally concerned, I do not believe that this Nation can ever survive with part of our people eating and working regularly and another part unemployed and hungry.

Yes; I know we hear much about balancing the Budget, but it never should be balanced at the sacrifice of millions of our

As individuals I know you would sacrifice your last ounce of credit for your children, for we would be poor fathers and mothers, indeed, if our children came to us out of work and hungry and we told them that we could do nothing for them, even if it broke up our families, as we must maintain our credit and balance our budgets. Uncle Sam, as the financial head of this great Nation, is in that identical position today.

This Nation will never go into decay by feeding the hungry and clothing the naked. This commandment comes straight from God, and a Nation can easily fall if we do not obey this commandment.

So I appeal to my colleagues to think twice before you vote in favor of the reduced committee amount, for if you do it means millions of discouraged and helpless men, women, and children in what is supposed to be the richest country on

Millions of people are awaiting your vote today, and if you vote for the reduced amount the great cry that will echo and reecho throughout this Nation from husband and wife, from mothers and fathers, and helpless little children, "What are we going to do now?" Let us answer that cry right here and now by at least voting for the \$875,000,000 appropriation, which is based upon a scientific study.

My own personal wish is that it should be at least a billion dollars. If we do this, God will bless us and we can hold our heads high when we go home and feel happier and better, for it has been said that "happiness is like a perfume; you cannot pour it on others without getting a few drops on yourself."

[Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman

from California [Mr. Voornis] for 3 minutes.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, if anybody wants to know what I think about this proposition, I have a speech in the RECORD yesterday afternoon. I am for the Cannon amendment. I voted for the two other amendments. and I did that for the primary reason that I think in the protection of our democratic society and institutions, that the more you can relieve the pressure of poverty the better, and the more you increase it the worse off you are.

The factual arguments presented by the gentleman from Missouri, I stated yesterday and I repeat today, have not been answered on this floor by a single speaker. All the evidence in this case is to the effect that \$875,000,000 is the least that should be appropriated for this purpose. The case of the opposition rests upon one supposition, that by cutting off people first business will reabsorb them afterward. I am convinced they have the cart before the horse. If you get real resumption of business, if you get substantial increase in national wealth production, the \$150,000,000 here under consideration will not be a consequential item in comparison, as every sensible person knows. If we fail to provide for sustaining the recovery of business, if you prevent the circulation of this money at the bottom of the economic scale, and take away the consuming power of these people, then I am convinced we will destroy the hope some of us have of balancing the Budget by an increase in production instead of by a tragic decrease in consumption. I think it is penny-wise and pound-foolish to do this thing. I think, for the sake of the stable recovery of business as well as out of concern for human need, we should appropriate what the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon] has asked for in his amendment.

The fact that all the people who should have had work have not been on W. P. A. is certainly no argument for making the matter worse by forcing out of employment additional people. Such an argument is ridiculous. Our problem has been and is to keep our people at work, instead of idle on some kind of charitable relief. There are, I think, other ways of doing this than by W. P. A., one of which is suggested in an extension of my remarks in this RECORD. But as I have said over and over, they would be opposed even more bitterly, for they would be more fundamental. Until some of those other measures are taken, W. P. A. jobs represent a minimum of justice to the unemployed. It is little enough for us to do.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Keller] is recognized for 4 minutes.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, I regret exceedingly that names have been called. There ought to have been none of any such regrettable practice, but when the gentleman from New York refers to the men who are conducting the W. P. A. as "a gang," he insults the American people, because the men who are carrying on this work are just good, plain Americans like all the rest of us, as patriotic as any, as honest as any, as proud of their achievements and as dissatisfied when they are wasted by idleness and enforced inefficiency as any. They are as good men as the gentleman from New York, as good as I am, or as good as any other man here. It is unworthy of this House to be compelled to listen to any such

expressions. Those men are American men who are simply out of work, not through any fault of their own but from the failure of this Government to do what it ought to do, and can do, and ultimately will do. That is the fact in the case.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. To what gentleman from New York

is the gentleman from Illinois referring?

Mr. KELLER. I mean the gentleman from New York, Mr. TABER, of course. He is the only one who referred to the W. P. A. workers as "a gang."

We seem to be enjoying a lot of ignorant, ill-considered misstatement of fact-the unlimited abuse of everything in sight. What we need most is a reversion to truth telling and common sense.

The truth is that for an emergency operation on a national scale, such as we had to face, the setting up of the W. P. A. is a brilliant success. Of all those who are criticising Harry Hopkins not one could have done as well as he did. There was no precedent to guide us. There had been no national planning. The terrible panic which precipitated this unprecedented loss of employment, marked finally the end of free land in the United States. The going to this wonderful area of free, tillable land-a billion four hundred million acres at the end of the Civil War-had furnished the safety valve for men out of jobs for all of the panics since that period up to and including the panic of 1907. The passing of the panic of 1921 was possible through the accrued building requirements of the World War period. When the terrible panic of 1929 came, the free land was all gone, the necessary buildings were all built, so that for the first time in our history when a man lost his job, he was out with no place to go and nothing to do. For the first time, America faced the problem of unemployment with millions out of work. That we have done as well as we have is proof positive that the job has been well done under all the difficulties which faced us. No less has it proven the patient patriotic devotion of those millions of unwillingly idle workers. Surely such American steadfastness and faith in our Government ought not to be rewarded by cutting anyone off from subsistence until government has seen to it that a job is provided for every man and woman who wants to work.

Yet, that is exactly what we are doing if we cut the appropriation below \$875,000,000. Some of my colleagues are saying it will not throw out a million men but only 600,000. Well, suppose it will starve the families of only 600,000!

What a mass crime that is to contemplate!

Most especially has the setting up of the W. P. A. been a brilliant success because there was also an ever-present desire for political sniping, the ever-present actual effort to

create trouble for political advantage.

In the consideration of the appropriation for \$875,000,000 for the continuance of the W. P. A. is the first time I have ever known a committee of this House to constitute itself witness, jury, and judge at the same time, presenting no testimony contrary to that which was presented to it, but making up its own mind without any testimony, and entirely contrary to all the testimony that was presented to it. That is a true statement of exactly what has been done. The men who are assuming this responsibility ought to know something about the subject if they are going to take that much responsibility.

I want to call your attention to this fact, that in the Thirtysixth District of New York, which is represented by Mr. TABER, there are 1,200 men on relief, on W. P. A.; yes; the whole of 1,200. Yet Mr. TABER stands there and dictates to this House what we are to do. What does he know about it? He knows nothing of the suffering of it. He knows nothing at all about it, yet he stands here and tells you and me what we shall and

shall not do.

What can he know about it? With so small a numberonly 1,200-needy unemployed? Were that the average in each congressional district the whole number in the United States on work relief would be only half a million: the problem would be simple and the solution in sight. But what sort of song would the gentleman sing if he had 12 times or 20 times that many on W. P. A. rolls, as some of us have, with no possible help for them that we are not already using to the fullest extent? He would ask, as I am asking, that the districts which are so fortunate as to have so few shall not on that account starve the great mass who are less fortunate. This is one country under one flag. We must, in all justice and common sense, act nationally in this national question of unemployment.

I want to call attention to the fact that our good friend from Virginia [Mr. Woodrum], while not quite so far removed from the necessity of W. P. A., has only 2,600 on relief in his district. What can these men know about this subject when they have no more of a relief problem than that to contend with? When they have never had an opportunity to feel the need of thousands of men who only ask a chance to work for an honest living? Yet the judgment of the gentleman from Virginia and the gentleman from New York, taken together, are the two judgments that are controlling this House in relation to this subject.

The gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Rees] said that 30 percent of the entire amount appropriated for W. P. A. is being spent upon administration. That is as near the truth as most of the statements made here today by those who are opposing the \$875,000,000 appropriation. The fact is that somewhat less than 5 percent is being expended by the W. P. A. for administration. I am glad that the gentleman from Kansas did not exaggerate more than sixfold. His statement comes nearer the truth than most we have been having.

Now we are being told by Mr. Taber that if we appropriate sufficient funds to carry on the W. P. A. for 2 months, we can solve the whole problem of unemployment within that time. That suggestion would have to come from the Republican side. One hundred and fifty-four Republicans voted for that 2-month idea and only six on that side voted against it. Yet for all the 8 years I have been here I have not heard a single, solitary word come from that side which proposed to solve this problem of unemployment. Yet, Mr. Taber now proposes to do it in 2 months.

If we cut this appropriation, we deny help before we provide the solution for unemployment. I am as anxious as any man on the floor of this House to reduce expenses, but to reduce appropriations upon which men, women, and children are at least subsisting, before we provide other means for making a living, is to force misery upon innocent people—a crime against humanity in the name of economy.

Why do we not announce honestly and frankly that, of necessity, in a republic every governmental policy is decided by political action? Then accept responsibility for what happens and make the other fellow shoulder his responsibility as it ought to be. All of this talk about taking W. P. A. out of politics is being made by those who profited most by the W. P. A. vote that went against the Democrats in the last election. If the W. P. A. had voted with the Democratic Party, on a Nation-wide scale, there would have been no new Republican faces in this House. And anyone who studies the vote cast in the recent election will be compelled to admit this fact. The facts are, the W. P. A. workers are just good plain Americans like all the rest of us, as patriotic as any, as honest as any, as dissatisfied with their lot. They reviewed the W. P. A. in their own way and arrived at their one conclusion and voted their own sentiments, as they had a right to do.

Those who think the W. P. A. worker has no option except to do politically what the party in power asks him to do, do not know what they are talking about. The "Iron Men of Egypt" are a complete and perfect refutation of that un-American idea of American citizens. I am here saying that if the Republicans should come into power they would be welcome to any advantage they think they would get from their political control of the W. P. A. All I should ask of them would be that they vote sufficient appropriations to keep men who need it at work until we find and apply a method of providing a job for every man and woman who wants to work.

We cannot at the same time preach party responsibility and dodge party responsibility. No more can we justify aiding and abetting another party in dodging its responsibility.

In fact, I see no reason why the people who send us here shall not have full knowledge of all our acts, especially our actual voting record. Nor can I see any reason why a courageous man should not willingly assist in providing such a record.

The result of the recent elections should by no means be misunderstood, and need not be, by anyone who wants to look the matter squarely in the face.

It was in no sense a Republican victory or a victory founded upon the desire of the people for political reaction. This is clearly proven by the policies advocated in nearly, if not all, the districts in which Democrats were replaced by Republicans. Did these successful Republican candidates advocate going back to former Republican policies? Did a single one refer to the glories of Harding, Coolidge, or Hoover? Not a one! What did they harp on?

They assured the W. P. A. workers that the workers would be paid higher wages, and that more men and women would be put to work on W. P. A.

They advocated increased benefits under the old-age assistance provisions. They stood for a reduction of the age limit. A large number came out openly or clandestinely and tied themselves to the Townsend plan of \$200 a month.

Likewise the farmers voted against Democratic Congressmen because the price of farm products had not been established and maintained at a fair price. They protested against low prices and voted for Republican candidates who promised higher farm prices—more money.

The whole Republican campaign in every district was planned and executed on the specific promise of doing more for the W. P. A. workers, of doing more for the aged, of doing more for the farmers of the Nation; that is, to pay all of them more money. In short, all the Republican candidates for the purpose of getting more votes promised to "out deal" the New Deal. Their campaign was one of criticism of the Democratic Party for not helping the underprivileged more, a campaign of assurance that, if elected, the Republican candidates would correct all this by lending their influence to increase the pay and the number of workers under W. P. A.; to increase old-age benefits; and to increase farm prices. Republican candidates, almost without exception, promised faithfully a better, more liberal deal than the New Deal had given. They were enthusiastic for more money for W. P. A., the aged, and the farmers. They were the most promising candidates who ever ran for office.

Such were the promises that are responsible for the appearance of the 70 new faces on the Republican side. In my State the Republicans gained four with these vacuous promises, and these four, with their first opportunity to vote on the matter, along with the whole Republican phalanx, are voting curtailment. They are voting to reduce the pay of the W. P. A. workers and to throw out of their present jobs 90,000 W. P. A. workers now on the pay rolls in Illinois; voting to throw out of their jobs a million W. P. A. workers now on the pay rolls in the United States. And every Republican Representative in this House, except six, are in this line up, are voting the same way, voting to cut the President's recommendation of \$875,000,000 down to \$725,000,000; and they talk about political rubber stamps.

Not once did the Republican candidates offer any new or constructive policy of their own. The reason is plain. They have nothing to offer. During the 9 years since the coming of the great panic of 1929, not once has the Republican leadership offered a single constructive idea for reemployment of those whom their policies alone threw out of their jobs. Why don't they make some suggestions? They have not had the courage to go back to the old Republican scrapheap and try to salvage anything from the wreckage which 12 years of solid Republican rule brought about. None of those sad memories were set to campaign music. How many of you good, sure-enough, honest-to-goodness Republican Members bent the knee to old Doctor Townsend to save your precious

political hides? A lot! Plenty, in fact! One of these days I am going to submit a list of these and then watch how they vote when the Townsend plan bill comes up on its passage. Then there will be wailing and gnashing of teeth and an all-awakening to the political facts involved in the recent election.

Let us speak plainly. The political turn-over was a protest of the voters of the country against the Democrats for not doing more for them economically than they had done, not for not doing less.

It must be noted that in too many instances the Democratic Representatives from purely agricultural sections are voting with the Republican Party to cut the appropriation which the President asked for.

The men here who represent purely agricultural districts must learn that they cannot hope to secure a full measure of justice for the farmer in increased prices without at the same time granting equal justice to the laboring man and the white collar men of this country.

On the other hand, the man who represents a labor district must learn that if labor is to receive its fair reward he must see to it that the farmer is to be granted his equal

This constant and unjustified scramble here in this body as between the city and the country dweller is a disgrace to our intelligence. If we longer fail to get a full understanding of the interdependence of all producers of wealth, it will continue to result in the inequalities which we are compelled to observe and recognize as existing at the present time.

In fact, the Committees on Labor and Agriculture should meet for mutual study of this very important matter. They could, in my judgment, arrive at such mutual understanding between the two great branches of wealth producers as to formulate fair conditions between the two. Some such arrangement ought to be worked out, because every time a bill comes up here that represents the apparent special interests of men who live from their labor alone, and the vote of this House turns on that apparent point, we find the farmer Representatives either seeking an amendment to limit the idea of the bill or vote against. Every time this occurs we hear our very human labor Representatives say, "Just wait until those farmers want something, and see me kick their dog around."

Exactly the same thing, except to a smaller extent, results when some bill is proposed for the apparent special benefit of the farmers, and the farmer Representatives, when their bill is limited or gets by with a squeak, make the same remarks—"what they will do to that labor group."

I am quite purposely somewhat exaggerating this matter, although not largely so, to bring out the basic facts in this case. Go back to the time when the farmer was taught that he was a capitalist and had, of necessity, to stand with the capitalists. Only after many, many years are the men who labor long and arduously on the land beginning to learn that they, too, are laboring men and cannot be prosperous while laboring men are poverty stricken. The laboring man has been taught that the farmer is a capitalist and therefore "agin" the laboring man. All of which is not true. The prejudice of the farmer and the laborer against one another is handicapping both, limiting both, preventing either from having what both have a right to, and I call upon William Green; John L. Lewis; John Vesecky, of the Farmers' Union; Louis J. Taber, of the National Grange; and Edward O'Neal, of the American Farm Bureau Federation, to work out and announce to the world the interdependence of all labor-the necessity for all wealth producers developing their community of interest to the advantage of all. It does not make sense for a laboring man to make his average of \$4 a day while the farmer is making 50 cents. No more does it make sense for the farmer to kick the union labor man because, through unions, he is getting more than the farmer, who has no effective union. The two must get together and work out across the table what is fair to both.

The W. P. A. boys are having a hard time getting by on their \$40 to \$44 a month in the smaller counties. They had waited for a solution of the unemployment problem. It had not come. They felt that if they had to continue as W. P. A. workers the wages should largely be increased and that is true, if these men must remain as W. P. A. workers.

They knew in their own minds that Congress had not solved the unemployment problem. They were naturally anxious to have it solved, because no man wants to have an uncertain existence. No man wants to work for one-half of what he is worth and quite often for a third of what he did get in industry,

They resented the idea that work was being "made" for them. They resented the idea that they were on "charity." The fact is they were not on charity. All that the W. P. A. boys wanted was a man's pay for a man's work. They wanted that and they had a right to it.

Such is somewhat the manner in which they reasoned. They knew that there was an abundance of work in sight for all of the idle men in America for all of the years to come. They knew that the generations ahead of them had piled it up, ready to be done. They resented the charge that they were inefficient. They were not, and are not, except as Congress had compelled them to be. Some wise man in one body or the other here inserted the provision for an allowance on the appropriation of only \$5 per man-month for materials and equipment, because he did not know anything about the doing of work. He did not know what efficiency meant.

If the Congress had refused his interposition and allowed the \$17 per man-month which industry uses for material and equipment we would be getting as great efficiency out of W. P. A. as the P. W. A. workers got when they were given the proper materials and equipment.

In the present appropriation, an allowance of \$17 per man-month for material and equipment would double the efficiency of the entire W. P. A. in the doing of permanent work. That is real economy. It is a good deal to expect of Congressmen who know all about parsimony but very little about economy.

The W. P. A. workers are just plain Americans like you and I. There are a few lazy ones among them—about the same as there are among the Members of this House. Surely they lean on their shovels sometimes, even as you and I. The days of necessary drudgery are over; the days when we can compel men to do drudgery ought also to be over.

A thousand men in Williamson County, in the district I represent, built several miles of road through fairly heavy country with only picks, shovels, mattox, and wheelbarrows. These same men accomplished five times as much—man for man—when they were given the proper and ordinary equipment for such work. Before any Congressman has a right to charge inefficiency he ought to square himself by saying that the lack of efficiency in the W. P. A. is entirely the fault of the Congress itself, and nobody else, and that is the truth.

The Twenty-fifth District of Illinois had 20,116 W. P. A. workers on the pay rolls on the 1st of December, and 3,500 certified for work who had not yet been put to work.

In proportion to its population, we have the largest number of unemployed employables in the United States. It has therefore been not only my opportunity but my duty to study and observe carefully the results of the W. P. A. I say, without hesitation, that working the same length of time under the same conditions and handicaps, and with the same limitations in material and equipment, the accomplishment of these men could not have been surpassed by any industrial organization. Everyone who has observed carefully during the continuation of this W. P. A. work must have noted the excellent increase in efficiency, notwithstanding all their handicaps.

It is so easy to criticize, so easy to misrepresent, that I confess I have often been indignant over the absolute misrepresentation in relation to these men and their work. Such criticism is the expression of men who have had no training or experience in industry, of whom our Congress has a large number.

The great opportunity that has faced and now faces the Congress is to convert this enormous idleness into permanently valuable improvements. We are failing to do this because, in my judgment, we have mistaken parsimony for economy.

How much we have lost by our lack of understanding is appalling when we take a look at the facts. The loss from idleness in wages and salaries in the nonagricultural industries during the period from January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1939—9 years—amounted to \$119,354,000,000, as reported by the Department of Labor.

If we want a true picture, we must add to that the loss of farm income during the same period of \$38,600,000,000.

These losses from enforced idleness represent more than four times the total national debt. In the presence of these tremendous losses I am astonished to find the Congress piffling over whether we shall throw out of work into enforced idleness another million men who are at the present time employed, the ability to create wealth sacrificed, the lives of men wasted irretrievably.

I have no desire to lecture my colleagues nor criticize their opinions, but the plain facts as herein stated are worthy of

any man's consideration.

Let us understand that, if we had been willing, we could have saved most of this unbelievable loss—saved it in the making of permanent national improvements. That is the problem we are facing at the present time—to save these terrible losses from enforced idleness.

The question of unemployment is the most ominous one that has ever faced civilization. The solution of it is up to

the American Congress.

In all good spirit I challenge my colleagues to enter into the solution of that problem instead of piffling over pennies and calling it economy.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Sabath] for 4 minutes.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, if ever there was an amendment that deserved the approval of this House, it is the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri. Not only do considerations of economic conditions and justice demand our support of this proposition but considerations for the ordinary needs of humanity demand that we should vote in favor of this amendment.

Who are the people opposed to the amount asked for by the administration? They are the same people who brought about the tragic economic conditions of 1929, 1930, 1931, and 1932. They are the same men who are notorious to us and to the country as tax dodgers. They are fearful they will be called upon to bear a portion of this burden through some form of additional taxation. These reactionaries are trying to make you and the Nation believe that our tax burden is oppressive. If they stated the truth, however, they would be obliged to admit that the taxes in this country are lower than the taxes in any other country in the world, especially on large incomes.

I say to the Members of the House that it is their duty to look back to 1932, when, under Hoover's administration, relief and aid were denied. You know what transpired. When the people asked for bread and employment they were fed gas bombs and lead. You know that the great victory of Franklin D. Roosevelt was brought about because people lost confidence in the Republican Party, and because Hoover and the Republican Party failed to do anything to help the millions of unfortunate people who lived in dugouts, who lived in

want and misery.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. Oh, sit down, sit down! No; I will not yield to the gentleman.

We know what the conditions were in 1932, when between 18,000,000 and 20,000,000 men were out of employment. I know what the situation was way out in the West when people started to take the law into their own hands. There

was fear in the minds of many that we were on the verge of revolt.

I say, Mr. Chairman, we must act advisedly. I say that it is our duty to the country to support and vote for the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri to make it possible for Federal agencies to take care of those whom it is impossible for the mayors of cities and the Governors of States to help because of the exhaustion of local treasuries. I have resolutions here in my hand, I have wires from the mayors, and a long telegram from the great mayor of the city of Chicago, Mayor Kelly, who says:

Chicago has endeavored to do its duty in providing for its unfortunate citizens who found themselves in need through no fault of their own, both in contributing to Federal works programs and in supplying direct relief. Chicago is not in position to underwrite additional costs at this time which a curtailment of W. P. A. operation quite definitely forecasts.

Chicago urgently needs employment. That is imperative if we are to avoid threatening difficulties. Admittedly, private employment has been increasing in recent months, but not fast enough to care

for local conditions.

I am appealing to this committee and to you gentlemen to help us take care of the 100,000 people who will be thrown off the relief rolls, or W. P. A. work. We will not be able to provide for them unless you approve this reasonable amount. The American people voted in favor of relief in 1932, 1934, 1936, and 1938. The same profiteers and tax dodgers who were responsible for the worst depression in history were opposing us then as they are today. If we listen to them, thousands will go hungry again; but if we listen to our conscience and the American people, we will vote for the amendment of the gentleman from Missouri and approve the amount the administration asks for.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by including therein the telegram from Mayor Kelly, of Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair cannot grant that request. Under the rule the gentleman will have to submit that request in the House.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman-

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman from Oklahoma rise?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Am I not one of the 14 seeking recognition at the time debate on this amendment was limited?

The CHAIRMAN. All but 5 minutes of the time has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] for 5 minutes.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, as debate and difference of opinion has proceeded for the last couple of days so emphatically, and when everyone has kept smiling and in good humor, I have been reminded of the biblical observation:

How pleasant it is for the brethren to dwell together in peace and harmony.

I really apologize for taking the floor again, and would not have done so except for the remarks of my very dear friend on the committee from Missouri about the parliamentary situation. I think too much of him to get offended at anything he says, but the gentleman has revealed somewhat intimately the proceedings of the subcommittee and the full committee.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Not now, I may say to the gentleman.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. When the gentleman makes statements about me—

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I do not yield to the gentleman now.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Certainly in fairness the gentleman ought to yield.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I cannot yield to my friend now.

The gentleman has referred in most inferential terms to my conduct in handling this bill as being most unusual and most different from anything that has ever happened. He has stated that applause came from a certain side of the House, and things are very mysterious and very strange. Well, Mr. Chairman, what I have done in connection with this bill was approved by 7 of the 8 Democrats on the subcommittee [applause] and it was approved by 11 of the 12 members of the subcommittee.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. And by 20 to 12 of the full committee. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Not now.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. It is to be regretted that the gentleman will not yield on the facts in the case.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. The gentleman from Virginia thinks he is stating the facts, I may say to my friend.

Mr. Chairman, there is nothing mysterious about it. The suggestion was made that the bill should have been introduced for \$875,000,000 in order that Members might be put on the spot and made to register their position. I am not interested in putting anybody on the spot on either side of the aisle. I am interested in trying to accomplish something constructive with this bill. [Applause.] There is no difficulty about any Member of this House letting his constituents know how he stands if he wishes to, and if he does not wish to have it done, that is his business and not mine.

Our friends over here have taken a very emphatic position. There is no question of doubt as to where they have stood on this matter. There is no denial of that, and there is no difficulty about any Member letting his constituents know, and I fancy there is not a Member of this House who is going to be frightened by the threat that gentlemen in the newspaper gallery are going to record how he marched when he went down the aisle through the tellers. [Applause.]

So much for the parliamentary situation. Reference has been made time and time again to the question, What evidence does the committee present for the action that it has taken? Well, gentlemen, the full committee of this House is not to be placed in the position of having to bear the burden of disproving all questions that come to it. When a department, or an agency of the Government, or the Budget comes to a committee of this House and asks for an appropriation, the burden is upon the bureau or the department to prove its case. There were no budgetary hearings on this relief item. The hearings show that. There was nothing but an ex parte conference. The Budget of the President only had the statement of the W. P. A. The committee has that, and you have that.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired. The question recurs to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon].

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, on that question I ask for tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chair appointed Mr. Cannon of Missouri and Mr. Woodrum of Virginia to act as tellers.

The Committee divided; and the tellers reported there were—ayes 137, noes 226.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. TARVER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Tarver: At the end of the resolution, as amended, strike the period, insert a colon and the following proviso: "Provided further, That the appropriations herein made shall not be available unless and until rates of pay of employees of the Works Progress Administration are so fixed by appropriate administrative order as to eliminate differentials in rates of pay of workers of the same general class exceeding 25 percent of the maximum rates as between workers employed in different States or different areas of the same general type in the several States."

Mr. TARVER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the indulgence of the Committee to proceed for 5 minutes in addition to the time allowed me under the rules?

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. McCormack). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Tarver]?

There was no objection.

Mr. TARVER. Mr. Chairman, I do not desire to try the patience of the House unduly. I realize that you are tired and anxious to complete the consideration of the pending bill. I discussed the subject matter to which this amendment relates fully on yesterday and it would be of no benefit to undertake now to recapitulate the arguments which I then sought to advance.

I pointed out, in accordance with information which had been furnished me by the Works Progress Administration itself, that in the four different general classes of W. P. A. employees there are differentials existing under present regulations amounting in some cases, in the matter of unskilled labor, to between 500 and 600 percent; from a low of Tennessee's 18 cents per hour to a high of \$1.02½ per hour sometimes paid in the State of Illinois, and that similar differentials exist in the rates of pay of others of the four classes to be considered.

The greatest differential exists in the rates of pay of the professional and technical workers, which varies from a low of 34 cents an hour in some States to a high of \$3.03 per hour in Pennsylvania. This means a variation of between 800 and 900 percent.

I pointed out from statistics likewise furnished by the Works Progress Administration that these differentials are not in any way in accord with the differences in the cost of living in the various sections of the country, as illustrated by a survey made under the direction of the Commissioner of Labor Statistics as of December 15, 1938, showing the cost of maintenance of the average family of four in 31 different cities scattered throughout the United States.

I pointed out a very slight variation existed in the cost of living in the city of Atlanta and the city of New York; yet a very great difference amounting in the case of the maxima allowed to more than 300 percent existed in the pay of unskilled laborers employed by the W. P. A. in the city of Atlanta and in the city of New York.

Mr. Chairman, I mention these matters merely as examples of instances which might be found in the statistics which I placed in the Record throughout the entire United States and which are not confined to a comparison of rates in the South, in the North, and in the East alone, but pointed out that similar discriminations existed between States and localities within States in other parts of the country.

I am seeking by this amendment not to permit differentials within the same class of laborers to a greater extent than 25 percent of the maximum wages paid within that class. This percentage of differentials which my amendment proposes to allow is greater than the difference in the cost of living between any two sections of the United States, and that fact is disclosed by the statistics which I have placed in the RECORD. I consider the amendment to be exceedingly fair. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Woodrum] in charge of the bill, I am informed, in the course of his remarks stated that in his opinion the amendment is meritorious; yet he stated he thought it would be better to defer its consideration until the House begins consideration of a W. P. A. bill for the next fiscal year. I do not know whether the House is going to have for consideration a W. P. A. bill for the entire fiscal year 1940 or not. Our last W. P. A. bill took care only of the situation until the 1st of February approximately of the fiscal year, or for a period of 7 months. The present bill takes care of the situation for approximately 5 months. It is about as permanent a measure, or a measure which covers as long a period, as the average W. P. A. bill seems to cover.

I have no disposition to try to interfere with the proper administration of the W. P. A. Far from it. I am anxious to cooperate with the W. P. A. in every way I can as a Member of Congress in trying to make its work efficient and successful. I am not here for the purpose of making any attack upon the Works Progress Administration. On the contrary, I concede to the officials who are in charge of the work of the Works Progress Administration an honest and conscientious desire to do a good job, although it is a difficult job; but I do not think it is improper that the Congress should suggest to them by legislation of this sort that they ought not to permit discrimination between members of the same class of workers who are receiving aid from the Government to an extent certainly of more than 25 percent.

May I point out to you I have said and I say now that I am not wedded to the language of this amendment. It is the best I have been able to devise in an effort to correct what is undoubtedly a bad situation. If this amendment is adopted by the House, it will go to the Senate; and the Senate committee and the Senate itself will study this question in the light of whatever the officials of the Works Progress Administration may desire to say. It is possible that the Works Progress Administration itself may be able to suggest better language than I have suggested in this amendment which will meet the problem which we now have under consideration. I hope they may be able to do so. Certainly the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Woodrum], who will be chairman of the House conferees, will be in position to exercise a great influence in the formulation of whatever proviso might finally remain in the bill.

I cannot understand that the adoption of this amendment would in any way hamper the work of the Works Progress Administration. I do believe, on the other hand, that it would result eventually in the correction of very grave injustices to a great many of the millions of unfortunates who are now seeking a livelihood through the activities of the W. P. A.

Mr. CARLSON and Mr. SIROVICH rose.

Mr. TARVER. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. CARLSON. May I ask the gentleman from Georgia if he has any figures or can give the Committee any figures on whether if his amendment is adopted the amount carried in the joint resolution will take care of more people with an average rate of pay throughout the United States than the rates that are presently applied?

Mr. TARVER. I do not have definite figures on that subject. The natural effect of the amendment must be to take care of more people than are being taken care of under the present program. The effect will be to prevent the continuance of the payment to professional and technical workers, for example, of an extremely high rate of pay, such as \$3.03 per hour, amounting for an 8-hour day to over \$24 per day. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in 3 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] is recognized.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, there is undoubtedly a great deal of merit in the proposition involved in the amendment of the gentleman from Georgia, but our colleague the gentleman from Kansas struck the keynote when he said that no one had any figures on the possible effect of the amendment. No one knows the effect it will have. It would seem the effect of it will be to raise the lower man but not to lower the higher man. If that should occur, people will be taken off the rolls.

At any rate, Mr. Chairman, I wish to reiterate what I said before, at the risk of boring you. Please do not write into this temporary measure restrictive administrative provisions that may tie up the whole program. To undertake to equalize rates of pay in this program without studied consideration might cause embarrassment to the entire program. Let us reserve action upon this matter and other like meritorious efforts until we come to consider the whole problem,

which I hope very much we shall do during this session of Congress. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TARVER].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. TARVER) there were—ayes 119, noes 131.

Mr. TARVER. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers Mr. Woodrum of Virginia and Mr. Tarver.

The Committee again divided; and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 171, noes 138.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Cole of New York: On page 3, line 3, after the committee amendment, strike out the period and insert a colon and the following: "Provided further, That no money herein appropriated shall be available to pay salaries, remuneration, or benefit to any person who shall hereafter in any way attempt to influence the vote of any person or persons receiving any salary, remuneration, or benefits hereunder."

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Chairman, I realize the hour is getting late and I will not require the indulgence of the committee for more than a minute or so.

This amendment is very simple. It is not nearly as drastic as I personally would like to have made it. However, I realize that for it to be in order it is necessary to do it in this fashion.

You will notice the amendment does not carry any penalty and does not require anyone to go to prison. It is still possible for the beneficiaries of the Works Progress Administration to solicit funds and contribute to political parties and to exercise all their rights of citizenship except that they shall not engage in any attempt to influence the vote of another W. P. A. worker. He is still permitted to campaign among all other citizens.

Interested as I am in clearing the W. P. A. of political corruption, as I know most of you are, I am more interested in having the country know that Congress does not approve or countenance some of the practices the W. P. A. has been charged with in the past. I realize this amendment will not affect the elections next November, since it will die on June 30 of this year with the resolution we are now considering. It is offered by me more for the purpose of declaring the policy of the Congress, especially of the House, in this matter.

As far as I can see, there are but two types of Representatives who would vote against this amendment. The first type is that Representative who believes the W. P. A. has never committed any corrupt practice in the political use of relief funds. The second type is that Representative who believes the W. P. A. should be used for political purposes. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. As far as I am concerned, Mr. Chairman, I have no objection to the amendment.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, I offer a substitute amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Starnes of Alabama as a substitute for the amendment offered by Mr. Cole of New York: On page 3, line 3, after the committee amendment, insert "Provided further, That no part of the funds made available by this joint resolution shall be available for the compensation or relief of any person who is a contributor to any person, organization, alliance, or association engaging in lobbying or political activities."

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is offered for the purpose of seeing that money appropriated by the Federal Government for relief is used for that purpose and that purpose only. No part of the relief funds voted by the Congress of the United States and made available for relief should be used for contributions to or for political activities. This is the sole purpose of offering the amendment.

It will be effective, it will stop the solicitation of funds from poor men and women who are striving to keep body and soul together and will insure the feeding and the clothing of those on relief and their families, and for that purpose I offer this as a substitute amendment.

I may say there are no penalties provided.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, so far as the objective of each of the amendments is concerned—

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. RAMSPECK. Does the gentleman realize that the substitute of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Starnes] would prevent a union man from using the money he got working on W. P. A. for paying dues to his union?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. That may be. When amendments are offered on the floor in this way it is difficult to determine definitely how far-reaching and sweeping their effect may be. Everybody here wants to take politics out of relief. I hope when we finally get to the question of enacting something in the nature of a permanent policy we may do that. I could join in the sentiments expressed in both of these amendments, and I do not wish personally to place myself in the position of objecting to these things, but, administratively, I do not see how you can expect the Works Progress Administration, before it issues a check to a W. P. A. employee, to make such a finding of facts as would be required under these two amendments. It seems to me they present an administrative problem that to be reached in this way is almost beyond comprehension.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. RICH. If we, who are Members of Congress, want to try to eliminate politics from W. P. A., and if, as the gentleman says, we are all for that, why not adopt these two amendments, inasmuch as they are sound and ought to be adopted?

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. RAYBURN. I quite agree with the statement which the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] has just made. No one wants any money taken away from a relief worker for any political purpose whatsoever; but the question asked by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. RAMSPECK], with respect to the substitute proposed by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Starnes], shows conclusively how dangerous it is to offer and adopt far-reaching amendments without having them carefully considered by the appropriate committee of the House. There is certainly no political campaign coming on within the next 5 months, and I do trust that the suggestion of the gentleman from Virgina [Mr. WOODRUM] will be followed and that the substitute amendment, as well as the amendment itself, will be voted down. I hope that sometime in the quiet of the committee room these matters may be considered and an amendment brought out that will do what we all want done instead of doing a great many things here now that may be dangerous and unnecessary. [Applause.]

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. COX. As I interpret the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Starnes], it is directed at these communistic organizations that have allegedly been using the W. P. A. to finance their campaigns against constitutional government. [Applause.]

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DINGELL. Will not that amendment apply in the same way to all organizations?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. The amendment on the face of it makes it unlawful for a W. P. A. official to issue a check to a person who belongs to any organization of that kind. So he will have to determine the matter and make a finding

of facts with respect to each enrollee about his political and social affiliations.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. I know the gentleman from Virginia wants to be fair. The effect of the amendment is simply to prohibit the solicitation of funds, insofar as we can, from people on relief for the purpose of carrying on political activities. There is no intention to restrict the membership of anybody in anything, but we want the money appropriated to go for relief and not for political purposes. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAMSPECK. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia. Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Chairman, there is nobody more interested in keeping politics out of the W. P. A. than I am, but, as the gentleman from Virginia has well pointed out, we sometimes in our zeal overlook the far-reaching consequences of language not carefully considered.

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. STARNES] I am sure has the right purpose, but the gentleman's amendment provides as follows:

Provided further, That no part of the funds made available by this joint resolution—

That is, not a dollar of this money-

shall be available for the compensation or relief of any person who is a contributor to any person, organization, alliance, or association engaged in lobbying or political activity.

Any member of the American Federation of Labor who might be so unfortunate as to be on relief would be unable to draw his compensation under the terms of this amendment, and it is for that reason that I take the floor in epposition to it. I would like to see all of the supervisory employees of the W. P. A. put under civil service, where they would be prohibited by law from participating in politics and where they could be tried by the Civil Service Commission and dismissed if they did engage in politics. I would also vote for an amendment to this law to make it a crime for anybody to undertake to use the project workers of W. P. A. in politics, but I am not going to vote to take away from a workingman the right to belong to a union of his choice simply because he is unfortunate enough to be on relief. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Georgia has expired.

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Chairman, I agree with the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] that this is no time to consider such an amendment. I think when amendments of this kind are to be considered, they should go a little bit further. They should go to the extent that any money appropriated under this act that is used for the purpose of purchasing materials could not be used by concerns producing those materials to contribute to a political campaign. What happens? Those who receive money through the purchase of materials contribute to political parties. Further they use that money to go onto the W. P. A. projects and pay W. P. A. workers to spread literature on those projects. Is it any worse for a W. P. A. worker to contribute to a political campaign than it is to have the opposite political party pay outside workers and some of the W. P. A. workers not with money that they receive from work relief, but with money they receive from economic royalists, to be used for

political purposes? Therefore I say that these amendments are such as should be studied further, and when they are studied, then we should reach out and stop all political pressure on relief clients, and when we will have done that we will have done justice to both sides. I do not believe in putting pressure on W. P. A. workers and allowing those who have money to use in political campaigns, money which does not come from relief, to use it to hound W. P. A. workers into political subservience.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOOK. Yes.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. As a matter of fact, under this provision if a W. P. A. worker bought a newspaper which is of a partisan nature he would be considered guilty, would he not?

Mr. HOOK. Yes.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Chairman, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Michigan yield to the gentleman from South Dakota for the purpose of making a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. HOOK. Yes.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. We have not had an opportunity to read this amendment, and I wonder if the Chair could tell us whether in his opinion this would prevent the payment of any relief funds to farmers who are members of the Farmers Union or the Grange or such an organization as have lobbyists here in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the Chair does not attempt to

construe the meaning of amendments.

Mr. HOOK. I think that the gentleman is correct—that it does.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired. All time has expired. The question is on the substitute offered by the gentleman from Alabama.

The question was taken, and the substitute was rejected.

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment offered by myself be again reported from the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Cole amendment will be again reported.

There being no objection, the Clerk again reported the Cole amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now recurs on the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Martin of Massachusetts) there were—ayes 126, noes 131.

Mr. MOTT. Mr. Chairman, on that I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chair appointed Mr. Cole of New York and Mr. Woodrum of Virginia to act as tellers.

The Committee again divided; and the tellers reported there were ayes 164 and noes 156.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Jones of Texas: On page 2, in line 3, after the semicolon, insert the following: "Provided further, That any grants of money paid from these additional funds under such limitation 3 shall be conditioned on an equivalent amount of work being done either on projects or on land in connection with soil or water conservation."

Mr. JONES of Texas. Mr. Chairman, most of the Members will recall that at the last session provision was made that would permit farmers to work on projects in rural areas. A number of them were certified in accordance with that provision when the officials found that the general relief load was so great and the funds were so limited that they needed to use other methods of accomplishing the same purpose. An agreement was arranged with the Farm Security Administration that out of the \$175,000,000 transferred to that organization under the original bill, the Farm Security would endeavor to take care of farmers who needed work, who could qualify, and who had land, or who had access to land, which included nearly all of the farmers who could qualify at all. Here is

where the trouble arose: Under the terms of the bill, they could make those farmers loans or grants but could not permit them to work for the grants that were made. Many worthy farmers who were greatly in need of funds preferred to work for such funds, and many refused to accept grants. They did not want to be given money without being permitted to work for it. The only effect that this amendment would have would be to permit farmers to work for these grants of money. They could then work on projects or upon private or public lands in soil or water conservation. A great many of them do not want to be given the money, and I glory in that attitude. If any of you have heard, as I have, many of them say that this little work they were permitted to do had saved them from having to go on relief and have seen their eyes sparkle as they made that statement, you know that that spirit is worth preserving in America.

I believe the Committee should agree to this, as it only applies to that proportion of the fund which is allotted to the Farm Security under the terms of proration provided in the bill.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONES of Texas. I yield.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Of course, I cannot speak for the entire committee, but as far as I am concerned, I think the amendment is a good one and should be adopted. [Applause.]

Mr. JONES of Texas. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I ask recognition.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. TABER. I wonder if the House understands this amendment. Paragraph 3 is an item providing funds of \$175,000,000 to the Farm Security Administration, yet this bill only provides funds, under paragraph 1, to the Works Progress Administration.

Mr. JONES of Texas. If the gentleman will read on the second page of the pending bill—

Shall proportionately increase the amounts specified in limitations (1), (2), and (3), of (d) of subsection (1) of section 1 of such act.

Now, if you will turn to the act of last year, page 2, subsection 1, subdivision 3—

To the Secretary of Agriculture \$175,000,000, together with balances of allocations heretofore made—

Mr. TABER. The "3" which is referred to in the bill is down at the bottom of page 1—

Educational, professional, clerical, cultural, recreational, and production service, including training for domestic servants and miscellaneous nonconstruction projects.

That is the one you are referring to in your amendment.

Mr. JONES of Texas. No. If the gentleman will take the original act on the first page, you will see 1, 2, 3, (a), (b), and (c), and then take (d), the following types of public projects, subject to the approval, and so forth, and then it enumerates them. "(1) Highway roads; (2) public buildings," and then on page 2, "(3)."

Mr. TABER. No. Page 1, down at the third line from the bottom, "educational, professional, clerical," and so forth.

Mr. JONES of Texas. I believe the gentleman is correct about that. I think under the circumstances that it should be withdrawn and corrected before it would fully accomplish the purposes intended.

Mr. TABER. I think it should be withdrawn.

Mr. JONES of Texas. I will ask unanimous consent, Mr. Chairman, to withdraw the amendment for the present, and I will submit it later in a different form so that it may cover the funds available to the Farm Security Administration for the current fiscal year. I believe everyone will agree that its purposes are correct and I hope that no one will object to the amendment in its final form.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment is withdrawn.

There was no objection.

Mr. FADDIS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment. The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Faddis: On page 3, after line 3, and after the amendments previously adopted, strike out the period at the end thereof and insert a comma and the following proviso: "Provided further, That the funds herein appropriated shall not become available unless and until provision is made by proper administrative order to the elimination of wage differentials as between the several general classes of workers coming from the relief rolls exceeding 25 percent in degree."

Mr. FADDIS. Mr. Chairman, this amendment logically follows the Tarver amendment which was passed wiping out sectional differentials. This amendment is designed to wipe out the differentials existing within grades.

In sections of the State of Pennsylvania it is now possible for one man on relief to be drawing 50 cents an hour and another man on relief, because of these differentials, to be drawing as high as \$3.03 an hour. In the State of Illinois it is possible for an unskilled laborer on relief to draw \$1.025 an hour or to draw 31 cents an hour. Bear in mind that this is unskilled labor on relief, and these rates are hourly rates. It is possible in the State of New York for an unskilled laborer to draw 62½ cents per hour or 26 cents per hour. Any Member wishing to learn about this will find it set forth on page 167 of the Congressional Record of Tuesday, January 10, this year, in a table inserted by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Tarver].

The existence of this differential is responsible for a great deal of chiseling. W. P. A. should not be a career service, and is not intended to be a career service. It is relief. Why should one man on relief draw 31 cents an hour and another man on relief draw \$3.03 an hour?

We cannot, in administering relief, attempt to maintain any standard of living or set up any class distinctions of those on relief. One man on relief gets as hungry as another man on relief. The family of one requires as much to care for it as the family of another.

I hope the members of the committee will look upon this amendment favorably and wipe out this differential existing among skilled and the unskilled, or existing within the unskilled or within the skilled itself and do away with the opportunities for chiseling on relief.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in 2 minutes

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I am confident that our distinguished friend from Pennsylvania is prompted by high and patriotic motives in offering this perfecting amendment, but I challenge any man on the floor of the House to tell me what it will do to the relief program. All I can do in charge of the bill is to reiterate what I have said many times today, that it is impossible here for us to undertake in a few hours to rewrite the whole relief program and to throw so many restrictions and obstructions in the way of the administration of this relief that we will not do just what everybody here is anxious to do—take care of people in need.

Mr. FADDIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? I accept his challenge.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I said except the gentleman. I excepted the gentleman from Pennsylvania. I am confident the gentleman has splendid motives. Undoubtedly it may be a very fine thing to do, but in logic and reason should we not sit down with the people who have to administer relief and find out something about the problems involved, go into it in a logical and orderly way? Some of the actions that have been taken here today would seem to indicate that that is not desired. That, however, is your prerogative.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHARMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. HARE. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Hare: At the end of line 3, page 3, following the committee and other amendments, add the following: "Provided further, That \$150,000,000 of the amount appropriated herein shall be used in the erection of public buildings for the accommodation of second- and third-class post offices in various States, and towns, cities, or municipalities wherein such buildings are to be located shall first furnish the Government with an approved site or place therefor."

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against the amendment. While there is a provision in the general relief bill for certain funds to be used for public-works projects, I do not believe it is sufficiently broad to make this germane to the original bill. I think this would refer to the public-buildings program under the Procurement Division of the Treasury, which is not carried on by relief labor at all.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is ready to rule.

Mr. HARE. Mr. Chairman, may I be heard on the point of order?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will be glad to hear the gentleman briefly.

Mr. HARE. Mr. Chairman, I call the Chair's attention to the provisions of section 1, subsection 1, of the original act, which provides as follows:

The following types of public projects, Federal and non-Federal, subject to the approval of the President, and the amounts to be used for each class shall not, except as hereinafter provided, exceed the respective amounts stated, namely: (1) Highways, roads, and streets, \* \* \* (2) public buildings; parks and other recreational facilities, \* \* and miscellaneous construction projects, \$655,500,000.

That contemplated the construction of public buildings. Section 5 provides:

No Federal construction project, except flood control and water conservation projects authorized under other law, shall be undertaken or prosecuted under the appropriations in this title unless and until there shall have been allocated and irrevocably set aside Federal funds sufficient for its completion.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is ready to rule.

Section 1 of the Public Works Appropriation Act of 1938 provides, among other things, for public buildings, parks, and other recreational facilities, and so forth.

The amendment offered by the gentleman from South Carolina merely seeks to allocate part of the funds herein appropriated for that purpose.

The Chair, therefore, overrules the point of order and holds the amendment to be germane.

The gentleman from South Carolina is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HARE. Mr. Chairman, in view of the limited time allotted me, I will not be able to discuss this amendment in any detail and will, therefore, say at the outset that the purpose of the amendment to the pending bill is to set in motion some definite, positive, and permanent governmental policy for taking care of the unemployed, because I gather from the speeches made here in the last 2 days that the W. P. A. is going to be a permanent governmental activity for the next decade. If that is to be a fact, then it is the duty of the Congress to outline some definite, sound, constructive program for carrying on this work.

My theory is there could be no better undertaking than to construct in the various towns, villages, and cities in the country post-office buildings to accommodate the postal facilities, to accommodate county agents at county seats, to accommodate home demonstration agents at county seats, and to accommodate other governmental activities. This will not only furnish work to the unemployed but the Government taxpayers will get something worth while in return. In many instances the W. P. A. workers have worked but have not created wealth. Of course, they have obtained a scanty living for themselves, but under the existing program the Government has gotten but very little.

This country is in need of post-office buildings. We are in need of accommodations for other governmental activities. Why not begin now so that for the next few months we may have an opportunity to gain some experience and when the next relief bill is brought up for consideration we will be able to outline definitely and clearly just what the program for the Public Works Administration shall be next year, for the following year, and for succeeding years.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARE. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. COX. As I interpret the gentleman's amendment, the gentleman wants \$150,000,000 spent for something constructive?

Mr. HARE. That is exactly what I am aiming at. The \$150,000,000 is to be applied to the construction of public buildings to accommodate second- and third-class offices in the various cities. It is to be done under the direction of the W. P. A. Administrator, and instead of a man carrying a pick today and doing nothing but cleaning a ditch, or cleaning off a little grass here and there, he will, at the end of a year, be able to point with some pride to a structure or building he has helped to erect—a building that is worth \$10,000, \$50,000, or \$100,000. It will be a credit to his efforts, a benefit to the public, and a great saving to the taxpayers.

Mr. COCHRAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARE. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. COCHRAN. Is it not a fact that a great amount of that money will have to be used for the purchase of materials?

Mr. HARE. No; not necessarily a great amount, but possibly some of it.

Mr. COCHRAN. The gentleman is simply cutting down the amount of money that would go to these unfortunate people who need the work by buying materials to go into public buildings.

Mr. HARE. No. I fear the gentleman from Missouri fails to catch the full import of this amendment; I shall, therefore, repeat it:

Provided further, That \$150,000,000 of the amount appropriated herein shall be used in the erection of public buildings for the accommodation of second- and third-class post offices in the various States where the town, city, or municipality wherein such buildings are to be located shall first furnish the Government with an approved site or place therefor.

Certainly some of this amount will be used for the purchase of materials, but it will not materially interfere with the work of the W. P. A. It will certainly mean increased employment in private industry and it may be that such increase will be supplied by men now on the relief rolls, for somebody must fell the trees and saw the lumber that will go into the structure of these buildings, somebody must make the brick, manufacture the cement, nails, and other building materials, and I see no reason why the W. P. A. worker may not be able to get some of these positions. Furthermore, the erection of these buildings will furnish added opportunity for work by those who may be already on relief rolls. In addition, it will give those who may be eligible an opportunity to be placed on the rolls for work. That is, instead of decreasing employment it will increase the opportunity for relief workers to be employed in private industry as well as on W. P. A. Of course, the amount allocated in this amendment is not sufficient to erect buildings to accommodate all second- and third-class offices, but experience obtained from the operation of this amendment would enable us to determine the advisability of providing in the next relief bill funds sufficient to erect buildings to accommodate all these offices, including space for county agents, homedemonstration agents, and representatives employed in other Government activities. My theory is that if the W. P. A. is to continue, and I believe it will for a good while yet, the Government should utilize this labor for the benefit of the public and save the taxpayer as much as possible.

It is common information that under the present set-up the Government is getting very little constructive returns from the money being expended. The man who is working on W. P. A. knows this, and he knows that he would much rather work where he feels that the Government will sooner or later get some return for his labor. Of course, there will be some

cost attached to the upkeep of these buildings, but such cost will be less than the rental charges now paid. I have discussed this amendment with some of my colleagues, and the only opposition I have found comes from those who live in large cities and those who already have post offices in the towns of their districts. One objection advanced is that the buildings would be erected largely from skilled labor. I doubt if this is true, for my observation has been that it generally takes about twice as many men to carry the brick, sand, and cement as it does to place the brick and plastering, the former being done by unskilled and the latter by skilled labor. But suppose it does take some skilled labor; that is no valid reason for opposition, because the relief rolls are made up to a considerable extent with skilled labor, which must be taken into consideration in planning a program for relief. However, I shall have more to say on this subject, for if this amendment should fail to pass it shall be my purpose to introduce a bill and appear before the subcommittee at later hearings to see if it is possible to inaugurate the plan suggested and have it embodied in the next regular appropriation bill for relief.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Carolina has expired.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 1 minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM]?

There was no objection.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. HARE].

Mr. Chairman, of course the major part of this \$150,000,000 would be used for heavy construction, in which skilled labor would be employed. Probably one-half of 1 percent of it would come from the relief roll.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Hare].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. RAMSPECK: Page 2, line 19, after the word "Act", insert a period in place of the colon, strike out the remainder of line 19 and all of lines 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24, on page 2, and lines 1, 2, and 3, on page 3, to and including the figures "1939."

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, an amendment to this particular paragraph has already been offered and adopted. The amendment was offered by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM].

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair calls the attention of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber] to the fact the amendment now offered proposes to actually strike out that language; therefore, in the opinion of the Chair, it is clearly in order.

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Chairman, I discussed this question earlier in the day and I do not want to repeat what I said then. The amendment offered by the gentleman from Virginia, which was adopted as a committee amendment, will dure about 50 percent of the objections I have to the language I am now attempting to strike out altogether.

It leaves us in this situation: We are saying to certain non-civil-service employees in the various departments of the Government, 25,000 of them who are paid out of this money we are to appropriate here, "Now, you are the sheep. We are going to let you in the civil service." But we are saying at the same time to twenty-five or thirty thousand who are actually working in the W. P. A. offices on the administrative staff, and paid out of the same money, "You are the goats and we won't let you in."

Now, that is the effect of what is being done if the amendment which I have just offered is not agreed to.

Mr. Chairman, we have adopted an amendment offered by the gentleman from New York which makes it illegal to pay to any of these people any money if they attempt to influence the votes of any other persons getting any of the money. Who is the judge and who is the jury under that amendment? The judge and jury are the officials of the Works Progress Administration, and if they have been guilty of playing politics, no matter who they are playing politics with, whether for or against, of course they are going to decide the case as they see fit. I want to fix it so that these employees will be put under a law that gives the Civil Service Commission the right to try any of them who are politically active. May I call the attention of gentlemen on my side of the aisle to the political situation in which we are being placed today? Both parties are pledged to civil service. An indictment has been drawn of the W. P. A. that it is engaged in politics. That indictment has been made both by the Republican Party on my left and by a committee of our own party at the other end of this Capitol.

The President of the United States has answered that indictment by attempting to put these employees under the civil-service law. Are we as Democrats going to say to the President, "We deny you the right to answer that indictment and we refuse to do anything in reference to the indictment made by the Republicans in this House, throughout the country, and by our own party at the other end of the Capitol"?

I am not going to be a party to that sort of procedure. I am not going to say to the public of this country that I am unwilling to do anything about the political charges that have been made with reference to the W. P. A. As far as my efforts can accomplish, I want to put these employees under a law that will stop political activity no matter by whom it was engaged in or for whose benefit it was engaged in.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, will the gen-

tleman vield?

Mr. RAMSPECK. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama. Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Does not the gentleman from Georgia believe the better thing for the President or whoever is responsible to have done would have been to fire the people who have been guilty of political activity, rather than condone their activity by placing them under civil service and

giving them protection? [Applause.]

Mr. RAMSPECK. The gentleman from Alabama may be correct. If I were running this country, I would fire those who have been found guilty of engaging in political activity no matter for whom or under whose instructions, because there ought not to be any politics in relieving human misery. Anyone who undertakes to inject politics into relief is doing a disservice to humanity. However, that course has not been followed, and the only thing we can do about it since we cannot fire them is to put them under a law that will have them fired. This is what I should like to see done. [Applause.] [Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in 5

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, may I suggest the gentleman modify his request and make it 10 minutes?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. It seems to me the matter has been fully debated. I hope the gentleman will not just hold us here at this late hour. There has been long debate on this subject.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, the proposal of our distinguished and very able friend the gentleman from Georgia is to cover approximately 27,500 administrative employees of the W. P. A. into the civil service. Well, our job, of course, is to examine into the advisability of doing that and carrying out the provisions of the original Executive order.

LXXXIV-22

You will recall from a reading of the press of this week that when Mr. Hopkins was before the senatorial committee, and the weather got rather rough and the going rather stormy. he stated there, where all the world might hear, that the people in question in Kentucky who injected politics into relief ought to have been fired from the rolls. The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Ramspeck] would give these men civil-service status.

I have here the report of the senatorial investigating committee. On page 11 there is a statement that W. P. A. officials-and mind you, this is senatorial language by four Democrats and one Republican-were engaging in solicitation of funds for political purposes. If you vote for this amendment you indicate that you want to cover such men into the classified service.

Go into the situation in the State of Kentucky a little further. This is a disclosure by the committee, not mere evidence, but a finding by the committee that the entire supervisory force in district No. 1 in Kentucky managed to get the lists into the hands of 32 county chairman in behalf of Senator Barkley during the campaign. Vote for this amendment and you will freeze every one of those men into the civil service and give them civil-service status.

There were 9 supervising timekeepers in charge of 340 project timekeepers who actually appeared to be in a kind of collusion, as it were, with J. B. Boddie, director of district No. 1 of Kentucky, to carry out a political plan. Vote for this amendment and you will give them all civil-service

This report shows that W. P. A. Federal funds were used for the construction of private driveways in the State of Tennessee in order to influence the election results. Who ordered that kind of job? It must have been a W. P. A. official in Tennessee, and he would be entitled to civil-service status under the amendment offered by the gentleman from Georgia, even though he must have had knowledge that the use of Federal funds for private purposes was wrong.

You can examine this entire indictment, and when you get all through you must come to the conclusion, no matter how devoted you are to the civil service-and I am, and have voted for every civil-service proposal in the last 6 yearsthat it is unfair to the country, unfair to the taxpayers, and unfair to the people as a whole to cover in men who are now under suspicion, and who, in the language of the Administrator himself in the confirmation proceeding before the Senate, should have been fired from the rolls.

Vote for the amendment and freeze them on the rolls. Defeat the amendment and we will have a chance to look into it before we let this Executive order blanket in approximately 27,000 people. That is the case. [Applause.]

There are good men in W. P. A. There are able and conscientious men in W. P. A. There are men who are deserving of a civil-service status. But is it fair to adopt a provision that would cover into the civil service, administrative employees who have been guilty of misconduct that in many cases appears to have been willful? That would be going pretty far, and, surely, no one in possession of the facts and information relative to this matter could defend that position. The amendment should be defeated and the matter reserved for further study.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. RAMSPECK].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. JONES of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to carry out the intent of the amendment I offered a while ago. The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Jones of Texas: On page 2, line 8, after the semicolon, insert the following: "Provided further, That no further grants of money made from funds made available under subsection 3 of section 1 of the Emergency Relief Act of 1938 shall be conditioned on an equivalent amount of work being done either on projects or on land in connection with soil or water conserva-

Mr. SABATH. A point of order, Mr. Chairman. The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SABATH. I make the point of order that the amendment is not germane. It aims to legislate in regard to appropriations heretofore made. Consequently, I believe it is not in

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is of the opinion it does not apply to any other appropriations, and therefore holds the amendment to be germane to this particular bill.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, my point of order is that it applies not only to the present appropriation but applies to appropriations heretofore made and to appropriations that are to be made in the future. Consequently, I say, it is not

Mr. JONES of Texas. Mr. Chairman, this amendment applies only to the current relief act to which this is an amendment, and which carries the \$1,450,000,000, the only available funds under this amendment. The Chair is clearly right.

The CHAIRMAN. Upon further investigation the Chair does find that the amendment not only applies to the Emergency Relief Act of 1938, but, of course, likewise applies to this bill to which it is now being offered.

Mr. JONES of Texas. There are no funds available under this bill for this purpose, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would suggest to the gentleman that he change the language of the amendment.

Mr. BOREN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment. The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Boren: On page 3, after line 3, add "Provided, That no part of the money herein appropriated shall be paid to anyone who is not a citizen of the United States of America."

Mr. BOREN. Mr. Chairman, I do not choose to make a speech on this subject. It has been very ably discussed heretofore numerous times, particularly by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Lanham]. I only want to say that this amendment is offered in the interest of the many thousands of deserving people who are denied portions of this fund who think enough of America to be citizens of the United States of America. [Applause.]

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

I simply want to make this observation. In dealing with the so-called aliens we must bear in mind the innumerable difficulties that are placed before them in becoming citizens. In almost every instance it is not the fault of the alien that he is not a citizen. Courts ask him questions that even Supreme Court judges cannot answer. In many district courts papers are denied him because he is on relief and W. P. A. Right here in this House you have consistently refused to make the process of naturalization easier and less costly. Therefore, why punish the so-called alien? Furthermore, in persecuting these so-called aliens, you also punish their native-born children. They are good Americans. They were born here. Take their parents off the W. P. A. rolls because they are not citizens and you hit at these innocent native-born citizens of the United States. This discrimination is cruel, inhuman, and contrary to the best American traditions.

It is not fair play to first make it almost impossible for the immigrant to become naturalized and then starve him because he is not naturalized. This is not patriotism, it is just plain rotten.

At this time, when the world is filled with racial, religious, and political persecution, we should not indulge in it. To the contrary, America must stand out as a tolerant and humane The proposed amendment has the earmarks of nation. Nazi edicts against so-called non-Aryans. Let us not imitate the Nazis. Let us continue to be Americans.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Boren].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Marcantonio) there were-ayes 144, noes 41.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JENKS of New Hampshire. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. JENKS of New Hampshire: On page 3, after the previous amendments that have been adopted, insert "Provided further, That all employees under the Works Progress Administration shall hereafter be paid weekly."

Mr. JENKS of New Hampshire. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is very plain and needs very little explanation from me. There may be some Members here who cannot quite comprehend the significance of this amendment. There may be some Members here who at some time in their lives have worked for as small an amount of wage as \$10 per week and supported or tried to support a family on that amount. There is nobody on the W. P. A., or not many at least from choice. They are there through sheer necessity, and there have been brought to my attention many, many cases of workers on W. P. A. who have been greatly handicapped and who have really suffered by being obliged to wait 2 weeks for their pay. There is one State where they pay W. P. A. workers every week, and if they are doing this in one State I do not know why it should not be done in all of the States.

I sincerely hope that the Members of this House will realize the position in which these poor people are placed and what it would mean to them to receive their pay weekly instead of semimonthly. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. JENKS].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Poage: On page 3, after the last amendment adopted, insert "Provided further, That the Works Progress Administration shall undertake soil-conservation work on private property when (1) such work is sponsored by the Soil Conservation Service and (2) a local governmental agency shall undertake to provide without cost to the Federal Government the machinery and equipment required for the work.'

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, the amendment I offer is one that has been worked out in cooperation with the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Boren] and other Members of the House. It seeks to put the W. P. A. to doing vitally important and much-needed conservation work in those communities where the local people are willing to cooperate.

Mr. Chairman, there have been two outstanding works programs going on in the United States, the Works Progress Administration and the C. C. C. camps. The junior works program of the C. C. C. camps has met with almost universal approval. Those boys have been engaged very largely in building up the soil of this Nation; in forests, on public and private lands, in constructing terraces and drainways on the farm lands of this Nation, and protecting our soil from depletion in the years to come. These C. C. C. boys have done a work which we all recognize as of value to this Nation now and in the years to come. On the other hand, the Works Progress Administration has heretofore felt that it could not engage in this kind of constructive work and has instead, in many instances, engaged in projects of doubtful value. This amendment simply seeks to place the Works Progress Administration in a position to carry on the same kind of soilconservation work that is now being carried on by our Civilian Conservation Corps.

It allows the Works Progress Administration to enter and do soil-conserving work on private land where the Soil Conservation Service sponsors the work-and Soil Conservation will only sponsor such work where they get contracts binding the owners to cooperate in carrying out their prescribed practices-and, second, before W. P. A. can carry on soil-conservation work under this program, the local community must show its intense interest in the work to the extent of providing the machinery and equipment necessary to do the work. In other words, your W. P. A. with its reservoir of manual labor, provides that labor for doing soil-conserving work.

Why, my friends, should we not allow our W. P. A. to engage in the most important work of conserving the soil of this Nation? Why not allow it? We only ask you to allow it in communities that want it. We do not ask that urban communities or other uninterested communities join.

say there is nothing in the law now to prevent it. I agree that there is not, and in my State of Texas the W. P. A. approved such a project and sent it to Washington, and was told here that there is nothing in the law to prevent the approval of such projects at this time, but that the W. P. A. officials here did not want to undertake any soil-conservation work on privately owned lands until Congress affirmatively directed them. Congressman Boren, of Oklahoma, tells me that he had a like experience with a similar project that came up from his State. It is, therefore, that we may give this affirmative direction to the W. P. A. that we would rather see it engaged in enduring work than to see it engaged in temporary activities, that I offer this amendment. I do it that there may be congressional direction to the W. P. A. officials, telling them that we want them to furnish labor where the people are interested sufficiently to furnish material and machinery, and where the Soil Conservation Service approves the project as being worthy. In short, that we want the W. P. A. to make available to all parts of the Nation the aid that the C. C. C. camps have made available to a few fortunate localities.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The question was taken and the amendment was rejected. Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. McCormack: Page 3, after line 3, insert the following: "Provided, That no requirement of eligibility for emploment under such Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, as amended, shall be effective which prohibits the employment of persons 65 years of age or over or women with dependent children."

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, this is a very simple amendment, one that should appeal to the heart of each and every one of us, and one at the same time that is predicated upon simple justice. It is an amendment which transcends any party feeling. It is an amendment which we should vote in justice to all of our deserving men and women employed on projects who are 65 years of age or over, and to mothers with dependent children. This amendment is necessary to meet a regulation promulgated several weeks ago, and that was to go into effect December 31, but the effective date has been withheld until January 31. Certainly you and I do not want to say that men and women 65 years of age and over are incapable of any usefulness or of any ability with reference to productivity. Certainly we do not want to say that the passage of an old-age pension act automatically means that needy persons 65 years of age or over must apply for welfare assistance and that their years of usefulness are over. We might just as well say that the passage of a workmen's compensation act is a justification for the establishment of a dead line that men and women 40 years of age and over shall not be employed in private industry. The application for an old-age pension is a voluntary act. What about the men and women who do not want to accept it? We appreciate the fact that many must, but there are countless persons who do not want to ask public assistance, and we cannot help but respect their state of mind.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. To say to the gentleman from Massachusetts that that ruling has already gone into effect in the State of New Jersey. I am in favor of the amendment.

Mr. McCORMACK. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. SIROVICH. Does the gentleman in talking of a dependent mother and children, think of a widowed mother?

Mr. McCORMACK. It covers all mothers with dependent children. It does not apply to a widower with dependent children and, of course it should not, but why should we distinguish between the sexes? Are they not human beings? Why should we apply it to the mother with dependent children and not to the widower? The simple answer is we

should not apply it to either, and my amendment attempts to obtain an objective giving simple justice where justice belongs.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. McCORMACK. Yes.

Mr. COCHRAN. In my remarks this morning I called the attention of the House to the fact that 1,100 women with dependent children have been furloughed in the last 2 weeks in St. Louis and were told to apply to the Social Security.

Mr. McCORMACK. Yes; forced to go to public assistance, and it only affects about 1½ percent, according to reliable information that I have received.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. Yes.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. The gentleman knows also that many of these women who have dependent children have dependent husbands as well—husbands who cannot work

Mr. McCORMACK. Certainly. You are absolutely right. Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. That is an added reason for it.

Mr. McCORMACK. I thoroughly agree, and I appreciate the gentlewoman's contribution.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. It is difficult for the women to secure it, anyway.

Mr. McCORMACK. That is correct. I yield to the gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona. The rule has already gone into effect in Arizona, and numerous women and men over 65 have been displaced. I am with the gentleman on his amendment.

Mr. McCORMACK. I thank my friend.

I would like to have seen the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. Jenks] adopted. Personally, I voted for the weekly pay. The fact that the gentleman has made his amendment will undoubtedly contribute greatly to weekly payments everywhere in the future.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. McCORMACK. I yield.

Mr. HEALEY. From the gentleman's own experience, he has no doubt had a great many of these people who have stated to him that they did not want to accept benefits but wanted work.

Mr. McCORMACK. Exactly. Those classes are not the chiselers. These are the ones who work. It is simple justice that this amendment be adopted.

I hope the amendment will be adopted.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mrs. O'DAY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mrs. O'Day: Page 2, line 3, after the colon, insert "Provided, That at least \$22,000,000 of the increase appropriated for limitation (3) of (d) of subsection (1) of section 1 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 shall be allocated to Federal project No. 1."

Mrs. O'DAY. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of this amendment is to safeguard the Federal arts projects, including the theater, music, art, and writers' projects from being destroyed.

Even before this deficiency appropriation is voted, dismissals of 7,000 employees on these projects have been ordered to take effect tomorrow. This amendment would prevent still another cut beginning in February.

Federal project No. 1, employs only 33,000 persons, about 1 percent of the entire W. P. A. program. A further reduction in personnel would make it impossible for this program to function.

The criticisms which have been leveled against the artists on these projects is unjust. They are professional people who should not be discriminated against because they are musicians or actors instead of carpenters or bricklayers or

day laborers.

Millions of people in our country who have never before been given an opportunity to come in contact with the theater, the symphony, or the other arts have been benefited by this program, among them millions of children who have been taken off the streets and given music and art lessons, and that world has been opened up to them.

Over 120,000,000 people have attended Federal music concerts in over 300 cities, towns, or counties in 44 States.

Of the more than 40,000,000 who have witnessed Federal theaters, circuses, opera, and children's theaters, 65 percent had never been to the theater before, or any place of amusement other than the movies.

Whenever our country is in danger the artists are called upon and have always given their services gladly and generously. I speak in behalf of the writers and musicians, actors, sculptors, and painters who have been so generous in giving their services to their country whenever they were called upon.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman from

New York has expired.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in 2 minutes

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from New York undertakes to definitely earmark \$22,000,000 of these funds for the arts projects, in order to prevent any curtailment whatever of those projects, if in the wisdom of the Works Progress Administration they should be curtailed.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman, will the

gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Does the gentlewoman's amendment include the theater projects of New York City, mentioned here yesterday, where W. P. A. workers are alleged to have written and dramatized un-American plays?

Mrs. O'DAY. Yes. Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I am told by the gentlewoman from New York that it does include that. I do not think we should undertake to single out any one project and say that it should not be reduced. The W. P. A. has to reduce its whole program. That is an administrative function that the Congress should leave to the W. P. A.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. O'DAY].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Schaffer of Wisconsin: On page 3, after the last amendment adopted, strike out the period and insert "Provided further, That no funds appropriated in this joint resolution shall be paid for relief or work relief to any person who voluntarily relinquishes private employment to go out on strike."

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations indicated that at the peak only 3,000,000 of our unemployed were on the W. P. A. rolls. There are more than 12,000,000 unemployed in America today according to his statement. Therefore, more than 9,000,000 of our unemployed have been unable to obtain work in private fields or on W. P. A. We have observed many strikes throughout the land, led by aliens and others, which have destroyed hundreds of thousands of jobs. Thousands of the strikers have left their employment in private industry to go on the relief rolls and W. P. A. jobs, although 9,000,000 of our unemployed, most of whom want jobs, have been unable to get them either in private industry or on the W. P. A.

With the serious unemployment problem which we have and the precarious financial condition of the Federal Treasury as well as the treasuries of the States and their subdivisions it is highly proper to pass this amendment and in the future prevent alien and other labor-union leaders from leading employed men from their jobs in private industry to the relief jobs on the W. P. A. rolls. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment

offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Schafer of Wisconsin) there were-ayes 30, noes 193.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Voorhis of California: On page 3, after the last amendment adopted, strike out the period and insert "Provided further, That no money herein appropriated shall be used to pay the compensation of any supervisor, foreman, or other official who attempts to influence the political opinions of workers under his direction or supervision.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of my amendment is to give the House a chance to do a decent job of the thing which perhaps some Members thought they did when they adopted the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Cole]. The Cole amendment is so broad, saying, as it does, that if any person attempts to influence the political opinion of any other person he shall not be granted any pay for his work under this bill. The gentleman's amendment will render a worker on W. P. A. liable to forfeiture of his wage if he merely speaks to a fellow worker and says that he favors so and so, or thinks such and such about a political question. I do not think the Members of the House want to do that. I have therefore offered this amendment, which provides that if an official attempts to use his position as boss over other men to influence their political opinions, then he cannot draw his pay; in other words, the money shall not be used to pay the salary of such an official who exerts political pressure upon those who are working under him.

I realize my amendment covers a portion of the same ground covered by the Cole amendment, but the reason for that is that if the Cole amendment is voted down on a roll call vote tomorrow, as I sincerely hope it will be, you will still have this amendment which is a workable amendment, I believe, and which will accomplish every fair purpose in connection with this matter.

Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I yield.

Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona. Would not the Cole amendment which the Committee adopted infringe upon constitutional rights?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I think the Cole amendment will deprive men working on W. P. A. projects of the most elemental rights of citizenship.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I yield.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I think, if we are to put such an amendment in this bill, that the amendment offered by the gentleman from California is preferable to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I thank the gentleman from Virginia. Does not the gentleman agree with me that the best available thing we can do under the circumstances is to adopt this amendment at this time in order that we may have it to vote on tomorrow?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I think so.

Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I yield.

Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona. Is it not the gentleman's purpose to eradicate politics from relief by his amendment? Some of us are just as anxious as our Republican friends to accomplish that object.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Exactly. I said that was my purpose, but in so doing I do not want to subject a W. P. A. worker to the possibility of losing his basic civil

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I yield.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman used the words "vote tomorrow." I fear that if that statement stands some Members may leave. We intend to vote this evening.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I thank the gentleman for the correction, and I am sorry I said "tomorrow." I meant this evening.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I yield.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Does the gentleman mean to imply that under the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York, and adopted, a worker on a W. P. A. project cannot say what preference he or she may have about a candidate or about a party in which they have an interest? It would be unfair in our democracy to discriminate or discharge such individuals. That would be un-American.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I am compelled so to interpret that amendment.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SEGER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SEGER: Page 3, line 3, after the amendment last adopted, strike out the period, insert a colon, and add the following: "Provided further, That no funds herein appropriated shall be used by the Farm Security Administration or any other Federal agency to establish hosiery mills on homestead or other projects in competition with existing industries."

Mr. SEGER. Mr. Chairman, during the last 15 hours I have listened to reasons advanced why a smaller appropriation than the appropriation recommended by the committee should be adopted without creating any hardship on the relief rolls. The principal reason advanced therefor was that business was going to take up the slack.

Mr. Chairman, if business is going to take up the slack, we must let business alone, and I say this for the reason that in New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania there are great hosiery mills. Last summer and fall close to 10,000 men and women were walking the streets in these States or working only 2 days a week, because the hosiery mills were so slack and the imports of hosiery were coming into this country in such quantities the mills could not provide work for these people.

Despite the fact that these industries throughout New England were not working, the Government had started the erection of five hosiery mills in the South at an expenditure of four to five million dollars. You gentlemen may not realize that this is only one industry that the Government might go into. The erection of these five mills in the South is going to add to the tragedy of the hosiery worker in the North. It is being done, as I understand it, contrary to any power that the Department of Agriculture has.

Mr. COOLEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SEGER. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. COOLEY. By what act of Congress is the Government undertaking to erect these hosiery mills?

Mr. SEGER. There is no act of Congress at the present time which gives them the right to do this.

Mr. COOLEY. The point I wanted to make is that Congress has never authorized the thing about which the gentleman is complaining, is that not a fact?

Mr. SEGER. That is the fact. Congress has never authorized such projects and I will read a portion of the Comptroller General's opinion for not authorizing payment for this illegal enterprise. The Comptroller General says:

The appropriation of \$175,000,000 made to the Secretary of Agriculture in the Emergency Appropriation Act of 1938 for "adminis-

tration, loans, relief, and rural rehabilitation for needy persons" tration, loans, relief, and rural rehabilitation for needy persons" must be construed as authorized for use only for the specific purpose for which made available. There is nothing in the appropriation either in specific terms or by necessary implication which may be construed as authorizing its use for loans for industrial enterprises in competition with private industry. Subsidizing the manufacture of silk hosiery on subsistence homestead projects does not appear to come within such contemplated field of agricultural relief or rural rehabilitation. There are indications that the undertaking tends to defeat the whole purpose and intent of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 to supplement private employment and provide rural rehabilitation by throwing industrial workers out of employment and giving rise to increased competition with cotton, the chief agricultural product of the South. with cotton, the chief agricultural product of the South.

Mr. Chairman, I think that some steps should be taken whereby the funds that we provide for a specific purpose shall be carried for that purpose and that purpose alone.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. SEGER].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Allen of Pennsylvania: Page 1, line 8, strike out "\$725,000,000" and insert "\$525,000,000."
Page 2, line 7, after the word "prescribe", strike out "June 30, 1939" and insert "April 30, 1939."
Page 2, line 13, after the word "until", strike out "June 30, 1939" and insert "April 30, 1939."
Page 2, line 17, strike out "\$83,000,000" and insert "\$75,000,000."

Mr. WOODRUM of Virgina. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments close in 15 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM]?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALLEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, this is obviously a compromise amendment with which I am appealing to those who are anxious to see the administrative malpractices in W. P. A. in some sections cleared up before a 5-month period, and at the same time appeal to those who like myself believe that any strict curtailment of funds beneath the estimate submitted by the President would inflict a real hardship on those who are unemployed.

I have prorated the \$875,000,000 recommended by the President over a period of 3 months instead of 5 months, and the amount I am suggesting is \$525,000,000, to last until April 30, 1939. I am as anxious to clean up the administrative difficulties, inefficiencies, and political corruption in W. P. A. as anyone here today, but in doing so I do not want to inflict, and I know that many of my colleagues do not want to inflict, a hardship on the unemployed, who are not responsible for this situation.

My amendment I believe strikes a compromise which will accomplish those two purposes and I earnestly solicit your support for this amendment.

I desire through this amendment to help the unemployed themselves. Millions of dollars have been lost in past years, and are still being wasted because of top-heavy management in W. P. A. I know of cases right now in my own district where the forces are overmanned with foremen; where there is one supervisor to every four or five workers. It is this sort of thing we can eliminate, and it is up to us to take the first step today. It must be taken sometime, and in my opinion it would be an encouraging note to the people of this country who are discouraged and disgusted with the manner in which W. P. A. has been administered in the past if this Congress would take action now. I believe the amendment which has just been offered will be that first step. We will be subscribing to the feelings of many who want to see the W. P. A. cleaned up but at the same time do not want to inflict hardship upon the unemployed. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ALLEN].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Johnson of Indiana: Beginning after the word "act", on page 2, line 19, add the following: "Provided further, That no part of the money herein appropriated shall be expended for the employment of persons not in need of relief."

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I shall not take much time to discuss this amendment. It is plain. It is worded so everyone can understand it, and it needs no explanation. Members on both sides of the aisle have been saying they want the money appropriated for relief to go to those who need relief. Adopt this amendment, and that will be done. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Johnson].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment. The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ALEXANDER: At the end of the bill add the following: "Provided further, That a joint committee consisting of nine Members of the House and nine Members of the Senate be appointed by the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate, respectively, to forthwith investigate the relief prob-lem and report out within 90 days a sound program of Federal relief and reemployment."

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order against the amendment that it is not germane to the pending joint resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is ready to rule. Does the gentleman from Minnesota desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Is the gentleman's point of order that the amendment is somewhat similar to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER]?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. The gentleman's amendment is not germane to the pending joint resolution. It undertakes to set up a special committee.

Mr. ALEXANDER. It seems to me that while we are discussing the measure we should discuss not only the amount and the type of relief we are going to offer but what we shall do in the future. This is the object of the amendment.

The regular order was demanded.

The CHAIRMAN. The regular order is demanded.

The Chair is ready to rule.

Obviously, the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota is not in order, as it deals with a subject over which another committee of the House would have entire jurisdiction. Therefore the Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise and report the joint resolution back to the House with sundry amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the joint resolution as amended do pass.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. WARREN, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, had directed him to report the same back to the House with sundry amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the joint resolution as amended do pass.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the joint resolution and all amendments thereto to final passage.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gross.

The amendments were agreed to.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit. The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman from New York opposed to the joint resolution?

Mr. TABER. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit offered by the gentleman from New York.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. TABER moves to recommit the resolution to the Committee on Appropriations with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith with the following amendments:

On page 1, line 8, strike out "\$725,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$350,000,000."

On page 2, line 13, strike out "June 30, 1939" and insert in lieu thereof "April 7, 1939."

On page 2, line 17, strike out "\$83,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$75,000,000."

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from New York to recommit the joint resolution.

The question was taken, and the Speaker announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Speaker, I demand the yeas and nays. The yeas and nays were refused.

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the joint resolution.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, on that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 397, nays 16, not voting 19, as follows:

#### [Roll No. 3] YEAS-397

Ford, Leland M. Ford, Miss. Ford, Thomas F. Alexander Clason Jenks, N. H. Allen, Ill. Allen, La. Claypool Jensen Johns Johnson, Ill. Clevenger Allen, Pa. Cluett Andersen, H. Carl Cochran Johnson, Ind. Johnson, Luther A. Johnson, Lyndon Fulmer Anderson, Calif. Anderson, Mo. Andresen, A. H. Coffee, Nebr. Coffee, Wash. Gamble Garrett Cole, Md. Gartner Johnson, Okla. Johnson, W. Va. Andrews Angell Collins Gathings Jones, Ohio Jones, Tex. Colmer Gavagan Arends Connery Arnold Cooley Gehrmann Kean Ashbrook Cooper Gerlach Kee Keefe Geyer, Calif. Gibbs Ball Costello Keller Barden Barnes Crosser Gifford Kelly Kennedy, Martin Kennedy, Md. Crowe Gilchrist Barry Barton Crowther Culkin Gillie Goldsborough Kennedy, Michael Bates, Ky. Bates, Mass. Kerr Kilday Cullen Gore Gossett Cummings Graham Grant, Ala. Beam Curtis Kinzer Beckworth Bell D'Alesandro Kirwan Daly Grant, Ind. Kitchens Darden Delaney Bender Green Knutson Blackney Kocialkowski Gregory Dempsey DeRouen Kramer Kunkel Bland Griffith Bloom Griswold Boehne Dickstein Gross Lambertson Boland Dies Dingell Guyer, Kans. Gwynne Hall Lanham Bolton Dirksen Larrabee Boren Bradley, Mich. Ditter Halleck Lea Dondero Leavy LeCompte Hancock Bradley, Pa. Brewster Doughton Douglas Hare Harness Lemke Brooks Lesinski Lewis, Colo. Dowell Harrington Brown, Ga. Brown, Ohio Doxey Hart Drewry Harter, N. Y. Harter, Ohio Lewis, Ohio Bryson Duncan Lord Dunn Hartley Havenner Luce Buckler, Minn. Buckley, N. Y. Bulwinkle Ludlow McArdle Durham Dworshak Eaton, Calif. Healey Hendricks McCormack McDowell Eberharter Edmiston Burch Hennings Burdick Hess McGehee Burgin Elliott Hill McGranery Byrns, Tenn. Ellis Hinshaw McKeough McLaughlin Byron Elston Hobbs Caldwell Engel Hoffman McLeod Cannon, Fla. Cannon, Mo. Carlson Englebright Holmes McMillan, John L. McMillan, Thos. S. Evans Faddis Hook Hope Horton Maas Carter Fav Magnuson Cartwright Case, S. Dak. Fenton Houston Mahon Fernandez Maloney Mansfield Hull Casey, Mass. Celler Chapman Fish Hunter Fitzpatrick Izac Mapes Marcantonio Marshall Martin, Colo. Jacobsen Flaherty Chiperfield Flannagan Flannery Jarman Jeffries Church Clark Folger Jenkins, Ohio Martin, Ill.

Chandler

Creal

Pfeifer Pierce, N. Y. Pierce, Oreg. Martin, Iowa Martin, Mass. Thomas, Tex. Scrugham Seccombe Secrest Mason Thorkelson Massingale Pittenger Seger Tibbott Plumley Tinkham Tolan May Merritt Shafer, Mich. Shanley Poage Treadway Turner Van Zandt Michener Polk Shannon Shannon Sheppard Simpson Sirovich Smith, Conn. Smith, Ill. Smith, Maine Smith, Ohio Smith, Wash. Smith, W. Va. Snyder Powers Miller Miller Mills, Ark. Mills, La. Rabaut Ramspeck Randolph Vincent, Ky. Mitchell Vinson, Ga. Voorhis, Calif. Vorys, Ohio Vreeland Wallgren Monkiewicz Rankin Rayburn Monroney Reece, Tenn. Reed, Ill. Rees, Kans. Moser Mott Walter Mundt Murdock, Ariz. Murdock, Utah Rich Richards Snyder Somers, N. Y. Warren Weaver Risk Robinson, Utah South Welch Murray Sparkman Wheat Whelchel Myers Nelson Robsion, Ky. Spence Rogers, Pa. Rogers, Mass. Rogers, Okla. White, Idaho White, Ohio Springer Nichols Starnes, Ala. Steagall Stearns, N. H. Norrell Whittington Wigglesworth Williams, Del. Norton O'Brien O'Connor O'Day Romiue Routzohn Rutherford Stefan Sullivan Williams, Mo. Sumner, Ill. Sumners, Tex. O'Leary Oliver Ryan Sabath Winter Wolcott Wolfenden, Pa. Wolverton, N. J. O'Neal Osmers Sutphin Sacks Sandager Satterfield Sweeney Woodruff, Mich. Woodrum, Va. O'Toole Schaefer, Ill. Schafer, Wis. Tarver Taylor, Tenn. Pace Youngdahl Zimmerman Parsons Patman Patrick Schiffler Tenerowicz Terry Schuetz Patton Schulte Schwert Thomas, N. J. NAYS-16 Reed, N. Y. Smith, Va. Heinke McLean Cole, N. Y. Robertson Rockefeller Taber Wadsworth Cox Crawford Hawks Owen Peterson, Ga. Short West NOT VOTING-19 Mouton Peterson, Fla. Boykin Byrne, N. Y. Darrow Keogh Disney Eaton, N. J. Kleberg

Curley So the joint resolution was agreed to. The Clerk announced the following pairs: Until further notice:

Mr. Keogh with Mr. Eaton of New Jersey.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado with Mr. Jarrett.
Mr. McReynolds with Mr. Darrow.
Mr. Curley with Mr. Kleberg.
Mr. Boykin with Mr. Byrne of New York.
Mr. Ferguson with Mr. Chandler.
Mr. Mouton with Mr. Creal.
Mr. McAndrews with Mr. Peterson of Florida.
Mr. Wood with Mr. Maciejewski.

Ferguson

Jarrett

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded. A motion to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was agreed to was laid on the table.

McAndrews

McReynolds Maciejewski

Taylor, Colo.

#### ADJOURNMENT OVER

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today, it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object simply to ask the gentleman a question. Will the gentleman from Texas inform us what the program is for next week?

Mr. RAYBURN. I answered a similar question this morning, asked by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Mapes]. In all probability there will be a deficiency bill either Wednesday or Thursday, but nothing before that time.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. On Monday and Tuesday there is nothing special coming up?

Mr. RAYBURN. No.
The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein certain official statements.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members of the House may have 5 legislative days within which to extend their own remarks in the RECORD on the joint resolution just agreed to.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may include a telegram from Mayor Kelley, of Chicago, in my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, by reason of the serious illness of my colleague the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. DISNEY], I ask unanimous consent that he may have leave of absence from the House.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on a subject different from the bill under consideration today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert certain tables that were included in the hearings in addition to extending my remarks on the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may make a brief extension of my statement in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may address the House for 30 minutes on Wednesday next.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that on Wednesday next, after the legislative program and the special order heretofore made, he may be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

# STATEMENT WITH RESPECT TO VOTE

Mr. O'TOOLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of the serious illness of the father of my colleague the gentleman from New York, Mr. Keogh, and by reason of the serious illness of the gentleman from New York, Mr. Curley, they were unable to be present today. They would have voted for the \$875,000,000 appropriation.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include in the extension of my remarks certain excerpts.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks by including a radio address which I delivered yesterday evening.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include therein an address by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Shannonl delivered by him before Dr. Marvin Sanbury's class of the Linwood Boulevard Christian Church, of Kansas City, Mo., on a very timely subject.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. BUCK: Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include two tables from the publication Agricultural Statistics, published by the Department of Agriculture.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and to include a brief editorial from the railroad labor paper, Labor.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and to include therein resolutions passed by the National Monetary Conference,

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks made today and include a short letter from the Commissioner of the Department of Public Welfare of New York.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHAFER of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection.

There was no objection.

Mr. PLUMLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include a message from the Governor of the State of Vermont to the Legislature of Vermont, with accompanying documents.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include an address briefly made by me over the Columbia Broadcasting network.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

# FORMER REPRESENTATIVE JOHN ALLEN, OF ILLINOIS

Mr. JOHNSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOHNSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is with much regret that today I received information of the death of a former colleague of many of the Members of this House, the Honorable John Allen, of Illinois, who served his district in this House for several terms with distinction and honor. In a few days, Mr. Speaker, the Illinois Representatives will present a suitable resolution for adoption.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and to include a letter from a constituent.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

# LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as

To Mr. Keogh, on account of very serious illness to his father.

To Mr. Curley, indefinitely, on account of illness.

To Mr. Boykin, indefinitely, on account of death in family.

#### THE LATE REPRESENTATIVE BEN CRAVENS

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, it is with profound regret and sadness that I announce to the House the death this morning of our colleague, BEN CRAVENS, of Fort Smith, Ark., who has so ably represented the Fourth Arkansas District for many years. Mr. Cravens first came to this House in the Sixtieth Congress and was here during that Congress and the Sixty-first and the Sixty-second. He retired to the practice of the law and after 20 years he returned to this House in the Seventy-third Congress and has served since that time. At a later day I shall go more into detail into the life and character of our friend.

I offer the following resolution, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### House Resolution 52

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. Ben Cravens, a Representative from the State of

Resolved, That a committee of four Members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to

attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provision of these resolutions and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund

Resolved. That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER appointed the following funeral committee: Mr. TERRY, Mr. KITCHENS, Mr. MILLS of Arkansas, and Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the remaining resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

## ADJOURNMENT

Accordingly (at 6 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.), in accordance with the order heretofore made, the House adjourned until Monday, January 16, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

# EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

250. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize alterations and repairs to certain naval vessels, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

251. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated July 8, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on reexamination of Suwannee River, Fla., requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted March 16, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

252. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated July 8, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Richardson Bay, Calif., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 30, 1935; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

253. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 16, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Rum River, Minn., authorized by the Flood Control Act approved June 22, 1936; to the Committee on Flood Control.

254. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated October 19, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Queens Creek, Mathews County, Va., to provide adequate channel to deep water in Hills Bay, authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

255. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated July 26, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on preliminary examinations of Sunflower River, Miss., and Quiver River, Miss., authorized by the Flood Control Act approved August 28, 1937; to the Committee on Flood Control.

256. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated November 7, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a reexamination of Sandy River, Oreg., requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted November 17, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

257. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated October 19, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on reexamination of Raritan River, N. J., requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted November 23, 1937;

to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

258. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 16, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on reexamination of channel in Pamlico Sound, N. C., to Stumpy Point, requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted January 27, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

259. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated January 4, 1939, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustrations, on a preliminary examination and survey of Pensacola, Markham Ferry, and Fort Gibson Reservoirs in Grand (Neosho) River, Okla., authorized by the Flood Control Act approved June 22, 1936 (H. Doc. No. 107); to the Committee on Flood Control and ordered to be printed, with two illustrations.

260. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to grant to the city of San Diego for street purposes, two parcels of land situate in the city of San Diego and the State of California; to the Committee on Naval

Affairs.

261. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to increase the number of midshipmen allowed at the United States Naval Academy appointed at large; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

262. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to eliminate certain restrictions upon the pay and employment of group IV (b) employees of the Navy Department; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

263. A letter from the president, Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., transmitting a report of the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co. for the year 1938; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

264. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill for the relief of disbursing officers and other officers and employees of the United States from disallowance and charges on account of airplane travel; to the Committee on Claims.

265. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the cancelations and adjustments based upon the recommendations of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

### CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows;

A bill (H. R. 1708) granting an increase of pension to Mack C. Ratcliff; Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 2349) for the relief of Presly Holliday, quartermaster sergeant, Quartermaster Corps, on the retired list, and for other purposes; Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation discharged, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (H. R. 2258) for the relief of Elbert R. Miller; Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation discharged, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

## PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. LEA:

H. R. 2531. A bill to redistribute the functions of the Interstate Commerce Commission with a view to more efficient exercise of rate-making authority; to extend the jurisdiction of the Commission in relation to the fixing of minimum rates, and rates for inland water transportation; to create a railroad reorganization court, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BARRY:

H. R. 2532. A bill to provide for cooperation with the States in the promotion of conservation education in the public elementary schools, high schools, colleges, and universities; to provide for cooperation with the States in the preparation of teachers, supervisors, and directors of conservation subjects on the natural resources and human resources; and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure; to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. CELLER:

H.R. 2533. A bill to assure to certain aliens asylum within the United States; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. CULKIN:

H. R. 2534. A bill to exempt from the provisions of draft convention No. 53, of the International Labor Conference Treaty of 1936, all American vessels under 200 tons; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. HILL:

H.R. 2535. A bill to provide for the installation of an automatic machine for recording and counting votes in the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Accounts.

H. R. 2536. A bill to prohibit future trading in commodities through the mails or by any means or instruments of interstate commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mrs. NORTON:

H. R. 2537. A bill to incorporate the Women World War Veterans; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts:

H. R. 2538. A bill to increase the existing rates of death compensation payable to widows and children of World War veterans; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H.R. 2539. A bill to transfer the jurisdiction over District of Columbia credit unions from the Commissioners of the District of Columbia and the Comptroller of the Currency to the Farm Credit Administration; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SMITH of Washington:

H. R. 2540. A bill providing that on and after date of enactment of this act, for pension purposes, any person who served under contract with the War Department as acting assistant or contract surgeon between April 21, 1898, and February 2, 1901, shall be considered to have been in the active military service of the United States for the period of such contract service between those dates; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. STEAGALL:

H. R. 2541. A bill to simplify the accounts of the Treasurer of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. SPENCE:

H. R. 2542. A bill to regulate the value of money, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. WARREN:

H. R. 2543. A bill to increase further the efficiency of the Coast Guard by authorizing the retirement under certain conditions of enlisted personnel thereof with 20 or more years of service; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. WALLGREN:

H. R. 2544. A bill to amend section 4525 and section 4526 of the Revised Statutes of the United States; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 2545. A bill to amend section 13 of the act of March 4, 1915, as amended on June 25, 1936, entitled "An act to promote the welfare of American seamen in the merchant marine of the United States; to abolish arrest and imprisonment as a penalty for desertion and to secure abrogation of treaty provisions in relation thereto; and to promote safety at sea"; to maintain discipline on shipboard; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. WIGGLESWORTH:

H. R. 2546. A bill to dispense with the requirement of naturalization that the alien renounce, specifically, his allegiance to the sovereignty of which he is a subject; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. MARTIN of Colorado:

H. R. 2547. A bill to add certain lands to the Pike National Forest, in the State of Colorado; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H. R. 2548. A bill to include within the Pike National Forest certain lands acquired or in course of acquisition by the United States; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin:

H. R. 2549. A bill to provide for the registration of small arms, the taxation of the transfers thereof, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BARRY:

H. R. 2550. A bill to provide for the local delivery rate on certain first-class mail matter; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 2551. A bill to provide for the local delivery rate on certain first-class mail matter; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 2552. A bill consolidating the post offices in the county of Queens, New York; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. HAVENNER:

H.R. 2553. A bill to provide for the general welfare by establishing a system of Federal maritime unemployment compensation, to raise revenue, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MILLER:

H. R. 2554. A bill to provide for universal fingerprinting; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee:

H. R. 2555. A bill to promote increased employment, stimulate industry, and to otherwise provide relief for the needy; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. SCRUGHAM:

H.R. 2556. A bill to provide for the common defense by acquiring stocks of strategic and critical raw materials, minerals, ores, concentrates, and alloys essential to the needs of industry for the manufacture of supplies for the armed forces and the civilian population in time of a national emergency, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KRAMER:

H. R. 2557. A bill to amend section 23 (e) (2) of the Revenue Act of 1936, as amended, providing for deduction of loss on account of abandonment of real estate; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BARDEN:

H.R. 2558. A bill to increase further the efficiency of the Coast Guard by authorizing the retirement under certain conditions of enlisted personnel thereof with 20 or more years of service; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. HARRINGTON:

H. R. 2559. A bill to provide that gasoline mixed with 10 percent of ethyl alcohol shall not be subject to the tax imposed by section 617 of the Revenue Act of 1932, as amended; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma:

H.R. 2560. A bill to amend subsection (d) of section 101 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Maryland:

H.R. 2561. A bill relating to banking, banks, and trust companies in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H. R. 2562. A bill to constitute the master at arms force and the guards (watchmen) force at the United States Naval Academy the "United States Naval Academy police," to fix their compensation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H. R. 2563. A bill establishing a 5-day workweek in the Federal service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. SUMNERS of Texas:

H. R. 2564. A bill to amend section 224 of the Criminal Code so as to penalize the making of false claims for the loss of insured mail matter; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2565. A bill to change the manner of appointment of probation officers; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2566. A bill to limit the authority of circuit judges to hold district courts and of district judges to sit in circuit courts of appeals; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2567. A bill to provide that records certified by the Court of Claims to the Supreme Court, in response to writs of certiorari, may include material portions of the evidence, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan:

H.R. 2568. A bill providing for the examination and survey of Pinconning River, Mich.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts:

H.R. 2569. A bill to create a United States Civil Service Board of Appeals; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. GUYER of Kansas:

H. J. Res. 108. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11 of each year General Pulaski's Memorial Day, for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CASE of South Dakota:

H. J. Res. 109. Joint resolution restoring the right of appeal to the Supreme Court in certain cases involving claims of the Sioux Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. COFFEE of Washington:

H. Res. 53. Resolution authorizing the payment of mileage for one clerk to each Representative or Delegate in Congress during the first session of the Seventy-sixth Congress; to the Committee on Accounts.

# PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. AUSTIN:

H.R. 2570. A bill for the relief of Stefano Pagliaro; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BARRY:

H.R. 2571 (by request). A bill for the relief of Joseph Pavich; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BATES of Massachusetts:

H. R. 2572. A bill for the relief of William H. Carter (deceased); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2573. A bill granting a pension to Jennie M. Spaulding; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BUCKLER of Minnesota:

H.R. 2574. A bill relating to the payment of the remaining installments of the Government life insurance secured by Philip Hermann; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CARLSON:

H. R. 2575. A bill granting a pension to Emma J. Fulton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CASE of South Dakota:

H.R. 2576. A bill for the relief of John Banek; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CHURCH:

H. R. 2577. A bill for the relief of James Anderson, Jr.; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2578. A bill for the relief of Matt Kerpan; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CONNERY:

H. R. 2579. A bill granting a pension to Thomas G. Solosky; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. COSTELLO:

H. R. 2580. A bill granting a pension to Barbara Kosick; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. COLE of New York:

H.R. 2581. A bill granting a pension to Jesse Morse; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2582. A bill granting a pension to Anna L. Sweeney; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. COLMER:

H. R. 2583. A bill for the relief of A. W. Evans; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CULKIN:

H. R. 2584. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ida Bloss: to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2585. A bill for the relief of H. H. Burnham and James W. Hagan; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2586. A bill for the relief of Albert W. Wright; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2587. A bill for the relief of James Wood; to the Com-

mittee on Claims.

H. R. 2588. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary

Gavin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2589. A bill granting an increase of pension to Alice
W. Butts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DUNN:

H.R. 2590. A bill for the relief of John Bodrog; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. HALLECK:

H. R. 2591. A bill for the relief of Allen A. North; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HARNESS:

H. R. 2592. A bill for the relief of Harry H. Burris; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HAVENNER:

H. R. 2593. A bill for the relief of the legal representatives of Owen Thorne, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HULL:

H. R. 2594. A bill for the relief of Gertrude Ricketts; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. IZAC:

H. R. 2595. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear and determine the claim of the Mack Copper Co.; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. JOHNSON of West Virginia:

H. R. 2596. A bill granting an increase of pension to Isabel Gammon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2597. A bill for the relief of Sherman W. White; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Maryland:

H. R. 2598. A bill for the relief of T. Worthington Hollyday; to the Committee on Military Affairs. H.R. 2599. A bill for the relief of Laurence A. Powell; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KILDAY:

H. R. 2600. A bill to provide for the promotion on the retired list of the Navy of Fred G. Leith; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. LELAND M. FORD:

H.R. 2601. A bill for the relief of Max Natenson; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. KRAMER:

H. R. 2602. A bill for the relief of Joseph A. Howell; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts:

H.R. 2603. A bill for the relief of J. G. Bucklin; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2604. A bill for the relief of Antone C. Teves; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 2605. A bill for the relief of Manuel G. Baptista; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2606. A bill granting an increase of pension to Nora Frazier; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 2607. A bill for the relief of Frank Keefe; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2608. A bill for the relief of Carl H. Carlson; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2609. A bill for the relief of James Francis Burns; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. McGEHEE:

H. R. 2610. A bill for the relief of G. W. Netterville; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MOTT:

H. R. 2611. A bill authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to reimburse Carrol D. Ward for the losses sustained by him by reason of the negligence of an employee of the Civilian Conservation Corps; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mrs. NORTON:

H.R. 2612. A bill for the relief of James J. Bergin; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. REECE of Tennessee:

H. R. 2613. A bill for the relief of David E. Goodwin; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2614. A bill granting a pension to Anna M. Fladger; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2615. A bill granting a pension to Venia Moody; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2616. A bill for the relief of Earl F. Taylor; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2617. A bill for the relief of Bonnie R. Howard; to the Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 2618. A bill granting a pension to Laura Alice Donnelly; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RICH:

H. R. 2619. A bill granting a pension to John J. Cook; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky:

H. R. 2620. A bill granting a pension to William Arthur Fite; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. SCHAEFER of Illinois: H. R. 2621. A bill for the relief of Earl Choat; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 2622. A bill for the relief of Alvertine Nast and Wayne Nast, minor son; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2623. A bill for the relief of Joseph P. Noser; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 2624. A bill for the relief of Malcolm William Bennett; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. SCRUGHAM:

H. R. 2625. A bill to provide for the payment of war-risk insurance to the dependents of officers and enlisted men who lost their lives at the time the U. S. S. *Lakemoor* was torpedoed and sunk on April 11, 1918; to the Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 2626. A bill for the relief of Fred M. Munn; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2627. A bill for the relief of Fred J. Leonard; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2628. A bill for the relief of John Engblom; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SPENCE:

H. R. 2629. A bill for the relief of Fred Barnett; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee:

H. R. 2630. A bill granting an increase of pension to J. O. Craig; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THORKELSON:

H. R. 2631. A bill relating to the citizenship of Harry Ray Smith; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. WALLGREN: H. R. 2632. A bill for the relief of Allen B. Boyer; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WEAVER:

H. R. 2633. A bill for the relief of Frank A. Fain; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2634. A bill granting a pension to Flora Duckett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BLAND:

H. J. Res. 110. Joint resolution to authorize Commander Henry Coyle, United States Coast Guard, to accept the decoration and diploma of the Marine Medal of class 1 (gold), conferred upon him by the Government of Greece; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

# PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

161. By Mr. CULKIN: Petition of the executive committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, urging Congress to appropriate sufficient funds to continue the work of the Dies investigating committee; to the Com-

mittee on Appropriations.

162. Also, petition of the officers and advisory committee of the Conference of Mayors and other municipal officials of the State of New York, adopted unanimously December 28, 1938, at a meeting in Albany, N. Y., opposing the taxation of municipal securities by the Federal Government unless the legal consent of the State is obtained, the reciprocal taxation of Federal securities and revenues is guaranteed and municipalities are permitted to tax Federal property and the Federal Government is required to pay such taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

163. Also, petition of Troop D, Division of New York State Police, Oneida, N. Y., opposing enactment of any act which may make possible the collection of 12 years' retroactive tax;

to the Committee on Ways and Means.

164. Also, petition of H. D. Colway, of Oneida, N. Y., and 24 others of Oneida, N. Y., and vicinity, urging the embargo on arms to Spain be maintained; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

165. Also, petition of Wayne A. Ward, of Watertown, N. Y., and others, protesting against the sale of war materials from the United States to Japan; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

166. Also, petition of M. Helena Heilig and 22 others, of Oswego, N. Y., protesting against the United States lifting the arms embargo to Spain, and urging the continuation of the Dies investigating committee; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

167. Also, petition of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Philadelphia, Pa., urging Congress to enact legislation requiring registration by fingerprinting of all persons in the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means

168. By Mr. CURLEY: Petition of the American Association of Railroad Superintendents, urging enactment of the Pettengill bill to repeal the long-and-short-haul clause; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

169. By Mr. DEROUEN: Petition of the Reverend George Mollo, pastor, St. Michael's Catholic Church, Crowley, La., and others, urging the adherence by the United States to the Neutrality Acts of August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

170. Also, petition of the Reverend J. Clifford Gaudin, Catholic priest, Lake Charles, La., and others, urging the adherence by the United States to the Neutrality Acts of August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

171. By Mr. HALLECK: Petition of the citizens of Reynolds, Ind., submitting a declaration of policy in respect to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

172. By Mr. HANCOCK: Petition signed by Mrs. Joseph A. Richter and other residents of Syracuse, N. Y., favoring the continuance of the American policy of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

173. By Mr. KUNKEL: Petition of the citizens of Lebanon, Pa., and vicinity, urging retention on statute books the principle enunciated in Neutrality Act of May 1, 1937, extending original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

174. By Mr. LANHAM: Petition of Dr. J. T. Edwards and others, of Fort Worth, Tex., to continue the application of the Neutrality Act to civil as well as international conflicts; to the

Committee on Foreign Affairs.

175. By Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts: Petition of Harry M. Doyle and sundry residents of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, urging the Congress to retain the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935; also the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

176. By Mr. MERRITT: Resolution of the parish committee of St. Mary's Church, Long Island City, N. Y., favoring the appropriations necessary to continue the work of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

177. Also, resolution of the parish committee of St. Mary's Church, Long Island City, N. Y., opposing the lifting of the embargo on arms to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

178. Also, resolution of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, Buffalo, N. Y., Local 103, urging the support of the bill to prevent the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

179. Also, resolution of the United Third Zone Executive Democratic Organization of Laurelton, Long Island, requesting the continuation of the Dies committee on un-American activities and sufficient appropriation to enable the committee to function and perform its services; and that it commends Chairman Dies and the members of his committee for the thoroughness in which they conducted their investigation; to the Committee on Rules.

180. By Mr. MYERS: Petition of Rev. William A. Ferry, Transfiguration Rectory, and 125 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., strongly urging the adherence by the United States to the Neutrality Acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to

the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

181. Also, petition of Rev. Henry A. Kuss and 20 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the Neutrality Acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

182. Also, petition of James Mellon and 13 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the Neutrality Acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respec-

tively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

183. Also, petition of John S. McGeary and 41 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the Neutrality Acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

184. Also, petition of Joseph A. Haggerty and 38 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the Neutrality Acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

185. Also, petition of Msgr. J. Carroll McCormick, chancellor of the archdiocese of Philadelphia, and 60 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., strongly urging the adherence by the United States to the Neutrality Acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

186. My Mr. PFEIFER: Petition of the New York College Teachers Union, Local 537, New York City, urging appropriation for continuance of the Works Progress Administra-

tion; to the Committee on Appropriations.

187. Also, petition of the Oil Workers International Union, New York Local No. 431, New York City, urging support of the \$1,000,000,000 appropriation for the Works Progress Administration; to the Committee on Appropriations.

188. Also, petition of the Transport Workers Union of Greater New York, urging appropriation for the Works Progress Administration; to the Committee on Appropriations.

189. Also, petition of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians, New York City, favoring an adequate appropriation to maintain the Works Progress Administration; to the Committee on Appropriations.

190. Also, petition of the Cleaners, Dyers, Pressers, Drivers, and Allied Trades Union, Local 239, New York City, urging support of an appropriation for the Works Progress Administration: to the Committee on Appropriations.

191. Also, petition of the Works Progress Administration Teachers' Union, New York City, urging support of the President's security program; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

192. Also, telegram from Rockwell Kent, president, United American Artists, New York City, urging consideration of President's proposal of \$875,000,000 for relief; to the Committee on Appropriations.

193. Also, petition of the People's Democratic Organization of the thirteenth aldermanic district, Brooklyn, N. Y., urging support of the President's appropriation for the Works Progress Administration; to the Committee on Appropriations.

194. Also, petition of the Federal Project Supervisors and Administrative Employees' Union, Local 21719, American Federation of Labor, New York City, urging support of the President's request for a Works Progress Administration appropriation; to the Committee on Appropriations.

195. Also, petition of the adult student body, Public School 167, Brooklyn, N. Y., urging support for a billion-dollar appropriation for relief and opposing Works Progress Administration cuts; to the Committee on Appropriations.

196. By Mr. PLUMLEY: Petition of Melvin C. Reynolds and some 92 other citizens of Hartford, Hartland, Ludlow, Quechee, White River Junction, Wilder, and Woodstock, asking the Ways and Means Committee to report the Townsend national recovery plan bill to the House; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

197. By Mr. VAN ZANDT: Petition of certain citizens of Altoona, Juniata, Pa., favoring the policy of neutrality as enunciated in an act of Congress of August 31, 1935, and also an act of May 1, 1937, etc.; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

198. By Mr. WEAVER: Petition of certain citizens of Asheville, N. C., relating to the Neutrality Act of August 31, 1935; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

199. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Mrs. Harry Thompson, Pittsburgh, Pa., and others, petitioning consideration of their petition with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

200. Also, petition of Myron H. Clark, Newark, N. J., petitioning consideration of a petition with reference to embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

201. Also, petition of the Woman's Club of Ridgewood, N. J., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

202. Also, petition of Andrew Monahan, Pittsburgh, Pa., and others, petitioning consideration of their petition with reference to embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

# SENATE

# Monday, January 16, 1939

The Chaplain, Rev. Z@Barney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Thou who art the fountain of life and light, whose herald star gives promise of another dawn wherein Thy children may rejoice: sanctify to each one the opportunities awaiting him for serving Thee in quiet calm and confidence and in the courage born of goodness, that through us may be mediated the influences of dignity of soul and purity of heart to the uplift of our fellow citizens.

Bring under Thy loving sway the leaders of all the nations of the world, that true victory may be achieved in the arena of thought, that prejudice, error, and ignorance may be destroyed—not men—that light may be shed—not blood—till fear dies, joy deepens, and love and life with God are enthroned upon the earth.

We ask it in our Saviour's name. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Barkley, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, January 12, 1939, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Calloway, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. Ben Cravens, late a Representative from the State of Arkansas, and transmitted the resolutions of the House thereon.

#### CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. BARKLEY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.
The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.
The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Davis	Johnson, Calif.	Pittman
Andrews	Donahey	Johnson, Colo.	Radcliffe
Ashurst	Downey	King	Reed
Austin	Ellender	La Follette	Revnolds
Bailey	Frazier	Lee	Russell
Bankhead	George	Lodge	Schwartz
Barbour	Gerry	Logan	Schwellenbach
Barkley	Gibson	Lucas	Sheppard
Bilbo	Gillette	Lundeen	Smith
Bone	Glass	McCarran	Taft
Borah	Green	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Bridges	Guffey	McNary	Thomas, Utah
Brown	Gurney	Maloney	Tobey
Bulow	Hale	Mead	Townsend
Burke	Harrison	Minton	Truman
Byrd	Hatch	Murray	Tydings
Byrnes	Hayden	Neely	Vandenberg
Capper	Herring	Norris	Van Nuys
Chavez	Hill	Nye	Walsh
Clark, Idaho	Holman	O'Mahoney	White
Connally	Holt	Overton	Wiley
Danaher	Hughes	Pepper	110000

Mr. MINTON. I announce that the Senators from Arkansas [Mrs. Caraway and Mr. Miller] are absent attending the funeral of the late Representative Cravens, of Arkansas.

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] is detained because of illness.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. Lewis], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Smathers], and the Senator from Montana

[Mr. Wheeler] are detained from the Senate on important public business.

The Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] is in New York attending the funeral of the late Col. Jacob Ruppert.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-seven Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Hess, one of his secretaries.

PROPOSED AGRICULTURAL LEGISLATION-PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. BULOW. Mr. President, on page 223 of the Congressional Record of January 12, 1939, reference is made to the introduction of Senate bill 570 as being sponsored by 18-Members of the Senate, including myself.

I desire to say that I had no opportunity to participate in the preparation of this bill, and it is not my habit to sponsor any measure to which I have not given consideration. This bill affects agriculture, a subject of intense interest to the people of my State. The bill may be a good agricultural measure, and I may support it—in fact, I may earnestly support it—but I do not care to pledge that support in advance, as I have had no opportunity to read the bill and give it consideration. Therefore, at this my first opportunity in open session of the Senate since the introduction of the measure, I desire to disclaim any responsibility as one of the proponents of Senate bill 570.

#### SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE-PETITION OF CONTEST

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the petition of John Randolph Neal, of Knoxville, Tenn., contesting the right of Hon. A. T. Stewart elected to a seat in the United States Senate from the State of Tennessee to fill the vacancy in the term ending January 2, 1943, caused by the death of Hon. Nathan L. Bachman, which was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

# TRANSFER OF PROPERTY TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to transfer jurisdiction of portions of property within the military reservation known as the Morehead City Target Range, N. C., to the Secretary of the Treasury, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

## REPORT OF COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Comptroller of the Currency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the text of the annual report of Comptroller of the Currency for the year ended October 31, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

# EMPLOYMENT OF ALIENS BY GOVERNMENTAL DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, in response to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938, the names of aliens employed by the Treasury Department, and the reasons for such employment, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting, in response to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938, the names of aliens employed by the Department of the Navy, and the reasons for such employment, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Administrator of the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, stating, in response to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938, that no aliens are employed by that Administration, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

## COST-ASCERTAINMENT REPORT, POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Postmaster General, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report showing the cost of carrying and handling the several classes of mail matter and of performing the special services for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

#### RELIEF OF CERTAIN DISBURSING OFFICERS AND OTHERS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation for the relief of disbursing officers and other officers and employees of the United States from disallowances and charges on account of airplane travel, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Claims.

## CANCELATION AND ADJUSTMENT OF INDIAN INDEBTEDNESS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of cancelations and adjustments of reimbursable charges of the United States existing as debts against individual Indians or tribes of Indians, which was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

# ATTORNEYS' FEES, OSAGE INDIAN FUNDS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the payment of attorneys' fees from Osage tribal funds, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

# LAWS OF MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF ST. THOMAS AND ST. JOHN, V. I.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a copy of laws passed by the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

# CONTROL OF INSECT PESTS AND PLANT DISEASES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the Department's work to control incipient and emergency outbreaks of insect pests and plant diseases from December 16, 1937, to December 15, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

# REPORT OF WAGE AND HOUR DIVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division of the United States Department of Labor, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the administration of the Wage and Hour Division for the period August 15, 1938, to December 31, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

## CONDITION OF CUTLERY TRADE AND PRODUCTION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, transmitting, in respose to Senate Resolution 246 (72d Cong.), a report as to the general condition surrounding the production of and trade in the several kinds of cutlery, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Finance.

#### REPORT OF CHESAPEAKE & POTOMAC TELEPHONE CO.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the president of the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the company for the year ended December 31, 1938, the results of the operations for December only being estimated, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President-

The VICE PRESIDENT. Today being the anniversary of the adoption of the eighteenth amendment, the Chair recognizes the Senator from Texas [Mr. Sheppard] on "the crime of 1933."

Mr. LOGAN. Mr. President-

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Texas yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I yield for morning business, although I will hold the floor.

EXPANSION OF CREDIT AND CURRENCY—LETTER FROM EUGENE E.
GREESON

Mr. LOGAN. Mr. President, early in the present session I introduced a bill to amend the Federal Reserve Act. A few days later the Wall Street Journal published an editorial criticizing the bill. A gentleman by the name of Eugene E. Greeson wrote a letter to the Wall Street Journal criticizing the editorial. I ask unanimous consent to have a copy of that letter inserted in the Record as part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 11, 1939.

WALL STREET JOURNAL, New York, N. Y. (Attention Mr. Woodlock)

(Attention Mr. Woodlock)

Dear Mr. Woodlock: In the Wall Street Journal's editorial The Cart and the Horse of January 7 appears a criticism of a bill introduced by Senator M. M. Logan, former attorney general of Kentucky and chief justice of the Kentucky Court of Appeals. The editorial suggests that he is putting the cart before the horse in advocating an annual expansion of 4 percent of credit and currency over the amount outstanding the preceding year to supply the country with an amount of money equal to the normal expansion of the capacity of the country to produce. You assert that bank credit (demand bank deposits) follows production and does not precede it.

The tables of the Department of Labor repeatedly put in the hearings before the Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives demonstrate that within from 30 to 60 days factory employment and factory wages rise as the volume of money rises and fall as the volume of money falls. In these tables the volume of money is indicated by the all-commodity index, sometimes called the price level. This all-commodity index is based upon a fixed volume of 784 commodities multiplied by the average price, severally, of each commodity, giving a total volume of money so employed in 1926 of \$54,700,000,000 as a basis of comparison with later years. The present all-commodity index of 77, approximately, means that the total amount of money required to buy the same volume of commodities as in 1926 at the prices of 1938 was 77 percent of \$54,700,000,000. The price level merely represents the volume of money actually employed in the manner described in any one year as compared to the standards of 1926.

It is obvious that you do not understand this and do not know the facts; otherwise you could not conscientiously make the statement that the Logan proposal puts the cart before the horse, when your editorial does just that

your editorial does just that.

Your statement that the banks do not create credit is contradicted by Marriner Eccles, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. All informed bankers now know this, and it is too late to attempt to contradict it.

For your information I call your attention to page 126 of the hearings before the House Committee on Banking and Currency on H. R. 7230, where the facts to which I refer are established from the evidence of the Department of Labor and from the files of the Federal Reserve Board. I am sending you a copy of the hearings under separate cover.

It has been a lack of the general knowledge of these facts that accounts for the disaster which has taken place in America in the depressions which have invariably followed the contraction of the money supply by the banks contracting loans to industry and commerce. Loans were contracted from \$41,600,000,000 in June 1929 to \$21,200,000,000 by December 31, 1932, a contraction of over \$20,-000,000,000. This contraction of \$20,000,000,000 resulted in the depression which has afflicted us and the suspension of all the banks in March 1933.

Yours respectfully,

EUGENE E. GREESON.

The VICE PRESIDENT. May the Chair ask the Senator from Texas if he will yield for the purpose of concluding the morning-hour business, such as the presentation of petitions and memorials and introduction of bills, and so forth?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I have announced that I would be glad to do so.

#### EXECUTIVE REPORTS FROM JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

Mr. LOGAN, as in executive session, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the nomination of Frank Murphy, of Michigan, to be Attorney General, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Homer S. Cummings, resigned.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, out of order, I ask unanimous consent, as in executive session, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to present a favorable report on the nomination of Dr. Felix Frankfurter, of Massachusetts, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and also a favorable report on the nomination of Mr. Lemuel R. Via, of West Virginia, to be United States district attorney for the southern district of West Virginia.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The reports will be received and placed on the Executive Calendar.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I should like to ask my colleague [Mr. Logan] if the nominations reported from the Judiciary Committee are the nominations of the Attorney General of the United States and of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court?

Mr. LOGAN. That is correct. I reported the nomination of the Attorney General, and the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Neely] reported the nomination of the Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

Mr. BARKLEY. I should like to ask the Senator from Kentucky and also the Senator from Arizona, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, whether they will be ready to proceed with these nominations tomorrow?

Mr. LOGAN. So far as the Senator from Kentucky is concerned, he will be ready to proceed at that time.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, of course that is conditioned upon the reports being submitted today, as I shall insist that all nominations shall go to the calendar before action.

The VICE PRESIDENT. These nominations, the Chair understands, have been reported by unanimous consent, and will go to the calendar, and on tomorrow, as the Chair understands, under the rule, they may be considered.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have no intention of asking that they be considered today. I wanted to know from the members of the committee if they would be ready to proceed tomorrow, so that I might advise the Senate that on tomorrow we might dispose of these two nominations.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, as the chairman of the subcommittee that conducted the hearings in relation to Dr. Frankfurter's nomination, may I not inform the leader of the majority that the printed record of the evidence taken will not be available before next Friday or Saturday.

Mr. BARKLEY. The reason I inquired is that there is no business before the Senate, and unless these nominations can be taken up tomorrow there is no need for the Senate then to meet. I was trying to find out whether the members of the committee would be ready, and I was assured by both the chairmen of the subcommittees that they would be ready tomorrow. If the nominations cannot be taken up tomorrow, there is no need for the Senate to reassemble merely to adjourn again. I am going to assume, therefore, that the nominations will be taken up tomorrow.

#### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Vermont, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

Whereas the sovereign State of Vermont, through its board of public works, acting upon the written authorization of its Governor, George D. Alken, did on its part enter into a contract with the United States of America, acting through the Secretary of War, entitled "Agreement between the State of Vermont and the United States of America for land acquisition for the dam site and reservoir basins of the Union Village Dam in Vermont"; and Whereas the operation of the aforesaid contract was prevented

Whereas the operation of the aforesaid contract was prevented by the refusal of the United States of America, acting through its Secretary of War to confirm and bind itself in writing to the terms of the agreement, as the State of Vermont on its part had already

done in good faith; and
Whereas the Governor of the State of Vermont, under date of
January 7, 1939, did inform the Secretary of War in writing that

the executive of a sovereign State could not give his written approval to a contract the terms of which were not given in writing; and

whereas the State of Vermont, through its Governor, George D. Aiken, under date of October 15, 1938, did inform the Secretary of War that Vermont did not recognize the right of the United States of America to purchase or acquire land within the State without the consent of the State, affirming at the same time the readiness of the State of Vermont to cooperate with the United States of America in the acquisition of land for the dam site and reservoir basin in the town of Thetford, in accordance with the laws of the State of Vermont and pledging his willingness to necolaws of the State of Vermont, and pledging his willingness to negotiate an agreement; and

Whereas the failure of the United States of America to give evi-Whereas the failure of the United States of America to give evidence of its sincerity by entering into a written agreement with the State of Vermont places the internal sovereignty of the State of Vermont over its lands and natural resources and its people in double jeopardy, because the Flood Control Act of 1938, amending section 3 of the act of 1936 (ch. 795, sec. 2, 52 Stat. 1215, title 33, U. S. C. A., sec. 701 (c-1)), repealing the sacred words "with the consent of the State" and substituting therefor the arbitrary words "notwithstanding any restrictions or limitations or prior consent by any other act" thereby giving the Secretary arbitrary powers openly to flaunt and to ignore the internal sovereignty of a soveropenly to flaunt and to ignore the internal sovereignty of a sover-eign State in the acquisition of lands, easements, and rights-ofway necessary for any dam and reservoir project or channel im-provement or rectification project for flood control purposes; and Whereas the silence at this critical hour of the State of Vermont

to insist that the extension of article I, section 8, and clause 8 of the Constitution of the United States of America, giving Congress power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, in such an arbitrary and unnecessary manner makes void article X of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States of America reserving to the States, respectively. or to the people rights not delegated to the United States of

America; and

Whereas the growing and menacing ambition of those in authority and influence in the Capital of the United States of America is so to mutilate the intent of article X of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States of America to centralize paramount authority in Washington by emasculating the internal sovereignty of the several States over their lands and resources;

Whereas the aforesaid issue between the sovereign State of Vermont and the United States of America has been joined by the arbitrary disregard of the principle of the reserved rights of the people and of the several States, and if this faithlessness to the sacred Federal structure of these United States of America is allowed to go unchallenged, the present affront to the several States of the United States of America is allowed to go unchallenged, the present affront to the several States of the Union will be but the entering wedge progressively to divest and further to encroach upon the sacred area of rights reserved to the people and to the several States; and

Whereas the sad plight of other sections of our world, as well as the history of our own land before the formation of these United States of America, warns us that liberty itself withers when arbitrary power, heedless of respect for negotiation, consent, and respect for the rights and obligations of others, gathers unto himself powers which are unrestrained by law: Be it therefore

Resolved by the senate and house of representatives, proclaiming sympathy for those communities which have suffered and may again suffer from catastrophies caused by disastrous flood waters; declaring its readiness to cooperate with the United States of America and the several States in measures designed to prevent such floods and their human and economic tragedies; insisting that the internal sovereignty of the State of Vermont cannot be invaded or compromised without its consent; warning the several sister States of the Union that the program of an arbitrary, ambitious, and unscrupulous minority must now be prevented from usurping the rights and powers reserved to the people and to the States; and reiterating the question which Thomas Chittenden placed be-fore the Congress of the United States of America when, in 1779, under similar circumstances and in a similar memorial, he wrote:

under similar circumstances and in a similar memorial, he wrote:

"The general assembly will be pleased to learn over what part of
this State you mean to extend your claim, and how far you mean
to carry such pretensions into execution. Every necessary step
shall be pursued to bring about an equitable accommodation of all
differences, agreeable to the strict rules of justice and equity,
which cannot be attended to " " without an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of this State? Can a people
such as ours be dragged, or flattered, into a subjection " "
merely to allow them a stretch of jurisdiction, and thereby augmerely to allow them a stretch of jurisdiction, and thereby aug-

ment this power?"

ment this power?"

That the honorable Senate and the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States of America be respectfully requested to direct the Secretary of War to execute in behalf of the United States of America the aforesaid "agreement between the State of Vermont," already executed in good faith by the Board of Public Works and the Governor of the State of Vermont; and be it further Resolved, That the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States of America be respectfully requested to uphold the sacred faith and tradition of the American people by repealing forthwith such enactments as may allow the United States of America to invade the internal sovereignty of a sovereign State over its land and natural resources without its consent thereto; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent by the secretary of state to the Vice President of the United States, as the President of the Senate of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Senator and Representative who represents the State and people of Vermont in the Congress of the United States of America.

OSCAR L. SHEPARD,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
WM. H. WILLS,
President of the Senate.

Approved January 12, 1939.

GEORGE D. AIKEN, Governor.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by sundry citizens of the District of Columbia and the States of Illinois and New Jersey, favoring an appropriation for the Works Progress Administration sufficient to take care of relief needs and municipal projects, and the adoption of a civil-service program for that agency, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also laid before the Senate telegrams in the nature of memorials from Laredo Council, No. 2304, Knights of Columbus, of Laredo, Tex., and sundry citizens of the United States, remonstrating against lifting the embargo against shipment of arms to Spain, which were referred to the Committee on

Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Latta, S. C., favoring the enactment of legislation to prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages by press and radio, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram from members of the Southwestern Conference of Mayors and Chamber of Commerce Representatives in session at Silver City, N. Mex., favoring continuance of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also laid before the Senate a letter from Hon. Anthony J. DIMOND, Delegate from Alaska, transmitting a memorial of the city of Seward, Alaska, favoring an investigation of the Alaska Railroad, which was referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

He also laid before the Senate two telegrams from citizens of Alaska, favoring the appointment of Victor C. Rivers to the position of secretary of Alaska, which were referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

Mr. LODGE presented petitions of sundry citizens of the State of Massachusetts, praying for the enactment of generalwelfare legislation providing old-age assistance, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. MALONEY presented a resolution adopted by the Bridgeport (Conn.) Council of Catholic Women, protesting against lifting the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented petitions of the Holy Ghost Fathers and Students, of Ridgefield; the Catholic Daughters of America, by Mary Hughes Shread, chairman of the Connecticut State legislative committee; members of the Sodality of the Children of Mary, of St. Mary's Church, of Norwalk, and sundry citizens, all in the State of Connecticut, praying for adherence to the existing neutrality law and continuation of the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented the memorial of members of the congregation of All Saints Chapel, of New Haven, Conn., remonstrating against the shipment of war supplies from the United States to Japan, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. CAPPER presented a petition of sundry citizens of Cowley County, Kans., praying for the repeal of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

POLITICAL FRANCHISE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I send to the desk and ask to have printed in the RECORD and appropriately referred a letter from Mr. Theodore W. Noyes, president of the Association of Oldest Inhabitants of the District of Columbia, together with a plea to Congress from the association for the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution to provide national representation in both Houses of Congress and in the electoral college for the Nation's Capital.

I find myself in hearty sympathy with the sentiments expressed in this plea. It has always seemed to me a rank injustice that the people of this, the Capital of the greatest nation on earth, who are subject to all the responsibilities and obligations of citizenship, the same as citizens of the several States, should be denied what I consider the outstanding function of citizenship—the right of suffrage; the right to vote for President and Vice President; the right to be represented in both branches of Congress by Members of their own choosing.

I think the plea presents a powerful argument for the enfranchisement of the people of the District of Columbia. I commend it to the thoughtful consideration of the Congress and interested citizens everywhere, and hope that it may be productive of favorable action at an early date.

There being no objection, the letter and plea were ordered to be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as follows:

> ASSOCIATION OLDEST INHABITANTS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA Washington, D. C., January 12, 1939.

To the Senate of the United States:

By direction of the Association of Oldest Inhabitants of the District of Columbia, passed by a unanimous vote at its meeting on January 1, 1939, there is transmitted the attached plea to Congress.

We respectfully request that this document be laid before the Senate, published in the Congressional Record, and referred to the

appropriate committees. Very respectfully,

THEODORE W. NOVES, President.

#### A PLEA TO CONGRESS (By Fred A. Emery)

Delivered to and officially adopted by the Association of Oldest Inhabitants of the District of Columbia

As the old year fades into history and a new year is ushered in, the Association of Oldest Inhabitants, in the spirit of organized citizenship of Washington, presents its sincerest felicitations to the new Congress. It is a meed of tribute that we pay as a symbol of respect that the people of Washington have for orderly Government. It also is the occasion for a city of 627,000 people to remind Congress that it is within the power and duty of Congress to adopt a constitutional amendment to provide national representation in both Houses of Congress and in the Electoral College for the American tayparers of the greatest municipality College for the American taxpayers of the greatest municipality

on earth.

The taxpayers of Washington have the same sublime faith in Government, the same pure patriotism, the same home-loving spirit that Americans everywhere else have. And they, in the only national capital in the world whose people are denied the elective franchise, are of the same type of Americanism as the people back in the States. Washingtonians pay not only their way, but they do more than their part in the upkeep of the Federal Government. They pay in taxes more than each of 24 States and more than 9 of the States combined.

States and more than 9 of the States combined.

The responsible taxpayers of Washington trace their citizenship back through the provincial and colonial days, and they have the pride of a people whose civic activities hark back in history for 138 years through which the city of Washington, the District of Columbia, has been in process of development. We have surpassed the record of many States in patriotic response to every great emergency of the Nation. And today we are sublimely proud of the genius of our own people through whose activities there has been built up the great city of Washington, whose wondrous dignity and graceful lines are today the joy of the world.

# SYMBOL OF AMERICA

Today Washington, save for the disfranchisement of its tax-payers, is the symbol of America. And let no one gain the impression that Washingtonians live by the grace or indulgence of a paternalistic Federal Government. Washingtonians are self-sustaining. They pay for what they get as time marches on. They are bona fide Americans in all but the vote, which a tardy Congress still withholds. The taxpayers of Washington built up and made and maintain the city of Washington, save for those Federal areas whose every encroachment means less District revenue and more District taxation for the responsible taxpayers of Washington. of Washington.

Washington citizens maintain their metropolis on a magnificent scale in keeping with the dignity and prestige of a world capital.

They pay their own taxes and the taxes for the maintenance of the Government in every State in the Union. They pay their part toward the upkeep of the Federal Government for the benefit of the constituents of Congress in every community where flies the American flag. They pay not only their own taxes but the same Federal taxes that Americans everywhere else pay. They carry on with both local and Federal obligations in the fiscal burdens of a great National Government and the fiscal burdens of a great community which is their home and

Washington is not merely a Federal capital. It is a local municipality, a metropolis of Americans like Americans everywhere in the States. To every Federal pay roll, Washingtonians pay their share of the expense; to every branch of the Federal Government, they help pay the costs; they pay part and parcel of the costs wherever the American flag flies.

ALL OTHERS HAVE VOTE Congress makes the laws of the District of Columbia and properly so under the greatest national Constitution in all history. The Treasury collects from the Washington taxpayers for every State and village in the United States; the Washingtonians pay their share of upkeep of every Federal department and agency on the same basis of levy as applies to everybody else in this broad land. But every other taxpayer has a vote and a voice in the halls of Congress. Washington taxpayers, doing more than their part in the upkeep of the Government, have no representation in the Federal Government. A constitutional amendment, which Congress could pass at this session if it would adopt the broadmindedness of our forefathers, would correct this Un-American disability. It is the old story of taxation without representation which was denounced by the elder statesmen of the greatest Republic on earth. The unfranchised taxpayers of Washington carry on, bearing the fiscal burdens of every Federal office in every State and their own community's, too.

Washington is not merely a Federal capital. It is a local municipality where vast areas are occupied by Federal buildings that are exempt from the taxable resources of the local government. Hundreds of thousands of people from every State and from every land come to Washington annually. They go through the magnificent buildings which a Federal Government generous to other people than Washingtonians has built here. I would remind these vast armies of visitors and Congress that we, too, here in Washington, the voteless taxpayers of the District of Columbia, help pay for these buildings and their upkeep and their personnel just as other taxpayers do.

DUTY TO TAKE ACTION Congress makes the laws of the District of Columbia and prop-

## DUTY TO TAKE ACTION

We are glad this is the Nation's Capital. It enhances our pride but not our taxable resources. We are glad the forefathers provided that Congress meet here. We are proud of Congress and present our felicitations to its Members in both branches. But we would like to remind Congress that Washington is a city hewn by the taxpayers of Washington, who are denied a vote which the constituents of Congress have and that everybody in the land has, to the injustice of our own people here.

Washington taxpayers play their part and pay their part. They pay their way and more, Federally as well as locally. It is the duty, and ought to be the patriotic privilege of every Member of both Houses of Congress, to take substantive action to provide a constitutional amendment for representation of the District in both Houses of Congress.

a constitutional amendment for representation of the District in both Houses of Congress.

We are proud of the acclaim of Washington as the greatest of all world capitals. We are proud of our metropolis as a dream city unparalleled anywhere. We are proud of being in a great city largely produced by the brain, the brawn, the patriotism, the genius, and the skill and the broad vision of our own people. We share some of this credit with the Congresses that have been with us ever since 1800. But, remember this, Washington is a city built up and maintained by Washington taxpayers. It is of and by the citizens of Washington.

#### REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF

On the 14th instant, under authority of the order of the Senate of January 12, 1939, Mr. Byrnes, from the Special Committee to Investigate Unemployment and Relief (under S. Res. 36, 75th Cong.), submitted a report on unemployment and relief (Rept. No. 2).

Mr. DAVIS and Mr. LODGE, as members of the Special Committee to Investigate Unemployment and Relief (pursuant to S. Res. 36, 75th Cong.), each submitted minority views on the subject of unemployment and relief, which were ordered to be printed as parts 2 and 3, respectively, of Senate Report No. 2

# BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. NORRIS:

S. 597. A bill to limit the jurisdiction of district courts of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 598. A bill granting a pension to Allie Doll; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McNARY:

S. 599. A bill granting a pension to Phebe Wood; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LA FOLLETTE:

S. 600. A bill for a survey and examination of the Kickapoo River, Wis., with a view to the control of its floods; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 601. A bill to amend an act approved December 17, 1928, entitled "An act conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, examine, adjudicate, and enter judgment thereon in claims which the Winnebago Tribe of Indians may have against the United States, and for other purposes";

S. 602. A bill for the relief of Marguerite Kuenzi;

S. 603. A bill for the relief of Robert Landeau, a minor; and

S. 604. A bill for the relief of Lemke Construction Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 605. A bill for the relief of Charlotte E. Hunter; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

S. 606. A bill for the relief of Hugo Stamm; and

S. 607. A bill to amend section 40 of the act entitled "An act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties, and for other purposes," approved September 7, 1916, as amended; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

S. 608. A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to furnish certain markers for certain graves; to the Committee on

Military Affairs.

By Mr. DAVIS:

S. 609. A bill for the relief of James Damiano and Adelaide Damiano; and

S. 610. A bill for the relief of Herbert H. Lauer; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 611. A bill granting a pension to Pearl V. Barclay; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 612. A bill for the relief of John A. Auge;

S. 613. A bill for the relief of Frank A. Smith; and

S. 614. A bill authorizing the appointment of John L. M. Des Islets as a first lieutenant in the Regular Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 615. A bill granting a pension to Blanche Bassett;

S. 616. A bill granting a pension to Mary M. Diehl; and

S. 617. A bill granting an increase in pension to Lucy Killinger; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MALONEY:

S. 618. A bill granting a pension to Ada Louise Booth;

S. 619. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ida A. Joab; and

S. 620. A bill granting an increase of pension to Minnie M. Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ANDREWS:

S. 621. A bill to fix the maximum rate of interest on loans secured by Government life-insurance policies; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. LODGE:

S. 622. A bill authorizing the construction of a new hospital and diagnostic center at or near Boston, Mass.; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 623. A bill authorizing appropriation for purchase of land at Fort Devens, Mass.; to the Committee on Military Affairs

By Mr. CLARK of Idaho:

S. 624. A bill granting a pension to William R. S. Lane; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McCARRAN:

S. 625. A bill to amend the Silver Purchase Act of 1934 to limit purchases under such act to domestically mined silver and to fix a minimum price for such purchases; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

S. 626. A bill to amend Public Law No. 383, Seventy-third Congress (48 Stat. L. 984), relating to Indians, by exempting from the provisions of such act any Indian tribe or reservation located in the State of Nevada; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. BURKE:

S. 627. A bill to extend time for completing the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Farnam Street, Omaha, Nebr.; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. MEAD:

S. 628. A bill to allow the Home Owners' Loan Corporation to extend the period of amortization of home loans from 15 to 25 years; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 629. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims of the United States to hear, adjudicate, and enter judgment on the claim of Carl G. Allgrunn against the United States for the use of his invention in rifling guns during the war and thereafter by the Symington-Anderson Co. at Rochester, N. Y., said invention being shown and described in his Letters Patent No. 1,311,107, issued by the Patent Office of the United States on or about July 22, 1919; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 630. A bill for the relief of Paul Stolnitzky (also known as Max Stone) (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. MURRAY:

S. 631. A bill to add certain lands to the Sequoia National Park, Calif.; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. SCHWELLENBACH:

S. 632. A bill for the relief of Capt. James L. Alverson; and S. 633. A bill for the relief of Ray Wimmer; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 634. A bill to clarify the expatriation laws with regard to certain native-born citizens of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Immigration.

S. 635. A bill to amend section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934:

S. 636. A bill to add section 315 (a) to the Communications Act of 1934; and

S. 637. A bill to amend section 326 of the Communications Act of 1934; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

S. 638. A bill granting a pension to Ray Harris;

S. 639. A bill granting a pension to Leonard Claud Huntington;

S. 640. A bill granting a pension to Elsie H. Scharf;

S. 641. A bill granting a pension to Lottie B. Smith; and

S. 642. A bill granting a pension to Clyde R. Youngblood; to the Committee on Pensions.

S. 643. A bill authorizing the payment of necessary expenses incurred by certain Indians allotted on the Quinaielt Reservation, State of Washington;

S. 644. A bill to provide for the reopening of certain lands in the Colville Indian Reservation in the State of Washington

to entry under the mineral-land laws; and

S. 645. A bill to provide funds for cooperation with Wapato School District No. 54, Yakima County, Wash., for extension of public-school buildings to be available for Indian children of the Yakima Reservation; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

S. 646. A bill providing for the advancement on the retired list of the Army of Whitfield H. Cox;

S. 647. A bill for the relief of Walter Curry;

S. 648. A bill for the relief of Francis Gerrity:

S. 649. A bill for the relief of Presly Holliday, quartermaster sergeant, Quartermaster Corps, on the retired list, and for other purposes;

S. 650. A bill relative to the military record of Frank I. Otis, deceased; and

S. 651. A bill to provide for the protection and preservation of domestic sources of scrap steel; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 652. A bill regulating the performance of work by the enlisted or commissioned personnel of the United States Navy, Army, and Coast Guard; to the Committee on Naval Affairs:

S. 653. A bill to authorize the addition of certain lands to the Wenatchee National Forest;

S. 654. A bill to include within the Kaniksu National Forest certain lands owned or in course of acquisition by the United States; and

S. 655. A bill to validate settlement claims established on sections 16 and 36 within the area withdrawn for the Matanuska Settlement Project in Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. BARBOUR:

S. 656. A bill to amend the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, relating to operation of vessels by private operators under agreements; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. CAPPER:

S. 657. A bill for the relief of William Schick; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 658. A bill to aid in alleviating the loss caused by sickness; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. PEPPER:

S. 659. A bill to provide for the recognition of the services of the civilian officials and employees, citizens of the United States, engaged in and about the construction of the Panama Canal; to the Committee on Interoceanic Canals.

(Mr. Lee introduced Senate bill 660, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and appears

under a separate heading.)

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

S. 661. A bill for the relief of Ida A. Deaver; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 662. A bill granting a pension to Carolyn M. Clawges; S. 663. A bill granting a pension to Wilber T. Lardie;

S. 664. A bill granting a pension to D. F. MacMartin; and S. 665. A bill granting a pension to Carrie L. Warner; to the Committee on Pensions.

S. 666. A bill for the relief of Roy Chandler; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

S. 667. A bill to aid in the rehabilitation of tenant farmers and sharecroppers, to provide credit facilities for the acquisition of farms and farm homes, to provide loans to farmers for crop production and harvesting, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

S. 663. A bill requiring that persons holding certain positions under the United States be citizens of the United States;

to the Committee on Civil Service.

S. 669. A bill for the relief of Joe D. Dailey; S. 670. A bill for the relief of Dr. R. N. Harwood;

S. 671. A bill for the relief of the city of Memphis, Tenn.;

S. 672. A bill for the relief of Drs. W. S. Davis, P. A. Palmer, H. S. Oakes, and J. M. Ousley; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 673. A bill to extend the provisions of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933, as amended, to the Cumberland River and its basin; and

S. 674. A bill to authorize the submission to Congress of a comprehensive plan to provide local flood protection for the city of Nashville, Tenn.; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 675. A bill to provide for the appointment of one additional circuit judge for the sixth judicial circuit;

S. 676. A bill to amend section 107 of the Judicial Code to create a mountain district in the State of Tennessee, and for other purposes; and

S. 677. A bill to establish a new judicial circuit of the United States, with a circuit court of appeals, hereafter to be called the eleventh circuit; to the Committee on the Judiciary

S. 678. A bill authorizing the erection of a memorial statue of Andrew Jackson; to the Committee on the Library.

S. 679. A bill to provide for the formulation of a plan for the construction of certain through highways in the United States; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

(Mr. Walsh, Mr. Lodge, Mr. Maloney, Mr. Danaher, Mr. Austin, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Green, Mr. Bridges, Mr. Tobey, Mr. Hale, and Mr. White introduced Senate bill 680, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

S. 681. A bill for the relief of Col. Ernest Graves; and S. 682. A bill relative to the military record of Charles C. Rascoe, deceased; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GUFFEY:

S. 683. A bill for the relief of Fae Banas; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BARKLEY:

S. 684. A bill for the relief of Walter McKenzie; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 685. A bill to create a Division of Water Pollution Control in the United States Public Health Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 686. A bill authorizing the erection in the District of Columbia of a suitable terminal marker for the Jefferson Davis Highway; to the Committee on the Library.

S. 687. A bill for the relief of Robert Fraley; and

S. 688. A bill for the relief of Homer N. Horine; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 689. A bill for the relief of Robert Thompson; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 690. A bill granting a pension to Jamaica Taylor:

S. 691. A bill granting a pension to Alexander Steele;

S. 692. A bill granting a pension to Thomas E. Morrison;

S. 693. A bill granting a pension to Gillis S. Mitchell;

S. 694. A bill granting an increase of pension to Joseph Burton;

S. 695. A bill granting a pension to Katherine Slusher;

S. 696. A bill granting a pension to George Dean;

S. 697. A bill granting a pension to Cora Arlena Ballard;

S. 698. A bill granting a pension to Dora McCallister;

S. 699. A bill granting a pension to Maggie Ball; S. 700. A bill granting a pension to Phina McCrary:

S. 701. A bill granting an increase of pension to Katherine C. Feland:

S. 702. A bill granting a pension to Dallie Baker;

S. 703. A bill granting a pension to Henry C. Field;

S. 704. A bill granting a pension to Anna Krebs;

S. 705. A bill granting a pension to George W. Gardner;

S. 706. A bill granting a pension to Minnie Harrison;

S. 707. A bill granting a pension to Juriah Hyden;

S. 708. A bill granting a pension to Mary Shelton; S. 709. A bill granting a pension to Delia England;

S. 710. A bill granting a pension to Nancy V. Shipley;

S. 711. A bill granting a pension to Frank House;

S. 712. A bill granting a pension to Philip T. West;

S. 713. A bill granting a pension to John C. Hounshell; S. 714. A bill granting a pension to Mary Curry;

S. 715. A bill granting a pension to Margaret Moore;

S. 716. A bill granting a pension to Maggie Wilson;

S. 717. A bill granting a pension to Lucretia Woods;

S. 718. A bill granting a pension to Sarah Jane Lewis Langdon;

S. 719. A bill granting a pension to Lucinda Van Norsdel;

S. 720. A bill granting a pension to Gertrude Maurer;

S. 721. A bill granting a pension to John R. Sparks; S. 722. A bill granting a pension to Aleck Camlin;

S. 723. A bill granting a pension to Dora Short;

S. 724. A bill granting a pension to Wiley Roberts;

S. 725. A bill granting a pension to John Winn;

S. 125. A bill granting a pension to Turkie Ann

S. 726. A bill granting a pension to Lydia Ann Hollingsworth;

S. 727. A bill granting a pension to Nancy C. Buck;

S. 728. A bill granting a pension to Levi Sawyer;

S. 729. A bill granting a pension to Sam H. Hadley;

S. 730. A bill granting a pension to Gertrude Biggs;

S. 731. A bill granting a pension to Mattie Sebastian; S. 732. A bill granting a pension to Daniel Wilson;

5. 132. A bill granting a pension to Damer Wilson,

S. 733. A bill granting a pension to Ellanor Green;

S. 734. A bill granting a pension to John C. Bishop;

S. 735. A bill granting a pension to Harry L. Cox;

S. 736. A bill granting a pension to Ella Noe;

S. 737. A bill granting a pension to Allen Nantz;

S. 738. A bill granting a pension to William M. Graham; S. 739. A bill granting an increase of pension to Marion M. Joolum:

S. 740. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth M. Runnels;

S. 741. A bill granting a pension to Viola Compton; and

S. 742. A bill granting a pension to Fieldon Adkins; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. REYNOLDS:

S. 743. A bill to provide national flags for the burials of honorably discharged former service men and women; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LA FOLLETTE:

S. J. Res. 43. Joint resolution requesting the President to proclaim October 9 as Leif Erickson Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

AMENDMENT OF AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT—REAPPORTION-MENT OF COTTON ACREAGE ALLOTMENTS

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, last year the Senate adopted an amendment to the Agricultural Act called the "frozen acres" amendment. It was for only 1 year's time. It has expired. The purpose of the amendment was to release certain acres to be reallotted. For instance, in my State of Oklahoma some 300,000 acres have been allotted for cotton, and the cotton farmer who did not want to use his allotment could not turn it back. This amendment gave them permission, and gave the Administration power, to reallot that acreage. It meant 235,000 acres in my State of Oklahoma, 100,000 acres in Texas, and 50,000 acres in Arkansas. It applied chiefly to that section of the country.

The amendment has expired by limitation, and I am at this time introducing an amendment in the form of a bill to extend its operation. I ask that the bill be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and hope that we may secure early action on it. Last year the amendment was adopted so late that many persons were not able to take advantage of its provisions. If we could expedite its adoption this year, it would be helpful to that section of the country. There is no objection to it from any source that I can find.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and referred as requested by the Senator from Oklahoma.

The bill (S. 660) to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to provide for the reapportionment of cotton acreage allotments not planted by farmers entitled thereto was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

# DISPOSITION OF FALLEN TIMBER IN NEW ENGLAND

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, in behalf of myself and my colleagues from the New England States, I present a bill with reference to the disposition of the timber which has fallen in the New England region as a result of the recent hurricane, and I ask that the bill be printed in the RECORD and appropriately referred.

I also request that a letter addressed by myself and in behalf of the New England delegation to E. W. Tinker, of the Forest Service, be printed in the RECORD in connection with

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the bill will be received, appropriately referred, and printed in the RECORD, and the letter presented by the Senator from Massachusetts will also be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 680) to authorize payment for certain timber products, and for other purposes (introduced by Mr. Walsh, Mr. Lodge, Mr. Maloney, Mr. Danaher, Mr. Austin, Mr. Gib-SON, Mr. GERRY, Mr. GREEN, Mr. BRIDGES, Mr. TOBEY, Mr. HALE, and Mr. White), was read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$5,000,000 for paying 10 percent of the approved schedules of prices for salvaged timber products purchased or to be purchased from the owners thereof by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, Northeastern Timber Salvage Administration and for necessary administrative expenses in connection with the timber salvaging operations conducted by the Northeastern Timber Salvage Administration; said 10 percent being in addition to a payment of 90 percent of such schedules of prices made or to be made from funds loaned by the Disaster Loan Corporation to the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, Northeastern Timber Salvage The letter presented by Mr. Walsh is as follows:

THE HURRICANE TIMBER PROBLEM IN NEW ENGLAND

JANUARY 13, 1939.

Mr. E. W. TINKER.

United States Forest Service,

209 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

MY DEAR MR. TINKER: I am writing you again concerning some of the difficulties in connection with the down-timber situation in

Massachusetts as a result of the hurricane.

Since the original program of the Government was announced providing for payment by the Government, at scheduled prices, of timber, after grading, and delivered at designated points, certain modifications, as you know, have been made. The agitation among many of the fallen-timber owners requesting the Government to pay 100 percent of scheduled prices instead of 80 percent has led to a new and recent regulation providing for the payment of 90 percent. percent.

percent.

It is now my purpose and that of other Members of the New England delegation to the Congress to ask for legislation appropriating the sum of \$5,000,000 for payment of the balance of 10 percent of approved scheduled prices for salvaged timber to be purchased from the owners thereof by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation. This, we hope, will induce more of the owners of fallen timber to undertake clearance of their woodland and conversion of the follow timber in a lower.

owners of fallen timber to undertake clearance of their woodland and conversion of the fallen timber into logs.

The President, as you also know, has requested, through the Budget, \$5,000,000 to be expended in removing fire hazards. I assume this money will be spent for clearing along highways, open spaces, and other localities where there is danger of fire. I do not understand this money, when appropriated, will in any way be used for salvaging the losses of the owners.

We, representing New England in the Congress, are still troubled, however, about the plight of a considerable number of owners of

We, representing New England in the Congress, are still troubled, however, about the plight of a considerable number of owners of down timber. It has been the practice in many parts of Massachusetts for the owners of timber to sell it on the stump either in the lump or by the thousand, and for the buyer to do the actual logging. Many owners are not in a position either to log themselves or to secure services to operate their lots and thereby take advantage of the Government's offer. They either have had no experience in such matters or are elderly people quite incapable of supervising the logging operations or their lots are so located as to make some operations very expensive. In many instances there seems to be a lack of contractors, and the owners do not know how to secure contractors from outside the State or other area. These seems to be a lack of contractors, and the owners do not know how to secure contractors from outside the State or other areas. These people are in a paralyzed state as far as hiring, contracting, and supervising the logging operations are concerned. They are not asking that the losses entailed by the hurricane be made up by the Government. They are, however, asking the Government to help them secure stumpage value for their fallen timber.

I understand you have authority to either buy the logs as announced or you may purchase the fallen timber of the stump. I am now writing to urge that you take advantage of this discretionary power and arrange, if possible, to give a fair stumpage value to the owners of small woodlands—those owners (you might restrict to those possessing a definite small acreage) who have not

restrict to those possessing a definite small acreage) who have not the facilities nor the money to clear their lots and convert the timber into logs without an expense that would result in some loss, in addition to the loss they have already sustained by reason

of the hurricane.

of the hurricane.

To those who are accustomed to logging operations and who have large holdings, the payment of 100 percent of scheduled prices by the Government would be reasonably satisfactory, but this does not meet all the requirements of the situation and, in the instance of the small-lot owners, is no encouragement to go to additional expense to clear their lots. In fact, they are financially unable to do it. Failure to do so means, beside the fire hazard, a reversion of much of the land to the towns for taxes.

Let me add my appreciation of your efforts to be helpful in this situation, for I can well understand that the problem of this kind

situation, for I can well understand that the problem of this kind was entirely new to the agencies of the Federal Government and that the New England problem—New England not being a natural logging center—is especially difficult to handle as the problem here relates to a system of logging that has been largely on the basis of buying logs on the stump. If we had a few large timber com-panies with which to deal, the problem would be easy of solution, but with thousands of small, scattered, and unorganized owners, the problem is unusual and unlike any heretofore confronted in compensating for loss of timber.

May I have your views with respect to the suggestions about the exercise of your discretion as outlined above?

Sincerely yours,

## HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

DAVID I. WALSH.

The joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

#### APPROPRIATIONS FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF—AMENDMENTS

Mr. HATCH. I submit and send to the desk certain amendments intended to be proposed to House Joint Resolution 83, which is the relief joint resolution. The proposed amendments were recommended by the report of the Special Committee on Unemployment and Relief. I also send to the desk one additional amendment, and I ask that they all be referred to the Committee on Appropriations and be printed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so

ordered.

The amendments submitted by Mr. HATCH intended to be proposed to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, are as follows:

an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, are as follows:

At the proper place, to insert the following:

"Sec. — (a) It shall be unlawful for any person to solicit or be in any manner concerned in soliciting, any assessment, subscription, or contribution for any political purpose whatever from any person entitled to or receiving compensation, employment, or other benefit provided for or made possible by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution.

"(b) Any person who violates any provision of this section shall be guilty of a felony and, upon conviction, shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned for not more than 1 year, or both."

At the proper place, to insert the following:

"Sec. — (a) It shall be unlawful for any person employed in any administrative or supervisory capacity by any agency of the Federal Government, whose compensation or any part thereof is paid from funds authorized or appropriated by the Emergency Relief Act of 1938 or this joint resolution, to use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election, or affecting the results thereof. All such persons shall retain the right to vote as they please and to express privately their opinions on all political subjects, but they shall take no active part in political management or in political campaigns.

"(b) Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be immediately removed from the position or office held by him, and thereafter no part of the funds appropriated by the Emergency Relief Act of 1938 or this joint resolution shall be used to pay the compensation of such person."

At the proper place to insert the following:

"Sec. — (a) It shall be unlawful for any person, directly or indirectly, to offer or promise any employment, position, work, compensation, or other benefit, provided for or made possible by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution, or other benefit, provided for

party in any election.

"(c) Any person who violates any provision of this section shall be guilty of a felony and upon conviction shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both."

# SUSPENSION OF THE RULES-CALENDAR DAY'S NOTICE

Mr. PITTMAN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 58), which was referred to the Committee on Rules:

Resolved, That rule XI of the Standing Rules of the Senate be, and it is hereby, amended by adding at the end thereof the

following:

"The one day's notice required hereunder in the case of a proposed suspension of a rule or part thereof shall be deemed to mean a calendar day's notice."

# ELIZABETH PINKETT

Mr. RADCLIFFE submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 59), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate to Elizabeth Pinkett, widow of James F. Pinkett, late a laborer in the office of the Secretary of the Senate, a sum equal to 6 months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

#### SENATE SPECIAL SILVER COMMITTEE-ADDITIONAL MEMBERS

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, the Senate Special Silver Committee, operating under Senate Resolution 187, Seventyfourth Congress, first session, proposes to hold hearings within a few days, and I therefore ask unanimous consent that the following-named Senators be added to the membership of that committee: The Senator from Delaware [Mr.

TOWNSEND], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. RADCLIFFE], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Johnson], and the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD].

There being no objection, the request of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] was agreed to in the form of an order, as follows:

Ordered, That the Senator from Delaware [Mr. Townsend], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Radcliffe], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Johnson], and the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Shipstead be appointed additional members of the Senate Special Silver Committee.

#### ANNIVERSARY OF ENACTMENT OF CIVIL-SERVICE LAW

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, this week marks the fiftysixth anniversary of the signing of the National Civil Service Act. Several Members of the Congress have been asked to state their views with respect to the merit system in the public service, which commenced with the original law and has been expanded and extended to the present time.

I ask to have printed in the RECORD a statement issued by me, at the request of the American Federation of Government Employees, on the subject of the merit system.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On the occasion of the celebration of Civil Service Week I am pleased to comply with your request to submit my opinion respect-

ing the merit system.

The alternative to the selection of Government officials according The alternative to the selection of Government officials according to definite standards after examination and on strict merit is to choose them according to the methods of the old spoils system, so-called because it enunciated and carried into practice the doctrine "to the victor belongs the spoils." Under this system, generally in vogue during the early life of the Republic and at the present time in some States and Federal bureaus, persons were appointed to positions for no other reason than that they happened to be members of a victorious political party or had worked for the success of its leaders. Important Government offices and positions filled on this basis alone without reference to the training, character, and capacity of appointees was certain to produce unfavorable results in the operation of Government machinery. Misfits, castoffs, and hopeless incompetents, persons without a semblance of aptitude for their jobs, could not be expected to make for efficient functioning of government. To the contrary, their incompetence and inaptitude frequently led to serious blunders and, in the case of departments requiring more technical skill, a complete breakof departments requiring more technical skill, a complete break-down and administrative failure.

Discerning and altruistic spirits, who believed in honest and

Discerning and altruistic spirits, who believed in honest and efficient government and who realized the inequities of the spoils system, early began a campaign to establish the merit principle as a substitute for "spoils" in public appointments. Contending against them were alined the powerful forces of greedy political organizations and leaders, who were reluctant to give up patronage enabling them to appoint incompetent satellites to fruitful positions in the Government agencies and who scoffed at civil service as the aim of misguided reformers. Whenever in the Federal or State service a particular political party has been overwhelmingly in control, opposition to the merit system usually prevails.

To the everlasting credit, the good sense, and judgment of our American citizenry, however, the merit system gained a firm foothold in this country because of the appeal it made to believers in intelligent, well-conducted, honest government. It has been continually broadened, especially where political control has not been

tinually broadened, especially where political control has not been one-sided, so that now it embraces a substantial field of Government employment—Federal, State, and local.

ment employment—Federal, State, and local.

Though the opposition to the merit principle is strong and powerful, even at present among some in elective public office and their henchmen who cannot use it for their own ends, public sentiment is insistent not only upon the fullest measure of protection for the civil service but also is intent upon extending its scope to cover a larger part of public employment. The British have given us a striking example of the beneficial results which flow from a broadly applied, honestly administered merit system, where neither favoritism, bias, nor corruntion can intervene to thwart the high purposes applied, nonestly administered ment system, where neither favoritism, bias, nor corruption can intervene to thwart the high purpose of honest and efficient government. It is unquestioned that recognition by the British of education, character, and fitness in the selection of public employees is responsible for the remarkably impartial and successful discharge of Government business which has redounded the world over to the benefit of the British Empire.

In our own country, unfortunetly, the experience and treatment.

redounded the world over to the benefit of the British Empire.

In our own country, unfortunately, the experience and treatment of civil service has frequently been most discouraging. Political manipulation has been too often permitted to nullify the spirit and intention of these commendable laws. This has been made possible in various ways—reposing too much discretion in administrative officials to alter regulations, thereby enabling discrimination against the highest on the register; noncompetitive examinations and provisional appointments and other exemptions, the use of which results in the appointment of the less qualified or the downright incompetent, simply because they have rendered political assistance

to the appointing powers. Failure to extend the scope of civilservice laws to cover a larger proportion of public positions is another grave shortcoming which ought to be remedied forthwith. Of reassuring and hopeful import, however, is the strong tide of public opinion running with impartial application of the merit system. Our people have apparently concluded that within this principle lies the hope for weeding out inefficiency, incompetency, and dishonesty in the public service and insuring to every man and woman an equal opportunity to enter the field of governmental employment upon a basis of qualification, aptitude, and capacity for the position they seek.

for the position they seek.

Notwithstanding the progress that has been made, there is much room for improvement. Many political hacks still hold positions to which duly qualified persons on civil-service registers are entitled. The task for sincere friends of the merit system is to continue the battle in National and State legislatures until we succeed not only in ousting the incumbent unfit where it is possible but in prevent-ing the appointment to the Government service of such persons

in the future.

Equality of opportunity, reward of capacity, work, and qualifications are inherent to democracy. By insistent advocacy of an enlarged and impartially administered civil service, we can do much to render our Government impregnable against inefficiency, waste, and corruption.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read and referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

Four years ago I sent to the newly convened Congress a message transmitting a report of the Committee on Economic Security. In that message I urged that Congress consider the enactment into law of the program of protection for our people outlined in that report. The Congress acted upon that recommendation and today we have the Social Security Act in effect throughout the length and breadth of our country.

This act has amply proved its essential soundness.

More than two and one-half million needy old people, needy blind persons, and dependent children are now receiving systematic and humane assistance to the extent of a half billion dollars a year.

Three and a half million unemployed persons have received out-of-work benefits amounting to \$400,000,000 during

the last year.

A Federal old-age insurance system, the largest undertaking of its kind ever attempted, has been organized and under it there have been set up individual accounts covering 42,-500,000 persons who may be likened to the policyholders of a private insurance company.

In addition there are the splendid accomplishments in the field of public health, vocational rehabilitation, maternal and child welfare and related services, made possible by the

Social Security 'Act.

We have a right to be proud of the progress we have made in the short time the Social Security Act has been in operation. However, we would be derelict in our responsibility if we did not take advantage of the experience we have accumulated to strengthen and extend its provisions.

I submit for your consideration a report of the Social Security Board, which, at my direction and in accordance with the congressional mandate contained in the Social Security Act itself, has been assembling data, and developing ways and means of improving the operation of the Social Security Act.

I particularly call attention to the desirability of affording greater old-age security. The report suggests a two-fold approach which I believe to be sound. One way is to begin the payment of monthly old-age insurance benefits sooner, and to liberalize the benefits to be paid in the early years. The other way is to make proportionately larger Federal grants-in-aid to those States with limited fiscal capacities, so that they may provide more adequate assistance to those in need. This result can and should be accomplished in such a way as to involve little, if any, additional cost to the Federal Government. Such a method embodies a principle that may well be applied to other Federal grants-in-aid.

I also call attention to the desirability of affording greater protection to dependent children. Here again the report suggests a two-fold approach which I believe to be sound. One way is to extend our Federal old-age insurance system so as to provide regular monthly benefits not only to the aged but also to the dependent children of workers dying before reaching retirement age. The other way is to liberalize the Federal grants-in-aid to the States to help finance assistance to dependent children.

As regards both the Federal old-age insurance system and the Federal-State unemployment compensation system. equity and sound social policy require that the benefits be extended to all of our people as rapidly as administrative experience and public understanding permit. Such an extension is particularly important in the case of the Federal old-age insurance system. Even without amendment the old-age insurance benefits payable in the early years are very liberal in comparison with the taxes paid. This is necessarily so in order that these benefits may accomplish their purpose of forestalling dependency. But this very fact creates the necessity of extending this protection to as large a proportion as possible of our employed population in order to avoid unfair discrimination.

Much of the success of the Social Security Act is due to the fact that all of the programs contained in this act-with one necessary exception-are administered by the States themselves, but coordinated and partially financed by the Federal Government. This method has given us flexible administration and has enabled us to put these programs into operation quickly. However, in some States incompetent and politically dominated personnel has been distinctly harmful. Therefore, I recommend that the States be required, as a condition for the receipt of Federal funds, to establish and maintain a merit system for the selection of personnel. Such a requirement would represent a protection to the States and citizens thereof rather than an encroachment by the Federal Government, since it would automatically promote efficiency and eliminate the necessity for minute Federal scrutiny of State operations.

I cannot too strongly urge the wisdom of building upon the principles contained in the present Social Security Act in affording greater protection to our people, rather than turning to untried and demonstrably unsound panaceas. As I stated in my message 4 years ago: "It is overwhelmingly important to avoid any danger of permanently discrediting the sound and necessary policy of Federal legislation for economic security by attempting to apply it on too ambitious a scale before actual experience has provided guidance for the permanently safe direction of such efforts. The place of such a fundamental in our future civilization is too precious to be jeopardized now by extravagant action."

We shall make the most orderly progress if we look upon social security as a development toward a goal rather than a finished product. We shall make the most lasting progress if we recognize that social security can furnish only a base upon which each one of our citizens may build his individual security through his own individual efforts.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 16, 1939.

[Note: Report accompanied similar message to the House of Representatives.]

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF SOCIAL SECURITY ACT-ADDRESSES BY SENATORS WAGNER AND VANDENBERG

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, the first of the messages submitted by the President today deals with proposed amendments to the Social Security Act. The able senior Senator from New York [Mr. Wagner] and I engaged in a joint public discussion last evening of several of the controversial points contemplated in the program for amendment of the Social Security Act. I think it would throw some additional light on these controversies if both of these addresses might be printed in the body of the RECORD in connection with the President's message, and I ask that they be so printed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### THE FUTURE OF SOCIAL SECURITY (By Senator ROBERT F. WAGNER)

(By Senator ROBERT F. WAGNER)

Ever since the dawn of civilization the quest for security has been a driving force in the life of man. The factory era brought countless blessings, but in its wake came problems of insecurity more serious than we had ever known. More and more the individual wage earner found himself the victim of economic forces beyond his control; more and more he sought protection against the major hazards of industrial life—accidents, unemployment, industrial and control to the control of the

beyond his control; more and more he sought protection against the major hazards of industrial life—accidents, unemployment, sickness, and old-age destitution.

Social security took root in America over a quarter of a century ago, when my pioneer workmen's compensation law in New York laid the basis for all that has since developed. The World War put a temporary stop to further extensions of the social insurance principle, and for many years thereafter reactionary national leadership dashed all hope of progress.

In 1933, saddled with a legacy of economic and social neglect, we took up the task of reconstruction. My proposal for an effective system of public employment offices was finally adopted. The soup kitchen and the breadline gave way to self-respecting work for the needy unemployed. And in 1935, under the inspiring leadership of President Roosevelt, the Social Security Act, which I had sponsored, was written upon the statute books. Never before in a single statute has America made such enormous gains in social justice and human rights.

The law was never put forward as the final and complete answer to the challenge of insecurity; it was never claimed to be more than a substantial beginning. In the light of the riper wisdom of today, we ask ourselves this question: What can be done now to make social security more liberal, more extensive, and more complete?

complete?

To meet the urgent needs of those unable to help themselves, we have provided substantial grants for old-age pensions, maternal and child welfare, and the care of the crippled and the blind. These grants should now be liberalized, and the combined resources of State and Nation made more effective. We cannot allow privation to frustrate the development of our youth. We cannot shirk responsibility for the millions of our people now in the

winter of their lives.

In building for the long future, we have established old-age insurance accounts for 42,000,000 citizens. Detailed suggestions for improvement are now available in a recent report by the advisory council, representing employers, employees, and the public.

we must extend the law to millions now outside its terms, thus hastening the day when all groups of the population will enjoy the protection of insurance as a matter of earned right. We must adjust old-age benefits to family needs, by providing for the dependent wives, widows, and children of insured workers. We must include within the old-age benefit system workers who become totally and permanently disabled before the age of retirement. We must begin benefit payments in 1940, and increase the average benefits for insured workers now in middle age.

These changes can and should be put into effect now. They would take us a long way toward our goal of adequate old-age security for every American family.

By increasing the flow of benefits in the early years of the program, we will greatly simplify our problem of handling the old-age insurance reserve. Eventually, the advisory council recommends, the reserve may be still further reduced and pay-roll taxes readjusted, by substantial Government contributions derived from general revenues.

from general revenues.

This recommendation, going to the long-range financing of the program, seems to me eminently sound from the standpoint of social policy and fiscal management. But whatever the outcome of further study and experience may be, none of our previous steps need to be retraced.

steps need to be retraced.

The financing of the old-age-insurance system raises problems which stagger the imagination. It cannot be guided by the loose fiscal policies of competing old-age panaceas. In the words of the advisory council: "No benefits should be promised or implied which cannot safely be financed, not only in the early years of the program, but when workers now young will be old."

The investment of old-age reserve funds has long been a controversial issue. The council's report settles that controversy. It finds that "the present provisions regarding the investment of the moneys in the old-age reserve account do not involve any misuse of these moneys or endanger the safety of these funds." That judgment is a complete answer to those who have sought to undermine the public confidence in the fundamental honesty of the Congress and the Treasury of the United States. Although the council now suggests that a special trust be established, the funds will continue to be invested in United States Government bonds—the safest investment in the whole world.

will continue to be invested in United States Government bonds—
the safest investment in the whole world.
Adequate provision for the aged is of major importance, but it
is only one of several vital social services. None of these services
should be expanded at the expense of the others; none of them
can be neglected without creating an added drain upon the rest.
Their development should be the product, not of the expediencies
of the moment, but of their respective roles in our social system.
That is the way to ultimate economy of material and human
resources. It presents a challenge to statecraft which cannot be
ignored. ignored.

More than 25,000,000 wage earners are now protected by unemployment insurance. Our original choice of administration through the States still seems to me a wise one, but it is only fair to recognize the problems which remain unsolved. The launching of such a vast new system, difficult under all favorable circumstances, has been complicated by the economic stress of the past few years. Many of these administrative problems will be resolved by further experience, by improved personnel, and by simplifying amendments as to coverage and taxation. But I believe that basic improvement must come through basic revision of our concepts for determining and paying benefits.

and paying benefits.

Unemployment, equally with old age, is a matter of national concern. We cannot wash our hands of the responsibility for the proper functioning within the States of our first line of defense against unemployment. The time seems at hand for defining a few fundamental standards to which State laws shall conform. Given reasonable latitude for local conditions, such standards will contribute to smoother administration, to a better understanding by workers of their benefit rights, and to a socially sounder distribution of benefit payments.

I have spoken thus far of improvements in what has already been achieved. There are two fields in which we need to begin at the beginning. The first is a workmen's compensation law for our great interstate transportation systems, a reform which I have

our great interstate transportation systems, a reform which I have

been advocating for many years.

The second is a national health program. Historically, health protection came first in the development of social security abroad; for us, it remains a wholly unsolved problem in social legislation. At the National Health Conference recently held in Washington, a scommittee of experts presented a comprehensive and unchallenged statement of our national health needs, and a blueprint for congressional action. In the near future, I propose to introduce a bill to carry out their recommendations. The health needs of our can no longer be ignored.

people can no longer be ignored.

In all that we do, we must maintain the nonpartisanship that governed the consideration of the social security law in Congress and controls its administration today. By requiring State personnel handling social-security funds to be selected under the merit system, we can remove the last possibility of partisan misuse.

The American people are united in their determination to complete the structure of social security. They are united in seeking their objective through the orderly methods of democracy. So long as that spirit of unity prevails, the future of social security is bright, and bright is the future of America.

#### THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT (By Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG)

(By Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg)

The Social Security Act is a great adventure in humanity. I am entitled to speak of it in a spirit of sympathetic interest because I voted for its passage, despite its manifest infirmities. But the fact that I did vote for it entitles me—aye, challenges me—to be wholly frank about these infirmities. The best friend of social security is he who seeks realistically to cure these infirmities. Otherwise, they are bad enough finally to be fatal to the whole enterprise.

Some critics of the Social Security Act like Abraham Epstein, the veteran executive of the American Association for Social Security, think the act has been a failure so far as social security is concerned and a border-line fraud so far as taxation is concerned. Epstein bluntly says: "Only a national demand for constructive revision

bluntly says: "Only a national demand for constructive revision may alleviate the dangers and convert the act into a measure which will not only adequately meet the pressing needs of those for whom it was devised, but also promote the welfare of the Nation as a whole."

I prefer to content myself with saying that so tremendous an enterprise could not possibly be launched in completely sound and efficient form; that its inauguration has been an enormously difficult job, relatively well done under the circumstances; but that the infirmities are now so obvious and so menacing as to make the postponement of their correction rationally indefensible. It is no longer reasonable to plead the glory of the objective as an excuse to ignore the importance of frank admission that some dangerous

ignore the importance of frank admission that some dangerous mistakes have been made in some basic sections of the law.

Social security should be ultimately expanded to great employee groups not now covered. There is an element of undemocratic discrimination in the existing limitations which virtually create specially privileged groups. But the existing system should be overhauled, shorn of palpable infirmities, and put on firm foundation before any new expansions are considered. Let us perfect what we have before we enlarge the jurisdiction of an unperfected system. No one could remotely hope to deal with the whole Social Security Act in 15 minutes. Its ramifying details would require nearer 15 hours. But the act finally stands or falls on its old-age benefits and its unemployment insurance. Therefore I confine this discussion to the former—old-age benefit payments under title II for which some 40,000,000 employees are now paying 1 percent of their wages, which their employers match with another 1 percent. Under the existing law, this tax increases to 1½ percent on each in 1940, or a total of 3 percent; to 4 percent in 1943; to 5 percent in 1946; and to 6 percent in 1949 and thereafter. It ultimately involves the accumulation of the famous—infamous will be a better adjective—full reserve of \$47,000,000,000.

volves the accumulation of the lamous—infamous will be a better adjective—full reserve of \$47,000,000.00.

I challenge this section of the law on the following grounds:

(1) A full reserve is unnecessary in a public, tax-supported pension system which ought to operate essentially on a pay-as-yougo basis with only a contingent reserve for emergencies. Therefore most of this \$47,000,000,000 is needlessly mulcted from the pay

envelopes of the country during the next 4 decades. It is a colossal

envelopes of the country during the heat a decades.

(2) This full reserve is not necessary to the safety of the oldage pension system. It did not enter the law primarily for social-service purposes. It was and is a Treasury device to cushion general deficits. It results in the diversion of vast trust funds to pay for general Federal spending so long as we have an unbalanced Budget.

(3) Because the full reserve costs so much, social security itself does not have money enough left to pay adequate, or even reasonable, old-age pensions to workers now in middle age, and it restrones too long the beginning of even these relatively meager

postpones too long the beginning of even these relatively meager payments. If the full reserve be abandoned larger benefits can start at an earlier date; and yet the pay-roll taxes on 4,000,000 workers and their employers can be frozen at existing levels and saved from the impending increase of 50 percent in 1940 and

200 percent in 1949.

200 percent in 1949.

If this challenge is substantially justified, then the primary congressional duty in respect to the Social Security Act is to promptly launder it as indicated. This is due the middle-age workers who otherwise will receive only a pittance at age 65; for example, the average benefit payment in 1942 will be only about \$18 a month as compared with \$46 a month in 1980. It is due the 40,000,000 workers upon whom the pay-roll tax falls in the nature of a gross-income tax; and this tax should not be one penny more than necessary to social security itself. It is due the employers of the country, many of whom, in smaller business, are already desperately harassed by their share of the existing 2-percent tax, and who may easily be forced to the wall by their share of the increased burden as the tax graduates upward to 6 percent. of the increased burden as the tax graduates upward to 6 percent. It is due to candor and conscience in the conduct of public finance. It is due the long-range success and stability of social security itself.

It is due the long-range success and stability of social security itself.

The present theory of the law is that as this full reserve is developed and invested in special 3-percent United States bonds, the interest on it will ultimately supplement current pay-roll tax revenues sufficiently to pay the contemplated benefits. All right, now let's project ourselves to 1980 when the full reserve climaxes at \$47,000,000,000 (an utterly astronomical figure). Let's call it fifty billions for easy figuring (for what difference does three billions one way or the other make in this present dispensation). That year, the general taxpayer has to dig up \$1,500,000,000 to pay the 3-percent interest on the fifty billion full reserve. Social security thereupon gets \$1,500,000,000 to disburse, along with payroll taxes, in old-age benefits. In other words, the general taxpayer actually has contributed \$1,500,000,000 to old-age benefit payments that particular year. He has contributed it in the form of interest on bonds in the full reserve. It would cost the general taxpayer no more, and the social-security fund would be equally well off, if this \$1,500,000,000 were a direct contribution to social security. But in that event—and here is the vital point of it—it would never have been necessary to collect the fifty billions of taxes of a substantial particular of it worth. reserve at all

reserve at all.

Is fifty billions of taxes, or a substantial portion of it, worth saving during the next four decades? Yes. Is the Government justified, in the name of social security, in needlessly taking fifty billions, or a substantial portion of it, out of the pocket of the employers and employees of the Nation? No. Should the fundamental structure of the Social Security Act be accordingly immediately changed? Yes.

Now let's we what would be the immediate effects of eliminating.

Now let's see what would be the immediate effects of eliminating the full reserve and substituting a real contingent reserve of, say,

five instead of fifty billions.

five instead of fifty billions.

In the first place, much more of current pay-roll-tax revenues would be available to pay old-age benefits. Note that tax collections through to last new year's were \$966,000,000, while benefit payments were only \$11,000,000. Out of every dollar collected only a little more than 1 cent went to old-age benefits. The rest went into this full reserve. Of course, the percentage paid in benefits will sharply increase after 1942, when the benefit payments are in full swing. But this demonstrates, even though in exaggerated form, the awful appetite of this full reserve. Obviously, if we were aiming only at a contingent emergency reserve, we could legitimately and prudently use more of the \$966,000,000 for earlier and more adequate benefit payments for the present generation. That is what equity demands if social security for the present generation is to be more than an oratorical aspiration; and that is what must be done constructively and within reason if we are not to be swept into some wholly fantastic formula which will be destructive and without reason.

But there is even more to the story. If we abandon the full

destructive and without reason.

But there is even more to the story. If we abandon the full reserve monster, we can keep pay-roll taxes where they are for a considerable time to come. We can avoid the 50-percent increase next year and the 200-percent increase next decade. Indeed, the Social Security Board's own chief actuary declared in October 1935:

"Were the reserve plan abandoned, without immediate increase in the present scale of benefits, initial contribution rates of one-half percent from employer and employee (instead of 1 percent) advancing slowly to a maximum of 2½ percent (instead of 3 percent) after 20 years (instead of 10) would meet apparent benefit requirements for a long time."

There can be no doubt the soundness of these conclusions.

requirements for a long time."

There can be no doubt the soundness of these conclusions. Seventy of the leading life-insurance executives of the country have declared that the full reserve is unnecessary—and they ought to know. The splendid advisory council, which evolved from a Senate resolution which I introduced 2 years ago, and which has just filed a brilliant report, declares that "with the introduction of a definite

program of governmental contributions, \* \* the size of the old-age insurance fund will be kept within much lower limits"; and several members of the council specifically agree that pay-roll taxes should stop where they are until we know more definitely what the system ultimately will require.

The truth of the matter is that this full reserve got into the law for an ulterior reason. The actuarial advisers of the President's Committee on Economic Security were a unit against it. But the President insisted and the House Ways and Means Committee yielded when Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau frankly told it on February 5, 1935, that the device was advisable not for social security but to "retire a large part of the public debt." In other words, it was, and is, frankly, a device to help a hard-pressed Treasury. The money collected in pension taxes goes into I O U's so far as the books are concerned, but it goes into paying the general bills of a spendthrift government so far as the cash itself is concerned. This is a perfectly legal subterfuge, but it is a travesty upon intellectual honesty in dealing with what the advisory council says should be "specifically made a trust fund." Furthermore, a continuation of the existing law with its full reserve automatically requires a permanent national bonded debt of \$47,000,000,000,000 at cally requires a permanent national bonded debt of \$47,000,000,000 at a minimum, and thus it is a convenient recourse for the boot-strap lifters who think that a perpetual spending spree is the way to

solvency and sound prosperity.

To sum up this specific fundamental, the Social Security Actshould be sharply amended to put old-age pensions on a pay-asyou-go basis; to eliminate the full reserve which is a leech particularly upon the present generation and a menace to sound public finance; to stop the increase in pay-roll taxes scheduled to start in 1940; and yet to permit, within reason, an equitable readjustment of old-age benefits so that the beneficiaries in this generation shall not be penalized in favor of future generations.

We must keep old-age pensions within the fiscal ability of the

Government to support them. It does no good to create new social benefits if we destroy a solvent society in which to enjoy them. There can be no golden eggs from a dead goose. On the other hand,

benefits if we destroy a solvent society in which to enjoy them. There can be no golden eggs from a dead goose. On the other hand, it is equally indefensible to impound pension revenues, gained from needlessly high pay-roll taxes, for the purpose of creating a needless reserve which, in its very nature, robs today's generation of a fair and decent pension schedule—and that is precisely the state of things under the Social Security Act as it exists today.

In this limited period I have been able to discuss but one typical phase of the Social Security Act. I submit that it demonstrates, upon the basis of incontrovertible authority, that what the great ideal of social security requires is less enthusiasm over a notable objective and more serious and practical consideration to constructive details. It is not enough to dream. The important thing is to make these dreams dependably come true. They are not coming true—so far as today's generation is concerned—under title II of the existing Social Security Act. But they can come true, in more realistic degree, if the act is changed as I have indicated, and this method of dealing realistically with title II is the process which must be pursued in connection with the whole act. It was not born perfect: and the quicker we frankly recognize this fact, the better off social security in the United States will be.

# FEDERAL REAL ESTATE BOARD-STATE AND LOCAL TAXATION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

# To the Congress of the United States:

At a meeting of the National Emergency held December 17. 1935, I designated the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, and the Acting Director of the Bureau of the Budget to serve as a committee to make a study of Federal ownership of real estate and of its bearing on State and local taxation. This study has been completed, and I am transmitting herewith for your information and such further use as you may deem desirable the report of the committee and the accompanying tables and charts.

It will be noted that the report concludes with the following recommendations:

(1) That all branches of the Federal service be directed to declare completely, accurately, and promptly their surplus land and improvements, in order that a prudent use for such properties may be found or that they may be offered for sale.

(2) That the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department continue to maintain a current permanent record of all Federal real estate in order that there may be constantly on file available and dependable information with respect thereto.

(3) That there should be constituted a Federal Real Estate Board composed of a representative from each of the governmental agencies in charge of considerable holdings of Federal income-production property, a representative from the Procurement Division, and a representative from the Procurement Division, and a representative from the Procurement Division, and a rep-

property, a representative from the Procurement Division, and a representative from the Bureau of the Budget. The duty of this Board should be to study and make recommendations regarding the situation existing in individual communities adversely affected by the purchase of substantial amounts of land and their consequent removal from the regular tax rolls of the county or other taxing

district; to advise with Federal agencies contemplating the acquisition of additional real estate; and to submit recommendations regarding the disposition of lands that are essentially in the nature of surplus property.

I have approved of the recommendations of the committee; and in order to put them into effect, I have issued an appropriate Executive order establishing the Federal Real Estate Board and providing for the maintenance by the Procurement Division, Treasury Department, of a current record of all Federal real estate. I am enclosing herewith a copy of this Executive order.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 16, 1939.

REPORT OF OPERATIONS UNDER EMERGENCY RELIEF APPROPRIATIONS ACTS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying report of the President, referred to the Committee on Appropriations, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

As required by the provisions of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Acts of 1937 and 1938, I present herewith a report of the operations under these acts to the end of the calendar year 1938.

This report contains detailed and summary statements of the Treasury Department reflecting expenditures made, obligations incurred by classes and amounts, and the status of funds under each of the above-mentioned acts. In addition thereto, similar information is presented for the Relief Acts of 1935 and 1936. These statements have been compiled as of December 31, 1938.

Reports of operations of the Works Progress Administration, the Farm Security Administration, the Public Works Administration, and other agencies receiving funds under title I and title II of the Work Relief and Public Works Appropriation Act of 1938 are also included.

A supplementary report prepared by the Treasury Department is being forwarded under separate cover showing the status of funds, including expenditures made and obligations incurred for each official project, approved under the Emergency Relief appropriation acts.

Franklin D. Roosevelt.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 10, 1939.

## REPORT OF STATISTICAL BOARD

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying report, referred to the Committee on Commerce, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the provisions of Section 5 (f) of the act of Congress approved July 25, 1935, I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress the Fourth Annual Report of the Central Statistical Board for the period from July 1, 1937, to June 30, 1938.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 14, 1939.

EXTENSION OF FACILITIES OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States of America:

I commend to the favorable consideration of the Congress the enclosed report from the Secretary of State and the accompanying draft of proposed legislation designed to extend the facilities of the Public Health Service to active officers of the Foreign Service of the United States.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 16, 1939.

[Enclosures: (1) Report of the Secretary of State; (2) draft of proposed bill.]

AMERICAN DAMAGE CLAIMS FOR EXPROPRIATIONS OF AGRARIAN PROPERTIES IN MEXICO

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States of America:

I commend to the favorable consideration of the Congress the enclosed report from the Secretary of State to the end that legislation may be enacted to authorize appropriations for expenses of a representative of the United States and of his assistants, and for one-half of the joint expenses of this Government and the Government of Mexico, in giving effect to the agreement of November 9-12, 1938, between the two Governments providing for the settlement of American claims for damages resulting from expropriations of agrarian properties since August 30, 1927.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 16, 1939.

[Enclosure: Report.]

NEW YORK STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION—ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

[Mr. Mead asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a radio address by the President of the United States, delivered on the occasion of the constitutional convention in New York State, September 17, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR WHEELER

[Mr. Norris asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an editorial tribute to Senator Wheeler, appearing in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine for January 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

PROBLEMS OF TAXATION AND FINANCE—ADDRESS BY SENATOR BYRD AND LETTER TO CHAIRMAN OF FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

[Mr. Glass asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered by Senator Byrd before the Massachusetts Association of Taxpayers' Associations at Boston, Mass., December 10, 1938, and a letter written by Senator Byrd to the Chairman of the Board of the Federal Reserve System, which appear in the Appendix.]

## JACKSON DAY ADDRESS BY SENATOR WALSH

[Mr. Maloney asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record the Jackson Day address delivered by Senator Walsh at Boston, Mass., January 7, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

BUSINESS, GOVERNMENT, AND THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL—
ARTICLE BY SENATOR O'MAHONEY

[Mr. Maloney asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an article by Senator O'Mahoney on Business, Government, and the Rights of the Individual, published in Investor America for January 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

ADDRESS BY SENATOR GUFFEY ON OCTOBER 6, 1938

[Mr. Guffey asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a radio address delivered by him on October 6, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE REPUBLICAN VICTORY IN WISCONSIN—ADDRESS BY SENATOR WILEY

[Mr. Wiley asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address on the subject of the Republican victory in Wisconsin, delivered by him before the National Republican Women's Club, Hotel Astor, New York City, January 14, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

JACKSON DAY DINNER ADDRESS BY GOLDEN W. BELL

[Mr. Logan asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a Jackson Day dinner address delivered by Hon. Golden W. Bell, Assistant Solicitor General of the United States, at Sioux Falls, S. Dak., on January 7, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE CONSTITUTION-ADDRESS BY WADE H. ELLIS

[Mr. Borah asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a radio address on "The Constitution of the United States," delivered by Wade H. Ellis on October 25, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

# THE QUEST FOR RESPONSIBILITY—ADDRESS BY CLARENCE A. DYKSTRA

[Mr. LA FOLLETTE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address by Clarence A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin, delivered before the American Political Science Association at its thirty-fourth annual meeting, Columbus, Ohio, December 28, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### FLOOD-CONTROL PROGRAM IN VERMONT

IMr. Gibson asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an editorial published in the New York Times of January 15, 1939, and an editorial published in the New York Herald Tribune of recent date, on the subject of the program for flood control, which appear in the Appendix.]

#### FLOOD-CONTROL PROGRAM IN VERMONT

[Mr. Davis asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an article entitled "Green Mountain Holiday" by Dorothy Thompson, published in the Washington Post of January 16, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### THE NATCHEZ TRACE

[Mr. McKellar asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record certain correspondence relative to the Natchez Trace, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### SHARECROPPERS OF SOUTHEAST MISSOURI

[Mr. Truman asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a resolution passed by certain landowners of southeast Missouri, and two telegrams, relative to the sharecroppers of southeast Missouri, which appear in the Appendix.]

#### LETTER FROM AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION

[Mr. Bankhead asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a letter addressed to the President of the United States and the Members of the Seventy-sixth Congress by the American Farm Bureau Federation, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### RADIO SPEECH BY FRED BRENCKMAN

[Mr. Byrd asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a radio speech delivered by Mr. Fred Brenckman, Washington representative of the National Grange, on December 17, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### NINETEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, this day marks the nineteenth anniversary of the advent of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

By that amendment the American people for 13 years made an outlaw of beverage alcohol.

That amendment was repealed 5 years ago.

As we observe the gathering concern over conditions now surrounding the consumption of alcoholic liquors it becomes apparent that the so-called control laws following repeal have failed either to control the traffic or to promote temperance.

Recently the American Association for the Advancement of Science announced the appointment of a research council composed of distinguished scientists to deal with the problems of alcohol, declaring that the alcohol problem has become one of the major perplexities of our civilization.

Whatever may be our individual views on liquor, we cannot avoid the admission that when so eminent a scientific body as this considers it necessary to conduct special research in the problems of alcohol, the liquor question is still far from an adequate solution.

It is not alone the scientific research worker who is disturbed by present conditions.

It was said by the present Federal Alcohol Administrator in an address before the National Alcoholic Beverage Control Association at Portland, Oreg., in August 1938 that during a recent visit to his native State he was told everywhere he went that the on-premises retail establishments were being operated so much in defiance of public opinion that they were fast creating conditions that promised severe rebuke at the hands of the people, that these complaints and protests were not aimed at the State officials whose duty it was to enforce the law and regulate the retail sale of beer, but at the operators of these places-that what struck him so forcibly was that it was not the traditional "drys" who were complaining, but the "liberals" who had "no taint of fanaticism" and no affiliation with the prohibition element—that for some time those in Washington constituting the Federal Alcohol Administration had been receiving numerous complaints from other States about similar conditions, and that a prominent judge in a western State advised them that the beer parlors in his State were breeding places for all the vices and minor crimes that had aroused the resentment of the Nation some score of years ago.

In his annual reports to Congress for each of the last 3 years the Federal Alcohol Administrator has made recommendations growing out of his experience for the better administration of the Federal laws relating to intoxicating liquor. These recommendations have included such legislation to protect the States against unlawful importation as is called for by the twenty-first amendment to the United States Constitution. These recommendations have also included a proposal to subject brewers committing offenses in interstate commerce to the same penalties as are now provided against distillers, as well as the enactment of measures against the use of certain interstate facilities, such as the radio and the press for the transmission of liquor advertising across State lines. In his report to the Seventy-fifth Congress on January 5, 1938, the Administrator said that it was his opinion that the social aspects of the beer and ale industry demand as much regulation as do distilled spirits or wines.

Although these recommendations have been made annually for 3 years, no action by Congress has as yet been taken.

In one of our largest cities the municipal authorities were faced with an increase of 354 percent in arrests for drunkenness since repeal, while the total of arrests for all causes increased only 41 percent, and with a demand for a thousand additional police to enforce the law. The council directed the bureau of the budget and efficiency of that city to prepare a report pertaining to police activities and costs in connection with the handling of drunken persons and to municipal revenue from liquor taxes with a view to securing a larger share of the liquor revenue to meet the mounting expense. The bureau reported that the work incident to alcoholic liquor presented a tremendous problem to the police department, that the immense burden occasioned by the liquor traffic for the past few years with no appreciable increase in revenues available for additional police officers had resulted in a substantial weakening of other types of police protection, and that the work of the police in connection with drunkenness since intoxicating liquor had been legalized and police costs incident thereto were more than twice what they were before

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Smith in the chair). Does the Senator from Texas yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. I wonder if the Senator from Texas would be willing to give us the name of the municipality to which he has just referred.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Yes; it is Los Angeles.

Churches continue to denounce the liquor situation. Many of them during 1938 made pronouncements of most vigorous character.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States at Philadelphia in May 1938 declared its belief that the country had taken a long backward step in repealing the eighteenth amendment and pledged that church to unite with other Christian bodies in working and praying for a return of national prohibition.

The Universalist Church General Convention at Chicago in October 1938 adopted a resolution deploring the almost unrestricted advertising and sale of intoxicating liquors, the marked increase of drinking, especially among youth and women, the virtual partnership of the Government with the liquor traffic through the revenues it derives from it, and called upon the churches to renew a campaign of education with reference to the evils which the whole hideous business involves.

The Southern Baptist Convention at Richmond, Va., in May 1938 expressed its hope and belief that an aroused public sentiment, outraged by the increasing crimes and highway fatalities brought about by the liquor traffic, and the increasing disregard of law and decency by the traffic, would soon again, and permanently, place upon the liquor traffic the brand of the outlaw which it so richly deserves.

The Northern Baptist Convention at Milwaukee, Wis., in May 1938 declared that since the repeal of the eighteenth amendment there had been a vast increase in drinking, with all its attendant evils—personal, social, and economic—and urged all the pastors and the people of that church to seek by personal example, temperance education, and legislation, to abolish the liquor traffic from the Nation.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church General Assembly at Russellville, Ark., in June 1938 announced a firm stand against anything that tended to lower the morals of men and women, boys and girls.

The General Synod of the Reformed Church in America in June 1938 declared that with the repeal of prohibition conditions had not improved, that bootlegging and rumrunning continued, and, what was worse, women were drinking at the public bars, a thing unheard of in years gone by; that despite promises to the contrary, American youth indulge in liquor and women are employed as barmaids; that consumption in the United States of all kinds of alcoholic beverages is rapidly increasing; that through the radio, newspapers, and public advertising the people were being told of the so-called benefits and joys that come from the drinking of beer, wine, and liquor, and urged more stringent regulation of the liquor traffic, as well as education on the subject of the drink evil.

The General Conference of the Methodist Church South at Birmingham, Ala., in May 1938 declared that the repeal advocates had promised that the saloon would never return, and that drinking and drunkenness would decline if John Barleycorn should be stripped of his stripes and be allowed to dress in the honest garb of respectable citizenship. This conference declared further that it was all too evident that the advocates of legalized liquor never intended to keep a single promise of sobriety or protection or decency, but wanted only the chance to vend their wares and to satisfy the thirst of those who already were trained in the drink habit, and to allure to their trade a vast army of young men and women, boys and girls who would pour into their coffers the millions they craved.

The bishops of the Methodist Church South, in session at Birmingham, Ala., in May 1938, declared that the results of repeal were apparent on every hand, that alcoholic liquor was being released in an unrestrained flood, and that nearly every barrier that society had built by the struggle of a hundred years against the conscienceless liquor traffic had gone down in disastrous overthrow.

The United Presbyterian Church General Assembly at Cleveland, Ohio, in May 1938 declared that repeal had failed, that it had proved itself an economic, a social, a moral, and spiritual curse and scourge of the American people, particularly of youth.

The foregoing declarations are cited as but a few of recent expressions from leading religious sources.

At a national meeting of liquor dealers on the subject of liquor advertising at Washington, D. C., in October 1933, Mr. Gene Tunney, chairman of the American Distilling Co., and formerly connected with the Distilled Spirits Institute, asserted that the industry's trade association was without social consciousness or soul, that the distilling industry had made a mess of the advertising situation, that stern regulation was needed for the industry in advertising as well as in other fields. He deprecated the color spreads in the national

magazines because they went into millions of homes and were difficult to explain to children.

Under national prohibition the beverage liquor traffic was an outlaw. Wherever it existed it did so furtively or because some official had not discharged his constitutional duty. Those who drank did so either by searching out the purveyor of the illicit commodity or by establishing a contact with someone who was engaged in an illicit enterprise.

Today the brand of the outlaw has been removed from the beverage liquor traffic. It exists everywhere either as a trade licensed by the Government or in some jurisdictions operated directly as a function of the State. Instead of the customer seeking the drink, the drink trade now seeks the customer. Every facility known to modern publicity methods has been seized upon by the trade to stimulate the sale and consumption of that which always has been productive of social abuses of the most serious nature.

Those abuses are now legion. We find intoxicating liquors confronting men, women, and children with the drink temptation in almost every place where the business of life is conducted. Women and children were denied admission to the old-time saloon. At present three times as many women and girls are working in liquor-selling places as there are women students in the public universities, colleges, and teacher normals of the country. Women customers of such places are becoming so constant and so numerous that to the old problem of the drinking father has been added the new problem of the drinking mother.

To the natural lure of beverage alcohol for the convivial the modern liquor vendor adds new enticements. After sundown neon signs in vivid colors publicizing beer and liquors make the streets and highways hideous.

There are now three times as many retail liquor establishments in the United States as there were before national prohibition. They are to be found in department stores, drug stores, hardware stores, food stores, shoe stores, and restaurants. They are scattered everywhere—in residential sections, in rural areas, and in regions inadequately policed.

Inventive genius has supplied the supersalesman for liquor with new mediums for solicitation. He now invades our homes and firesides. Anglo-Saxons were taught that a man's home is his castle, the threshold of which could not be crossed except the keeper extended a welcome. Today the voice of the radio announcer calls unexpectedly into the family circle with the unsought advice to drink somebody's beer, somebody's wine, or somebody's whisky. By advertising in streetcars, on billboards, in newspapers, periodicals, and by other means the trade attempts to cultivate the drink habit. It pictures everything except the finished product—the drunkard.

Under national prohibition one could travel from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Canadian to the Mexican border without seeing a billboard advertising somebody's liquor establishment or a particular brand of alcoholic drink. During the 13 years of national prohibition not one of the millions of copies of magazines and newspapers which came into the American home contained a liquor advertisement. Not once during that 13 years was the voice of the radio announcer heard in the privacy of an American fireside proclaiming the alleged merit of some liquor dispensary. If national prohibition had made no greater contribution to the cause of temperance than to banish the advertising of liquors, by that fact alone it made a monumental contribution to the cause of national sobriety.

Mr. President, we are in an era of transition. Our Nation is being tested in one of those tragic moments which from time to time have tried the souls of men. We are in an age in which the inventive genius of man has made of life a drama of such swift motion, in so dangerous a mechanical environment, that physical tragedy perpetually threatens us—an age in which, with the speed of lightning, the institutions of civilization may be imperiled and the destinies of men and nations determined. If ever there existed need for sobriety, for calm and sane deliberation, for self-possession for the full exercise of human faculties, for the employment of skill

and judgment, for keen perceptiveness, for balance and mental poise, that need exists at this time.

We have extended the frontiers of all our sciences, including the social sciences. Vast concentrations of machine power are making necessary human activities that impose a growing strain on brain and heart and nerve.

We refuse to observe the limits of space; we are impatient of time; ours is a furious pace, physical as well as mental. We are living in an era that requires and demands the quickest readjustment and readaptation. We cannot maintain the speed demanded by this machine epoch with increasing millions of our people victims of the liquor habit.

Prohibition will return because alcohol as a beverage cannot justify itself. Alcohol is destructive of economic as well as moral values when used as a beverage. It dissolves away too much of economic as well as human tissue. In the end the Nation will be unwilling to condone so great a waste.

Alcohol as an ingredient in manufacture has a vital place in the industrial life of the Nation; its value in this regard is increasing constantly. We are dependent upon it now for great advances in our industrial progress, and we will become constantly more dependent upon it as we develop the chemical industries that are founded in part upon its use. However, as a beverage its use represents a rare paradox.

As a nation we are developing the most efficient public health service in history. Our national medical concern begins not merely with the child at birth, but with the prenatal child.

The provisions in our Social Security Act for maternal aid are designed not merely to assure the lives of our mothers so far as is possible through proper maternal care during childbirth, but to assure the birth of children unafflicted by blindness, or by deformities, so far as the latter can be prevented or corrected.

We are conquering infantile paralysis, that dreaded enemy of child as well as adult. We have penetrated the secret of certain forms of insanity. We have moved definitely toward a conquest of social disease. Patient scientists have devoted their lives to the perfection of methods and chemicals for the eradication of this social blight. Childbed fever, that devastator of motherhood, is conquered. We not only know the secret of malaria but we have the cure for it. Smallpox long has been controlled; newer methods have conquered it.

We have conquered rabies. Pellagra yielded to the simplest remedy in the world, once we knew its cause. We have pursued yellow fever to the jungles of Africa, and heroic physicians are destroying it there. Diphtheria has been captured and conquered. Tuberculosis is easily on the way out. Pneumonia cannot resist much longer, and cancer cannot always evade us. Yet men seriously handicap these efforts for their physical redemption and salvation by drinking alcohol, which undermines resistance to all forms of disease, and makes their bodies carriers of infection even for the mother and for the child while yet unborn.

Medical science is engaged in the task of prolonging our lives, of reducing infant mortality, mitigating the ills of childhood, youth, and middle age, and prolonging those years now about to be made economically secure by beneficent old-age legislation. But apparently millions are unwilling to grow old without the afflictions of alcohol. If ever there was a paradox, the liquor drinker presents it.

It never will be possible to drink alcohol with physical safety. Alcohol is not by nature intended for beverage use. Its chemical properties and attributes are destructive of living tissues; and you cannot change human tissue to give it immunity from such destruction.

Mankind strangely has tolerated many evils. Lack of knowledge, lack of courage, and the inability to overcome inertia have contributed to that tolerance. But the age in which we live is no longer willing to tolerate removable sources of suffering, waste, disease, and inefficiency.

One of such sources is beverage alcohol.

In the interest of a higher and more efficient civilization beverage alcohol, like Carthage, must be destroyed. PROHIBITION, IMMIGRATION, AND OTHER ISSUES

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I have provided eager ears for every single word which has fallen this morning from the lips of my distinguished and beloved colleague, the senior Senator from the great Lone Star State of Texas [Mr. SHEPPARD]. I have listened with unusual interest, because I recall that in 1932 I was nominated as the representative of the Democrats of North Carolina to be their candidate for the United States Senate. I recall very vividly that during that campaign I made a personal appearance and delivered an address in every single one of the 100 counties in North Carolina. I recall that I traveled from the towering peaks that constitute a part and portion of the Great Smoky Mountain National Park of western North Carolina for 700 miles eastward to the limpid blue waters of the Atlantic, which waters are not far distant from the most historic spot in all the North American continent; that is to say, Roanoke Island, where, 350 years ago, the first white child of Englishspeaking parentage opened her eyes to the blue skies of the Western Hemisphere. During that campaign I preached the gospel of temperance. During that campaign I endeavored to impress my audiences with the fact that the greatest enemy that God has in all the world is liquor. Liquor is God's worst enemy. Liquor is the devil's best friend. No Member of this great deliberative body of American representatives will dare to take the floor and deny the statement I have just made, because every man and every woman, and particularly every father and every mother, agrees with the Senator from Texas and with me, that liquor is the devil's best friend; liquor is the devil's constant companion, and liquor is God's worst enemy.

In that campaign I not only preached temperance day in and day out but I said if ever the open saloon should return to my State of North Carolina that I would be the first to ask the Congress to reconsider the repeal of the eighteenth amendment. I make that statement here and now without the slightest hesitation, and I trust sincerely that the people of North Carolina—3,500,000 of them—will recall every statement and every pledge that I have made in reference to liquor, for, if I may be pardoned a personal reference, I have my first time to violate a pledge made by me to the people of North Carolina.

I was struck with the force of the suggestion by the Senator from Texas today that, through the instrumentality of legislation which he has proposed, the act which repealed the eighteenth amendment be itself repealed. I shall be perfectly frank and most honest with the Senator from Texas, the champion of temperance and prohibition, in saying to him that I am giving to his proposed legislation a great deal of thought, for I have been keeping my ears to the ground, and I have been keeping my eyes open, with a view to ascertaining whether or not we have more temperance now than we had prior to the repeal of the eighteenth amendment.

I make that statement here today on the floor of the Senate because, like the Senator from Texas, and like every other Member of this body, I stand in honest recognition of the fact that there is nothing so thoroughly detrimental to the physical being as is liquor itself, recognizing, as I do, that liquor eats into the tissues of the stomach and destroys the cells of the brain. Now, above all other times in the history of our Nation, we must insist upon physical development and active minds and strong bodies, for the American people, within the next 5 or 10 years, will be called upon to meet problems never before encountered in the highway of time. We are interested now in the preservation of the bodies of our youths because we are interested in the development of a great national defense program for adequate protection.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I will be delighted to yield to my distinguished colleague the very able representative from the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in this body to which he has but recently been reelected.

Mr. DAVIS. I thank the Senator. Did I understand the Senator correctly a moment ago to say that there was more temperance prior to prohibition than there is now?

Mr. REYNOLDS. No; I did not make that statement. I said that I was endeavoring to ascertain whether or not we have more temperance now than we had before the repeal of the eighteenth amendment or whether we had more then than we have now. That is a big question in my mind; it should be a question in the mind of every Member of the Congress of both Houses, because, after all, there is nothing more important than saving, protecting, and throwing safeguards around the American youth, for when you, Mr. President, and I shall have passed to the Great Beyond the youngsters of this hour will be called upon to fill the shoes made vacant by our passing. So we as representatives of the American people in these legislative halls are interested in protecting the youth of America; and, as I have said, more so now particularly than ever before, because we will be called upon within 5 or 10 years to meet the greatest problems that we have ever been confronted with in the history-economic, social, or political-of America.

Mr. President, I recall that there was an expression in the Democratic national platform of 1932 in reference to the question which has been so ably presented here today by my distinguished colleague from Texas. In this little booklet [exhibiting], upon the cover of which appear the words "Platforms of the two great political parties, 1932 and 1936," on page 338, the Democratic platform speaking, is found

this statement:

We advocate the repeal of the eighteenth amendment.

I was one who joined in advocating that repeal then. If I am wrong, I want to know it; if I am wrong, I want to be told about it; if I am wrong, I want the Senator from Texas and others to prove to me that I am wrong; and if I am convinced that I am wrong, I thank God that I have the courage unhesitatingly to admit to the world that I am wrong. What did we say?—

We advocate the repeal of the eighteenth amendment. To effect such repeal we demand that the Congress immediately propose a constitutional amendment to truly representative conventions in the States called to act solely on that proposal. We urge the enactment of such measures by the several States as will actually promote temperance—

And I emphasize the word "temperance," because that is what you, Mr. President, and I, and all the others of us are interested in now—

effectively prevent the return of the saloon, and bring the liquor traffic into the open under complete supervision and control by the

In connection with that printed phrase I wish to say that I am happy to be able to report that, insofar as I have been able to observe, there are no open saloons in North Carolina; but I happen to have observed in the past few years, during my frequent tours over the United States, which have carried me into every State of the Union, that there are now many States where one can find without difficulty the open saloon. I am not going to mention those States, because it would be unnecessary, for the reason that those who reside in those respective States, and whose eyesight has not failed, can, without any difficulty whatsoever, find the open saloons to which I have referred.

I recalled a moment ago when I was listening most profoundly to the eloquent address of the Senator from Texas that he mentioned the fact that our saloonkeepers had been supplanted by barmaids. That is true.

Whereas in Europe they have been dispensing with barmaids and substituting bartenders for barmaids, the situation has been reversed in the United States, for here we are supplanting bartenders with barmaids. Nobody is going to deny that statement. If anyone should undertake to deny it, I will take him by the arm and conduct him downtown here in the District of Columbia and show him hundreds of barmaids. I know where they are [laughter]; certainly I know where they are, and I venture to say that of the 619,000 constituting the population of the District of Columbia, ac-

cording to the latest estimate, 500,000 know where they are. [Laughter.]

I hope it will not be inferred that I drink. [Laughter.] I have indulged in drink in the past; I am not bragging about it, but I do not drink now. I have learned better. I know that a drink will probably give one a little excess energy for the minute, but that it is very destructive of the physical cells; that it may provide some activity for the mind for the moment, but that in the end it stupefies and dulls the mind. I am speaking frankly and candidly. I am not standing here today in an attempt by words to place myself upon a pedestal of ivory, or to clothe myself in raiment of white. I am merely standing here speaking in terms of questions, asking myself and my fellow citizens and colleagues what is best for the boys and girls, the sons and daughters, the children of America's fathers and mothers. Thank God, I am not a hypocrite. I would not hesitate to answer any question as to whether or not I have ever indulged in drink. I have, and everybody knows I have, and knows that I would be delighted if the state of affairs were otherwise. I have reached the point in life where I want to do what is best for the people I represent, and I have no other ambition during my service in the Senate than the ambition to serve my people of North Carolina and the 135,000,000 people of America.

I say to you, Mr. President, and I say particularly to my colleague from the State of Texas, to whom I have listened with so much interest, that I have but recently returned from Europe, the British Isles, continental and eastern Europe, and all through the Balkans. While over there I made observations relative to this subject in Ireland, in England, in France, in Spain, in Italy, in Albania, in Greece, in Bulgaria, in Yugoslavia, in Rumania, in Hungary, in old Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Germany, and what did I find? I found the facts to be just as they have been related by the Senator from Texas. What are the facts?

They sustain the statement I make that in Europe the bartender is being substituted for the barmaid, whereas in the United States of America, where we pledged ourselves against the return of the saloon, the barmaid is being substituted for the bartender. I say as a warning to the liquor interests of this country that if they do not watch their step they are going to have upon their hands here within the continental United States the hardest fight they ever had. Give them an inch and they will take a mile. Over the radio and in every magazine and in every newspaper that will accept their advertisements they are advertising their liquor-God's worst enemy and the devil's best friend-to the children of America. But that is the way they are. You, Mr. President, remember their actions before the prohibition wave came on. They were drunk with power. Right now the liquor interests of this country, the great distillers, are becoming drunk with power. We Democrats have pledged temperance to the American people; and it is up to us to warn the liquor men and let them know that the eyes of the American fathers and the American mothers are focused on them. The liquor interests are drunk with power; and I now suggest to the able Senator from the State of Texas, in view of the intemperance we observe everywhere, that a resolution be introduced in this body-perhaps a joint resolution, to be introduced in the other body alsoto investigate this subject. It is one worthy of investigation, and, as I have stated, should be investigated now above all

Mr. President, in conclusion, in reference to the particular subject upon which I have just addressed the Chair, I desire to express publicly to the Senator from Texas my thanks for the very enlightening and inspiring address which he has been so good as to deliver here today.

Now, Mr. President, I wish to bring to the attention of this body a subject which I believe should command the attention of every Member of the body. The American people are going to demand of you, and of you, and of every Member of this body, complete focusing of the mind upon that subject. It relates to the boys and girls, the young men and young women of America, whose parents have denied themselves almost the necessities of life in order that they might provide their sons and daughters with professional educations. The subject, which I approach with enthusiasm, is one relating to the more than 10,000,000 unemployed persons in the United States today. Initially, I am desirous of bringing to the attention of those who do me the honor to listen a clipping which I have received from one who enthusiastically supports my various and sundry bills to restrict immigration and to deport the alien criminals in America.

I say to everyone who does me the honor to listen, and to all the American representatives who sit or stand within the hearing of my voice, that the restriction of immigration and the deportation of alien criminals is a subject in which the American people are more thoroughly interested at this hour than any other subject that I could possibly bring to your attention, because it unquestionably has a relation to the mammoth subject of adequate national defense; because, in addition thereto, it is a matter close to the hearts of the mothers and fathers, the parents of this country, who have denied themselves of the necessities of life in order to educate their daughters or sons for professions.

Let us see. Always, Mr. President, I stand back of any statement I ever make. I never make a statement I cannot back up. I never make a statement that I cannot prove to a reasonable man.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Johnson of Colorado in the chair). Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I shall be delighted to yield to my colleague from Minnesota.

Mr. LUNDEEN. The Senator has just stated, as I understood him, that there are now more than 10,000,000 unemployed persons in America. I do not question the statement; but on just what authority does the Senator make the statement?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I make the statement upon information I have derived, as a matter of fact, principally through the columns of the press. I believe it is stated that we have in this country today on W. P. A. about 3,000,000 persons. I have made inquiry in virtually every State in the Union over a period of 2 years, during which time I visited virtually every State, as to the unemployment situation. I believe it is generally conceded by those who-if the Senator will pardon a vulgarism—are "in the know," that in the country today at least 10,000,000 persons are out of employment. I am very happy that the Senator from Minnesota directed that inquiry to me, because I myself should like to have some definite information as to the matter; and with a view to providing my honorable colleague with the information he desires I shall today call upon those who should be in possession of the figures to provide me with that information. I shall hope to have it on my desk in the morning, at which time it will be a pleasure for me to convey it to my colleague.

Mr. LUNDEEN. If the Senator will permit me, I think there is good authority for stating that there are 12,000,000 or more unemployed in this country. Based on figures of the recent unemployment census and other sources, there are some estimates which go as high as 15,000,000, but I do not know how reliable they may be. However, the figure 12,000,000 is used by conservative authority, and this at the end of 6 years. I think it is well that Senators direct their attention to real remedies and to getting down to real fundamentals, instead of skimming along on the surface of things.

If the Senator will permit me further—

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am delighted to receive the Senator's valuable contribution.

Mr. LUNDEEN. There are in this country approximately 70 percent of the earth's recorded unemployed, according to the figures of the International Labor Office in Geneva, Switzerland, which statement does not include, of course, such countries as India and China.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Does the Senator mean there is that percentage of unemployed in the United States?

Mr. LUNDEEN. No; of the world's unemployed, as recorded by the International Labor Office in Geneva, Switzerland. That presents a very serious picture. If there ever was a time when we should get down to fundamentals, it is today, and I hope we will remember that when we come to vote on the appropriation for the W. P. A. a few days from now; I hope we will remember that when these men come to the Senate of the United States and ask for an opportunity to work, because the opportunity to work is the greatest opportunity a citizen can have, for thereby he contributes to the public welfare.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I wish to thank the Senator for his very able contribution. A moment ago I stated that, in my opinion, there were 10,000,000 people out of employment in the United States. I employed the words "10,000,000 people," because I always endeavor to find myself ultra conservative, particularly when extending my remarks before this splendid body of men. But I shall be perfectly frank and honest with the Senator, and state that, in my humble opinion, there are in this country 12,000,000 people whole-time unemployed, and I am told that, in addition, there are many additional millions who are employed only part time.

Referring to the statement the Senator made a moment ago in reference to figures that were released by the international labor statistical organization in Geneva, Switzerland, did the Senator say that they issued statistics to the effect that 70 percent of the unemployed of the entire world were out of employment in the United States, or was it 70 percent

of the people of the United States?

Mr. LUNDEEN. The statement I made was that where statistics of unemployment are available, where they are recorded, they show approximately 70 percent of the unemployed of the earth are to be found here in the United States. These figures were given in a speech which I delivered at the last session of Congress. I gave them in detail at that time, quoted the figures, and brought attention to the huge number of unemployed.

In asking my questions I have somewhat in mind the relief appropriation which will be asked in a few days. We should have these astounding figures in mind when there is brought before us the appropriation bill designed to provide the unemployed people in this country some really useful work to do whereby they can contribute to the upbuilding of the Republic.

I agree with the Senator in his conclusion that there are 12,000,000 or more unemployed in this country, according to the best authority we can find. I think the Senator is correct in that statement.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Of course, that is a distressful situation. It is difficult for me to believe, if the Senator will pardon me, that there are 70 percent of the people of the earth's surface out of employment.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Oh, that was not the statement.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Or was it that 70 percent of the unemployed of the earth are in the United States?

Mr. LUNDEEN. That is the statement.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I had a misunderstanding about it. I was thinking it would be terrible if we found the other to be the fact, because my recollection is, just offnand—and it is difficult to keep the figures in mind precisely—that the population of the world is 2,139,000,000. I imagine that in the United States there are about 139,000,000 people. So that leaves 2,000,000,000 outside of the United States.

I am worried about the 139,000,000 in the United States. My thoughts are going to be concentrated upon the citizens of the United States. My interests and sympathies and heartbeats are for the unemployed in the United States. I am interested in putting the 10,000,000 unemployed in the United States into remunerative employment. After we have done that, then I am going to permit my heart to beat for and my sympathies to be focused upon peoples of other countries of the world; but until we provide employment for the 10,000,000 in the United States, I am going to keep my nose

out of other countries-except that I may do a little traveling to see what is going on.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to interrupt him at that point?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Certainly; I am delighted to yield.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I agree with the position the Senator has just taken. I presume he is not in favor, then, of going out to save the world.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Oh, by heavens, no. [Laughter.]

Mr. LUNDEEN. The Senator will agree, then, that we

have done enough saving of the world?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I want first to see the United States saved. I want us to see to it that the United States does not get into another war, because our brief participation in the World War from April 6, 1917, to November 11, 1918, has cost the taxpayers of the United States to date more than \$69,000,000,000, and I believe as that great President, Calvin Coolidge, once predicted, that before the American taxpayer liquidates the indebtedness incurred as a result of our participation in the World War, we will have paid out more than \$100,000,000,000.

I say that we of the United States, constituting only 139,-000,000 people of the population of the world of more than 2,139,000,000, should not be called upon to shoulder the responsibility of once again saving democracy, the democracy of France and Great Britain, neither of which will admit that we saved their hides, neither of which will admit that they owe us any money, because they have virtually repudi-

ated their debts.

And now, from Great Britain, its handsome, broadshouldered, fine-voiced Anthony Eden is sent to the United States to curry favor with full-blooded Americans, to blaze the way and to carpet the path that will be traversed by the King and Queen of England when they come to America to curry favor with the United States, all of them on bended knees, if not literally so, figuratively so, for the purpose of asking the United States, the people of America, again to save them.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator permit another interruption?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Gladly. Mr. LUNDEEN. I am glad the Senator has made this statement about our obligation to look after our own unemployed first, and our own America first, before there is any world-saving business engaged in. Would the Senator wish to extend that also to the question of the refugees? It is now proposed that refugees shall be poured in upon this country while there are 12,000,000 unemployed here?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am glad the able Senator from Minnesota directed that inquiry to me. I wish to say to the Senator, and I wish to say to the other able representatives of the respective States of the Union in the Senate-and I make the statement unhesitatingly, as I do not wish my position misunderstood—I do not condone the conduct of any country in the world which is shown to be persecuting minorities within its borders. If there are minorities in Germany being persecuted by Hitler and the German Government, I do not condone that action; I look upon it with horror and with regret, and with sympathy for the minorities of Germany.

If those of a certain religion in what was once upon a time lovely Spain, and even now is historic Spain, are being persecuted and murdered, and if their temples of faith are being destroyed and razed, I am in sympathy with them. If the people of Abyssinia, the Ethiopians, should be considered as a nation of minorities, and are being persecuted and murdered by a stronger nation, I am sorry. I have sympathy for them. If millions of innocent children, unprotected women, elderly men, are being murdered in China by Japan, my heart likewise reaches them in sympathy. Every one knows that between 1933 and 1934 between four and seven million Ukrainian farmers were murdered by the Russians through starvation. If minorities in Russia are being persecuted, I feel sorry for those minorities. Minorities are also being persecuted in Poland, in Hungary, in Rumania, and certainly in old Austria, perhaps in some parts of Yugoslavia. Wherever such persecutions of minorities are taking place, my heart goes out in sympathy for those persecuted minorities.

If the Hindus of India, a country having a population of 375,000,000, are being persecuted, and if they are murdered by the British when they see fit to revolt, I am sorry for those who are murdered. My sympathy always goes to the underdog

Mr. President, I will say, however, in answer to the Senator from Minnesota that my sympathies are first with the 10,000,000 unemployed people in the United States. I shall be happy to be provided the opportunity of bringing to the attention of the Senator from Minnesota one of the many thousands upon thousands of letters and telegrams which I have received from American fathers and mothers who agree with my attitude, and are standing by me 100 percent upon the subject which the Senator from Minnesota has so kindly

brought to my attention.

Mr. President, I am in sympathy with the refugees from all countries in the world. I am in sympathy with the refugees from Germany, Poland, Russia, Rumania, Hungary, old Austria, Spain, Ethiopia, India, or China, or any other country in the world where minorities are being persecuted, but my sympathies do not go to the extent of permitting all the refugees of the world to set foot upon the virgin shores of the United States of America, because our first duty to our constituents is to give our attention to those whom we represent. The American people are sick and tired of their representatives everywhere in the United States, State and National, pussyfooting upon the subject that the Senator from Minnesota has so ably brought to our attention. The American people are now demanding to know where we stand. Are we for the Americans, or are we for those who live beyond the lucid blue waters of the Atlantic or the briny waves of the Pacific?

I hope my statement provides the Senator with an answer which satisfies his inquiry. I hope he will not have to spend too much time in ascertaining what my position is.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator again vield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I shall be delighted to yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I thank the Senator for his statement. I have just received a copy of the volume of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD containing the figures of which I spoke. I made reference to the statement of the International Labor Office, Geneva, Switzerland. The statement is found on page 7840, in the proceedings of the Senate of June 1, 1938. third session, Seventy-fifth Congress. The figures on unemployment, to which the Senator has called the country's attention, are there given. With the Senator's permission, it might be well to have those figures placed in the RECORD

Mr. REYNOLDS. I shall be very grateful to the Senator if he will be good enough to ask to have them embodied in the RECORD.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Therefore I ask that as a part of the remarks of the Senator from North Carolina unanimous consent be granted to have the figures referred to printed in the RECORD, so as to give the Senate and the country the information respecting the number of unemployed in this country compared to those in other countries. I thank the Senator for calling attention to those figures.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the International Labor Office, Geneva, Switzerland]

Geneva, April 1938.—World unemployment statistics for the first quarter of 1938, which have just been compiled by the Interna-tional Labor Office, show a decline in a majority of countries as compared with the corresponding quarter of last year.

However, increases occurred in Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, France, Great Britain, Ireland, Norway, and the United States.

Compared with the last quarter of 1937, the statistics show that unemployment rose in all countries except Australia. But officials explain that this trend was for the most part seasonal.

Index numbers of employment, compiled at the same time by the I. L. O. show that, compared with the corresponding quarter of last year, employment increased in all countries except the United States and Belgium.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

In the first quarter of 1937 the number of persons in employment in the United States equaled 92.2 percent of the 1929 total, while in the first quarter of 1938 the number declined to 78.8 percent of the 1929 figure. This was a drop of 13.4 percent. The decline in Belgium from the first quarter of 1937 to the first quarter of 1938 was only 0.4 percent.

guarter or 1938 was only 0.4 percent.

Eleven countries, the index numbers disclose, now have more persons in employment than in 1929. These are: Great Britain, with 110.2 of her 1929 figure; Hungary, with 108.1; Latvia, 121.1; Yugoslavia, 117.3; Estonia, 139.2; Finland, 109.2; Italy, 109.3; Japan, 135.3; Norway, 109.0; South Africa, 131.8; and Sweden, 117.3.

Figures for other countries are: Belgium, 87.2; Czechoslovakia, 79.5; the Netherlands, 74.6; Canada, 92.6; France, 81.1; Luxemburg, 13.6; Peland, 24.6; and Switzgeland, 73.6.

75.6; Poland, 84.5; and Switzerland, 78.6.

#### STATISTICS NOT ALWAYS ACCURATE

In making public the unemployment and employment statistics, officials cautioned that since the method of compiling them as well as the dates for which latest figures are available differ from

country to country, they cannot be accepted as accurate measurements but only as showing trends.

The attached table gives a comparison of the volume of unemployment in the various countries during the first quarter of 1938 with the corresponding quarter of 1937 and the last quarter of that year. that year:

	First quar- ter 1937	First quar- ter 1938	Difference	Last quar- ter 1937	Difference
Austria	316, 050	302, 263	-13, 787	224, 166	78, 097
Australia	46, 863	37, 558	-9,305	42, 145	-4, 587
Belgium	131, 565	136, 298	4, 733	90, 574	45, 724
Bulgaria	10, 964	19,062	8,098	5, 012	14, 050
Canada	27, 379	27, 530	151	19, 140	8, 390
Chile	5, 516	3, 137	-2,379	2, 928	209
Czechoslovakia	198, 492	177, 972	-20,520	107, 782	70, 190
Danzig	16, 724	8, 580	-8, 144	3,800	4, 780
Denmark	133, 795	127, 222	-6,573	107, 101	20, 121
Estonia	2,064	1,798	-266	1, 473	325
Finland	5, 383	4, 544	-839	3, 924	620
France	441, 207	444, 376	3, 169	362, 551	81, 825
Germany	1, 853, 460	1, 051, 745	-801, 715	501, 847	549, 898
Great Britain and			100 710	* ****	000 000
Northern Ireland.	1, 624, 765	1, 807, 517	182, 752	1, 506, 590	300, 927
Hungary	50, 863	46, 132	-4, 731	45, 187	943
Ireland	91, 680	104, 829	13, 149	94, 414	10, 413
Japan Latvia	322, 948 6, 358	281, 215 4, 123	-41,733 $-2,235$	277, 200	4, 013
Netherlands	466, 242	439, 278	-26, 964	378, 000	61, 278
Norway	34, 440	35, 311	-20, 964 871	32, 239	3, 073
Rumania	9, 549	6, 343	-3, 206	6, 343	3,07.
Sweden	33, 509	21, 723	-11,786	12, 411	9, 319
Switzerland	87, 120	81, 040	-6,080	42, 420	38, 620
United States 1	9, 241, 000	10, 973, 000	1, 732, 000	9, 267, 600	1, 705, 400

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> American Federation of Labor figures.

Note International Labor Office (Geneva) unemployed 

10,973,000

4,000,00 The most accurate estimate of the unemployed in the United

Biggers census estimate, November 1937\_\_\_\_\_ 10,870,000 Additional unemployed since November\_\_\_\_\_ 4,000,000

Total in April 1938\_\_\_\_\_ The 4,000,000 additional unemployed figure is based on statements by the highest administration officials.

Estimated wealth of 6 largest industrial nations

AR VENEZUE UN DEN BENEZUE AND AREA	Year	Wealth	
Italy <sup>1</sup> . Germany <sup>1</sup> . Japan <sup>1</sup> . France <sup>1</sup> . Great Britain <sup>1</sup> .	1925 1924 1928 1925 1925	\$22, 300, 000, 000 40, 000, 000, 000 51, 017, 000, 000 51, 600, 000, 000 117, 800, 000, 000	
Total, of 5 nations		282, 717, 000, 000	
United States (estimated) 1	1928	367, 610, 000, 000	

Mr. LUNDEEN. And this does not by any means include the part-time unemployed, a vast army which will further add to the sum total of unemployment in America.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am very much obliged to the Senator from Minnesota for his valuable contribution. The Senator has spoken of refugees. All our hearts go out in the deepest sympathy for refugees from any section in the world who are being persecuted, but I say that our sympathy should especially be with the American people, those who are here now and who need our sympathy.

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ELLENDER in the chair). Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield to my distinguished colleague from the great Commonwealth of North Dakota.

Mr. FRAZIER. I am wondering what the Senator from North Carolina thinks about a certain situation concerning which we have been reading in the newspapers. Many sharecroppers from one of the Southern States have gone on a sort of strike, or have been forced off their lands. What will the newspapers in foreign countries, countries the governments of which we have criticized for their action toward their minorities, think and have to say concerning our refugees, concerning people who are being persecuted in this country?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I wish to say to the Senator that I have been truly distressed over the situation to which he refers. I have read an article of considerable length published in most American daily newspapers, concerning this matter. I had it at my home and I spent considerable time yesterday in reading it. I could very well picture in my mind those poor, undernourished women, elderly men, underfed children, ragged, without sufficient clothes to keep them warm, endeavoring to protect themselves by means of old pieces of canvas and worn blankets from the wintry winds and the snows which were falling. My heart went out in sympathy to them. I have a big heart, I may say to Members of this body, but all the sympathy of that heart first goes to the sharecroppers, to the unfortunate men and women, boys and girls and little children of this country.

The Senator from North Dakota asks, What will the newspapers of other nations say about it? Mr. President, they will give us perfect hell. That is what they will do about it, and we all know it. We have arrived at a time when we must face the issue. We have arrived at a time when we must withdraw our heads from the sands of oblivion and see what is going on around us. Instead of hating people of other countries and cursing them, we had better begin thinking about how we are going to meet their competition.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator further

Mr. REYNOLDS. I gladly yield. Mr. LUNDEEN. Does not the Senator think it a strange way to encourage our trade, that we should indulge in hating half a dozen countries and so lose all their trade? Does the Senator think that our trade is so prosperous that we can lose more trade by hating an additional number of countries?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I answer the Senator's question by saying "no." It is difficult for me to keep the figures in my mind, but it is my recollection that in the past 3 years we have lost about 43 percent in the exportation of our cotton. If I am wrong, I should like to be corrected, because I want to be informed as to that subject. That, however, is my recollection.

Let us now see what is happening. In the first place, I am of the opinion that we have always attached too much importance to what goes on in Europe.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am glad to yield to my distinguished colleague from the great State of Pennsylvania.

Mr. DAVIS. Is it not true that certain foreign countries have increased their production of cotton, notably Brazil and Egypt, as well as other countries, and is it not true that we have at the present time greater competition for the cotton we produce than we have ever had before in our history?

Mr. REYNOLDS. That is true. I will answer that in more detail in just a moment, if the Senator will pardon me.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> World Almanac, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> Estimate of Dr. Willford I. King, formerly economics adviser of National Bureau of Economic Research, now professor of economics of New York University.

Before I forget it I wish to continue along the line I was speaking a moment ago, to explain in part why we have such tremendous unemployment in the United States.

Mr. President, the able Senator from Minnesota a moment ago discussed with me the question of unemployment in the United States. I agreed with him, as the result of my studies, that in my humble private opinion we have about 12,-000,000 people unemployed in the United States. But we must consider many things in relation to that unemployment. We have a greater amount of unemployment in the United States than has any other country in the world. When we consider the causes of our unemployment we are not greatly surprised. The United States of America makes utilization of more labor-saving devices than does any other country in all the world. That is point number 1.

I recall that once upon a time I made a trip around the world in an automobile. I had crossed the Italian Alps, and was proceeding southward into Italy towards Milano. In one of the towns in Italy I made a great many motion pictures of some scenes of human interest which I thought might appeal to those in America who like travelogues. I was commercially interested in this matter. While making these photographs my cameraman and I were arrested. We were carried off to the "bastille" or prison. There we were held for several days, and then carried to Turin, where some of our film was destroyed, and where we were held under guard. I recall that while motoring I passed through a great fertile valley, the towering mountains to the right and to the left reaching to the blue heavens of lovely Italy.

To my right and to my left I saw hundreds of Italian farmers plowing as their ancestors did thousands of years before the birth of Christ. There they were, tending their little acreage. I ask Senators to fashion in their minds a hand sufficiently large to pick up those 100,000 acres in that fertile valley of Italy, providing a living for many thousands of small Italian farmers, and set those acres down in our great western plains. If one returned 6 months thereafter, instead of finding many thousands of farmers cultivating the soil, with plows being pulled by milk cows, burros. mules, horses, or combinations of these, he would find only a few hundred farmers, driving the great mechanical instruments of the age, such as the gigantic plows which are used in North Dakota and South Dakota, which plow 40 furrows at once instead of one.

In Turin, which is in one of the northern political subdivisions of Italy, I went into a building two stories high, occupying an entire block. There I saw about 2,000 men and women transcribing records with pen and ink, as was done thousands of years ago. Let us imagine, if possible, a hand sufficiently large to pick up that building and transport it across the Atlantic and set it down on Constitution Avenue in the city of Washington. If we should return within a week, instead of 2,000 men and women transcribing the records with quill pens we should find that 1,500 had been discharged, and the 500 were employed in operating typewriters, mechanically or electrically driven, and duplicating machines of every description.

So it is in every line of industry in the country. We have brought into use more labor-saving devices than has any other country on the face of the earth, which fact largely accounts for unemployment in this country.

Mr. President, I desire to mention something which will be extremely interesting to the honorable Senator who now presides over the Senate (Mr. ELLENDER in the chair). I say 'extremely interesting" for the reason that he and his colleague [Mr. Overton] ably represent the State of Louisiana.

Cotton is produced in Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, northern Georgia, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and southern California. For 15 years the International Harvester Co., which is ably directed by Colonel McAllister, has been working upon the development and perfection of a labor-saving machine for the purpose of picking cotton. Being interested in the people of North Carolina and the other people of the South, I made a trip to Chicago at my own expense for the purpose of talking to the president of the International Harvester Co. about this machine.

What did I learn? I learned that several of these machines have been operating successfully in the delta of Arkansas. I learned that one of those machines, operated by 2 men, will pick as much cotton in 1 day as 40 or 50 men. When that machine comes into general use, we in the South shall have more trouble, because we in the South are more interested in cotton than are the people in any other part of the United States. Five million people in the South are dependent, either directly or indirectly, in whole or in part, upon cotton.

So, Mr. President, I take advantage of the opportunity to state why I think such a tremendous amount of unemployment exists in this country. No other country in the world utilizes labor-saving devices to the extent to which they are utilized in the United States.

Another reason why we have more unemployment than any other country in the world-and I shall have to be perfectly frank about this-is that many other nations of the world have been preparing for war. Those nations have utilized all their surplus manpower for the purpose of making preparations to defend themselves, or to attack somebody else.

The able Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Davis] has directed to me an inquiry in regard to the production of cotton. We find competition with American cotton in Russia, in China, in India, and in Egypt. Perhaps the competitor which will cause more trouble than all the other competitors in the world combined is Brazil. In that connection I may add that 52 countries in the world are growing cotton. According to the reports of last year, most of those countries have increased their production. I believe the statistics will show that every one of them, down to the very smallest, little Uganda, has tremendously increased its production of cotton.

Not very long ago I was motoring through the West Indies from Port au Prince to Trujillo, in the Dominican Republic. There I saw and talked to the people, and they told me they had doubled their production of cotton.

I say Brazil will cause trouble for this reason: We must remember that Brazil is one-third larger in area than the United States. It must be remembered that there is hardly a square mile of that tremendous country, a country one-third larger than continental United States, upon which cotton cannot be produced. In addition it must be remembered that to prepare land in Brazil for the production of cotton costs about one-tenth as much as it does in this country. As a result we have competition meeting us on every hand.

Mr. President, if I may be indulged, I should like to bring to the attention of the Senate a clipping from the New York Herald Tribune, which I had intended to exhibit earlier today. It was sent to me by an American who is interested in preserving jobs for Americans. The clipping to which I refer is headed "Refugees Seek Licenses Here. Five Hundred Taking Examinations This Month."

In January 1939, 500 foreigners are taking examinations to become practicing physicians, dentists, nurses, and lawyers, at a time when the professional men of this country are having the worst time they ever had in their lives.

## SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. REYNOLDS. I shall be delighted to yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. The newly elected Senator from Tennessee, Mr. Tom Stewart, is present in the Chamber and desires to take the oath of office.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator's credentials were presented on the first day of the session. If the Senatorelect will present himself at the desk, the oath of office will be administered

Mr. Stewart, escorted by Mr. McKellar (at 1 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.), advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to him by the Vice President.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I gladly yield to the Senator from Ten-

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, my colleague, Mr. Stewart, has just been sworn in and has taken his seat as a Senator in this body. It will be noted from the certificate of the Governor certifying that Mr. Stewart was elected at a general election held on November 8, 1938, in Tennessee. The Governor goes further and states that it is for the unexpired term of Nathan L. Bachman, deceased, beginning on the 3d day of January 1939.

I wish merely to state here and now that the Governor of a State has no right to fix the time at which a Senator elected by the people shall begin his service. This body fixes the time at which his service begins; and the Governor has only the right to certify the fact of election, and whether it is for an unexpired term or a full term.

## IMMIGRATION, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND OTHER PROBLEMS

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I am very glad to have been provided the opportunity of yielding to the Senator from Tennessee. By the way, I wish to take advantage of the opportunity to extend my congratulations to the senior Senator from my sister State of Tennessee, and to extend to him the thanks of the American people for having brought about an investigation as to the number of aliens in the United States and its Territories and insular possessions who are holding jobs which belong to the God-fearing, hungry, employment-seeking men and women of the United States. Thank God for Kenneth McKellar, who so ably represents the great State of Tennessee that once upon a time was a part and portion of the greatest State in the Union, my State of North Carolina. [Laughter.]

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I shall be delighted to yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DAVIS. The Senator has given much study to the question of immigration, and I should appreciate it greatly if the Senator would give me the latest estimate of the number of aliens who are illegally in this country.

Mr. REYNOLDS. The Senator desires to have me tell him how many aliens there are in the United States at the present time, who came here and are here now illegally, in violation of our law. I wish to say to the Senator that I am of the opinion there are 7,000,000 aliens in the United States who came here illegally and are here now in violation of our law. Those who disagree with that statement will say, "Oh, no; you are wrong; there are only 2,000,000 aliens here illegally." I cannot prove that the one who makes such an assertion is wrong, nor can I prove that I am right. Why? Because in this country-I admit it with shame-we have no registration law, and, as a result thereof, we do not know how many aliens there are in this country, illegally remaining here in violation of our law. We are the only country upon the face of the earth that does not keep track of the aliens within its midst.

In that connection, I wish to say to you, Mr. President, and to the Senators who are present, and who are evidently greatly interested, that the thing for us to guard against in America today is the enemies within, and not so much thought should be given to the enemies without.

I recall, Mr. President, the oath that I took on yonder rostrum the other day when I was sworn in for another 6-year term in the Senate. I was impressed by that oath, as were the other 32 Members of this body who were sworn in at the same time, and I hope the Senate will give me its very best attention while I read that oath.

Do you solemnly swear that you will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies—

I did and I do foreign and domestic;

I did and I do-

that you will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that you take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation

or purpose of evasion, and that you will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which you are about to enter: So help you God.

I took that oath, and in taking that oath I swore, as did every other Member of this body, that I would defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies. "All enemies" includes both foreign and domestic enemies. The interpretation that I am now pleased to put upon the words "domestic enemies" is enemy aliens within our midst who are endeavoring to overthrow our Government, who are endeavoring to destroy our Constitution.

They are the ones to whom I am referring, and I say that no man can prove that I am in error, for we do not have a registration law in this country. I say that if war were to be declared tomorrow against the United States, if we were to experience an invasion, we would have 7,000,000 potential enemies spying within our midst; and enemies spying within our midst, boring from within like termites, are much more dangerous than enemies from without, because an enemy from without may be observed. So I ask what is the use of our spending billions of dollars for a national-defense program and to provide an adequate defense to protect and safeguard the 135,000,000 people of America when, in truth and in fact, if an enemy from without were firing at us the enemy within, the termites, would be boring? Termites cannot be seen; they bore from within; they cannot be located. So I say that in connection with the national-defense program we should pass bills which I have introduced to expel every alien who is here illegally, to expel every alien criminal or enemy. Without such legislation the national-defense program will not be what the American people want it to be.

I should like to proceed with the reading of this article. In the headline it is further stated:

Five hundred taking examinations this month.

This article is from the New York Herald Tribune, and I am reading it for the inspiration of American fathers and mothers who have spent all the money they could make in educating their sons and daughters, some to be lawyers, some to be physicians, some to be nurses, and some to be dentists. It must be a great source of inspiration to the fathers and mothers of America when they hear that we are permitting doctors and other professional men of every description to come into this country and take away professional work from our own native sons and daughters.

By the way, Mr. President, as you know, the lawyers are having a tough time in this country; but it is their own fault. In the respective legislatures of the country they have legislated themselves out of business. The collection agencies are doing all the collecting; the real-estate men are drawing the deeds; the title companies are examining the titles; and the banks and trust companies are drawing wills and settling estates. So the poor lawyers are out in the cold. I do not care, for they are out there, and I am here; but it is their own fault, because they have legislated themselves out of their business and are getting just what is coming to them. Now listen to this:

Flunked doctors-

Senators will understand the term "flunked"— are suing.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield to the Senator from Kentucky. Mr. BARKLEY. Does not the Senator think it is really a tribute to the unselfishness of the members of the American bar that they have been willing to legislate themselves out of business if by doing so they have helped the general welfare?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I do not think they have helped the general welfare a great deal. I think there are lawyers in this country, as a whole, who are just as competent to handle all the business they formerly handled as are any lawyers selected by banks, trust companies, insurance companies, or any other corporations.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course, if the Senator will yield further, one of the items in the category of legislation which

has taken away business from the lawyer is workmen's compensation laws of the various States, statutes designed to benefit thuse who are injured in industry and in other occupations. The lawyers in the legislatures have voted for that kind of legislation.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I think that is very commendable of them.

Mr. BARKLEY. It is commendable, and I think they ought to be congratulated upon being willing to advance the public welfare even at their own expense.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I quite agree with the Senator that lawyers are very broad-minded and are always sympathetic and thoughtful of their fellow men.

Now, Mr. President, to repeat what I was reading:

Flunked doctors are suing.

That means they have failed.

Launch court fights for right to practice without test.

And then, Mr. President and Members of the Senate. listen to this:

Unsettled conditions in central Europe have caused an unusually large number of foreign professional men to seek to qualify to practice in this State, and some 500 of them are now attempting to qualify for the license examinations which will be given from January 23 to 28. Preliminary examinations in English must be passed; some have taken these already, and others are taking them this week

The applicants are for the most part Germans, with a considerable number of Austrians and several Czechs. The majority are physicians. Lawyers and dentists come next in order, and there are also a few engineers and pharmacists.

About 700 applications to take the examinations were received, and about 500 have registered for the English examinations. Many of the other 200 filed their applications from abread in anticipations from abread in anticipations.

of the other 200 filed their applications from abroad, in anticipa-tion of coming here, but for one reason or another have not carried out their plans. How many will pass the language tests, both oral and written, remains to be seen, and then, of course, will come the examinations as to professional qualifications.

#### EASIER FOR NEW GRADUATES

One foreign physician who recently did thus obtain a license to practice here, said that these tests were difficult for medical men, and would be difficult for other professional workers also, because

of their nature.

They are the same examinations which young American medical graduates just out of school are required to take in order to obtain licenses, and are devised for them.

I say we ought not to permit a single person from foreign shores to set foot upon the shores of America for the next 10 years or longer, until such time as every unemployed American has been provided with remunerative employment.

The immigrants are in large part men who have spent considerable time in practice, and often they find difficulty in going back to the rudiments, especially when, even though they may pass the examinations in English, they must write their answers in an unaccustomed language.

They are in just the same situation as any college graduate might find himself 10 or 20 years after graduation if he had to pass a precise examination in a subject with which he had lost his full

schooltime familiarity.

Now. listen to this:

They sue to upset regulations.

Who sues? The alien sues to upset the American regulations. Listen to this:

There is a possibility, however, that most, if not all, of these professional men, and others who have applied before them and have been rejected, may get the right to practice without passing examinations.

Can you beat that? Listen to this:

A group of German refugee physicians who failed to pass examinations—

Lord have mercy-

has taken to court the measure passed on September 21, 1936, by the board of regents, setting up this requirement for licensure. A decision on the matter from the appellate division is awaited, and it may eventually go to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Can you equal it? German refugee physicians say they will not abide by our decisions and by our laws. In order to practice without passing the required examination, they are trying to upset the laws of the country, and threaten to take the matter to the United States Supreme Court, and we permit them to do it, with all our young professional doctors and nurses and dentists and lawyers out of work.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from Minnesota

Mr. LUNDEEN. After the Senator finishes reading the article I should like to ask him some questions about it.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Very well.

The point at issue is whether they may not obtain licenses in the way in which they were granted to foreign physicians prior to the regents' ruling. Then a graduate of a university abroad, on proving that he had practiced medicine for 5 years, received a license without any other examination.

The aliens are going to carry the matter to the Supreme Court of the United States.

New York doctors fearful.

This is the first time I have read this article.

Many local physicians have been viewing with increasing alarm the situation created by the growing influx of foreign competitors in recent refugee times. Until recent years, few such doctors came here except for special reasons, and the courtesy of permitting them to practice did no harm to American physicians.

The latter—

That is, the New York doctors-

now feel that inroads on their practices are being made, and are growing greater, because of the sudden appearance of so many

This is especially true in New York City for several reasons. It is a principal port of entry, where those who are admitted are likely

The city of New York used to be the melting pot of the world; but it is no longer the melting pot of the world, as all of us know.

There is, furthermore, a large foreign population here, among which the newly arrived medicos could build up clienteles. In addition a number of States have put restrictions even more drastic than the challenged one of the board of regents on licensure; some even require full citizenship as a qualification.

These refugees, these foreigners, these professional men are actually contesting the rulings of the board of regents.

The local feeling is accentuated by the fact that a medical man born, reared, and educated from kindergarten to his final acquisi-tion of a medical diploma in this city must pass an examination.

And these foreigners say, "You must let us practice without passing an examination or we will take the matter to the Supreme Court of the United States. What do we care about the laws of the United States?"

That shows how much respect they have for us.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota. Mr. LUNDEEN. Does the Senator mean to say that the refugees have an idea that the Supreme Court might sustain their position?

Mr. REYNOLDS. They have the idea that they can upset the ruling of the board of regents, and intimate that they will take the matter to the Supreme Court of the United States. They are going to practice here "whether or not."

The rule under which others do not have to do so is a reciprocity measure, granting licenses to physicians licensed in States of the United States where the licensing boards have standards as high as those of New York, and also making provision for the admission of foreign physicians who can prove graduation and 5 years of practice. In most foreign countries, graduation from a medical school is all that is required to set un in practice. that is required to set up in practice.

That is in foreign countries; but here in the United States, after a young man has graduated from a medical school, in many instances we not only require him to serve as an interne in some of our larger hospitals but we require him to pass an examination.

The test case has so far, through one stage, gone against the State. These aliens are going to make a test of the matter. They come over here and want to practice medicine, dentistry, and law despite the fact that our young American sons are having

a hard time making a living in those professions; and the aliens have the gall, the audacity, the nerve to say, "We will upset the laws of the regents."

The German refugee physicians sued for a writ of mandamus to compel the board of regents to license them without examination, and after a referee had taken evidence the decision was in their

Did you ever in all your life hear of such unmitigated gall? I never did.

The ruling was at once appealed, however, to the appellate division, third judicial department, at Albany, where the board has its headquarters, and is awaiting a finding there. That it will go on up at least to the highest court of the State is not doubted. The three petitioners in whose favor Justice Foster decided in

Albany on August 5, 1938, are Drs. Julius Levi, Paul Erlanger, and Maximilian Lewitter.

Does the Senator from Minnesota wish to ask me another question?

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me, recently we returned from Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo, and came to the port of New York; and there we were told that the Europa was arriving from Germany with 1,500 refugees. I said, "What will these poor people do? What can they do to employ themselves here in America?" I was told by an officer of the port that that was easy; that they had all been promised jobs within 2 weeks. I have information that that is substantially correct. Certain information that that is substantially correct. officials of the community were referred to in that connection. That means, if the Senator will permit a further statement, that native Americans will have to go off the pay roll, and will have to walk the streets of New York wearing out their shoe leather in their native land, under their own flag, looking for employment while refugees from foreign countries are coming here and taking their jobs away from them. I am opposed to any such policy.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am very happy to be provided with that additional inspiration by the Senator from Minnesota. I take this opportunity to congratulate the people of the Senator's great commonwealth upon the fine judgment they exhibited and evidenced and utilized in sending such an able individual to represent them in the upper House of the National Congress. In that connnection I am very happy indeed that the Senator from Minnesota made that statement. He asked me if the refugees of the world are to displace the boys and girls, the men and women of America. From what the Senator has stated, and from what I will now reveal to him. I must shamefully admit that they are

going to displace them.

As evidence of that fact, let me read a letter. I will state to the Senator that I have had thousands upon thousands of letters and telegrams on this subject from all over the United States; and the American people are going to demand that we say whether we are for aliens or whether we are for Americans.

This letter is dated January 10, 1939. I could bring thousands of letters of the same kind to the attention of the Senate. This letter is from Overland, Mo. You have to "show me." This is one of those "show me" letters, because the writer put the evidence right here with it.

Senator REYNOLDS.

U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C.
Dear Senator: News dispatches of January 6 state that you are proposing a bill to suspend all immigration.

The gentleman is correct. I have introduced a bill to suspend all immigration for the next 10 years, or until such time as all of the unemployed of the United States have been employed.

Your proposed legislation will eliminate in part the economic ills that confront this country; also it will create in the minds of the 12,000,000 unemployed Americans a deeper and firmer respect for the United States Government. It will be of greater benefit to the stability of our country than a hundred of Representative Dres' investigating committees.

The incident in the attached news item has done far more harm to the United States Government than all the agents and propaganda of communism, fascisism, nazi-ism, and all other foreign isms which are detrimental to our form of government.

It has made the unemployed of our country ask why this, their own Government and fellow citizens, consider that citizens of other countries are better than the unemployed American citizen, and why should aliens be given jobs in industry while the unfortunate American citizens are put on relief or are given jobs on the W. P. A. They ask why this discrimination against the American citizen by the United States Government and American industry should exist.

Surely there are law-abiding men in New York City who do not have jobs, who perhaps are on relief or who are on the W. P. A. rolls. Some of them have fought for this country. All of them have paid

Some of them have fought for this country. All of them have paid taxes—Federal, State, and city. Surely they are capable of holding the jobs given to the Kirshenblatt family, citizens of Poland.

The interest and well-being of every one of the 12,000,000 unemployed American citizens should come before that of citizens of any

continued unemployment year after year constitutes the greatest threat to our democracy, as it gives the unemployed an opportunity to think of some of the inequalities and injustices practiced in this

our own country.

I want to take this opportunity to thank you for your splendid work in behalf of the unemployed American citizen. I also wish you every success in your endeavor.

An unemployed American who wants very much to be a good American citizen.

Sincerely yours,

Senators, this is serious; this is no laughing matter. We had better begin to put on our thinking caps. We had better begin to think more about the American people and less about people in other sections of the world.

Now let me read from an article appearing in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, sent out by the Associated Press. It is headed:

Immigrant refugee family making \$95 a week seeks escrow fund; \$5,000 was deposited to guarantee members would not become public charges.

When an immigrant comes to this country, he is required, under the rulings of the State Department, to deposit a certain amount of money, or provide proof to the effect that he will not become a public charge.

This Associated Press dispatch is dated New York City, November 29, 1938-just a few weeks ago.

The success story-

This is a success story. It is not a bedtime story. It would not put anyone to sleep. It would not provide inspiration for the boy or the girl who wants to become a good American citizen and who wants the opportunities this country has always afforded. Instead of putting to sleep the fathers and mothers who read it at bedtime, it will wake them up, and they will not sleep at all when they begin to think about this. Let us see what is stated:

The success story of the Morris Kirshenblatts raised an unusual

problem in State supreme court yesterday.

The Kirshenblatts came here last April from Warsaw, Poland.

Morris' wife, Myndla, told the court in an affidavit.

Now the family

The Kirshenblatt family, who came from Warsaw, Poland-

is earning \$95 a week and would like to have back in a lump sum, so they can invest it in some business, \$3,050 of the \$5,000 originally deposited to guarantee they would not become public charges in the United States.

When they came here they had to put up \$5,000 in cash to guarantee that they would not become public charges. They arrived here, and all of them got jobs, and now they want \$3,050 of the \$5,000 back so that they can invest it.

Mr. LUNDEEN. What is the date of the article?

Mr. REYNOLDS. November 29, 1938, and it is dated New York City.

Mr. LUNDEEN. That exactly verifies the statement I made a moment ago, that the people who come here get jobs at the expense of native Americans.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Absolutely, and I thank the Senator for that valuable contribution.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CHAVEZ in the chair). Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. DAVIS. No doubt the Senator knows that if a job is promised without permission from the Secretary of Labor before an alien comes to the United States, it is a violation of the contract-labor law, and the person violating that law

is subject to fine and deportation.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I know that the Senator from Pennsylvania is the highest authority on that subject, and I am glad to have the information. But is that law being observed? I doubt it.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania to reply.

Mr. DAVIS. I do not know whether or not the law is being enforced. I presume it is, because it is the duty of the Secretary of Labor to enforce the law.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I am sure I hope it is being enforced. Mr. REYNOLDS. Now, Mr. President, I should like to tell the Members of the Senate about this Kirshenblatt family. They are earning \$95 a week, and would like to have back in a lump sum \$3,050 of the \$5,000 they put up. Let us find out what they are doing.

Morris Kirshenblatt-

the affidavit said-

is employed as a watchmaker at \$35 a week.

Plenty of American watchmakers are out of work, but, as the Senator from Minnesota so ably stated a moment ago, it appears that those who are coming from foreign shores can enter the United States and get work, though millions of Americans cannot get work.

Morris Kirshenblatt is employed as a watchmaker at \$35 week. Abraham, their eldest son, earns \$25 a week; Jerome, 22, \$20 a week; and Henry, 18, \$15 a week. The fourth son, David,

The arrangement made with the Public National Bank & Trust Co. before they took up permanent residence was that the bank would hold their \$5,000 in escrow, with \$1,000 delivered to Mrs. Kirshenblatt on her arrival and the balance in \$150 monthly installments.

Mrs. Kirshenblatt says the family does not need to have the money doled out \$150 at a time.

They do not need it; they are making money that ought to be going to American unemployed.

The bank opposed her motion for a summary judgment. Its counsel argued it would be "contrary to public policy" to jeopardize any machinery, outlined in a Federal statute, "which expedites the immigration of aliens subject to the disturbances abroad." Justice Louis Valente took the case under advisement.

Mr. President, while the able senior Senator from the great State of Tennessee [Mr. McKellar], with whom I am more than honored to claim friendship, is present, I wish to read a clipping which I have from an issue of the New York Herald Tribune under a Washington, D. C., date line. Again, I wish publicly to congratulate the Senator from Tennessee for his forethought and fine work for the American people in sponsoring an investigation to determine the number of aliens in the employ of the United States Government when there are 12,000,000 American citizens out of employment. That investigation was the result of a resolution presented by the Senator from Tennessee, who honors me with his presence at this time, a man of whom all who reside within the confines of Tennessee should be proud. Knowing him as I do, and being familiar with the fine work he is doing for Americans, being cognizant of the splendid work he did in providing the South with the largest national park east of the Rocky Mountains, I desire to state that I hope the citizens of Tennessee will continue to entertain the fine opinion of this Senator they have had in the past, and will keep him in the Senate as long as he lives. And may he live to be at least a hundred.

The article to which I now refer has a Washington, D. C., date line, and is as follows:

Less than 200 of the 12,000 aliens employed by the Federal Government are stationed in continental United States, it was dis-closed today in reports filed with Congress by heads of various

Government departments and agencies.
Submitted in response to a resolution introduced last session
by Senator Kenneth McKellar, Democrat, of Tennessee, during debate over employment of aliens by the Works Progress Administration, the reports listed all aliens on Federal pay rolls.

The largest group—9,600—are employed in the Panama Canal Zone because of the scarcity of American workmen.

Before I read the next sentence I wish to say that I was in the Panama Canal Zone, together with my distinguished friend, the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. MINTON], and our friend from Wisconsin, F. Ryan Duffy, who is no longer with us in this body. I there learned, as did my colleagues who were on this mission, of the large number of aliens who were there employed. I shall read again:

The largest group—9,600—are employed in the Panama Canal Zone, because of the scarcity of American workmen.

I shall be perfectly frank in stating that I am highly in favor of substituting American labor for at least seventenths of the 9,600 referred to who are employed in the Panama Canal Zone. I believe that no one can successfully maintain that we cannot find in this country American laborers who would like to go to the Panama Canal Zone and receive the fine wages which are being paid there to aliens.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator again

vield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield to the Senator from Tennessee. Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator referred to the wages now being paid to aliens.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes; to the wages now being paid to aliens.

Mr. McKELLAR. As everyone knows, Mr. President, the Panama Canal is one of the chief military points in the defensive set-up of the United States. It is vastly important to us. It is also vastly important that we have only American citizens on guard at that point. The Panama Canal is probably the most strategic point which the United States possesses. Certainly, with all the money we have to spend there, no man should be employed there in any capacity unless he is an American citizen.

The Senator from North Carolina knows from actual experience, because he has been there, as I have, that the Canal Zone is a healthy place to live. Sanitary conditions are excellent. The housing conditions are good, and are being improved, though I think we should further improve them. No particular illness is prevalent there which is not to be found anywhere. The Panama Canal Zone is a very healthful community, and, in my judgment, no reason in the world exists why we should employ so many aliens, even though they are in minor positions in that place which comprises the most strategic defense position we have.

Mr. DAVIS. Several hundred Americans live there. Apparently they like to live there and serve their Government.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have no doubt of that. I, myself, know some of those who live there. I wish to say to the Senator from North Carolina that the figures given in the reports which we have already received do not constitute the figures for the entire number of aliens working for the Government in the Panama Canal Zone. Several departments have not yet sent in their figures. I believe the Navy Department has not reported. Those departments will send their figures later, and then we will find just what the conditions are in that respect.

Mr. President, I do not wish to do any alien an injustice under any circumstances, but I think that in this time in our history we should look after our own affairs first. That is

the underlying principle on which we should act.

I call to the Senator's attention a bill which I introduced in the last session, and which I have reintroduced today, which provides that no Government department shall employ aliens. No other government that I know of employs aliens. The only real argument which has been advanced to me in favor of employing aliens is in connection with the employment of certain Chinese interpreters. As we all know, the Chinese language is a very difficult one, and it may be proper on occasions to employ a very few Chinese interpreters.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am in thorough accord with the Senator's view.

Mr. McKELLAR. But their employment ought not to be permanent. We ought to use our own people in Government service as much as possible. I hope the Senator will vote for the bill, which provides that no alien shall be employed in any of our departments, especially by the Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps, or the Air Corps,

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator from Tennessee very much for his able contribution. I am sure that the American people, who are interested in preserving America for Americans, will be very grateful to the Senator from Tennessee for his valuable, patriotic contribution at this hour.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. REYNOLDS. I gladly yield to the Senator from Ken-

Mr. BARKLEY. I am not familiar with the reason why in most cases persons who are not citizens are employed by the Government of the United States. I understand that for the most part it takes place in foreign countries where we have legations and consulates and embassies. In the Panama Canal Zone, of course, a different situation exists. Congress itself might remedy the situation by appropriating sufficient money to man our embassies and legations and consulates in other countries so as to make it unnecessary to employ aliens who are now employed because Americans are not willing to go and work in foreign countries for the salary paid.

My recollection is that in one or two of our embassies or legations abroad, which I have had the pleasure of visiting, there were minor clerkships, which may pay a thousand dollars or \$1,200 a year, or even less, the occupants of which were aliens. When the inquiry was made as to why that was true, in addition to the statement with respect to the low salary, in some cases it was stated that a peculiar type of service exists and the Department thinks it is necessary that that service be rendered by somebody who is on the ground and able to speak the language. It was also stated, as I said, that the compensation connected with the position is not sufficient to warrant a qualified American leaving the United States and going to Budapest, or to Bucharest, or to Vienna, when we had a legation there, or to other countries.

I have visited the Canal Zone many times. I wish to ask the Senator if he knows that there are Americans in the Canal Zone who are out of employment because aliens are employed there? Are there enough Americans down there to fill the places without employing any Panamanians?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I should say, in answer to the question of the Senator from Kentucky, that I have never heard of any Americans in the Canal Zone being thrown out of employment as the result of employment of Panamanians or other aliens. There are in Panama quite a number of Jamaicans, a few persons from Cuba, and others from the Dominican Republic.

The point the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKellar] and I are making, if I judge his attitude correctly, is that the employees in the Canal Zone receive good pay, when compared with pay received for like employment here. The employees' homes in the Panama Canal Zone are very good. They are screened against mosquitoes and other insects. There is no longer any yellow fever in the Canal Zone. Living conditions and health conditions there are as wholesome as in many parts of the United States.

I should state to the Senator from Kentucky that I am in accord with what he said to a large extent. I now again desire the attention of the Senator from Tennessee insofar as the matter of employment of interpreters is concerned. I will give a concrete illustration. Only last month I was in Tirana, the capital of Albania, and there I spent several days, and observed that our Minister, Mr. Grant, had employed an interpreter who was an Albanian. Mr. Grant is a very able gentleman and is very popular with the Albanians. While on the subject, I may say that we have a great many Albanians living in the State of Illinois, and they have made fine citizens.

I observed that our Minister had employed a full-time interpreter. Although Albania is but a small country, having a total population of only 1,010,000 people, the Minister has a great deal of business to transact. I observed that from early morning to late at night Albanian people were coming to talk with our able Minister, and of necessity he

had occasion at times to have a capable interpreter. He did have a very fine interpreter. Of course, it would be very difficult to find an American who spoke the Albanian language as well as that interpreter did, and who would work for the salary he received. My recollection is that the interpreter was paid only \$100 or \$125 a month.

We must, of course, have interpreters in Japan, in China, in Siam, in Indo-China, in Bulgaria, in Turkey, in Greece, in Syria, in Yugoslavia, and all the countries of the world where the English language is not spoken. We have to have them; we could not very well dispense with them. We could not get American interpreters to go to those countries and serve at the salaries we pay. In those instances I think we should facilitate the work of our foreign representatives by maintaining competent interpreters for their use.

I continue to read from the newspaper article:

The largest group—9,600—are employed in the Panama Canal Zone because of the scarcity of American workmen. The second largest—2,000—are employed by the State Department in its consulates and legations in foreign countries.

We have just discussed that matter.

Before I leave the subject of the Panama Canal, which was brought up so very forcefully by the Senator from Tennessee, let me say that I recall having observed through the columns of the press a few days ago that the Senator from Tennessee has introduced in the present Congress a bill calling for the appropriation of \$200,000,000 for the construction of another canal, the Nicaraguan Canal. I know the Senator from Tennessee introduced the bill for the very reason that he is fearful that at some time the Panama Canal may be destroyed by enemy forces. Were the Panama Canal destroyed by enemy forces, it would be necessary for our fleet in the Pacific, in crossing to the Atlantic, to go southward, through the Strait of Magellan, and then back up the eastern coast of South, Central, and North America to its base. The point is a very important one, and the Senator put it well when he said that in our scheme of national defense unquestionably it is the most important, because if the Panama Canal were destroyed it would be difficult for us to bring our fleet from the Pacific into the Atlantic.

In other words, the Panama Canal might properly be termed America's life line. The Panama Canal is to the people of the United States what the Suez Canal is to Great Britain, because the Suez Canal is a part and portion of Great Britain's life line, which leads from the British Isles southward around Gibraltar, eastward through the Mediterranean, and southward through the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean to Singapore, the Dutch East Indies, and Australia. The Panama Canal is just as important to us as the Suez Canal is to Great Britain.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator speaks of a bill to construct a Nicaraguan Canal. I have introduced such a bill. At present the Panama Canal is taxed substantially to its capacity. It now has two shifts of 8 hours each per day. Of course, another shift could be established, slightly increasing the capacity; but the time will come in a very short while, before we could possibly build a Nicaraguan Canal, when we shall need another canal for commercial purposes.

As the Senator knows, under the Bulwer-Clayton treaty of 1852, foreign nations, especially Great Britain, have an interest in the Panama Canal and have certain rights concerning it. We already have a right-of-way through Nicaragua.

Mr. REYNOLDS. My information is that we have a 100year lease. I do not know the details.

Mr. McKELLAR. We already have the right-of-way bought and paid for. Such a canal would be a sea-level canal.

We must do one of two things: Either we must increase the width of the Panama Canal so as to make it a double canal, or we must build a canal in Nicaragua. To my mind it would be infinitely better to build a Nicaraguan canal, for the reason that it would be an all-American canal. We should not have to deal with any other nation except the nation through which

the canal would go, and we already have permission to build that canal.

In the next place, the Nicaraguan canal would be 600 miles nearer the United States than the Panama Canal. It would be of immense benefit to us in the way of national defense; and, in my judgment, America could not do a safer or a wiser thing than to build a Nicaraguan canal.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Does the Senator think we could complete the construction of such a canal for \$200,000,000?

Mr. McKELLAR. I doubt it. However, it would not cost very much more than that, in my judgment. I think we could construct an all-American canal through Nicaragua more cheaply than we could double the capacity of the Panama Canal. Then, too, if damage should result to one canal, the other would be open, and we should at all times be protected.

For those reasons I introduced a bill on the subject some years ago and have continued to reintroduce it at every Congress since that time. At this time, while the whole world seems to be ready to erupt, I hope we may prepare for what may come in the future.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Let me say to the Senator that I have an open mind on the question of the construction of another canal. When the bill comes before us, I intend to give thorough consideration to the question whether or not we ought to have another canal. I do not know. The Senator from Tennessee knows much more about the subject than I do, because I am confident that he has studied it very thoroughly. I do not know whether or not a Nicaraguan canal could be constructed for \$200,000,000. However, when it comes to the cost of construction of such a canal, compared to the cost of naval construction, \$200,000,000 is merely a drop in the bucket.

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. REYNOLDS. I will yield in just a moment.

The other day I learned that we contemplate the construction of two 45,000-ton battleships, and the estimate for construction of each one of those battleships is anywhere from \$90,000,000 to \$110,000,000. As a matter of fact, if we could build the proposed canal for \$200,000,000, the amount would represent merely the cost of two battleships.

I now gladly yield to the junior Senator from Indiana,

Mr. MINTON. Does the Senator think we could build a Nicaraguan canal for \$200,000,000, when we are now told that it would cost \$200,000,000 to put an additional set of locks in the Panama Canal?

Mr. REYNOLDS. As a matter of fact, that is the very question about which I made inquiry a moment ago, when I directed a question to the Senator from Tennessee. I respectfully question the figure \$200,000,000.

Mr. McKELLAR. I doubt very seriously whether \$200,-000,000 would be sufficient. However, that question is wholly unimportant. If it should require more money, we should have to spend more money to build it. However, from the information we have, and the reports of engineers, I really believe a canal through Nicaragua could be built for less money than it would cost to double the capacity of the Panama Canal.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator very much.

I continue to read from the newspaper clipping to which I have referred:

The Post Office Department reported no alien employees, as did the Civil Service Commission, the Tariff Commission and the Central Statistical Board

The W. P. A. listed 18 aliens, all of whom are applicants for citizenship, in important positions. However, its report did not give the number of aliens among relief workers.

The Chief of Army Engineers reported approximately 20 alien relief workers on flood-control projects in California.

The Department of Agriculture listed 89 aliens, 28 of whom are employed abroad by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 6 in the Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine in foreign countries, 13 are laborers for the Bureau of Public Roads in Alaska and Central America, 5 are soil research experts, and 12 are employed seasonally as woodsmen in the Forest Service.

An elevator boy and the assistant superintendent of charwomen were listed by the Federal Reserve Board as not naturalized.

I suppose we could not find an American boy with enough sense to run that elevator. It was necessary to employ an alien.

The Department of Labor disclosed that it employs five Chinese and two Japanese interpreters in the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization.

I assume that is essential, Mr. President.

Both the State and Agriculture Departments explained that considerable money was saved by hiring foreign employees for offices abroad at wages prevailing in the vicinity.

As suggested by the able majority leader, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY].

In a long letter, Gov. C. S. Ridley, of the Canal Zone, explained that the scarcity of American laborers made it necessary to "draw on the large reserves of native workmen in Panama City and Colon."

Four alien employees, all of whom are seeking citizenship, were listed by the Department of Justice.

It appears that those who want jobs apply for citizenship. It does not appear that they apply for citizenship prior to seeking jobs with the American Government.

During the course of my remarks today a gentleman whom I know very well sent me a note, reading as follows:

DEAR BOB: There is now employed in the accounting division of a certain division of the Government a young man from Holland or Germany who is not naturalized, and who has been in the country only 3 years. How come?

As a matter of fact, millions of people in the United States are today asking, "How does it happen that so many foreigners are permitted to come into the country and usurp American jobs?" And "Why is it so many boys and girls are prevented from realizing the opportunity of obtaining employment when all these people from foreign shores are permitted to come into the country?" So on every hand we have the inquiry, "Why do we not stop people coming from other sections of the world and taking the jobs which rightfully belong to American citizens?"

Mr. President, I had intended reading a number of letters from my files. Thousands of letters on this subject have come to me from all parts of the United States. However, in view of the fact that the hour is growing late, I think I shall terminate my remarks for the day.

#### COMMITTEE SERVICE

On motion of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, it

Ordered, That the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Stewart] be assigned to service on the following committees: Agriculture and Forestry, Immigration, Interoceanic Canals, Interstate Commerce, and Privileges and Elections.

#### KELLOGG-BRIAND PEACE PACT

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President, on January 15, 1929, the United States Senate ratified the treaty known as the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact. In our RECORD of January 15, 1929. it was called a multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war. The common interpretation of the treaty was that it was an instrument for the renunciation of war.

More than 60 nations of the world ratified the same treaty, and those who believed in and who wanted world peace felt that the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact was a great

step toward world peace.

I remember some statements made on the floor of the Senate when the treaty was being discussed, to the effect that it would not be lived up to, it would not amount to anything, and remarks of that nature. However, according to our Constitution, a treaty ratified by the United States Senate-and this treaty was practically unanimously ratified—is a part of the law of the land.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FRAZIER. I yield.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I was engaged in conversation with another Senator at the time the Senator from North Dakota began his statement. To what treaty does the Senator

Mr. FRAZIER. The Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. FRAZIER. We believed that the adoption of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact for the renunciation of war would mean that we would prepare for peace instead of for war. Many of us were greatly embarrassed and much distressed because immediately after the adoption of that treaty to renounce war our own Nation started to increase its appropriations for war purposes. Ever since 1929 the United States Government has continued to increase its appropriations for war purposes, until the Congress is now being asked at this session of Congress to appropriate practically one and a half billion dollars, or thereabouts, for war preparations.

We have repeatedly increased our appropriations until we have led the mad rush of the nations of the world to increase armaments. In my opinion, it has largely been the example set by the United States Government that has caused the wild scramble for increased armaments on the part of all the great nations of the world.

Mr. President, the Senator from North Carolina, in his recent remarks, estimated that the World War had cost us more than \$69,000,000,000 up to the present time, and intimated that, in all probability, it will have cost us more than a hundred billion dollars before the last bill shall have been finally paid.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FRAZIER. I am glad to yield to the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. REYNOLDS. The Senator will probably recall that a number of years ago President Coolidge made the estimate to the effect that before we shall have liquidated the obligations incurred as a result of our participation in the World War the cost to us will have been in excess of \$100,000,000,000, and it is my understanding, from all the information I can gather, that our brief participation in the World War has up to this time cost us more than \$69,000,000. The Senator will recall that at the close of the World War, on the date of the armistice, November 11, 1918, we had more than 4,400,000 men in uniform and under arms.

Mr. FRAZIER. I thank the Senator for his contribution. I think, undoubtedly, President Coolidge was correct, and that the Senator from North Carolina is correct in saying that it will cost us more than a hundred million dollars before the World War is finally paid for.

Outside of that, it cost 10,000,000 men who were killed during the course of that war and thousands who have died since because of injuries received. Thousands of our boys lost their reason, went insane, because of the experiences they endured in the trenches. It has been a wonder to me that many thousands more did not become insane because of their experiences during the World War. Yet at the present time prominent military officials have been making the statement that we are making preparations for an army and navy and an air force, of the same size we had in 1918 and 1919, and even to make them greater. It looks that way to me. No one can make me believe that appropriations, running into the billions of dollars for building battleships costing over a hundred million dollars apiece, and probably running to \$150,000,000, and entailing an expense of probably several million dollars each year for operation, are being built for peace and not for war. In my opinion, we are making preparation for war. We are proceeding absolutely contrary to the treaty which the Senate ratified 10 years ago

It seems to me, Mr. President, that every thinking citizen, and every Member of the Senate who took the oath, of office which the Senator from North Carolina read on the floor of the Senate a few moments ago, should weigh the recommendations for increased appropriations for war purposes very carefully before voting to plunge this Government deeper into debt by another billion and a half or two billion dollars at the present session of the Congress.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?
Mr. FRAZIER. I am glad to yield to the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Of the 135,000,000 or 138,000,000 constituting the population of the United States today, that part and portion of the population made up of the mothers of America are more thoroughly interested in what the Senator has here to say than is anyone in this forum or in any other place of the United States. I say that for the reason that the debts incurred as the result of a war are not, in truth and in fact, as the Senator will agree, I am sure, liquidated by the dollars and cents of the currency of any country, but the debts incurred as the result of a war are liquidated only by the tears that stream down the cheeks of the mothers who have lost their sons; and no amount of compensation, no amount of money, can ever restore a dead son to an American mother.

I wish to say to the Senator that I am against war. I desire to go further and say that, in my opinion, the mothers of the United States of America who will be called upon to provide the fodder for the cannon ought to have something to say as to whether or not their sons shall go to war and be slaughtered.

Mr. FRAZIER. I thank the Senator for his contribution. Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator for yielding to me.

Mr. FRAZIER. I agree with the Senator from North Carolina that the mothers and the taxpayers, too, of this country should be called upon to express their opinion before the United States enters another world war.

Mr. President, I merely wished to call the attention of the United States Senate to the fact that 10 years ago yesterday the Senate ratified the treaty known as the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact for the renunciation of war. I am sorry that, in my opinion, we have not lived up to it.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, let me ask the Senator with whom are we going to war? Whom are we going to fight? Who is going to fight us? Who is threatening to invade our shores?

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President, I am frank to say that I do not know. I have never heard anyone explain it. Some of the best military authorities have said that there is no country that can successfully attack the United States from the distance which they lie away from us.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FRAZIER. I yield.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I think I can explain that. We are to engage in another expedition to save the world. We are told to forget our own problems, our own troubles, and once more we are going to save the world. That is the illusion that is being planted in the minds of the American people. That is the propaganda we hear. We are going to save everybody except ourselves. We are going to solve all the problems of the earth except our own problems.

Mr. FRAZIER. It was said that we fought the World War in order "to make the world safe for democracy."

Mr. REYNOLDS. And for Christianity.

Mr. FRAZIER. Yes.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I wish to say to the Senator, with his kind permission at this juncture, that if the American mothers who of necessity must furnish the bearers of arms and provide the fodder for the cannon are permitted to say as to whether or not we shall go to war there will be no war.

I believe in an adequate national defense; and in employing the word "adequate" I mean that we should be provided with defenses sufficient to protect ourselves in case of invasion; I am willing to vote appropriations for an army and a navy and an air force for the purpose of protecting the people of America against invasion by foreign enemies, but further than that I am not willing to go now.

Who is going to attack the United States of America is what I want to know? Germany is not going to attack us. Why? Because Germany at present has a population which was increased to 80,000,000 as the result of the minorities which she took over in the Sudetan, numbering 3,500,000. Germany is doing what? She has not her eye at the present on the physical acquisition of more territory. She is engaged in making an economic penetration. Those who have recently visited what was once upon a time called "the lovely

blue Danube," that rises in southern Germany and flows through old Austria, Hungary, and Rumania to the Black Sea, know that Hitler and the Germans have hundreds upon hundreds of men and barges going down the blue Danube loaded with medicines, toys, machinery, and textiles, and coming back loaded with tallow, hides, oil, lumber, and wheat, which Germany desires. The war we are in today is going to prove to be the greatest war in which we have ever participated. It is a trade war.

What do we find over there? We find over there that the German people have made the most tremendous and most phenomenal economic trade advances with Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria. By the way, in passing I may mention that I had the honor and the very great pleasure during the course of my recent trip of meeting the Chief Executive of Bulgaria, His Majesty King Boris, at which time I talked with him at great length in regard to international affairs and with regard particularly to matters relating to the Balkan states.

In connection with Bulgaria, it will be recalled that a few weeks ago the French offered to provide credits for the Bulgarians for the purchase of French manufactured products; but, unfortunately for the Bulgarians, the French could not provide them with the sort of manufactured products they wanted, as a result of which the Bulgarians were forced to turn to Germany. Germany has her eyes focused toward the east. Germany, having paralleled the railroad leading across Czechoslovakia by a railroad which will pass between the frontiers of Hungary and southern Poland, will proceed to the Ukraine of Russia. She is interested in economic penetration throughout the world. She is endeavoring to make an economic penetration in South America, in Central America, and in Mexico, where there is a population equal to that of the United States of America. If Senators do not believe it is a trade war, I ask them to recall this prediction: Within the next 5 years we are going to find ourselves in such a war as the American people never before experienced, because it will be a trade war affecting the clothing of the backs of the laborers of America and affecting the feeding of the stomachs of the hungry.

What do we find in that direction? Mexico, our sister Republic to the south, just beyond the Rio Grande, has a population of 20,000,000. It is a country that we have befriended more than any other country in the world. We buy more silver from Mexico than from any other country in the world. We have bought oil from Mexico. We have sent more tourists there than any other country in the world has sent. We sent there last year 300,000 tourists, who spent millions of dollars; but has that had any effect upon the Mexican people? No. What is the condition that exists there? It is a condition of competition.

You trade with a man not because you like him but because you can get the best deal from him. We might just as well open our eyes and we might just as well realize the condition which confronts us. Let us try to stay out of war and let us try to meet that competition. Let us try to meet that which has been flung out before us by Hitler and Mussolini and the rulers of other states that are now becoming associated with

In the case of Mexico, which I have just mentioned, I recall reading in the columns of the press only a few weeks ago that Germany had succeeded in making a barter arrangement with Mexico by which Germany was to take \$17,000,000 worth of Mexican oil and was to pay for the \$17,000,000 worth of oil to the extent of \$10,000,000 in barter, and it had not been decided how the balance of \$7,000,000 would be liquidated.

Right here at our back door are our neighbors, the Mexicans, from whom we buy silver and to whose country we send hundreds of thousands of tourists every year who spend money there; but the Mexicans deal with Germany because they get the best trade there. A fact which really must of necessity command the attention of us all is that the very oil the Mexicans sell they took away from American investors. Talk about withdrawing diplomatic representation! If we are going to withdraw diplomatic representation from Germany, I say we had better withdraw diplomatic representation from Mexico. They have seized all our properties. They have seized all the farming land owned by American citizens and divided it up. I say we had better do that. If we do not like the way in which certain other countries are running their business and have withdrawn our representation from Germany, why do we not withdraw our representation from Spain? Why do we not withdraw our representation from Japan? Why do we not withdraw our representation from the Soviet Union?

We are in a trade war. We are "up against it," and we should not try to fool the American people. We should try to bring before them the facts and meet the issue. I believe the American people can meet the issue. We have never failed to do it.

It is true that by means of barter Mussolini and Hitler are "going places." By the barter method they are doing a big business with South America. We are very greatly interested in the Western Hemiphere, because to the south of us there are about one hundred and thirty-five to one hundred and forty million people. Our able colleague, the beloved Senator from Illinois [Mr. Lewis], has been suggesting and advising us for years past from the floor of the Senate to "look southward." We should turn our eyes southward. What do we find in Brazil? I note that one of the representatives of the Brazilian Government is soon to come to Washington to confer with our great and beloved President. What do we find? The British have the largest investment in Brazil. We are second. For a while the Germans were leading in trade in Brazil. Now the tide has turned, and we are leading. Recently we participated in the Lima Conference, in the capital of Peru; but most of the airplanes bought by the Peruvian Government come from Italy, and the Peruvian aviators are being trained by Italian army aviators. We must open our eyes, and we must meet this competition. In the Democratic platform we say that we should settle disputed matters by arbitration, by peace and not by war. I want to abide by the Democratic platform and settle peacefully, and not by war, all issues in which we might become involved; and again I ask. in conclusion, Who is going to attack the United States?

We know perfectly well that Japan is not going to attack us, because Japan has her hands full in looking after matters in Korea; in looking after the 120,000,000 persons in Manchuria, which she took in 1931; in looking after the millions who are found in China from Shanghai and Peiping southward to Hong Kong and Canton along the routes of travel, and in looking after the people of Formosa. The Japanese have their hands full, more so than ever now as a result of their interest in Indochina; and, by the way, in that connection, it looks as if the Siamese are going to join up with them.

Germany is not going to attack us. She is interested in trade over there. Who else might attack us? Mussolini is not going to attack the United States. Why? Because Mussolini is looking after his 42,000,000 people. As we know, Mussolini owns the Adriatic. He has made an Italian lake out of it; and Mussolini has his hands full in northern Africa. Mussolini is in a position to construct for the Italian people an immense empire in Africa, because prior to the conquest of Abyssinia, with its fourteen or fifteen million people, the Italians had under their control Italian Somaliland, just south of French and British Somaliland. Now, the Italians are desirous of getting Djibouti, the capital of French Somaliland, and their finger is in the pie of the operation of the only railroad in Abyssinia, leading from Djibouti to Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, a distance of 498 miles.

So I ask the Senate: Who is going to attack us? Every other country in the world has its hands full.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me to interrupt him, the Senator from North Carolina, in his able statement, asks who is going to attack us. Mr. REYNOLDS. That is my question.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I understand that the Russians are liable to attack us. They have no navy, but they are teaching

their men to swim with full equipment, and they are liable to land in New York almost any day. [Laughter.]

Mr. FRAZIER rose.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Will the Senator from North Dakota pardon me a moment?

Mr. FRAZIER. Certainly.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Russia is a country three times the size of the United States in area. Russia has a population of 178,000,000. Those 178,000,000 people speak more than 100 different languages and dialects. Russia is rotten within. In Russia millions of people have been murdered. In Russia people are being murdered every day. If Russia ever gets into a war, she will be defeated within 3 or 4 months. Why? Because there will be revolt, there will be revolution within the ranks of her own army and on the decks of the vessels of her own navy.

For instance, Russia has a score to settle with Japan. Russia was defeated by Japan, as will be recalled, and Russia has always wanted to settle that score. Russia had an opportunity to do so only a few months ago when the clash occurred between the Russians and the Japanese in northern Manchukuo, and in one wing of inner and outer Mongolia; but Russia did not attack, and many persons were surprised. Why? Because of all the opportunities in the world Russia ever had to attack, that was the best opportunity, for this reason: Japan, a nation comprised of 90,000,000 inhabitants, was fighting China, possessed by a population of 500,000,000. Japan had her hands full. Russia has the largest standing army upon the face of the earth and the largest reserve upon the face of the earth. Russia has a standing army of 1,300,000. Russia has a reserve corps of men and women of 18,000,000. But despite the fact that little Japan with her 90,000,000 people was fighting a nation possessing a population of 500,000,000-half a billion-the Russians, with their standing army of 1,300,000 and with a reserve corps of 18,000,000, dared not fight Japan. Why? Because Russia is rotten from within, and if ever she becomes involved in a war there will be revolution within 3 months in Russia. Stalin knows it; the Russians know it; and we need never have any fear of the Russians.

As a matter of fact, of course, as the Senator knows, Russia is moving eastward toward the Arctic Ocean, toward the Lena Delta, toward Siberia, toward Wrangell Island, in our Territory. They are just a half a mile from us. But I want to know who is going to fight Uncle Sam.

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, I hope the Senator will disabuse my mind of the fear that was engendered the other day when he told us from the floor of the Senate that the Soviet forces were just a half a mile from Uncle Sam.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Absolutely.

Mr. MINTON. Has the Senator any fear?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Oh, no; not at all. I will repeat the statement. Senators will recall, because they are more familiar with these international and foreign affairs than am I, that Soviet soil is only half a mile from the possessed soil of the United States of America.

Mr. MINTON. What of it?

Mr. REYNOLDS. In 1867 we bought from the Russian Government Alaska, which included one of the Diomedes, and included the Pribilof Islands and the Aleutian Islands.

Mr. MINTON. I ask the Senator again, What of it?

Mr. REYNOLDS. What of it?

Mr. MINTON. Yes.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I think it was the finest purchase we ever made, outside of the Louisiana Purchase, I think that was one of the finest purchases we ever made, because Alaska proper comprises 587,000 square miles of land, and of necessity it will provide sustenance and maintenance for more than 3,000,000 people.

In regard to Russia, as Senators recall, in 1933, under the direction of Stalin, the gold rush toward Siberia was started because Stalin wanted to move his population toward Siberia, as that is the richest part of it, and he wants to get as far

away from the central powers of Europe as he can possibly get.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, I am still disturbed about the answer the Senator from Indiana was seeking. He asked "What of it?" referring, as I understand, to the proximity of these territories.

Mr. REYNOLDS. As a matter of fact, I was just speaking of the Diomedes. When we bought Alaska from Russia in 1867 we acquired Little Diomede and the Russians got Big Diomede. They are just half a mile apart. But the closest portion of the mainland of Siberia to Alaska is known as Uellan, Russia, which is a distance of 35 or 40 miles away.

Mr. FRAZIER. No one but Eskimos live there, so I do not think there is any danger. I made a trip to Alaskan waters a few years ago, and we could not get within sight of those islands, because it was so foggy that we could not see, and we had to turn around and go back.

Mr. REYNOLDS. That is a pretty good thing. Nature has provided protection for us.

Mr. FRAZIER. I am very glad to have the Senator's explanation of his opinion that no other country is able to attack the United States. But he made one statement with which I cannot agree, although I usually agree very fully with the eminent Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. FRAZIER. The Senator has traveled very widely, and knows much about foreign countries, I think probably more than any other Member of the Senate, because he has traveled so extensively. He told us that he is against war, but thinks we should arm for adequate defense. That is all the military man says, that we must arm for adequate defense. That is what the President of the United States says, that is what the War Department says, that is what the Navy Department says, that we must arm for adequate defense.

Mr. President, there is no such thing as adequate defense, and the Senator himself admitted it in his argument about Russia. Russia is armed for "adequate defense" right now. They have the largest standing army in the world, according to the Senator from North Carolina; they have one of the largest air forces in the world, too, and the best trained men, and all that kind of thing, yet the Senator says that if war should come they would not last a month merely because they are armed for adequate defense. Would not the Senator think it better if they were not armed at all, but stood for world peace and disarmament?

There is a nation which perhaps the Senator has never visited, a little nation, which celebrated a few days ago its twentieth anniversary of disarmament and absolute peace. I refer to Iceland. For 20 years they have been totally disarmed, they have not had a soldier or standing army of any kind in that little nation, and they have gotten along very well. They were troubled with war and internal dissension and all that kind of thing for generations, but they finally decided to disarm, and they have been getting along very nicely, and the little country of Iceland has furnished some of the best minds of the world.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I may say to the Senator that I want to be provided the opportunity of placing my interpretation upon the word "adequate." I think it is well that we adequately prepare, and by that I mean that we be prepared to ward off an attack by any enemy. I am not willing to provide a navy and an army and an air force for the purpose of attacking any other nation on earth on their own soil.

As to Iceland, she is quite an inspiration to the other peoples of the world. As a matter of fact, there are other nations which believe in peace, for instance, Andorra, the little Republic located on the southern border of France and the northern border of Spain, which has remained quite neutral. There are other small nations throughout the world which have done as Andorra did, and I think their attitude has been an inspiration. The big nations of the earth should be ashamed of themselves for not being able to live in peace and harmony when the little nations can. If we had followed the example

of some of the smaller countries, the probability is that we would have been happier.

Mr. FRAZIER. The nations which were neutral during the World War are the nations which are best off today, their people are the best off, and there is less unemployment in them than in the great nations which took part in the World War.

The Senator from North Carolina started to refer to the Democratic platform plank in regard to our keeping out of war. That is a very laudable thing, of course, but I think it would be better if we should live up to the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, which the Senate ratified 10 years ago yesterday. That put the United States on record, and every Member of the Senate who was present except one voted for the ratification of that Pact. One Member voted against it, because he had offered a resolution to discredit some of the explanation which had been given concerning this treaty which he did not like. He wanted the treaty to stand on its own bottom and to be interpreted according to the words of the treaty, and not interpreted according to explanations that were made by Members of the Senate or anyone else. When his resolution was defeated, he was the only one who voted against ratification. But 85 Members of the Senate voted for ratification, and the other Members of the Senate were on record as stating they would have voted for it if they had been present. So the vote was practically unanimous. That was a treaty renouncing war, and I believe we should live up to it.

I appreciate very much the interest which has been taken by others here in regard to this matter, and I hope we can in some way prevent the huge appropriations which we are likely to be called upon to make for war preparations at the present session of the Congress.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

## EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Andrews in the chair) laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations (and withdrawing a nomination), which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received and nomination withdrawn, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

## EXECUTIVE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. BURKE, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the nomination of George E. Proudfit, of Nebraska, to be United States marshal for the district of Nebraska.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be received and placed on the Executive Calendar.

If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will state the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

## POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Ambrose O'Connell, of New York, to be Second Assistant Postmaster General.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, Mr. O'Connell was appointed Second Assistant Postmaster General some time ago, and has been acting for a number of months. He has made an excellent record. I think he is one of the most courteous, painstaking, and efficient officials of the Post Office Department, and I am sure his nomination will be unanimously confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

#### DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Francis W. Reichelderfer, of Indiana, to be Chief of the Weather Bureau. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the

nomination is confirmed.

#### DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Spruille Braden, of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Colombia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Frank P. Corrigan, of Ohio, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Venezuela.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of John C. Wiley, of Indiana, to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Latvía and Estonia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

#### PROMOTIONS IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations for promotions in the Foreign Service.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all the nominations in the nature of promotions in the Foreign Service be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are confirmed en bloc.

That concludes the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

#### DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE CRAVENS, OF ARKANSAS

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Andrews in the chair) laid before the Senate a resolution from the House of Representatives (H. Res. 52), which was read, as follows:

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, January 13, 1939.

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. Ben Cravens, a Representative from the State of Arkansas.

Resolved, That a committee of four Members of the House with such Members of the Senate as may be joined be appointed to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provision of these resolutions and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased. Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

Mr. BARKLEY. On behalf of the senior Senator from Arkansas [Mrs. Caraway], I offer a resolution, and I ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read. The resolution (S. Res. 60) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. Ben Cravens, late a Representative from the State of Arkansas.

sentative from the State of Arkansas.

Resolved, That a committee of two Senators be appointed by the Presiding Officer to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to attend the funeral of the deceased Representative.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In accordance with the second resolving clause of the resolution just agreed to, the Chair appoints the Senators from Arkansas [Mrs. Caraway and Mr. Miller] to represent the Senate at the funeral services of the late Representative Cravens, of Arkansas.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 36 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, January 17, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

## NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 16, 1939

#### NATIONAL MEDIATION BOARD

George A. Cook, of Illinois, to be a member of the National Mediation Board for the term expiring February 1, 1942. (Reappointment.)

## COAST GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES

#### TO BE CHIEF BOATSWAINS (L)

Boatswain (L) Roy V. Dudley from September 14, 1938.

Boatswain (L) Oscar A. Johnson from September 14, 1938.

Boatswain (L) Joseph Mazzotta from September 14, 1938.

Boatswain (L) Albert C. Gross from December 1, 1938.

Boatswain (L) Palmer S. Midgett from December 1, 1938.

#### TO BE CHIEF MACHINISTS

Machinist James R. Orndorff, Jr., from September 14, 1938. Machinist Thomas R. Nan Carrow from December 14, 1938.

#### POSTMASTERS

#### ALABAMA

Heber L. Heflin to be postmaster at Danville, Ala. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Agnes H. Lambert to be postmaster at Darlington, Ala. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Abbie M. Chambers to be postmaster at Faunsdale, Ala. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

John W. Johnson to be postmaster at Langdale, Ala., in place of J. W. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expired March 29, 1938.

Harris L. Gilmer to be postmaster at Marion Junction, Ala. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Ollie G. Harris to be postmaster at Morris, Ala. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### ARIZONA

Robert E. Hamilton to be postmaster at Eloy, Ariz. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Aurelio B. Sanchez to be postmaster at Sonora, Ariz. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### ARKANSAS

Deedy Newsome to be postmaster at Arkinda, Ark. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Ocie E. Mathis to be postmaster at Hackett, Ark. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

## CALIFORNIA

Mary E. Byrne to be postmaster at Hinkley, Calif. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Lucy A. Angell to be postmaster at Rosamond, Calif. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### COLORADO

John W. Baldwin to be postmaster at Hudson, Colo. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Gertrude M. Carroll to be postmaster at Woodland Park, Colo. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

## CONNECTICUT

Ethyl O. Engisch to be postmaster at Cornwall Bridge, Conn. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Edward A. Honan to be postmaster at Gaylordsville, Conn. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### FLORIDA

Thelma M. Shortridge to be postmaster at Citra, Fla. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Charles A. Miller to be postmaster at Crystal River, Fla., in place of C. A. Miller. Incumbent's commission expired February 10, 1938.

Nina A. Kovarik to be postmaster at San Antonio, Fla. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

## GEORGIA

Ola H. Bradbury to be postmaster at Bogart, Ga. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Lucie D. Woodall to be postmaster at Brookhaven, Ga. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

John E. Jones to be postmaster at Lula, Ga. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Miriam Dickerson to be postmaster at Rabun Gap, Ga. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Hugh W. Williams to be postmaster at Red Oak, Ga. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Charlie C. Parsons to be postmaster at Watkinsville, Ga. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### ILLINOIS

Fred G. Falkenheim to be postmaster at Baldwin, Ill. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Hilda Luehr to be postmaster at Campbell Hill, Ill. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Rosana Levitt to be postmaster at Villa Ridge, Ill. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Charles Clifford Tobey to be postmaster at Worth, Ill. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

## INDIANA

Raymond C. Austgen to be postmaster at Roby, Ind. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### IOWA

Mabel E. Forsythe to be postmaster at Plover, Iowa. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### KENTUCKY

Sister Basil Pike to be postmaster at Maple Mount, Ky. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### LOUISIANA

Louis A. Carville to be postmaster at Carville, La. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Viola H. Reed to be postmaster at Epps, La. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Georgina C. Kinler to be postmaster at Inling, La. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### MARYLAND

James F. Cohee to be postmaster at Middle River, Md. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Henry J. Norris to be postmaster at Whiteford, Md. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### MASSACHUSETTS

Myrtie L. McLoon to be postmaster at North Truro, Mass. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### MICHIGAN

Agnes E. Haischer to be postmaster at Atlantic Mine, Mich. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Myrtle C. Duby to be postmaster at Au Gres, Mich. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Floyd Slafe to be postmaster at Dryden, Mich. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Florence E. Baldwin to be postmaster at Kingsley, Mich. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### MINNESOTA

Adolph Johnson to be postmaster at Clarks Grove, Minn. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Adolph Oseid to be postmaster at Roosevelt, Minn. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### MISSISSIPPI

Daniel F. Smith to be postmaster at Carriere, Miss. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Maude B. Morris to be postmaster at Mayhew, Miss. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### MISSOURI

G. Chadbourne Long to be postmaster at Cadet, Mo. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Charles H. Johnson to be postmaster at Grain Valley, Mo. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Mary E. Staples to be postmaster at Houstonia, Mo. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Dorsey M. Bishop to be postmaster at Ravenwood, Mo. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### NEW MEXICO

Robert F. Fisher to be postmaster at Cuba, N. Mex. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

James C. Wyman to be postmaster at Loving, N. Mex. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### NEW YORK

Charles W. Rentschler to be postmaster at Burt, N. Y. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Grace L. Harden to be postmaster at McConnellsville, N. Y. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Benjamin F. Palmer to be postmaster at Scio, N. Y. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Marie M. Rice to be postmaster at Sylvan Beach, N. Y. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### NORTH CAROLINA

Jethro M. Rollins to be postmaster at Bostic, N. C. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Eli H. Ange to be postmaster at Jamesville, N. C. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Virginia D. Martin to be postmaster at Parkton, N. C. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Derr L. Hines to be postmaster at Stony Point, N. C. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Maude F. Cheatham to be postmaster at Youngsville, N. C. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Starling N. Caron to be postmaster at Hamersville, Ohio. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Charles E. Morris to be postmaster at Philo, Ohio. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### OKLAHOMA

Osie Ellison to be postmaster at Warner, Okla. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### PENNSYLVANIA

Ann M. Noblick to be postmaster at Coverdale, Pa. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Michael J. Musilek to be postmaster at Dunlo, Pa. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

S. Richard Hazelton to be postmaster at Greentown, Pa. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Alice B. Carrick to be postmaster at Loupurex, Pa. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Mildred E. Stumpff to be postmaster at Middle Creek, Pa. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

William McWilliams to be postmaster at Murrysville, Pa. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Eli B. Weaver to be postmaster at Ruffs Dale, Pa. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

## PUERTO RICO

Ricardo Pagan to be postmaster at Barranquitas, P. R. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Felix P. Hernandez to be postmaster at Quebradillas, P. R. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### SOUTH CAROLINA

Andrew McC. Blair to be postmaster at Rion, S. C. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

William E. Jones to be postmaster at Sunbright, Tenn. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Annie Koon to be postmaster at Buchanan Dam, Tex. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Ova Richardson to be postmaster at Caddo, Tex. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Frank E. Schrack to be postmaster at Catarina, Tex. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Ruby M. Smith to be postmaster at Deweyville, Tex. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Joe P. Luce to be postmaster at Graford, Tex. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Mary E. Cummins to be postmaster at Grandfalls, Tex. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Thelma L. Thames to be postmaster at Monroe City, Tex. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Edward H. Reinhard to be postmaster at Poth, Tex. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Martha Iduma McDonald to be postmaster at Santo, Tex. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Mary E. Featherhoff to be postmaster at Velasco, Tex. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Pearl B. Monke to be postmaster at Weinert, Tex. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### VERMONT

Bert G. Peck to be postmaster at East Middlebury, Vt. Office became Presidental July 1, 1938.

Jessie M. Cross to be postmaster at Concord Depot, Va. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Albert W. Horton to be postmaster at Raven, Va. Office became Presidental July 1, 1938.

George Washington to be postmaster at Woodford, Va. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### WASHINGTON

Forrest W. Cahill to be postmaster at Kittitas, Wash. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

Kate T. S. Rush to be postmaster at Osborne, Wash. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

#### WEST VIRGINIA

Charles A. Skaggs to be postmaster at Cedar Grove, W. Va. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

## CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 16, 1939

## DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Spruille Braden to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Colombia.

Frank P. Corrigan to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Venezuela.

John C. Wiley to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Latvia and Estonia.

#### PROMOTIONS IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE

## To be a consul general

#### Orsen N. Nielsen.

To be Foreign Service officers, unclassified, vice consuls of career, and secretaries in the Diplomatic Service

William Belton Robert Grinnell Parker T. Hart William H. Cordell Robert T. Cowan Franklin Hawley Carl F. Norden Philip M. Davenport Vernon L. Fluharty David T. Ray A. David Fitzlan David M. Smythe John Goodyear Philip D. Sprouse

To be Foreign Service officers of class 6

LaVerne Baldwin Raymond A. Hare Bertel E. Kuniholm Robert L. Buell John M. Cabot Rufus H. Lane, Jr. John H. Lord Augustus S. Chase Oliver Edmund Clubb William T. Turner

To be Foreign Service officers of class 7

Stuart Allen Robert Janz John M. Allison Robert P. Joyce Gordon L. Burke Hervé J. L'Heureux Edmund J. Dorsz Thomas J. Maleady Dorsey Gassaway Fisher Ralph Miller Frederic C. Fornes, Jr. Sheldon T. Mills Harold B. Minor Bernard Gufler Monroe B. Hall Gerald A. Mokma Thomas A. Hickok Walter N. Walmsley, Jr. To be Foreign Service officers of class 8

Sherburne Dillingham
C. Burke Elbrick
William E. Flournoy, Jr.
Harrison Lewis
F. Ridgway Lineaweaver
Joseph E. Newton
Maurice Pasquet

Guy W. Ray Arthur L. Richards Laurence W. Taylor Clare H. Timberlake Jay Walker Lee Worley

SECOND ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL

Ambrose O'Connell to be Second Assistant Postmaster General, Post Office Department.

CHIEF OF THE WEATHER BUREAU

Francis Wilton Reichelderfer to be Chief of the Weather Bureau of the Department of Agriculture.

#### WITHDRAWAL

Executive nomination withdrawn from the Senate January 16, 1939

APPOINTMENT IN THE ARMY

Wallace Embry Nau to be second lieutenant in the Air Corps, Regular Army.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1939

The House met a 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Gracious is the Lord and righteous, yea, our God is merciful. Thou whose presence pervades all space with rays of the divine light, reverently we wait for Thy blessing. Thou who holdest the stars in their courses and fillest the earth with Thy glory, bestow upon us as a people the strength of Thy wisdom and the justice of Thy judgment. Be with us, our Father, and clothe us with the greatest victory of life, which is the conquest of worry and an escape from the corroding stains of envy and hate. Still sound in our ears "be strong and of good courage." Inspire us with the power to expand, seek knowledge, and hold fast to those forces that maintain our Nation. Let Thy kingdom come in all hearts. Help us to think pure thoughts, speak kindly, and do noble deeds. Through Christ our Saviour. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday, January 13, 1939, was read and approved.

## MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Hess, one of his secretaries.

### ADJOURNMENT OVER

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the majority leader, who is unavoidably detained for the moment, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Wednesday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SHANNON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an address that I made over the radio.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered. There was no objection.

### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday next, after the reading of the Journal and disposition of such other business on the Speaker's table, I may be allowed to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by including a letter from Hon. Frank Murphy, then Governor of Michigan, written in October 1937, and the reply thereto.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the

gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. PLUMLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the remarks of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Gehrmann] this morning I may have permission to address the House for 20 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the

gentleman from Vermont?

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object,

I did not understand the gentleman's request.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Vermont asks unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the address of the gentleman from Wisconsin today he may be permitted to address the House for 20 minutes.

Mr. RANKIN. May I inquire on what subject?

Mr. PLUMLEY. On the subject of flood control. Mr. RANKIN. I have no objection, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Vermont?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the remarks of the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. Plumley] I may be permitted to address the House for 10 minutes on the subject of flood control in New England.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

#### THE LATE HONORABLE W. T. FITZGERALD

Mr. JONES of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. JONES of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, on January 13 a distinguished former Member of the House of Representatives, the Honorable W. T. Fitzgerald, passed away at his home in Greenville, Ohio.

I ask leave to revise and extend my remarks to pay appropriate respect.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. JONES of Ohio. Dr. Fitzgerald was a Member of the Sixty-ninth and Seventieth Congresses from the Fourth Ohio District. He was born in Greenville, Darke County, Ohio, on October 13, 1858. He was educated in the Greenville schools, National Normal University, and Wooster University Medical School.

He practiced medicine in Greenville until elected to Congress, and resumed that practice in the same city after leaving Congress. He was one of the most conscientious men that ever sat in the Halls of Congress.

He had a special interest in the soldiers' welfare and became chairman of the Pension Committee.

For a number of years Dr. Fitzgerald had been in failing health, and death relieved his suffering Friday morning, January 13, 1939.

## STATEMENT WITH RESPECT TO VOTE

Mr. BYRNE of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered. There was no objection.

Mr. BYRNE of New York. Mr. Speaker, on Friday morning I made reservations at Albany, N. Y., for a plane which would leave Albany at 1:40 p. m. and arrive in Washington at 4:30 p. m., so that I might vote on the relief bill. The plane arrived at Newark and was there grounded because of the storm, making it impossible for me to get here except by train out of Newark at 3:45 p. m. When I arrived the House had adjourned. Had I been here, I would have voted in favor of the relief bill.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER. Under the special order of the House heretofore made, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Gehrmann] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. GEHRMANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes, making my time in all 15 minutes

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. GEHRMANN. Mr. Speaker, my purpose in desiring to address the House at this time is to say a few words in behalf of the dairy farmer. During the past month newspapers have carried accounts of a plan whereby a large quantity of surplus American wheat is to be distributed to the starving people of Spain and China. I certainly have no objection to this. I think it is a worthy cause, but I know and you know that we have a huge surplus of dairy products. Certainly children need some food other than wheat. I see no reason why they should not send some of this surplus milk and other dairy products along with the wheat, and it is along these lines that I shall talk to you today. Let the Red Cross distribute surplus dairy products.

According to these accounts, 20,000 barrels of bran flour were shipped in November and 7,000 barrels of wheat flour in December. This wheat, according to news accounts, was sold by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation to the Red Cross for a purely nominal sum. More recently, shipments have been made of 170,000 bushels of hard wheat to Spain and a large quantity of cracked wheat to China, this wheat having been sold for one-half the market price.

I am not criticizing these shipments. According to an article in the January 8 issue of the Washington Star, there are 450,000,000 bushels of wheat produced in 1938 that are not needed in the wheat markets of the world. Since this is the case, surely no one can advance any argument against distributing that wheat free to the people of those countries harassed by wars, where the people have been left helpless and unable to feed themselves. Certainly no better use could be made of this wheat than to help the people of Spain and China save their lives in the face of impending starvation.

If I have any criticism to offer, it is that we have been so slow in taking cognizance of the desperate plight that confronts these people. It does not seem to me that in years gone by the people of this country would have been so indifferent to suffering in other parts of the world. As far back as I can remember, the American people have always responded generously when some other part of the world has been struck by disaster. Even after the World War, when a psychology of hysteria and hatred had been built up against the people of some foreign countries, the spirit of generosity still lived.

It will be remembered that an American citizen who had been highly successful in a business way built for himself in the United States and throughout the world a reputation as a great humanitarian because of the splendid manner in which he handled our relief activities abroad. During the period beginning shortly after the war, Herbert Hoover served on many committees and worked for the relief of thousands of people in Belgium, Poland, Germany, Russia, and other countries in central Europe. Large sums of money were spent at that time by private organizations like the Society of Friends and the Red Cross, but what was perhaps more important, the Congress of the United States set up

the American Relief Administration, which, while not a Government agency, was instrumental in distributing extensive relief, made possible by the generosity of the United States Congress.

There can be no question but that millions of people are alive in Europe today who would inevitably have died had it not been for the generosity of our own Government and our citizens.

#### WHY NOT SEND DAIRY PRODUCTS AS WELL AS WHEAT?

If the Surplus Commodities Corporation is to sell wheat to the Red Cross for a purely nominal sum, or to other private relief agencies at half price, why should not the Corporation transfer dairy products to the Red Cross and other organizations on the same basis? Not long ago, a relief ship left here carrying 170,000 bushels of hard wheat Experts in nutrition estimate that to feed children properly, each 6 pounds of wheat ought to have been accompanied by 1 pound of milk.

If we are to try to take care of small children, any mother knows that wheat is not enough. What is needed to take care of the children in war-torn countries is not so much wheat as butter, milk, and other dairy products. If we are to do the job, we ought to do it so it will be effective. Every man or woman who has raised a family knows that small children cannot get along on just wheat alone, and that is pretty much all that has gone in the relief shipments.

During our relief activities following the World War, we sent out large shipments of lard, dry milk, and food products other than wheat, recognizing that people suffering from malnutrition stood in greater need of a balanced diet than people whose health was still sound.

But in arguing for the shipment of dairy products, I am not only concerned about the children in these war-mad countries, but I am very much concerned about our own American children, as well as the plight of the dairy farmers of this country.

## OUR OWN CHILDREN MUST COME FIRST

When I advocate that dairy products should be turned over to the Red Cross to be distributed to starving and undernourished children of warring countries, I at all times realize that we are doing a mighty poor job of taking care of our own needy.

Several eminent health and nutrition authorities have released articles showing that at the present time not much over one-third the amount of fluid milk is consumed by children that experts deem necessary to develop a healthy body. In other words, the best insurance that our children of today will develop into strong, healthy men and women of tomorrow is to make it possible for all underprivileged to receive all the milk necessary to build bone and muscle to develop a race as robust and healthy as any in the world.

Many families with six to eight children now are forced to get along with 1 quart of milk a day when they should have at least five or six. If the needed milk were made available to these children, we would not have these high surpluses, and I would not be pleading to send dairy products out of this country, because our present cow population could not produce enough milk for home consumption. Local relief agencies should by all means see to it that children of needy families receive all the milk they need, so that they will not grow up as weaklings and subject to every disease that comes along, which, in the long run, may cost more for doctor and hospital bills than the milk they should have received. But, since we are piling up dairy surpluses and sending wheat to those in need in foreign countries, why not send milk, butter, and cheese along with the wheat, so as to assist in balancing the diet?

At the present time some 85,000,000 pounds of butter is held by the Dairy Products Marketing Association, financed by the Commodity Credit Corporation. Practically all of this butter has been bought up for about 26 cents a pound. It is simply a threat hanging over the butter market of the United States. As long as this 85,000,000 pounds hangs over

the market ready to be sold when the price moves up a few cents, it tends to keep the price down. A real service would be rendered to the dairy farmers of this country if this butter were simply turned over to the Red Cross to be used to aid the children in America as well as on both sides in Spain and China.

I do not believe I am asking anything improper when I call attention to the plight of the dairy farmers in Wisconsin and other States in the North. When farmers get 26 cents a pound for butter it means that they are living on a starvation scale. Farmers of Wisconsin today in my district are getting prices just about as low as they got under Hoover in 1932. Prices at that time got down below \$1 a hundred pounds for milk. Prices now are down as low as that. When farmers get less than a dollar a hundred pounds for milk they are getting starvation pay. Milk at that price is the same as 25- or 30-cent wheat to the wheat farmer, 12- or 15-cent corn to corn farmers, and nickel cotton for the cotton farmer.

I am going to try to talk frankly now to the people in control of this Congress. In the last election there were very few supporters of the present administration elected from the dairy sections of the United States. I think that the reason is only too plain. While we have spent about \$3,000,000,000,000 or more to aid cotton, corn, wheat, sugar, and tobacco farmers, very little has been done to aid the dairy farmers in the United States. From the beginning of the New Deal until July 1, 1938, about \$25,000,000 was spent to buy butter, about \$4,000,000 to buy cheese, and \$10,000,000 to buy different types of milk.

When we consider that the dairy industry is the most important of the agricultural groups, and that only 1½ percent of the total expenditure of \$3,000,000,000 or more has gone to aid the dairy farmer, you may get some idea why the present administration met such a wholesale reversal in the dairy land of the country. When the dairy farmer was getting 75 cents a hundred for milk in 1932, he was just as hard up as were the cotton, corn, and wheat farmers. The only difference is that after spending \$3,000,000,000 the dairy farmer is still getting the price he received under Hoover, where the farmers who have gotten help are, of course, better off to the extent of that help.

I believe that the American farmer needs and must have help. I am in favor of helping him in the future as I have been in the past, but I think you will agree with me that it is highly unfair to help certain types of farmers and ignore the dairy farmer completely.

I do not believe that we are producing more dairy products than the people of this country can use. As a matter of fact, we have not produced enough butter, cheese, or milk to give all the American people as much of these things as they should have. That, however, is another question. I hope that before this Congress gets through, it will work out a plan whereby dairy production can be increased from year to year until all the people of this country are properly fed and the farmer given cost of production for doing it. I am convinced that cost of production for everything consumed at home is the only plan that will ever aid the farmers in the long run.

In the meantime, however, we should do the job of feeding the undernourished children of America all the milk and other dairy products necessary and send the surplus along with the wheat that the Red Cross distributes to children in need across the sea in a manner of which we need not be ashamed. Let us give them food, the kind of food little children need to keep them alive—and not only alive but well and growing. The results of the famine in Europe after the World War are still evident in the men and women who were children at that time. Malnutrition attacks and weakens the vital organs even when it does not destroy them, and the effects of starvation are permanent and serious.

During the World War we ran up our national indebtedness to \$26,000,000,000. This does not count the money that we raised by taxation and paid out immediately. Altogether, we probably spent \$30,000,000,000 or \$40,000,000,000, and I doubt if there is much of that money that did much good other than the very small amount that was used, not to destroy people, but to save the lives of the helpless. I think that whatever good will there is in the world today for the United States goes back largely to those splendid efforts we made in years gone by to care for little children, the helpless victims of war and famine.

Twenty years ago this month the Congress of the United States made \$100,000,000 available for the purpose of making relief loans to countries other than those against whom we had been fighting during the World War. A full account of these transactions is carried in a report of the American Relief Administration, published in 1931 and called American Food in the World War and Reconstruction Period. Many of those loans have been repaid. As a matter of fact, our loans for humane purposes have been much better than those made for purposes of war.

I urge that these dairy products be shipped where needed in continuance of our tradition of aid to distressed humanity, whether its plight be the result of hurricane, or flood, or man-made war and famine, in the knowledge that by so doing we are not only aiding the helpless children of wartorn nations but that we are also aiding a group of our own citizens who are hard-pressed and who in the past 6 years have been discriminated against by legislation passed in this body.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—SOCIAL SECURITY (H. DOC. NO. 110)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

Four years ago I sent to the newly convened Congress a message transmitting a report of the Committee on Economic Security. In that message I urged that Congress consider the enactment into law of the program of protection for our people outlined in that report. The Congress acted upon that recommendation and today we have the Social Security Act in effect throughout the length and breadth of our country.

This act has amply proved its essential soundness.

More than two and one-half million needy old people, needy blind persons, and dependent children are now receiving systematic and humane assistance to the extent of a half billion dollars a year.

Three and a half million unemployed persons have received out-of-work benefits amounting to \$400,000,000 during the last year.

A Federal old-age insurance system, the largest undertaking of its kind ever attempted, has been organized and under it there have been set up individual accounts covering 42,500,000 persons, who may be likened to the policyholders of a private insurance company.

In addition, there are the splendid accomplishments in the field of public health, vocational rehabilitation, maternal and child welfare, and related services, made possible by the Social Security Act.

We have a right to be proud of the progress we have made in the short time the Social Security Act has been in operation. However, we would be derelict in our responsibility if we did not take advantage of the experience we have accumulated to strengthen and extend its provisions.

I submit for your consideration a report of the Social Security Board, which, at my direction and in accordance with the congressional mandate contained in the Social Security Act itself, has been assembling data, and developing ways and means of improving the operation of the Social Security Act.

I particularly call attention to the desirability of affording greater old-age security. The report suggests a twofold approach which I believe to be sound. One way is to begin

the payment of monthly old-age insurance benefits sooner, and to liberalize the benefits to be paid in the early years. The other way is to make proportionately larger Federal grants in aid to those States with limited fiscal capacities, so that they may provide more adequate assistance to those in need. This result can and should be accomplished in such a way as to involve little, if any, additional cost to the Federal Government. Such a method embodies a principle that may well be applied to other Federal grants in aid.

I also call attention to the desirability of affording greater protection to dependent children. Here again the report suggests a twofold approach which I believe to be sound. One way is to extend our Federal old-age insurance system so as to provide regular monthly benefits not only to the aged but also to the dependent children of workers dying before reaching retirement age. The other way is to liberalize the Federal grants-in-aid to the States to help finance assistance

to dependent children.

As regards both the Federal old-age insurance system and the Federal-State unemployment-compensation system, equity and sound social policy require that the benefits be extended to all of our people as rapidly as administrative experience and public understanding permit. Such an extension is particularly important in the case of the Federal old-age insurance system. Even without amendment, the old-age insurance benefits payable in the early years are very liberal in comparison with the taxes paid. This is necessarily so in order that these benefits may accomplish their purpose of forestalling dependency. But this very fact creates the necessity of extending this protection to as large a proportion as possible of our employed population in order to avoid unfair discrimination.

Much of the success of the Social Security Act is due to the fact that all of the programs contained in this act (with one necessary exception) are administered by the States themselves but coordinated and partially financed by the Federal Government. This method has given us flexible administration and has enabled us to put these programs into operation quickly. However, in some States incompetent and politically dominated personnel has been distinctly harmful. Therefore I recommend that the States be required, as a condition for the receipt of Federal funds, to establish and maintain a merit system for the selection of personnel. Such a requirement would represent a protection to the States and citizens thereof rather than an encroachment by the Federal Government, since it would automatically promote efficiency and eliminate the necessity for minute Federal scrutiny of State operations.

I cannot too strongly urge the wisdom of building upon the principles contained in the present Social Security Act in affording greater protection to our people rather than turning to untried and demonstrably unsound panaceas. As I stated in my message 4 years ago: "It is overwhelmingly important to avoid any danger of permanently discrediting the sound and necessary policy of Federal legislation for economic security by attempting to apply it on too ambitious a scale before actual experience has provided guidance for the permanently safe direction of such efforts. The place of such a fundamental in our future civilization is too precious to be jeopardized now by extravagant action."

We shall make the most orderly progress if we look upon social security as a development toward a goal rather than a finished product. We shall make the most lasting progress if we recognize that social security can furnish only a base upon which each one of our citizens may build his individual security through his own individual efforts.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 16, 1939.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—REPORT OF OPERATIONS UNDER EMERGENCY RELIEF ACTS

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, together with the accompany papers, referred

to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments:

To the Congress of the United States:

As required by the provisions of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Acts of 1937 and 1938, I present herewith a report of the operations under these acts to the end of the calendar year 1938.

This report contains detailed and summary statements of the Treasury Department reflecting expenditures made, obligations incurred by classes and amounts, and the status of funds under each of the above-mentioned acts. In addition thereto, similar information is presented for the Relief Acts of 1935 and 1936. These statements have been compiled as of December 31, 1938.

Reports of operations of the Works Progress Administration, the Farm Security Administration, the Public Works Administration, and other agencies receiving funds under title I and title II of the Work Relief and Public Works Appropriation Act of 1938 are also included.

A supplementary report prepared by the Treasury Department is being forwarded under separate cover showing the status of funds, including expenditures made and obligations incurred for each official project, approved under the Emergency Relief appropriation acts.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 10, 1939.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—AMERICAN-MEXICAN CLAIMS

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompany papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs:

To the Congress of the United States of America:

I commend to the favorable consideration of the Congress the enclosed report from the Secretary of State to the end that legislation may be enacted to authorize appropriations for expenses of a representative of the United States and of his assistants, and for one-half of the joint expenses of this Government and the Government of Mexico, in giving effect to the agreement of November 9-12, 1938, between the two Governments providing for the settlement of American claims for damages resulting from expropriations of agrarian properties since August 30, 1927.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 16, 1939.

[Enclosure: Report.]

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—FOREIGN SERVICE

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs:

To the Congress of the United States of America:

I commend to the favorable consideration of the Congress the enclosed report from the Secretary of State and the accompanying draft of proposed legislation designed to extend the facilities of the Public Health Service to active officers of the Foreign Service of the United States.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 16, 1939.

[Enclosures: (1) Report of the Secretary of State; (2) draft of proposed bill.]

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—ANNUAL REPORT OF CENTRAL STATISTICAL BOARD

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments:

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the provisions of section 5 (f) of the act of Congress approved July 25, 1935, I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress the Fourth Annual Report of the Central Statistical Board for the period from July 1, 1937, to June 30, 1938.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 14, 1939.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES-ON TAXATION OF FEDERAL OWNERSHIP OF REAL ESTATE (H. DOC.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and ordered to be printed, with illustrations.

To the Congress of the United States:

At a meeting of the National Emergency Council held December 17, 1935, I designated the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, and the Acting Director of the Bureau of the Budget to serve as a committee to make a study of Federal ownership of real estate and of its bearing on State and local taxation. This study has been completed and I am transmitting herewith for your information, and such further use as you may deem desirable, the report of the committee and the accompanying tables and charts.

It will be noted that the report concludes with the following recommendations:

1. That all branches of the Federal Service be directed to 1. That all branches of the Federal Service be directed to declare completely, accurately, and promptly their surplus land and improvements in order that a prudent use for such properties may be found or that they may be offered for sale.

2. That the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department continue to maintain a current permanent record of all Federal real estate in order that there may be constantly on file available and depends his information with respect thereto.

and dependable information with respect thereto.

3. That there should be constituted a Federal Real Estate Board composed of a representative from each of the governmental agencies in charge of considerable holdings of Federal income-produc-ing property, a representative from the Procurement Division, and a representative from the Bureau of the Budget. The duty of this Board should be to study and make recommendations regarding the situation existing in individual communities adversely affected by the purchase of substantial amounts of land and their consequent removal from the regular tax rolls of the county or other taxing district; to advise with Federal agencies contemplating the acquisition of additional real estate; and to submit recommenda-tions regarding the disposition of lands that are essentially in the nature of surplus property.

I have approved of the recommendations of the committee and, in order to put them into effect, I have issued an appropriate Executive order establishing the Federal Real Estate Board, and providing for the maintenance by the Procurement Division, Treasury Department, of a current record of all Federal real estate. I am enclosing herewith a copy of this Executive order.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 16, 1939.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record with reference to the message of the President on the subject of social security.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I am very much encouraged by the President's message which the Clerk has just read, dealing with the question of benefits to the aged. I was particularly pleased with that paragraph of the President's message which suggested that old-age benefits might be increased "to those States with limited fiscal capacities." is a principle for which I have contended from the very inception of the question of old-age security. I hope, Mr. Speaker, that it will not be amiss for me to point out for the benefit of the membership that when this bill was first being considered by the Ways and Means Committee early in 1935 I gave a statement for the benefit of the committee which ap-

pears on pages 1084 and 1085 of the published hearings. In that statment I urged that the entire question of old-age assistance in the form of pensions should be recognized as a Federal one. I pointed out with considerable emphasis that the comparatively poor States, such as Mississippi, would not be financially able to match dollar for dollar the Federal contribution.

Failing to get this provision written into the bill by the committee, I again called the attention of the House to this question on April 16, 1935, when the bill was being considered (p. 6012, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 74th Cong.). I then informed the House that upon the reading of the bill for amendments I would offer an amendment which would provide that the Federal Government should pay the full \$15 regardless of State contribution. Some days later I offered an amendment to the Social Security Act, which was then in the course of being enacted, in the nature of a compromise which provided for the Federal Government putting up four-fifths and the State only putting up one-fifth. In other words, under my amendment, if adopted, the States would only have to match the Federal Government's contribution on the basis of 20 cents on the dollar. While there was considerable support of that amendment at that time, it failed to receive the necessary majority and therefore was not written into the law.

Following the same principle, when the Seventy-fifth Congress convened I introduced a bill, H. R. 4086, which would have required the Federal Government to pay the full \$15 regardless of State contribution. Failing to get favorable action on this bill, I introduced the same bill on January 5 last, and this bill is now known as H. R. 1814 and has been referred to the Ways and Means Committee, where is it now pending.

Mr. Speaker, I am grateful for the opportunity thus afforded me to call the attention of the House at this time to the necessity for the amendment of such legislation. Some of our States simply cannot, because of the absence of certain natural resources, collect the necessary revenue to match the Federal contribution. I repeat that I am much gratified and encouraged that the President of the United States has recognized the justice of this proposition, and I therefore hope that the opportunity for the enactment of this principle into law is much enhanced.

Mr. IGLESIAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico?

There was no objection.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes following the address of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN].

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Under the special order of the House heretofore made, the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. Plum-LEY] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. PLUMLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and to include therein a message from the Governor of the State of Vermont and certain communications incident thereto, which material I undertook to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD last Friday. I was advised by the Public Printer, however, that my material exceeded the limit by about a page. I may say in this connection that I submit this request because of numerous telephone inquiries I have had from Members with respect to it.

Mr. RANKIN. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman means now the message of the Governor of Vermont to the legislature?

Mr. PLUMLEY. That is correct.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. PLUMLEY]?

There was no objection.

Mr. PLUMLEY. Mr. Speaker, in the first place, I desire to call attention to the message of the Governor of Vermont to the Vermont Legislature with the accompanying correspondence between the Governor and the representatives of the Federal Government, which read as follows:

MESSAGE OF GOV. GEORGE D. AIKEN TO THE JOINT SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF VERMONT

Members of the general assembly, this joint assembly has been requested to meet so that I may lay before you for your consideration the serious threat to our common rights which arises from the proposed flood-control activities of the Federal Government within our borders.

This is no new problem, but developments of the last few days make it urgent that the State, as represented by this legislature, take prompt and vigorous action to defend its sovereignty, and particularly its sovereign control of the natural resources located

within our boundaries.

Flood control became a matter of common concern for us and our sister New England States after the flood of 1936. We hoped to the control of protection for and expected to attain a satisfactory measure of protection for the Connecticut River Valley through the New England flood-

the Connecticut River Valley through the New England flodcontrol compacts between these States. These compacts were
drawn in March 1937 and were approved by all the States involved.
But because of the opposition from the Federal administration
they were never ratified by the Congress.

In June 1938 Congress enacted an amendment to its flood-control law during the hectic closing hours of the session. Lastminute amendments, introduced hastily from the floor and never
even referred to a committee, gave the Federal Government authority to acquire lands and water resources of the States without
the consent of the State where such resources are located. The
constitutionality of this law is, of course, very doubtful.

Under these circumstances it did not seem likely that Federal
officials would have the wish or inclination arbitrarily to enforce
their will against the wishes of the people of the State involved,
and without consulting them. Yet in October 1938 the Vermont
Board of Public Works was notified by the War Department that
it proposed to construct a dam at Union Village. The State had
been consulted in no way.

it proposed to construct a dam at Union Village. The State had been consulted in no way.

I wrote to Secretary of War Woodring and advised him that although Vermont could not and would not recognize the right of the Federal Government to acquire our land and our water without our consent, nevertheless the State would gladly cooperate with the Federal Government in the construction of this dam. We also offered to confer with him or his representatives.

When I made this offer of Vermont's cooperation in flood control I had two things in mind. The first was a sincere belief that we in the upper valley of the Connecticut should afford as much protection as possible not only to our own people but also to the

tection as possible not only to our own people but also to the people of other States in the lower Connecticut Valley. I also had in mind that an offer of cooperation from Vermont would require a demonstration of sincerity on the part of the Federal Govern-

ment.
On October 21 General Kingman, Col. John S. Bragdon, and Captain Vimey, all Army engineers, called at my office and discussed the proposed dam at Union Village. I told these representatives of the War Department that Vermont was willing and ready to cooperate with the Federal Government in affording flood protection to the people of Vermont and the States south of us. On the same date I authorized our board of public works to enter into negotiations with the War Department concerning the Union Village Dam. On the very same day the board of public works voted to cooperate with the War Department and Army engineers and advised Colonel Bragdon that they would be pleased to confer with him or his representatives at any time.

On the next day, October 22, I wrote the Chief of Engineers of the War Department at Washington reiterating the State's willingness to cooperate in the construction of this dam. I cited to the Chief of Engineers the provisions of the State laws permitting this cooperation.

this cooperation.

this cooperation.

On October 26 Brig. Gen. M. C. Tyler, Acting Chief of Engineers, of the War Department, wrote me that Secretary of War Woodring had authorized Colonel Bragdon, district engineer, to confer with the Vermont Public Works Board and work out a procedure for cooperation. Acting on this authority, Colonel Bragdon met with the public works board on November 4 and submitted a tentative agreement between the Federal Government and the State.

After constitute constitute considering this proposed eggreement, the public

agreement between the rederal Government and the State.

After carefully considering this proposed agreement, the public works board on November 14 wrote Colonel Bragdon suggesting certain clarifying changes. No reply was received from the War Department until December 19, when Colonel Bragdon came to Montpelier with a revised contract. This had been drawn up by

the War Department and, as he said, approved by it.

This contract was approved as to form by Attorney General Lawrence Jones, of Vermont, considered by the Vermont Public Works Board, found satisfactory, and signed by them. It was signed for the United States Government by Colonel Bragdon. Thereafter I approved it in writing on behalf of the State of Vermont. The contract was then complete except for ratification of Colonel Bragdon's signature by the Chief of Engineers of the United States

Nothing further was heard from the War Department until a newspaper article appeared in the Christian Science Monitor of January 6 to the effect that Secretary of War Woodring had refused

to approve this agreement which was written by the War Department itself, and not one word by Vermont officials.

The following day, January 7, Secretary of War Woodring wrote me as follows: "I do not feel that it will be necessary to complete the drafts of formal agreements which have previously been prepared covering this procedure."

This repudiated the previous negotiations and contract.

It is almost beyond belief that the Federal Government should consider the taking of our lands of so little importance that it doesn't even require a written agreement.

The very fact that they feel that way raises a very grave issue, not only for our State but for all the States of the Union.

That issue is not flood control; we have offered our cooperation

not only for our State but for all the States of the Union.

That issue is not flood control; we have offered our cooperation for flood control, and it has been arbitrarily refused. That issue is not cheap power development by the Federal Government, because the agreement as signed by the State of Vermont did not prevent the Federal Government from developing power.

The issue is simply and solely the insistance of the Federal Government that it can take from us what it chooses, when it chooses, without any regard at all for our wishes or our rights. For more than a year I have warned that behind the flood control, behind the power development, was a deliberate attempt to prepare the way

than a year I have warned that behind the flood control, behind the power development, was a deliberate attempt to prepare the way for a little group of men to run things their way, good sometimes, bad sometimes, but always their way, forgetting that a check with the home folks and their wishes is not only good practical horse sense but the very essence of democracy.

By spurning our offer of cooperation for legitimate purposes the Secretary of War has stripped the situation of all pretense. He is evidently impatient with democracy. We can only conclude that neither flood control nor water power but domination is the Federal Government's secret motive.

It is now put squarely up to us Vermonters to decide what we

It is now put squarely up to us Vermonters to decide what we want to do. We can submit meekly, surrendering resource after resource until we are no longer self-supporting and free. Or we can boldly face the facts as they are now uncovered. We can fight or we can run.

I have no doubt what your choice will be.

I, therefore, respectfully recommend that the general assembly, through its constituent houses, take the following action:

First. Petition the Congress of the United States to direct the

Secretary of War to approve the proposed contract between the State of Vermont and the Federal Government.

Second. Petition the Congress to repeal the unfair and unjust amendments to the Flood Control Act under which the Federal Government claims the right to take our lands and waters without

Third. Appropriate a substantial emergency fund to be expended by the Governor in all legal and proper ways for the defense of our sovereign rights, to the end that this injustice to us and to our

descendants be forever prevented.

Vermont has always cooperated fully and freely with the Federal Government. We want to now. But we will be unworthy of our heritage if we do not insist on the recognition of our statehood and the common rights of common men.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Montpelier, Vt., October 15, 1938.

Montpelier, Vt., October 15, 1938.

Hon. Harry S. Woodering,
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Secretary Woodering: I am advised by H. E. Sargent,
commissioner of highways and chief engineer for Vermont, that he
has received a communication from Lt. Col. J. S. Bragdon, district
engineer for the War Department, advising him that funds are
available for the immediate start of construction of a dam on the
Ompompanoosuc River about one-fourth mile north of Union
Village, Vt., and requesting a conference to consider the relocation of
highways in this area. highways in this area.

It is my duty to inform you that Vermont does not recognize the right of the United States Government to purchase or acquire land within the State without the consent of the State.

The State of Vermont will, however, cooperate with the Federal Government in the construction of this dam in accordance with the laws of this State, and we are willing to confer with you or your representatives to discuss this matter.

Yours very truly,

GEORGE D. AIKEN, Governor.

WAR DEPARTMENT, Washington, October 26, 1938.

Hon. George D. AIKEN, Governor of Vermont, Montpelier, Vt.

Governor of Vermont, Montpelier, Vt.

Dear Governor Aiken: I refer to your letter of October 15, 1938, relating to the availability of funds for the immediate start of construction of a dam near Union Village, Vt., wherein you advise that Vermont does not recognize the right of the United States Government to purchase or acquire land within the State without the consent of the State, but that the State will, however, cooperate with the Federal Government in the construction of this dam in accordance with the laws of the State, and that you are willing to confer with me or my representatives to discuss this matter.

accordance with the laws of the State, and that you are willing to confer with me or my representatives to discuss this matter.

I am advised that since the date of your letter Brig. Gen. John J. Kingman, Assistant Chief of Engineers, United States Army, and Lt. Col. John S. Bragdon, district engineer, Providence, R. I., have conferred with you and that the department is now engaged in formulating a procedure whereby the services of your State may be utilized in the acquisition of lands and in the relocation of highways.

I am gratified to receive your kind offer of cooperation in the prosecution of the flood-control project at Union Village and am sure that such action on your part will facilitate an early completion of the work.

Sincerely yours.

HARRY H. WOODRING, Secretary of War.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Montpelier, Vt., October 21, 1938.

EMERY A. MELENDY,

Chairman, Board of Public Works,
Montpelier, Vt.

DEAR MR. MELENDY: Engineers of the War Department have expressed a desire to start construction of a flood-control dam at Union Village immediately.

You have my approval to enter into negotiations with the War Department in accordance with the authority given you by section 4975 of the Public Laws of Vermont, as amended, to the end that work on this project may not be delayed.
Yours very truly,

GEORGE D. AIKEN, Governor.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, MONTPELIER, VT., October 22, 1938.

CHIEF OF ENGINEERS, War Department, Washington, D. C.

War Department, Washington, D. C.
(Attention: General Kingman.)

DEAR SIR: Friday, October 21, 1938, General Kingman, Colonel
Bragdon, and Captain Viney, of the Army Engineers, visited me at
my office in the statehouse in Montpelier, Vt., to discuss the proposed flood-control dam at Union Village in the town of Thetford, Vt.

That conference was attended by Attorney General Jones and Mr. Philip Shutler of the flood-control committee.

Mr. Philip Shutler of the flood-control committee.

Since that conference I have given careful thought to this matter. I believe that the War Department is sincere in its efforts to provide flood control. As Governor of the State of Vermont, I desire to cooperate with the War Department in accomplishing that purpose in a manner that will avoid delay and yet conform to the laws of both the United States and of the State of Vermont. Section 4975 of the Public Laws of Vermont, as amended, provides in substance that, with the written approval of the Governor, the public works board is authorized to cooperate and to contract with Federal agencies for flood-control purposes. It is likewise authorized to acquire in the name of the State all land and rights necessary for such purpose. It is also authorized to transfer such property so acquired, by lease or deed, to the United States.

Section 2 of the Federal Flood Control Act of 1938 provides in part as follows: "Title to all lands, easements, and rights-of-way for such project shall be acquired by the United States or by States, political subdivisions thereof, or other responsible local agencies and conveyed to the United States."

Therefore, under the Vermont law, the public works board can

Therefore, under the Vermont law, the public works board can acquire title to the necessary lands and easements and then convey the same to the United States, and the United States can receive the same under authority of the so-called Flood Control Act. The public works board can contract with the United States to carry out its part in each a receiver. out its part in such a program.

It is therefore possible under existing law for the State of Vermont, through the Governor and the public works board, to give its consent to the immediate construction of a flood-control dam at Union Village, Vt., and to arrange for the transfer of the title to the necessary lands, and easements to the United States.

For 2 years Vermont has shown its willingness to make sacrifices to aid its sister States, and to the end that construction of a flood-control dam at Union Village may be begun without delay, I have authorized the board of public works to cooperate with the War Department to the fullest extent and to contract with the War Department for the acquisition and eventual transfer to the United States of the necessary lands and easements.

This action indicated no change in my opposition to acquisition of Vermont lands by the Federal Government without the State's consent. It does mean, however, that Vermont is willing to consent to the use of the necessary land for flood control at Union Village.

I believe that this will demonstrate to our sister States that we

I believe that this will demonstrate to our sister States that we are willing to do all within reason to provide them with some measure of protection from floods. It will aid in defining the real question at issue and should ascertain whether the Federal administration is motivated by a desire for flood protection of New England States, or under the guise of flood control is seeking to destroy the sovereignty of the States and to centralize all authority in Washington

My action should dispel false impressions to the effect that Vermont's attitude on the flood-control question has been subservient to the interests of public utilities, however ridiculous such assertions must seem to those who know my record.

If the administration desires to have immediate construction started on the dam at Union Village, which site has already been approved by the Vermont Legislature for a flood-control dam, it can do so by the method herein offered. If, on the other hand, the Federal administration attempts to condemn or acquire lands without the consent of the State, it will cause substantial delay in the

building of the dam at Union Village and indicate that the administration's real purpose is to destroy the States.

In concluding let me express the hope that this matter will be amicably settled and that construction of the dam will proceed in accordance with plans heretofore submitted, which will provide recreational facilities that will partially offset the losses which the town and the State would otherwise retrieved. town and the State would otherwise sustain. Very truly yours,

GEORGE D. AIKEN. Governor.

WAR DEPARTMENT, Office of the Chief of Engineers, Washington, October 26, 1938.

Hon. George D. AIKEN,

Governor of Vermont, Montpelier, Vt.

Dear Governor Aiken: This office is in receipt of your letter of October 22, 1938, addressed to the attention of General Kingman and relating to the proposed flood-control dam at Union Village,

October 22, 1938, addressed to the attention of General Kingman and relating to the proposed flood-control dam at Union Village, Vt. In this letter you state that Vermont is willing to consent to the use of necessary land for flood control at Union Village, and express the desire that the lands and easements necessary be acquired through the Public Works Board of the State of Vermont.

I am pleased to advise that the Secretary of War has this date approved the recommendation of this office that the Department avail itself of your offer to acquire, through the public works board and thereafter convey to the United States upon a reimbursement basis, all lands, easements, and rights-of-way necessary for the project. Based upon the provisions of section 2 of the Flood Control Act approved June 28, 1938, it is understood that the Department shall determine what lands, easements, and rights-of-way are necessary; that it shall make reimbursement upon acceptance of title by the United States; and that such reimbursement shall be limited to sums equivalent to actual expenditures deemed reasonable by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers.

The Secretary of War has further authorized the district engineer of the locality to confer with your public works board, or with an appropriate official of the State, to work out a procedure of cooperation, and Col. John S. Bragdon, the district engineer of the locality, has been advised accordingly.

I desire to express my appreciation of your kind offer of cooperation and feel sure that the construction of the project will be facilitated thereby.

Very respectfully,

M. C. Tyler,

Very respectfully,

Illy, M. C. TYLER,
Brigadier General, Acting Chief of Engineers.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Montpelier, Vt., October 29, 1938.

Gen. M. C. Tyler,

Acting Chief of Engineers,

War Department, Washington, D. C.

Dear General Tyler: This is to acknowledge your letter of October 26 accepting our plan whereby the proposed flood-control dam at Union Village may be built with the consent of this State and in accordance with Vermont law.

I appreciate very much the fine spirit of cooperation evidenced by the War Department in this flood-control matter, and sincerely hope that through our negotiations this entire matter may be finally settled, and that flood control, a problem of vital importance to our citizens, may once and for all be removed from the realm of

I feel confident that the contract covering the details as to what lands are necessary, the type of dam to be constructed, the time of conveyance, and method of reimbursement and other material details can be agreed upon forthwith by your Department and our board of public works.

Very sincerely yours,

GEORGE D. AIKEN, Governor.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE STATE OF VERMONT AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FOR LAND ACQUISITION FOR THE DAM SITE AND RESERVOIR BASIN OF THE UNION VILLAGE DAM, IN VERMONT

of AMERICA FOR LAND ACQUISITION FOR THE DAM SITE AND RESERVOIR BASIN OF THE UNION VILLAGE DAM, IN VERMONT

Whereas the Flood Control Act approved June 28, 1938, Public, No. 761, Seventy-fifth Congress, provides, in part, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That hereafter Federal investigations and improvements of rivers and other waterways for flood control and allied purposes shall be under the jurisdiction of, and shall be prosecuted by, the War Department, under the direction of the Secretary of War and supervision of the Chief of Engineers. \* \* \* Sec. 2. That section 3 of the act of June 22, 1936 (Public, No. 738, 74th Cong.), as heretofore amended and as herein further modified, shall apply to all flood-control projects except as otherwise specifically provided by law.

That in case of any dam and reservoir project, or channel improvement or channel rectification project for flood control, herein authorized or heretofore authorized by the act of June 22, 1936 (Public, No. 738, 74th Cong.), as amended, and by the act of June 15, 1936 (Public, No. 678, 74th Cong.), as amended by the act of June 15, 1936 (Public, No. 678, 74th Cong.), as amended, title to all lands, easements, and rights-of-way for such project shall be acquired by the United States or by States, political subdivisions thereof, or other responsible local agencies and conveyed to the United States, and provisions (a), (b), and (c) of section 3 of said act of June 22, 1936, shall not apply thereto. Notwithstanding any restrictions, limitations, or requirement of prior consent provided

by any other act, the Secretary of War is hereby authorized and directed to acquire in the name of the United States title to all lands, easements, and rights-of-way necessary for any dam and reservoir project or channel improvement or channel rectification projects. ervoir project or channel improvement or channel rectification project for flood control with funds heretofore or hereafter appropriated or made available for such projects, and States, political subdivisions thereof, or other responsible local agencies shall be granted and reimbursed, from such funds, a sum equivalent to actual expenditures deemed reasonable by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers and made by them in acquiring lands, easements, and rights-of-way for any dam and reservoir project, or any channel improvement or channel recification project for flood control heretofore or herein authorized: *Provided*, That no reimbursement shall be made for any indirect or speculative damages: *Provided further*, That lands, easements, and rights-of-way shall include lands on which dams, reservoirs, channel improvements, and channel rectifications are located; lands or flowage rights in reservoirs and highway, railway, and utility relocation.

are located; lands or flowage rights in reservoirs and highway, railway, and utility relocation.

SEC. 5. That, in carrying out the purposes of this act, the Secretary of War and the Secretary of Agriculture are hereby authorized to cooperate with institutions, organizations, and individuals, and to utilize the services of Federal, State, and other public agencies, and to pay by check to the cooperating public agency, either in advance or upon the furnishing or performance of said services, all or part of the estimated or actual cost hereof.

Whereas title 21, section 4974, of the Public Laws of Vermont, provides as follows:

provides as follows:

provides as follows:

SEC. 4974. Purpose of chapter: To provide cooperation by the State with the Federal Government in the construction of public works as provided by an act of Congress entitled "The National Industrial Recovery Act," approved June 16, 1933, and in the construction of public works as provided in an act of Congress entitled "An act for the relief of unemployment through the performance of useful public work, and for other purposes," approved March 31, 1933, and as provided now or hereafter under other acts of Congress, there is hereby created a board of public works. The board shall consist of the members of the State highway board, ex officio, and the chairman of the State highway

way board, ex officio, and the chairman of the State highway board shall be chairman of the board of public works.

And whereas section 4795 of the Public Laws of Vermont as amended by No. 4 of the acts of the special session of 1934 and as again amended by No. 111 of the acts of the general assembly of

1937 provides as follows:

1937 provides as follows:

The board of public works, with the written approval of the Governor, is authorized and empowered to cooperate and contract in the name and on behalf of the State with the Federal Government in the construction and maintenance of any public-works project prepared by the Federal Emergency Administrator of Public Works or other Federal agency now or hereafter created; to accept grants, loans, leases, and assistance from the Federal Government for the construction, repair, improvement, or carrying out of such projects as such board with the written approval of the Governor shall designate; to acquire, with the written approval of the Governor, by gift, purchase, lease, or by the exercise of the power of eminent domain any real or personal property, including property held for public use, in connection with the of the power of eminent domain any real or personal property, including property held for public use, in connection with the construction and carrying out of any such project; to convey to the Federal Government by deed or lease any of such real or personal property so obtained; to change, alter, modify, with the written approval of the Governor, any contract, agreement, deed, or conveyance executed or entered into under the provisions of this section, or any term or terms thereof by mutual agreement of the parties thereto; to manage, control, and maintain any such public works.

In order to carry out the provisions of the foregoing acts as to the particular project herein mentioned, it is agreed between the State of Vermont and the Chief of Engineers without prejudice to the rights of the State of Vermont with respect to any other proceedings under the cited act of Congress, as follows: Contingent upon continued congressional appropriation, the United States will construct a dam at Union Village, Vt., with an approximate storage capacity of 40,000 acre-feet equivalent to approximately 5½ inches of run-off on the watershed.

The State of Vermont will procure all necessary lands, ease-

Storage Capacity of 10,000 activated to 15½ inches of run-off on the watershed.

The State of Vermont will procure all necessary lands, easements, and rights-of-way necessary for the dam and the reservoir, and will deed title thereof to the United States. The United States will reimburse the State of Vermont sums equivalent to the actual expenditures made by it in the acquisition of the necessary lands, easements, and rights-of-way as deemed reasonable by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers.

For the United States:

J. S. Bragdon,

J. S. Bragdon,
Lieutenant Colonel, Corps of Engineers,
United States District Engineer.
Julian L. Schley,

Major General, Corps of Engineers, Chief of Engineers. Approved as to form December 19, 1938.

LAWRENCE C. JONES Attorney General.

For the State of Vermont:

EMERY A. MELENDY, OSCAR A. RIXFORD, JOHN A. KILBOURN, Board of Public Works, State of Vermont.

Approved:

GEORGE D. AIKEN. Governor of Vermont.

WAR DEPARTMENT. Washington, January 5, 1939.

Hon. George D. Aiken,
Governor of Vermont, Montpelier, Vt.

Dear Governor Aiken: With further reference to my letter of October 26, 1938, advising you that funds had become available for the construction of a flood-control dam near Union Village, Vt., I desire to advise you further that the preparation of plans and specifications for this structure has now proceeded to the point where the project may be advertised for actual construction in the very near future.

It is desired to begin construction at this locality as promptly as possible in order to provide the people of the State of Vermont

It is desired to begin construction at this locality as promptly as possible in order to provide the people of the State of Vermont and of the lower States with flood-control benefits at the earliest practicable date. In order to accomplish this purpose, I shall be pleased to accept the cooperation which you have so kindly offered, to acquire through your board of public works the necessary lands, easements, and rights-of-way, in the manner authorized in title 21, sections 4974 and 4975, of the Public Laws of the State of Vermont, and to continue this procedure unless experience, not now foreseen, discloses difficulties in this method. The provisions of the above State statutes appear to conflict in no way with section 2 of the Flood Control Act approved June 28, 1938. In view of these things, I do not feel that it will be necessary to complete the drafts of formal agreements which have previously been prepared covering this proposed procedure.

pared covering this proposed procedure.

In order that there may be no delay in initiating construction of the Union Village Dam, I trust I may receive your early and favorable reply to the views expressed above.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY H. WOODRING, Secretary of War.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, MONTPELIER, Vt., January 7, 1939.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
MONTPELIER, VT., January 7, 1939.

Hon. Harry H. Woodring,
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

Dear Secretary Woodring: Your letter of January 5 referring to the proposed dam at Union Village and the agreement, signed by Lt. Col. J. S. Bragdon for the War Department and Emery Melendy, O. A. Rixford, J. S. Kilbourne, of the board of public works, and approved by myself for the State of Vermont, has been received.

I interpret this letter to mean that the United States Government does not recognize and approve this agreement.

Your letter indicates that you expect the State of Vermont to acquire the necessary lands, easements, and rights-of-way for the Federal Government without any formal agreement. Considering the amount of land and money involved, ordinary business practice would call for a written contract.

Section 4974 of the Public Laws of Vermont provides: "The board of public works with the written approval of the Governor is authorized and empowered to cooperate and contract in the name of and on behalf of the State with the Federal Government in the construction and maintenance of any public-works project prepared by the Federal Emergency Administrator of Public Works or other Federal agency now or hereafter created." It is obvious that I cannot give my written approval to a contract the terms of which are not given in writing.

It is unfortunate that you cannot see your way clear to construct the dam at Union Village in the manner which was agreed upon.

Very sincerely yours,

Very sincerely yours.

GEORGE D. AIKEN, Governor.

At this point I desire to insert the joint resolution demanding retention of the sovereignty over land and the natural resources of the State of Vermont, which was adopted by the legislature in response to the message of the Governor, and was approved on January 12, 1939, a certified copy of which I am filing, reading as follows:

Whereas the sovereign State of Vermont, through its board of public works, acting upon the written authorization of its Governor, George D. Aiken, did on its part enter into a contract with the United States of America, acting through the Secretary of War, entitled "Agreement between the State of Vermont and the United States of America for land acquisition for the dam site and reservoir basins of the Union Village Dam in Vermont"; and Whereas the operation of the aforesaid contract was prevented by the refusal of the United States of America, acting through its Secretary of War, to confirm and bind itself in writing to the terms of the agreement as the State of Vermont on its part had already done in good faith: and

done in good faith; and

Whereas the Governor of the State of Vermont under date of

Whereas the Governor of the State of Vermont under date of January 7, 1939, did inform the Secretary of War in writing that the executive of a sovereign State could not give his written approval to a contract, the terms of which were not given in writing; and Whereas the State of Vermont through its Governor, George D. Aiken, under date of October 15, 1938, did inform the Secretary of War that Vermont did not recognize the right of the United States of America to purchase or security land within the State without of America to purchase or acquire land within the State without the consent of the State, affirming at the same time the readiness of the State of Vermont to cooperate with the United States of Amer-ica in the acquisition of land for the dam site and reservoir basin in the town of Thetford, in accordance with the laws of the State of Vermont, and pledging his willingness to negotiate an agreeWhereas the failure of the United States of America to give evidence of its sincerity by entering into a written agreement with the State of Vermont places the internal sovereignty of the State of Vermont over its lands and natural resources and its people in double jeopardy because the Flood Control Act of 1938 amending section 3 of the act of 1936, chapter 795, section 2, 52 Statutes 1215, title 33, United States Code, Annotated, section 701 (c-1), repealing the sacred words "with the consent of the State" and substituting therefor the arbitrary words "notwithstanding any restrictions or limitations or prior consent by any other act," thereby giving the Secretary arbitrary powers openly to flaunt and to ignore the internal sovereignty of a sovereign State in the acquisition of lands, easements, and rights-of-way necessary for any dam and reservoir project or channel improvement or rectification project for flood-control purposes; and Whereas the failure of the United States of America to give evi-

control purposes; and
Whereas the silence at this critical hour of the State of Vermont whereas the shence at this critical hour of the State of Vermont to insist that the extension of article I, section 8, and clause 3 of the Constitution of the United States of America giving Congress power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States in such an arbitrary and unnecessary manner makes void article X of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States of America reserving to the States respectively, or to the people, rights not delegated to the United States of America; and

Whereas the growing and menacing ambition of those in authority and influence in the Capital of the United States of America is so to mutilate the intent of article X of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States of America as to centralize paramount authority in Washington by emasculating the internal sovereignty of the several States over their lands and resources; and

Whereas the aforesaid issue between the sovereign State of Vermont and the United States of America has been joined by the arbitrary disregard of the principle of the reserved rights of the people, and of the several States, and if this faithlessness to the sacred Federal structure of these United States of America is allowed to go unchallenged, the present affront to the several States of the Union will be but the entering wedge progressively to divest and further to encroach upon the sacred area of rights reserved to the people, and to the several States; and

Whereas the sad plight of other sections of our world, as well as the history of our own land before the formation of these United States of America, warns us that liberty itself withers when arbitrary power, heedless of respect for negotiation, consent, and respect for the rights and obligations of others, gathers unto itself powers which are unrestrained by law: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., proclaiming sympathy for those communities which have suffered and may again suffer from catastrophes caused by disastrous floodwaters, declaring its readiness to cooperate with the United States of America and the several States in measures designed to prevent such floods and their human and economic tragedies, insisting that the internal sovereignty of the State of Vermont cannot be invaded or compromised without its consent, warning the several sister States of the Union that the program of an arbitrary, ambitious, and unscrupulous minority must now be prevented from usurping the rights and powers reserved to the people and to the States, and reiterating the question which Thomas Chittenden placed before the Congress of the United States of America when in 1779, under similar circumstances and in a similar memorial, he wrote:

memorial, he wrote:

"The general assembly will be pleased to learn over what part of this State you mean to extend your claim, and how far you mean to carry such pretensions into execution. Every necessary step shall be pursued to bring about an equitable accommodation of all differences, agreeable to the strict rules of justice and equity; which cannot be attended to \* \* \* without explicit acknowledgment of the independence of this State. Can a people such as ours be dragged, or flattered, into a subjection \* \* \* merely to allow them a stretch of jurisdiction, and thereby augment this power?" power?"

That the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States of America be respectfully requested to direct the Secretary of War to execute in behalf of the United States of America the aforesaid "agreement between the State of Vermont," already executed in good faith by the board of public works and the Governor of the State of Vermont; and he it further. and be it further

Resolved, That the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States of America be respectfully requested to uphold the sacred faith and tradition of the American people by repealing forthwith such enactments as may allow the United States of America to invade the internal sovereignty of a sovereign State over its land and natural resources without its consent thereto; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent by the secretary Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent by the secretary of state to the Vice President of the United States, as the President of the Senate of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Senator and Representative who represents the State and people of Vermont in the Congress of the United States of America.

OSCAR L. SHEPARD,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

WM. H. WILLS.

President of the Senate.

Approved January 12, 1939.

GEORGE D. AIKEN, Governor.

In order that you may have before you the evidence of the recorded position which has been taken by the Governor of the State, I wish to insert at this point a telegram, which reads as follows:

MONTPELIER, VT., January 14, 1939.

Hon, CHARLES A. PLUMLEY.

Hon. Charles A. Plumley, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

I have been informed that the President has stated that if Vermont doesn't want any dams Vermont doesn't have to have them. I hope the President is not trying to becloud the real issue. It is not flood-control dams we oppose. It is surrendering of State sovereignty and resources to the Federal Government as a price for building these dams that we object to. As evidence of this, I am urging the New England congressional delegation to press for ratification of the New England flood-control compacts immediately and to amend the 1938 flood-control law by restoring to all the States the same rights they held previous to its enactment.

George D. Aiken. GEORGE D. AIKEN

Governor of Vermont.

In common with a good many of you I also received the following telegram from the Governors of the several New England States:

Boston, Mass., January 14, 1939.

Congressman Charles A. Plumler, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We urge the Federal Government to cooperate immediately with the New England States to accomplish flood control without demanding the complete surrender to the Federal Government of basic rights which belong to the people in the States. We believe that the natural resources of all the States belong

to the people therein and that they should not be taken away without the consent of the States acting through the duly chosen

representatives of the people.

Gov. George D. Aiken, Montpelier, Vt.

Gov. RAYMOND E. BALDWIN, Hartford, Conn. Gov. Lewis O. Barrows, Augusta, Maine. Francis P. Murphy, Concord, N. H., Governor. Leverett Saltonstall, Boston, Mass., Gover William H. Vanderbilt, Providence, R. I.

Now, Mr. Speaker, may I say that the vital issue involved is not and cannot be disposed of by flippant remarks emanating from the White House or anywhere else?

The Governors of six sovereign States have entered into a compact to protect their States insofar as possible against further encroachment or domination. It would be interesting, were I at liberty to disclose, how many other Governors have indicated that they were in full accord with the attitude, position, and pronouncement of the six who have entered into the compact.

The issue involving the sovereignty of their States and their rights will not be blown away by any blast of "hot air," nor disposed of by any attempt to array State against State by promising to take money away from one and give it to another. Such insinuations and such an attitude only strengthen the purposes of those who propose to fight to a finish for the underlying principle of government with which this issue is concerned.

I ask you to read carefully all the documents submitted and that you familiarize yourself with the situation generally; having done so, you will be forced to admit that, while my statements are moderate, they are absolutely correct.

A few days before Governor Aiken delivered his message to the Legislature of the State of Vermont, Secretary Woodring had repudiated a proposed contract between Vermont and the Federal Government. In this agreement, signed by the Governor and the divisional Army chief, Vermont deeded the land to the Federal Government after the latter asked consent of the State. The site involved only flood control but no power development. Secretary Woodring replied that no written agreement was necessary, for under the Barkley Flood Control Act of 1938 lands can be taken without consent, and that power equipment would be installed.

It has been well said that future historians will write no more disgraceful page than the New Deal record of New England flood control. For 2 years the New England Governors under the then existing laws sought the approval of compacts which would have laid the foundation for an excellent flood-control system through Federal-State cooperation. The administration, determined to capture the waterways of the Nation, blocked the compacts, and finally pushed

the Barkley Act through the Senate at 2 a. m. on a hot June night. Under the new law the Federal Government can seize land without consent, make retroactive payments to a certain State, exclude other States from its provisions, and accept the recommendations of the politically appointed Federal Power Commission on an equal plane with the Army engineers-in reality the fact-finding reports of the latter no longer count by reason of orders given to the former.

In August the President announced that there were no funds available for flood control during the current fiscal year. However, the New England floods and hurricane changed the picture. Suddenly the President found \$11,000,-000 for flood control which had not been available 2 months before. The New England Governors, remembering the famed Maryland bridges in the Tydings campaign, accepted the gesture as a typical jack-in-the-box to capture the New Deal for New England. The people of New England, however, are "a wiser and a tougher people," and swept Senator Brown and Congressman Kopplemann and other anticompact representatives out of office. The preelection move to put the Republicans on the spot failed utterly. The sight of United States Army engineers marking out land for seizure did not dismay the descendants of the Green Mountain Boys. The spirit of Ethan Allen stalks abroad with the words of Governor Aiken: "We can fight or we can run."

In New Hampshire the Land Use Act of 1935 was invoked, denying the right of the Federal Government to acquire land without consent except for post offices, customhouses, and national defense. In his inaugural speech on January 5 Governor Murphy hoped that differences between the Federal and State Governments could be settled, for "to become involved in costly litigation with the national administration, with consequent long delays in undertaking needed flood control, would be unfortunate. We still entertain hope that adjustment can and will be made and a common basis of action arrived at." Upon his recommendation a special flood-control commission has been appointed by the New Hampshire Legislature.

There are two courses of procedure open to the States in the present deadlock, one legal, the other political. The States will probably take their case to the Supreme Court, basing their major claim that the Federal Government has no right under the Constitution to condemn land within a State without the State's consent. A constitutional restriction cannot be set aside by a statute passed by Congress such as the 1938 Flood Control Act. The States have indicated their intent to cooperate with the Federal Government on flood control after consent has been given, but they deny the right to condemn land for power purposes. They refuse to cooperate on this basis, and the Federal Government will have to prove its right to proceed against the will of the

Mr. RANKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PLUMLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. The gentleman says he does not object to condemning the land, but does object to condemning the land for power purposes.

Mr. PLUMLEY. No; I did not say that. We do not object-

Mr. RANKIN. To condemning the land for power purposes?

Mr. PLUMLEY. We object to condemning the land and taking it without our consent.

Mr. RANKIN. What are you objecting to that for? The gentleman says he does not object to it being condemned for flood purposes, or for power purposes. Why does he object?

Mr. PLUMLEY. We object to it being taken without our consent.

Vermonters, as is evidenced by their action, are of the opinion that today the American principles of life, which have been taken more or less for granted, must be protected, even at the untold cost of blood and treasure. hour has come for self-examination, and for extermination from our body politic of all legislation that threatens our democracy. The States must retain their sovereign rights or else become branch offices of Washington.

The newly elected Members of Congress are entitled to know something of the background and the history of legislation pertinent to, and pertaining to the present situation. It may be stated for your information that, on the eve of adjournment of the last session of Congress the Senate approved an amendment to the flood-control bill which specifically empowered the Federal Government to take title, without the consent of the State affected, to lands desired for the construction of dams and reservoirs.

Senators from New England and from the Western States vigorously fought this amendment, pointing out that it overruled the policy approved under the Flood Control Act of 1936. This provided that property should not be condemned without the consent of the States concerned. Such arguments were of no avail, and the measure was rushed to passage with only a few people realizing the significance of a controversial amendment which carried the "must" label of the administration.

Indeed, the one feature of the flood-control act to which President Roosevelt gave unrestrained approval was this very amendment which the Governors of the six New England States are now preparing to fight as a challenge to States' rights and an invasion of State sovereignty. An illuminating light is thrown upon the underlying purpose of this amendment by the President's comment at the time of signing the bill:

Insofar as this bill provides for an improvement in jurisdictional control over the properties involved, and a more adequate control over consequential power developments, it is a definite step in the right direction.

In leading the opposition to this far-reaching encroachment on the States, Governor Aiken of Vermont shows that he is not hostile to the Federal Government's power program. Neither does he oppose flood control. On the contrary the State of Vermont has demonstrated its willingness to cooperate with the Federal authorities in carrying out their program in accordance with the terms of an agreement which Secretary Woodring has set aside. The issue, as Governor Aiken sees it, is "simply and solely the insistence of the Federal Government that it can take from us what it chooses, without any regard at all for our wishes or our rights."

Mr. RANKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PLUMLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Missis-

Mr. RANKIN. The Government makes no attempt to take property without paying compensation to the owners, does it? It proposes to pay whatever this property is worth, does it not?

Mr. PLUMLEY. We do not propose that it take this property unless we say it may.

Mr. RANKIN. In other words, the gentleman is not kicking about the price; he is kicking about the consent feature?

Mr. PLUMLEY. That is correct.

Mr. REED of New York. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PLUMLEY. I yield to the gentleman from New York. Mr. REED of New York. Is it not a fact that a sovereign State entered into what appeared to be a perfectly fair contract with the State of Vermont?

Mr. PLUMLEY. With the Federal Government.

Mr. REED of New York. Yes. Vermont, a sovereign State, entered into a definite agreement with the Federal Government.

Mr. PLUMLEY. Orally.

Mr. REED of New York. Then attempted to repudiate that by an act of Congress, is that right?

Mr. PLUMLEY. That might be said to be true. Mr. RANKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PLUMLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi. Mr. RANKIN. As a matter of fact, there never was any contract consummated between the State of Vermont and the Federal Government, was there?

Mr. PLUMLEY. As a matter of fact, the representatives of the Federal Government not only orally negotiated this contract but reduced it to writing and submitted it to the State for the signatures of the State officials, which were appended thereto. When the contract was returned it was repudiated.

Mr. RANKIN. But it never was approved by the Federal

Government. That is the fact, is it not?

Mr. PLUMLEY. It is all a question of who the gentleman thinks constitutes the Federal Government. In my opinion, the Secretary of War took his orders from the Commander in Chief. I cannot be made to believe that the Army engineers were sent to Vermont, made a survey and made their oral contract, reducing it to writing, and sending it to Vermont for signature without Mr. Woodring's tentative approval at that time. After that something happened.

Mr. RANKIN. If the gentleman will yield further, as a matter of fact, this contract never was approved by the Fed-

eral Government, was it?

Mr. PLUMLEY. It never was approved by the Commander in Chief, the President.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PLUMLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi. Mr. WHITTINGTON. Has the gentleman presented, or will he include in his remarks, the proposed contract signed by the Government and the authorities of Vermont?

Mr. PLUMLEY. I will, yes; as well as the communications had with the War Department.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. And the letter of the Secretary of War dated January 5?

Mr. PLUMLEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Is there any difference in the authority for Federal condemnation for dams under the Flood Control Act of 1938 and the power of the Federal Government to condemn for post-office sites, veterans' hospital sites, or for sites for dams involving reclamation in the far West and other condemnations?

Mr. PLUMLEY. The gentleman is well informed as to that and does not have to ask me. He is chairman of the Committee on Flood Control.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. If the gentleman wants the Record to show the facts, will he not admit that the Federal Government, in the instances mentioned as well as in other instances, has the right to condemn without the consent of the States in

which the projects are located?

Mr. PLUMLEY. Yes; and we are going to undertake to repeal that.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. In other words, you are going to undertake to repeal the right of the Federal Government to construct a post office in Vermont unless your State consents in writing to the condemnation proceeding?

Mr. PLUMLEY. We are going to undertake to prevent the Federal Government from making further encroachments on

the rights of the States.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I may say to the gentleman, with his permission, that the power to condemn contained in the Flood Control Act of 1938 is a power similar to that contained in the reclamation acts under which dams have been constructed in the Western States for reclamation and irrigation purposes. This power is similar to the power contained in other Federal acts authorizing the Federal Government to condemn for public purposes in connection with the construction of public buildings.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Vermont may be permitted to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. May). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PLUMLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. There are some national forests in New England, are there not?

Mr. PLUMLEY. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. Are there any in Vermont?

Mr. PLUMLEY. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. Would the gentleman object to the Federal Government condemning and taking property on payment of due compensation, without getting somebody's consent?

Mr. PLUMLEY. Objection has been made.

Mr. RANKIN. They took it, though, did they not?

Mr. PLUMLEY. By consent.

Mr. RANKIN. Yes. Would the gentleman make that unanimous consent?

Mr. PLUMLEY. No.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PLUMLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi. Mr. WHITTINGTON. Will the gentleman insert in his remarks any stipulation in any statute where consent is required for the condemnation of land for Federal forests? As a matter of fact, the Federal Government can condemn where it desires without the consent of the State. They have done it in New England as well as in other parts of

Mr. PLUMLEY. Yes, but the State of Vermont has objected. I would want to check up on this statement. I would not want to make any wild statement.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PLUMLEY. In just a moment.

The State of Vermont objected to the creation of a national parkway through the State of Vermont because it involved the taking of certain lands of the State of Vermont without the consent of the State. I can put information as to that in the Record, as well as anything else I can find on the subject.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. With respect to the national forests as well as the parkway, the gentleman's State has many

more forests than parkways.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman

yield?

the country.

Mr. PLUMLEY. I yield to the gentleman from California. Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Is it not true that national forests are created by legislative enactment?

Mr. PLUMLEY. By act of Congress.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Therefore, the State through its duly elected Representatives has an opportunity to be heard with regard to the boundaries of such forests, whereas in this situation there is a broad power to exercise the right of eminent domain without the consent of the State being required or there being any opportunity for the wishes of the State to be considered. Is not that the difference?

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. PLUMLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Missis-

cinni

Mr. RANKIN. I wish to ask a question of the gentleman from Vermont, but may I say to him before propounding my question that there is not a chance in the world of getting this law changed. If the law cannot be changed, is the gentleman from Vermont willing to deny the people of Vermont and New England the benefits of flood control merely because the consent of some one up there is not obtained? The question here is flood control in New England. If the Federal Government is not permitted to proceed under the present law there will be no flood control in New England for the time being.

Mr. PLUMLEY. I understood that was threatened.

Mr. RANKIN. Not threatened, it is a statement. We are not going to let Vermont come here and change an entire law just to gratify someone's desire to have his consent required.

Mr. PLUMLEY. I have understood that was the attitude. Flood control is obviously a national problem, but it does not follow that effective control of floodwaters requires a centralization of power which would deprive the States of all voice in determining how such projects shall be developed. The States and their subdivisions have a very great stake in these undertakings and they are entitled to participate in deliberations on matters that vitally concern them.

Vermont's Governor has made it clear that he has no desire to obstruct the Federal Government in carrying out pro-

grams that are a matter of interstate and national concern. All he seeks to determine is whether the State has certain rights reserved to it under the Constitution which the Federal Government must respect. And even if the courts were to uphold the right of the Federal authorities to proceed with their flood-control program in Vermont without seeking the approval of the State, the method would still be open to condemnation. For it does violence to the basic principles upon which our Federal form of government is founded.

The obvious and the best solution of the controversy lies in repeal of the offending amendment and a return to the policies outlined under the Flood Control Act of 1936.

Governor Aiken has repeatedly pointed out that the issue is not confined to Vermont or its people. If the Federal Government is allowed to take land in Vermont without consent of the State, it could take oil wells in Texas and coal fields in West Virginia in the same manner, and other resources of any other State.

The issue is so plain it looms above the Presidential fog as does Mount Shasta over the fogs that drift eastward at its

The issue is not flood control; we have offered our cooperation for flood control and it has been arbitrarily refused-

#### Said Governor Aiken. The issue is-

not cheap power development by the Federal Government, because the agreement as signed by the State of Vermont did not prevent the Federal Government from developing power. The issue is simply and solely the insistence of the Federal Government that it can take from us what it chooses, without any regard at all for our wishes or our rights.

It is a fact that in recent years the Federal Government has been steadily invading the realm hitherto reserved to State jurisdiction, and it has been doing so with very little resistance from the States themselves. The chief reason has been that Federal intervention has usually been accompanied by the expenditure of Federal funds in the States. The States have been bribed into acquiescence, as ex-President Coolidge once suggested they would be under such a policy; but the irony of the situation has been that they have been bribed with their own money. Federal funds are not manna from heaven. They must come ultimately from the citizens of the individual States, for the simple reason that there is nowhere else from which they may come.

And if the Federal Government be permitted to take the property of the States, from what source, may I ask, can the States eventually hope to derive any revenue, and must they not, therefore, eventually lose their identity, sovereignty, and become just cogs in the big machine, the power for which has been accumulated by and through just such means and measures as are herein involved? That is the issue.

So there is more than much to be said for the necessity of preservation of the rights of the States and for the decentralization of political power in order to prevent its dangerous centralization and concentration in the hands of any one group or any one man.

The right of the States to self-preservation, self-determination, and the continuance of orderly democratic government is the issue, when the fog of flippancy is dispelled by the sunlight of fact.

I read with interest, and I desire to direct your attention to an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post this Monday morning:

As a result of Governor Aiken's vigorous stand against Federal acquisition of land in Vermont without that State's consent, the White House has announced that it will make no effort to force through the flood-control project at Union Village. The Governor seems to be justified in assuming that the President fears a test

of the issue in the courts.

In thus recognizing the right of Vermont to be consulted as to the acquisition of land within its borders for flood-control projects, however, the administration seeks to impose a severe penalty upon

however, the administration seeks to impose a severe penalty upon that State. The much-needed flood-control project at Union Village is to be canceled. Since the State refuses to surrender its rights, its people will be left to combat potential floods without the Federal aid offered to less independent Commonwealths. As spokesman for the President, Stephen T. Early tries to evade the real issue by saying that other States will be glad to use the flood-control funds which the War Department was planning to spend in Vermont. He would like to leave the impression that the Granite State is not interested in protection from floods. Actually

the State is willing to turn over the desired reservoir site to the Federal Government. It refuses only to acknowledge the right of Federal agencies to take the land without its consent.

Of course, the White House is entirely right in saying that the Flood Control Act gives it the right to take land for flood-control purposes without consent of the States. But Mr. Early falls into serious error when he contends that "there was no resentment" when this measure was passed. The Senate Chamber rang with resentment when it was discovered that an amendment permitting such encroachment upon States' rights had been written into the Road-control build during the president ways with little and the state of the stat flood-control bill during the preadjournment rush, with little or no consideration of the principle at stake.

That blunder on the part of an over-worked Congress cannot be corrected simply by denying flood protection to States which insist on maintaining their rights. The act should be amended to re-store the traditional requirement of consent from the States before their land may be doomed for this Federal program. In effect, the President has recognized the undesirability of overriding the wishes of a State in matters of this sort. This being the case, he cannot reasonably ask that the means of coercing the States into a surrender of vital rights be left in his hands.

That is comprehensive in its coverage, and it reflects the attitude and state of mind of the average person this country over.

Mr. Speaker, we are a free people because freedom has been the American ideal from the first days of the Republic, an ideal embodied in the opening words of the Declaration of Independence and firmly planted in the Constitution. But it has taken centuries of time and oceans of blood to achieve and secure those elemental freedoms embodied in our Bill of Rights, and should they be lost the whole agonizing path might have to be trod once more before happier generations would know again such liberty of person and freedom of spirit. Freedom stands only so long as free men make it stand against the winds of intolerance and abuse.

As the Representative of the people of Vermont, I will be pardoned I know, if I insist that you must understand them in order not to misunderstand the situation which has arisen. At every high point in history since the Green Mountain Boys laid claim to the territory they now occupy and know and love as Vermont, the everyday unknighted, unplumed citizens of that little State, unmoved by aught save their sense of duty, have stood in the ranks, done the day's work, asked naught of any man, served the State and saved the Nation, and they will do it again.

Compelled since the earliest days of their occupancy of the territory now known as Vermont on account of its exposed situation to face dangers of various kinds, and being accustomed to remove obstacles and to surmount difficulties by their personal exertions, they have acquired an unlimited confidence in their own ability, and imbibed the loftiest notions, with respect to what constitutes liberty and inde-

They are very practically minded; they may not be theorists; they may not be philosophers, but they have a theory and a philosophy, that every man and woman has a right to make of himself and herself everything, and whatever can be made, without Government aid or interference.

They have no utopian theory of a "more abundant life" than that they can carve out for themselves. They are the descendants, and they possess the characteristics and qualifications of their forbears, who fought for and wrought out the principles of civil and religious liberty, which are the foundation of, and were the starting point of all free institutions.

They have the innate, intense, and ineradicable notion that a man has a right to be free and to be secure in those rights guaranteed to him under the Bill of Rights.

The fundamental grounds which underlie our whole Government and our national life cannot be attacked, cannot be denied, cannot be made light of without serious danger to our entire political fabric.

Liberty-

### Said President McKinley-

is responsibility, and responsibility is duty, and that duty is to preserve the exceptional liberty we enjoy, within the law, and for the law, and by the law. God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are always ready to guard and defend it.

[Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Cochran). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, when I hear the gentleman from Vermont preaching to us the doctrine of State's rights I am reminded of the old adage, "Beware of the Greeks when they come bearing gifts."

If this new State's rights doctrine preached by the gentleman from Vermont were put into practice you could not build a post office in a single State of the Union if someone in a high official position in the State, such as the Governor, objected, even though such objection were prompted, as in my opinion this one is, by the selfish interests that are plundering the people of New England to the extent of more than \$100,000,000 a year in overcharges for electric lights

If the doctrine preached by the gentleman from Vermont had been put into practice we would not have built the veterans' hospital in Vermont-which I, as chairman of the veterans' committee, supported-without the consent of the Governor and the legislature.

If the doctrine preached by the gentleman from Vermont were the law of the land we could not do anything to control floods in New England or in any other State in the Union where some influence had control of the Governor or one branch of the State legislature. We would have to do it by a new form of unanimous consent.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. Just for a question.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Does the gentleman know whether or not the Federal Government ever had any difficulty in getting the consent of any State in the Union for its floodcontrol projects?

I want to tell the gentleman what is Mr. RANKIN. behind all this fight.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Can the gentleman answer my question?

Mr. RANKIN. Yes: I am going to answer the gentlemen and tell him what is behind all this fight. They have been coming down here demanding ratification of the New England compact covering the six New England States.

The main influence behind this movement, in my opinion, is the Power Trust in New England, so that unless such development as it wanted was brought about, they could kill the whole program. This is what is behind this fight nowthe power companies in New England that are overcharging the people of the New England States alone more than \$100,-000,000 a year. If the people of New England paid the same rates for electric power that they are paying just across the line in Ontario, Canada, they would save at least \$100,000,000 a year.

Under this old compact, if it had been ratified, the Power Trust would have been able to influence at least one State administration, so that it would have been utterly impossible to operate under it. When the flood control bill came to the House last year, it did not contain this provision. This provision was prepared in my office. I got it passed upon and approved and sent to the Senate in order that we might proceed to develop the water power in New England, not only to control the floods and promote navigation, but that we might use it for the people of New England for all time to come to generate hydroelectric power.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman vield?

Mr. RANKIN. No; I must decline to yield further.

The people of New England have no coal, they have no oil, they have no gas, their soil ordinarily is poor-

Mr. PLUMLEY. I take exception to that. Mr. RANKIN. The greatest wealth of New England is her waterpower. It is her greatest natural resource, and yet they are not permitted to use it. That is the reason this fight is being brought on here. Certain interests do not want us to make it possible for them to do so.

Oh, I know that Governor Aiken imagines he is running for President on the Republican ticket. Why, he might as

well forget it. Any man who offers for President in 1940, with the stamp of the Power Trust's approval will simply have the "kiss of death" upon his brow to begin with. [Applause.]

The American people have learned what electricity is worth and we are going to keep informing them through the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD.

Now, let us see what is behind this fight. There never was any contract entered into between the Governor of Vermont and the United States Government, and there is not going to be one entered into that will in any way impair the present law. We are not going to change that law. You might as well understand that now. If a few of you men from New England want to kill flood control in New England in order to gratify the cupidity of the Power Trust in those States, we will know it, because it will be exposed from the floor of the House; but we are not going to change this law. Those provisions are permanent.

The Federal Power Commission, when it made its investigation, brought back a report recommending the building of these dams and the insertion of pen stocks for the generation of hydroelectric power. That is what they are kicking about; they do not want these pen stocks put in these dams. They do not want any hydroelectric power generated in New England. They seem to prefer that the Power Trust, that apparently runs the politics of that section of the country at this time, continue to wring its pound of flesh from the struggling people of New England as they are doing today.

Oh, I know they proposed a contract to the Federal Government, but the Federal Government is not going to enter into any such treaty with any one of those States. Under the old compact, which was never ratified, you never could have done anything except build some levees, probably, with the result that you would have had recurrent floods, each worse than the one before; but under this law, which, in my opinion, is the best statute of its kind that has been passed in your day and mine, they cannot only go there and control the floods and save the lives and the property of the people of New England, they cannot only give them transportation and waterways that will guarantee them commercial intercourse with the rest of the world, but they can also develop the greatest natural resource in all New England, outside of the soil from which they live, and that is the hydroelectric power in those streams, and distribute it to the people of New England at what it is worth.

If that is done, it will reduce light and power rates in New England \$50,000,000 a year within the next 3 or 4 years.

Remember that under the old proposed compact the people of Vermont would have had to contribute a part of the cost of this dam. Under the present law the Federal Government pays the entire cost and take title to the land involved, and has complete control. That does not suit the Power Trust. They want to get their fingers in it. Therefore, this demand for unanimous consent.

I have the rates in my office in every town in Vermont and I ask unanimous consent that I may extend my remarks in the RECORD to include that table to show how badly those people are overcharged for electricity. It will show that practically every one of them is overcharged 100 percent.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Cochran). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. How much of the RECORD will this table take?

Mr. RANKIN. It will probably take not over a page; certainly not over a couple of pages.

Mr. RICH. The gentleman knows that he has put a great deal into the RECORD already on that subject.

Mr. RANKIN. Oh, yes; and I shall put in some more. Let me say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania that I am one of the best Representatives his district has ever had in the House. Those facts that I have put into the RECORD have forced a reduction of power charges in his district more than anything that the Republican Party ever did in its 50 years of administration.

Mr. RICH. The gentleman said something about my district, and I think that I ought to defend my district.

Mr. RANKIN. Oh, no; I am taking care of the gentleman's district.

Mr. RICH. Oh, no; that is my duty.

Mr. RANKIN. Oh, yes; I shall take care of the gentle-

Mr. RICH. I am representing that district, and trying to do everything for it under the sun, but when I find out that the gentleman is trying to put the Government in business in everything, in every line, to the detriment of the people of my district, and that he is building up everything for the people down there in Mississippi, even to the extent of building factories, and trying to take the industries from my State, I think I have a right to complain.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I did not yield to the gentle-

man for a speech.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

Mr. RICH. Oh, no. If the gentleman is going to help anybody, let him go ahead. I have no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Mississippi be extended for 10 minutes,

The SPEAKER pro tempore. There is a previous order of the House. The Chair asks the gentleman from Pennsylvania if it is agreeable to him to have the time of the gentleman from Mississippi extended for 10 minutes?

Mr. RICH. O Mr. Speaker, already I have said that if the gentleman can help anybody let him go ahead.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I shall take a moment or two to reply to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich]. When this administration came into power the people of Pennsylvania were overcharged from \$85,000,000 to \$104,000,-000 a year or more for electricity. The utilities owned \$100,-000,000 worth of property in Pennsylvania that was escaping taxation. They were piling that burden onto the masses of the people, and at the same time were charging exorbitant power rates, overcharging the people of Pennsylvania alone from \$85,000,000 to \$104,000,000 a year. We have reduced those rates and given a reduction to the people of Pennsylvania of about \$40,000,000 a year, and that has been accomplished because of the fact that I and other men who believe as I do have fought for it in the House and the Senate, with the assistance and support of the present President of the United States. So far as building factories in my country is concerned, there is nothing to it. No factories have been built in my district by any Federal aid. But the Power Trust has intimated such from one end of the country to the other because I have wrung their hands loose from the people of the district I represent, and if you will stay with us we will do the same thing for the people of every other congressional district in the United States.

Mr. PLUMLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. Yes; for a question.

Mr. PLUMLEY. I desire to make a statement in answer to the one the gentleman made. I know of the gentleman's information and enthusiasm on that subject.

Mr. RANKIN. I ask the gentleman not to use up my time.

Mr. PLUMLEY. I am not going to, but when the gentleman refers to the soil of Vermont as not being fertile, he is misinformed, and I am sure he would not care to go on record in that way, because we raise more bushels of wheat and corn and potatoes and every other agricultural product to the acre than any other State in the Union.

Mr. RANKIN. Yes; and it takes every bit of it to pay

your electric bills. [Laughter.]
Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentle-

man yield? Mr. RANKIN. For a question.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Will the gentleman explain briefly to the House what happened to the money spent

to pay these exorbitant electric bills if these rates were put down to where they belong?

Mr. RANKIN. I will tell you what would happen. If you will reduce those rates to the Ontario levels, the use of electrical appliances in that country will grow by leaps and bounds. We had to pay the same rates you have in my home town of Tupelo, when 19 percent of the consumers in that town had electric refrigerators. We have reduced those rates and today 90 percent of them have electric refrigerators.

Not only that, but they have increased the use of electric ranges, washing machines, electric irons, vacuum cleaners, water pumps, and everything else that goes to relieve human drudgery and contributes to the happiness and prosperity of the American home. We have promoted a program of rural electrification. Under it the highest rate that is paid in my district is 4 cents per kilowatt-hour. There is not a man in the gentleman's district, except in one little town—and his district covers the whole State—there is not a man in Vermont that I can find, except in one small town, that is not paying twice that rate, although right across the line in Ontario they are buying power cheaper than we are getting it in Tupelo or anywhere else in the Tennessee Valley area.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. I yield.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Does not the gentleman know that we did all of that in our own little town, without any Government help, except that they loaned us the money on which they made a profit when they sold the bonds?

Mr. RANKIN. Yes. I know what you did. You live in Allegan, and the rates there are below the average.

I have gone through the electric rates of every congressional district in the United States. What we are trying to do is to break these rates down to the people, so that they can get cheap electricity, in order that they may enjoy the great blessings of modern civilization.

We are behind every other country on earth almost in rural electrification. Every country in Europe has 90 percent of its farms electrified. Some of them 100 percent. Even in New Zealand, that far off country, 65 percent of the farms are electrified. In this country less than 15 percent of them are electrified. In New England, where you need it most, those farmers who do get electricity have to pay such enormous rates for it that they cannot use it, except for the most meager purposes. If you will let us alone we will develop the water power of New England, and the people of those States will not only use it for the purposes I have mentioned, but they will use it to heat their homes.

I know some of you coal men oppose us on this, but you injure the coal business by doing so. You can generate power by coal in any State in this Union that has a coal mine, and distribute it at the T. V. A. yardstick rates and make money. But the Power Trust will not let you.

All the pressure of the Power Trust is being brought to bear today on Vermont, just as it was on Alabama, to try to get the State of Alabama to attempt to confiscate Muscle Shoals. It is brought to bear just as it was in Tennessee, trying to break up the efforts of those cities and towns and rural districts to get cheap electricity.

But they say, "We do not mind your spending money for flood control, we do not mind your spending money for veterans' hospitals, we do not mind your spending money for power, but we want you to get unanimous consent of every

Governor in New England."

Now, what does that mean? It simply means you will never have any flood control in New England. It means that if we were to comply with that request, this law would be dead, and flood control in New England would be at a stand-still for all time to come. Because we never would get together. Do not you men get the idea that you are going to elect a Republican ticket with the Power Trust tied around its neck. That is impossible. You may carry some of the New England States—not all of them—but the rest of the country has moved off and left you. A Power Trust candidate for the Presidency in 1940 will not stand any more

chance to be elected than the Republican elephant would to hang from a horizontal bar by his eyebrows. If the Power Trust is going to try to elect a President that will destroy what this administration has done, and deny to the people of New England the right to have their water power developed and their power distributed at what it is worth, and bring up the question of unanimous consent in order to block it, and then destroy all the other good things this administration has done, then they might as well forget it, because the American people have moved away from that doctrine.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record the T. V. A. rates, the Ontario rates, and some other rates at this point to compare with the Vermont rates.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I insert below the light and power rates charged domestic consumers up to 100 kilowatthours per month under the Ontario rates, which are charged just across the line from Vermont; under the Tacoma rates, charged at Tacoma, State of Washington; and under the T. V. A. rates.

Just below it I insert a table showing the residential rates up to 100 kilowatt-hours now charged in every town in the State of Vermont. The reason I am stopping at 100 kilowatt-hours a month is that the average consumer in Vermont uses less than that amount.

From these tables you will see that practically every domestic consumer in the State of Vermont is overcharged 100 percent for electric light and power.

Table of comparative monthly rates—Residential service
MONTHLY CONSUMPTION

	Kilowatt-hours					
Rates	25	40	60	100		
Ontario	\$0.75 1.13 .75	\$1.02 1.52 1.20	\$1. 54 1. 72 1. 70	\$1, 74 2, 12 2, 50		

Table 1.—Vermont—Typical net monthly bills, Jan. 1, 1938—Residential service, communities of 250 population or more

of the law of swill some		Ligh	ting ar	iances	nces, kilo-		
	Population	Minimum bill		20	90	90	applian on-100
Community		Amount	Kilowatt-hour included	15 kilowatt-hours	25 kilowatt-hours	40 kilowatt-hours	Lighting, small appliances, and refrigeration—100 kilo- watt-hours
Alburg Arlington Barre Barton Beechers Falls Bellows Falls Bellows Falls Bennington Benson Bethel Bloomfield Bomoseen Bradford Brandon Brattleboro Bristol Burlington Canan Castleton Cavendish Center Rutland Chelsea Chester Concord Danville Derby Center Derby Line Dorset East Arlington East Barre East Barre	24, 789 426 800 539 700 250 684 353 350 500 300 300	\$1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00	9 12 11 11 10 12 11 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12	\$1. 65 1. 20 1. 28 1. 27 1. 20 1. 28 1. 20 1. 20 20 1. 20 20 1. 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 2	\$2.50 2.00 1.98 2.06 1.98 2.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 2.0	\$3.40 3.03 3.23 2.80 2.80 2.90 2.90 2.90 2.66 2.80 2.90 2.90 2.60 2.80 2.90 3.45 2.90 2.90 2.90 3.45 2.80 2.90 2.90 2.90 2.90 2.90 2.90 2.90 2.9	\$4. 70 5. 00 5. 23 3. 63 5. 00 4. 90 5. 60 5. 60 5

Table 1.—Vermont—Typical net monthly bills, Jan. 1, 1938—Residential service, communities of 250 population or more—Con.

		Lighting and small appliances					kilo-
		Minimum bill		90	-		appliances, on-100 kilo-
Community	Population	Amount	Kilowatt-hour included	15 kilowatt-hours	25 kilowatt-hours	40 kilowatt-hours	Lighting, small applia and refrigeration—100 watt-hours
East Concord East Dorset East Poultney East Poultney East Poultney Enosburg Falls Essex Center Essex Junction Fair Haven Fairfax Fletcher Florence Forest Dale Georgia Gilman Graniteville Greensboro Greensboro Greensboro Greensboro Hardwick Hartford Highgate Center Hubbardton Huntington Center Hyde Park Hydeville Irasburg Island Pond Jeffersonville Johnson Leicester Ludlow Lunenburg Lyndon Center Lyndon Ville Manchester Centre Manchester Centre Manchester Manchester Centre Manchester Depot Middlebury Middlebury Middlebury Middlebury Middlebury Middlebury Montpomery Center Montpomery Center Montpomery Newport North Bennington North Clarendon North Pownal North Springfield North Troy North Westminster Northfield Passumpsie Pittsford Randon St. Albans St. Johnsbury St.	659 400 1, 642 650 275 297 1, 559 337 765 300 2, 003 250 641 450 7, 837 1, 822 2, 75 350 300 1, 315 667 1, 570 2, 515 669 1, 957 1, 570 2, 515 669 1, 957 1, 570 2, 515 669 350 1, 957 7722 1, 783 7718 7722 1, 783 773 870 870 870 870 870 870 870 870 870 870	\$1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00	12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 1	\$1, 20 1, 20	\$2.00 2.00 2.188 2.202 2.203 2.188 2.198 2.108 1.188 2.202 2.200	\$2.80 2.90 3.03 3.03 3.29 3.30 3.00 3.00 3.00 3.00 3.00 3.00 3.00 3.00 3.00 3.00 3.00	\$5.060022660228600286002600062000620006200

Table 1.—Vermont—Typical net monthly bills, Jan. 1, 1938—Residential service, communities of 250 population or more—Con.

		Lighting and small appliance				iances	nces, kilo-
Community	Population	Minimum bill		8	2	8	appliances, ion-100 kilo-
		Amount	Kilowatt-hour included	15 kilowatt-hours	25 kilowatt-hours	40 kilowatt-hours	Lighting, small apparent and refrigeration—watt-hours
Stowe Swanton Taftsville Vergennes Wallingford Waterbury Websterville Wells River West Arlington West Brattleboro West Brattleboro West Burke West Dummerston West Pawlet West Rutland West Fawlet West Rutland West Fawlet West Rutland Westfield West West Fawlet Wilder	531 1, 558 308 1, 705 700 1, 776 700 553 256 359 275 256 1, 050 2, 500 232 2, 690 600 350 611 3, 689 5, 308 1, 312	\$0.52 1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 1.0	5 10 10 11 12 11 11 11 11 12 12 12 12 12 12 12	\$1. 30 1. 40 1. 50 1. 28 1. 28 1. 28 1. 20 1. 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 20 2	\$2. 10 2. 20 2. 50 1. 98 2. 00 1. 98 1. 98 2. 00 1. 85 2. 00 2. 00 2. 00 2. 00 2. 40 1. 98 1. 98 1. 98 1. 98 1. 98 1. 98 1. 98 1. 98 1. 98 1. 98 2. 00 2. 00	\$3. 30 2. 83 3. 55 3. 03 2. 90 3. 03 3. 03 3. 03 2. 80 2. 60 2. 90 4. 00 3. 60 3. 03 3. 03 5. 04 5. 04	\$5. 20 4. 33 5. 60 5. 23 5. 23 5. 23 5. 23 5. 23 5. 23 5. 60 4. 20 6. 60 5. 60 7. 75 5. 5. 60 4. 90 4. 90 4. 90 4. 90 6. 60 6. 25 6. 60 6. 60 60 60 60 60 60 60 60 60 60

Mr. RANKIN. Now, Mr. Speaker, I have here the letter and statement of the Secretary of War.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has again expired.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is that agreeable to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich]?

Mr. RICH. Surely. If you give him 5 minutes, then I will ask for 5 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Now, Mr. Speaker, understand we are not trying to take this property without due process of law. The Federal Government is not trying to confiscate this property.

It proposes to pay every dollar it is worth. It is not trying to injure anybody. It proposes to go in there, build this dam and reservoir for the benefit of the people of Vermont, and to pay whatever this property is worth. I have before me a statement from the Secretary of War that I want to read into the RECORD at this point:

JANUARY 5, 1939.

Hon, George D. Aiken,

Governor of Vermont, Montpelier, Vt.

Dear Governor Aiken: With further reference to my letter of October 26, 1938, advising you that funds had become available for the construction of a flood-control dam near Union Village, Vt., I desire to advise you further that the preparation of plans and specifications for this structure has now proceeded to the point where the project may be advertised for actual construction in the very near future.

It is desired to begin construction at this locality as promptly

It is desired to begin construction at this locality as promptly as possible in order to provide the people of the State of Vermont and of the lower States with flood-control benefits at the earliest practicable date.

# Now listen carefully to this:

In order to accomplish this purpose, I shall be pleased to accept the cooperation which you have so kindly offered, to acquire through your board of public works the necessary lands, easements, and rights-of-way in the manner authorized in title 21, sections 4974 and 4975, of the Public Laws of the State of Vermont, and to continue this procedure unless experience, not now foreseen, discloses difficulties in this method. The provisions of the above State statutes appear to conflict in no way with section 2 of the Flood Control Act approved June 28, 1938. In view of these things, I do not feel that it will be necessary to complete the drafts of formal agreements which have previously been prepared covering this proposed procedure.

In order that there may be no delay in initiating construction of the Union Village Dam, I trust I may receive your early and favor-able reply to the views expressed above.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY H. WOODRING Secretary of War.

Commenting on that, Secretary Woodring says:

My sole interest is to carry out the provisions of the Flood Control Act of 1938, which are as follows:

"" \* Notwithstanding any restrictions, limitations, or re-

trol Act of 1938, which are as follows:

"" \* Notwithstanding any restrictions, limitations, or requirement of prior consent provided by any other act, the Secretary of War is hereby authorized and directed to acquire in the name of the United States title to all lands, easements, and rights-of-way necessary for any dam and reservoir project or channel improvement or channel rectification project for flood control, with funds heretofore or hereafter appropriated or made available for such projects; and States, political subdivisions thereof, or other responsible local agencies shall be granted and reimbursed, from such funds, sums equivalent to actual expenditures deemed reasonable by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers and made by them in acquiring land, easements, and rights-of-way for any dam and reservoir project or any channel improvement or channel rectification project for flood control herefofore or herein authorized: Provided, That no reimbursement shall be made for any indirect or Provided, That no reimbursement shall be made for any indirect or

speculative damages \* \*."

As Secretary of War, I am proceeding under these provisions by which the United States Government expends the Federal tax-payers' money for complete flood control by building dams and reservoirs—in this instance in the State of Vermont—without the expenditure of one cent by the State.

Notice, not a cent is demanded. The Governor did not object to the fact that it would not cost the State of Vermont one cent. The only cent it would cost Vermont was unanimous consent.

I propose to follow the same procedure in Vermont as I have since the passage of the act in New York and in other States. I cannot accept lands transferred to the Federal Government if any restrictions are imposed by the State.

That is what the consent demanded is about. They want to put some strings onto it, and the strings would be that there should be no penstocks in these dams; therefore, no hydroelectric power generated.

I have served as Governor of a State myself, and I do not concede to Governor Alken, nor to any other person in the United States, a greater championship of States' rights. The War Department stands ready to cooperate with Governor Aiken, of Vermont, or any other State in the Union, in carrying out this Federal act according to the tenets of said act. In view of these facts, the responsibility for any delay in providing much-needed flood protection in the Convenciont Velley lies equarely with the Governor of Vermont. Connecticut Valley lies squarely with the Governor of Vermont.

Mr. Speaker, that is the whole story. The entire effort is to keep us from developing the hydroelectric power of that territory for the benefit of the people of New England. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RICH] is recognized for 10 minutes.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Pennsylvania yield?

Mr. RICH. I yield.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Montana [Mr. Thorkelson] may address the House for 10 minutes at the conclusion of the speech of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I had intended to address myself solely to one single subject, but I must digress for just a minute to comment on the speech of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN]. I like the gentleman from Mississippi very much, and I sometimes believe he is most sincere in what he is trying to do; but when he tells you that the utilities of Pennsylvania and of this country have picked the pockets of the consumer, I ask myself where the greatest condemnation lies; whether against the individual picking the pockets of the consumers of this country, or whether

against politicians picking the pockets of the people of this country. In the past 3 or 4 years we have made so many radical and ridiculous expenditures of Government funds that we have increased our debt more than twice; we have increased it from nineteen and one-half billions in 1933 to thirty-nine and one-half billions in 1939-6 years increased more than 100 percent political pickpockets work. The debt is so huge and so staggering that it will take not only our children but our children's children, our children's children's children, and our children's children's children to pay the bill these New Deal politicians of the F. D. Roosevelt dynasty have unloaded on the people of this Nation. I can think of nothing more ridiculous or more unbusinesslike than the debts this administration has heaped upon the American people. It is a mystery to me how they figure the debts can be paid. Where are you going to get the money?

I am not going to talk so much about Government finances at this moment as I am about Government laws. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to congratulate the people of Pennsylvania, for tomorrow they will induct into office as Governor, Arthur H. James, an honorable, upright, conscientious man, qualified in every way to be the Gov-

ernor of a great State. [Applause.]

He follows 4 years of New Deal rule. Until Governor Earle came into power the Keystone State had been governed by a Republican administration for 40 years. I venture the assertion, however, that it will require the Republicans almost another 40 years to get Pennsylvania out of the awful condition it finds itself in after 4 years of New Deal rule. It is not Democratic rule, it is New Deal rule; and I may say that it has been the worst administration Pennsylvania has ever had. We are hoping, however, that we may find ourselves in the position where we shall be able to overcome some of the obstacles and handicaps bequeathed to us by these 4 years of misrule.

Tomorrow will be a great day in the history of Pennsylvania. We hope, we pray, and we wish for the best of luck to the new Governor and to the legislature and his coworkers, that he may have cooperation to give the people of this great State an honest and conscientious administration of their affairs; an administration that will be a credit to a great State, an administration that will be honest, an administration that will be constructive, an administration that will be for the best interest of the people who inhabit the State, and to our Nation as well. I have hopes of all things that are good for our people.

Mr. RANKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICH. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. The new administration which the gentleman talks about surely will not destroy the progress made in reducing the light and power rates for the people of Pennsylvania, will it?

Mr. RICH. Anything good that the past administration has given Pennsylvania, I can assure the gentleman from Mississippi, will be retained because the Republican Party has always been constructive and will do whatever is for the best interest of the greatest number of people.

Mr. RANKIN. That is all right. I hope that policy will

be carried forward.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I want to read to the Members of the House a statement I received from the president of a bank in reference to his annual statement to the stockholders:

The first item in the statement is the amount invested in United States Government obligations aggregating two and a half United States Government obligations aggregating two and a half million dollars. This amount is abnormally large, and the determination of how much of the bank's funds should be thus invested, and what maturities should be held, is one of the most important and difficult problems facing your directors and officers. Of the amount stated, over 75 percent represents maturities of from a few months to 5 years. The balance represents maturities averaging about 7 years.

The principal reasons for investing so heavily in Government obligations are: The almost total lack of demand for desirable commercial loans; the uncertainties confronting the business world because of reckless spending on the part of both the State and Federal administrations, and the excessive, burdensome taxation

necessary to meet these expenditures; the constantly changing financial and economic policies of the Federal administration; the unfairness to business in certain provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, which threatens the closing down of many enterprises in nearly every line of industry; and the likelihood of wide fluctuations in bond prices as a consequence of these several

It is impossible for our economic machine to run indefinitely on money borrowed and spent by the Government.

This is a subject that could be discussed at length. Suffice to say that, in my judgment, no permanent improvement can be expected in our general business and economic conditions until the State and Educate harders are not belongered. State and Federal budgets are put in balance and certain regu-latory, confidence-destroying, and otherwise harmful laws and governmental policies are removed. This accomplished, private loans would gradually take the place of Government obligations in the portfolios of the banks; and this would be a most healthy change for the banks, the Government, and the general public.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the present Congress will try to correct any harmful laws that have been passed and will endeavor to secure a job for every man in this country. That is the most important thing confronting us today and I am going to suggest that you give it some of your time and study. I suggest the Wagner Act be one of the first to be considered, the N. L. R. B.

I have before me a survey made by Factory Management and Maintenance, which sent out a questionnaire to 1,500 business people in this country.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a part of this survey, the replies thereto, and a letter from the editor to me.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SCHULTE). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The matter referred to is as follows:

FACTORY MANAGEMENT AND MAINTENANCE, New York, N. Y., January 6, 1939.

Representative ROBERT F. RICH,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Rich: Factory Management and Maintenance has recently completed a survey, the first of its kind, designed to determine the opinion of men engaged in industrial plant management concerning the Wagner National Labor Relations Act and the Labor Board.

The survey was Nation-wide in scope and, I think, completely representative. It shows that management men are not opposed on principle to the organization of employees by unions, and that on principle to the organization of employees by unions, and that they believe there is a need for legislation to safeguard the organizing rights of labor. But the survey shows also how completely dissatisfied are these men, experienced in the actual workings of the law, with the present act and the existing Board. By a ratio of 40 to 1, they recommend a substantive change in the act and by 8 to 1 a drastic change in the Board itself.

For your interest and information, I inclose a preprint of the article summarizing the results of the survey. I believe you will be impressed by its factual content, and I wish to call your attention especially to pages 44, 45, and 46, on which are reported the opinions of The Experience Group, composed solely of those who have had actual dealings with the Labor Board.

Very truly yours,

Very truly yours,

L. C. MORROW, Editor.

# FACTORY BALLOT

(Flease check yes of no)		
1. Do you think the Wagner Act has benefited— a. Industry? b. Labor?	Yes 107 563	No *1,303 865
c. The public?	117	1,279
2. Do you think there is a basic need for a law to	10 m / 2 m m	
safeguard the organizing rights of labor?	1,024	413
3. Have you had occasion to deal with labor under		
the act?	637	748
a. Were complaints filed against your firm		
with N. L. R. B.?	391	776
b. Were hearings held before the N. L. R. B.	001	
examiner?	226	819
c. Did you have a strike?	247	801
d. In any of the above cases, do you feel you	-	001
were fairly treated by N. L. R. B.?	111	294
e. Do you think there would have been a	111	201
labor dispute in your plant if there had		
been no Wagner Act?	64	776
been no wagner Actr	04	110

Results are based on a total of 1,500 ballots. given question do not add up to 1,500 is explained by the fact that not everyone voted on every question.

4. (Answer 1 only, please) Do you think the act	Yes	No
should be-		
a. Amended?	951	
b. Repealed?	293	
c. Unchanged?	13	
<ol><li>Regardless of your answer to question 4, do you favor the following proposed amendments to the act:</li></ol>		
a Ma mushibit aminos fuens blanchamine on		
forcing men to join them?	1,455	36
b. To allow employers to advise employees, by letter, in conversation, or in the press, against joining unions, providing no threats are used?  c. To revise the Labor Board set-up with 2 distinct branches, one to prosecute cases and one to judge?  d. To include on the Labor Board equal rep-		
threats are used?	1,206	255
c. To revise the Labor Board set-up with 2 distinct branches, one to prosecute cases	1,200	200
and one to judge?	1, 262	131
d. To include on the Labor Board equal representation of labor, management, and the public?		
the public?	1,419	46
e. To allow employers, as well as unions, to request the Labor Board to hold plant		
request the Labor Board to hold plant		0.0
elections?	1,446	35
f. To require both employers and employees		
to sign contracts when an agreement is		
reached and to provide penalties for	1,317	149
g. To prohibit the Labor Board from con-	2,021	
ciliating labor disputes?	926	437
h. To permit strikes to be called only after a		
majority of all employees have voted by	A	N 1 132
secret ballot to strike?	1,378	82
1. To exempt an employer from the obligation		
to bargain, for a period of 1 year, with		
a labor organization if the employer can show before the Labor Board:		
1. That the real issue in the dispute is:		
a. The closed shop?	1, 193	191
b. The violation of an existing con- tract?	1,093	214
2. That the organization is engaged in or has within 1 year been engaged in:	bugat Lip	
a. A general strike?	982	306
b. A sit-down strike?	1,176	143
c. Repeated or systematic acts of vio-		
lence or destruction of prop- erty?	1, 216	105
6. Are you opposed on principle to the organiza-	1,210	100
tion of employees by unions?	238	1,229
	(A.F.L.)	
7. Given your choice would you rather deal with the	,	
craft (A. F. L.) or the industrial (C. I. O.) type		
of union?	1,022	202
8. If the appointive power were yours, would you continue the service on the Labor Board of—		
continue the service on the Labor Board of—	4	111000
Chairman J. Warren Madden?	Yes 123	No. 725
Edwin S Smith?	76	750
Donald W Smith?	78	753
Edwin S. Smith?	179	575
	Percent	
Has the act helped industry?	8	92
Has it helped labor?	40	60
Has it helped labor?  Has it helped the public?  Is there a basic need for a law to protect labor's	8	92
Is there a basic need for a law to protect labor's		
right to organize?	71	29
right to organize?Are you opposed to unionization?	16	84
Would you rather deal with craft (A. F. L.)	(A.F.L.)	
or industrial (C. I. O.) unions?	83.3	16.7
Mr BICH This survey suggests strongly	the need	d of a

Mr. RICH. This survey suggests strongly the need of a change. It is most imperative that we act and at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. SIROVICH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICH. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SIROVICH. I am interested in the remarks of the gentleman, particularly so far as the national debt of our country is concerned. May I call his attention to the fact, however, that Great Britain incurred a stupendous debt on account of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, just 125 years ago? Since the adoption of that debt in 1815, Great Britain has not repaid it up to the present time, and her financial stability and standing is respected throughout the world. The same thing will apply to the colossal debt of the United States of almost \$39,000,000,000. In time we shall repay this obligation the same as Great Britain has been doing for the past 125 years.

Mr. RICH. The gentleman from New York [Mr. Sirovich] has propounded a most interesting question. If, in 125

years, Great Britain has not repaid the debt contracted in 1815, it may take the United States a century or two to make good the obligations it has incurred in the World War, as well as the tremendous amount of money that has accumulated as a result of the deficit during the Roosevelt administration, which has brought our national debt to almost \$40,000,000,000. If Great Britain and our other allies to whom we loaned money during the World War and after the World War, would repay the rightful obligations they owe us, \$12,000,000,000 could be subtracted from our national debt. I believe that international decency demands that Great Britain, France, and all other nations to whom we loaned money should repay their debts to us.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Montana [Mr. Thorkelson] has permission to address the House. Is the gentleman's request satisfactory to the gentleman from Montana [Mr. Thorkelson]?

Mr. THORKELSON. It is satisfactory to me.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich].

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICH. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CRAWFORD. The gentleman quoted from the annual report of a bank. If I understand the gentleman correctly, the president of this bank said that they buy Government bonds because the market is denuded of commercial paper, is that correct?

Mr. RICH. That is right.

Mr. CRAWFORD. There is no commercial paper being created by industrial employment because of the fear of Government rules, regulations, and the legislation enacted by the Congress?

Mr. RICH. That is right.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Now, did I understand the gentleman to say that he believes this Congress is going to repeal or modify a lot of laws and remove this difficulty?

Mr. RICH. I am hopeful this Congress will repeal some of the acts passed during the last 4 years, thereby restoring confidence to the business people of this country so that an opportunity may be had for men to go into business. If the Congress does this, there will be an opportunity for men in business to put additional capital into their business, which will thereby create additional jobs for those men who are unemployed. Business will put 200 to work for 1 in the New Deal way on Government pay roll. If we build up this atmosphere in the minds and in the hearts of the people of this country who desire to go ahead, we will raise the national income to \$80,000,000,000, and it will not be done recklessly through the expenditure of Government money. [Applause.]

Mr. CRAWFORD. Has the gentleman taken the time to study even briefly the financial statements published by all the banks of the United States as of December 31, and when I say "all the banks," I mean just those banks that published statements on December 31, showing their holdings of Government bonds?

Mr. RICH. I did not make a particular study of that phase of the statement, but I know the banks now hold the largest amount of Government securities they have ever held at any one time.

Mr. CRAWFORD. In round figures, it is \$18,000,000,000. Has the gentleman also noticed that as new issues of Government securities have come out the banks in recent weeks have pushed the price of some of the bonds up to \$114 on a \$100 bond in an attempt to get a security that will pay just a little bit of interest and give some income to the banks? If that is to be our situation, what will happen when the market price of Government bonds breaks, which necessarily must occur if money goes back into private industry and we start to build toward an \$80,000,000,000 income, and the people start running away from Government bonds as they

are now running to them? When that time comes the banks will lose by the billions.

Mr. RICH. Any banker who is paying a premium on Government bonds today is a very foolish banker, in my judgment.

Mr. CRAWFORD. They are all doing it, and the gentleman's bank is doing it.

Mr. RICH. Now, be careful. We are trying to keep away from that.

Mr. CRAWFORD. The gentleman's bank is doing it.

Mr. RICH. If I have any influence in any bank with which I am associated, I say, "Watch that \$2,000,000,000 you have given the President and Mr. Morgenthau to hold up the price of bonds because whenever they spend all that money look out, boys, the roof is going to fall in," and they are careful.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for

a brief question?

Mr. RICH. You gentlemen are not going to let me talk at all about the National Labor Relations Board.

Mr. SIROVICH. I will get the gentleman more time.

Mr. RICH. All right.

Mr. SIROVICH. Now that the gentleman has answered the distinguished gentleman from Michigan, will the gentleman please inform the House whether or not the banks of this country are in better financial condition today than they were in 1932?

Mr. RICH. The gentleman from New York would have me believe that just because the banks have a lot of Government bonds they can turn into cash and are in a more liquid position they are in better financial condition. Insofar as liquidity is concerned, that is true, but what is the value of a Government obligation today? Let me call your attention to the old German mark I hold in my hand, which in the time of Kaiser Wilhelm was worth 24 cents. This is a 100-mark note, and you know that when Germany repudiated her debts I could have secured a wagonload of these for 24 cents. They were not worth the paper they were written on. How do you know the bonds or the paper money of this country will be worth any more than the German marks if we do not try to keep the Government on a sound financial basis? That is what is worrying me. [Applause.]

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. RICH. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Would the gentleman prefer to have \$52,000,000,000 of deposits in the banks, which is the situation today, and no industry, or have a lot of industry going on with a much smaller amount of deposits in the banks?

Mr. RICH. I would rather have the industries of this country in full operation manufacturing the things the people of this country want. I would rather have our farmers busy raising our own produce, rather than have reciprocaltrade agreements which allow large quantities of commodities to be brought in from foreign countries. This is the first thing I would like to have so we can give the people of this country work. I want a job for our people, so they can get off the dole and earn an honest American livelihood.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous special order of the House, the gentleman from Montana [Mr. Thorkelson] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. THORKELSON. Mr. Speaker, I have been sitting here quietly for about 3 weeks listening to discussions dealing with many problems which concern the fundamental basis of the Government under which we live. I am not speaking to you as a lawyer or as a politician, and I care nothing about the Republican or the Democratic Party. I am here having been elected by the people of Montana to represent the people of Montana and not any political party.

Congress is selected by the people to represent the people and to confine itself within the Constitution as it was handed to it by the people of this great country of ours. If you will

read the first paragraph of the Constitution, you will find this:

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

If you will read the last paragraph in section 8, you will find this:

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

The tenth amendment to the Constitution reads as follows:

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people.

Further, in order that there shall be no invasion of such rights, the people say in the ninth amendment to the Constitution:

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

These are some of the rights the people have reserved for themselves. Congress is not here to propose its own ideas with respect to the Constitution. You Members of Congress are here simply to confine yourselves within the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

Who are the people? The people are composed of those engaged in industry, commerce, business, labor, agriculture, the professions, and all other earning groups. They are the people, and you have no right to enforce your views on them, because the Constitution belongs to the people and not to Congress. The Constitution is the fundamental law upon which all legislation must be based. It must not be based upon the personal opinions of Members of Congress or anyone else.

I know that this has not been adhered to by any Congress. It is not a question of blaming the Republican Party or the Democratic Party or President Roosevelt or President Hoover. Those who are responsible for the conditions facing us today are the majority in Congress; it makes no difference whether we be Republicans or Democrats, because we are the ones who pass the bills, and we must not forget that. [Applause.]

Many laws have been passed that are clearly unconstitutional, and I want the Members of Congress to know this whether they like it or not. We must confine ourselves to the Constitution and the power delegated to Congress by it. The Supreme Court passes only on the constitutionality of the legislation we enact. Congress and the Supreme Court are subservient to the people. Under the Constitution, neither has the right to pass any law unless it comes within constitutional limitations. I say this has not always been followed by the Supreme Court of the United States.

In 1934 Congress passed the Gold Reserve Act, in which the gold was recalled from circulation and taken over by the Federal Government. I want you to know that that gold belongs to the people and is their property, just as much as a house is property. When Congress enacted a law that deprived the people of the very property they had earned, that they had dug out of the ground with their fingers, it did something that is clearly not within the Constitution of the United States; and it was not living up to its obligation to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.

I want to speak about something else before closing, because I shall have something more to say later on.

In the same Gold Reserve Act you set aside \$2,000,000,000 which was to represent the increment on the gold when its value was reduced from 25.8 to 15.25 grains of gold ninetenths fine, and you gave that \$2,000,000,000 to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of the Treasury to be used in any manner they cared to use it. That was all right, but you said in that act that no officer of the United

States could ask for an accounting of the \$2,000,000,000. You had no right to do that.

In section 9 of the Constitution you will find that-

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

What right did you or what right did the Supreme Court have to pass a bill that absolutely denied the right of the people to an accounting for that \$2,000,000,000, as is clearly provided for in the Constitution?

I have no animosity or ill feeling toward the Democrats, because I like them, and I like the Republicans as well, naturally, because I do belong to the Republican Party. But as a Representative of the people of Montana I want you to know that when I sit here in Congress I represent with all of you the 48 States of the Union, and we cannot do anything for one State or for the benefit of one State without hurting the others, and this is a point we must bear in mind.

I do not want to go into any lengthy discussion now, because I shall speak about this later on; but I want you to think this over. We must get back to the foundation upon which our Government is built, and that foundation is the Constitution of the United States.

You have established about 75 private corporations by specific acts of Congress, and I would like to be informed of any provision of the Constitution that has given you the right to create corporations by specific acts of Congress. I want you to tell me that. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SMITH of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and include extracts from a radio speech made by Senator Maloney, of Connecticut, concerning the work of the W. P. A. men at the time of the hurricane and flood of 1938.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

# LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday next, following the remarks of the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Cummings], I may be permitted to address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that after the disposition of the legislative program for the day and any other special orders heretofore entered, that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. EBERHARTER] may be permitted to address the House for 10 minutes on Wednesday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. CULKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and to include therein an address made by myself before the bar association in my district.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CANNON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and to include therein a statement made by myself on January 4 last.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LEWIS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and to include therein a brief extract from a statement made by James Truslow Adams in regard to the Library of Congress.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

LXXXIV-26

Mr. Sumners of Texas asked and was granted leave to extend his own remarks in the Record.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. Larrabee, for 2 days, on account of important business.

# ADJOURNMENT

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock p. m.) the House, under its order previously entered, adjourned until Wednesday, January 18, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

# EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

266. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting a report to show the special assistants employed for the period July 1, 1938, to January 1, 1939, under the appropriation "Pay of special assistant attorneys, United States courts"; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

267. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend and clarify the provisions of the act of June 15, 1936 (49 Stat. 1507); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

268. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting one copy of legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John, and approved by the Governor of the Virgin Islands; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

269. A letter from the Acting Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a report of activities conducted by the United States Department of Agriculture with funds provided for the control of incipient and emergency outbreaks of insect pests and plant diseases; to the Committee on Agriculture.

270. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the payment of attorneys' fees from Osage tribal funds; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

271. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend the White Slave Traffic Act in respect of women and girls under 18 years of age; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

272. A letter from the American Academy of Arts and Letters, transmitting the report of the American Academy of Arts and Letters for the year 1938; to the Committee on the Library.

273. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated December 30, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on reexamination of Southeast Branch of Fox Creek, Md., requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted December 8, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

274. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated January 3, 1939, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination and survey of channel at Knappton, Wash., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

275. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated January 3, 1939, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination and reexamination of San Joaquin River near Werner Cut, Contra Costa County, Calif., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937, and requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted May 21, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

276. A letter from the District of Columbia tax study, transmitting the report of the District of Columbia tax study

(H. Doc. No. 108); to the Committee on the District of Columbia and ordered to be printed.

277. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated December 30, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on a survey of Northport Harbor, N. Y., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937 (H. Doc. No. 109); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

278. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated December 30, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on a preliminary examination and survey of Bayou Galere (Legare), Miss., at mouth of Jordan River, and Watts Bayou, Hancock County, Miss., authorized by River and Harbor Acts approved August 26, 1937, and June 20, 1938 (H. Doc. 112); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

279. A letter from the Comptroller of the Currency, transmitting the text of the Annual Report of the Comptroller of the Currency for the year ended October 31, 1938; to the

Committee on Banking and Currency.

280. A letter from the Secretary of Commerce, transmitting a statement showing names, nature of services, cost, and other data in connection with the special statistical studies made under the act of May 27, 1935; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

281. A letter from the Postmaster General, transmitting the cost-ascertainment report and appendix for the fiscal year 1938; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post

Roads.

# PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALLEN of Pennsylvania:

H. R. 2635. A bill granting the consent of Congress to Westmoreland County, in the State of Pennsylvania, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway intercounty bridge and approaches across the Allegheny River, connecting Valley Camp in Westmoreland County and East Deer Township in Allegheny County, to connect State Highway routes Nos. 28 and 56; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BOLAND:

H. R. 2636. A bill to amend section 327 of the Liquor Tax Administration Act, approved June 26, 1936, to permit an allowance for breakage and leakage in brewery bottling operations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CALDWELL:

H.R. 2637. A bill to facilitate production of timber on lands within the national forests of Florida; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. CELLER:

H. R. 2638. A bill to require filing by certain persons of data concerning assets of foreign corporations and entities in default of payment of interest and/or principal on its securities held in the United States and to require the registration of certain persons employed by agencies to disseminate propaganda in the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CONNERY:

H. R. 2639. A bill to establish a system of longevity pay for postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 2640. A bill to increase the pay of post-office employees in the Territory of Alaska; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 2641. A bill to exempt from the provisions of Draft Convention No. 53, of the International Labor Conference Treaty of 1936, all American vessels under 200 tons; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. H.R. 2642. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act for the retirement of employees of the Alaska Railroad, Territory of Alaska, who are citizens of the United States," approved June 29, 1936, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. FADDIS:

H. R. 2643. A bill to provide for the common defense by acquiring stocks of strategic and critical raw materials, concentrates, and alloys essential to the needs of industry for the manufacture of supplies for the armed forces and the civilian population in time of a national emergency, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2644. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the protection and preservation of domestic sources of tin," approved February 15, 1936; to the Com-

mittee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FISH:

H. R. 2645. A bill to regulate the formation and activities of private military forces in the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. JARMAN:

H. R. 2646. A bill to provide permanent and total disability rating in active pulmonary tuberculosis cases; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. PIERCE of Oregon:

H.R. 2647. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for rural electrification, and for other purposes," approved May 20, 1936; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 2648. A bill to provide for the further improvement of the Columbia and Snake Rivers in Oregon and Idaho; to

the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

H. R. 2649. A bill providing for the cancelation of certain charges against the Klamath drainage district, of Klamath County, Oreg., and charging such unpaid balance to the unentered public lands within the district; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

By Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts:

H. R. 2650. A bill to amend Veterans Regulation No. 6 (a), as amended, to authorize hospital care and treatment for American veterans residing in foreign countries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Utah:

H. R. 2651. A bill to prevent the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MARTIN of Colorado:

H. R. 2652. A bill to appropriate the sum of \$195,525,500 for the construction of flood-control projects under the National Flood Control Act of 1936 and amendments thereto; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. COFFEE of Washington:

H. R. 2653. A bill to authorize acquisition of complete title to the Puyallup Indian tribal school property at Tacoma, Wash., for Indian sanatorium purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 2654. A bill authorizing the payment of necessary expenses incurred by certain Indians allotted on the Quinaielt Reservation, State of Washington; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. BURDICK:

H. R. 2655. A bill providing for the cancelation of certain feed and seed loans heretofore made by the United States Government, and providing for an appropriation therefor under the provisions of the War Department appropriation act, and providing for an annual appropriation in the War Department appropriation act to provide seed and feed for farmers residing in blighted areas and victims of drought, flood, or other calamities over which they have no control; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. CONNERY:

H. R. 2656. A bill to protect American labor, to insure employment opportunities for America's workers, to increase the purchasing power of America's farmers, to provide mar-

kets for the products of America's workers and America's farmers, to relieve the distress created through the entry into American markets of articles, goods, or commodities, the products of foreign workers, at total landed costs (including the payment of tariff duties, if any) which are less than the costs of production of similar or comparable articles, goods, or commodities, the products of America's workers and America's farmers; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 2657. A bill to create a United States Civil Service Board of Appeals; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. FISH:

H. R. 2658. A bill to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State due process of law and equal protection of the laws, and to prevent the crime of lynching; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT:

H.R. 2659. A bill to add certain land to the Shasta National Forest, Calif.; to the Committee on the Public Lands. By Mr. SIROVICH:

H. R. 2660. A bill relative to limitation of shipowners' liability; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. PIERCE of New York:

H. R. 2661. A bill to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the St. Lawrence River at or near Ogdensburg, N. Y.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HORTON:

H. R. 2662. A bill to provide for the extension of certain oil and gas prospecting permits issued under the act of Congress entitled "An act to promote the mining of coal, phosphate, oil, oil shale, gas, and sodium on public domain," approved February 25, 1920 (41 Stat. 437; U. S. C., title 30, secs. 185, 223), as amended; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H. R. 2663. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act to promote the mining of coal, phosphate, oil, oil shale, gas, and sodium on the public domain," approved February 25, 1920 (41 Stat. 437; U. S. C., title 30, secs. 185, 223), as amended; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. GOLDSBOROUGH:

H. R. 2664. A bill to provide suitable rooms and accommodations for holding terms of the district court of the United States in the Federal building to be constructed in Denton, Md.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WHELCHEL:

H. R. 2665. A bill to provide increases in clerical allowances at certain offices of the third class, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. DWORSHAK:

H. R. 2666. A bill to provide for the general welfare by establishing a system of Federal benefits and by enabling the several States to make more adequate provision for the control and the eradication of noxious weeds; to conserve and protect the agricultural resources of the several States and of the United States; to empower the Secretary of Agriculture to make certain rules and regulations and prescribe conditions; to raise revenue; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. TINKHAM:

H. R. 2667. A bill to provide for the construction of an interocean ship canal of lock design connecting the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries,

By Mr. MAAS:

H. J. Res. 111. Joint resolution creating a special joint congressional committee to be known as the Joint Committee on National Defense; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. TINKHAM:

H. J. Res. 112. Joint resolution to create a commission to study and report on the feasibility of constructing the Mexican Canal; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

# MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Vermont, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their House Joint Resolution No. 6, with reference to the sovereignty over the land and natural resources of the State of Vermont; to the Committee on Flood Control.

# PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BALL:

H. R. 2668. A bill granting an increase of pension to Annie Tooker; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BURDICK:

H. R. 2669. A bill for the relief of Morgan Decorating Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CHAPMAN:

H. R. 2670. A bill granting a pension to Parish Graham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CONNERY:

H. R. 2671. A bill for the relief of Anna McCarthy; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2672. A bill for the relief of Paul Edmond Beliveau; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2673. A bill for the relief of Edward A. Everett; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. DIES:

H. R. 2674. A bill granting a pension to Samuel Harris; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DUNCAN:

H. R. 2675. A bill granting an increase of pension to Rose A. Pettigrew; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. EATON of California:

H. R. 2676. A bill granting a pension to Emma Grannis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 2677. A bill granting a pension to Pauline M. Ridgman; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT:

H. R. 2678. A bill granting a pension to Fordyce Tucker; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GARTNER:

H. R. 2679. A bill for the relief of William Henry Savage; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 2680. A bill for the relief of James Moffitt; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HESS:

H. R. 2681. A bill granting an increase of pension to Alice D. Stayton; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HOUSTON:

H. R. 2682. A bill granting a pension to Hattie Caldwell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KUNKEL:

H.R. 2683. A bill granting a pension to Jennie R. Ogden; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MOTT:

H.R. 2684. A bill for the relief of Emma Knutson; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. MERRITT:

H.R. 2685. A bill to authorize the cancelation of deportation proceedings in the case of Guiseppe Belviso; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. McANDREWS:

H. R. 2686. A bill for the relief of Sam Chinisci; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PACE:

H. R. 2687. A bill for the relief of Elbert R. Miller; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Utah:

H. R. 2688. A bill for the relief of Chris Barkas and Mabel Barkas; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. RUTHERFORD:

H. R. 2689. A bill granting a pension to Corillia Silver; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SNYDER:

H. R. 2690. A bill granting a pension to Milton Warner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2691. A bill granting a pension to Agnes E. Kimmell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 2692. A bill granting a pension to Grace Alberta Schrock; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2693. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lovina Baumgardner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TINKHAM:

H. R. 2694. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to reinstate Wallace F. Safford to the position and rank of captain in the Army of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. VAN ZANDT:

H. R. 2695. A bill for the relief of Kenneth B. Clark; to the Committee on Claims:

H. R. 2696. A bill granting a pension to Laura Dively; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky:

H. R. 2697. A bill for the relief of Ruth Steward, administratrix of the estate of Luther F. Steward; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of Missouri:

H. R. 2698. A bill granting a pension to Mary M. Norris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2699. A bill granting a pension to Annie Rhodes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2700. A bill granting a pension to Ella Strutton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2701. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary

E. Ward; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
H. R. 2702. A bill granting a pension to Nancy V. Mosher;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2703. A bill granting a pension to Frances E. Newton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2704. A bill granting a pension to Mary E. Mecomber: to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2705. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ida

Nagel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.
H. R. 2706. A bill granting a pension to Ruah L. Martin;

to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2707. A bill granting a pension to Malisa Maze; to

the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2708. A bill granting a pension to Sarah K. Cope-

land; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H P. 2700 A bill granting a pension to Frame Knight.

H. R. 2709. A bill granting a pension to Emma Knight; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2710. A bill granting a pension to Margaret F. Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 2711. A bill granting a pension to Eddie Bassett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 2712. A bill granting a pension to Nan A. Benson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2713. A bill granting a pension to Oscar James Callier; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

# PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

203. By Mr. BALL: Petition of citizens of New London, Conn., favoring the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

204. By Mr. CHIPERFIELD: Petition of the Townsend Club of Clayton, Ill., urging that the Townsend bill be brought on the floor for discussion; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

205. By Mr. DEROUEN: Petition of the board of directors of the Louisiana Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Inc., urging the continuance of the Dies committee investigating un-American activities, etc.; to the Committee on Rules.

206. By Mr. GERLACH: Petition of sundry citizens of Lehigh County, Pa., urging adherence to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of May 1, 1937, and extension of the act to include civil as well as international conflicts: to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

207. By Mr. GEYER of California: Resolution of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, Bruce Hannon, secretary-treasurer, pointing out that a United States marine hospital should be constructed in San Pedro, Calif.; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

208. By Mr. HAWKS: Petition carrying the signatures of 150 residents of Waukesha County, Wis., protesting against any change in our present policy of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

209. By Mr. MARSHALL: Petition of St. Edward's Rectory, Cleveland, Ohio, relative to the lifting of the embargo on arms by eliminating the principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, by which civil as well as international conflict is involved; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

210. By Mr. PLUMLEY: Petition of Rev. F. E. McDonough and 15 other residents of Montpelier, Vt., petitioning the Congress to retain provisions of the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

211. Also, petition of Burlington (Vt.) Branch, American Association of University Women (50 members), to the Congress to support revision of the present neutrality law; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

212. Also, a petition of the Ave Maria Circle, No. 128, Daughters of Isabella, Ellen F. MacKinnon, recording secretary, of Brattleboro, Vt., urging Congress to retain the embargo on arms and to investigate leftist and communistic groups in the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

213. By Mr. RODGERS of Pennsylvania: Petition of certain citizens of Union City, Pa. (Townsend Club No. 1), favoring the enactment of the general welfare bill (H. R. 2); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

214. Also, petition of certain citizens of the city of Erie, Pa., and of Erie and Crawford Counties, Pa., favoring the policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and also the act of May 1, 1937, etc.; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

215. Also, petition of certain citizens of the city of Erie, city of Meadville, and of Erie and Crawford Counties, Pa., favoring the policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and also the act of May 1, 1937, etc.; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

216. By Mr. SCHIFFLER: Petition of the officers and members of Local Union No. 4021, with a membership of 750, protesting against the adoption of any amendments to the Wagner Relations Act at this time; to the Committee on Labor.

217. Also, petition of Richard Flanagan and 48 citizens of Grafton, W. Va., protesting against any changes in the Neutrality Act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

218. By Mr. SECCOMBE: Petition of members of the Adult Bible Class of the Union Church of Fredericksburg, Ohio, headed by Mrs. Edward E. Braid, urging that Congress, in the interest of world peace, enact legislation forbidding trade between the United States and the aggressor in any military or naval conflict throughout the world; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

219. By Mr. TERRY: Memorial of the Senate of the Fiftysecond General Assembly of the State of Arkansas, assembled in regular session, the house of representatives concurring therein, that the Arkansas delegation in the Congress support wholeheartedly the President's program of defense; to the Committee on Appropriations.

220. Also, Concurrent Resolution No. 2, of the Arkansas State Senate, petitioning Congress to enact legislation to provide Federal grants for educational purposes in accordance with the recommendations of the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education; to the Committee on Education.

221. By Mr. VAN ZANDT: Petition of Mrs. H. J. Dooley and others of Bellwood, Pa., urging the passage of legislation

which will stop, so far as is possible by Federal law, the great advertising campaign for the sale of alcoholic beverages now going on by press and radio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

222. Also, petition of Mrs. W. F. Balsbach, of Bellwood, Pa., and others of Blair County, Pa., urging the passage of legislation which will stop, so far as is possible by Federal law, the great advertising campaign for the sale of alcoholic beverages now going on by press and radio; to the Committee on

Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

223. By Mr. VORYS of Ohio: Petition of Cecilia Reeb and 87 others, of Columbus, Ohio, petitioning Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and also to retain on our statute books the corollary principle of the same act and to extend the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; and also urging Congress to launch an investigation of those leftist groups which are sponsoring propaganda favoring the lifting of the embargo on arms to "red" Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

224. By Mr. VAN ZANDT: Petition of the Catholic Daughters of America, of Clearfield, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the Neutrality Acts of August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

225. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the United Federal Workers of America, Washington, D. C., petitioning consideration of their petitions with reference to civil service; to the

Committee on Appropriations.

226. Also, petition of the Alabama Road Builders' Association, Montgomery, Ala., petitioning consideration of their resolution dated December 5, 1938, with reference to high-

ways: to the Committee on Roads.

227. Also, petition of Nicholas Martini, director of public works, Passaic, N. J., petitioning consideration of his resolution dated January 10, 1939, with reference to Works Progress Administration and relief; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

228. Also, petition of the Holy Name Society, St. Sebastian's Parish, Milwaukee, Wis., petitioning consideration of their petition with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on

Foreign Affairs.

229. Also, petition of the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, Washington, D. C., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the un-American activities in the United States; to the Committee on Rules.

230. Also, petition of the United Federal Workers of America, Local 50, Washington, D. C., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to Works Progress Administration; to the Committee on Appropriations.

231. Also, petition of the city of Royal Oak, Mich., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the

Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

# SENATE

TUESDAY, JANUARY 17, 1939

The Chaplain, Rev. ZeBarney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, who lovest all and forgettest none, and who art always more ready to hear than we to pray: look upon us with Thy favor as at this, the beginning of another day, we commit ourselves unto Thee.

Do Thou so order our unruly wills and affections as to bring them into perfect harmony with Thy will; and we beseech Thee to direct and prosper all our consultations in behalf of our Nation that we may be delivered from all those sins that divide us, from class bitterness and race hatred, from greed and from the arbitrary love of power, from the fear of unemployment and the evils of overwork, from the luxury that enervates and the poverty that stultifies; and grant that universal justice, made radiant by Thy love, may be established among us for all generations. We ask it in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Barkley, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, January 16, 1939, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

# CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. MINTON. I suggest the absence of a quorum.
The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.
The legislative clerk (Emery L. Frazier) called the roll, and
the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Donahey	King	Schwartz
Andrews	Downey	La Follette	Schwellenbach
Ashurst	Ellender	Lee	Sheppard
Austin	Frazier	Lodge	Shipstead
Bailey	George	Logan	Smith
Bankhead	Gerry	Lucas	Stewart
Barbour	Gibson	Lundeen	Taft
Barkley	Gillette	McCarran	Thomas, Okla.
Bilbo -	Glass	McKellar	Thomas, Utah
Bone	Green	McNary	Tobey
Borah	Guffey	Maloney	Townsend
Bridges	Gurney	Mead	Truman
Brown	Hale	Minton	Tydings
Bulow	Harrison	Murray	Vandenberg
Burke	Hatch	Neely	Van Nuys
Byrd	Hayden	Norris	Wagner
Capper	Herring	Nye	Walsh
Chavez	Hill	O'Mahoney	Wheeler
Clark, Idaho	Holman	Pepper	White
Clark, Mo.	Holt	Pittman	Wiley
Connally	Hughes	Reed	
Danaher	Johnson, Calif.	Reynolds	
Davis	Johnson, Colo.	Russell	

Mr. MINTON. I announce that the Senators from Arkansas [Mrs. Caraway and Mr. Miller] are absent attending the funeral of the late Representative Cravens, of Arkansas.

The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes] is attending the inauguration of Governor Maybank, and will be unable to attend the session of the Senate today.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. Lewis], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. RADCLIFFE], and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMATHERS] are detained from the Senate on important public business.

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Overton] is absent because of illness.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-nine Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

SPECIAL ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS, DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Attorney General, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report for the period of July 1, 1938, to January 1, 1939, showing the special assistants employed under the appropriation, "Pay of special assistant attorneys," contained in the Department of Justice Appropriation Act, 1939, together with the rates of compensation, the amounts paid, and a description of their duties, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# REPORT ON WIRE OR RADIO SAFETY LEGISLATION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, reporting, pursuant to law, relative to proposed new wire or radio communication legislation to better insure safety of life and property, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

# EMPLOYMENT OF ALIENS BY GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate letters from the President of the Export-Import Bank of Washington and the Acting Chairman of the Federal Power Commission, stating, in response to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938, that no aliens are employed by them, which were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

# PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate letters and telegrams in the nature of memorials from sundry citizens of the States of Maryland, Michigan, and New York, remonstrating against lifting the embargo on the shipment of arms to Spain, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a letter and a telegram in the nature of petitions from Mrs. C. Quinn, of Calumet City, Ill., and T. E. Carskadon, of Columbus, Ohio, praying for lifting of the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted at Flagstaff, Ariz., by the annual convention of officers and members of the Arizona Wool Growers' Association, protesting against the enactment of legislation separating the Forest Service from the Department of Agriculture and its consolidation or combination with any other bureau or department of the Government, which was referred to the Select Committee on Government Organization.

Mr. AUSTIN presented petitions of sundry citizens of Fair Haven, Hardwick, Rutland, and St. Albans, all in the State of Vermont, praying for retention of the principle of the present neutrality law and extension of the law to include civil as well as international conflicts, which were

referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. MALONEY presented a petition of members of Local No. 251, Waterbury Brass Workers' Union, of Waterbury, Conn., praying for an appropriation of \$1,000,000,000 for the remainder of the present fiscal year to supply W. P. A. work for the unemployed, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also presented the petitions of Alice E. Fitzgerald and 22 other citizens of Ansonia; William Hayden and sundry other citizens of Bridgeport; Barbara E. Kretzmer and 15 other citizens of Glastonbury, and David F. Germain and 7 other citizens of Middletown, all in the State of Connecticut, praying for adherence to the existing neutrality law and continuation of the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented telegrams in the nature of memorials from the legislative council of the Allied Irish Societies and the Parkville Friends and Neighbors Club, of Hartford; the Slovak American Club, of New Britain, and Rev. Lawrence W. Doucette, of Moosup, all in the State of Connecticut, remonstrating against lifting the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I present for appropriate reference a petition signed by 398 members of the Kansas Farmers Liberty League and farmers of Sumner County, Kans., asking for repeal of the Agricultural Act of 1938.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The petition will be received and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and

Forestry.

Mr. REED. I also present for appropriate reference a petition signed by 25 citizens of Elk County, Kans., requesting that adequate appropriation be made for the W. P. A.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The petition will be received and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. REED. I also present for appropriate reference a petition signed by seven citizens of Rush County, Kans., requesting that the United States Senate vote against increased armaments.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The petition will be received and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. REED. I also present a petition signed by 79 citizens of the counties of Meade, Ford, Edwards, and Clark, in the State of Kansas, requesting that the Government maintain a general policy of neutrality; also a petition signed by 63 citizens of Niles, Ottawa County, Kans., requesting that the Government adhere to the general policy of neutrality; also a petition signed by 21 citizens of Concordia, Lyon County, Kans., requesting a revision of the neutrality law; also a petition signed by 40 citizens of Marienthal, Wichita County, Kans., requesting that the Spanish arms embargo be not lifted; also a petition signed by 13 citizens of Sharon, Barber County, Kans., making the same request; also a petition signed by 19 citizens of Scott and Wichita Counties asking that the Spanish arms embargo be not lifted; also a petition signed by 45 citizens of Cowley County, Kans., requesting that the Government continue to stop the transportation of munitions to Spain; also a petition signed by 24 citizens of Tipton, Morgan County, Kans., requesting adherence to the present policy of neutrality; also a petition signed by 20 citizens of Winfield, Cowley County, Kans., requesting adherence to the general policy of neutrality; and also a petition signed by 45 citizens of Ness County, Kans., requesting the enactment of legislation to stop the traffic in munitions to Japan until the invasion of China is ended, and also take immediate steps to stop the sale and shipment of raw material and finished products for use by the Japanese Army. I request that these petitions be referred to the suitable committee.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The petitions will be received and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. WALSH:

S. 744. A bill to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of Allen Pope against the United States; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JOHNSON of California:

S. 745. A bill for the relief of the Pacific Telephone & Tele-

graph Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 746. A bill to authorize Maj. Andrew S. Rowan, United States Army, retired, to accept the Order Carlos Manuel de Céspedes tendered him by the Government of Cuba in appreciation of services rendered; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 747. A bill granting an increase in retired pay to George Occhionero, first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps, retired; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. DAVIS:

S. 748. A bill for the relief of Catherine T. McNally; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HUGHES:

S. 749. A bill for the relief of Harry F. Baker; to the Committee on Claims.

(Mr. Bilbo introduced Senate bill 750, which was referred to the Committee on Finance, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. ASHURST:

S. 751 (by request). A bill to amend the White Slave Traffic Act in respect of women and girls under 18 years of age; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BORAH:

S. 752. A bill to amend section 78 of chapter 231, Thirtysixth United States Statutes at Large (36 Stat. L., sec. 1109), relating to one judicial district to be known as the district of Idaho, and dividing it into four divisions, to be known as the northern, central, southern, and eastern divisions, defining the territory embraced in said divisions, fixing the terms of district court for said divisions, requiring the clerk of the court to maintain an office in charge of himself or deputy at Coeur d'Alene City, Idaho; Moscow, Idaho; Boise City, Idaho; and Pocatello, Idaho, and to authorize the United States District Court for the District of Idaho, by rule or order, to make such changes in the description or names to conform to such changes of description or names of counties in said divisions as the Legislature of Idaho may hereafter make; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LOGAN:

S. 753. A bill for the relief of the widow and children of Dr. Joe M. Ferguson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LUCAS:

S. 754. A bill for the relief of J. G. Mayfield; and

S. 755. A bill to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of the Borg-Warner Corporation; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 756. A bill to provide for the reappointment of Maj. Harry A. Musham, retired, to the active list of the Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WHEELER:

S. 757. A bill to provide for the disposition of unclaimed deposits in national banks; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 758. A bill providing for the payment of employees' compensation to certain employees of the United States who have suffered, or may suffer, injuries not of a traumatic nature;

S. 759. A bill for the relief of V. E. Johnson;

S. 760. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Guy A. McConoha;

S. 761. A bill for the relief of Zelma Halverson;

S. 762. A bill for the relief of Ida L. Hoiland; S. 763. A bill for the relief of Florence Holt;

S. 764. A bill for the relief of Charles F. Kegel;

S. 765. A bill for the relief of Hugh McGuire; and

S. 766. A bill for the relief of the Missoula Brewing Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 767. A bill conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, examine, adjudicate, and enter judgment in any claims which the Assiniboine Indians may have against the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

S. 763. A bill for the relief of Lu Knowles Maxey; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 769. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to furnish mats for the reproduction in magazines and newspapers of photographs of national-park scenery; and

S. 770. A bill to authorize the addition to Glacier National Park, Mont., of certain property acquired for the establishment and operation of a fish hatchery, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. CLARK of Idaho:

S. 771. A bill to provide for the general welfare by establishing a system of Federal benefits and by enabling the several States to make more adequate provision for the control and the eradication of noxious weeds; to conserve and protect the agricultural resources of the several States and of the United States; to empower the Secretary of Agriculture to make certain rules and regulations and prescribe conditions; to raise revenue; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. SCHWELLENBACH:

S. 772. A bill to authorize the reimbursement of the port of Vancouver, Wash., for dredging work done in the Columbia River covered by project set forth in Rivers and Harbors Committee Document No. 81, Seventy-fourth Congress, second session; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 773. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States Court of Claims to hear, examine, adjudicate, and render final judgment on any and all claims which the Yakima Indian Tribes may have against the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. NEELY:

S. 774. A bill for the relief of the Carr China Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 775. A bill granting an increase of pension to Charles Adkins; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 776. A bill to create an executive department of the Government to be known as the Department of Peace; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 777. A bill granting an increase of pension to John Flanagan;

S. 778. A bill granting a pension to Rachel Melvina Ann Campbell Frum:

S. 779. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lelia M. Marple:

S. 780. A bill granting a pension to Alma P. Miller;

S. 781. A bill granting a pension to Earl E. Bayles; and

S. 782. A bill granting an increase of pension to Jess Musgrave; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

S. 783. A bill to amend the act, as amended, entitled "An act to refer the claims of the Delaware Indians to the Court

of Claims, with the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States," approved February 7, 1925; and

S. 784 (by request). A bill for the relief of certain Indians of the Winnebago Agency, Nebr.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. TOWNSEND:

S. 785. A bill to repeal the Silver Purchase Act of 1934, to provide for the sale of silver, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 786. A bill for the relief of certain persons who suffered damages occasioned by the establishment and operation of the Aberdeen Proving Ground; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 787 (by request). A bill reenacting section 821, chapter 4, part 7, title 20, of the Code of the District of Columbia, and making the words "all taxes," therein contained, include special assessments; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

S. 783. A bill granting a pension to Katherine E. Miller; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BURKE:

S. 789. A bill to amend section 3 of the act approved July 2, 1937, entitled "An act to amend the act relating to the Omaha-Council Bluffs Missouri River Bridge Board of Trustees, approved June 10, 1930, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. CAPPER:

S. 790. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear and determine the claims of the Prairie Band or Tribe of Pottawatomie Indians of Kansas and Wisconsin against the United States; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

S. 791. A bill to provide for uniform regulation of marriage and divorce; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 792. A bill granting an increase of pension to Nancy Jane Spence (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

S. 793. A bill for the relief of Worth Gallaher (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KING:

S. 794. A bill relating to banking, banks, and trust companies in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. PEPPER:

S. 795. A bill to provide for the education of all types of physically handicapped children, to make an appropriation of money therefor, and to regulate its expenditure; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. ELLENDER:

S. 796. A bill for the relief of Mato, Miljenko, Bozo, and Augustin Cibilic, or Zibilich; to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. MEAD:

S. 797. A bill authorizing special-delivery messengers to be covered into the classified civil service as substitute clerks and carriers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Civil Service.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 798. A bill governing the retired pay of a chief pharmacist's mate, United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. CAPPER:

S. J. Res. 44. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to marriage and divorce laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WHEELER:

S. J. Res. 45. Joint resolution to amend the act of July 3, 1926, entitled "An act conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, examine, adjudicate, and render judgment in claims which the Crow Tribe of Indians may have against the United States, and for other purposes" (44 Stat. L. 807); to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

#### OLD-AGE ASSISTANCE

Mr. BILBO. I introduce a bill, for appropriate reference, proposing an amendment to the Social Security Act to provide for the payment by the Federal Government of \$30 per month to all persons over the age of 65 years, irrespective of the amounts the States contribute. I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed as part of my remarks. It is brief.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The bill (S. 750) to amend the Social Security Act with respect to old-age assistance, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That effective January 1, 1940, clause (7) of section 2 (a) of the Social Security Act is amended to read as

section 2 (a) of the Social Security Act is amended to read as follows:

"(7) Provide that, if the State or any of its political subdivisions collects from the estate of any recipient of old-age assistance any amount with respect to old-age assistance furnished him under the plan, the net amount so collected shall be prorated between the United States and the State in the proportion that the amount the United States contributed to such old-age assistance during the year next preceding the year such net amount was collected bears to the amount the State contributed during such year, and the amount due the United States shall be promptly paid to the United States. Any payment so made shall be deposited in the Treasury to the credit of the appropriation for the purposes of this title."

Sec. 2. Effective January 1, 1940, section 3 (a) of such act is amended to read as follows:

"(a) From the sums appropriated therefor, the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay to each State which has an approved plan for old-age assistance, for each quarter, beginning with the quarter commencing January 1, 1940, (1) an amount, which shall be used exclusively as old-age assistance, of \$30 per month with respect to each aged needy individual who at the time of such expenditure is 65 years of age or older and is not an inmate of a public institution; and (2) 5 percent of such amount, which shall be used for paying the costs of administering the State plan or for old-age assistance, or both, and for no other purpose: Provided, That no amount for old-age assistance shall be paid by the Secretary of the Treasury to any State which shall contribute for old-age assistance during any quarter an amount smaller than the amount contributed by the State during the quarter beginning January 1, 1939. Any individual entitled to Federal old-age benefits under title II of this act may elect to receive in lieu thereof old-age assistance under the State plan for old-age assistance as provided in title 1 of this act." in title 1 of this act.'

# CHANGE OF REFERENCE

On motion by Mr. Wheeler, the Committee on the Library was discharged from the further consideration of the bill (S. 28) to provide for the erection of a public historical museum in the Custer Battlefield National Cemetery, Mont., and it was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

# NONFEDERAL APPLICATIONS PENDING IN PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION

Mr. MEAD. Mr. President, I submit a resolution, which I send to the desk and ask for its present consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New York asks for the present consideration of a resolution, which will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 61) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Federal Emergency Administrator of Public Works is hereby requested to furnish the Senate the following information: A list of non-Federal applications pending in the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, such list to indicate as to each project (a) its location, (b) its type, (c) its estimated cost, (d) the amount of loan requested, and (e) the amount of grant

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, the Senator's resolution refers to projects that have not been allotted?

Mr. MEAD. That is correct. The resolution applies only to projects in the category indicated by the Senator from

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the resolution was considered and agreed to.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, who offered the resolution? The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution has been considered and agreed to.

Mr. McNARY. I appreciate that, but I am not through with it unless I know more about it.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the vote whereby the resolution was agreed to will be reconsid-

Mr. McNARY. I should like to have the resolution read. I do not know who offered it.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the resolution.

Mr. McNARY. That is all right. I understand the resolution was offered by the Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD].

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It was. Mr. McNARY. I have no objection to it.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the resolution is agreed to.

#### IMPROVEMENT OF HARBOR AT RED WING, MINN.

Mr. SHEPPARD. By authority of the chairman of the Committee on Commerce, I ask that a communication from the Secretary of War, with its accompanying report and papers, be printed, with illustrations, as a Senate document. The report pertains to a reexamination of the Mississippi River between the Missouri River and Minneapolis, with a view to improvement of a harbor at Red Wing, Minn.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so

ordered.

# PROPOSED NAVAL BASE AT GUAM

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, the Naval Board has recommended the establishment of a naval base at Guam. On that subject Gen. William C. Rivers has written me a letter. It is known that General Rivers was stationed at Manila for 11 years and has made a study of the subject. I ask that his letter be inserted in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so

ordered.

The letter referred to is as follows:

NEW YORK CITY, January 15, 1939.

New York City, January 15, 1939.

The Honorable William E. Borah,

The United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Borah: You may have seen the press reports to the effect that a naval board recommends about nine new naval air, submarine, or destroyer bases in the Pacific Ocean. And that two of these new bases are to be in the western Pacific. That is the base recommended at Guam and the base recommended on Wake Island will be west of the 180° meridian.

For the United States to establish a naval air, submarine, and destroyer base at Guam, near and on the strategic flank of Japan, would be, I believe, the most markedly aggressive and provocative military step of the kind which I have seen on our part in the fifty-odd years since I entered West Point. The customary strategic designation for a fortification at such a place as Guam—almost 4,000 miles from our powerful defense base at Hawaii—is that of a salient. In this case Guam would be a far-away and indefensible salient. salient

Should the Government of Japan establish a fortified air, submarine, and destroyer base on the strategic flank of the United States—say, in the Gulf of California—the people of our own country would naturally consider such action a threat to the safety of the United States.

the United States.

Our principal authority on naval matters, Admiral Leahy, said last winter to the Naval Committee that the Navy would be "seriously inadequate to the task of sending a naval expedition to the Philippines," even after the increases in the fleet have been completed. Again, "I doubt if we could undertake such an expedition with three times the increase." Also, "the defensive line of the American Navy at the present time reaches from the Aleutian Islands to the Hawalian Islands, to Samoa, and to the Canal." Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM C. RIVERS Major General, United States Army, retired.

# THE AGRICULTURAL SITUATION

Mr. TRUMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD, as part of my remarks, a letter from a farmer in northern Missouri which definitely sets out the ideas of a farmer on the farm situation.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAREDO, Mo., January 8, 1939.

Hon. Harry S. Truman,

Washington, D.C.

My Dear Senator: I am pleased to have your letter of the 3d, but, as the Agricultural Act is so comprehensive, I am afraid I

can't define all its faults in writing. It has been drawn up by college professors and farm leaders, the latter the farmers who farm the farmer; and if it would work in one place, it would fail

farm the farmer; and if it would work in one place, it would fail to do the job in two other places.

I am convinced that you and the majority of all Senators and Representatives of Congress are sincere in helping the farmer, but can there really be any help? When you legislate to remedy one evil you are creating two.

The name "soil-conservation program" is all right. We need it; as in my 22 years in Grundy County I have seen millions of tons of soil going wastefully to the river, and today over 50 percent of all of our top soil, including bottom land, which does not erode very much, is gone; and under the soil-conservation program it is going faster than before.

We are rated here as a commercial corn county and are restricted

going faster than before.

We are rated here as a commercial corn county and are restricted in planting corn. The man who has practiced soil conservation has the most restrictions, and the fellow who has butchered his farm the greatest allotment. As a result the man with good bottom land can't comply and plants far in excess of what he would ordinarily plant. And the man who has most of his land plowed has a large corn base, plants corn to the limit, and fills out the balance with Atlas Sorgo and takes from three to five times as much plant food out of the soil as corn will, but he is still in compliance. Only about 25 percent of the farmers in Grundy County are in compliance for 1938. We are raising more corn now than before we had a program. Nineteen hundred and thirty-seven was the first year that corn was shipped out of Laredo since I have been here, and the local price was terminal market minus expenses, and before 1937 it was plus expenses.

You know the statistics of the increase of corn in the cotton, tobacco, and wheat States to the detriment of the Corn Belt.

tobacco, and wheat States to the detriment of the Corn Belt. Now they are stressing more livestock and dairying, another upset in a few years in the agricultural balance.

In a few years in the agricultural balance.

I have a neighbor who married in 1932 and rented a very poor 160 acres, was in debt for all he owned, stayed on the place during the worst years we ever had in Grundy County. He had a sale recently and then bought a farm with \$2,500 cash, comfortable household goods, a new car, and good farming equipment. I know of lots and lots of farmers who inherited good farms in good times and are broke today. Surely there is no legislative remedy for such cases. remedy for such cases.

The curtailment of production is our greatest source of unem-The curtailment of production is our greatest source of unemployment. Farm laborers out of work went on W. P. A. work, and those at work envied those on W. P. A. and quit and went there also. The farmer bought a tractor, plowed all he could, wants to sell his grain direct from the field, and let fences, ditches, weeds, and buildings take care of themselves. The money put out on the wheat program is an absolute waste, as the wheat farmer only wants to work 60 days out of the year, has cheap land, low taxes, and is the laziest man in this United States of America. America.

If any money is given to farmers direct, I favor a soll-conserva-tion program in the fullest sense of the word. I mean by that a rotation program; in the Corn Belt no corn or row crops to be planted unless then fallow after good sod. Then corn, corn, seeding grass seed with wheat or oats and again left at least 2 years in meadow, and eliminate all land unfit for plowing.

A set-up of benefit payments could be worked out whereby most farmers could comply and our surplus problem solved. Today one can draw benefit payments and at the same time farm one piece of ground continuously and most of the money received can be used for anything.

The money received for compliance should only be used and paid out for conding. Imping towarding creditating weeds storping

out for seeding, liming, terracing, eradicating weeds, stopping ditches, reforesting, insect-pest control, etc.

As 58 percent of all land in Grundy County is owned by absentee landlords—and the same is true elsewhere—the renter should receive the benefit payments and do the work for the good of the

ceive the benefit payments and do the work for the good of the farm, so future generations will have some land left to them. If industrial employment increases, we will have no overproduction of farm products; one family can eat a lot of corn at one meal with a generous supply of choice beef.

Everything possible should be done to stop land speculation and to encourage ownership of a farm as a home. Legislation should be enacted to place community sales and concentration yards under the same strict supervision as public stockyards. This would stop direct buying by packers, unfair trade practices, and the spread of disease. disease.

Low rates of interest are essential, but only on good collateral. The way the Farm Security Administration is dishing out money is harmful to most recipients and also the United States Treasury. God did not create two men alike, and certainly he did not intend to endow everyone with an executive mind.

Sorry I did not have the use of a typewriter and hope you can make this out. In case you are not clear on any subject, I would feel honored if you would ask.

With kindest regards, I remain, Very respectfully yours,

L. ESCHENHEIMER.

# CONSTRUCTION OF SUPERHIGHWAYS IN PENNSYLVANIA

[Mr. Davis asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a news article from the Washington Herald of January 15, 1939, concerning the construction of superhighways, which appears in the Appendix.]

# DIRECT BUYING AT PRIVATE STOCKYARDS-LETTER FROM D. M. HILDEBRAND

[Mr. Capper asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a letter from D. M. Hildebrand, of Seward, Nebr., president of the United States Livestock Association, relative to the destructive market effects of direct buying at private stockyards not subject to Federal regulations, which appears in the Appendix.1

#### DEFENSE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES—EDITORIALS FROM KANSAS CITY STAR

[Mr. Clark of Missouri asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD six editorials from the Kansas City Star on the subject of the defense policy of the United States, which appears in the Appendix.]

# EXECUTIVE SESSION

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The morning business is closed. The Chair will state that there is no printed calendar. Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

# EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. WALSH, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, reported favorably the nomination of Col. William P. Upshur to be brigadier general in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of June 1938 and also the nominations of sundry officers and citizens for promotion or appointment in the Marine Corps.

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of sundry

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The reports will be placed on the Executive Calendar.

#### IN THE ARMY

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, from the Committee on Military Affairs I report favorably all routine appointments in the Army which have been referred to the committee, with the exception of one nomination which has been withdrawn,

These nominations, which total nearly 1,200, are all of routine character, none being appointments to general officer grades. In order to save the expense of printing this large list of names on the Executive Calendar, I ask unanimous consent for their immediate consideration en bloc.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the nominations are confirmed en bloc.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, in order to bring about a further saving in printing, I ask unanimous consent that the RECORD shall not contain the printed names of these officers, but shall refer to them as having been nominated by the President on a particular date.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so

If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will state in their order the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE, SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Felix Frankfurter, of Massachusetts, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, I move that Dr. Frankfurter's nomination be confirmed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to this nomination? [Putting the question. The ayes have it, and the nomination is con-

# DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE-ATTORNEY GENERAL

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Frank Murphy, of Michigan, to be Attorney General.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I should like to discuss the nomination of Mr. Murphy.

Sometime ago the President of the United States is reported to have made a statement in which he said:

The measure of a man's sincerity is not what he says but what he does.

By the standard of the President's own words let us measure the qualifications of Mr. Murphy for the office of Attorney General of the United States.

To start with, in all probability a man acting as President of the United States would try to secure a well-qualified man for Attorney General of the United States. Therefore, let us look at Mr. Murphy's record in the legal field.

He was admitted to the bar in June 1914. He entered a law office in Detroit shortly after that time. He remained as a law clerk in that firm for 3 years.

On August 9, 1919, he entered the office of the United States district attorney of Detroit as chief assistant to the district attorney, and remained in that office until March 1, 1922. He then entered a law partnership with a man by the name of Edward G. Kemp, and remained in private practice until January 1924.

In 1923 Mr. Murphy was elected judge of the recorder's court and took office on January 2, 1924. He remained in that position until he became mayor of Detroit in 1930. He resigned as mayor in May 1933 to accept appointment as Governor General and High Commissioner of the Philippines. He remained in that office until 1936, when he was elected Governor of Michigan.

The recorder's court of the city of Detroit is a sort of a police court, having little jurisdiction over civil suits. It is wholly confined to criminal actions. If you will examine the records of the Supreme Court of Michigan of that time, you will find that Mr. Murphy did not have a single case before the Supreme Court of Michigan during the time he had membership in the firm of Murphy & Kemp.

Let us consider his status with the Supreme Court of the United States. Up to the time Mr. Murphy was appointed Attorney General he had never been admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States, and after receiving the appointment he had to appear and secure admittance to practice before that body.

Now a little back history:

When Mr. Justice Hugo Black was appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States, Mr. Murphy made this statement:

In Justice Black's appointment to the Supreme Court we have a man of excellent character, great ability, a great liberal, and a progressive.

Apparently Mr. Murphy's views coincide with those of Mr. Justice Black. He implies by his statement that he sees eye to eye with Mr. Justice Black.

On November 8 of last year—which was rather a disastrous day for some persons in some sections of the country—Mr. Murphy was repudiated by an overwhelming vote by the people of the State of Michigan, the people of the State who knew him best, his home folks. I am not against Mr. Murphy today because he was repudiated by the voters of Michigan. I am against him for the same reason for which the voters of Michigan were against him—because he is a symbol in this country today of opposition to law and order and some of the precepts of good citizenship in this country.

Mr. Murphy's nomination and his confirmation by this body constitute a direct slap at the people of Michigan and the law-abiding citizens of the country. A man in whom the people of his own State, who knew him best, had not enough confidence, after a fair trial, to reelect as Governor, is now elevated to direct one of the great departments of this Government, the Department of Justice.

Let us look for just a moment at Mr. Murphy's record the record by which the President of the United States says all men should be judged. Let us look first at Mr. Murphy's record as mayor.

His record as mayor of the fourth largest city in the United States is conspicuous for its flagrant, baseless disregard for the law which he was pledged to uphold. When a mob marched on the Ford factory in 1932 Murphy's statement in the Detroit News, under date of March 15, appeared as follows:

Your parade was without permit, in violation of the city ordinance, and yet we had the police there to protect you and everybody else.

As a result of that march, 4 men were killed and 28 were injured. This was the protection which he gave as mayor of Detroit, to which he referred—4 men dead and 28 more injured, through Mr. Murphy's failure, by his own admission, to enforce the laws of Michigan and the city ordinances of the city of Detroit.

By the way, it was while he was mayor of Detroit that Mr. Murphy came into close connection with the philosophy of the President, that is, of being a big spender. As long as he was spending the public's money, he was generous indeed.

His record as Governor shows a striking resemblance to his record as mayor; providing a similar but even more serious example of his failure to enforce the law. After having solemnly sworn to uphold the laws and the Constitution of the United States, and the constitution and the laws of the State of Michigan, in his oath as Governor, Murphy proceeded to break that oath by allowing the occupation of Flint automobile plants by a Communist-led mob, thus depriving citizens of Flint of liberty and property without due process of law.

The court, having jurisdiction over that territory, had issued an order that those who had taken possession of the automobile plants, and beaten and assaulted citizens of Flint, be ejected. The sheriff of Genesee County and other peace officers stood ready to enforce the order. As Governor, Murphy had the ability and the means to enforce that order. While felonies calling for imprisonment under the laws of Michigan were being committed, Mr. Murphy was holding conferences in a Flint hotel and refusing to permit the State police to go to the aid of the local authorities who were being hopelessly overpowered in their efforts to restore order. At no time during the course of the unlawful destruction and occupation of private property did Mr. Murphy publicly ask or demand that the "sit downers" abandon their lawless activities. On the contrary, he insisted that sheriffs and peace officials refrain from carrying out the court order. In fact, he emphasized that the State police and the National Guard, under his direct authority, would be used to protect those in possession of the factory. There could be no question that he had no right or authority, on any grounds, to hinder or cause to be set aside the law of the land.

I wish now to review the record, in light of this newly discovered or newly produced, shall I call it, evidence, that is produced by the man whom it should best serve.

Let us ponder on the setting of this new and astounding letter. Frank Murphy said that he read a virtual ultimatum to John L. Lewis the day before the automobile strike was settled in Michigan 2 years ago. It is true that this alleged letter, written to a man with whom Murphy was in daily conference along with officials of the strike-closed factories, is only claimed to have been written more than 40 days after the strike had been in progress. That alone indicates great restraint. The letter might have been written the day after the strike started just as well.

Why did Frank Murphy wait until now to produce that letter? With charming and disarming frankness he told reporters that he had not used the letter in the campaign for reelection in Michigan because his personal fortunes were secondary.

He might have added that a Governor cannot maintain the confidence of the people unless he upholds the law.

This misunderstood ex-Governor added—and I quote again from the Washington Post of last Saturday:

I acted as mediator right up to the end of my term for, as recently as December 16, what might have been a very serious strike broke out in certain automobile plants. We were able to settle it, however.

I think a public official has to be accessible to both sides and never say or do anything that might make either side lose confidence in him. There was no point in making that letter public while I was Governor—except in defense of myself personally. And my personal fortunes are a secondary matter.

That is the end of the quotation. That is pretty noble, pretty self-sacrificing. By what logic would a plain assertion of just policy impair the efficiency of a Governor's

arbitration powers? By what stretch of imagination would a statement ordering John L. Lewis to obey the law destroy the confidence of the people in a Governor? Have we gone so far in this country that a statement requiring obedience to the law, coming from the Governor of a sovereign State, would discredit him? No wonder the people of Michigan had enough of Frank Murphy.

We have had many sides to the so-called picture, and I desire to ask very frankly, what confidence can we have in a law-enforcement official, the Attorney General of the United States, who has this record behind him? Remember, Mr. Roosevelt says that the measure of a man's sincerity

is not what he says, but what he does.

I wish now to refer to one other matter in connection with Mr. Murphy. While campaigning for the Governorship of Michigan, between January 1, 1936, and September 4, 1936, he repeatedly gave the voters of Michigan the impression that he had resigned as High Commissioner of the Philippines. During that period, however, while he was giving the voters of Michigan the impression he had resigned, he received \$14,500 in salary as High Commissioner. He went off the Federal pay roll on September 4, 1936, and went back on after the election on November 4. Between November 4 and December 31, after he had been elected Governor, he received \$2,850 in salary. This information was supplied by the Bureau of Insular Affairs. Some of this time while Mr. Murphy was drawing the salary he was down in Habana, Cuba, or Florida basking in the sunlight.

It may be easy for some people to forget-and I know many people in this body want to forget about the record of Mr. Murphy in Michigan-but it was part of Michigan's darkest history: it was a history of the start of sit-down strikes in America, and I cannot forget it, even if that would be courteous to the President of the United States; and the people of Michigan could not forget it on November 8 last.

Now I wish to speak regarding Mr. Murphy's communistic activities, or his communistic associations, and I shall have

some very interesting documents to present.

I produce here and I shall offer for the RECORD a letter from the editor of the New South, which is a journal published in Birmingham, Ala., whose policies are of a communistic nature. I shall read from this, and it may be interesting to some on the other side, because the writer discusses his favorite candidate for President in 1940. I read:

There is not as yet very much discussion in the South on the There is not as yet very much discussion in the South on the subject of the Democratic nominee in 1940. The majority of the southern people support the President and his program, and to them it is not very important whether the candidate should be Mr. Roosevelt himself or someone else who can be trusted to carry on the New Deal. But, on the other hand, there is a reactionary element interested in nominating a candidate who would abandon Mr. Roosevelt's progressive program and return to the old days of free exploitation and disregard of human want and suffering. These reactionary forces are strongest in Mississippi, South Carolina, and to some extent in Virginia, and weakest in Florida, Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina. tucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina.

The names now mentioned—Ickes, Jackson, Wallace, Farley, and

The names now mentioned—ickes, Jackson, Wallace, Farley, and Hull—are all regarded as New Deal men and are all undesirable and unacceptable to the "right" wing forces, with a slight possibility they might accept Mr. Farley. Other New Deal people who should be on the list of possibilities are Governor Murphy, of Michigan,

and Hopkins.

In other words, the names of Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Murphy are deliberately used as indicating their choice for President in 1940. I continue reading:

We do not mention the candidates of the reactionaries—a minority, yet a noisy one. Their logical candidate is Senator Clark, with Wheeler and Garner as other possibilities, and maybe even George or Tydings, if one or both should be successful in winning renomination.

I respect those gentlemen. I am rather upset at this objection of the Communists of the country to their nomination by the Democratic Party.

Many things may happen between now and 1940, including changes in the international situation. Now, it is only clear that the lines between the progressive and reactionary forces in the party are becoming sharper.

While the majority of the southern voters are behind Mr. Roosevelt and the New Deal, this majority would be very much greater if large sections of the population were not disfranchised by poll taxes and other regulations.

In spite of these restrictions, we have had the examples of Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and North Carolina, where candidates supporting the New Deal have defeated opponents openly opposed to the Roosevelt program or correctly regarded by the voters as being "yes, but" men. Reactionaries as yet can point only to South Caroline. only to South Carolina.

Very truly yours,

PAUL CROUCH. Editor, The New South.

So Senators see that Mr. Murphy, as well as Mr. Hopkins, whose nomination we are to consider later this week, now have the endorsement of some of the Communists of the country for the office of President of the United States.

I now wish to take up a document called the Great Sit-Down Strike. It is published and distributed by William Weinstone, secretary of the Michigan district of the Communist Party, United States of America. Mr. Weinstone is, in a manner of speaking, the moving spirit of the Communist Party in that section of the country. Let us see what he has to say about Mr. Murphy:

Finally, but of first-rate importance among the reasons for the victory, must be considered the attitude of the Government. By the government I mean, in this case, the attitude of the Governor of the State of Michigan and of President Roosevelt. The defeat of the reactionaries in the last election created more favorable conditions for the winning of the strike, for it gave encouragement to the workers and was the signal that the moment was ripe to start the battle. It brought into office in Lansing and Washington administrations that were committed to the continuation of the democratic form of government and which had promised to assist the workers in obtaining improved standards of living and the right of collective bargaining. Had the Landon Republicans come into office they would have taken the usual hard-boiled tory attitude on labor unionism and strikes.

Then he proceeds at some length to quote Lenin. I do not wish to take the time of the Senate to read that quotation, but I ask that it be printed in the RECORD, if there be no

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The quotation referred to is as follows:

Lenin has noted two methods of rule of the capitalist class.

Lenin has noted two methods of rule of the capitalist class. He says:

"The bourgeoisie in all countries in practice inevitably elaborates two systems of governing, two methods of struggle for its interests and for the defense of its domination, and these two methods now replace one another and interlace in different combinations. These are, first the method of violence, the method of refusing all concessions to the labor movement, the method of supporting all ancient and dying institutions, the method of uncompromising rejection of reform. \* \* \* The second method is the method of 'liberalism,' of steps toward the development of political rights, of reforms, of concessions, etc.

"The bourgeoiste passes from one method to another not through the malicious design of individuals and not by accident, but by force of the basic contradictoriness of its own position."

Mr. BRIDGES. Following what I have just referred to, William Weinstone says:

This is the type of government which rules today in Lansing and Washington. And the contradiction which Lenin notes in such a condition was present even in the short period of the

Then I exhibit here a paper which is put out by the State committee of the Communist Party of Michigan, urging the support of Governor Murphy as standing for all their ideas.

I could go on adding other communistic evaluations and endorsements of that gentleman. Those endorsements have not been given without cause.

Let us review the record of Mr. Frankensteen, who was appointed to the Michigan State Welfare Board. Frankensteen was accused by his former friend and chief, Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers, of being a Communist. Murphy showed no concern. He went right ahead and made the appointment.

Let us now look into a few of the other things that may be interesting in Mr. Murphy's record. Did Mr. Murphy concern himself for the decent, law-abiding citizens of Michigan when Communist agitators took over the direction of traffic in and around the Flint area in January 1937 when from trucks containing loud speakers they were directing traffic? No. His voice at that time was not raised in behalf

of the decent, law-respecting people of the State of Michigan or of the United States. The New York Times related that Governor Murphy refused the request of the prosecuting attorney, Joseph Josephs, of Flint, to allow State police to serve warrants on 300 persons in connection with the riot at the Chevrolet factory in Flint. Josephs said there were not enough police and the sheriff's deputies to serve warrants when he asked for State assistance. This was not a matter of bloodshed or rioting or trying to remove the people from the factories. This was a matter of serving warrants on persons connected with the riot resulting in injury to more than 25 persons, including officials of the law.

Members of the Senate, Mr. Murphy says that he does not condone sit-down strikes. What did he do? Before the committee of the Senate the other day, 2 years after the sitdown strikes, he said, "They are illegal." He said that he was not for them. Did it take 2 years to make up his mind? Did it take until the time that he was appointed Attorney General of the United States by the President of the United

The President of the United States should have wide latitude in the choice of members of his Cabinet. He should have the privilege, within certain limitations, of picking out whom he cares to serve with him. But the Constitution of the United States provides for Senate confirmation by this body, and a solemn obligation rests on us as Members of this body as to how we cast our vote on this confirmation today. Men took their office here as United States Senators only after having taken an oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States and its laws.

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. BRIDGES. I yield.

Mr. MINTON. Did the Senator read the hearings before the Senate committee on Attorney General Murphy?

Mr. BRIDGES. I read at least part of them; yes.

Mr. MINTON. Did the Senator read that part of the hearings in which Mr. Murphy read into the record the statement which he had prepared during the sit-down strikes, showing that he then believed and then was ready to state that a sitdown strike was illegal, and he was prevented from issuing the statement only because the strike was settled?

Mr. BRIDGES. Well-

Mr. MINTON. Did the Senator read that?

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes, I did; and I think it is very fortunate that Mr. Murphy had a recurrence of memory after 2 years.

Mr. MINTON. The Senator said awhile ago that Mr. Murphy did not find out that a sit-down strike was illegal until just the other day, 2 years after its occurrence.

Mr. BRIDGES. That is the first time that the people of this country had any information that Mr. Murphy had any change of heart in respect to the matter of the sit-down

Mr. MINTON. The people who were negotiating with Mr. Murphy knew it at that time.

Mr. BRIDGES. The citizens of Michigan did not, and the people of the United States did not, and Mr. Murphy very quietly kept it to himself for 2 long years. He thought probably it was safer to do so.

Mr. Murphy is known in Detroit as "the dew and sunshine boy," "the dew and sunshine mayor," and I have no doubt that if he comes to the Attorney General's office, as he undoubtedly is going to, because for various reasons most Senators are committed in their views to vote for him, that we shall have dew and sunshine in the Attorney General's

Mr. President, this question presents a serious issue. Most Senators have made up their minds to vote for Mr. Murphy. Some Senators no doubt will vote for him because they believe the President should have wide latitude in the matter of choosing his Cabinet. Others will vote for him because of obligations to Mr. Murphy, and others because they like him. A few will vote for him because they believe he will make a good Attorney General. I wish to say that I believe that in this appointment the President has deliberately picked out a man who has failed to demonstrate his

legal capacity for that great, high office, a man who is a "lame duck," who has been repudiated by the people of his own State.

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. BRIDGES. Certainly. Mr. MINTON. Chief Justice Hughes was a "lame duck," was he not? He was repudiated by the people in 1916, was

Mr. BRIDGES. Oh, yes; that is right.
Mr. MINTON. Former Chief Justice Taft was a "lame duck," was he not?

Mr. BRIDGES. That is right.

Mr. MINTON. A couple of the judges now sitting in the courts of the District of Columbia were "lame ducks" when they were appointed. The Acting Comptroller, Richard Elliott, is a "lame duck." There are many now occupying office who were, at the time of their appointment, Republican "lame ducks."

Mr. BRIDGES. There have been many "lame duck" appointments in the past, I will admit to the Senator from Indiana, but such a practice did not become popular until the present administration, and after November 8, when there was a necessity for it.

Mr. MINTON. But it was all right, was it, in the past, when Republican administrations were appointing Republican "lame ducks" to office?

Mr. BRIDGES. The Republicans will be doing some appointing around here in 2 more years.

Mr. MINTON. That is what the Senator thinks.

Mr. BRIDGES. I have every reason to believe that that statement is true.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BRIDGES. I gladly yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. Will the Senator from New Hampshire guarantee that if the Republicans do any appointing 2 years hence that they will not appoint any "lame ducks"?

Mr. BRIDGES. I cannot make that guaranty absolutely, but I do not believe we will have many "lame ducks" on hand, because all of our people will be reelected in 1940.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BRIDGES. I yield.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, I oppose the suggestion of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], for there is great danger that the Senator from New Hampshire will in the near future become a lame duck, because a great newspaper recently quoted a distinguished Republican Member of the Senate as having said that if he could, he would expel the Senator from New Hampshire from the Republican Party.

Mr. BRIDGES. I would appreciate it if the Senator from West Virginia would name the man who made that statement. If the Senator has read it, he ought to be willing to state the name of the man who made the statement that I ought to be expelled from the Republican Party. I will sayand I do not know who made the statement-that my Republicanism and my Americanism probably will equal that of the gentleman to whom the Senator referred. It will probably equal the Americanism of the Senator from West Virginia also, or of any Senator on the other side of the aisle. [Laughter.]

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, so far as I know, no one has challenged the Americanism of the Senator from New Hamp-

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Let the Chair remind Senators that they cannot enter into discussions in the Senate without being recognized by the Chair and with the consent of the speaker.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I do not think I have more to say on the Murphy appointment, except that I believe that Mr. Murphy should be denied confirmation by this body. I believe the appointment is unwarranted. As I said, I realize that the vote for Mr. Murphy will be in the affirmative by a substantial margin. Please remember, however, that Mr. Murphy may be a noose around the neck of the administra-

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from New Hampshire yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. BRIDGES. Certainly.
Mr. NORRIS. I thought the Senator had concluded.

Mr. BRIDGES. I shall be through in just a moment.

I am opposed to the nomination of Mr. Murphy, and I hope we will have a roll call on the vote when the time comes.

Mr. BROWN obtained the floor.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President-

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. BROWN. I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from

Mr. NORRIS. I desire to submit a unanimous-consent request. I ask unanimous consent that following the remarks of the Senator from New Hampshire, the testimony in the hearing before the subcommittee on Mr. Murphy's nomination be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

# NOMINATION OF FRANK MURPHY

UNITED STATES SENATE

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,

The subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary,

Washington, D. C., January 13, 1939.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, in room 318, Senate

Office Building, Senator M. M. Logan (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Logan (chairman), Hatch, Burke, Norris, and

Senator Logan. The committee will come to order. Senator PITTMAN requests me to say that he has been called to the White House and is unable to be present.

The nomination of Attorney General Murphy was favorably reported by this subcommittee earlier in the week, or the subcommittee voted to make a favorable report to the full committee. On yesterday I received this communication from the Attorney General which I desire to read into the record: eral, which I desire to read into the record:

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Washington, January 12, 1939.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I wanted to indicate to you my willingness and desire to appear before your committee for the purpose of giving it any information with respect to my qualifications for

Attorney General.

I have communicated with Senator Ashurst who informs me I have communicated with Senator Ashoust who informs me that, despite the fact that your committee reported unanimously in favor of my confirmation to the Judiciary Committee as a whole, it would be proper to address this communication to you. I will, of course, be willing to accommodate myself to the time set by the committee for such hearing should this request be in order, and would be greatly obliged if you would notify me when the same could take place.

the same could take place.

Sincerely,

FRANK MURPHY.

STATEMENT OF HON. FRANK MURPHY, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

Senator Logan. Mr. Attorney General, immediately upon receipt of the letter which I have just read, I consulted with the members of the subcommittee, and we decided to hold a hearing this afternoon at 2 o'clock. I understand you have a prepared statement. You may read that into the record without interruption, and after you have concluded any member of the committee who desires to ask you any questions will be given that opportunity. You may now proceed.

Attorney General Murphy. Thank you, Senator.

It is, I know, unusual for a nominee for high office to ask to raise an issue before a Senate subcommittee sitting to judge his qualifications for office, after that subcommittee has approved his nomination.

There has been much public discussion concerning my conduct as Governor of Michigan during sit-down strikes in Flint and

other Michigan cities in the winter of 1937.

Since that issue has not been raised and discussed before the subcommittee by anyone else I have asked your permission to raise it myself.

With the subcommittee's permission, I should like first to read this prepared statement explaining briefly the labor situation in Michigan which confronted me when I became Governor and what I did to meet it. I believe that such preliminary explanation on my part would save the time of the committee by making it possible for me to answer more clearly and concisely any questions which any members of the committee may thereafter wish to ask.

Which any members of the committee may thereafter wish to ask.

I took office on January 1, 1937. The General Motors strike was already on. It had begun at Fiint 2 days before, on December 30.

The General Motors strike which greeted me in office was not an isolated phenomenon. I inherited a general atmosphere of tense labor unrest. During 1936 there had been a number of other important strikes—some of them sit-downs—in Michigan and elsewhere and to the best of my recollection force had not been used by the public authorities to cure the situations.

Special conditions in Michigan made labor relations generally

Special conditions in Michigan made labor relations generally more difficult than anywhere else in the country.

Michigan industry—in the great automobile factories and parts plants—is more highly organized on a machine basis than anywhere else, and until very lately irregularity in employment was sharper there than in other parts of the Nation.

The depression had probably hit industrial labor harder in Michigan than anywhere else; I know that when I was mayor of Detroit the relief problem hit us much earlier than anywhere else. The speed of operations in the automobile industry requires that its workers be comparatively young men. They are well educated and very conscious of what they consider their rights as American citizens. They are high-spirited and not easy to discipline. When I took office, their union organizations were only a few months old, and the natural discipline problems of newly organized unions were accentuated by the fact that the employers had refused to recognize these unions.

That points up the most salient fact in the situation when I took office.

There was no operating legal machinery for settling labor dis-

There was no operating legal machinery for settling labor disputes; the Wagner Act was at that time practically out of operation under decisions of lower Federal courts. As a Governor faced

ation under decisions of lower Federal courts. As a Governor faced with the fact of unprecedented strikes which had to be handled, I had to devise ways and means of handling them as I went along. Many employers—acting under advice of counsel—had refused to bargain collectively and had maintained that the Wagner Act was wholly unconstitutional, and a number of lower Federal courts had upheld their contentions. This created a keen feeling on the part of labor that workers were being deprived of the benefits of the duly enacted National Labor Relations Act. Labor was further embittered by the feeling that their efforts at self-organization were being frustrated by industrial espionage.

In many industries organized labor was something new; it was not recognized but was bitterly fought by the employers; in turn it had not fully acquired a sense of its own responsibility and was not readily amenable to the discipline of its more seasoned leaders.

nt had not fully acquired a sense of its own responsibility and was not readily amenable to the discipline of its more seasoned leaders. Misguided, inexperienced, and undisciplined workers were undoubtedly fascinated by the novelty of the sit-down as a new industrial weapon and seized upon it as a method of self-defense and reprisal against what they in many instances believed justifiably or unjustifiably were lawless tactics upon the part of employers. employers.

Against this background thousands of otherwise peaceful, lawabiding, hard-working citizens went on strike in Flint, Detroit, and other cities. They had determined that their right to bargain colother cities. They had determined that their right to bargain collectively should be recognized. They were determined to occupy their employers' factories until their employers recognized their right to bargain collectively. They were not a handful of common criminals who might be dispersed by a few police. They were thousands of honest citizens.

Of course, they were guilty of violating the law. Their conduct was unlawful and unjustified. But in their own minds they believed that they were only defending their own rights against what they believed to be the lawless refusal of their employers to recognize their unions.

their unions

In that situation, with no recognized machinery to settle the dispute, I faced a condition and not a theory.

As the chief executive of the State of Michigan it was my duty to

As the chief executive of the State of Michigan it was my duty to see that the laws were faithfully executed. But I conceived it to be my duty as Governor to see that the laws are executed in the manner best calculated in my judgment to serve the original and the ultimate purpose of all laws—to preserve public order and insure public safety. To have executed the laws in a manner calculated to cause further breach thereof, further disorders, and even riot and bloodshed would have been false to my own oath of office and to be low. and to the law.

In the first instance, of course, law enforcement is a matter for the local authorities. If they require aid in addition to the regular police force, they may call upon the Governor for assistance or themselves swear in additional deputies.

Whenever the local authorities did call upon me for aid, not only

Whenever the local authorities did call upon me for aid, not only were they authorized and directed to swear in additional deputies but in many cases members of the State police were sent to aid them, and in one case a large detachment of the National Guard.

In only one case was I called upon by local authorities for assistance in the enforcement of a court writ. That was at Flint.

There the technical legal situation was badly complicated from the practical emotional viewpoint by the fact that counsel for General Motors obtained their first court order from a judge who was discovered to be a substantial stockholder of the company.

When this fact was disclosed the company promptly withdrew its application before that judge and sought its relief from another, and I am convinced that the company officials had no prior knowledge of the disqualifying interest of the first judge. But, however innocent the mistake, it was difficult to eradicate the impression from the minds of the workers that the company had tried to secure a court order from a judge who was not disinterested.

a court order from a judge who was not disinterested.

When the writ of attachment was finally obtained, on a Friday, negotiations between the company's officials and the union representatives were progressing, and I had reason to believe that a set-tlement would be reached over the week end.

I did not ignore the writ of attachment. On the contrary, I warned the union representatives that I would enforce it. But I knew, as did the union representatives and the company's officials, that the literal enforcement of the writ at that moment would not only disrupt negotiations, but could not be carried out without the gravest risk of property damage, riot, and even bloodshed,

which would leave bitterness and ill feeling between the company

and the men for years to come.

I realized that on the law of averages troops could not be turned loose in such a situation without risking the lives of some misguided, ordinarily peaceful citizens.

Having been a captain in the World War I could not look upon young men of the age of these strikers against whom these troops

young hen of the age of these strikers against whom these troops would be sent and forget that there might come a time when we might be asking them to be troops themselves.

Consequently, when the sheriff asked for additional deputies to help execute the writ, I told him that I thought he would be wiser to delay action over the week end, as settlement appeared to be imminent

On the one side the company knew of my action and did not

On the other side the union representatives knew that if a settlement was not reached and the plants peacefully evacuated,

the writ would be executed.

And at the plants I had a large detachment of the National Guard continuously on duty prepared to preserve order and ready for any emergency.

I believe that I did my duty to "see that the laws are faithfully

executed," and to preserve the peace and dignity of the State of Michigan

believe that "faithful execution" by the Governor of a State includes wise administration of the law and not merely its literal instantaneous application at any cost.

I conceived it my duty as the Governor of the State not only to

see that the writs of the courts were executed but also to see that peace and order were maintained.

I conceived it to be my duty as the Governor of the State not only to see that the law was enforced after it was broken but to see that the law was observed before it was broken.

To safeguard not only the enforcement of the law but its ob-servance, I conceived it my duty to exert every effort to replace industrial strife and unrest which would wreck the economy of my State with industrial peace and order which would preserve the economy of my State.

I have never condoned the sit-down strike or countenanced disobedience of a court order. From the very beginning of the labor trouble in Michigan, I warned the union representatives that the sit-down strike was illegal, and, further, that its use would alienate public opinion.

I believe in vigorous law enforcement. However, when there is widespread disobedience to law, it is not enough to enforce the law; it is also necessary to discover and eliminate the causes of that widespread disobedience.

So the Michigan labor situation with which I had to deal inso the Michigan labor situation with which I had to deal involved something more than law enforcement. I was dealing not with a few vicious lawbreakers, but with thousands of self-respecting workers who felt that they had genuine grievances of long standing. It was my duty to enforce the law, but it was also my duty to hold their respect for the law. And that I could do only by making them feel that the State was not indifferent to what they honestly felt were their grievances.

When a settlement was finally reached, the course I had followed was widely approved by the local press and by responsible spokes-

men on either side.

At this point I would like permission to read some of these letters and editorials.

Senator Logan. Very well.

Attorney General MURPHY. The first one is from the President: "Hon. FRANK MURPHY,

"Governor of Michigan, Detroit:
"Accept hearty congratulations upon your splendid work in connection with the automobile-strike settlement. Not only the interests directly concerned in the dispute owe you a debt of gratitude but the general public has reason for rejoicing that an acute situation, which threatened serious disorder and dislocation, has been amicably adjusted through negotiation. Yours has been a high public service nobly performed for which I desire to express the thanks of the Nation.

"FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT."

On February 12, 1937, Alfred Sloan, Jr., stated to the New York Times the following:

"General Motors is gratified that, by the unremitting efforts of Governor Murphy, an agreement has been made under which the General Motors plants now illegally held by strikers will be evacuated forthwith, the strike terminated, and production resumed at once at once.

"After reviewing the terms of settlement and giving text of the letter to Governor Murphy, the statement concluded: The corporation, its workers, and the public are indebted to the Honorable Frank Murphy, assisted by Federal Conciliator James F. Dewey, for his untring and conscientious efforts, as well as the fairness with which he has handled a most difficult situation. Only his efforts have made it possible to resume work at this time."

I would like to read two letters written to me on February 12

I would like to read two letters written to me on February 12 by distinguished members of the profession.

Senator Logan. Very well.

Attorney General Murphy. The first is from Mr. Newton D. Baker. In justice to Mr. Baker I think I should say that he subsequently criticized my conduct on certain occasions connected with strikes. I would like the record to show that. But this is the only letter he ever wrote to me, and this was his judgment on the strike that involved the only court order that was made.

It was written the day following the settlement of the General Motors strike and reads as follows:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, February 12, 1937.

Hon. FRANK MURPHY. Office of the Governor,

My Dear Governor Murphy: I beg leave to express my deep satisfaction at the result of your intervention in the so-called General Motors strike. The settlement of that tremendous controversy has afforded relief to a multitude of workers and their families who allorded relief to a multitude of workers and their families who may or may not have been misled into an extralegal position about their rights, but that question can be debated and settled under circumstances involving less passion and less suffering than would have been entailed but for the happy adjustment brought about through your influence. No humane person could have desired to see the struggle harshly fought through even though he believed, as I do believe, in the entire illegality of the sit-down strike.

But quite apart from the details of the settlement and issues left to be worked out, I venture to rejoice that the settlement has been effected through the influence of a Governor of a great State. There was a time in our history when men resigned from the Sarate from Cabinet positions and even from the Chief. State. There was a time in our history when men resigned from the Senate, from Cabinet positions, and even from the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court of the United States to accept the responsible and dignified office of Governor of their States, No office could be more important. Both its influence and its authority in the maintenance of order and progress in society are impossible of exaggeration. The preservation of Michigan as an indestructible State in an indestructible Union is involved in the retention by the record of services of their forms of leaf and the services of confidence in their forms of leaf and the services of the service retention by the people of confidence in their form of local government and its efficiency to solve local and domestic problems. By your intervention and success you have heartened all of us who believe in the dignity of your office and in the necessity of preserving efficient and responsible State governments as indestructible components of a Federal Government dealing with Federal rather than local concerns.

With great respect, Sincerely yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER.

On the same day I received the following letter, written February 12, 1937, from Felix Frankfurter:

LAW SCHOOL OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, February 12, 1937.

Hon. FRANK MURPHY

Hon. Frank Murphy.

Dear Governor Murphy: I know enough about such major industrial controversies as the General Motors strike to know how little an outsider like me knows of the real complexities and difficulties that had to be resolved. But I also know enough to know what pertinacity, sagacity, and a profound sense of fairness were necessary to prevent an ugly situation from turning into open violence on a large scale, and finally to bring the parties to a peaceful adjustment. And, therefore, I express to you gratitude and admiration from the bottom of my heart.

Very sincerely yours.

Very sincerely yours,

FELIX FRANKFURTER.

There are two editorials I should like to read into the record. Both were written on the 12th of February 1937, the day following the settlement of the strike. One is from the Detroit News, reading as follows:

# "THE STRIKE ENDS

"Governor Murphy's wise and unrelenting insistence has brought the General Motors strike to an end without bloodshed. That is the salient fact to those who have faced in imagination what might have happened otherwise.

have happened otherwise.

"As for the details of the settlement, it is hard to see what has been accomplished by the 43-day tie-up of one of the country's largest industries. General Motors at long last has agreed to bargain with the U. A. W. on wages, hours, and conditions of work. But it has been ready to do exactly that almost from the outset of the strike.

"So far as we can see the positions of the union and of the corporation remain virtually where they were 43 days ago. Nothing has been accomplished and nothing proved—unless it be that a handful of strikers can close up the largest mass-production industry, as long as official forbearance allows them to remain in illegal possession of its plants. The forbearance of the corporation also had a good deal to do with the strike's success from that standpoint. that standpoint.

that standpoint.

"In saying that nothing has been accomplished by this strike, one exceedingly important exception must be noted. This is the provision in paragraph 7 of the agreement, included at Governor Murphy's insistence, for settlement by negotiation of future disputes. Once the corporation and union have come to terms on wages, hours, etc., they engage to exhaust 'all opportunities to achieve a satisfactory settlement' of future demands or grievances before another strike is called.

"The Governor's balanced handling of the strike situation and negotiations throughout has merited description as statesmanlike. His position as Governor of the State and embodiment of its legal sovereignty was far from an easy one under the circumstances. Yet he was able at the same time to refrain from recognition of the sit-down strikes and to insist that they be ended without the necessity of forcible ejection. He demanded, above all, that an end be reached without forfeiting in senseless violence the lives of Michigan citizens. the lives of Michigan citizens.

"That was the humane and wise thing to do. But it required of the Governor a feat of balancing that scarcely can be expected of official authority every time a group of workers in the name of collective bargaining seizes possession of another's property." The other is from the Detroit Free Press.

Senator Brown. May I interrupt you to call your attention to the fact that the Detroit Free Press vigorously opposed you in the 1936 campaign for the governorship?

Attorney General Murphy. Yes; but it ran an accurate report of the strike. That editorial is as follows: "That was the humane and wise thing to do. But it required of

# "THE STRIKE ENDS

"The agreement under which the U. A. W. sit-down strikes in General Motors Corporation plants at Flint and elsewhere are called off comes in a welcome form at a moment when hope of an early conclusion of the prolonged negotiations in progress before Gov. Frank Murphy seemed at an ebb.

"The adjustment has been reached under conditions suggestive of mutual forbearance, and amid concessions to reason and

"It puts an end to a highly destructive situation which ought never to have arisen, which has hurt many people and which has brought no benefits that could not have been secured in a much

less costly way.

"Collective bargaining between men and company can now commence in an orderly way through accredited representatives of both sides; and meanwhile the wheels of industry will turn, and men will be earning wages for the support of their families; considerably increased wages, too, since General Motors, coincidentally with announcement of the agreement, also announces a consid-

erable revision upward of its pay scale.

"The public, which has been one of the chief sufferers during the last 43 days, will fervently echo the hope of Governor Murphy that the adjustment reached may prove to be a contribution to the promotion of peaceful and reasonable labor conciliation in all

America to the exclusion of violent, peremptory methods.

"That the long-drawn-out blockade of industry in a vital field

"That the long-drawn-out blockade of industry in a vital field finally has reached a happy conclusion under conditions justifying such a hope, unquestionably is due in large degree to the part the Governor has played in the emergency.

"Mr. Murphy made it clear at the start that he would tolerate neither violence nor disorder. Before all else, good order would be maintained and society given protection, he declared. The support of National Guardsmen called out to make this stand effective, was costly; but the results have justified the expense.

"There is no black tragedy to mourn over today; no bitter aftermath that will rankle.

math that will rankle.

"At the same time the Governor showed neither bias nor passion. He manifested a good understanding of the situation; and maintained a helpful attitude of impartiality between the parties

maintained a helpful attitude of impartiality between the parties to the controversy which earned for him the confidence of both sides and made the good offices he tendered effective.

"Governor Murphy labored hard and patiently, refusing to give up even when the prospect for success in bringing about a peaceful agreement appeared very small and he won out. What he has done deserves recognition throughout Michigan and in the country generally."

generally."

There were other statements and editorials following the strike. I have a number of them, if the members of the committee care

to see them.

In subsequent cases I pursued the same policy that had been

In subsequent cases I pursued the same policy that had been followed with approval and wide satisfaction in the General Motors case. I think I prevented some strikes; I know I settled many. I am not saying that later developments were not sometimes disappointing to my hope that industrial peace had been permanently achieved. But I do feel sure that the sit-down strike has now been thoroughly discredited, and I believe we have seen the end of it. Because it is an instrumentality that would undermine and destroy the vital right of the ownership and possession of private property—one of the main pillars upon which our form of economy and indeed our democracy is based.

In the meantime, what all of us in Michigan at that time—management, labor, and government—were trying to achieve by patience with each other has been achieved. The factories of Michigan are running full time—with workable relations between management and labor. Cars are coming off the assembly line, men and women are drawing down wages, investors are making profit and orders for materials are going out through the rest of the country. In comparative terms, that is a peace which few people on the ground in Michigan in the first week of 1937 ever believed could be achieved.—That is what I wanted—that is what we achieved—and that is a result of which no one who believes in the reign of law need be ashamed.

Senator Logan. Does that complete your statement, Mr. Attor-

Senator Logan. Does that complete your statement, Mr. Attor-

ney General?

Attorney General Murphy. Yes; thank you, Senator.

Senator Logan. The opportunity is now afforded to any members of the committee who desire to ask any questions of the Attorney General. I will first ask Senator Norris if he has any questions.

Senator Norris. No questions. Senator Logan. Senator Austin?

Senator Austin. Mr. Chairman, I received a letter from Representative Hoffman this morning, asking me to call to the attention of Attorney General Murphy a letter to him written by Mr. Hoffman, and asking him if he will kindly answer certain interrogatories contained in it. I have observed that the statement the Attorney General has made answers the substance of that letter fully. I now ask Attorney General Murphy if he will kindly put in the record those statutes that are referred to in that letter. I

submitted the letter referred to to Attorney General Murphy.
Attorney General Murphy. I have read it, and I am glad to place those statutes in the record, and answer specifically any one or all of the questions contained in his letter. They are generally covered by the statement I have made.

Senator Austin. I believe they are covered by the statement you have made. I think in your statement you have answered those

interrogatories.

Attorney General Murphy. Yes. Senator Austin. But in order that we may have that covered in the record, I would like to have included with the statement the statutes

Senator Logan. That may be done.

Senator Logan, Senator HATCH?

Senator Harch. I have one question. I have received information that you had some correspondence from the Ford Motor Co. concerning the strike situation. Do you have such correspondence?
Attorney General Murphy. A letter reached me yesterday concerning my appointment as Attorney General.

Senator Harch. Do you have that letter with you?
Attorney General Murphy. Yes.
Senator Harch. Would you mind putting it in the record?
Attorney General Murphy. Not at all. It is dated at Dearborn,
Mich., January 10, 1939, and reads as follows:

"The Honorable Frank J. Murphy,

"Attorney General of the United States, Washington, D. C.

"Attorney General of the United States, Washington, D. C.
"Sira: Permit me to congratulate you upon your appointment to
the supreme office of Attorney General of the United States.
"We feel that in appointing you President Roosevelt has selected
a man who completely comprehends the requirements of the employed and those of the employer, who can distinguish between the
rights of capital and the demands of labor, who can recognize the
justice in the claims of each, and mediate between them.
"You have in the past, and particularly as Governor of Michigan,
shown a keen and ultimately fair understanding of what the separate obligations of capital and labor should be and where each
should have a beginning and an ending.
"Regardless of what expressed opinion may have been, we personally have always felt that your actions were guided and prompted

ally have always felt that your actions were guided and prompted by a spirit of fairness and justice. We never regarded you as being unfair to either side, and it is our firm belief that in viewing your record while you were in our midst the United States Government has secured in your appointment a member of the Cabinet who will promulgate the spirit of righteousness, equality, and justice, as provided by the Constitution of the United States.

"We congratulate you, but we even more congratulate the President upon the wisdom of his selection.

"Wishing you every success and assuring you of our cooperation, I remain,

"Sincerely yours,

"HARRY H. BENNETT."

Senator Harch. What is Mr. Bennett's connection with the Ford Motor Co.?

Attorney General Murphy. I believe his title is personnel director of the Ford Motor Corporation. He is a very important official of the company.

Senator Logan. Senator Burke, have you any questions?
Senator Burke. Mr. Attorney General, would you feel at liberty to
state what, if any, communications you have had or did have with
the leaders of organized labor at the time of the sit-down strike?
Did you have any communication with such leaders?

Attorney General Murphy. Yes.
Senator Burke. Would you care to state anything on that subject?

Attorney General Murphy. Very much has been said that is inaccurate about disregarding a court order. I mentioned in my statement that only on one occasion was a writ of the court brought directly to the Governor for execution. The circumstances under which that was brought to me likewise have not been accurately stated in the record on several occasions in the

We had been in session since Tuesday. Mr. John L. Lewis and Mr. William Knudsen and associates were meeting with me. On January 15 the strike was apparently settled. Then an incident happened that undid all the work that we had accomplished. The negotiations regarding the settlement were brought to Washington. We remained here a week or 10 days. The negotiations at that time were not successful.

On February 2 I wrote a letter insisting that both sides meet

at that time were not successful.

On February 2 I wrote a letter insisting that both sides meet with me in Detroit. We were in conference on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. On Thursday Mr. John Smith, chief counsel for General Motors, stated to me that on Friday morning he expected to be in Detroit and ask for a writ of injunction. I regretted that action and so advised Mr. Smith. He was very cooperative, as were all his associates. I told him I believed we could settle it without judicial action. That was Thursday night.

He called me on the telephone on Friday morning at 8 o'clock and stated that in view of the objection I had made the night before he wanted me to know the matter had been reviewed during the night but felt obliged to go ahead. I asked him to defer action until the afternoon of Friday. He said that he would, but due to conditions that I am sure were beyond his control an associate went to Flint and appeared before the judge there and got an order, which reached me at 11 o'clock on Friday night, after we had been in conference all week. The court order arrived in

the midst of that conference, and it completely changed the atmosphere. It came at 11 o'clock, and the sheriff sent a wire saying the judge had placed the order in his hands, and asking me to send the military to enforce the order or suggest to him that he deputize enough men to enforce it.

Without delay I sent word to him that, in my opinion, peace was imminent; that I felt we could reach a settlement; and suggested that he defer action over the week end. At no time did I say he could not take action or that I would stand in the way. I would not do that, and did not do it. I asked him to defer action for the reach I stated. reason I stated.

the reason I stated.

We continued in conference Friday and Saturday night. I stated to Mr. Lewis and his associates that it was reaching the point where no one in the conference must be in the position of disobedience of an order of the court. On Monday it appeared there would be a settlement. We talked to officials here on that day. We worked Monday morning, afternoon, and night. On Tuesday it looked less likely. it looked less likely.

On Sunday this document was prepared, and on Tuesday night it was read to Mr. Lewis. At the time I asked him to come into an adjoining room. Mr. Dewey, the Federal conciliator, went with us. I read the statement to him, explaining that if we were unable to arrive at an immediate settlement I would read the statement to the entire conference the next morning and make it public. That did not become necessary, because on the night of the next day the strike was settled. This is the statement, and I would like to

"FEBRUARY 8, 1937.

"Read and accepted 9:15 February 9, 1937.
"Mr. JOHN L. LEWIS,
"Chairman, Committee for Industrial Organization.

"Chairman, Committee for Industrial Organization.
"Mr. Homer Martin,
"President, United Automobile Workers' Union.
"Gentlemen: During the last few weeks, as you know, I have made earnest and conscientious efforts on behalf of the people of Michigan to bring about a peaceful settlement of the unfortunate controversy that has arisen between the United Automobile Workers' Union and the General Motors Corporation. It has been my hope that an amicable understanding might be reached that would permit prompt reopening of idle plants in Flint and elsewhere, to the great advantage of the general public and the mutual advantage of the parties converged.

the great advantage of the general public and the mutual advantage of the parties concerned.

"It has also been my desire and purpose to avoid and prevent any action that might precipitate violence and rancor so long as there existed the possibility of peaceful settlement of matters in dispute. Such a course has seemed to me to be in the highest interest of the public and of those immediately concerned. In an industrial conflict, where the safety and welfare of American workingmen are involved, every means should be employed to prevent needless bloodshed or loss of life. My energies have been and will continue to be steadily directed toward this end.

"After conferring with the parties separately for several days

"After conferring with the parties separately for several days without success, I was able to bring representatives of both parties together in my office at Lansing on January 14 and arrange what seemed to be a satisfactory basis for negotiations to commence on January 18 and for evacuation before that date of plants occupied by striking employees. Although this arrangement subsequently fell down, due to events beyond my control, and a temporary empasse followed, in accordance with the wish of the President I again requested representatives of both sides, Mr. Lewis and Mr. Knudsen, to join me on February 2 in an effort to bring about a satisfactory agreement that would be fair and just to both parties and the public After several days of progription between the satisfactory agreement that would be fair and just to both parties and to the public. After several days of negotiation, however, the parties have been unable to agree upon a basis of settlement, and pending any further negotiation I deem it incumbent upon me to make clear to you in writing, as I have already done verbally on several occasions, my position as chief executive of this State.

"As you are aware, in an action instituted by the General Motors Corporation several weeks ago in the Circuit Court of Genesee

County, an order has now been entered finding that the occupation of the company's plants at Flint by employees on strike has been unlawful, and requiring those in occupation to vacate the plants.

Further picketing of the plants was also enjoined.

"With this order, lawfully entered after fair and open hearing had been accorded to both parties, it is the clear duty of all persons to comply. The constitutional authority of the courts must be respected if we are to have orderly government and an orderly peaceful society with security for persons and property and free-dom from arbitrary action and coercion. This is as important to workers as it is to employers. It is essential to the preservation

of democratic principles.
"While it is also important and my firm conviction, as everyone knows, that we should employ all legitimate and lawful means to advance and protect those larger human interests which are com-monly called 'human rights,' and thereby secure wider enjoyment

monly called 'human rights,' and thereby secure wider enjoyment of personal liberty and individual happiness among our people, it should not be forgotten that personal liberty will be of little value to our people if the authority and integrity of our courts are not preserved and property rights are not protected.

"During the course of negotiations and judicial proceedings, proper measures have been taken, including the calling out of the State militia, to preserve the peace and protect individual citizens, both strikers and nonstrikers, from physical harm and undue impairment of any legal rights, actual or supposed, pending a decision of the questions at issue. While the continued occupation of the plants by striking employees and the actions of certain of their leaders and supporters in offering and inciting resistance to public authority have not at any time been viewed as lawful or

right, the Government has nevertheless sought to preserve a patient and impartial attitude in the interest of industrial peace and hope of a friendly outcome of the present controversy. The people of Michigan also have on the whole shown admirable restraint under difficult conditions and a helpful disposition to permit reasonable

opportunity for a peaceful settlement.

"It has been and still is my earnest belief that the matters in dispute should be settled by the peaceful methods of conference and negotiation, by the application of calm reason and broad principles of justice without the use of force or violence. It is my hope that this yet may be done. It is realized that what today may hope that this yet may be done. It is realized that what today may be a mere claim or equity tomorrow may obtain recognition of law. Inasmuch, however, as the parties have thus far been unable after extended negotiations to find a basis of agreement, the time has come for all concerned to comply fully with the decision and order of the Court and take necessary steps to restore possession of the occupied plants to their rightful owners. The Governor of the State may properly exert the influence of his office to bring parties together in conference and endeavor to bring about a settlement. But he has no authority to decide issues and force a settlement on either party without regard for legal rights and court decisions.

"I am sure that you and your associates will agree with me that the law should be observed and there should be no willful disobedience of the court's orders or defiance of the public authority.

obedience of the court's orders or defiance of the public authority. While I should have been happy to be instrumental in bringing about a satisfactory settlement, and regret deeply that this has not yet been possible, it would be still more unfortunate if I were to permit the laws of the State to be virtually set aside in the interest of ather party.

of either party.
"Every consideration and assistance that could be given to the parties in conformity with the law and the public interest to bring about a peaceful settlement by way of conference and negotiations have been given cheerfully and conscientiously. As Governor of the State, however, it is my constitutional duty, in accordance with my oath of office to 'take care that the laws are faithfully executed.' have no alternative but to perform this duty to the best of my ability.

"It is not the function of the Governor to make the laws, nor is "It is not the function of the Governor to make the laws, nor is it his prerogative to review the action of the courts and determine for himself their meaning and effect. As the chief executive, it is his duty to demand and require obedience to them on the part of everybody. I shall exhaust every means to obtain such obedience peacefully, but I must and will be faithful to my oath of office. In the performance of my duty I shall expect the full assistance and cooperation of the members and responsible leaders of the United Automobile Workers' Union, believing that they share with me and the people of this State a strong desire to avoid further unnecessary injury either to persons or to property.

"Yours respectfully."

Senator Burke. Under date of November 25, 1937, the New York Times carried an account of a statement purporting to have been

Times carried an account of a statement purporting to have been made by you at Lansing, Mich. I would like to read it, because it seems to me to be an important addition to the record. I will ask you if it states substantially the views you then held and now hold.

seems to me to be an important addition to the record. I will ask you if it states substantially the views you then held and now hold. This is the statement:

"Governor Murphy in a statement at Lansing, Mich., warned labor against hasty and unjustifiable strikes over minor grievances, and at the same time called on industry to recognize its responsibility to labor. He declared that sit-down strikes were illegal and would not be tolerated or permitted. He said, in part:

"Conditions have changed since last winter. In large measure intelligence and reason have been substituted for the rule of force in the solution of labor troubles. The right of workers to bargain collectively has now been definitely affirmed. Through agreements entered into by their own organizations and because of new governmental agencies, facilities have been provided for the orderly presentation and settlement of grievances. \* \* \*

"The proper way to settle grievances is not to suspend the authority of law by taking possession of a shop or factory. That is not collective bargaining. The proper way and the American way is the way of friendly conference and negotiation in a spirit of reason and good faith. The other way leads to anarchy and eventually to arbitrary and despotic rule. \* \* \*

"It is noted with satisfaction that the men in the Fisher Body labor to possession of a story with the termore."

ally to arbitrary and despotic rule. \* \* \*

"It is noted with satisfaction that the men in the Fisher Body plant at Pontiac have decided to resume work while their grievances are being considered in conference by the representatives of the union and the management. Their decision is commended.

"The Government has shown every consideration for the rights and interests of workers, and this Government will continue to do so. But it also has a duty to see that the laws of the land are observed and governmental rule is maintained. Otherwise democratic rule will not endure and individual liberty will perish in the land of its birth."

Is that a correct statement of your views?

Is that a correct statement of your views?

Attorney General Murphy. That is a correct statement of my

Senator Burke. I have no further questions. Senator Logan. Attorney General Murphy, the committee thanks you for your frank and comprehensive statement.

Attorney General Murphy. Mr. Chairman, I thank you and the committee for the privilege of appearing.

Senator Logan. The hearing is now closed, and the subcommittee

will hold an executive session.
(Whereupon, at 3 o'clock p. m., the hearing was closed.)

Mr. LOGAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield?

Mr. BROWN. I yield.

Mr. LOGAN. I should like to make a brief statement at this time.

I was chairman of the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee which considered the nomination of Mr. Murphy. The subcommittee, which was composed of seven members, met. No one had asked a hearing, and very few protests had reached the subcommittee, so the subcommittee decided to report the nomination favorably to the full committee.

A few days ago some of the friends of Mr. Murphy suggested that he should be given an opportunity to be heard, and that we again should call the subcommittee together and invite him to appear before it. On the same day Mr. Murphy sent to me a letter in which he expressed the hope that the subcommittee would allow him to come before it. We granted his request, and he came before the subcommittee and made a statement. I believe anyone who will read that statement will agree that the subcommittee acted correctly in favorably reporting his nomination to the full committee.

Mr. Murphy impressed the subcommittee as being a very conscientious, high-class man, who loves law and order, and

who has always sought to do that which would best promote the peace and happiness of the people with whom he dealt. So the subcommittee made a report to the full committee last Monday. Mr. Murphy's statements were explained. Then we had a roll-call vote in the full committee. Sixteen members of the committee were present and two were absent. All 16 members of the Judiciary Committee who were present, including some of our ablest Senators, both Republicans and Democrats, voted favorably to report the nomination of Mr. Murphy to this body for confirmation. There were 16 affirmative votes and no negative votes. Two were absent.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BROWN. I yield. Mr. NEELY. Did the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Bringes] appear before the Senator's subcommittee, or did he later appear before the full committee, and object to the

nomination, as he has objected today?

Mr. LOGAN. The Senator from New Hampshire did not appear before the committee; and it seems to me, if I may be pardoned for saying so, that the Senator from New Hampshire was afraid to find out what the facts really were, fearing, perhaps, that he would change his mind and vote for confirmation.

That is the only statement I desire to make.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I desire to ask a question of the chairman of the subcommittee.

Is it not a fact that no person appeared, or requested permission to be heard, in opposition to the nomination of

Governor Murphy?

Mr. LOGAN. In reply to the Senator from New Mexico, I will say that an opportunity was given for anyone to appear who might desire to say anything. No one requested an opportunity to appear before the subcommittee or the full committee in opposition to the nomination of Attorney General Murphy. So far as I know, no one made any request of any member of the committee to be given an opportunity to appear so that a statement might be made; and so far as I know, from talking with the Members of the Senate who are interested in such things, no one outside the committee, other than the Senator from New Hampshire, has made any protest.

The Senator from New Hampshire differs not only with those on this side of the Chamber but with those on the other side of the Chamber. However, he has a perfect right to do so

if he so desires.

I have been asked by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANK-HEAD] whether certain members of the committee were present. All I know is that every member was present except three, one of the absentees being the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Borah], who authorized the chairman to cast his vote favorably. The other two who were absent were the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MILLER] and the Senator from Utah [Mr. King]. If there are more than 18 members of the committee, I may be in error. My recollection is that the committee consists of 18 members and that only 2 members were absent.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. BROWN. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. Inasmuch as the Senator from Nebraska has asked to have inserted in the RECORD following my remarks a copy of the hearings, I ask that the questions which were addressed to Mr. Murphy by Representative Hoffman, of Michigan, be placed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so

ordered.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I shall not object; but in a matter of confirmation, which is purely a senatorial prerogative, I doubt the propriety of inserting in the Record questions propounded by a member of a legislative body which has no jurisdiction to pass on the nomination. If the Senator insists on the matter going into the RECORD I shall not object, but I seriously doubt the propriety of such a course.

Mr. LOGAN. If the Senator from Michigan will yield

further, I shall make a further statement.

Mr. BROWN. I yield. Mr. LOGAN. We have two great Senators from Vermont. One of them [Mr. Austin] I regard as one of the hardest working Senators in the Senate. He was on the subcommitee. The Senator from Vermont had a copy of the communication to which the Senator from New Hampshire refers, and so did I. The Senator from Vermont called the attention of Mr. Murphy to that statement, and the record will show that the Senator from Vermont said that he thought the general statement which was made by Mr. Murphy covered all the questions which had been asked by Representative Hoffman.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, a parliamentary

inquiry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator will state it. Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Was the request of the Senator from New Hampshire, to insert in the Record the questions of Representative Hoffman, granted?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It was so ordered.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I did not so understand. It was my intention to object.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The action of the Senate can be reconsidered.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I move that the action of the Senate granting permission to insert in the Record the questions of Representative Hoffman be reconsidered. I do not think it is proper to insert in the Record matter which has already been discussed in the House of Representatives, where Representative Hoffman has a right to be heard.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, let me explain that the letter, asking a series of questions of Governor Murphy, was addressed to Governor Murphy by Representative Hoffman. Copies of the questions asked were in the hands of some members of the Judiciary Committee, so the questions play

a part in that particular hearing.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, Representative HOFFMAN has the undoubted right to be heard in the House of Representatives, the body of which he is a Member. He was heard in that body at very great length the other day, and his observations were published in full in the Congressional RECORD, to the extent of several pages. It does not seem to me to be proper again to inflict upon the Congressional RECORD the remarks of Representative Hoffman made in the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Missouri that the action by which permission was granted to insert in the RECORD certain questions asked Governor Murphy by Representative HOFFMAN be reconsidered.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I hope the Senator from Missouri will withdraw his motion. The record of the hearings will show that the letter offered by the Senator from New Hampshire was in the possession of the members of the committee. The record will also show, as the chairman of the subcommittee has said, that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Austin] had a copy of the communication. I presume he expected to submit the questions to Mr. Murphy. However, I think the record will show that at the conclusion of Mr. Murphy's statement before the committee the Senator from Vermont said he thought all the questions asked had been answered by Mr. Murphy, and he would not submit them. The questions were not submitted. They were not a part of the record.

However, I wish to say to the Senator from Missouri that if objection is made to inserting in the RECORD what the Senator from New Hampshire desires to insert the cry will at once arise that some of the evidence has not been submitted. I should like to have the questions inserted in the RECORD. I agree with the Senator from Vermont that the questions have already been answered by Mr. Murphy. Whether they have or not, it is only fair to let the reader judge. It is not customary to insert in our Record debates or hearings from the House of Representatives. However, I think it would be unfair and unreasonable to keep out of the RECORD the matter offered. In order to give a perfectly clean bill of health to Mr. Murphy, so that even those who are bitterly opposed to his confirmation may be completely satisfied, I should like to have inserted in the RECORD anything that any Senator desires to put in. I think the hearings themselves will show a complete vindication of Mr. Murphy. I should not like to have word go out that anything has been suppressed. Let it all go in.

For that reason I am opposed to the motion of the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, certainly I have no disposition to insist on any course which would seem in any degree to preclude the printing of the whole record in this case. My motion was based upon the fact that the House of Representatives is the sole judge of its own RECORD and the Senate of the United States is the sole judge of its own RECORD. But an intemperate, vituperative, libelous attack having been printed once in the RECORD of the proceedings of the House of Representatives seems to me to be no justification for repeating that same sort of an intemperate, libelous attack in the RECORD of the Senate. However, lest there be any suggestion that anybody is trying to conceal anything in connection with the record, I will be glad to withdraw my motion.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The motion is withdrawn.

Mr. LOGAN. Mr. President-

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Michigan [Mr. Brown] has the floor. Does he yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. BROWN. I yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. LOGAN. I should like it distinctly understood also that Representative Hoffman did not ask to come before either the subcommittee or the full committee. The hearings were open to the public; we invited everyone who had anything to say to come forward and say it; but Mr. Hoff-MAN never appeared, or, if he did, he did not make himself known.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. Clark] having withdrawn his motion, the matter presented by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] will be printed in the RECORD.

The matter referred to is as follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., January 13, 1939.

Hon. FRANK MURPHY.

Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C DEAR SIR: The Washington press this morning carries the information that you will appear before a Senate committee this afternoon to make a statement concerning the sit-down strikes which

noon to make a statement concerning the sit-down strikes which occurred in Michigan in 1937.

As the congressional representative of some 300,000 citizens residing in the Fourth Congressional District of Michigan, may I respectfully ask, and will you kindly answer, the following questions.

1. While you were Governor of Michigan during 1937, did not section 3 of article VI of the State constitution contain the following statement: "The Governor shall take care that the laws be faith-

fully executed?"

2. Did you not take and subscribe to an oath of office which contained, among other things, this statement: "I will faithfully

discharge the duties of the office of Governor of Michigan accord-

ing to the best of my ability?"

3. While you were Governor of Michigan during the year 1937, was not section 352 of act No. 328 of the Public Acts of Michigan of 1931 in full force and effect?

4. Did that section of act No. 328 read as follows: "Any person The that section of act No. 328 read as follows: Any person or persons who shall, by threats, intimidations, or otherwise, and without authority of law, interfere with, or in any way molest, or attempt to interfere with, or in any way molest or disturb, without such authority, any mechanic or other laborer in the quiet and peaceable pursuit of his lawful avocation shall be guilty of a misdemeanor?"

misdemeanor?"

5. Did not persons, by threats, intimidations, or otherwise, and without authority of law, occupy factories in Flint during January or February 1937 for a period of more than 30 days?

6. During January 1937 were you not in Flint, Mich.?

7. During January 1937, in Flint, did not sit-down strikers by threats, intimidations, or otherwise, and without authority of law interfere with or molest, or attempt to interfere with or molest or disturb, without lawful authority, mechanics, laborers, workers, in the automobile factories in the quiet and peaceable pursuit of their lawful avocation? lawful avocation?

8. Did you not know during all of January 1937 that men and women who wanted to work in the automobile factories in Flint were being prevented from doing so by the sit-down strikers?

9. Did you not know that this interference continued for a period of at least 30 days?

10. Was not such interference a violation of the law?

11. Was it not your duty as Governor of the State, under the constitutional provision which reads that the Governor "shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed," to see to it that this

care that the laws be latthfully executed," to see to it that this interference was ended?

12. Does not section 17253 of the Compiled Laws of the State of Michigan, which was in force during the year 1937, read as follows?—
"Every person concerned in the commission of an offense, whether he directly commits the act constituting the offense or procures, counsels, aids, or abets in its commission may hereafter be prosecuted indicted tried and on conviction shall be presented as if he

counsels, and on conviction shall be punished as if he had directly committed such offense."

had directly committed such offense."

13. Did you not, by failing to use the State police or the National Guard to faithfully execute the laws, aid those in possession of those factories who were keeping men from their work?

14. Did you, during January 1937, take care that the laws were faithfully executed, and did you take care during that period to see to it that those who violated section 352 of Act No. 328 of the Public Acts of Michigan for the year 1931 were (a) either punished, or (b) prevented from continuing their violations?

15. If for any reason you did not enforce section 352, herein before referred to during the month of January 1937, will you advise as to how long a period you believe you might rightfully suspend the enforcement of that statute?

16. The press carried the information that you made a state-

16. The press carried the information that you made a statement which is as follows:

"Whatever else may happen, there is going to be law and order in Michigan. The public safety and public interest are paramount. There will be maintenance of public order and protection of private property in Flint."

Is it not true that during the month of January 1937-

(a) Armed men who were not officers held possession of private property in Flint, in violation of the law?

(b) Laborers were kept from their employment by the sit-down strikers during that period, in violation of law and order?

(c) Men who had committed no offense against the laws of the State were prevented, in violation of law, from going to their employment in the factories in Flint?

17. Did you during the same period make this statement, which

was reported in the press?—
"It should not be forgotten that personal liberty will be of

It should not be forgotten that personal inserty will be of little value if the authority and integrity of the courts are not preserved and property rights protected."

18. If you made the foregoing statement, will you kindly state what you did to see that the order of the Circuit Court of the County of Genesee, calling for the eviction of the sit-down strikers,

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I was admitted to the bar of the State of Michigan along with my friend Frank Murphy in 1914. We were not members of the same class in law school, but we were admitted to the bar the same year. We have been close, fast friends from that time to this, a period of over 20 years. I have been much interested in his public

career, and I believe that I have aided, in my small way, in

bringing to him some of the honors that have come to him. In 1914 Frank Murphy started the practice of law in the great city of Detroit. He practiced law there until the World War broke out. In 1917 he enlisted in the Army of the United States. He rapidly advanced in military life, as he has advanced in political life, and became a captain in the Army of the United States. He served in France ably and well. When he came home he again took up the practice of law in the city of Detroit, the largest city in my home State.

President Wilson, as will be recalled, was then President of the United States. The Honorable John E. Kinnane, of Bay City, Mich., was district attorney, and he appointed Frank Murphy his chief assistant district attorney. Mr. Murphy made an outstanding record in that office. He holds the distinction of having been the only assistant district attorney in my State who before a jury in a Federal court convicted war profiteers and sent them to jail for their violations of the Federal law.

Mr. Murphy continued in the position of assistant district attorney, I think, until 1921, when he was elected a judge of the recorder's court of the city of Detroit, which is the highest court of the city that has jurisdiction over criminal matters; and, contrary to what my uninformed friend from New Hampshire says, it has civil jurisdiction. Among other matters, it handles cases involving the condemnation of land, and in a city such as Detroit, prosperous as it was then, and, as, thank God, it is now again, there is handled in that court litigation running into the millions of dollars, civil litigation, respecting the condemnation of lands.

Frank Murphy continued as judge of the recorder's court until 1930, when, as a result of a recall of a man who had been elected mayor of the city of Detroit, he was importuned by many to stand as a candidate for mayor. He did so; he was elected and reelected as mayor of the city of Detroit.

Members of the Senate recall that in 1933 he was selected by President Roosevelt as Governor General of the Philippine Islands. Many Senators within the sound of my voice went to the Philippine Islands and saw how he conducted the government of the 10,000,000 Filipino people. His record there was such that many people in Michigan and others throughout the United States thought that he should come back and give his services to the American people. We Democrats in Michigan thought so, and I was one, then a Member of the House of Representatives, who urged upon him his candidacy for Governor of the State of Michigan. He likewiseand I think we may properly refer to personal mattersurged upon me my candidacy for the Senate of the United States. I supported him in his primary race and he supported me in my primary race. We were selected for the respective offices as the candidates of the Democratic Party, and, of course, were both elected in 1936. Mr. Murphy then took up his duties as Governor of the State of Michigan.

Mr. President, it is true, as the Senator from New Hampshire has stated, that Governor Murphy was defeated after he had been Governor of Michigan for the space of 2 years; it is true that the people of the State of Michigan indicated thereby disapproval of some of his acts as Governor of the State; but you know, Mr. President, and I know, that my State has been predominantly Republican; we have only elected four men on the Democratic ticket as Governor of the State of Michigan, and only one has been reelected, since 1858. Frank Murphy received over 46 percent of the total vote of the people of the State of Michigan in the election of 1938. His opponent, Governor Fitzgerald, received a little over 52 percent.

There were many issues in that campaign other than the sit-down strikes and other than the labor record of Governor Murphy. I am frank to say that he did not have the solid support of his own party. Why? Because he put into effect a civil-service law which alienated the support of many Democrats, particularly those who were close to the State government. Senseless, baseless charges were made against him by what I now characterize, as I have heretofore, unfair testimony before the Dies committee connecting this man, who is a great Christian and a great Catholic, with communistic organizations. Frank Murphy is not responsible for the fact that people who call themselves Communists in the State of Michigan supported him for Governor; he could not help it; he made it plain that he was not of them and did not subscribe to their principles; but he could not compel them to put up a candidate for Governor on their ticket. He said that he in no way or manner subscribed to communistic principles; but many radical elements supported my party in 1936 as well as in 1932.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President-

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. BROWN. I yield to the Senator from North Carolina. Mr. BAILEY. Since the Senator is undertaking to explain the course of Governor Murphy in Michigan, I should like him to explain the failure of Governor Murphy in that campaign to produce the letter which he produced before the Judiciary Committee of the Senate.

Mr. BROWN. The Senator from North Carolina may think that I am going to sit down in just a moment or so, but I am not. I expect fully to cover that situation further on in my remarks.

Mr. BAILEY. I wish to assure the Senator that I had entertained no hope whatever of him sitting down at any time soon. [Laughter.]

Mr. BROWN. I have listened to the distinguished Senator from North Carolina, whom I very much admire, many, many times for long, long periods.

Mr. BAILEY. I thank the Senator, and I am sure he took what I said wholly by way of pleasantry. I am delighted to hear him, and I hope really that he will speak at great length

Mr. BROWN. I call the attention of the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Bridges] to the fact that in 1938 many radical elements in the State of New Hampshire supported the Republican Party, and not only was that so in New Hampshire but throughout New England and in many other sections of the country.

I am one of those who have been openly and from the beginning opposed, and I am proud of the fact that I was the first Member of the House of Representatives to be proscribed by, those who advocate the \$200-a-month Townsend plan. I do not think the Republican Party approves the \$200-a-month Townsend plan; but I say to you that in the State of Maine, and in the Senator's own State of New Hampshire, and in other New England States, and in many places in the United States, the Republican Party was successful in 1938 because of the support of the particular group whom I characterize as radicals. You and I know that the Republican Party is not going to be able to bring into effect a \$200-a-month Townsend plan even if it comes into office in the distant future. So a man is not always responsible for the people who support him.

The Senator from New Hampshire takes the position that a man whom he characterizes as a "lame duck" should not have political office. There are some "lame ducks" on the other side who came back into the Senate in 1938. The people change their minds now and then.

The man who was defeated for Governor by Frank Murphy in 1936 was a "lame duck"; but he came back, and the people of Michigan elected him in 1938.

Many of us admire the great Chief Justice of the United States; but in 1916 the people of the United States placed upon him the imprint "lame duck." If the Senator's view were taken, Chief Justice Hughes would not be on the Supreme Bench today.

The same thing may be said of the former Chief Justice, William H. Taft, whom we all honor and admire and revere. He was a "lame duck," but he was placed on the Supreme Court of the United States.

Even the great leader of my party was, if we may use that phrase, repudiated by the people of the United States in 1920, when he ran for Vice President of the United States. He was a "lame duck"; but he went into national office twice since that time, 12 and 16 years afterward, respectively, with the greatest majorities in the history of the American Republic.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. BROWN. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. Those who may be termed "lame ducks" are not all political "lame ducks." There are professional and business "lame ducks" who cannot succeed in every enterprise

upon which they embark but who have rendered just as important service to mankind and the world as those who never were "lame ducks."

I think it was Cyrus W. Field who made 13 efforts to lay a cable across the Atlantic Ocean, and I suppose 12 of those times he might have been called a "lame duck."

Abraham Lincoln was a "lame duck" in the sense in which that term is used by the Senator from New Hampshire, because he was defeated for the United States Senate by Stephen A. Douglas.

Warren G. Harding in the same sense was a "lame duck," because he was defeated for Governor of Ohio and later became President of the United States.

So in the history of our own country and in the history of mankind many great men who have been defeated in some enterprise of their own have later been called by the people to great service, either in politics or in some other calling.

Mr. BROWN. This name is not on the Senator's list, but William S. Knudsen, president of the General Motors Corporation, was factory superintendent of the Ford Motor Co. He was let out. It is commonly reported in automobile circles in the city of Detroit that Mr. Knudsen is the only man Henry Ford ever tried to rehire after losing him; and he went on to head one of the greatest industrial enterprises in the history of our country. Mr. Knudsen likewise was a "lame duck" at one time.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?
The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from
Michigan yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. BROWN. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator, I think, is putting undue emphasis on the "lame duck" question. I referred to the President making a specialty of appointing "lame ducks," which is, I think, an accurate statement; and I made the inquiry whether or not the President could find anybody out of that field. I did not say, however—and if the Senator will read my statement, I think he will find that what I am now saying is correct—I did not say that I was against Mr. Murphy for Attorney General because he was a "lame duck" or because he had been repudiated by the people of Michigan. I said I was against him for the same reasons which caused him to be a "lame duck" and to be repudiated by the people of Michigan. There is a distinction.

Mr. BROWN. I am sorry the Senator does not like my emphasis on the "lame duck" argument now. I did not like his emphasis upon it a few moments ago.

The Senator then gets into a subject which I cannot characterize by any other statement than as small; and I think what he says and the fact that he brings out redounds to the credit of Attorney General Frank Murphy rather than to his discredit. The Senator says that from November 4—the election was on November 2 in 1936—Frank Murphy started again to draw his salary as High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands, a salary which he had voluntarily given up when he became a candidate for Governor of the State of Michigan.

I could name to the Senator many persons who did not give up their places on the public pay roll when they became candidates for high office. Governor Murphy did refuse to accept his pay as Commissioner to the Philippine Islands for the period of time during which he was a candidate for Governor of Michigan. I am intimately acquainted with the Governor. I saw him immediately after November 3, 1936, when he was elected Governor of Michigan. We take office there on the 1st day of January; and I know that the Governor devoted practically all of his time from election day until he became Governor of the State of Michigan to his duties in closing up his affairs as High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands. I say he was entirely justified in taking that pay; and I think we ought to place on the honor roll his action in refusing to accept salary which he very well could have taken while he was a candidate for Governor of Michigan.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?
The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from
Michigan yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. BROWN. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. Does the Senator know whether there are now any Members of the Senate who became candidates for the Senate while they were Governors of their States who did not give up their salary?

Mr. BROWN. The Senator is absolutely right in the implication of his question. I do not think any Member of the Senate takes the trouble to resign after he has been renominated for his position in the United States Senate; and I venture to say that the conscience of the Senator from New Hampshire is such that he will not resign his place in the Senate and refuse to accept his salary when he devotes all of his time to his reelection in 1942.

I think we have said enough about the personal side of this matter. I now wish to devote a little time to Governor Murphy's actions.

I am not going to detail the high character of men whom Governor Murphy put into office, but I am sure my eminent and distinguished colleague from the State of Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] will bear me out when I say that it was commonly conceded in the State of Michigan that the character of men whom Governor Murphy put into key positions was of the highest class; and I say to the Senator from New Hampshire that one of the reasons why my party lost in 1938 was because Frank Murphy appointed too many Republicans to key positions during his term of office. The heads of several of the important commissions are Republicans. They are excellent men. When the civil-service law went into effect Governor Murphy did not pick a Michigan Democrat to head that service. He did not pick a Michigan Republican. He went away out to the State of California and picked a man whom none of us had heard anything about and brought him in to administer the civil-service laws of the State of Michigan. I do not think the Senator from New Hampshire did that when he was Governor of the State of New Hampshire.

I could give the Senator many more examples. When Governor Murphy had the opportunity to pick the head of the hospitals of the State of Michigan he sent down here and asked who was the most distinguished doctor he could place at the head of the State hospitals of Michigan. He did not pick a Michigan Democrat. He did not pick a Michigan Republican. He took the advice of the Bureau of Public Health and picked a distinguished New Englander, who, so far as I know, had never been in the State of Michigan.

I could give the Senator from New Hampshire many more reasons why some Democrats did not support Governor Murphy, because of their difference with him over the matter of political appointments. I do not say that I agree with all of his activities in that respect; but I know that through them all there shows clearly the high political conscience that Frank Murphy had—a conscience as fine and as high as that of any man I know in the State of Michigan or the Federal Government of this country.

Mr. President, I said that I supported him because he was my personal friend, and he is; but if I had never known him personally, I could stand here and affirm to my fellow Senators that I would support him because of the record he has made as a lawyer, as a captain in the World War, as a judge of the recorder's court of the city of Detroit, which is the same in every respect as a judge of the circuit court in my State, with the same standing and the same salary; because of his record as mayor of Detroit; because of his record as High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands; and because of his record as Governor of Michigan. But let us discuss a few of these acts about which the Senator from New Hampshire speaks, although I know that what I say here is going to affect very few, if any, for I know that confirmation of this nomination is reasonably well assured, but I wish to speak a little about the industrial trouble in my State in 1937.

As Governor Murphy well said in his testimony before the Committee on the Judiciary, the labor situation in my State was tense. The unskilled labor in the automobile industry in Michigan had never been organized. During 1936, while I was going about the State in my campaign for nomination and election as a Senator from the State of Michigan, the U. A. W. was organized. We often ran into situations where

part of the crowd would be at the U. A. W. meeting and part at our political meeting, both on the Republican and the Democratic side. Homer Martin, a man of very high character, a former minister of the gospel, and others were going about the State organizing the automobile workers.

On December 30, 1936, while Frank D. Fitzgerald, who is now Governor of the State of Michigan, was Governor, the General Motors sit-down strike occurred. It was not the first sit-down strike in the State of Michigan, and was not the first sit-down strike in the United States, and, as those who have studied the labor problem know, it was not the first sit-down strike throughout the world, because sit-down strikes had been fairly common in France before that time.

The strikers were in and sitting down before Frank Murphy became Governor of Michigan.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GILLETTE in the chair). Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. BROWN. I yield.

Mr. BAILEY. Prior to the sit-down strikes in France, sit-down strikes began, as I have been informed, as a part of the essential technique of communism in Russia. That is correct, is it not?

Mr. BROWN. I am not informed, but I know there were sit-down strikes in France long before there were sit-down strikes in the United States.

Mr. BAILEY. The Senator has heard of the sit-down strikes in Russia prior to that?

Mr. BROWN. I have.

Mr. BAILEY. And the Senator has always understood, has he not, that they are a part of the technique of communism?

Mr. BROWN. I am not informed on that subject, I will say to the Senator, and I will take what he says as true.

The condition which I have described faced the Governor of Michigan when he was inducted into office on the 1st of January 1937. Immediately Governor Murphy took action. He called upon the leaders of labor and upon the leaders of industry and summoned them to his office. They were conferring from that time until the 12th of February the same year, when the strike was finally settled.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. BROWN. I yield.

Mr. BAILEY. May I ask the Senator at this point whether Governor Murphy, being a lawyer with the record which the Senator has described here, at that time advised the parties to the strike that the sit-down strike was unlawful?

Mr. BROWN. On February 12 or 13 the Governor issued a statement in which he characterized sit-down strikes as unlawful and illegal.

I will say further to the Senator—and I wish the Senator from New Hampshire were here, because he discussed this particular proposition—there appeared in the Congressional Record, on page 2486, volume 81, of the Seventy-fifth Congress, a statement which I caused to be inserted in the Record at that time, in which Governor Murphy in unmeasured terms condemned the unlawful seizure of property by labor, by the U. A. W. union, in the city of Flint, the specific case which we are discussing at the present time. So evidently the senior Senator from New Hampshire is not a close student of the Congressional Record.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield again? Mr. BROWN. I yield.

Mr. BAILEY. Does not the statement of the Senator from Michigan now place Governor Murphy in the position of having known that the sit-down strike was unlawful, and then not having taken any lawful action within the powers of his office to suppress the unlawful action of the sit-down strikers? How can that be explained?

Mr. BROWN. The Governor brought the parties together, he labored with them for a period of 5 weeks; no legal action was brought, and, so far as I know—and I take

it to be a fact—no action was desired by the automobile company involved looking to the ejectment of the strikers until later. The order for their ejectment was signed on Friday, February 5. The following Wednesday they evacuated the plant. I think the Governor facing the situation confronting him in 1937 acted about as the Senator from North Carolina would have acted under similar circumstances.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President-

Mr. BROWN. I say that because I know the Senator to be a reasonable man.

Mr. BAILEY. I thank the Senator. I like to be reasonable, and I think I was reasonable in stating my views about this matter, which I am going to see are placed in the Record before this discussion closes.

The question does not arise upon the action of the Governor in view of a proceeding in ejectment. The question arises upon the action of the Governor as the chief of all enforcement officers of the State, and the chief magistrate to preserve peace, when a mob take the law into their own hands. When people form a mob to take possession of my property by force and arms, I have a right to look to the Governor without going to the courts.

As I see this matter, the Governor temporized, and on the statement of the Senator now he delayed 5 weeks to deal with this situation.

Mr. BROWN. I think it is unfair to say he delayed.

Mr. BAILEY. That may have been reasonable from one point of view, but I do not think a chief executive, or a sheriff, or any other law officer—I do not think the President of the United States—has the right to delay in the enforcement of law against the action of a mob acting with force and arms; and if there is delay, the consequence is to enable the mob to dictate terms of peace with the private individual or the corporation, independent of their rights in a court. That seems to me to be a very serious thing. I am sure the Senator will agree with me in that.

Mr. BROWN. Does the Senator think that the instant the Governor learned that 500 to 1,000 employees were in the factory—and I do not know just how many there were—understanding that they went in lawfully, that they entered in the first place as employees, it was his duty instantly to order out the National Guard and order them to shoot those men down if necessity required it in order to drive them out of the plant? If the Senator entertains that view, I totally and wholly disagree with him.

Mr. BAILEY. I am sure the Senator would; but he has asked me a question, and I am going to ask leave to make a perfectly frank statement. The Governor of a State, or a policeman around this Capitol, or a constable in a town must preserve the peace. He must act reasonably, I agree. He must first make the demand for the peace. He does not act "instantly" in the sense in which the Senator used that term. Once he gives a command for the preservation of the peace. once he attempts an arrest or succeeds in an arrest and is resisted, then the law of this land is that he must exhaust the powers vested in him by the people to restore and preserve the peace. Now, I quote from the Supreme Court of North Carolina, "and his actions in the premises are not to be weighed in golden scales. He must use whatever force may be necessary, and that use of force is within his discretion, and it must be sufficient to assert the majesty of the law and preserve the peace."

If that involves bloodshed it involves bloodshed. I am sorry to say that bloodshed is a necessity in the preservation of the law. We electrocute people. That is bloodshed. It is very regrettable. It horrifies us. But still it is bloodshed. When mobs become riotous the law officer must suppress them. It is not up to him to consider whether there be bloodshed or not. It is up to him to consider whether the law is to rule the population or not. Ours is a government of law, not of men, and the ministers of the law must preserve the law, even though the preservation involves bloodshed.

If I should walk out in the hall now and some policeman on the outside should see some man who was, as he had good reason to believe, about to commit a felony upon my person, it would be the duty of the policeman to shed the blood of that man, not for my sake, and not because he wished to shed blood, but because this is a government of law, and not of men, and you cannot temporize with men who take the law into their own hands. Otherwise you surrender to them, and surrendering, you surrender the flag, the courts, the country, the peace, the order, and all those other constituents which make what we call our civilization.

I hope I have answered the Senator.

Mr. BROWN. Perhaps I can appeal to the Senator on another ground. He does not seem to care how much blood is shed as long as the majesty of the law is upheld. I think the majesty of the law was upheld in that situation. But I think I can appeal to the Senator on another basis. Here were, let us say, 500 men in the General Motors plant. The Senator knows that the machinery which is used by those men to stamp out parts of cars is very expensive, very finely made. Some machines cost as high as \$100,000. Can the Senator believe that the General Motors Corporation would prefer to let those men stay in the plant until, through the orderly processes of the law and a court order, their ejectment could be effected?

Mr. BAILEY rose.

Mr. BROWN. Let me finish.

Mr. BAILEY. I rose simply to answer the question. The Senator's statement is in the form of a question addressed to me.

Mr. BROWN. I am asking the Senator a question, and I refuse to yield until I have completed the question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan refuses to yield.

Mr. BROWN. Would the Senator desire to modify his view if he considered the property rights of the General Motors Corporation rather than the human rights of the labor unions? These machines were expensive; they cost money, and General Motors did not want them to be broken up and destroyed as the result of the riots which would inevitably have occurred in those plants. The Senator is an advocate of property rights. Perhaps upon that basis, then, he would justify a little delay of the interest of justice, even if he does not care so much about the human bloodshed which would certainly have occurred if this action, which he advocates, had been taken.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, may I now proceed? The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. BROWN. Yes; I yield.

Mr. BAILEY. I answer the question emphatically, no. I hope no one will ever think that I would put property rights above human rights; that I would prefer the destruction of human beings to the destruction of the most valuable machine on earth. The implication there I think is unworthy of my good friend. I think he would not insist upon it; but, if he did, I flatter myself, I think he is the only man on earth who would insist upon it with reference to me.

Of course, it was not the duty of the Governor of Michigan to consult with the General Motors or any other people. He was not to consult with flesh and blood, the power of money, as to his duty in enforcing the law. Certainly he was not to consider whether the mob had taken hostages in the form of machinery. If his attention were brought to that, then all the more it was incumbent upon him to act instantly and regardless of the consequences either to the mob or to the machinery.

That is not a matter of being willing to shed blood. That is a matter of being willing to preserve the peace. The preservation of the peace is the prevention of bloodshed. Temporizing with the mob is not preventing bloodshed. It

is inviting bloodshed. That is my position.

I am going to make a few remarks on this subject after the Senator from Michigan completes his remarks, and when I get an opportunity, but I hope I have cleared his mind of any suspicion or of any rhetorical imputation that I am arguing here that the General Motors people had a right to say to the Governor, "Do not do anything about this because our machinery is at stake." If the General Motors people took that position, they are absolutely to be condemned. And if Governor Murphy yielded to considerations of that sort, he is absolutely to be condemned.

The State and the rights of the population of the State rise far above the rights of the General Motors, the value of the machinery, or the simple question whether or not in the enforcement of the law and the maintenance of the peace, the chief executive and the chief magistrate of a Commonwealth would hesitate to exert all the powers vested in him by the people in order to maintain his oath of office, fully perform his duty, and preserve those muniments of civilization without which civilization itself cannot exist.

We are here not thinking about the property on one hand or the striker on the other. We are thinking about the duties of the Governor of a State, or sheriff, or constable, or policeman, or any other law officer, to see to it that the law prevails in America, in order that the Government of this country may always be what it has had the distinction of being up until now—a government of law and not of men or mobs.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I wish to absolve the Senator from any charge of mine that he would be in favor of shedding blood under these circumstances, because I am satisfied that if the Senator from North Carolina had been Governor of Michigan in 1937 he would not have taken the position that was taken by a famous character in Shakespearean literature that he was going to have his property or his forfeit because "it is so nominated in the bond."

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, I may suggest to the Senator that he is talking about a civil contract which was wrongful in the outset. I am talking about the contract that underlies all civilization—not a civil contract, but the contract that constitutes the State. There is a complete difference between Shylock's bond and the Constitution of the State of Michigan.

Mr. BROWN. Does the Senator from North Carolina take the view that the Governor should have sent the authorities into the plant, regardless of whether General Motors wanted it done or not?

Mr. BAILEY. Why certainly. General Motors had nothing to do with it—nothing on earth. The preservation of the peace is not a matter to be referred to the General Motors or any other corporation.

Mr. BROWN. Does the Senator believe that when all of those involved, the representatives of labor and the representatives of the corporation, believed that each following day would bring a settlement of the strike, that there should be some delay in the execution of the strict authority of the Governor?

Mr. BAILEY. No; I regret to say that I have taken the opposite view. I have taken the view that the way to prevent bloodshed in America is to enforce the law. The law is the only thing that I know of that saves us now from being slaughtered. Whenever we yield and temporize with the situation, we invite general disaster to all of us.

Let me say to the Senator, by way of concluding—because I do not wish unduly to interrupt him—that when the same sort of situation was threatened in the State of Connecticut, and was also threatened in the State of North Carolina, the Governor of Connecticut and the Governor of North Carolina issued public statements saying "the sit-down strike is unlawful. It will not be tolerated; and we will use such force as may be necessary to suppress it."

The consequence was that in those two States there were no sit-down strikes.

I am not saying that I shall vote against Governor Murphy; and I am not saying what I now say by way of undertaking to prejudice him. However, I am saying what I say because I do not want anyone to think that his appointment by our President or his confirmation by the Senate is in any degree a condonation of the sit-down strike, or of what others may conceive to be temporizing on the part of the Government with the sit-down strike.

Mr. BROWN. I think the Senator and I will have to disagree as to our view of the situation which faced our Governor in 1937.

I desire to call the attention of the Senator and of the Senate to the fact that the Governor did consult with the military authorities. He consulted with the National Guard. The National Guard was called out by him very early, and he went to Col. Samuel D. Pepper, Judge Advocate General of the Michigan National Guard. Samuel D. Pepper is a Republican. He was for many years a distinguished assistant attorney general of the State of Michigan. Shortly after the settlement of the Flint strike, the General Motors strike, Colonel Pepper said:

Any attempt on the part of National Guard troops to forcibly eject sit-down strikers from General Motors plants in Flint during recent labor troubles there would have resulted in bloodshed, delayed peaceable settlement-

Which I think is an important considerationand provoked a riot which the troops could not have handled.

Colonel Pepper was one of the responsible military officials. In 1938 he said to Frank Murphy:

DEAR GOVERNOR: As your term of office is drawing to a close, permit me to express my personal obligations to you for the distinguished friendship you have shown me. I was deeply touched by your campaign references to my attitude in the affair at Flint. You were certainly welcome to use anything I had said publicly on the matter. I have never hesitated to discuss your conduct of the the matter. I have never hesitated to discuss your conduct of the extremely difficult situation that developed during the sit-down strikes. I have never believed that the State should be a party to unnecessary violence in such matters. It is very easy for those who do not have the responsibility to criticize and denounce whatever is done; it is quite another matter for those in immediate authority. \* \*

ity. \* \*

I hope to see the day, however, when the public will more fully appreciate your services in preserving peace in the most trying domestic situation this State has ever faced.

I wish to conclude with the views of the men who were most intimately concerned.

William S. Knudsen was then, and is now, the president of the General Motors Corporation. He said:

We express our sincere thanks and appreciation to the Honorable Frank Murphy, Governor of Michigan, for his unremitting efforts to bring the parties together on a basis of lawful bargaining, in the hope of a speedy settlement of a strike that is doing unnecessary and irreparable damage to hundreds of thousands of innocent

That was not after the strike was settled. That was on January 9, when the difficulty was at its height.

Alfred P. Sloan, chairman of the board of General Motors then, and now, said on February 12, 2 days after the strike was settled:

General Motors is gratified that, by the unremitting efforts of Governor Murphy, an agreement has been made under which the General Motors plants, now illegally held by strikers, will be evacuated forthwith, the strike terminated, and production resumed at once.

The corporation, its workers, and the public are indebted to the Honorable Frank Murphy for his untiring and conscientious efforts, as well as fairness with which he has handled a most difficult situation. Only his efforts made it possible to resume work at this time.

I take it that the Senator from North Carolina and the Senator from New Hampshire would have preferred it if in the middle of January the Michigan troops had been ordered in, with the resultant and certain destruction of valuable machinery and of human life. However, the General Motors Corporation, the owner of this property, says that the Governor did a grand job in settling the strike.

Walter P. Chrysler, who formed the great Chrysler Motor Corporation when everyone said that the motor industry was so full that there was no room for anyone else, a great success as an engineer and businessman, said after the settlement of the Chrysler strike:

My DEAR GOVERNOR: Now that we are off your mind, I want to MY DEAR GOVERNOR: Now that we are on your mind, I want to take this means to write you and tell you how much I appreciate your splendid help in bringing about the settlement reached last night. I meant every word I said to the press about your work in this situation. You did a great job and I am happy to have been associated closely with you in the negotiations which ended so successfully and so fairly to all concerned.

Chrysler does not criticize, but the senior Senator from New Hampshire does, and the senior Senator from North Carolina does. However, the men whose property was involved were satisfied with the handling of the situation.

I also wish, Frank, to thank you for your attitude toward me personally and toward my associates in Lansing.

You have performed a real public service and you can well be

proud of it.

There were other strikes in Michigan. The same general testimony was given by A. E. Barrett, the head of the Hudson Motor Corporation. He said:

I am sure that the arrangement made will make for better understanding and better harmony between men and the management. I wish to extend my whole-hearted thanks—

To whom?-

to the Governor of Michigan for his interest and efforts to promote a settlement.

The Reo Motor Co., the Graham Motor Car Co., the Consumer's Power Co., and the Crowley-Milner Co., institutions which faced industrial trouble in the early months of 1937, have without exception commended the present Attorney General for his actions in bringing about industrial peace in Michigan.

Everyone in my State knows that the Detroit Free Press is closely affiliated with and sympathetic to the conservative in the Republican Party. After the settlement of both the General Motors and the Chrysler strikes the Detroit Free Press warmly commended the Governor's handling of the situation.

The Detroit News, which is an independent newspaper, also warmly commended the handling of the situation by the Governor of Michigan. I wish to take the time to read a short portion of an editorial from the Detroit News, the newspaper having the largest general circulation in the State of Michigan.

The strike ends. The Governor's balanced handling of the strike situation and negotiations throughout has merited description as statesmanlike. His position as Governor of the State and embodiment of its legal sovereignty was far from an easy one under the circumstances; yet he was able at the time to refrain from recognition of the sit-down strikes and to insist that they be ended without the necessity of forcible ejectment. He demanded, above all things, that an end be reached without forfeiting, in senseless violence, the lives of Michigan citizens. That was the humane and wise thing to do. It required of the Governor a feat of balancing that scarcely can be expected of official authority every time a group of workers, in the name of collective bargaining, seize possession of another's property.

Later the same paper said:

The Chrysler strike finally has been settled in a spirit of mutual forbearance and good feeling. And, now that it is ended, we suppose there will be few who will hesitate to agree that this was better than enforcing the letter of the law against the sit-downers at the risk of bloodshed and a great deal of bad feeling. Governor Murphy has handled another awkward situation in a way that does him and the State credit. It is true the law has been held in abeyance, but we think there is no lack of understanding on the part of anybody as to why this was so. So long as the law's supremacy is not in doubt, it will not lose necessarily by tempering its rigors to fit the circumstances, as was done in this case. this case.

However, we have further testimony. If Senators were as familiar with Michigan affairs as I am, they would know that the labor problem has been acute for some years in our greatest industrial enterprise, the Ford Motor Co. Mr. Harry H. Bennett is in charge of all their labor relations.

For some 2 years there has been an effort made to organize the employees of the Ford Motor Co., and that the Ford Motor Co. has resisted that effort, successfully resisted it, to this hour, taking the position that their employees should be free from any form of persuasion. There have been some difficulties at the gates of the Ford plant. Governor Murphy is known throughout Michigan and throughout the country as being sympathetic with the cause and efforts of organized labor to better their condition. It is known that he is a firm believer in the organization of labor, and very few people in the United States take a different position today. I say these things to emphasize the attitude of the motor industry, which was chiefly affected by the situation to which reference has been made.

I am free here to state the fact that Mr. B. E. Hutchinson, chairman of the finance committee of the Chrysler Motor Corporation, came to my office about 10 days ago and said:

We want no fight made, so far as we are concerned, against the confirmation of the nomination of Frank Murphy, because we think he did a good job in settling the Chrysler strike.

Would you like to have me tell that to your colleague, Senator VANDENBERG?

# I replied:

Yes; I would be delighted to have you tell that to Senator Van-DENBERG.

And so far as I know he did so.

But to recur to the Ford Motor Co., which has not been free from labor troubles, as I have heretofore stated, Mr. Harry H. Bennett said in a letter to Hon. Frank Murphy on January 10, 1939, a week ago today:

Permit me to congratulate you upon your appointment to the supreme office of Attorney General of the United States.

This, I repeat, is a letter from Mr. Bennett, of the Ford Motor Co.:

We feel that in appointing you President Roosevelt has selected a man who completely comprehends the requirements of the employed and those of the employer, who can distinguish between the

rights of capital and the demands of labor, who can recognize the justice in the claims of each and mediate between them.

You have in the past, and particularly as Governor of Michigan, shown a keen and ultimately fair understanding of what the separate obligations of capital and labor should be and where each

should have a beginning and ending.

Regardless of what expressed opinion may have been, we personally have always felt that your actions—

That is, Governor Murphy's actions in labor troubles in Michigan-

were guided and prompted by a spirit of fairness and justice. We never regarded you as being unfair to either side, and it is our firm belief that in viewing your record while you were in our midst the United States Government has secured in your appointment a member of the Cabinet who will promulgate the spirit of righteousness, equality, and justice as provided by the Constitution of the

We congratulate you, but we even more congratulate the President upon the wisdom of his selection.

Wishing you every success and assuring you of our cooperation, I remain, Sincerely yours,

I will not detain the Senate longer upon this subject. I wish to leave just this one thought, that not one single individual, not a representative of a single Michigan corporation involved in the labor troubles of 1932 has intimated in the slightest any objection, that has come to my ears, as to the confirmation of the nomination of Frank Murphy as Attorney General of the United States, and we have here from the largest employer of labor in my State strong commendation of the selection made by the President of the United States.

Yesterday, Mr. President, there appeared in the Washington News a very fine editorial upon the subject. I ask that it be inserted in this place in my remarks, but I am going to read first the last paragraph of it, as follows:

And the record, we believe, shows that Governor Murphy did function with great effectiveness as a mediator—a peacemaker in situations of extreme difficulty and danger. He retained the confidence of the unions and, as many of them attest, of the auto manufacturers. And if, as he says, "the sit-down strike has now been thoroughly discredited," he seems fairly entitled to part of the credit. In short, we think Mr. Murphy's attitude toward the sit-down strike has been shown as reason why he should, rather than why he should not, be confirmed as Attorney General.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the editorial referred to by the Senator from Michigan will be printed in its entirety in the RECORD.

The editorial referred to is as follows:

# MURPHY AND THE SIT-DOWNS

Critics have pointed to Frank Murphy's attitude toward sit-down strikes while he was Governor of Michigan as reason why he should not become Attorney General of the United States. He has given these critics an answer which, in our opinion, ought to silence them.

The Senate subcommittee which unanimously approved his nomination did not raise the sit-down issue. So he raised it himself, asked that hearings be reopened, and detailed the situation that had confronted him and the methods by which he had

tion that had confronted him and the methods by which he had dealt with it.

Far from condoning the sit-down strike, he said that from the first he warned union leaders against use of this illegal weapon. "Of course" the conduct of the strikers was "unlawful and unjustified." But they were no "handful of common criminals who might be dispersed by a few police. They were thousands of honest citizens." Called upon to enforce a court order to eject strikers from a Flint plant, he did not refuse. Instead, asking brief delay in the use of troops—which would have involved grave risk of property damage, riot, and bloodshed—he enforced the order's intent by peaceful means. He served written notice on John L. Lewis and Homer Martin, union president, that the order must be obeyed. And that sit-down strike ended the next day.

Asked later why he did not use the Lewis-Martin letter in the recent Michigan campaign, when charges of partiality to the sit-

Asked later why he did not use the Lewis-Martin letter in the recent Michigan campaign, when charges of partiality to the sitdowners contributed to his defeat for reelection, Mr. Murphy said: "There was no point in making that letter public while I was Governor—except in defense of myself, personally. And my personal fortunes are a secondary matter." His whole thought, he explained, was to avoid doing anything that might lessen his effectiveness, while Governor, as a mediator of labor disputes.

And the record, we believe, shows that Governor Murphy did function with great effectiveness as a mediator—a peacemaker

And the record, we believe, shows that Governor Murphy did function with great effectiveness as a mediator—a peacemaker in situations of extreme difficulty and danger. He retained the confidence of the unions and, as many of them attest, of the auto manufacturers. And if, as he says, "the sit-down strike has now been thoroughly discredited," he seems fairly entitled to part of the credit. In short, we think Mr. Murphy's attitude toward the sit-down strikes has been shown as a reason why he should, rather than why he should not, be confirmed as Attorney General.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, in the hearing before the Judiciary Committee there appeared in the testimony a very illuminating letter which was drafted by Governor Murphy and read to John L. Lewis, the head of the Committee for Industrial Organization, the day before the General Motors strike was settled at Flint. That letter then, in unmeasured terms, condemned the sit-down strike as unlawful and as illegal.

Mr. President, I wish to call attention, in closing, to the fact that when, on March 19, 1937, I spoke in the Senate upon the settlement of the Chrysler strike I inserted in the Congres-SIONAL RECORD a statement at the conclusion of my remarks in which the Governor of Michigan, contrary to what the Senator from New Hampshire has said, then, in 1937, publicly, in a statement widely printed throughout the United States, condemned the sit-down strike. That condemnation appears at length on page 2486 of volume 81 of the Congressional Record of the Seventy-fifth Congress, first session. I quote a brief extract from that statement:

There is probably no need for stating at length the conditions that exist in Detroit and to a less extent in other communities in

Public officials and, I believe, the great majority of our people, regardless of political faith or affiliation, are gravely disturbed by the prevalence of disputes between workers and employers, and a disposition in some quarters to ignore the law and violate the security and freedom of individuals and corporations in the exercise of

ity and freedom of individuals and corporations in the exercise of their personal and property rights.

Public authorities have shown a disposition to be reasonable and patient. It has been the aim and hope of the State government to avoid needless violence that might result in rancor and bitterness, in the hope that peaceful and prompt settlement of disputes might be facilitated, to the advantage of the innocent and neutral public as well as the parties directly concerned.

For it must not be overlooked that more important even than the interests of the parties directly involved and the prompt settlement of particular disputes is the maintenance of public order and respect for public authority, as represented by the police and the judicial

for public authority, as represented by the police and the judicial tribunals.

When the authority of governmental agencies is continually flouted or defled confidence in government is impaired and outraged citizens prepare to take the law into their own hands; democratic rule is endangered and the way is prepared for the rule of mobs or dictators; worst of all, labor movements and organizations are discredited, faith in liberal democratic government is permanently impaired, and social progress is impeded.

That is a lawyer's condemnation of the sit-down strike as

I conclude, Mr. President, by urging upon my colleagues in the Senate the confirmation of the nomination of my good friend, Frank Murphy, and I wish to assure the Senate and the country that if his future measures up to his past he will make a great Attorney General of the United States.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, this nominee for Attorney General is a distinguished citizen of my State. The controversy over Governor Murphy's course in the labor difficulties of Michigan will be argued as long as memory lasts, and it never will be settled. There are violent differences of opinion upon the subject. I certainly do not intend to go over the whole thing again this afternoon. The whole record stands clear. I know the Senate has its mind completely made up in respect to what it proposes to do. I have little interest in debating futilities. I rise solely to state in half a dozen sentences my position upon this roll call.

In my opinion, at the chief base of the recent significant November elections in Michigan were much the same lawand-order issues that are inevitably involved in the confirmation of the nomination of ex-Governor Murphy to be the chief law officer of the Government. I participated actively in that referendum, and I concurred in its outcome, which defeated Governor Murphy for reelection. I have not changed my mind. Since Michigan settled this issue for herself so recently I have come to the conclusion, despite my belief that the President should have wide latitude in the choice of his personal agents, that Michigan's popular vote by those who lived intimately with these terrifying problems, rightly should and must control my own vote as their representative in this closely related instance and issue. It seems to me that Michigan's majority has a right to be recorded. Therefore, for this indicated reason, I shall vote "no."

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, for the past 2 days I have been saying that I intend to vote for the confirmation of the appointments of Mr. Frankfurter and of Mr. Murphy.

I decided that I would vote for the confirmation of Mr. Murphy only after his testimony in which he denounced the sit-down strike. In the collecty today I brought that subject forward because I do not think the Senate ought to dispose of this matter without some of us, at any rate, making it perfectly clear that the vote for him today is not by way of condoning or passing upon the merits of his action during the sit-down strike period in Michigan.

Mr. President, I think three of the most unfortunate events in our recent history—limited, say, to the past 3 years—were the following:

First. The statement by the Secretary of Labor early in the spring of 1937, when the sit-down strikes were becoming epidemic, that the legality of the sit-down strike had not been determined. One could make allowance for the Secretary of Labor, because she is not a lawyer, and on numerous occasions she has tended to convince us that there were a great many subjects concerning which she knew nothing.

Second. When the Governor of Michigan in the great crisis of the sit-down strike delayed, tarried, dallied, and, as I thought at the time, flinched. I considered that extremely unfortunate.

Third. But equally unfortunate, in my judgment, was the failure of the Senate of the United States to denounce the sit-down strike in the same period. I refer to the defeat of the Byrnes rider, concerning which I made a speech on the floor of the Senate.

The consequence was that the impression went over the country that the sit-down strike was to be tolerated, and it permeated the country. It went everywhere; and whereas up to that time we had had what may be described as a rising economy, a general tendency—

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield before he leaves that part of his address?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. BAILEY. Let me finish the sentence, and then, of course, I will yield. Whereas up to that time we had had what may be described as a rising economy, a general tendency in the direction of recovery, there was a pause and a recession, and men almost universally became afraid to invest their money in industries which would employ people when they were uncertain whether they would be allowed to operate those industries; uncertain whether Governors and

other law officers would protect the rights of property, and, protecting the rights of property, protect the rights of persons to work. It was not just a matter of property, but of persons and property; and I do not think any great distinction can be made between personal rights and property rights, because if you can destroy my property you can starve me to death.

I now yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. BROWN. I do not want the Senator to leave the implication that those of us who voted against the Byrnes resolution by any means upheld the legality of the sit-down strike. I took part in that debate, and I then specifically stated that the sit-down strike was illegal. I very distinctly remember that the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Borah] took the same position. Our view was that it was nothing more than or very similar to a resolution condemning the sit-down strike, but there was nothing that we could do with respect to the situation in Michigan; that was a matter for the Michigan State Legislature to handle.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, to be sure, in making a remark of the character that I have made, I raise no implication concerning any Senator, or his motive, or his vote. I have been here now for quite a time, and I not only understand the rule which requires us not to question the motives of a man's vote, but I understand its value. I intend always to observe it. I may say at this point that I also understand the value of the necessary courtesies in the Senate, and I intend always to observe them, as I am sure the Senator from Michigan does.

Now to go on:

I think Governor Murphy did delay under very serious circumstances, and he delayed knowing that he was delaying with an unlawful situation. The record shows that he knew that the sit-down strike was unlawful.

What was the character of that unlawfulness? It was the seizure of great industrial plants with force and arms. That is a very serious thing. If we can tarry with a mob that seizes a mill and says it shall not operate, that the members of the mob will not work and no one else shall work, we might tarry with a mob that seized the Senate. The principle is the same. None of us would want to tarry with a mob that seized the Senate; but if a mob came in here and took their seats, or if our friends who come here by courtesy and are now in the gallery, having gained entry lawfully, should undertake to maintain an unlawful possession, we would not hesitate to take all steps necessary to restore the Senate to possession of the Senate in order that there might be law.

So I was dealing with the great principles which underlie our civilization and our country. I am not concerned about Mr. Murphy. I think he is a good man. Every one who has spoken to me about him has said that he is a good man. I think he is a capable man. I think he is honest. I have no reason to say that he does not believe in the Constitution as fully as I do. I shall wish him the utmost success in his course. Whether or not I am in the Chamber when the vote is taken, I want it understood that I am voting for his confirmation.

In the whole history of our Senate there have been only 10 instances in which nominations to a Cabinet position have been rejected. It is rather singular that three of those instances were rejections of the same nominee for the same position, and all within a short time; and there was another instance in which one nomination was rejected twice. It might be said, therefore, that in the whole history of 150 years of the Senate there have been only seven rejections; and I understand why that is. I would not say that we are under obligation to confirm, but we do recognize that it is the right of the President to appoint almost unchallenged the members of his official family. It is probably a courtesy almost universally to be respected, certainly not to be disregarded except upon the most serious grounds.

Now, another matter, about the question of bloodshed: I do not like to talk about myself, but I suppose I am as little inclined to bloodshed as any man who ever lived. I do not even like to put a live bait on my hook when I am fishing. Sometimes I feel like making a little speech of sympathy to the worm before I stick the hook in him and put him in the water to catch a perch. I think we all have those feelings, and as we grow older we grow more that way. A boy does not hesitate to shoot a squirrel, but I see around me Senators who would not shoot a squirrel, and I know it has been many years since anybody could get me to shoot a squirrel. So I am not for bloodshed; but I am for law. I am for order; and while I do not like to boast in these respects, I hope I may say that I am like the new dealers in some respects; I am a realist. I am afraid that they have almost ruined that word; but we will let that pass.

The realities of the matter require us to recognize that there are occasions when bloodshed prevents greater bloodshed, and the suppression of the mob is always necessary to prevent greater bloodshed. The law itself is the antidote to bloodshed. When you temporize with the law, you cultivate bloodshed; you sow the seeds. We ought to recognize that.

I remember the last chapter in Carlyle's great history of the French Revolution. He told that story of blood and horror more graphically than it was ever told before or since. In the last chapter he described the mob coming down the street, and, to use his expression, "a whiff of grapeshot," and the mob dispersed. And there was silence and order in Paris, order for the first time in 5 years. Lady Guillotine ceased to reign. Heads were safe on shoulders. Homes were secure once again. The Little Corporal had found the cure for all the horrors of the French Revolution. With the "whiff of grapeshot" he had asserted the majesty of the law and established peace and laid the foundation of the empire. That is an argument for the law; that is not an argument for bloodshed. It was a pity for Napoleon's "whiff of grapeshot" to strike down the mob, oh, yes; and every one of us here could have wept; but he ended the reign of terror, and he saved tens of thousands of lives.

We may not like the billy of the policeman, or the pistol, we may not like the electric chair, or the gallows, we may not like the sword, and the bayonet, and the rifle, and the cannon, and the battleship, but as long as the world is as it is, as long as men there are who do desire to take the law into their own hands, we must recognize that these things are necessary. When the time comes to use them, I cannot use them, I am not a law-enforcing officer; my little girl cannot use them, she is not capable; it would not be right for my boy to use them, he is not vested with power. We must look to the officer of the law, the policeman, the constable, and the Governor.

Mr. President, that is all I wish to say. When we had this matter up in the Congress in the matter of the strikers seizing the mails of the United States, actually telling the United States Government what mail it could send through to its destination and what it could not, we had an investigation. I filed a report expressing my individual views. They were not the views of a moment, they were the views of a lifetime. So I ask unanimous consent that I may send forward this report and have it printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[S. Rept. 885, pt. 3, 75th Cong., 1st sess.]

INVESTIGATION OF THE DELIVERY OR NONDELIVERY OF MAIL TO ESTAB-LISHMENTS WHERE INDUSTRIAL STRIFE IS IN PROGRESS

Mr. Balley, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, submitted the following individual views (to accompany S. Res.

"The undersigned does not agree with the report of the committee on Senate Resolution 140. The report of the committee states—
"That by reason of the strike and the attitude of the strikers on the outside and the armed conditions existing on the inside of the several steel corporation plants, the unusual service demanded of the Post Office Department could not be safely carried on; that to have done so would have subjected the postal carriers to jeopardy of life and limb."

"It is true that by reason of the strike and the attitude of the strikers and so-called picketers the unusual service demanded of the Post Office Department could not safely be carried on, and that to have undertaken to carry it on would have subjected the postal carriers to jeopardy of life and limb. However, the fundamental conception of the Government is that the Government will make it safe for its servants to perform their duties in the functioning of

the Government. Agreed that armed men threatened to kill carriers of the mail, it was the duty of the Government of the United States, primarily the duty of the Post Office Department, so to protect their postmasters and carriers as to make it safe for them to carry the mail, notwithstanding the threats of violence.

"A government must function notwithstanding men in violation of the law make it depresses to so the law make it depresses to so."

of the law make it dangerous to do so. The primary obligation of a government is safety. It is no excuse for failing to carry the mails to say that it was unsafe to carry them. If it was unsafe on the first day, it should have been made safe the second day, and it was the clear duty of the Post Office Department to call upon the Department of Justice for the means of preserving the law, and thereafter upon the President, to the end that the full power of the thereafter upon the President, to the end that the full power of the Government should be employed without delay to make it safe to carry the mail. This might have required the calling out of the Army, but if this were necessary, the Army itself should have been called out in order that the mail might be carried. If it be said that such a course might have caused bloodshed, the answer is that any other course is likely to cause much more bloodshed.

"Attention is called to the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States In re Debs (158 U. S. 564), from which I quote:

"But there is no such impotency in the National Government. The entire strength of the Nation may be used to enforce in any part of the land the full and free exercise of all national powers

part of the land the full and free exercise of all national powers and the security of all rights entrusted by the Constitution to its care. The strong arm of the National Government may be put care. The strong arm of the National Government may be pur-forth to brush away all obstructions to the freedom of interstate commerce or the transportation of the mails. If the emergency arises, the Army of the Nation, and all its militia, are at the service of the Nation to compel obedience to its laws.

"When a Government suspends its functions simply because lawbreakers make it unsafe to perform them, it is surrendering the law to violators of the law. It is abdicating in favor of those who would take the law into their own hands.

"Suppose the example set here by the Post Office Department should be followed. Of what function of the Government would

we be assured?

"A government can afford to weaken before a mob no more than it can afford to weaken before a highwayman.

The proper course for the Post Office Department was to have "The proper course for the Post Office Department was to have had warrants sworn out for the known offenders and have them brought at once before a United States commissioner and placed in jail or placed under bond pending trial, and if this procedure failed, then it was the clear duty of the Post Office Department to call upon the President of the United States to exert such force as was necessary to overcome the violent interference with the functioning of the Government. The evidence shows it delayed action 2 weeks, having in the meantime agreed to withhold lawful mail which the picketers objected to. The action in refusing to take the mail, taken under circumstances of duress, was calculated to encourage others to demand that the Government proceed with its functions according to the will of private citizens rather than its functions according to the will of private citizens rather than according to law. The strike leaders first made it unsafe to carry the mail, then stipulated what mail might be carried.

the mail, then stipulated what mail might be carried.

'I have little patience with the effort to make a distinction between normal mail and abnormal mail, but if made, it must be made freely by the authorities and not under duress. An American citizen has a right under the law to transmit mailable matter through the post office upon the payment of the postage required by law. A citizen pays his taxes, renders his general service as a citizen, in order that he may receive the benefits of the Government, and the carrying of the mails is a monopoly enjoyed by the Government for the benefit of its citizens. It is a benefit to which they are entitled as a matter of right.

"Wives were undertaking to send nackages of food medicine and

they are entitled as a matter of right.

"Wives were undertaking to send packages of food, medicine, and clothing to their husbands, who were in industrial institutions making their livings. The wives were peaceful. The husbands were peaceful. Men who had taken the law into their own hands undertook to say what mail should go through and what mail should not go through. This was in violation of the law. Agreed that the amount of mail was abnormal on account of the unusual conditions, agreed that the character of the mails was abnormal, it is nevertheless true that the carrying of the United States mail is a function of the Government and the mail was lawful. No one else may carry the mail. An American citizen has a right to mail a package of food or clothing to another citizen, designating his address, and upon paying the postage has a right to demand the delivery of the mail. If it is unsafe at the moment to deliver it, it is the clear duty of the Government to make it safe to deliver it, and that without delay.

"The failure of the Post Office Department to take steps to make it safe to deliver the mail cannot be condoned and ought not to be overlooked by the Congress. We have at our command

not to be overlooked by the Congress. We have at our command always the processes of the courts, and when these fall we have the armed power of a great Government. If we shall not use this armed power when necessary to preserve order or to enable the Government to function, when do we propose to use it? Under what desumetance is it to be used?

what circumstances is it to be used?

what circumstances is it to be used?

"The heart of the matter is not the carrying of the mail but the preservation of law by the Government charged with the duty of preserving the law. Civilization is always struggling for its life. There are many lawless men at large, and there are many men who ordinarily are law abiding, but who become lawless under exciting conditions. It is always the duty of the Government to cope with those who take the law into their own hands. It is always the duty of the Government to maintain the public

peace. It must command respect for itself and its statutes. This is fundamental. It is true that it is primarily the duty of the State governments to maintain public peace within the States, but the carrying of the mails is a function of the Federal Government, and the last particle of power of the Federal Government must be employed whenever occasion demands. If men taking the law into their own hands make it unsafe for the humblest servant of the Government to perform his functions, it is the duty of the Government instantly to make it safe and to exhaust its powers to make it safe for him to function.

duty of the Government instantly to make it safe and to exhaust its powers to make it safe for him to function.

"The humblest man in America, as well as the greatest, has the right to have his mail carried upon the payment of the postage required by law, and it is no excuse that men taking the law into their own hands have made it unsafe to carry the mail, or that the mail was unusual in quantity or character. The Government may wait when floods destroy roads or bridges until the roads are restored and the bridges shall have been rebuilt. In event of war, the Government may have to win a war in order to event of war, the Government may have to win a war in order to carry mails to its citizens, but when a mob or individual, whether a picketer or a highwayman, makes it unsafe for the Government to function, the Government must without a moment's hesitation make it unsafe for him and safe for itself and its citizens. To do less is to invite the destruction of the Government, is to destroy the faith of the people in the capacity of their Government to perform its functions and to maintain order, and the maintenance of order is the fundamental function of the Government. When-ever it fails, others must meet violence with violence. They have

ever it falls, others must meet violence with violence. They have no choice.

"I hope that the Post Office Department will never again undertake to excuse itself before the Congress by the plea that lawless men had made it unsafe to carry the mails. On the other hand, I hope that hereafter when lawless men or highwaymen or picketers or others interfere with the mails, instant action will be the rule and all the power necessary will be invoked in due

season.

"I may say that the evidence showed that the men who were "I may say that the evidence showed that the men who were interfering with the mails and making it unsafe for the post-office officials to carry them were representatives of a labor organization known as the C. I. O. If this organization is to invoke the law, it ought to respect and obey the law. It cannot expect to be recognized as an agency for collective bargaining under the law unless it proposes to observe the law in other respects. An organization which makes a rule of disregarding the law cannot ask for the recognition of the law, nor may it expect the recognition of men and women who respect the law and look to it for their security. Government employees ought not to join an organization that does not respect and observe the laws of the Government. Government.

"Under the amendment to the resolution the committee heard testimony as to the Chicago riot. The testimony was consistent with the verdict of the coroner's jury that the homicides in that riot were justifiable. No representation is made here that it was all the testimony that might be produced. The police were dealing with an armed mob, proceeding to a plant where peaceful men were at work. The police warned the mob as required by law. It would not yield, but continued in an attitude of menace. Missiles were thrown. A shot was fired. Then the conflict. A mob must disperse upon orders from police authorities. To refuse to do so and continue in an attitude of menace is to invite and become responsible for consequences. In this view the question of which side first attacked is of secondary importance.

"Peaceful citizens expect peace officers to maintain the peace. Their actions as to the use of force are not to be 'weighed in golden scales,' to use a phrase from the Supreme Court of North Carolina. In stopping the progress of the mob and then in breaking it up, the question whether they used excessive force arises; but this is a question whether they were charged with "Under the amendment to the resolution the committee heard

arises; but this is a question which is referred in the first instance to the discretion of the police officers. They were charged with the duty of employing all the force necessary. They were on the ground, they had to deal with the situation as they saw it. Opinions may differ as to the amount of force necessary, but the police officers are entitled to the benefit of the presumption that they acted in good faith and were in the best position to determine what was necessary. In such a position 'judicial temperament' is not expected.

determine what was necessary. In such a position 'judicial temperament' is not expected.

"Suppose they had run before the mob. If this is intolerable, who will say that in resisting and subduing it after fair warning, they did more than their duty? Bloodshed is deplorable, but if the public peace requires it, we must pay the price.

"I may add that I question the policy of congressional investigations in matters of this character. Are police officers under Federal supervision? Are they to be informed that their actions are to be reviewed by us? Congress investigates solely with the view to legislation. What legislation is in contemplation concerning police officers in Chicago or elsewhere? What legislation is in contemplation concerning civil servants in the State of Illinois? And if there are wrongs to be remedied, what is proposed to be done? If murder is committed in Chicago, does Congress propose to take jurisdiction? to take jurisdiction?

"Is the power of Congress to be invoked under the fourteenth amendment? If so, it may be well to recall the famous Slaughterhouse case (16 Wall. 36) and to quote the following:

"It would be the valuest show of learning to attempt to prove by citations of authority, that up to the adoption of the recent amendments, no claim or pretense was set up that those rights depended on the Federal Government for their existence or protection beyond

the very few express limitations which the Federal Constitution imposed upon the States—such, for instance, as the prohibition against ex post facto laws, bills of attainder, and laws impairing the obligation of contracts. But with the exception of these and a few other restrictions, the entire domain of the privileges and immunities of citizens of the States, as above defined, lay within the constitutional and legislative power of the States, and without that of the Federal Government. Was it the purpose of the fourteenth amendment, by the simple declaration that no State should make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, to transfer the security and protection of all the civil rights which we have mentioned, from the States to the Federal Government? And where it is declared that Congress shall have the power to enforce that article was it intended to bring within the power of Congress the entire domain of civil rights within the power of Congress the entire domain of civil rights heretofore belonging exclusively to the States?

'All this and more must follow if the proposition of the plaintiffs in error be sound. For not only are these rights subject to the control of Congress whenever in its discretion any of them are supposed in error be sound. For not only are these rights subject to the control of Congress whenever in its discretion any of them are supposed to be abridged by State legislation but that body may also pass laws in advance limiting and restricting the exercise of legislative power by the States in their most ordinary and usual functions as in its judgment it may think proper on all such subjects. And still further, such a construction followed by the reversal of the judgments of the Supreme Court of Louisiana in these cases would constitute this court a perpetual censor upon all legislation of the States on the civil rights of their own citizens, with authority to nullify such as it did not approve as consistent with those rights as they existed at the time of the adoption of this amendment. The argument, we admit, is not always the most conclusive which is drawn from the consequences urged against the adoption of a particular construction of an instrument. But when, as in the case before us, these consequences are so serious, so far-reaching and pervading, so great a departure from the structure and spirit of our institutions; when the effect is to fetter and degrade the State governments by subjecting them to the control of Congress in the exercise of powers heretofore universally conceded to them of the most ordinary and fundamental character; when in fact it radically changes the whole theory of the relations of the State and Federal Governments to each other and of both these Governments to the people the argument has a force that is irresistible in the absence of language which expresses such a purpose too clearly to admit of doubt.

"We are convinced that no such results were intended by the doubt

doubt.

"We are convinced that no such results were intended by the Congress which proposed these amendments, nor by the legislatures of the States which ratified them."

"I disavow the remotest reflection upon any other committee, but bring the matter forward to suggest that the power of Congress to sit in judgment upon acts of local police—or, for that matter, of Governors or mayors—is very slender indeed. As yet, this is not a centralized government, and the principle of local self-government is yet a fundamental principle. The Federal Government may interfere only where Federal functions are involved, or strictly Federal rights are in question, by reason of State action, or the maintenance of a republican form of government in any State requires the exercise of Federal powers. As to what are the Federal rights—i. e., one's rights as a citizen of the United States as compared with his rights as a citizen of a State—I suggest a reading of the Slaughterhouse case cited above.

"The assembly was manifestly unlawful. It had gathered for an

ing of the Slaughterhouse case cited above.

"The assembly was manifestly unlawful. It had gathered for an unlawful purpose and was proceeding to execute that purpose, to wit, to invade the property of others, take charge of it and expel workers from their posts of duty. It was armed with deadly weapons. The police had no choice; they had to uphold the law; to resist the mob and to disperse it. It was their duty to protect peaceful citizens at their work—in their right to work. They exhausted peaceful methods, and then met force with force. They are not responsible for the consequences, but the responsibility rests clearly upon those who were proceeding outside the law. If blame must be imposed for the bloodshed, it must be imposed on the mob that resisted the law and made bloodshed unavoidable. "To take any other view is to impose upon the guardians of the law condemnation for doing their duty, and to encourage the lawless accordingly. So long as this is a government of law, and not of men, those who uphold the law, and those who execute it, ought to be supported.

to be supported.

"There is nothing in the Wagner Labor Relations Act to justify or encourage violence. That act was intended to encourage lawful procedure. It is to be regretted that some agitators operating in the name of the organization known as the C. I. O. seem to have taken the opposite view. There is nothing to be not to encourage afforms of strikers to present others from working nothing in it to efforts of strikers to prevent others from working; nothing in it to encourage agitators to compel workers to join any organization or their organization; nothing to justify the resort to violence for the purpose of compelling employers to agree to or to sign contracts, Workers who desire the benefits of the act must proceed lawfully Workers who desire the benefits of the act must proceed lawfully and within the clear spirit of the legislation. Those who proceed otherwise are doing more than any others to destroy the legislation. If workers desire the repeal of the Wagner Act, the sure way to proceed is to interpret it as authorizing methods which some of their leaders have persisted in following since it was enacted. If any labor organization would have the sympathy of law-respecting citizens, it must uphold the law.

"I am fortunate in being able to conclude this expression of my views with a clear statement of the elementary law upon these matters by a distinguished North Carolina jurist, the Honorable

N. A. Sinclair, supporting a judgment of his court in a recent case,

"There is nothing in this case that calls for injunctive relief. The law is plain. Employees have a right to stop work, to join a labor union, and to strike. On the other hand, employees have a labor union, and to strike. On the other hand, employees have the right to work and to refuse to join a union or a strike. And it is the duty of the police authorities to protect both classes of employees in the exercise of such rights. Members of the union have a right to persuade other employees to join the union or to join a strike by use of methods that are peaceful and not calculated to disturb the peace, but they do not have the right to resort to methods of intimidation or annoyance. An employee is antitled to the same protection in his right to work as another is entitled to the same protection in his right to work as another is to his right to strike. The strikers have the right to picket in a lawful manner and they have the same right to the public streets for that purpose that any other citizen has, but they do not have a right to intimidate or obstruct or annoy an employee going to or from his work or while he is actually engaged in work, nor do they have any right to invade or trespass upon any property or premises of the employer.

"'It is the duty of the police authorities to protect striking employees in their effort to induce other employees to join a strike or that of members of the union to persuade others to join the union, as long as they pursue lawful means to such ends, but it is no less their duty to protect every man in his right to work and to protect such workers from insult, intimidation, obstruction, or annoyance while at work or when proceeding to or from their work. They are entitled to free ingress and egress to and from their work without interference, intimidation, or annoyance from work. They are entitled to free ingress and egress to and from their work, without interference, intimidation, or annoyance from anyone. If any member of the law-enforcing authorities refuses to furnish such protection to the rights of any employee, whether a member of a union or not, and whether a striker or not, he would be amenable to the law and subject to prosecution for neglect of official duty—and the courts are always open to anyone who has a complaint to make.

who has a complaint to make.

"But it is the duty of the police authorities to maintain peace and order upon the streets and prevent any conduct calculated to produce a breach of the peace, and this must be left to their sound discretion. It is not only impossible but the courts have no power under the Constitution to control or direct the police authorities as to when and how they shall exercise their discretion in the performance of these duties. If for any reason the local authorities, after exhausing their resources, cannot maintain law and order and protect the lawful rights of all concerned, both workers and non-workers, as well as the property owners, then it will become their duty to call upon the State to furnish such force as may be necessary for that purpose. sary for that purpose.

But in the midst of the industrial strife and bitter controversies with which certain portions of the country are torn today, it is well to remember that North Carolina has not abdicated its duty nor surrendered its power to protect the rights of all alike—the employee and the employer, the union member and the nonunion member, the striker and the worker; others may do as they may, but in North Carolina the law is supreme and the State must exercise such authority as may be necessary to maintain law and order within its borders and to protect human rights and property rights and the right of every free man to work without molestation or

hindrance by anyone.

"A frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is essential to the preservation of our liberties (Bill of Rights, Constitution of North Carolina).

"Respectfully submitted.

"JOSIAH W. BAILEY."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to this nomination?

Mr. LOGAN. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, before the vote is taken I desire to say a word in regard to this nomination.

When the nomination of Frank Murphy was submitted to the Senate and was before the committee, it seemed to me at once that there was only one question which could be raised about it. Anyone who knows the nominee, who knows the splendid character he is, who knows his sterling worth, could have no question about anything in his entire career or anything in his qualifications for the office to which he has been appointed, other than regarding what we know as the sit-down strike epidemic in Michigan as it might be developed. And in that connection there was only one phase of the matter which interested me.

I should not want to cast a vote today in favor of confirmation of this nominee if I felt that by so doing I would lend the slightest encouragement to those forces in this country who are willing to flout law and order, who are willing to take the law into their own hands to accomplish their purposes. I would speak against confirmation and vote against it if I thought any person could justly say that a vote today in favor of confirmation could have that effect.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that exactly the opposite is true, that as the result of the examination of this nominee, and of the statement he made before the subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, the country now has before it a clear, definite, and positive statement from one who has become the highest enforcement officer in the Government that sit-down strikes are illegal, and that any organization of labor which indulges in that practice, which seizes the property of others, is rendering a disservice not only to itself but to the entire cause of labor. We had in the statement of this nominee before the Senate committee as eloquent a plea in favor of law enforcement and order as has ever come from the lips of any citizen of this country.

Therefore, instead of a vote for confirmation of this nominee being construed anywhere as a vote in favor of sit-down strikes, or a vote in favor of disregard of law and order, I say that we have a right to feel that a vote in favor of confirmation is a vote in strongest terms in condemnation of sit-down strikes and in favor of strict enforcement of law

and order.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BURKE. I yield.

Mr. ASHURST. The able Senator who has been so kind as to yield was a member of the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary which conducted the investigation in this case.

Mr. BURKE. The Senator's statement is correct. Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BURKE. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. The Senator has spoken of the appearance of Attorney General Murphy before the subcommittee when he gave positive testimony as to his views in regard to sitdown strikes. But does not the Senator agree that the statement made by Attorney General Murphy to Mr. Lewis at the time of the sit-down strike speaks far more eloquently of his attitude than even his testimony before our committee?

Mr. BURKE. Yes; I agree with that statement fully. Every one trained in the law would recognize that statements made at the time of an occurrence are of far more probative force than those made after events have developed.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. BURKE. I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire. Mr. BRIDGES. I have great admiration for the views of the Senator from Nebraska, but the statement he just made, that a vote for Murphy is a vote for law and order, is based on what Mr. Murphy says now rather than on what the

record shows. Is that not true?

Mr. BURKE. I think that statement would have to be connected with the query just propounded by the senior Senator from New Mexico, that the nominee has not changed his position; that he is not now, in the interest of his confirmation or of his standing in the country, making a statement contrary to something he believed a year and a half ago, or whenever these disturbances happened in Michigan.

It seemed to me very important that the statement to which the Senator from New Mexico referred should be brought out in the hearing. The nominee did not bring the matter forward at first. It happened that I was familiar with the statement which had been prepared at the time of the event, and it was in response to my inquiry that the nominee produced from his papers the statement made at that time. He was not bringing it forward in his own behalf as evidence before the committee. It was brought forward in response to a question I propounded to him, and it seemed to me of tremendous importance as showing clearly that this nominee at all times desired to do exactly the right thing in the right way.

We may differ as to the correctness of the decision he reached at the time. I think that is a matter open to argument. In fact, I was very much opposed to the way the situation was handled, my judgment being based upon the newspaper reports at the time, which were accurate, so far as I know; but, looking at it just from the outside and from a distance, it seemed to me then that the Governor should have reached a different decision and should have proceeded,

with whatever ruthlessness was required, to enforce the law literally and correctly.

Being interested in the matter I took occasion to go a little more deeply into it at the time, and became convinced that there was at least as much to be said in favor of the decision that Governor Murphy reached as against it. I am fully satisfied, as is the chairman, Mr. President-and this is all I care to say—that any Member of the Senate today can vote in favor of confirmation of Governor Murphy as Attorney General and be entirely clear in his conscience, so far as any statements have heretofore been made, or may be made hereafter, that by so doing he is not giving encouragement to those who do not believe in strict enforcement of the law. In fact, for myself, I go even further, and say that in voting for confirmation, I do so because I believe we are in that way making a real contribution to the complete extermination of the sit-down strike method in this country, and toward raising the standards of law and order to a higher level than they have attained heretofore.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On the question of the confirmation of the nomination of Frank Murphy to be Attorney General of the United States the yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. BARKLEY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Donahey	King	Russell
Ashurst	Downey	La Follette	Schwartz
Austin	Ellender	Lee	Schwellenbach
Bailey	Frazier	Lodge	Sheppard
Bankhead	George	Logan	Shipstead
Barbour	Gibson	Lucas	Stewart
Barkley	Gillette	Lundeen	Taft
Bilbo	Glass	McCarran	Thomas, Okla.
Bone	Green	McKellar	Thomas, Utah
Borah	Guffey	McNary	Tobey
Bridges	Gurney	Maloney	Townsend
Brown	Hale	Mead	Truman
Bulow	Harrison	Minton	Tydings
Burke	Hatch	Murray	Vandenberg
Byrd	Hayden	Neely	Van Nuys
Capper	Herring	Norris	Wagner
Chavez	Hill	Nye	Walsh
Clark, Idaho	Holman	O'Mahoney	Wheeler
Clark, Mo.	Holt	Pepper	White
Connally	Hughes	Pittman	Wiley
Danaher	Johnson, Calif.	Reed	WILCY
	Johnson, Colo.	Reynolds	
Davis	JUILLISOII, COIO.	recymonus	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-six Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HALE (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes]. I have been unable to obtain a transfer of that pair, and therefore cannot vote. If at liberty to vote, I would vote "nay." The junior Senator from South Carolina, if voting, would vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. PEPPER. My colleague the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. Andrews] is absent on account of illness. If he were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. TYDINGS. My colleague [Mr. Radcliffe] is detained on official business. He is on his way to the Chamber, but evidently will not reach it in time to vote. If he were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. MINTON. I announce that the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Overton] is absent because of a slight illness.

The junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes] is absent, attending the inauguration of the Governor of South Carolina.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. Lewis] and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Smathers] are detained on important public business.

The Senators from Arkansas [Mrs. Caraway and Mr. Miller] are in Arkansas attending the funeral of the late Representative Cravens, of Arkansas.

I am advised that all the absent Senators, if present, would vote "yea."

Mr. WHEELER. The senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Smith], I understand, is detained on important departmental business and unable to be present.

The result was announced—yeas 78, nays 7, as follows:

	YE	AS-78	
Adams Ashurst Austin Bailey Bankhead Barbour Barkley Bilbo Bone Boreh Brown Bulow Burke Byrd Capper Chavez Clark, Idaho Clark, Mo.	Davis Donahey Downey Ellender Frazier George Gibson Gillette Glass Green Guffey Harrison Hatch Hayden Herring Hill Holt Hughes	King La Follette Lee Lodge Logan Lucas Lundeen McCarran McKellar McNary Maloney Mead Minton Murray Neely Norris Nye O'Mahoney	Reed Reynolds Russell Schwartz Schwellenbach Sheppard Shipstead Stewart Thomas, Okla. Thomas, Okla. Truman Trydings Van Nuys Wagner Walsh Wheeler Wiley
Connally Danaher	Johnson, Calif. Johnson, Colo. NA	Pepper Pittman YS—7	
Bridges Gurney	Holman Taft	Tobey Vandenberg	White
	NOT V	OTING-11	
Andrews Byrnes Caraway	Gerry Hale Lewis	Miller Overton Radcliffe	Smathers Smith

So the nomination of Frank Murphy, of Michigan, to be Attorney General of the United States was confirmed.

# UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will read the remaining nominations on the calendar.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Lemuel R. Via to be United States attorney for the southern district of West Virginia.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

# UNITED STATES MARSHAL

The legislative clerk read the nomination of George E. Proudfit to be United States marshal for the district of Nebraska.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

That concludes the nominations on the calendar.

# COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE—AUTHORITY TO REPORT DURING RECESS OR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, the Committee on Commerce will vote tomorrow on the nomination of Mr. Harry L. Hopkins to be Secretary of Commerce. There is no business that need call the Senate back tomorrow, if we may have an understanding that the committee may file its report, and that the nomination may go on the Executive Calendar, so that it may be taken up on Thursday. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Commerce be authorized to file its report during the recess or adjournment of the Senate.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I have no objection to that request. It will permit us to have a holiday tomorrow in which to attend to other matters. May I ask the Senator, if we conclude the consideration of the nomination of Mr. Hopkins on Thursday, whether or not it is the intention to adjourn from Thursday until Monday?

Mr. BARKLEY. I will say to the Senator that it is contemplated that if we shall conclude consideration of Mr. Hopkins' nomination on Thursday, which I hope we may, we shall then adjourn until the following Monday. Would the Senator be willing now to enter into an agreement that we shall vote on Thursday on Mr. Hopkins' nomination?

Mr. McNARY. No.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kentucky that the Commerce Committee be authorized to report during the recess or adjournment of the Senate, and that whatever report it makes with reference to Mr. Hopkins may be taken up on Thursday? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to: and the Senate resumed legislative session.

#### RECESS TO THURSDAY

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon on Thursday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until Thursday, January 19, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

# CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 17, 1939

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

Felix Frankfurter to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

#### ATTORNEY GENERAL

Frank Murphy to be Attorney General.

# UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

Lemuel R. Via to be United States attorney for the southern district of West Virginia.

#### UNITED STATES MARSHAL

George E. Proudfit to be United States marshal for the district of Nebraska.

APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND TRANSFERS IN THE REGULAR ARMY

Note.—The nominations of all persons named for appointment, promotion, or transfer in the Regular Army, which were received on the 5th and 12th instant, with the exception of persons named for appointment to grade of general officers and the nomination of Wallace Embry Nau to be a second lieutenant in the Air Corps, which was withdrawn by the President, were confirmed en bloc. The names of persons confirmed today will be found in the Congressional Records for January 5 and 12, 1939, beginning on pages 97 and 239, respectively, under the caption "Nominations."

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 18, 1939

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, this day may we hallow Thy holy name by thought, word, and deed; forbid, gracious Lord, that we should ever take it in vain. We rejoice that Thy fatherhood makes the whole world akin; it deepens in the minds of men right and truth. We fervently pray Thee that where chaos reigns order may prevail and where lawlessness runs riot there may come recovered strength of well-organized society. Most blessed Spirit, inspire us with Thy guidance, cleanse that which is sordid, heal that which is wounded, and may we ever cherish that which is right and just. Come, our Father, be our repose in labor, our support in conflict, and our sweetest refreshment in affliction, and thine shall be the praise. Through Christ. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday, January 16, 1939, was read and approved.

# MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution:

# Senate Resolution 60

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the

amouncement of the death of Hon. Ben Cravens, late a Representative from the State of Arkansas.

Resolved, That a committee of two Senators be appointed by the Presiding Officer to join the committee appointed on the part of

the House of Representatives to attend the funeral of the deceased Representative.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative the Senate do now adjourn.

The message also announced that, pursuant to the foregoing resolution, the Presiding Officer had appointed Mrs. Caraway and Mr. MILLER as the members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Tuesday next, after the reading of the Journal and disposition of business on the Speaker's table, I may be permitted to address the House for 45 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

#### DEDICATION OF LARGEST AGRICULTURAL BUILDING

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered. There was no objection.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, on last Monday the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania dedicated to agricultural pursuits the largest building that was ever dedicated in the United States to that cause. It is 40 feet longer and 20 feet wider than the arena in Madison Square Garden.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, to insert in the RECORD an address I made on that occasion.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered. There was no objection.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SMITH of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD in regard to the proposed Puget Sound, Grays Harbor, Willapa Harbor, and Columbia River Canal, and to include excerpts from a report prepared by the Pacific Northwest Waterways Association.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered. There was no objection.

# THE LATE HONORABLE EDWARD P. COSTIGAN

Mr. LEWIS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered. There was no objection.

Mr. LEWIS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, it is my painful duty to inform the House of the death last evening, at his home in Denver, Colo., of Hon. Edward Prentiss Costigan. former United States Senator from Colorado.

Senator Costigan was born in King William County, Va., July 1, 1874. When a boy he moved with his parents to Denver. He attended the public schools and later attended Harvard College, from which he was graduated in 1899 with the degree of bachelor of arts. He studied law and was admitted to the bar of Utah in 1897. He began the practice of law in Denver in 1900. In 1903 he married Mabel G. Cory, of Denver, who has been his helpmate, counselor, and inspiration throughout the years.

He has been a leader in all reform movements in Denver, in Colorado, and indeed throughout the Nation.

From 1903-6 he was an organizer and attorney of the Honest Election League in Denver, and 1906-8, of the Law Enforcement League. He was attorney for the Anti-Saloon League in local option litigation before the Colorado Supreme Court, and was chairman of Dry Denver Campaign Committee in 1910. He was an organizer of the Direct Primary League and Direct Legislation Leagues of Colorado. He served as president of the Civil Service Reform Association of Denver, and was an organizer of the Citizens Party, which carried the Denver municipal election in 1912. He represented Colorado merchants, the Denver Chamber of Commerce, and Arizona commercial interests in freight-rate litigation before the Interstate Commerce Commission. In 1914, at the time of the congressional investigations of the Colorado coal strike, he was attorney for the United Mine Workers of America, and in the murder trials growing out of this strike, in the last case tried, secured acquittals, in March 1916, for all defendants.

He was a founder of the Progressive Party in 1912, and its unsuccessful candidate for Governor of Colorado in 1912 and again in 1914. He was a staunch supporter of President Theodore Roosevelt and later of President Woodrow Wilson.

In March 1917 he was appointed by President Wilson a member of the United States Tariff Commission. In September of 1918 he was reappointed by President Wilson to this Commission, on which he continued to serve until his resignation in March of 1928.

In 1930 he was elected on the Democratic ticket as United States Senator from Colorado. He was an ardent and effective supporter of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Gifted with an exceptionally rich, clear, and impressive voice, having complete command of our language and possessed apparently of infinite capacity for painstaking work, Senator Costigan, soon after taking his seat, came to be recognized as one of the ablest Members of the Senate.

But he had never had a robust constitution, and his unremitting work began to impair his health. In March 1936 he suffered a physical break-down, which made it impossible for him to continue his duties in the Senate or to undertake the arduous work of a campaign for renomination and reelection in Colorado, which is always a doubtful State. For months death seemed imminent each day. But, tenderly and constantly cared for by his noble and devoted wife, he fought for his life for almost 3 years. Of late he appeared to be slightly improving, so much so that his friends were encouraged to hope that he would fully recover. Last night he succumbed to an attack of pneumonia.

To me, and to thousands of other citizens of Denver, of Colorado, and of the Nation at large, the death of Senator Costigan is a personal bereavement. I personally have known him for 37 years and have known him well. Whatever differences of opinion anyone may have entertained concerning any of the views of Senator Costigan on public questions, no one could question his ability, his sincerity, or his courage. Although never yielding one iota from his principles, or deviating a hair's breadth from his determined course, he was always, despite the greatest provocation, courteous, considerate, and charitable to everyone. In all things and at all times he was, in the truest sense, a gentleman.

No problem of any individual was so insignificant that it failed to command his personal attention and conscientious consideration. No public question was too large or too important for him to be appalled by its magnitude, or for him to fail to address to its solution his indefatigable industry and all the powers of a well-trained and supremely able mind.

Senator Costigan devoted himself exclusively and unreservedly to unselfish public service. In that service he sacrificed his health and his life. He wore himself out in the service of the people of his city, of his State, and of the Nation.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Wigglesworth] is recognized.

THE LATE RICHARD OLNEY, FORMER MEMBER OF THE HOUSE

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I rise at this time for the purpose of announcing to the House the death at his home in Boston of Hon. Richard Olney, of Massachusetts, formerly a Member of this House.

Born in 1871, bearing the name of an illustrious uncle who served both as Attorney General and as Secretary of State under President Cleveland, Mr. Olney was to enter upon a public career himself almost 35 years ago and to devote himself for many years to the public service both in his native State and in the Nation.

In Massachusetts his service included a number of years in the legislature, membership on the minimum-wage commission, chairmanship of the State parole board, and more recently the chairmanship of the State Division of the Necessaries of Life. In Washington his service included 6 years, from 1915 to 1921, as a Member of this House, and at a later date membership on the World War Foreign Debt Commission, to which he was appointed by President Harding and reappointed by President Coolidge.

As a Member of the House of Representatives, Mr. Olney represented the people of the district whom I have the great honor to represent at this time. The older Members of this body will remember the splendid service which he rendered here, particularly during the period of the World War.

Personally, though of different political faith, I shall always be grateful for the unfailing friendship and consideration which he was good enough to give me at all times during my service here in Washington.

Mr. Speaker, Dick Olney will be missed, and deeply missed, by the wide circle of friends which was his in every walk of life as a result of his devoted and distinguished service to State and Nation.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Minnesota rise?

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks by inserting in the Record a timely and challenging statement on the question of preparedness, delivered by my colleague the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Youngdahl] over the Mutual Broadcasting System on Monday evening last.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday next, after the conclusion of the legislative business for the day, I may address the House for 45 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and to include therein a resolution from landowners of Mississippi County, Mo., mailed to me in reference to the sharecropper uprising in that section, which has been so grossly exaggerated by the newspapers throughout the Nation.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to place in the Appendix of the Record the address of our new colleague the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt], delivered last Saturday before the Women's Republican Club of New York.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. Fish and Mr. Landis asked and were given permission to revise and extend their remarks.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record by including therein an address I delivered over the radio in December on the state of the Nation.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. ELLIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and to include therein a brief which I filed recently with the Army engineers at a hearing on the White River at Harrison, Ark.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks on the subject of libel and slander over the radio.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered. There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, on January 7, at the Jackson Day dinner at Dallas, Tex., Hon. William O. Douglas, Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, made an address, parts of which might not be of interest to all Members, but other parts of which I know will be of interest to the majority of the Members.

I ask unanimous consent to insert this speech at this point in the RECORD, and my reason for doing so is that for the most part it is a very informative discussion of the duties and functions of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the

gentleman from Texas?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object-and, of course, I shall not object to the request-for information may I ask if the gentleman will tell us what is going to be the program for Thursday and Friday of this week?

Mr. RAYBURN. Yes. The Appropriations Committee will report the first deficiency bill, and I think that committee will want to take the major part of Thursday and Friday for the consideration of this bill. That will be all the legislation that will be presented to the House this week.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. And the vote will probably come on Friday?

Mr. RAYBURN. Yes; the vote will probably come on Friday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN]?

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I note the first thing the Congress seems to be requested to do is to take up a deficiency bill.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to yield to the gentleman, but I do not see any reason for the gentleman's remarks going in between my remarks and Mr. Douglas' ad-

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN]?

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object—and I am not going to object—when we adjourn on Friday will we adjourn over until Monday; and may I inquire further whether the House will be in session on Monday and Tuesday?

Mr. RAYBURN. The only thing that will be done in the House this week so far as legislation is concerned will be consideration of the first deficiency bill.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Will we be in session on Monday and Tuesday of next week?

Mr. RAYBURN. I think so.
The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN]?

There was no objection.

The matter referred to is as follows:

Address of William O. Douglas, Chairman, Securities and Ex-CHANGE COMMISSION, AT THE TEXAS JACKSON DAY DINNER, DALLAS, TEX., SATURDAY, JANUARY 7, 1939

Though this is the first time I have been in Texas, I have felt ever since stepping off the train like him who, long absent, has at last come home. Your inimitable hospitality alone was sufficient to create that feeling. There is also a close resemblance between the climate of opinion, the frank and outspoken manner, the two-fisted attitude, the progressive idealism of Texas and that part of the far west which I still claim, along with Connecticut, as home. But there is even more to it than that, for the Securities and Exchange Commission and Texas have had a long and a close associations. change Commission and Texas have had a long and a close associa-

tion.

The advent of the S. E. C. is closely associated with the activities of two statesmen from Texas. The Commission administers the Fletcher-Rayburn Act of 1933, the Fletcher-Rayburn Act of 1934, and the Wheeler-Rayburn Act of 1935. That is how the S. E. C. acquired its Sam Rayburn hallmark. And we are proud of it, as I know you are. Your great Congressman's part in this typically Texas program to restore to finance the old-fashioned standards of conservatism, honesty, and fair play is well known. Less familiar, perhaps, is the fact that when the fight for the Stock Exchange Act was at its hottest in 1934 and the outlook for its passage was dark, a fellow Texan supplied the final ounce of pressure necessary to put a fellow Texan supplied the final ounce of pressure necessary to put

the measure through on the Senate side. He also remained steadfast on the firing line, as respects the other acts, and never retreated. I refer to Jack Garner, Vice President of the United

So when I talk about the S. E. C. in Texas I am talking about it in its home State.

For these various reasons I almost feel entitled to salute you

this evening as "fellow Texans."

There is another reason also why I mention the S. E. C. on this Andrew Jackson anniversary. In common with a host of other Roosevelt and Democratic accomplishments, its history is strong in the Jacksonian tradition. The struggles which preceded the advent of the statutes it administers are reminiscent of the battles which Old Hickory had with the financial powers.

The first of the laws under which the S. E. C. operates is sometimes called the "truth in securities" bill. It was passed to give the investing public honest and complete information about new issues of stocks and bonds. It was passed to restrict the illegitimate enterprise; it was passed to protect the honest business and the investor. Nobody could object to the principle of this measure. Neither could its need be questioned—at least not by anyone familiar with the uninforming and misinforming salesmanship by which new issues were often marketed in predepression days. Yet which new issues were often marketed in predepression days. Yet the cry was raised that corporations and underwriters, no matter how well intentioned, would not dare to issue new securities, howhow well intentioned, would not dare to issue new securities, however sound; that the restrictive influence of that act would be so severe as to paralyze the capital markets. Yet corporations today accept the new requirements as a matter of course. The ultimate source of most complaints, as still are made today, is to be found in the proponents of questionable schemes which we have scotched. Honest business, through the machinery of the act, has offered more than ten billions of securities for sale. And the public has been saved hundreds of millions of dollars through the Commission's refusal to allow fraudulent or shady offerings to be made to the public. The Securities Act of 1933 has not only been a protective influence for investors; it has also taught many managements tive influence for investors; it has also taught many managements many things about their own companies.

Thus one of the important influences in bringing to light the Coster-Musica scandal was the fact—not generally known—that McKesson & Robbins was planning a new bond issue, and that the necessity for presenting an honest picture of the company in the registration statement was the occasion for Mr. "Coster's" associates asking him many questions to which he was not able to give a satisfactory reply.

satisfactory reply.

Hardly had the fight for honesty in the sale of securities been Hardly had the fight for honesty in the sale of securities been Hardly had the fight for honesty in the sale of securities been Hardly had the fight for honesty in the sale of securities been hardly had the fight for honesty in the sale of securities been hardly had the fight for honesty in the sale of securities been hardly had the fight for honesty in the sale of securities been hardly had the fight for honesty in the sale of securities been hardly had the fight for honesty in the sale of securities been hardly had the fight for honesty in the sale of securities been hardly had the fight for honesty in the sale of securities been hardly had the fight for honesty in the sale of securities been hardly had the fight for honesty in the sale of securities been had b Hardly had the fight for honesty in the sale of securities been won when the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 governing trading in securities gave reactionaries and inactionaries a new opportunity to raise cries of calamity. Here again the objective of the act was conservative and old-fashioned. It sought to regulate stock exchanges, to prevent pool operations, to control "insiders" abuse of their positions, and to eliminate many other inteferences with the natural flow of security markets. Here again the purpose of the act was unassailable, both from the point of view of honest business and from the standpoint of protection of the public. But ness and from the standpoint of protection of the public. But again there was protest, and again false issues were raised. Thus Richard Whitney, testifying against the bill, gave this dire predic-

tion if the margin requirements were included:

"We believe we will have panic and an absolute break-down of
the security markets of this country, naturally to the great detriment of those investors holding these listed securities."

There were many other objections, but most of them came down
to the argument that if professional traders were not allowed a free
hand, in maintaining an artificially active market.

hand in maintaining an artificially active market, the market could not be kept alive by the unstimulated orders of legitimate

could not be kept alive by the unstimulated orders of legitimate investors. But events, both before and after the act, have demonstrated that a free and open market for American investors is preferable to a sizzling, boiling market for Wall Street operators.

The reactionaries and the inactionaries objected even louder and longer to the act of 1935. This measure, as you know, deals with public-utility holding companies and their widely scattered operating companies. It has particular impact on holding companies separated from their operating companies by whole mountain ranges of intermediate holding companies.

separated from their operating companies by whole mountain ranges of intermediate holding companies.

The holding-company bill proposed that these systems should be geographically and financially integrated. Some ingenious person, with a gift for picturesque description but not for accuracy, labeled the integration provisions of the act the "death sentence." By the use of this misinforming title an attempt was made to create the impression that the S. E. C. was going after the utility industry of the United States like St. Patrick went after the snakes of Ireland. The impression is, of course, entirely false. The law is designed to eliminate only the superfluous or injurious intermediate company, which has no real economic function but lends itself to manipulation of securities the premiding of control the abuse of manipulation of securities, the pyramiding of control, the abuse of minority interests, and the milking of operating subsidiaries. The act is designed, by limiting the geographical expanse of any one holding-company system, to put some ceiling on size; to place some curb on concentration of financial power in the electric and gas

As has been the case with most liberal measures, these acts were all forged in a furnace of intense heat. Jack Garner was telling me the other day that they even labeled him as a Communist. The opposition to the enactment of these laws was reminiscent in quality and intensity to the opposition confronting Andrew Jackson in his encounters with Nicholas Biddle and the Bank of the United States. But today most of the heat has gone up the chimney and most of the opposition fires are burning low, and

those like Jack Garner, who were carrying the brunt of the battle and who were dubbed as Communists, have been given well-deserved recognition for their constructive leadership in a liberal

Today the basic principles of these acts are thoroughly accepted by conservatives and liberals alike. Few could now be found who would wipe them out and restore the anarchistic system which preceded them. Certainly there are those who think this legisla-tion can be improved upon. But, over all, these laws stand as permanent milestones of a broad liberal advance and a strengthening of the capitalistic system under the leadership of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

And so I smile when an occasional critic complains that the ob-

And so I smile when an occasional critic complains that the objectives of liberal or reform government are not compatible with the objectives of honest business. I smile because the daily work of the S. E. C. belies this empty claim. Business accepts these acts. Its representatives sit at our round-table with us. Many of our accomplishments are joint accomplishments—demonstrations by liberal government and honest business that they can live and progress together. There are many evidences of this. I need cite only two. The first reflects a new sentiment in Wall Street, best stated by one of its most progressive leaders, the new president of the New York Stock Exchange. Recently he said:

"The stock exchange welcomes Government regulation and supervision. \* \* We have a joint responsibility with the Government to see that the people of this country have as sane, as honest, and as efficient a market as it is humanly possible to provide. The old maxim, "To govern well, govern little," will not be applied by thinking people today as our problem. We do not regard government as a necessary evil. Our Government should be our greatest pride and a part of the very fabric of our lives. \* \* \* There are some who find any supervision of business by government repugnant. We have no patience with that attitude. Such a view-point is unreal and is not likely to attract any substantial follow-

repugnant. We have no patience with that attitude. Such a viewpoint is unreal and is not likely to attract any substantial following among practical men and women."

The second is illustrated by a step which marks the dawn of a
new era in the attitude of the public-utility industry toward Government supervision. In the closing days of 1938 the utility industry, unanimously and without coercion, filed with the S. E. C.
their tentative plans for complying with the integration provisions—
the so-called death sentence—of the Holding Company Act. To
be sure, we asked them to submit such plans to us, but the request
was by no means an order. But they did not take the position that
it was our part to submit the suggestions and their part to oppose
them; instead, they replied in a cooperative spirit. And we are
now holding round-table discussions with them in a common endeavor to mold these plans to fit the law, to reconstruct those
systems along sound conservative lines, and to preserve the financial integrity of those systems in the process.

Thus history repeats itself. That which was once deemed radical
becomes the strength of conservatism. It has been true of banking
legislation of financial legislation. When the

becomes the strength of conservatism. It has been true of banking legislation, of financial legislation, of social legislation. When the heat of battle is lifted and emotions cool off, reform of yesteryear becomes the standard and accepted practice of today. The workaday world translates into practical realities the liberal's ideals.

This depicts in miniature the function of the liberal in our Gov-

This depicts in miniature the function of the liberal in our Government. His function and the function of the Democratic Party have been identical. It is the function of supplying the energizing and directive force to keep government abreast of economic and social change. It is the task of making democratic government effective by making it responsive to social and economic change. It is the undertaking of making certain that government, as the agent of a free people, is able and willing to serve the needs of the people at those points where self-help breaks down. That was the service rendered by Andrew Jackson. That is the significance of the great leadership of Franklin Roosevelt. Those men and other Democratic leaders have been the pioneers in keeping our Government a servant of the common man. They are responsible for keeping democracy a living force rather than a ritualistic form. They have been capitalism's best friend by continuously endeavor-

Government a servant of the common man. They are responsible for keeping democracy a living force rather than a ritualistic form. They have been capitalism's best friend by continuously endeavoring to keep it conservative, respectable, and honest. No leaders have done more to preserve the vitality and strength of both capitalism and democracy than have Jackson and Roosevelt.

Both Jackson and Roosevelt took office when democracy was at a low ebb; political democracy in 1828; economic democracy in 1932. Both Democratic leaders were bitterly opposed by those who, having gained for themselves privileges and emoluments through their domination of the old system, were bitterly against any renaissance of the democratic ideal as revolutionary and destructive. The work of Jackson is over, and history has returned its verdict upon it. The work of our President is still unfinished. But so much has been already accomplished that we may face the judgment of the future years with confidence. The Roosevelt administrations will take their place beside the administrations of Jefferson and Jackson as the greatest periods of peacetime advancement in American history. To those who believe in democracy, the years of greatest significance are the years in which democracy has moved forward the most.

On the surface the 1920's had much to recommend them. But everyone knows how little genuine progress was made in the years between 1920 and 1930. When we look back upon those years, what accomplishment can we discover that has stood the test of the few years between that time and now? To be sure the old guard of business and finance were busy taking care of themselves. Their financial machines located in far distant finan-

the cless of the few years between that time and now? To be sure the old guard of business and finance were busy taking care of themselves. Their financial machines located in far distant finan-cial centers were siphoning off the wealth of this and other regions of the country. They erected certain monuments by which to remember them, although the memories are hardly happy. The

intricate holding-company structure of incorporated pyramids such as the Insull and Van Sweringen systems was perhaps the most conspicuous of their accomplishments. The investment trusts, which in 1929 alone attracted some \$2,000,000,000 of public money, were perhaps the most costly. There was little of lasting value, even to industry itself, since immediate profit was made only at the price of future loss. I do not think it partisan to describe the 1920's as a barren period from the standard of describe the 1920's as a barren period from the standpoint of described the 1920's as a barren period from the standpoint of democracy. Certainly what the decade produced was crumbling even before the decade was over. Nor did the 1920's ever hold out much more than empty promises to the ordinary citizen. The old guard were never more than incidentally interested in the welfare of the common

In the Jacksonian period, however, progress was fundamental. Andrew Jackson was greeted by no bull market. At his inaugural a Supreme Court Justice remarked that "the reign of King Mob is with us." Daniel Webster, amazed because the inaugural had atdays to get from 500 miles around—at a time when it took 4 days to get from Philadelphia to Washington—said, "One might have thought that the country had actually been saved from some great danger." But Jackson was never popular with those in the high places. Following the vital administrations of Washington. have thought that the country had actually been saved from some great danger." But Jackson was never popular with those in the high places. Following the vital administrations of Washington and Jefferson, political control had settled in the hands of an aristocratic clique. The Presidency appeared likely to become the permanent property of the first families of Virginia and of Massachusetts. It was Andrew Jackson, from Tennessee, who broke this tradition—Andrew Jackson, the border captain, elected by the poor men of the cities and the rough men of the frontiers. As one historian has put it: "With the election of Jackson the people of the United States may be said to have come into the possession of the powers which had been held in trust for them by the founding fathers." fathers.

And as it was with the man who founded the Democratic Party, so it is with the man who now leads it. I need hardly remind this audience of the circumstances under which Franklin D. Roosevelt delivered his first inaugural. Nor is it necessary to review in detail the progress made since that forbidding day. Like Jackson, the President has allied himself with the interests of the common man.

President has allied himself with the interests of the common man. Both political democracy and economic democracy have by tradition become Jacksonian and Rooseveltian principles. Both principles are fundamental to the general welfare. It is the privilege and the responsibility of all real Democrats to see that those principles are kept alive, as they were by the triumph which Democracy won a hundred years ago, 6 years ago, and 2 years ago.

The requirements for such a triumph make it plain that the Democratic Party must continue to be, as it has been for more than a hundred years, the pioneering party of the Nation. Never has there been a greater need than at the present time for the frontier spirit, which thrives upon attacking barriers and extending boundaries. Never has there been a greater need for a strong, united front by all liberals. The nature of the opposition demands it. I do not mean to denounce opposition. I would be the first to defend it. It occupies a high place where free speech and democracy flourish. But let us not be deluded by the specious form which it currently is beginning to take.

Even the old-line Republican is trying to appropriate the progress which has been already made by taking it over and putting his own label on it. The enemies of the New Deal no longer openly advocate its destruction. Now they are paying lip service to its principles.

which has been already made by taking it over and putting his own label on it. The enemies of the New Deal no longer openly advocate its destruction. Now they are paying lip service to its principles. Knowing that they cannot destroy this advanced social program, they hope that they may be able to get control of it. On its face the issue thus presented raises no basic difference between the two parties. On the surface Democratic liberalism is adopted by the Perublicans.

Republicans.

Such an attitude is, in its way, a compliment to the New Deal and to its endorsement by the people. We Democrats may be pardoned for taking pride in the fact that our traditional opponents are seeking to identify themselves with democratic objectives. They

are seeking to identify themselves with democratic objectives. They admit that our program is working. They concede that it is practical. The inactionary impliedly confesses that the hobgoblins which he detected in these laws at the time of their passage were merely examples of what President Roosevelt has referred to as "seeing things under the bed." But although we may appreciate the compliment, we should not be deceived by it.

For we know that although lip service may be rendered the basic principles, danger lurks at two points. The first is the risk of amendments to these laws which will emasculate them; the second is a perfunctory administration of this broad social program. As much is to be feared from those who claim to endorse the principles but who question the laws and attack the agencies which administer them, as is to be feared from those who reject the principles themselves. We would not entrust a program for improving our highways to the person who has all along insisted that the old dirt roads are good enough. When any program is adopted by those who have been its traditional enemies, that program is really endangered. They want it merely for their political prospectuses.

But the basic issues are even more fundamental. The New Deal But the basic issues are even more fundamental. The New Deal has not come to the end of any road. The Democratic Party has never been willing to be completely content, along with the conservative party, with accomplishments to date. Its force, its virtue, its contributions to our national life lie in its willingness to meet change and to defy inaction.

Certainly the present is no time in which to make a compact with inaction or to take counsel with reaction. Here and abroad the world is moving so rapidly that no one can keep up with it by standing on the ground he has already won. In Europe today some nations

have already been forced to choose between reaction and revolution. In this country we have a better choice—a choice between reaction and progress. The Democratic Party has the tradition, the brains, and the courage to supply a progressive leadership under liberal banners without which that choice cannot be long preserved. The function of the Democratic Party has always been to supply that leadership. This is its Jacksonian tradition. Let us keep democracy strong and united in that tradition. If we are successful, it will remain the party of progress, making neither concessions to nor compromises with any foe of capitalism and democracy—whether he be on the extreme right or on the extreme left. If we are successful, we can have progress with law and order, with respect for private property, and with reverence for individual liberty, without the lawlessness characteristic of the extremists on either side.

In this way I am certain that the progress we have already made will be preserved and extended. And I know that no more enthusiastic support can be found for such program than the support

In this way I am certain that the progress we have already made will be preserved and extended. And I know that no more enthusiastic support can be found for such program than the support given it by the people of Texas, a coming industrial State of the Union. I know, too, that the Lone Star State, so long committed to the principle of Democratic unity, will not countenance any attempt of any third party to take from the Democratic Party its stalwart espousal of the liberal movement.

So tonight we pledge ourselves to keep our Democratic Party genuinely progressive; never to allow it to become contentedly reactionary. Tonight we hall the New Deal not as an experiment but as an accomplishment—an accomplishment which has deservedly earned the approval of the people. Tonight we look back on the 1930's as a period of tremendous progress—a progress not measured by mergers and ticker tape but by the common welfare and the general good. Tonight we salute progressive and enlightened business which recognizes that the principles of liberal government and the principles of modern business are wholly compatible. Tonight we hall the ability of liberal government and honest business to work together harmoniously and constructively to a common end. Tonight we acclaim the New Deal as a milestone in the advancement of democracy—advancement under the party of democracy, which Andrew Jackson founded and which Franklin of democracy, which Andrew Jackson founded and which Franklin D. Roosevelt leads today.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a comment by Heywood Broun, the columnist, on the appointment of Mr. Harry Hopkins.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the

gentleman from California [Mr. Voornis]?

There was no objection.

## PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute to ask the majority leader a question.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich]?

There was no objection.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the majority leader if it is going to be the policy of the majority leader and those in control of the House to keep within the Budget estimate of the present administration and if they are going to try to stay within the income of the Federal Government? This is a very pertinent question, and it seems to me the leader of the majority party should try in every way to cut down the expenses of this Nation so that at some future time we may balance the Budget.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich] has expired.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask for sufficient time to allow the majority leader to give us some idea along these lines.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN] desire recognition for that purpose?

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I do not. The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich] has expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH]?

There was no objection.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the minority leader relative to the recommendation so far as the minority members of the various committees are concerned. How soon will the gentleman be able to submit a list?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I may say to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Sabath] that we have already agreed to the members of four of the major committees, namely the Committee on Rules, the Committee on Ways and Means, the Committee on Appropriations, and the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. We expect to complete the list this afternoon. We will have a conference on Friday following the session of the House and expect to be ready to report the full list on Monday next.

Mr. SABATH. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Tuesday next, immediately following the address of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] I may be permitted to address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the

gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Cox]?

There was no objection. The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SNYDER] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a few short letters from people throughout the United States who are interested in this highway proposal.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SNYDER]?

There was no objection.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, for 4 consecutive years I have called to the attention of the House a bill to construct a system of transcontinental and north and south highways in the United States.

The first time I introduced the bill, the dominating factor seemed to be transportation—that is, that such a system would aid the transportation of commodities so that they could be distributed to the different parts of the United States where they are consumed at a much less cost, and at the same time we would be taking care of the increased traffic on our highways-thus making travel safer.

The second time I introduced the bill 3 years ago, another commendable factor seemed to be embodied by many of my colleagues. It was pointed out by many individuals and groups of individuals and the newspapers throughout the country, that such a system would help to solve the unemployment problem, by putting several hundred thousand men to work on a worth-while project.

Two years ago when I presented my bill to the House with some adjustments and added features, a third important factor was embodied not only by myself and other Members of the House, but by many of the newspapers throughout the Nation.

That factor was that it would aid our national-defense program, both in flexibility and economy.

It is generally agreed that all three of these major merits of such a system have grown in importance since I first presented my bill. That is, the use of such highways for transportation—the advisability of taking large numbers of men from unemployed rolls-and the strengthening of our national-defense installations.

Building roads is not a new adventure for our Government. In 1806, Thomas Jefferson asked Congress to appropriate \$30,000 to be spent on perfecting the old National Highway, now known as route 40, running from Baltimore, via Cumberland, St. Louis, Cheyenne, Salt Lake City, and San Francisco. For 40 years following that, Congress appropriated money for the improvement of that highway. President Tyler vetoed a similar bill in 1847.

My bill calls for, as I will show you on this map in a few minutes, a system of three transcontinental highways and six north and south highways; the highways to be 100 feet wide, providing eight lanes of traffic, and to be built of concrete or similar permanent material designed to last as long as the Appian Way.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SNYDER. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri. Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Who is going to build this highway? Is the Federal Government going to build it?

Mr. SNYDER. I shall come to that feature in a few minutes.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Who is going to maintain and police the highway?

Mr. SNYDER. I shall come to that in a few minutes.

They would have a right-of-way 500 feet wide, leveled off on a level with the highway with no obstruction whatever on the rights-of-way. These highways would not pass through any cities and would be built as straight as possible. The highways would be divided into different lanes for different classes of traffic and there would be no barriers, such as shrubbery between the lanes, that would be over 20 inches high. The lighting of the highways would be done by cables laid at the same time the highways are built, along the edges, so that the lights would not be any higher than the curb. One of the purposes of this would be to make the highways emergency landing fields for airplanes. Each of these highways would be divided off into sections of, we will say, 5 or 7 milesand at the end of each section we would have a service station and modern radio equipment so, if an airplane flying over this main street across the Nation, day or night, would be in trouble the pilot could radio to the station over which they were flying and tell the radio operator they would land in section so and so, in 3 or 5 minutes, or whatever the time might be. Thus the traffic would be shut off at each end, and a safe landing would be assured. Of course, this feature is not new, as a similar plan was carried out in Germany in building a road. At each of these sections, 18 in all, we would build large airports not less than 8,000 feet square.

Now as for transportation of everyday commodities for civil use, I am and always have been a strong booster of the

railroads.

Mr. DOWELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SNYDER. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. DOWELL. Has the gentleman prepared any estimates, or is he able to advise the House with respect to the cost of constructing this highway?

Mr. SNYDER. That question will be discussed in a later paragraph of my statement.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SNYDER. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I am very much interested in the fact the gentleman has included in his bill provision for emergency landing fields. May I say I have noticed in this morning's paper that one of the air lines out of Washington in the last 3 years has increased its handling of revenue passengers by 103 percent; in other words, from 176,000 in 1935 to 357,000 in 1938. This indicates the importance of provision for emergency landing fields such as the gentleman has suggested.

Mr. SNYDER. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SNYDER. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. HOUSTON. Has the gentleman worked out any plan of acquiring the land required for right-of-way purposes?

Mr. SNYDER. I have not.

Mr. HOUSTON. What I have in mind is that the Government might acquire the right-of-way for, say, half a mile on each side of the highway and then sell portions of that right-of-way as space for hotels, filling stations, or tourist cabins, and so make the project productive, instead of simply going to the expense of constructing a highway.

Mr. SNYDER. I think the gentleman's suggestion is worthy of consideration. Personally, I believe his idea has a lot of

merit.

Mr. HOUSTON. That is the way it has been worked in England.

Mr. SNYDER. May I repeat these words, because I know you are all very much interested since I mentioned the word "railroads" and are saying to yourselves, "I wonder what he is going to say about railroads in connection with advocating

the construction of a great system of roads like this, which will take business away from the railroads."

This is what I have to say for the record: I "am and always have been a strong booster for the railroads."

However, the railroads in the last 15 or 20 years have done away with hundreds of their branches and thousands of miles of service. They have done away with hundreds, if not thousands, of small intermediate passenger stops, and they have also done away with their local freight that used to stop and pick up freight at every little town. By observation we must conclude that they themselves have been building toward transportation of heavy commodities for long hauls. My belief is that we will always have use for a number of first-class railroads. This system of highways would not interfere with railroad transportation. In fact, many think that it would stimulate railroad transportation. One of the big problems we have been trying to solve for 50 years is the problem of distribution of commodities from one part of the country to the other at less cost to the consumer, and at the same time give the producer a margin of profit.

In consulting with fruit growers associations, textile manufacturers, and the like, they think that such a system of highways would reduce the cost of foodstuffs such as fruits, vegetables, and textile material and similar commodities 10 to 15 percent for the consumer—and at the same time the producer would make a larger profit than he is making now.

The land on either side of these highways would immediately increase in value. We have all observed that when you build a good, permanent road from one city to another, where there was a bad road, that many homes begin to spring up all around the new road.

For instance, one traveling the road between here and Baltimore 40 years ago would have found the countryside bare, with nothing but a few farmhouses in the territory beginning a few miles outside of Washington and extending to within a few miles of Baltimore. Now we have city almost the entire way between Washington and Baltimore, and eventually this area will be built up solid.

If these highways were built, hundreds of thousands—yes; millions of people in the space of years to follow—would move away from city centers. They would get small acreages out close by these great highways and build their homes there, feeling that for all time they would be on a permanent road.

Now the unemployment feature.

These nine highways would total about 16,000 miles. Therefore, the total cost of constructing such highways would be \$8,000,000,000. Now, if we would set out with an 8-year program to build these highways, using a billion dollars a year—thus constructing 2,000 miles of such highway each year—we would at the same time be putting to work approximately a million men for that year, and each of the 8 years, on a project that would not only be used all the time but would be a Nation-building project.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. SNYDER. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. STEFAN. Would the gentleman refer again to his statement concerning the approximate cost per mile of constructing this highway? Did the gentleman say it would cost \$500,000 a mile?

Mr. SNYDER. An average of approximately \$500,000 a mile.

Mr. STEFAN. Is not that an increase in the estimated cost of a concrete slab? The present approximate cost of a mile of concrete slab 20 feet wide is \$20,000, is it not?

Mr. SNYDER. I am including in this estimate the cost of the right-of-way also.

Mr. STEFAN. Has the gentleman given consideration to feeder roads, farm-to-market roads?

Mr. SNYDER. Yes. I thank the gentleman for the suggestion.

Mr. STEFAN. How does the gentleman propose to take care of the farmer who wants to bring his produce to market? Will not this be a toll road?

Mr. SNYDER. It is not provided in my bill whether or not it is to be a toll road.

Mr. STEFAN. The gentleman recalls that when he appeared before our House Committee on Roads we discussed this question?

Mr. SNYDER. Yes.

Mr. STEFAN. If it were to be a toll road, the farmer would have to pay the same toll as any one else using the road. How does the gentleman propose to take care of the farmer, who today is fighting against the construction of some of the tourist roads because their construction reduces the amount of money available for his farm-to-market roads?

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Anderson] asked how the construction of this highway system was to be financed. The gentleman understands that the responsibility of locating or relocating roads is in the hands of the various State highway departments. How has the gentleman got around that situation?

Mr. SNYDER. I thank the gentleman for his observation. May I say first that I do not make a definite statement as to whether these highways should or should not be toll roads. That question can be determined at a later date.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SNYDER. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri. Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. What would be the initial cost of building this highway system?

Mr. SNYDER. The initial cost would be approximately \$500,000 per mile.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. How many miles would be involved?

Mr. SNYDER. Something like 16,000 miles.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. The total amount would be up in the billions of dollars, would it not?

Mr. SNYDER. About \$8,000,000,000.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. What would it cost to maintain these roads per year?

Mr. SNYDER. I have not estimated that, but I believe that if this highway system is put on a toll basis, in the same way toll bridges are built in this country, such as the bridge across the Susquehanna River at Harrisburg, it would pay for itself in 40 to 60 years.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. The gentleman said something about this highway being lighted by electric lights at every so many feet; what would be the cost of electricity to maintain such a lighting system?

Mr. SNYDER. Naturally, that could not be estimated, because electric companies give a very low rate on large consumption of electricity. I imagine the cost per kilowatt would be very, very small.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Just one more question, if the gentleman will permit. Does the gentleman believe the Bureau of the Budget would approve the spending of this money?

Mr. SNYDER. I think the Budget Bureau eventually will approve if Congress decided to build them. May I say to the gentleman that according to this map the road may not go through the towns you may think proper; but we have got to have a general plan, and the engineers will determine whether the road should be north of a certain place or 10 or 20 miles south. The engineers would have to determine such matters.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Who set out and determined the original routing of this road?

Mr. SNYDER. I guess I did.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Does any of it go through the gentleman's district?

Mr. SNYDER. It goes very near my district, because route 40, as I stated in the beginning of my remarks, is the old Jefferson Road, the first one built in this country, and that route goes near my district.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri, Does the gentleman propose to use T. V. A. electricity?

Mr. SNYDER. I imagine they could bring the T. V. A. power to these roads, or, perhaps, there will be T. V. A.'s in other parts of the country by the time this is built.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SNYDER. I shall be pleased to yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. MAY. The gentleman is aware, of course, of the existence of a highway society known as the Super-Dixie Highway Organization, that is sponsoring a highway running from northern Michigan through the industrial section of the United States to Miami, Fla., and New Orleans, La.; and recently, at a meeting of some four or five hundred sponsors and enthusiasts for highways, there was a meeting held in Lexington, Ky. At this meeting someone connected with the American Highway Association displayed a chart showing that Germany had completed what they call a four-lane highway system throughout that country.

Mr. SNYDER. Yes.

Mr. MAY. And that their first year's experience in the matter had shown a decline in accidents and death cases on their highways of 60 percent.

Mr. SNYDER. I observed that reduction.

Mr. MAY. In view of the fact that for the year 1937 we killed on the highways of this country some 38,000 people, would not a system of transcontinental four-lane highways in this country pay economically and return huge dividends in the saving of human lives, because if we have the same experience that Germany had in reducing accidents and deaths 60 percent, we would save many, many lives in 1 year?

Mr. SNYDER. I thank the gentleman for his splendid con-

tribution.

Mr. MAY. In addition to that, while the economic value thus stressed is great, yet in case of a national emergency the need for such a highway for military purposes would be so great that it would mean an asset even greater than its economic value would indicate.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. SNYDER. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CRAWFORD. To keep our own facts straightened out, a project of this kind or projects much smaller, like those under W. P. A. or P. W. A., whether they cost a few million dollars or \$4,000,000,000, or whatever the cost may be, that is not a question for the Budget to pass on.

Mr. SNYDER. Not in this instance. I think this would be a question for the Congress to pass on.

Mr. CRAWFORD. But not the Budget Director?

Mr. SNYDER. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Then I am correct in assuming that the Budget Director would not deal with a problem of this kind?

Mr. SNYDER. He would not be the "Be all" and the "End all."

Mr. CRAWFORD. Insofar as raising the money is concerned, on a project of this kind, the gentleman does not have in mind that it would pay for itself in a year or two?

Mr. SNYDER. I do not.

Mr. CRAWFORD. The gentleman's thought would be to issue tax-exempt Government-guaranteed bonds?

Mr. SNYDER. I am not so strong for tax-exempt Government-guaranteed bonds.

Mr. CRAWFORD. What would be the gentleman's idea about financing it?

Mr. SNYDER. I have a statement to make later on in the course of my remarks, if the gentleman will allow me to proceed, that bears on the matter of financing the project.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SNYDER. I will be pleased to yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. REED of New York. Are these roads to be made out of concrete—cement roads?

Mr. SNYDER. The bill provides concrete or material equal to that. We may discover a substance better than concrete some of these days.

Mr. REED of New York. Is it the intention to use Belgian cement under the trade agreement, or to use our domestic product?

Mr. SNYDER. Oh, I would use the domestic product.

Mr. REED of New York. The gentleman would favor that?
Mr. SNYDER. I am in favor of using home products as far as possible.

Mr. REED of New York. But the gentleman does not know whether that would be done or not?

Mr. SNYDER. No; I cannot say "yes" or "no."

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SNYDER. Gladly.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I am very much interested in the gentleman's program. I have thought a great deal about it, but unfortunately I did not hear all of the gentleman's speech. Does the gentleman contemplate that these roads will be used by heavy trucks?

Mr. SNYDER. I do. I said that it should be divided into eight lanes, four each way, and they would carry different types of traffic, and I would imagine there would be one lane for the real heavy trucks, and at that time we will have automobiles that will travel 90 miles an hour, and we will travel at that rate, 90 to 100 miles an hour on one of these lanes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. If we use these roads for heavy-freight truck purposes, would we not put the railroads out of business?

Mr. SNYDER. I am on that subject now.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I would like to have an answer to that question. What will become of the railroads if we use these highways for truck purposes? In other words, would it not amount to junking the railroads and throwing a million railway men out of employment?

We are contemplating spending \$300,000,000 or \$400,-000,000 to rehabilitate the railroads. Would the construction of competitive highways at Government expense make

sense with this program?

Mr. SNYDER. As I said a moment ago, the railroads themselves have said, by their action, if not in words-and I would be glad to be corrected when I have completed my statement, if this is not correct—they have said by their actions for 20 years that they want the long haul. I was born and raised alongside the B. & O. Railroad, and I have always been strong for the railroads. In fact, what I wanted to become when I was a youth was a railroad engineer. In my section the railroads themselves have done away with practically every branch within 100 miles of where I was born and raised. They used to have branches running up for a few miles here and there, and there are very few, if any, left. They used to stop at the little town of Casselman and pick up freight every day, and there were five or six passenger trains. There is no station there now at all and none at the next place below, and at least five of these little stations in a row have all been done away with, and if you want to get a commodity now, you have to drive 9 miles one way or 12 miles the other. So they themselves have said by their actions that they do not want the short-haul stuff any more, that they want the long-haul commodities and let the short hauls go to some other form of transportation.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SNYDER. With pleasure.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. The gentleman realizes that in every State there are different State regulations so far as speed is concerned on the various highways. Is the gentleman going to have a Federal speed law?

Mr. SNYDER. On that road I would have a Federal speed aw.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. How can that be enacted? Under what section of the Constitution can we enact such a law?

Mr. SNYDER. I cannot answer that, But I think it could be done.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Some States have a speed law of 60 miles an hour, and the next State may have a State law of 30 miles an hour. Is it the purpose to put up a sign notifying the travelers when they come to that jurisdiction whether or not they should respect the speed laws of the respective States?

Mr. SNYDER. I think the enabling act could take care of that; and I think, furthermore, that all of the different State highway departments would get together and arrive at a general solution acceptable by all concerned.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Who is to patrol this high-

way? Federal police-the F. B. I.?

Mr. SNYDER. Since that is a matter of minor importance compared to the building of the highway, there is no need to pass on that now. There will be no grade crossings on this highway; there will be ramps from one end of the highway to the other.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SNYDER. I yield to my distinguished colleague from New Jersey.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. As I understand it, the gentleman recommends this program to Congress.

Mr. SNYDER. I do.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. So, therefore, the gentleman must have made a very thorough study of the cost of the program.

Mr. SNYDER. I have been at it for 4 or 5 years. I do not know how thorough the study is.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Did the gentleman not say a few moments ago that he did not estimate what the cost of maintenance would be?

Mr. SNYDER. The cost would be approximately \$500,000 per mile for the 16,000 miles.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Does not the gentleman think, before he recommends a vast program costing \$8,000,000,000, that he should certainly go into the question of the cost of maintenance?

Mr. SNYDER. I would imagine that the cost of maintenance in arriving at the final set-up would be taken into consideration, but up to this date I did not think that that was a factor to be considered as a first factor. The main factor is whether or not we will build these roads and put men to work on a project that we would like to hand down to our children and grandchildren for three or four hundred or a thousand years to come.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. The gentleman would do all that regardless of the cost of maintenance—he would not consider that?

Mr. SNYDER. Oh, yes; I would consider that. I think the cost of maintenance would be much less than the cost of maintenance of any of the highways that we have in the Nation—all things compared. What we are doing now is merely to manicure the roads all over the country, or the edges of them, or building roads that do not dovetail into an economic system of transportation; and this would be building a real, honest-to-goodness, all-time highway that our children and grandchildren would enjoy for a thousand years, with very little upkeep.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Then, instead of manicuring, there would be a face lifting?

Mr. SNYDER. I do not quite understand the gentleman.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. The gentleman knows what they do to you when you go into a barber shop, or what is done to the ladies when they go into a ladies' parlor—a face lifting.

Mr. SNYDER. No; I am not familiar with face-lifting activities.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SNYDER. I yield to my friend from Massachusetts. Mr. HEALEY. The gentleman proposes a toll to be charged

Mr. HEALEY. The gentleman proposes a toll to be charged for the use of these highways which will take care of the amortization of the roads and also the maintenance, does he not?

Mr. SNYDER. Not necessarily so. Many favor toll roads. Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SNYDER. I yield.

Mr. THOMASON. Do I understand the initial cost to be \$8,000,000,000?

Mr. SNYDER. Eight billion dollars.

Mr. THOMASON. I am much interested in the gentleman's statement that a program of that size could be financed without the approval of the Bureau of the Budget. Of course I realize and appreciate the gentleman is a distinguished member of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. SNYDER. I thank the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. THOMASON. I also want to say that he is regarded as a fiscal expert, in a way.

Mr. SNYDER. I do not regard myself as such.

Mr. THOMASON. Well, possessing considerable knowledge of that important subject. But in these days of large spending I am sure we would be pleased to have the gentleman say just how he proposes to finance this without the approval of the Bureau of the Budget, which is the established agency in these matters. The gentleman has a very constructive idea. I am pleased to note he also gives it an international aspect. Your map shows two of these great highways converging at El Paso, where they could connect with highways to Mexico and South America. I am very much in accord with this part of your great program.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman

from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania be permitted to proceed for an additional 5 minutes. He is making a very interesting statement and has been frequently interrupted and has been very generous in yielding.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Will not the gentleman ask that

he be permitted to proceed for 15 minutes?

Mr. KNUTSON. What is 10 minutes between friends? I amend my request, Mr. Speaker, to make it 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, I will not object to the extension of time of 15 minutes if the gentleman will make his own speech.

Mr. KNUTSON. Does the gentleman from Colorado insinuate the gentleman from Pennsylvania is making someone else's speech?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the

request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I think the aspersion cast by the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. CUMMINGS] was improper. The gentleman is intimating that the gentleman from Pennsylvania is not delivering his own speech.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request?

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, there are several other gentlemen who have special orders, and it seems to me it would be proper to ask the gentlemen who have unanimous consent to proceed if they would give their permission.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Those gentlemen have the right to object if they so desire. Otherwise the gentleman is recognized for 15 minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. SNYDER. With your permission I will continue and please do not ask me to yield until I have finished my statement.

The Bureau of Public Roads is making a survey relative to the building of highways. I do not know anything about what this survey will show, but if they follow their usual procedure in determining where highways should be built, it will more than likely call for broad, permanent highways to be built between industrial and population centers. They will point out that so many automobiles and so many tons of traffic pass between these two cities or those two cities. and for this and other reasons they will recommend that the highways be built accordingly. Far be it from me to criticize the Bureau of Public Roads, but we are not only aiming to build highways to take care of present traffic but for all future times. That is one of the ideas in building these highways.

Another is that all of the Government agencies and the administration are aiming to get the population of our country distributed over rural areas and away from city centers. If we would build these highways, then the population would come away from the city centers. Factories that are now stuck on the river banks and in gullies along cities would move out in God's open country along these highways, and the amount of traffic between these cities would decrease. The building of additional highways at this time between these cities would not be necessary to take care of the future traffic.

Now as to the national-defense value of such a road pro-

Please do not ask me to yield until I make this statement, because I know there are some who are going to O. K. this and some who will not.

The day for fixed, stationary seacoast-defense installations is fast passing. We had an example of that around Madrid in the last 2 years. Installations that were there for a thousand years, and, of course, new installations, were destroyed within 48 hours after Franco started to make his air raids. So we would recommend putting the greater portion of our national-defense equipment, such as guns up to 10-inch guns, antiaircraft, service vehicles of all kinds, detecting devices, searchlights, and so forth, on rubber wheels. Zone a large percent of it some place around the middle of the United States, as we are now doing by locating our general headquarters at Scott Field, enlarging Chanute Field, enlarging Barksdale Field in Louisiana, enlarging Selfridge Field in Michigan. Then in case of an emergency, we could get out our wing equipment to the seacoasts and either border within 12 hours, and our rubber-wheel equipment to the same places within 72 hours. By so doing, we would make our equipment more flexible and increase the efficiency of our national defense many percent.

And that is not all. It would be economy. If these roads were completed today, we could spend \$200,000,000 less this year and every year hereafter for national-defense equipment, and still have more efficient, more serviceable, and better adopted national-defense protection. So you see, in a space of 50 years, these highways would pay for themselves by the money we would save on this one item alone.

In other words, to be prepared for continuous peace in the United States as long as we have rulers in other parts of the world who are absorbed in themselves and the greed for power and possession, we have only one way out-that is, to have ample, modern, and usable national-defense installations in order that we may protect our own shores in case of an emergency and defend the Monroe Doctrine if need be.

I now yield to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH], because I believe he is one of the men who first thought of a highway system and tried to help and contribute to that end.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania. I want to say the subject which the gentleman is discussing is one of intense interest; and in connection with the attitude of the United States Bureau of Public Roads, which the gentleman has mentioned in his address. I think it appropriate to say that about 4 years ago, when the agitation was started in Congress for the construction of transcontinental roads, the Chief of the United States Bureau of Roads, Mr. MacDonald, for whom I have a personal affection, but with whom I had a disagreement at the time, rather scoffed or considered lightly the idea that we needed construction of such highways in this country. However, I am pleased to say that when the report comes in from the United States Bureau of Public Roads, around the 1st of February, the Bureau having made a study of this subject due to the action of the Congress in the highway bill of last year, it is my understanding that Mr. MacDonald and his coworkers have changed their viewpoint and now see a real need for action. I thank the gentleman for such a discussion as he enters into here today, and I may say that my interest in this subject remains very keen. I have reintroduced bills on the subject and also a new measure, which I hope will be carefully considered. I feel, as a member of the House Committee on Roads, that practically all members of that group desire to go further into this vital matter.

Mr. SNYDER. I thank the gentleman from West Virginia for his contribution. I think he had something to do with enlightening the Bureau of Public Roads and causing them to change their opinion.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman vield?

Mr. SNYDER. I am glad to yield to my colleague from Pennsylvania.

Mr. EBERHARTER. The gentleman is a very distinguished member of the Committee on Appropriations, and as such his duties have to do with the Military Establishment of the United States. Has the gentleman definitely concluded that a system such as he is advocating here this morning would be of definite benefit to this country in time of emergency or in time of war in the movement of military equipment, munitions, and supplies?

Mr. SNYDER. I thank the gentleman for raising that question. Replying to my friend from Pittsburgh, I would say that if we had this system of highways installed today and an emergency arose we would be at least 50 percent better able to take care of ourselves and defend our shores than we would be without these highways.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a further question.

Mr. SNYDER. I gladly yield to my friend from West

Mr. RANDOLPH. I think it might be important to the discussion to state at this time that the traffic toll in this Nation continues at a high rate year after year, not so much because we have the high-speed automobile on the highways but due to our failure to work out a system of lane roads, the lanes separated by parkways, so that traffic moving in opposite directions is separated.

Mr. SNYDER. That is very true.

And now may I digress a minute with reference to national defense? We have right now more than 1,200,000 boys, graduates of first-class high schools in the United States, who cannot find jobs. We could do nothing more humane or more appropriate than to formulate, let us say, a 3-year program to train at least 50,000 boys a year to be pilots, mechanics, or technicians in the Air Service. It costs the Government \$52.50 a month in my State to keep a boy on W. P. A. It would cost the Government about \$42.50 a month to train that boy to be a pilot, to have him enlist in the Army and prepare himself for future emergency. At the end of 3 years he would end his military service and be trained in some peacetime pursuit, some line of business.

Mr. FADDIS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. SNYDER. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FADDIS. The gentleman referred to the W. P. A. I am very much interested in the gentleman's proposition to build these highways. I think it would be a wonderful thing for the Nation. In common with a great many other Members of Congress and a great many people throughout the Nation I have reached the place where I believe that it is absolutely imperative that we take some steps to replace the W. P. A. with a program that will not only afford the unemployed a means to make a living but that will return something definite to the Nation.

I was in the road contracting business for 20 years and used to know quite a bit about the construction of roads. As I have driven over the roads in my own district and neighboring districts I have noticed countless numbers of W. P. A. men out manicuring the highways. That is about the best name I have for it—manicuring the highways. I believe the gentleman's idea might afford some means of keeping these men employed where they would be of more benefit to the Nation and at the same time be able to maintain their self-respect than they are when employed in manicuring the highways.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. SNYDER. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.
Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Instead of manicuring the highways, would not this be manicuring the taxpayers?

highways, would not this be manicuring the

Mr. SNYDER. I did not make that statement. Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SNYDER. I gladly yield to my friend from Minnesota.
Mr. KNUTSON. I gather from the gentleman's remarks
that the primary purpose of building this system of transcontinental superhighways is for national defense. I notice
that in his system are three or four roads running east and
west. I take it the gentleman's idea is that we could transport military equipment back and forth across the continent,
according to which coast needed defending. Is that correct?

Mr. SNYDER. Yes; and I may say that I think it would be feasible to have some central place of concentration in the United States where we would keep a certain percentage of our winged equipment and rubber-wheeled equipment. Then, in case of emergency, our winged material could reach either coast in 12 hours, and over these superhighways our rubber-wheeled equipment in 72 hours.

Mr. KNUTSON. Does the gentleman think we should anchor the Navy in the center of the country?

Mr. SNYDER. I beg the gentleman's pardon. I am just talking about the Army.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. KNUTSON. I yield.

Mr. MICHENER. The gentleman's suggestion is that one of the prime benefits of this highway construction would be to move the factories from the cities to the roadside, and that the method of transportation—

Mr. KNUTSON. I said certain of the factories that could operate as well away from river sites.

Mr. MICHENER. The gentleman would leave some of them in the cities?

Mr. SNYDER. Yes.

Mr. MICHENER. Assuming that the gentleman is correct in leaving some of the factories in the city, this would remove many factories from the city to the roadside in the country?

Mr. SNYDER. Yes; away from the roadside, within a half mile, we will say.

Mr. MICHENER. Has the gentleman given any consideration to what effect that would have on the railroads?

Mr. SNYDER. Yes; and I spoke of that a minute ago. [Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SNYDER]?

There was no objection,

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, you may ask, "Will the Government build these roads?" That is of secondary importance. I believe, however, that the roads should be built by contract to the lowest bidder per mile, and no contract to be less than 10 miles. The same would be supervised, accepted, and approved by the Federal Government Army engineers.

You may also ask, "Should they be built by private industry or by the Government?" If the bankers would take some of their unused billions and build the roads at a very low rate of interest, perhaps that would be the better way.

You may also ask, "Should they be toll roads?" Well, I suppose those who believe in sales tax would say "yes." Perhaps some think it would be advisable to make them toll roads and keep them as such until they are paid for. However, that, too, is a matter that is of minor importance as compared with the actual building of the highways.

Yes, my colleagues, a system of highways similar to this will be built; whether we build them now, that is the question. But in a space of just a few years—10 or 20—they will be built by those who follow us if we do not build them.

I know it sounds far-fetched, but changes in construction, transportation, and facilities take place rapidly. I was in Harrisburg Monday. They told me that they have done away with the streetcar system in that great city. If you

had told the city fathers or the citizens of that city 10 years ago that they would have no streetcar service in 1939 they would have been inclined to send you to a doctor for an examination.

So it is with a program like this. It looks too ambitious to many of us, but I say again a system similar to this will be built before very many years, because transportation, relocation of industrial cities, necessary national-defense facilities, and other developments will make it absolutely necessary.

Mr. Speaker, these roads may not be built exactly as noted on this map. The engineers will determine whether they shall run north or south of a certain line. However, this is a generally acceptable scheme for the building of such transcontinental highways.

I may say in conclusion that if the bankers of the United States who have billions of unused dollars on their shelves will lend this money at a very low rate of interest for a period of years to build these highways they will be contributing to a real nation-building program.

[Here the gavel fell.]

#### MAJORITY COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution, which I send to the Clerk's desk and ask for its immediate adoption.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### House Resolution 54

Resolved, That the following-named Members be, and they are hereby, elected members of the standing committees of the House

of Representatives, as follows:
Accounts: Lindsay C. Warren (chairman), North Carolina; John J. Cochran, Missouri; Charles Kramer, California; Nat Patton, Texas; Wade Hampton Kitchens, Arkansas; Frank W. Boykin, Alabama; John L. McMillan, South Carolina.

John L. McMillan, South Carolina.

Agriculture: Marvin Jones (chairman), Texas; Hampton P. Fulmer, South Carolina; Wall Doxey, Mississippl; John W. Flannagan, Jr., Virginia; Harry P. Beam, Illinois; James G. Polk, Chio; Richard M. Kleberg, Texas; Fred Cummings, Colorado; Walter M. Pierce, Oregon; E. M. Owen, Georgia; Harold D. Cooley, North Carolina; Frank E. Hook, Michigan; Harry B. Coffee, Nebraska; Orville Zimmerman, Missouri; Phil Ferguson, Oklahoma; Santiago Iglesias, Puerto Rico.

Appropriations: John H. Kerr, North Carolina; George H. Mahon,

Texas.

Banking and Currency: Henry B. Steagall (chairman), Alabama;
T. Alan Goldsborough, Maryland; Clyde Williams, Missouri; Brent
Spence, Kentucky; Thomas F. Ford, California; Paul Brown, Georgia;
Wright Patman, Texas; Marcellus H. Evans, New York; William B.
Barry, New York; Leon Sacks, Pennsylvania; Albert Gore, Tennessee;
Wilbur D. Mills, Arkansas; John C. Martin, Illinois; Alonzo D.
Folger, North Carolina; Merlin Hull, Wisconsin.

Census: Matthew A Dunn (chairman), Pennsylvania; William H.

Folger, North Carolina; Merlin Hull, Wisconsin.

Census: Matthew A. Dunn (chairman), Pennsylvania; William H.

Larrabee, Indiana; John E. Rankin, Mississippi; William R. Poage,
Texas; Guy L. Moser, Pennsylvania; A. Leonard Allen, Louisiana;
Harry R. Sheppard, California; E. C. Gathings, Arkansas; Mike Monroney, Oklahoma; Pius L. Schwert, New York; Thomas V. Smith,
Illinois; Rudolph G. Tenerowicz, Michigan; ——————; R. T.

Buckler, Minnesota

Buckler, Minnesota.

Civil Service: Robert Ramspeck (chairman), Georgia; William I.
Sirovich, New York; Jennings Randolph, West Virginia; Edward W.
Curley, New York; Frank W. Fries, Illinois; Wade Hampton Kitchens,
Arkansas; Guy L. Moser, Pennsylvania; Newt V. Mills, Louislana;
George M. Grant, Alabama; Lindley Beckworth, Texas; John L.
McMillan, South Carolina; Thomas V. Smith, Illinois;

——; Bernard J. Gehrmann, Wisconsin.

Claims: Ambrose J. Kennedy (chairman), Maryland; Robert
Ramspeck, Georgia; Samuel Dickstein, New York; Dan R. McGehee,
Mississippi; Jack Nichols, Oklahoma; John M. Coffee, Washington;
Herman P. Eberharter, Pennsylvania; Eugene J. Keogh, New York;
W. R. Poage, Texas; Anton F. Maciejewski, Illinois; Clyde T. Ellis,
Arkansas;

Coinage, Weights, and Measures: Andrew J. Sconer (decided)

Coinage, Weights, and Measures: Andrew L. Somers (chairman), New York; John J. Cochran, Missouri; William H. Larrabee, Indiana; Compton I. White, Idaho; Claude V. Parsons, Illinois; Will Rogers, Oklahoma; Dan R. McGehee, Mississippi; Vincent F. Harrington, Iowa; Herman P. Eberharter, Pennsylvania; John F. Hunter, Ohio; Harry R. Sheppard, California; W. F. Norrell, Arkansas; William D. Byron, Maryland;

Disposition of Executive Papers: A. J. Elliott (chairman), Cali-

fornia

District of Columbia: Jennings Randolph (chairman), West Virginia; Ambrose J. Kennedy, Maryland; William T. Schulte, Indiana; Reuben T. Wood, Missouri; Jack Nichols, Oklahoma; Dan R. McGehee, Mississippi; Joe B. Bates, Kentucky; William D. Byron, Maryland; Plus L. Schwert, New York; Joseph A. McArdle, Pennsylvania;

Education: William H. Larrabee (chairman), Indiana; René L. DeRouen, Louisiana; Graham A. Barden, North Carolina; Edward J.

Hart, New Jersey; Eugene J. Keogh, New York; Wade H. Kitchens, Arkansas; Lawrence J. Connery, Massachusetts; Martin F. Smith, Washington; John Lesinski, Michigan; Charles A. Buckley, New York; Michael J. Kirwan, Ohio; Joseph R. Bryson, South Carolina; Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., Maryland; Francis J. Myers, Pennstrephene sylvania.

Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress: Caroline O'Day (chairman), New York; Leo Kocialkowski, Illinois; Edward W. Curley, New York; John F. Hunter, Ohio; A. J. Elliott, California; Butler B. Hare, South Carolina;

Elections No. 1; C. Jasper Bell (chairman), Missouri; Herman P. Eberharter, Pennsylvania; Wade H. Kitchens, Arkansas; A. Leonard Allen, Louisiana;

Elections No. 2: Joseph A. Gavagan (chairman), New York; George M. Grant, Alabama; Butler B. Hare, South Carolina; Ed Gossett, Texas;

Elections No. 3: Albert Thomas (chairman), Texas; Jack Nichols, Oklahoma; Hugh Peterson, Georgia; Eugene J. Keogh, New York;

Enrolled Bills: Claude V. Parsons (chairman), Illinois; Michael J. Kirwan, Ohio; John M. Coffee, Washington;

Expenditures in the Executive Departments: John J. Cochran (chairman), Missouri; William M. Whittington, Mississippi; James A. O'Leary, New York; John F. Hunter, Ohio; Knute Hill, Washington; Edward J. Hart, New Jersey; Joe B. Bates, Kentucky; Pius L. Schwert, New York; Lindley Beckworth, Texas; A. F. Maciejewski Illinois: ski, Illinois:

Alabama; Laurence F. Arnold, Illinois; W. O. Burgin, North Carolina.

Immigration and Naturalization: Samuel Dickstein (chairman), New York; William T. Schulte, Indiana; Charles Kramer, California; John Lesinski, Michigan; Caroline O'Day, New York; R. A. (Lex) Green, Florida; Harold K. Claypool, Ohio; William R. Poage, Texas; Dan R. McGehee, Mississippi; A. Leonard Allen, Louisiana; George M. Grant, Alabama; John L. McMillan, South Carolina; Anton F. Maciejewski, Illinois; E. C. Gathings, Arkansas.

Indian Affairs: Will Rogers (chairman), Oklahoma; Wilburn Cartwright, Oklahoma; Joe L. Smith, West Virginia; Samuel Dickstein, New York; Knute Hill, Washington; James F. O'Connor; Montana; John R. Murdock, Arizona; Harry R. Sheppard, California; Lindley Beckworth, Texas;

Eernard J. Gehrmann, Wisconsin; R. T. Buckler, Minnesota; Anthony J. Dimond, Alaska.

Insular Affairs: Leo Kocialkowski (chairman), Illinois; Joe L. Immigration and Naturalization: Samuel Dickstein (chairman)

Alabama

Judiciary: Hatton W. Sumners (chairman), Texas; Emanuel Cel-Judiciary: Hatton W. Sumners (chairman), Texas; Emanuel Celler, New York; Zebulon Weaver, North Carolina; Arthur D. Healey, Massachusetts; Francis E. Walter, Pennsylvania; Walter Chandler, Tennessee; Charles F. McLaughlin, Nebraska; Sam Hobbs, Alabama; Abe Murdock, Utah; John H. Tolan, California; Edward W. Creal, Kentucky; William T. Byrne, New York; Sam C. Massingale, Oklahoma; Dave E. Satterfield, Jr., Virginia; James M. Barnes, Illinois; W. Ben Gibbs, Georgia.

Labor: Mary T. Norton (chairman), New Jersey; Robert Ramspeck, Georgia; Kent E. Keller, Illinois; Matthew A. Dunn, Pennsyl-

vania; Reuben T. Wood, Missouri; Jennings Randolph, West Virginia; John Lesinski, Michigan; Edward W. Curley, New York: Albert Thomas, Texas; Graham A. Barden, North Carolina; Frank W. Fries, Illinois; Lawrence J. Connery, Massachusetts; W. F. Norrell, Arkansas; Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., Maryland; Santiago Iglesias,

Puerto Rico.

Library: Kent E. Keller (chairman), Illinois; Robert T. Secrest, Ohio; Graham A. Barden, North Carolina.

Memorials: Alfred L. Bulwinkle (chairman), North Carolina; Mary T. Norton, New Jersey.

Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Schuyler Otis Bland (chairman), Versite William I. Sizortah, New York: Pohost Remerck, Georgia. Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Schuyler Otis Bland (chairman), Virginia; William I. Sirovich, New York; Robert Ramspeck, Georgia; Ambrose J. Kennedy, Maryland; Mon C. Wallgren, Washington; Joseph J. Mansfield, Texas; Lindsay C. Warren, North Carolina; Eugene B. Crowe, Indiana; Edward J. Hart, New Jersey; James A. O'Leary, New York; Frank W. Boykin, Alabama; J. Hardin Peterson, Florida; Jack Nichols, Oklahoma; Vincent F. Harrington, Iowa; Anthony J. Dimond, Alaska.

Military Affairs: Andrew J. May (chairman), Kentucky; R. Ewing Thomason, Texas; Dow W. Harter, Ohio; Charles I. Faddis, Pennsylvania; Clarence W. Turner, Tennessee; Andrew Edmiston, West Virginia; Edwin M. Schaefer, Illinois; J. Joseph Smith, Connecticut; Matthew J. Merritt, New York; John M. Costello, California; C. Arthur Anderson, Missouri; Stephen Pace, Georgia; Overton Brooks, Louisiana; John J. Sparkman, Alabama; Paul J. Kilday, Texas.

Mines and Mining: Joe L. Smith (chairman), West Virginia; Mines and Mining: Joe L. Smith (chairman), West Virginia; Andrew L. Somers, New York; J. Hardin Peterson, Florida; Robert T. Secrest, Ohio; Harold K. Claypool, Ohio; Guy L. Moser, Pennsylvania; William D. Byron, Maryland; Lindley Beckworth, Texas; Mike Monroney, Oklahoma; W. F. Norrell, Arkansas; ; Vito Marcantonio, New York;

Anthony J. Dimond, Alaska.

Anthony J. Dimond, Alaska.

Naval Affairs: Carl Vinson (chairman), Georgia; Patrick Henry Drewry, Virginia; Leonard W. Schuetz, Illinois; William H. Sutphin, New Jersey; Joseph B. Shannon, Missouri; Warren G. Magnuson, Washington; Lyndon B. Johnson, Texas; William S. Jacobsen, Iowa; Franck R. Havenner, California; Michael J. Bradley, Pennsylvania; John K. Griffith, Louisiana; Beverly M. Vincent, Kentucky; Colgate W. Darden, Jr., Virginia; Pat Cannon, Florida; James H. Fay, New York.

Patents: William I. Sirovich (chairman), New York; Fritz G. Lanham, Texas; Matthew A. Dunn, Pennsylvania; Charles Kramer, California; Frank W. Boykin, Alabama; Lawrence J. Connery, Massachusetts; Charles A. Buckley, New York; John M. Coffee, Washington; Rudolph G. Tenerowicz, Michigan; Mike Monroney, Oklahoma; Francis J. Myers, Pennsylvania; Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., Maryland;

Maryland;

Pensions: Martin F. Smith (chairman), Washington; Reuben T. Wood, Missouri; Charles A. Buckley, New York; Nat Patton, Texas; James A. O'Leary, New York; John F. Hunter, Ohio; Albert Thomas, Texas; Eugene B. Crowe, Indiana; William D. Byron, Maryland; John L. McMillan, South Carolina; Francis J. Myers, Pennsylvania;

Post Office and Post Roads: Milton A. Romjue (chairman), Missouri; Thomas G. Burch, Virginia; Martin L. Sweeney, Ohio; William A. Ashbrook, Ohio; Arthur W. Mitchell, Illinois; B. Frank Whelchel, Georgia; Joe Hendricks, Florida; Noble J. Gregory, Kentucky; Thomas A. Flaherty, Massachusetts; Clyde L. Garrett, Texas; J. Harold Flannery, Pennsylvania; Carl T. Durham, North Carolina; Michael J. Kennedy, New York; Lee E. Geyer, California; Joseph W. Byrns, Jr., Tennessee. Post Office and Post Roads: Milton A. Romjue (chairman)

Printing: Pete Jarman (chairman), Alabama; Lawrence J. Connery, Massachusetts.

nery, Massachusetts.
Public Buildings and Grounds: Fritz G. Lanham (chairman),
Texas; Eugene B. Crowe, Indiana; C. Jasper Bell, Missouri; Charles
A. Buckley, New York; Frank W. Boykin, Alabama; Michael J. Kirwan, Ohio; Newt V. Mills, Louisiana; Frank W. Fries, Illinois; Herman P. Eberharter, Pennsylvania; A. J. Elliott, California; Butler B.
Hare, South Carolina; Mike Monroney, Oklahoma; Thomas V. Smith,

Public Lands: René L. DeRouen (chairman), Louisiana; 

Rivers and Harbors: Joseph J. Mansfield (chairman), Texas; Joseph A. Gavagan, New York; René L. DeRouen, Louisiana; R. A. (Lex) Green, Florida; Claude V. Parsons, Illinois; Martin F. Smith, Washington; William T. Schulte, Indiana; Hugh Peterson, Georgia; C. Jasper Bell, Mississupri; Graham A. Barden, North Carolina; John E. Rankin, Mississippi; Frank W. Boykin, Alabama; Vincent F. Harrington, Iowa; Jerry Voorhis, California; Michael J. Kirwan, Ohio; Anthony J. Dimond, Alaska.

Roads: Wilburn Cartwright (chairman), Oklahoma; Lindsay C. Warren. North Carolina; William M. Whittington, Mississippi; Monrad C. Wallgren, Washington; J. W. Robinson, Utah; Jennings Randolph, West Virginia; Robert T. Secrest, Ohio; Hugh Peterson, Georgia; Nat Patton, Texas; Alfred J. Elliott, California; Joe B. Bates, Kentucky; George M. Grant, Alabama; \_\_\_\_\_\_; Bernard J. Gehrmann, Wisconsin; Anthony J. Dimond, Alaska.

Rules: Adolph J. Sabath (chairman), Illinois; E. E. Cox, Georgia; Howard W. Smith, Virginia; J. Bayard Clark, North Carolina; Mar-tin Dies, Texas; Lawrence Lewis, Colorado; John J. Delaney, New

tin Dies, Texas; Lawrence Lewis, Colorado; John J. Delaney, New York; William M. Colmer, Mississippi; William L. Nelson, Missouri; John J. Dempsey, New Mexico.

Territories: R. A. (Lex) Green (chairman), Florida; Eugene B. Crowe, Indiana; Claude V. Parsons, Illinois; Hugh Peterson, Georgia; Jack Nichols, Oklahoma; Nat Patton, Texas; Newt V. Mills, Louisiana; J. W. Robinson, Utah; Joseph R. Bryson, South Carolina; Ed Gossett, Texas; Clyde T. Ellis, Arkansas; -; Anthony J. Dimond, Alaska; Santiago Iglesias, Puerto

War Claims: Reuben T. Wood (chairman), Missouri; Joseph A. Gavagan, New York; Edward J. Hart, New Jersey; William R. Poage, Texas; Martin F. Smith, Washington; Newt V. Mills, Louisiana; Lawrence J. Connery, Massachusetts; E. C. Gathings, Arkansas; Joseph R. Bryson, South Carolina; Pius L. Schwert, New York;

World War Veterans' Legislation: John E. Rankin (chairman), Mississippi; Harold K. Claypool, Ohio; Jerry Voorhis, California; Joe B. Bates, Kentucky; George M. Grant, Alabama; Butler B. Hare, Scuth Carolina; E. C. Gathings, Arkansas; Joseph A. McArdle, Pennsylvania; Joseph R. Bryson, South Carolina; Rudolph G. Tenerowicz, Michigan; Pius L. Schwert, New York;

The resolution was agreed to.

## MINORITY COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I offer several resolutions, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

## House Resolution 55

Resolved, That the following Members be, and they are hereby, elected to the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, to wit: Karl Stefan, of Nebraska; Francis H. Case, of South Dakota; Dudley A. White, of Ohio; Clarence J. McLeod, of Michigan; Chester C. Bolton, of Ohio.

#### House Resolution 56

Resolved, That the following Members be, and they are hereby, elected to the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives, to wit: Carl E. Mapes, of Michigan; J. Will Taylor, of Tennessee; Hamilton Fish, of New York; Leo E. Allen, of Illinois.

## House Resolution 57

Resolved, That the following Members be, and they are hereby, elected to the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, to wit: Donald H. McLean, of New Jersey; Bertrand W. Gearhart, of California; Frank Carlson, of Kansas; Benjamin Jarrett, of Pennsylvania.

#### House Resolution 58

Resolved, That the following Members be, and they are hereby, elected to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives, to wit: Carl E. Mapes, of Michigan; Charles A. Wolverton, of New Jersey; James Wolfenden, of Pennsylvania; Pehr G. Holmes, of Massachusetts; B. Carroll Reece, of Tennessee; James W. Wadsworth, of New York; Charles A. Halleck, of Indiana; Oscar Youngdahl, of Minnesota; Carl Hinshaw, of California; Clarence J. Brown, of Ohio.

The resolutions were agreed to.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and to include therein an address delivered by Vincent M. Miles, Solicitor of the United States Post Office Department, at the Jackson Day dinner held in Louisville, Ky., on January 7.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. May]?

There was no objection.

## SESSIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Military Affairs may sit during the sessions of the House during the remainder of this week.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. May]?

There was no objection.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. PACE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a statement of the Committee on Economic Conditions in the

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. PACE]?

There was no objection.

Mr. GRANT of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein the text of Governor Dixon's inaugural speech,

delivered at Montgomery, Ala., on Wednesday, January 18,

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. GRANT]?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. DICKSTEIN] is recognized for

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, when the Congress is about to reorganize there are certain groups or societies that immediately start propagandizing the Members on various questions. At the present time we have certain groups in Washington and elsewhere sending out propaganda dealing with the so-called immigration problem and dealing also with the question of European refugees. In every instance this propaganda which you and I have received and will continue to receive day in and day out is not true. You will find that the bulk of the information contained therein is inaccurate. It simply seeks to mislead you when legislation dealing with this very serious problem is presented on the floor of the House so that you may perhaps be misguided when you vote on these questions.

As chairman of the Committee on Immigration, on which committee I have had the honor to serve for the last 10 years, may I say to the Members that I shall be glad to assist them in furnishing information and authentic figures on any questions they may present, so that you may have an ac-

curate and true picture of the situation.

We have certain writers in this country and certain people in the country who have never seen an immigrant, although they write books about them. We have lecturers who go around the various cities of the country, including Washington, and preach the doctrine of hate and intolerance. I think we, as Members of Congress and as legislators, should be fully acquainted with this problem so that you and I and the country at large will know that all of this propaganda is not true and that it is given out in an effort to array hate and intolerance against fair play.

Immigration has been a problem of our Government almost from the very creation of the country. We have

references to immigration in our Constitution.

Recent events have brought immigration to the forefront of public discussion and the public press is full of statements to the effect that there is an influx into this country of refugees from Germany and other places, and that as a result the economic structure of the United States is being adversely affected.

It is important for us as legislators to have a clear understanding of what is involved in this situation. For the benefit of the Congress I have taken the trouble to go through these statistics, and I wish to present my findings to you this morning.

We will consider first the following provisions:

1. The number of aliens.

2. The deportation of aliens.

3. Immigration quotas.

My analysis of these figures, as well as the analysis of the Department, leads to the following conclusions:

- A. The statement made by various groups that there is a large influx of aliens is not true. As a matter of fact, there is no influx of aliens to the United States.
- B. The number of deportations is continuously increasing instead of decreasing, despite the charges made by certain Members of the House regarding the attitude of the Department of Labor toward deportation.
- C. The immigration quotas in the past few years in many instances have not been filled.

Therefore, the charge that thousands upon thousands of refugees are coming into the United States and flooding this country is absolutely false and untrue, and the charge that the quotas are now being filled or have been filled in the recent past is not true.

As I go along I will show that this country has done nothing to help refugees and that no persons come into the United States other than those whom the law allows to come. Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. DICKSTEIN. Not at this point.

Mr. STEFAN. The gentleman made the statement we are not doing anything to help foreign political refugees.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. We are not.

Mr. STEFAN. We have a commission over in Europe now for the purpose of helping foreign political refugees, have we

Mr. DICKSTEIN. No: we are not helping foreign political refugees.

Mr. STEFAN. What is the commission doing there, then? Mr. DICKSTEIN. I do not know what they are doing there. I am not at the table with them. I am now talking about immigration and the immigration law.

Mr. STEFAN. The gentleman referred to foreign political refugees and said we are not doing anything to help them.

We have a commission in Europe now.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I am telling the gentleman we are doing nothing as far as allowing refugees to come into this country is concerned.

Mr. STEFAN. The gentleman should qualify his state-

Mr. DICKSTEIN. No refugees are coming here other than persons who are entitled to come under the quota law enacted in 1924, and then they must show they will not become public charges, and they must be physically and morally fit.

Mr. STEFAN. I agree with the gentleman as to that. but the gentleman should qualify his statement that we are not doing anything to help foreign political refugees when we have an American commission in Europe helping foreign political refugees.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I do not intend to modify my statement. I repeat that conferences and commissions do not help people to escape death, because they simply lead to more commissions and more conferences. When I say we are doing nothing to help refugees I mean that we are not allowing them to use up the quotas that are left over every year in this country and that we throw in the basket. I am saying, figuratively speaking, that we are not allowing human beings to save their lives by letting them come in here under the unused quotas. I am not speaking of conferences, wherever they are.

As to the number of aliens, the number of aliens admitted to the United States since the restrictive immigration laws went into effect has been dwindling from year to year. In 1935 the total number admitted was 34,956; in 1936 the total number admitted was 36,327; in 1937, 50,244; and in the last year, 67,895. But against this figure must be charged the number of aliens who left the United States during the years in question, and it will be observed that for 6 years, from 1931 to and including 1936, the number of departures exceeded the number of admissions. So that we have for the years 1931 to 1936 the following figures:

1931, 10,237 more aliens left this country than entered it. 1932, 112,786 more aliens left this country than entered it. 1933, 93,074 more aliens left this country than entered it. 1934, 13,268 more aliens left this country than entered it. 1935, 9,329 more aliens left this country than entered it. 1936, 2,385 more aliens left this country than entered it.

It is only since 1937—in the last 2 years—that immigration exceeds emigration, and, even so, the excess is very slight. In 1937 the net number of immigrants was 7,302, and in 1938 the net number of immigrants was 30,083. So that in the face of all the clamor raised about refugees and others entering the United States we only had a net total immigra-

tion last year of little over 30,000.

As to deportations, the number of deportations have been increasing from year to year, and the total of deportations should be further deducted from the amount of net immigration for the years in question. Thus, we find that in 1934 there were 8,879 aliens deported; in 1935, 8,319; in 1936, 9,915; in 1937, 8,829; and in 1938, 9,275. The average deportations being around 8,500 to 9,000 in each year.

As to immigration quotas, the annual immigration quota under the immigration law is 153,774. In not a single year

since the law went into effect has this quota been reached, and no immigration quotas in any one year since 1931 were in excess of 50,000. As a matter of fact, the number is far below this figure. In 1931 there were 54,118 aliens admitted to the United States under immigration quotas, but this figure represents the highest total number of admissions in any one year between 1931 and 1938. The following year, 1932, had but 12,983 quota visas issued, and the low was reached in the following year, 1933, when only 8,220 quota visas were issued. In 1934 the number was 12,483; in 1935, 17,207; in 1936, 18,675; in 1937, 27,762; and in 1938, 42,494. So that even in 1938, with all demands by refugees and others, the total quota visas issued was less than that in 1931, and far below the authorized quota of 153,774.

There is an impression abroad to the effect that the passage of the restricted immigration law by Congress was absolutely necessary because of economic conditions then existing in the United States. Somehow or other, right after the World War most statesmen insisted on restricting the number of aliens who would be inclined to enter this country, apparently being afraid that a large influx of immigrants would destroy our economic system. And yet, strange as it may seem, right after the passage of the restricted immigration law, and, in fact, for 7 years or so thereafter, the number of emigrants who left the United States exceeded the number of those who entered this country. The figures also show that only in the last 2 years there has been a somewhat increased number of immigrants as against emigrants; and even so, the number is very slight.

We, as legislators, who are accustomed to analyze and digest facts, must therefore take exception to the promiscuous statements relating to immigration which come from so-called patriotic organizations or the American Legion, even if those expressions be well meaning and intended to convey facts. The record speaks for itself.

I am not quarreling with some of my colleagues who have spoken about the Department of Labor, but figures do not lie. I believe the Department of Labor under this administration has a fine record to its credit in connection with the deportation of aliens.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. For a brief question.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Of course, the gentleman is not referring to the cases of persons like Bridges and Pritchett, who may be in this country illegally?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I do not know that I understand what the question is. I am referring to deportation of aliens back to their homelands.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. The gentleman does not mean that he believes the Department of Labor has had a very good record in deporting the Communists who are illegally in this country.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I mean to say that the Department of Labor has a record for deporting all aliens who have no right to be in the United States, be they Communists or members of any other group that should be out of the country. I assume the gentleman wants me to take up the cudgels for Bridges, but all I can say to the gentleman, without taking up too much of my time, is that I am not in sympathy with Bridges and so far as I am concerned he can leave now, but the Department is proceeding under law and order and when the decision comes down from the Supreme Court dealing with that matter and other questions, I am sure the gentleman himself, in spite of the statement about his alleged charges for impeachment of the Secretary of Labor, will be satisfied that the law is to be enforced.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I yield for a brief question.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. I think the gentleman from New York is making a very interesting address and I am pleased to see that he is including the statistics he has referred to and I believe they will be very helpful to the Congress. I think if the gentleman will be at the sessions every day next week, he will learn something about the Department of Labor that he does not know now.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I do not think the Department can teach me any more than I know now, or the gentleman's committee or any other committee of this House dealing with that question.

Mr. PACE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I yield.

Mr. PACE. The gentleman has given us figures on those who have entered legally. Has the gentleman any estimate of any considerable number that have entered illegally and are not included in the quota figures the gentleman has given us?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I can do that as I go along with my remarks.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I yield.

Mr. DEMPSEY. The gentleman has said that neither the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Thomas] nor the members of the committee can teach him anything he does not know about the Department of Labor or about immigration. If the gentleman believes that the attitude of the Secretary of Labor has been consistent in the Bridges case, all the gentleman needs to do is to refer to his own record in his own committee, because, as a matter of fact, I had passed through this House a bill involving a case where the Secretary of Labor desired to deport two aliens who were here, who were observing the laws, but one night they simply got into a communistic meeting by mistake, and it was mandatory upon the Secretary of Labor, so she said, to deport these two men, although Mr. Bridges and others are here, who are violating the same law. Apparently it is not mandatory to deport that type of person.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I am in sympathy with the gentleman's thought, but you are talking now of the Dies committee—the Dies committee that the Dickstein resolution created.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I think the gentleman did a very good job.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I never got any acknowledgment from the gentleman or from Mr. Diss, or anybody else, neither did I get any medals, nor am I seeking any medals, but I think I tried to do a good job.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Let me say to the gentleman he never made it known to me that he was the creator of the Dies committee.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Well, I am the father and the mother. Mr. DEMPSEY. That is news to me, and I am sure it is to most of the Members.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Let me answer the gentleman's question by saying that I always tried in my investigation in the previous committee, under the leadership of John McCormack, to protect character and reputation, no matter who the person may have been. I would not allow a lot of numbskulls and crackpots to come before a meeting of a congressional committee and let them talk their heads off for days and array one group against another. I would not bring in labor strikes, and I would not bring in a million other things; and if I had something to say about the Department of Labor, I would not issue too many press releases without giving the American people absolute facts as to what the charges were. Now the point is that the gentleman says she has deported two aliens in hardship cases, or tried to do so—

Mr. DEMPSEY. I say she tried to do that.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. And she did not deport Bridges. I have told you, in answer to my good friend from New Jersey [Mr. Thomas]—and he knows my attitude on this question—I am not holding any brief for anybody that ought to be deported, and I do not say that Mr. Bridges ought to get a bouquet of flowers. If he does not belong here, he ought to be deported; but for heaven's sake, let us do it lawfully. Let us do it legally. If there is a case pending in the Supreme Court that deals with that problem and affects the Bridges case, I say wait for the decision in the pending case, and do not issue any statement and do not make accusations but give her a chance to present the facts in an orderly way and in an American way, and I do not think the committee saw that point.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Let me say to the gentleman that the cases pending in the Supreme Court, in the unanimous opinion of the members of the Dies committee, have no bearing upon the Bridges case.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I have the highest regard for the gentleman and for Mr. Dies and for every member of that committee. I honestly believe you tried to do a real job. I do not want to go into that question now. I hope to say something about that at a later time.

Mr. DEMPSEY. May I answer very briefly one thing that the gentleman has said.

The gentleman stated that he would not permit crackpots and irresponsible people to come before the committee and testify. My position, as recorded by the press, is very well known on that subject. However, I say this to the gentleman. When the committee came before this body and asked for \$100,000 to conduct that investigation, they were told by the membership of the House that they would receive attorneys from the Department of Justice, that they would receive investigators from the Department of the Treasury and the Department of Justice, but if the gentleman out that they were refused these people by the Departments. The committee did the best it could with the money that it had.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I did not read the report.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I thought so.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. But I read the evidence, and I could not find anything in the evidence that any court of law or even a justice of the peace would permit.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I agree with that.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Then what is your report? The report is based on the evidence in the record, and I am telling you that the report has a lot of fine language in it. I admit that, but it is based on nothing from the documents that were in the possession of the committee.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is the opinion of one man who says that he did not read the report. The gentleman does not know what is in the report.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I say this. The information which is in the report should be based on the evidence that was in the record.

Mr. DEMPSEY. The report is based on the evidence that is in the record.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. But the report and the conclusions in the report and the record of the documents themselves are inconsistent with each other.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is only the gentleman's opinion.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to finish my speech and I do not desire to yield further. I say again there is no personal criticism to be made against Mr. Dies or the individual members of his committee. I say publicly that they started out to do a job, and I am not in position now to pass judgment on what they did or did not do. This was just brought in during my discussion of an immigration problem. Now, coming right back to the question of deportation-and I am coming back to the gentleman's questionthe number of deportations has been increasing from year to year, and the total deportations should be further deducted from the amount of net immigration for the year in ques-Thus we find that in 1934, under the present administration, there were 8,879 aliens deported. In 1935 another 8,319, and in 1936 over 9,000 or 10,000 people were deported. In 1937, 8,829 were deported, and in 1938, 9,275 were deported. and the average number of deportations by the Secretary of Labor for those years was close to 9,000, and the records will bear me out.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. Did we have evidence before the committee at the last session of Congress that there were some 3,000 aliens, who had been ordered deported by the courts, who were still here in the United States and that the

Secretary of Labor had either refused or failed to carry out the orders of the court?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. No. I want to get the record straight, as we say, and I say this to my good friend, the ranking member on the Republican side of our committee. We passed in the last Congress the Dies bill, which would save the deportation of 8,000 aliens of good character who had family ties in this country, but who were technically deportable. We tried to save them by allowing them to stay if the Dies bill became a law. We passed that bill in the House by a vote of 6 to 1, and it got to the Senate during the last week of the session, as all immigration bills do get to the Senate at that time. The bill died there. Under that bill we would have allowed these people to stay. Presently, technically, they are subject to deportation.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. Not those people who had been ordered deported through court proceedings.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. The courts do not order deportation, the Secretary of Labor does that. And the cases which were covered by the Dies bill had not—certainly over 99 percent of them—been before the courts.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. We had information of some 3,000 such cases.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I know; but we get so much information, and if you carry through with it, you find that it is just a lot of propaganda.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. I never heard that information challenged.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Let me repeat that. We allowed a lot of these 8,000 fathers to stay here. They are married to American women and have children who are Americans. They have committed no crime involving moral turpitude. At the same time that law would deport 20,000 alien criminals that we cannot deport at all. If there are criminals here, I am willing to do everything I can with my colleague and other colleagues to see that the law is enforced.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. COCHRAN. As a matter of fact, the law makes it mandatory, when an alien is convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude, to deport him.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. That is correct in part.

Mr. COCHRAN. Is it not a fact that there are in this country today aliens subject to deportation under that law who are still in the United States and should be deported?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I have to answer this question in this way.

Mr. COCHAN. Answer it "yes" or "no."

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I am not going to answer it "yes" or "no." This is not a "yes" or "no" proposition. It is too serious a proposition to answer "yes" or "no."

Mr. COCHRAN. When a person has been convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude and served time in the penitentiary the law says they must leave the country, and they should be made to leave the country.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. The gentleman first ought to understand the law. He is misquoting the law. The law provides that an alien who has committed two crimes involving moral turpitude, and who has been sentenced therefor to a year or more in prison, or who has committed a crime involving moral turpitude within 5 years of entry and sentenced therefor to a year or more in prison, can be deported at any time. We have in this country today nearly eighteen or twenty thousand alien criminals who have been here more than 5 years who have not been convicted of two felonies involving moral turpitude, but who have been convicted of one felony and perhaps 20 misdemeanors. The Department has no power to deport those people. Under the Dies bill that we passed last year, I sought on one hand to allow 8,000 people—decent people to remain here, and with the same law deport eighteen or twenty thousand criminals who should be deported.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I yield.

Mr. RICH. Last year the gentleman made statements with reference to people in this country who should be deported,

especially when the gentleman was discussing the German bund camps, and that many of those people had not been naturalized. The gentleman stated then that they should be deported and the gentleman criticized the Department of Labor for not deporting them. I am now surprised at the statement the gentleman is making, defending the Department of Labor for not deporting these people.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I think the gentleman is misquoting something I was supposed to have said that I have not said. Mr. RICH. No. I was on the floor of the House and I

listened to those statements.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. No alien who is in this country legally can be deported. If an alien enters properly, does nothing which the immigration laws prohibit after his entry, he cannot be deported. Deportation must be grounded on some provision of the immigration laws as they exist today, so I could not have possibly told you that these people, because they were Nazis, could be deported.

For many years I called attention to the fact that the Quota Act of 1924 discriminates against American families. Because of the fact that quotas are so small for countries of eastern and southern Europe, American citizens whose family ties are with those countries are being discriminated against, while American families whose relatives come from England or northern Europe are in a better position to unite with their families. The fact that the quota law is so arranged that two-thirds of it goes to northern and western Europe and one-third of it goes to southern and eastern Europe is an unjust discrimination against our people.

I therefore suggest that there should not be any increase in the number of immigration quotas, but there should be a redistribution of the unused numbers for the current or next fiscal year to relieve the pressure on the small-quota countries, which are discriminated against. This should not be a permanent policy but only for the current fiscal year, for humanitarian reasons, as stated. Let not American families be discriminated against, and where an American family wishes to accomplish union with one residing on the other side, and there are quota numbers available, let them be distributed so that they may do good to those who need them. This, I am sure, will go a long way in the solution of our immigration problem.

Earnest study and attention will be required by this Congress in order to solve the immigration problem of the United States. I am sure my committee will be glad to entertain any intelligent proposal, and any interested citizen who wishes to be heard will be given an opportunity to appear before the committee and state his facts.

A real problem that has been making itself felt in recent years arises out of the enforcement of the deportation laws with respect to aliens who entered the United States since the enactment of the quota laws. It must be remembered that prior to the time when the principle of numerical restriction was put into effect aliens were subject to deportation only, with a very few exceptions, if found to be of the criminal, immoral, radical, or physically and mentally unsound classes. While in some instances deportation then resulted in a hardship to the individual alien and his family, it was felt that the greater good to the country which was derived by the deportation of an undesirable outweighed the harm done to the individual alien and to the members of his family. However, since the quota laws have been enacted, that no longer holds true. A person may now be deportable because of entry without inspection, residence without permission, or flaw in the record of admission. Inevitably, as the years passed, aliens of good character and good repute, in many instances through error on the part of the Government, found themselves enmeshed in deportation proceedings from which there was no escape. The technical violator of the quota laws is as much deportable as the basest alien

Let me give you an illustration of what I am speaking about by citing one or two cases which have been presented to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House of Representatives by the Immigration and Naturaliza-

tion Service. A young Irishman first entered the United States in December 1923 at the port of New York and was admitted for a period of 6 months. He stated, when examined in deportation proceedings later started, that he intended to make this country his permanent home when he first arrived in the United States. He remained here until 1928 when, desiring to go abroad to visit, he applied for a reentry permit. Through error on the part of one of the clerks at Ellis Island, the record of his entry in 1923 was recorded as one for permanent residence and he was issued a permit. He departed and after his reentry into the United States he married a legally admitted Irish girl in 1929. Desiring to complete an application for citizenship, he appeared at the naturalization office in New York in 1933 and then learned that he was in the United States illegally. He promptly and voluntarily sought advice as to his immigration status at Ellis Island. Notwithstanding his apparent desirability, notwithstanding the unfortunate predicament in which he finds himself, through an error on the part of the Government, notwithstanding that he is now established here with a family, he is subject to deportation under existing law.

The case I have cited is typical of many others involving hardships brought about by our deportation laws. The aliens concerned are not criminals; they are not of the immoral type; they are not mentally or physically unsound; they are not public charges. Illegal entry is the sole basis for their deportation. But present law requires that they be deported.

It is because of this unyielding technical aspect of the immigration laws that an attempt has been made in the recent past to enact legislation which would alleviate to some extent the harshness and cruelty of deportation when that deportation is based solely upon the technical ground of illegal entry. That attempt in the last session of Congress culminated in the passage by the House of Representatives of a bill to alleviate this situation. A similar bill will be introduced in the present House.

I shall dwell briefly on the measure. First, it allows the Secretary of Labor, during a period of 4 years, to permit to remain in this country as permanent residents, a maximum number of 8,000 aliens—I wish to emphasize that number—8,000 aliens who are now subject to deportation because of technical illegal entry into the United States.

If they are of good character and if they have resided in this country more than 10 years or have close family ties here—husbands, wives, or children of citizens or legal residents of the country. Second, it permits aliens who entered the United States before July 1, 1924, who are not now subject to deportation, but for whom there is no record of their admission for permanent residence, to legalize their status so that they may become citizens, provided, of course, that they are in all other respects able to meet the qualifications of the naturalization law. Third, because of what has been deemed to be an inadequacy of our present deportation laws with respect to alien criminals, it proposes new classes of deportable aliens removable because of criminal misconduct.

Intolerant of any contrary view on the subject of aliens, extremists have proclaimed their dissatisfaction with the bill that passed the House last year. The proalien groups cry out that you are infringing upon the freedom of aliens; you are adding to the deportable classes and thereby making more hardships; you are not giving to the Secretary of Labor enough discretion to make justice in aliens' cases possible. The antialien groups quite as vociferously state: You are attempting to destroy the principle of numerical restriction; you are nullifying the existing provisions of the immigration laws with respect to alien criminals.

Let us not be intolerant or unreasonable in our views on a subject relating to aliens. Let us not be sentimentalists, so that any hardship to an individual undeserving alien appalls us. Let us not be prejudiced against the foreigner in our midst, so that their very presence is looked upon as a menace to our form of government and to our economic life. Let us seek to do that which is right in keeping with American ideals.

I do not think either of the extremists' views are justified. I believe the bill as a whole is a step forward in the immigration policy of the Nation. It not only will enable the administrators of the law to consider and treat humanely the many aliens deserving of such treatment, it will rid the country of many aliens inherently undesirable. It is an immigration bill drawn with a view to solving our present immigration problem to the advantage, first and foremost, of the American people.

The two bills—one to alleviate hardship cases and deportations and the other to redistribute unused immigration quotas—should engage the earnest attention of the Congress during the forthcoming session.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks by including a few stanzas of blank verse composed by a very distinguished constituent of mine, Hon. J. D. Albright, of Knoxville, Tenn., on existing conditions in the United States.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOBBS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. WEST. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and include therein an address recently made by Hon. Roy Miller, of Corpus Christi, Tex., concerning Mr. John N. Garner.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

#### THE SUGAR INDUSTRY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under special order of the House, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Cummings] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, the largest sugar-producing section in the United States is the Second Congressional District in northern Colorado. This is the district that I represent. We have a quota for 1939 of 157,936 acres. This is more than we grew in 1938. Our acreage has been reduced the last 5 years, due to a shortage of water for irrigation purposes. All of our sugar beets are grown by this method of agriculture. Our beets averaged in 1938 a little more than 15 tons per acre. This would mean a potential crop in 1939 of 2,400,000 tons of beets. During the manufacturing period in the fall more than 100 carloads of pure

granulated sugar is produced per day. We thought the low price of sugar had been reached in 1933. Secretary Wallace invited the people who were interested in the sugar industry in the United States to meet in Washington in July of that year. Some 3 months were spent in trying to solve the sugar problem. The stabilization agreement, similar to our present quota plan, was agreed to by those who represented 98 percent of the sugar business in the United States. This agreement was nullified by Secretary Wallace. A year later we passed the Jones-Costigan Act, which measure was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. In 1937 another law very similar to the Jones-Costigan Act was passed. This measure was signed by the President on the first day of September 1937, and its provisions were applicable to the year 1937. Among other things it provides that the Secretary of Agriculture shall estimate the amount of sugar that will be consumed in the United States for each calendar year, then proceed to divide that amount between the continental United States, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Philippine Islands, Virgin Islands, and Cuba. This act says that the people of those different countries can import a certain amount of sugar but that does not guarantee them a market. If this estimate should be too large, and it proved to be so in 1938 by some 300,000 tons,

it means that the sellers of sugar in the countries named will be each striving to dispose of their quota. If in a community there are 10 houses, or 10 horses, for sale and only 9 buyers, the owners will all be striving to supply those 9 buyers. That is what happened in 1937 and 1938 to the sugar industry.

The average price of raw sugar in 1932 was \$2.925 and in 1938, \$2.940. Labor represents the principal cost of sugar. Cuba's geographical position, plus her quota and tariff benefits, allows her to dominate the sugar market in the United States. I am told her average laborer is paid \$1 per day. The beet laborer on farms under the new schedule imposed by Secretary Wallace receives more than \$5 per day. workers in the factories of the processors of beets are being rapidly organized by the American Federation of Labor, and their average wage is several times that of Cuba. If Cuba used her full tariff benefits, it would not make much difference to the continental producers of sugar, but from April 12 to September 22, 1938, their sacrifice of duty varied from 90 cents per ton to \$6.10 on June 2. An acre of beets will produce about 2 tons of sugar. That means when Cuba was sacrificing \$6.10 per ton, it was reducing the value of an acre of beets \$12.20. On June 30 they were sacrificing \$4.90, which meant \$9.80 per acre of beets.

The Department of State at the present time under authority granted them by the reciprocal-trade agreement are negotiating a treaty with Cuba which would lower the present duty on sugar 15 cents per hundred. This will be a reduction of \$3 per ton for Cuba, and if they fail to take advantage of that rate, it would be a loss of \$6 per acre to the growers of sugar beets in the United States, or a total of \$6,000,000.

A Habana dispatch of November 12, 1938, published in the Weekly Statistical Sugar Trade Journal, reads as follows:

A 15-point cut: It is generally believed here that Cuba will get a 15-point cut in United States tariff rates on sugar. In New York trade circles, however, nobody seems to know anything about it, as witness the fact the Philippine and Cuban raws continue selling at the same comparative level, i. e., a 90-point difference, whereas a 15-point reduction, if we get it, will immediately be reflected by our American price.

This statement simply means that Cuba has no intention of keeping 15 cents per hundred if granted the proposed reduction, but does intend to lower their price that much per hundred in New York to assist them in finding a market for their full quota.

I have heard people criticize the sugar industry on the grounds that it furnished only seasonal employment. If this should be construed to mean that the sugar industry should not be allowed to develop in the United States because the labor is seasonal and the same rule were applied to other crops, what would be the results? All fruits and vegetables provide seasonal employment; so does corn and wheat—in fact all crops grown on the farm. Unless connected with winter feeding operations, the average farm laborer works from a few weeks to 8 or 9 months. The same argument would apply to the manufacturing of cement. In fact, nearly all business has a rush season. The growing and processing of sugar beets and sugarcane furnishes more work than the average agricultural crop.

If I could write a sugar law to suit myself, it would provide that the continental United States, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands could grow as much sugar as they wished. I would prorate the balance of our requirements in a way that I thought would be of most benefit to our own people. With a price of \$2.94 for raw sugar, duty paid in the United States, there is not much chance of expanding, or even continuing, our present production.

I have never been an advocate of high prices for sugar. I realize that it is a necessary food and should be kept within the reach of our lowest wage earner. A staple price of \$5 to \$5.50 would result in an increase of at least 50 percent in continental production of sugar. On the ratio of their food value sugar would be a cheaper food at 5½ cents per pound than butter at 9 cents per pound, bacon at 8 cents, ham at 5 cents, lamb at 3½ cents, sirloin steak at 3 cents, eggs at 2½ cents per dozen, chicken at 2½ cents per pound, and

milk at 21/2 cents per quart. I think we all realize it would be impossible to produce the articles of food I have just

mentioned at those prices.

A ruling by the Secretary of Agriculture increased the cost of hand labor in 1938 over 1936 on 15 tons of beets, which is the average yield per acre in the irrigated sections, \$5 per acre. The average price of refined sugar in 1937, the year the present law was enacted, was \$4.66; in 1938, \$3.948 per hundred. This shows a reduction of 71.2 cents per hundred pounds, which means a decrease in the value of sugar produced on an average acre of \$24.92. If you will add to that the \$5.09 increase in the cost of labor, you have \$30.01; and if you add to this \$30.01 a further reduction of 15 cents per hundred pounds on raw sugar, that I am told the Department of State is considering, you will have another reduction of \$6: total \$36.01.

A few farmers in the Corn Belt can grow a crop of corn yielding about 40 bushels per acre, which, if sold at 50 cents per bushel, would be \$20 per acre. If you grew a crop of 30 bushels of wheat and sold it on the present market, you would get about \$18 per acre. In other words, this decrease in the value of an acre of beets is more than the total value of the average farm crop in the United States. We harvest about a million acres of beets on an average per year. This

makes a loss in round figures of some \$30,000,000.

It is impossible to grow sugar in the United States in competition with the world. Most of the sugar is grown in the tropical countries and produced by the cheapest class of labor. For the crop year of 1922-23 the world production of sugar was 20,878,000 tons. In 10 years, 1923-33, it had increased to 29,145,000 tons, or an increase of 8,270,000 tons. From 1933-38, a period of 5 years, it has increased from 29,145,000 tons to 36,000,000 tons, or an increase of 6,855,000 tons. [Applause.]

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I yield.

Mr. RICH. Does not the gentleman think we ought to have a tariff on sugar, so that we can protect the sugar-beet

industry of Colorado?

Mr. CUMMINGS. You cannot protect the sugar business of the United States with a tariff, for this reason: We cannot levy a tariff against Hawaii; we cannot levy a tariff against Puerto Rico; we cannot levy a tariff against the Virgin Islands. You will never be able to levy a tariff against the Philippine Islands so long as our flag flies over that country. Hawaii and Puerto Rico will produce probably 3,000,000 tons of sugar. Cuba has produced more than 5,000,000. The Philippine Islands can produce two or three million tons. They have produced 1,200,000 tons. You cannot levy a tariff against those countries. They will produce practically all of the sugar we consume in the United States, and a tariff will be of very little benefit.

Mr. RICH. Call it anything you want, but we want to protect the farmers of Colorado and the farmers of Michigan and the Louisiana cane sugar growers. If we can give the market to our own people for our own products, we will

go places.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I am with the gentleman 100 percent. Mr. RICH. Then the New Deal is wrong in their reciprocal-trade agreements on sugar.

Mr. SCRUGHAM. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I yield to the gentleman from Nevada. Mr. SCRUGHAM. With due consideration of all the facts the gentleman has stated, does he consider it is economically justified to make the sharp limitations of acreage given to sugar beets in States like Nevada and others having reclamation projects? If so, what is the justification, taking into consideration all the facts the gentleman has stated?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I do not think it is. If I had my way, the United States and the island possessions would grow every pound of sugar they wanted to grow until we had supplied the full demand in this country. If there was anything left, I would divide it up. That goes for all other agricultural products as well as sugar.

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I yield.

Mr. HOPE. In other words, the gentleman would apply quotas only to the foreign service?

Mr. CUMMINGS. That is it.

Mr. HOPE. Is not the chief cause of the difficulty at the present time, as far as low prices are concerned, the action of the Secretary of Agriculture in overestimating the consumption for the present year?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I felt that my illustration of 10 horses

and 9 buyers made that plain.

Mr. HOPE. That is the real difficulty, is it not?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I feel that it is.

Mr. HOPE. And does not the Secretary have it in his power right now, by the authority which the law gives him under those estimates, to give the farmers of this country a reasonable price for their sugar?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I feel his interpretation of the law is that the law defines certain ways under which he must make the estimate. If this be true, the law should be corrected by a slight amendment. Perhaps 25 or 30 words would cure the defect.

Mr. HOPE. The gentleman, however, does not agree with the Secretary on that point, does he?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No.

Mr. HOPE. That is, if the gentleman were Secretary of Agriculture he probably would arrive at a different estimate of consumption than the present Secretary, would he not?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I would try awfully hard. [Laughter.] Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I yield.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The gentleman from Colorado has made a very powerful speech, one in which I, being from Montana, am deeply interested because of the fact that we grow a lot of sugar beets in my State.

Does not the gentleman think that this Congress should oppose any policy respecting any country outside of our own in trade agreements or a tariff that will cause idle acreage of land or an increase in our relief rolls?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I suppose so; but the gentleman is putting me in a rather embarrassing position, because I voted for the reciprocal-trade agreements and voted to extend the

Mr. O'CONNOR. Is not that a fact? Should not that be our policy?

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time be extended for 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. CUMMINGS. I yield. Mr. CRAWFORD. As I understand, the gentleman is now

a member of the Committee on Agriculture, and has been for the last several years?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Six years.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Six years. Does the gentleman remember a statement having been brought up in 1937 by the Department of Agriculture to the Committee on Agriculture of the House and a like committee of the Senate which had reference to a \$350,000,000 excess in price paid by consumers of sugar in this country over and above the world price of sugar?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I think I read something like that a number of times.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Can the gentleman tell us whether or not raw sugar was the basis on which that statement was made by the Department of Agriculture, and whether the Department of Agriculture was referring to the price of raw sugar or the price of refined sugar in making their calculation of that \$350,000,000 figure?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I do not know what they had in mind. Mr. CRAWFORD. Let us say it this way, then: The Department of Agriculture published figures to the effect that the consumers of this country paid 5.6 cents per pound for the sugar we consumed in 1936, or \$5.60 a hundred. They also published figures showing that we consumed, we will say

in round figures, 126,000,000 bags of sugar. In the statement presented to the Committee on Agriculture of the House and Senate, respectively, the Department of Agriculture said in substance-I have the exact quotation here-that the consumers of sugar in this country paid \$350,000,000 in excess of the depressed prices that prevailed in the world market. Now, the question I am asking is: Did the Secretary of Agriculture and his assistants use a raw price, or a price on raw sugar, in making that \$350,000,000 calculation, or did they use a price on refined sugar?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I am inclined to think they used the price on raw sugar. But that would not make much difference because 106 pounds of raw makes 100 pounds of refined. which would amount to less than 6 percent. The point, I think, is that if an article that is protected does not sell in the United States at the world price plus the tariff, then the tariff has not accomplished the purpose for which it was levied. The producers of agricultural products are entitled to as much protection as the producers of manufactured articles. When I make this statement, when I talk protective tariff, there are those who ask me whether I am a Democrat or a Republican. I say to them that when it comes to protecting the products of the people in my district I am just whatever kind of party man it takes to bring about that

Mr. CRAWFORD. I agree with the gentleman. Let us assume that the raw price, the price on which sugar is sold on the world market, is \$1 per hundred. Let us assume further that the price of refined sugar in this country is \$5 per hundred, that in England it is \$9, in Germany \$7, in Australia \$11; in arriving at the excess cost I raised the question: Wherein was the Department of Agriculture fair, wherein was the Secretary of State fair, when they gave out to the press of this Nation a cold-blooded statement to the effect that the sugar industry received a rake-off of \$350,-000,000 per year?

Mr. CUMMINGS. You start at the wrong point.
Mr. CRAWFORD. The gentleman means they start at the

Mr. CUMMINGS. No; because when raw sugar was \$1 and there was no tariff sugar never sold for 5 cents a pound.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time may be extended 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Hope]?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. There would be this difference: You could have internal control, for instance, a consumption tax may be of \$4 a hundred added to the \$1 on raw sugar, to arrive at the \$5.

Mr. CUMMINGS. You could, but I wish the gentleman would tell me how to get it.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Within a few minutes I shall submit to the House the world price on refined sugar at the present time and I wish to submit this to show the fallacy of the statement which has been made by the Department of Agriculture and sanctioned by the Secretary of State. I hope the gentleman will observe my showing on that, because I regard his opinion as the highest on sugar of any Member of the House, due to the fact he is a dirt farmer. [Applause.] He knows how to grow sugar and he knows the problems of the industry.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota. Mr. KNUTSON. The gentleman from Colorado stated a moment ago that he is in favor of the tariff for the products

of his own district. That is what I understood him to say.

Mr. CUMMINGS. The gentleman has limited it too much. I am in favor of a tariff that will preserve the American market for the American farmer and American labor.

Mr. KNUTSON. May we chalk the gentleman up as recruit No. 1 to the G. O. P. in this session?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I would not like to go that far. I like you a lot, but not that much.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. CUMMINGS. I yield to the gentleman from Montana. Mr. O'CONNOR. I regard the gentleman's opinion very highly. It has been claimed that as importations increase into this country employment increases in this country proportionately. Could the gentleman give us his views upon that subject as to whether that is right or not?

Mr. CUMMINGS. That is like asking a man can he walk north and south at the same time. I could not answer that

Mr. RANKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I yield to the gentleman from Missis-

Mr. RANKIN. Will the gentleman support a measure to guarantee the farmers the cost of production for all their crops-cotton, wheat, corn, and all other crops that are domestically consumed?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I will, if the gentleman will do it with a processing tax.

Mr. RANKIN. Suppose we do not do it that way. Suppose we say we will guarantee the farmers their cost of production. That has been done with industry through the tariff. It has been done with industrial labor through the wage and hour bill. Now the farmers are going broke, which has caused a depression. You cannot have prosperity in this country with agriculture in an impoverished condition. Will the gentleman support a measure to guarantee the farmers of all classes the cost of production for their crops?

Mr. CUMMINGS. By a processing tax.

Mr. RANKIN. I am not talking about any kind of a tax. I am talking about guaranteeing them the cost of production.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I may say, if the gentleman will show me where he can get the money without bankrupting the Nation, I will consider it.

Mr. RANKIN. The gentleman did not talk about a processing tax in connection with the tariff, and he is not asking for a processing tax in connection with the tariff on sugar.

Mr. CUMMINGS. We have a processing tax on sugar of 50 cents a hundred, and it is paying its way in addition to putting \$13,000,000 into the United States Treasury.

Mr. RANKIN. The trouble is you want to tax the unprotected masses in order to get money to boost the tariff. The farmers in this country are in a desperate condition. There are a great many here requesting a measure to guarantee to all farmers the cost of production of their crops that are domestically consumed. What I want to know is whether the gentleman would support a measure of that kind if it comes to the House for consideration.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I just answered that question.

Mr. RANKIN. No; the gentleman said he would do so provided we put on a processing tax.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Or the gentleman can show me where he can get the money without bankrupting the country.

Mr. RANKIN. The gentleman did not show where he had the money to carry out the tariff. The tariff during the Hoover and Republican administration-

Mr. CUMMINGS. I do not care to talk tariff. I just want to talk sugar at this time. If the gentleman wants to talk tariff, that is another thing.

Mr. RANKIN. The gentleman is talking about the tariff. I thought I heard the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. KNUTSON] welcoming him into the high-tariff fold.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I refused the invitation, so the gentle-

man cannot say I am going over there.

Mr. RANKIN. The burden of the American people, so far as the tariff is concerned, amounted to about \$4,000,000,000 a year during the Harding and Coolidge administrations. That is one thing that brought about the collapse in 1932. farmers went down under that burden, and they are down yet. The only way to bring the price level of the farmers up to that of labor and industry is to guarantee them the cost of production for all their crops, or at least that part that is domestically consumed.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I would suggest that the gentleman come over to the Committee on Agriculture and present his statement.

[Here the gavel fell.]

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include a short statement having to do with patents, a subject which should have the attention of this Congress.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

CONSOLIDATION AND CODIFICATION OF INTERNAL REVENUE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a bill to consolidate and codify the internal-revenue laws of the United States, H. R. 2762, and ask unanimous consent that the same be referred to the Committee on Ways and Means. The chairman of the Committee on Revision of the Laws has no objection to this matter being referred to the Ways and Means Committee.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Doughton]?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House heretofore entered, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Crawford] is recognized for 10 minutes.

#### STIGAR

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, I desire to recommend to all the Members of the House, irrespective of the section of the country in which they live, that they obtain as quickly as possible a copy of the hearings on Senate Resolution 49, held on January 13, 1939, before the Senate Finance Committee. There is so much in these hearings which has to do with the reciprocal trade agreement policy, foreign trade, and the general policies of the State Department that whatever you do you should take time to get a copy of the hearings and read it very carefully.

All during this session, and perhaps the sessions for many years to come, we shall be dealing with the question of price

levels.

The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Rankin] has just raised a question with reference to the price of cotton. He may not have said "cotton" directly, but I know he has that in mind, and I am very sympathetic with the views he brought out.

I have just secured from the Treasury Department a statement showing the stocks of basic commodities held under loans of the Commodity Credit Corporation and under loans made by banks and lending agencies, which will eventually dovetail into the Commodity Credit Corporation. We find that as to cotton alone, 10,708,000 bales of cotton are involved, on which we have extended loans of \$541,000,000. It is estimated that by the 1st to the 15th of April of this year the figure will exceed 12,000,000 bales of cotton the Government of the United States will be directly or indirectly holding.

Mr. PACE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. Will the gentleman let me complete this statement first?

This serves notice on everyone who holds cotton in the raw, piece goods, cotton at the mills, or goods on the shelf, that he had better look out for breaking prices on cotton because when the Government becomes loaded with ten, eleven, or twelve million or more bales of cotton the Government will become the largest single holder of cotton in the world.

Going from cotton to other commodities, we find with respect to corn there are loans of \$39,000,000 on 69,000,000 bushels; wheat, 64,000,000 bushels; tobacco, 31,000,000 pounds; turpentine, 10,000,000 gallons, 937,000 barrels; peanuts, 92,000 tons; prunes, 15,000 tons; raisins, 81,000 tons; butter, 88,000,000 pounds; dates, pecans, hops, and wool and mohair, 56,000,000 pounds, or a total of \$679,000,000, nearly

three-quarters of a billion dollars tied up in these commodities at the present time.

This serves notice on everyone who is engaged in buying, selling, or marketing commodities that he must keep his eyes on the price levels dictated by Government agencies and operated through Government manipulation and all the backing and filling that flows through political administrations, irrespective of who is in power.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman

vield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. I wish to inquire about the item of 88,000,000 pounds of butter. How is that butter now stored? Is it a finished product now, or does the figure mean that that will be the surplus at the end of a certain year? How does the gentleman arrive at that figure?

Mr. CRAWFORD. The Treasury statement, showing loans by years and commodities as of December 31, 1938, shows as to butter loans of \$23,569,000 on 88,665,000 pounds. As to the condition in which that butter is, I must necessarily assume it is in eatable condition, ready for the consumer's table.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. I thought perhaps they had some system of figuring with which I am not familiar by which they would estimate that would be the surplus at a certain time.

Mr. CRAWFORD. No; I do not understand it that way. I know the so-called surplus of butter has materially decreased since the cold weather has set in. I assume that amount will increase very materially as soon as spring opens up and the milk flow starts again.

Going a step further on the question of prices and coming directly to the point I want to bring up and emphasize, which has to do again with price levels and which has been discussed more or less by the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Cummings], if you will refer to the hearings before the House and Senate Committees on Agriculture on the 1937 Sugar Act, you will find on page 174 of the Senate hearings a most interesting statement made by a representative of the Department of Agriculture, in which this language appears:

The total cost to American consumers of sugar purchased under the quota system during the calendar year 1936 has been estimated at approximately \$350,000,000 in excess of the depressed prices that prevailed in the world market.

In studying the hearings before the Senate committee the other day, to which I have referred, and particularly the statement of Secretary of State Cordell Hull, attempting to find the source of the statement he made about the "rake-off" of \$350,000,000—using his exact language—which the sugar industry received, and tracing it back as best I could by conferring with Department officials, I find his statement comes directly from the statement published in the 1937 hearings, prepared in the Department of Agriculture without a foundation that is worth a nickel, as I shall show as I go through these charts if I can get the time. The Secretary sanctified the statement, and the press of this country carried it in bold headlines, to the effect that the industry was receiving a "rake-off" of \$350,000,000.

I have here a statement published by the United States Department of Agriculture in December 1938 which shows the retail prices paid by the consumers of sugar throughout the world in 43 countries.

The statement shows all the principal countries of the world, those which import sugar on a large scale and those which export sugar on a large scale and those which are almost self-sufficient. I recommend that you get a copy of this statement and study it carefully and see what the consumers of sugar in the United States are paying for refined sugar as compared to what is being paid by the people in other parts of the world under free trade and otherwise. When you finish studying this statement I believe you will find your people are particularly blessed with low prices for the sugar in refined form they have in their sugar bowl at the breakfast table. I have not time to quote these figures, and I shall not ask that this document be included in the Record, because it is available to every Member of the House.

LXXXIV-29

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Minne-

Mr. KNUTSON. I recognize, as do my colleagues, that the gentleman from Michigan is perhaps the best authority in the House on the sugar question, or at least one of the best. It is my understaning that the sugar industry in Cuba is controlled by the National City Bank, the Chase National Bank of New York, and Vincent Astor, the proprietor of the Nourmahal, which was used quite extensively as a show boat a few years back. Is the gentleman in position to inform the House just how much of a "rake-off," which seems to be the designation, these three activities are getting out of the present sugar policy of the New Deal administration?

Mr. CRAWFORD. May I say to the gentleman it would not be possible for me to show that?

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Michigan may be extended 10 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. May I say to the gentleman from Minnesota it would be impossible to answer that question accurately without-

Mr. KNUTSON. Well, approximately.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Without the stock ownership of the different industries in Cuba, but it can be answered in a practical way in this manner. Take the centrals in Cuba in which these particular institutions are greatly interested and which, we will say, they dominate from the standpoint of control the amount of sugar which those particular centrals produce, and then project the prices—I shall show from these charts—onto their percentage of the production, and you can arrive at a very close answer in dollars and cents to the question propounded by the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. KNUTSON. It runs into the millions, does it not?

Mr. CRAWFORD. Certainly, in my opinion, it runs into the millions.

Mr. KNUTSON. I saw some figures a while ago wherein it was estimated that the amount of sugar that was being extracted by these three activities was approximately \$42,-000,000, and I assume that \$42,000,000 comes out of the American people.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the

gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan. Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Reverting again to the statement of the Secretary of State relative to this "rake-off" he mentions. Has the gentleman given consideration to the conditions that existed in 1920, during which time the housewives of the country paid as high as 32 cents per pound for sugar at the local grocery store? These conditions existed only during the time when American-produced sugar was not on the market and consequently not in position to contribute through competition anything toward a reasonable price for that commodity. Does not the gentleman believe that the Secretary of State referred to something that occurred 18 or 19 years ago; something, by the way, that ought to prove interesting to every housewife in the country, and sound a warning to everyone in this country who has a desire to give the consumers of the country some sort of notice as to what will happen to them if and when this industry is completely destroyed? The Secretary of Agriculture has termed the sugar industry an "inefficient" industry, and one that should not have been established in this country, but that it did not appear politically possible to eliminate it at this time. If that day comes, the housewives of the country may depend upon it that they will pay far more than they have paid during the time when the American sugar industry was permitted to produce at least a part of the sugar which our people

Mr. CRAWFORD. We might say it is an insurance policy. Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Of course it is an insurance policy.

Mr. CRAWFORD. The production of sugar by the domestic industry is an insurance policy to American housewives against exploitation by foreign producers.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. And the only one available to the American consumer.

Mr. CRAWFORD. The figure which I show here and which ties directly into the statement made by the Secretary published on page 11 of this rough draft of the hearings on Senate Resolution 49, on the \$350,000,000 "rake off," and I keep coming back to this because it was an unfair statement to put in the hearings in 1937, but I did not challenge the figure at that time because other people were talking. That is no excuse, but I did not challenge it at that time, but the Secretary of State has so emphatically made the statement now, and points out so impressively that the statement has never been challenged by the industry or its friends that here today I am challenging the statement, and, as the Department of Agriculture knows and as the Secretary of State knows, it will not hold water, and here is the reason.

Here [referring to the chart] are the prices published by Willett & Gray and H. H. Pike & Son. The former-Willett & Gray-are recognized sugar statisticians throughout the world and have been for decades. They show the ebb and flow of prices on raw sugar at New York, showing the world price of raw sugar, prices on refined sugar, and prices on duty-paid sugar and c. i. f., which is "cost, insurance, and freight." New York, without the duty.

Look at this statement, for instance. In 1933 raw sugar sold, c. i. f., \$1.20 a hundred, and in 1934, \$1.46 a hundred; 1935, \$2.31 a hundred; 1936, \$2.67 a hundred.

If you will take the records of the Department of Agriculture, you will find that we purchased in 1936, 126,337,600 bags

The Department of Agriculture also shows in these hearings that the consumers of this country paid at that time \$5.60 per hundred average for refined sugar for the year 1936, and, multiplying that out, you get a cost of \$707,000,000 total sugar bill; deducting from that the \$350,000,000 which the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, says was a rake-off, it brings the cost of sugar down to \$357,490,000, which, divided by your 126,000,000 bags of sugar, gives you a cost of \$2.83 per hundred pounds for refined sugar at the consumers' table, according to the Secretary of State and the Department of Agriculture. Now, what buying power would Cuba have or what could we ship to Cuba, under reciprocal-trade agreements or otherwise, had they sold sugar on a \$2.83 refined basis?

If Cuba should be forced to sell raw sugar on a basis which, when converted into refined, moved to the consumer at a price of only \$2.83 per 100 pounds, the Secretaries of Agriculture and State both know Cuba would get very little return. Cuba's purchasing power in that case would be reduced to practically nothing. Cuba could not, under such circumstances, compete with Java or India or Formosa. If this statement I here make is not true, why has the State Department insisted upon Cuba having a preferential in our market over the other foreign countries of the world. Our two Secretaries know full well that Cuba needs protection against other low-cost areas, just as the domestic industry of continental United States and our insular possessions need protection against Cuba's low standard of living. There is another portion of Latin America in which we have a vital interest-that is Puerto Rico. Too much attention in Cuba's favor would greatly injure Puerto Rico. Neither of these areas could produce and sell sugar on a \$2.83 refined basis, and this fact is well known to all students of the industry. A price of \$2.83 on refined would eliminate the whole of the continental industry and make us dependent upon far-away foreign areas for our sugar supply. Then who would get the rake-off? That question is easily answered. Would the Secretaries of State and Agriculture have us eliminate the domestic refiners, local wholesalers and retailers, by cutting their participation in the \$2.83 so low they could not exist so that Cuba could have the major portion of the \$2.83? Thus, an analysis of the formula and the price elements reduces the claim of an excess cost and a rake-off to nothingness. I repeat, the statement is not worth a nickel to anyone. It misleads and befuddles and should not be repeated again by the Departments of Agricul-

The Secretary was proposing to either cut Cuba out of the sugar business or cut the refiners, the wholesale jobbers, or the retailers out of the sugar business in this country. It is not in the cards to deliver sugar to the American consumer at \$2.83 per 100 pounds, refined basis, and the Secretary of Agriculture knows it, as does the Secretary of State. So why does he refer to the rake-off? Here are your duties-\$2 in 1933; \$1.50 in 1934; 90 cents in 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1938. Add the c. i. f. and the duty together, and subtract the sum of those two elements of price from the refined price, and you get total margins of \$2.20 for refiner, wholesaler, and retailer in 1933, \$2.64 in 1934, \$2.49 in 1935, and \$2.03 in 1936; and the Secretary is proposing to reduce the price from \$5.60 down to \$2.83 a hundred. He knows that that is not fair play to the people of this country, he knows that sugar cannot be moved on that basis, and he knows his statement is misleading. I discussed these figures this very day with the Department of Agriculture, with those who are responsible for that \$350,000,000 statement. It does nobody any good for such statements to be made, and I am here now to challenge those statements, and I defy the Department of Agriculture to come up here and stand between the two hitching posts-namely, the low, the depressed price, as they call it, on raw sugar over the world and the price of \$5.60 set up in these hearings, which the consumer paid-stand between those two hitching posts and support the statement put in these hearings and the statement made by the Secretary of State. It is not fair to this industry, and such statements are not fair to the other industries shown on the commodity charts.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. CRAWFORD. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I realize that the gentleman is one of the best-informed Members in the House on the subject that he is discussing. I am interested in the question that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Knutson] asked, eliminating the partisan quirk that he gave to the question when he said that when we legislate in favor of Cuba, we legislate in effect in favor of Wall Street millionaires. The question I would like to have answered, if the gentleman has the information, is, What percentage of the territory in Cuba which produces sugar is owned by the Cubans, and what percentage is owned by those millionaires in New York in whose favor it is claimed we are legislating?

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has again expired.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed for 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER. There is another special order on the program for today. The Chair will ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. EBERHARTER] whether it is agreeable to him to have this extension of time granted the gentleman from Michigan?

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I have no objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request that the gentleman's time be extended 5 minutes?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, every student of the sugar industry in the Western Hemisphere knows that the conditions of those who toil in the dirt, the peon laborer in the sugar industry in Cuba, rest on a basis of starvation wages. Every student knows that the industry in Cuba is owned primarily by absentee ownership. The Secretary of State in these hearings the other day referred to the fact that Cuba has been bled white. Bled white by whom? And on what basis? Bled white by absentee ownership, and when you do legislate in the name of the peon worker and the primary producer or worker, when we legislate in his name, and the benefits flow to the absentee owners, then it becomes a tug of war between the New York firms and the farmers in the United States and our insular possessions.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Is it not a fact that 90 percent of the sugar-producing area in Cuba is owned by the New York

people that we are discussing, or that that percentage goes to absentee landlords in dividends?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I cannot cite the records, but I can state that I believe fully 90 percent of the dividends of the industry in Cuba flow to "absentee owners," and that gets at it in the same way. If this has not been true, then why did the Secretary of State take the position that Cuba had been "bled white"? By whom has she been bled if not by absentee ownership?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. Yes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Will the gentleman give us the comparative prices paid by the American consumer and those in other parts of the world during the years the gentleman was there?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I did not recite them because they are set out in great detail here, and it would take considerable time to read them.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Generally how does the price we pay compare with that paid by the Englishman, say, or the Frenchman?

Mr. CRAWFORD. At the present time—and I am talking now about today—we are paying a price of about \$5.20 per hundred. In the United Kingdom the price about last May was \$6.12; in Australia, where I believe they consume more sugar per capita than in any other place in the world, 4 pence per hundred; in Honduras, 10 centavos; in Argentina, \$5.71; in Italy, 2.99 lire.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I did not want you to go into all of those figures, but, generally speaking, do we pay more or less in the United States than in other countries?

Mr. CRAWFORD. Generally speaking, you pay less.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. The prices the gentleman is giving are the prices of raw sugar? Not on refined sugar?

Mr. CRAWFORD. No; I am talking about refined sugar. Mr. COFFEE of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska. Mr. COFFEE of Nebraska. Is it not a fact that the retail price of sugar at the present time is within two-tenths of 1 percent of the lowest price on record, which occurred in 1932?

Mr. CRAWFORD. As far as I can find from the record, that is true. I can walk up Pennsylvania Avenue and go into any Sanitary store in the District today and purchase refined sugar at about the lowest price in all history. I can purchase it for 44 cents for a 10-pound bag. That is \$4.40 per 100 in 10-pound packets, or on the basis of about \$4 in bulk bags. Of course, it is a low price. Raw sugars are every day establishing what is known as near all-time low prices.

I can appreciate and comprehend that most any man could become so engrossed in his own particular philosophy and theory, as the Secretary of State has in connection with reciprocal-trade agreements, that he feels that is the only remedy for mankind. Read his statement before the committee. He points out that his reciprocal-trade agreement program is the only one that has been submitted for the economic salvation of the world during the last several years. That is enthusiasm. But at the same time we cannot afford to sit here and permit a basic agricultural industry to be murdered in such a manner. I do not propose to do it. I do not do so because I am the paid agent of the beet-sugar industry. I will talk just as much in favor of cotton, or wheat, or corn, or potatoes, or any of these other commodities on this list. It is an American industry.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield.

Mr. RANKIN. I think I heard the gentleman refer to my remarks when he first arose. I want to ask the gentleman if he is willing to support legislation that will guarantee to all farmers, including the cotton farmers, the cost of production for at least that part of their crops that are domestically consumed? That is, the product consumed in the United States. Is the gentleman willing to vote for that?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I will answer the gentleman directly. If we had a way of bringing together the operations of the Treasury Department and the central banking system and the fiscal policies of this country in a manner whereby you could arrive at a monetary price level, to which the gentleman is referring, and with which the proposed legislation deals, certainly I would support it. But when the fiscal policies of the Government and the Treasury Department overbalance and overshadow the functions of the central banking system, as every student now recognizes, what chance have you got to bring about a stabilized price level or guaranteed cost of production basis?

Mr. RANKIN. I understood the gentleman was talking about the price of agricultural commodities and was not attempting to reorganize our financial structure.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I am still talking about the price of agricultural commodities.

Mr. RANKIN. But the gentleman is asking us to put a tariff on sugar. That is the motive behind his speech-put a tariff on sugar to protect certain farmers and others. I am asking him whether or not he is willing to go with us to guarantee to all other farmers the cost of production for that portion of their crops consumed in the United States?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I will go with you by starting in and cleaning up the whole kit and caboodle, including the Treasury Department, the Federal Reserve System, and whatever is necessary to bring about stability in prices of farm products. Let me say this to the gentleman-because I am making my own speech today-I am speaking in the interest of the American housewife, who is budgeted and who has to go down and buy sugar to feed the kiddies and the old man with. As the gentleman from Michigan said awhile ago, I went to the store in 1920 and paid \$35 per 100 pounds for refined sugar. Thirty-five dollars per hundred pounds, because Cuba at that time pushed the price of raw sugar up to the refiners in this country to more than \$22 per 100 pounds, as against \$2.65 per 100 pounds today.

Mr. RANKIN. Will the gentleman yield further right there?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield further.

Mr. RANKIN. Does not the gentleman know that when he raises the price of sugar with a tariff he imposes an additional burden upon the housewife instead of relieving her of anything except her cash?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I will challenge the gentleman from Mississippi to establish the fact that an increase in duty on sugar or that a duty on sugar raises the price of sugar. He cannot support it with the figures. Often the price breaks following increase in duty. The tariff does not control prices.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield. Mr. O'CONNOR. I want to say that the present policy of allotment has caused a decrease in acreage in my district of 2,000 acres of the finest land that we have in Montana; land in which the Government of the United States has assisted us with money in creating our irrigation districts, which will now lie idle as the result of this policy.

Sugar-beet production in Montana the last 10 years, according to figures released by the Department of Agriculture, follows: 43,282 acres in 1929, 49,198 acres in 1930, 64,232 acres in 1931, 59,225 acres in 1932, 74,879 acres in 1933, 72,994 acres in 1934, 57,113 acres in 1935, 74,398 acres in 1936, 77,227 acres in 1937, and 84,076 acres in 1938. The Department has allotted 82,020 acres for production in 1939.

Now these figures reveal that production increased 3,000 acres in 1937 over the previous year, and 7,000 acres in 1938 over 1937, which would set a normal production increase of at least 6,000 acres in 1939. On that basis, the normal production this year would total 88,000 acres against the Department of Agriculture's curtailment to 82,020 acres.

These figures show that the 1939 acreage quota curtails beet production in Montana more than 2,000 acres below the production last year and approximately 6,000 acres below what Montana growers would normally produce this year.

Mr. CRAWFORD. That is correct.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has again expired.

Under the previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. EBERHARTER] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, on last Tuesday I listened with a great deal of interest to the remarks made on the floor of this House by some of my colleagues in connection with the Flood Control Act of 1938. What I am going to say this afternoon must not be construed as an indication that I am in favor of the Power Trust, for neither in my State nor in any other State of the Union have the power interests ever been my friend. By the same token, I have never been the friend of the power interests.

When the Flood Control Act of 1938 came before the House for final passage I was opposed to it. I spoke of my objections when the conference report was up for adoption. I was opposed to the passage of that act on principle, and just in this connection I want to repeat a little bit of the history of that flood-control act. The Flood Control Committee of the House reported a bill last year which was unanimously passed. There was no dissenting voice, no objection from any Member of the House to the proposition contained in that bill. That bill, which was passed unanimously, provided that the various States of the Union should participate in the floodcontrol program and that the various States should see that the lands and easements and rights-of-way were paid for by the various States. No question was raised in this House or suggestion made that the Federal Government pay the entire cost itself.

The bill went to the body at the other end of the Capitol. The Flood Control Committee of the Senate reported the bill calling for participation by the States. So, also, the Flood Control Committee of the Senate did not believe, as evidenced by its report, in full payment by the Federal Government. When the measure came on the floor of the Senate, however, an amendment was presented which provided that the Federal Government should pay the entire cost and that the Federal Government should have complete control at all times over flood-control projects; that the States would have nothing whatever to say about them. It was interesting to note that the amendment presented on the floor of the Senate was not prepared by a member of the Flood Control Committee of that body, but was prepared by a gentleman who is a Member of this House, and he has himself so stated, in his office, and this gentleman is not a member of the Flood Control Committee.

Mr. Speaker, I think it was a very serious mistake for Congress to pass a measure of that sort. The question had been debated for several years as to whether or not the full cost of flood control in the United States should be paid by the Federal Government alone or whether it should be apportioned in cooperation and in conjunction with the States. The Flood Control Committee of the House and the Flood Control Committee of the Senate had rejected the proposition of full Federal responsibility and full Federal payment. On April 28, 1937, the President of the United States himself said:

It is my belief that for many reasons the Federal Government should not be charged with the cost of the land necessary for levees, dams, and reservoirs.

The Mississippi River Commission, which has been actively concerned and interested in a program of flood control, adopted a resolution which, among other things, stated:

The commission is firmly of the opinion that some degree of local financial cooperation is essential to a successful accomplishment of a flood-control project.

The Mississippi Valley committee of the Public Works Administration has consistently supported the principle of local contribution.

Mr. Speaker, under the present act the States have no word whatever to say with respect to where the dam shall be placed, where the reservoir shall be placed, whether the land shall be taken by condemnation proceedings or how. In other words, every right of the States is categorically denied insofar as having a voice with respect to flood-control matters. The Federal Government can come into a State, if they feel a flood-control project is necessary in that State, and can wipe out a whole population; that is, dismantle a whole town, including its industries, and make the population move. If a State has a particular stream-pollution program the Federal Government can disregard that. In other words, it gave to the Federal Government absolute control over the lands of the various States, their forests, their mountains, and over all of their natural resources.

I repeat, Mr. Speaker, it was a serious mistake on the part of Congress to change the policy enunciated in the act of 1936, which provided for local participation. I question very much the constitutionality of the act of 1938. If it be constitutional, Mr. Speaker, I think the Members of the House have given up sovereign rights of the States. It was a great day for those who believe that the States do not have the capacity to govern themselves. It was a great day for those who believe in overcentralization of government; who want to see all power lodged in the Federal Government. It was a great day for those people who think that the seat of all wisdom and power should be right here in Washington, and that there is no capacity in the local communities to govern

Mr. Speaker, I think something should be done to correct the act of 1938. There was no necessity for surrendering these rights. The sovereign States have rights. It was, however, a great victory for those who believe that the States should be nothing but innocuous subdivisions of the Federal Government.

There was no emergency. The flood-control program was moving along with rapidity, and in practically every section of the United States which needed flood control, projects were under way, the States were going along cooperating and willing to accept the responsibility of paying their share; and there has never been an instance cited of any district refusing to cooperate with the Federal Government when it came to a flood-control project for their particular district.

Mr. Speaker, we, individually, represent the people of our district, we represent our States. We are not here as Members of Congress representing the Federal Government. It is our duty to represent our States and to see that our States are protected in all the powers reserved to them under the Constitution of the United States.

When there is no emergency, no necessity, no compelling reason to give up the sovereign power of the States, I think the Congress is making a grave mistake in surrendering such rights. May I quote from what the President said several years ago?

It must be obvious that almost every new or old problem of gov-ernment must be solved, if it is to be solved to the satisfaction of the people of the whole country, by each State in its own way.

I quote further from what the President said:

The preservation of this home rule by the States is a fundamental The preservation of this nome rule by the States is a fundamental necessity if we are to remain a truly united country. The doctrine of regulation and legislation by master minds, in whose judgment and will all the people may gladly and quietly acquiesce, has been too glaringly apparent at Washington during the past 10 years.

I regret very much that this Congress was weak enough at a moment when there was no emergency to surrender the sovereign rights of States. We should not give up the priceless heritage that belongs to the various States.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that some way may be found to change this policy and that we will go back to the policy as enunciated in the Flood Control Act of 1936.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed for 5 additional minutes, if he wants more time.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman desire additional

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I would be glad to have additional time if any Member desires to ask any questions

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN]?

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EBERHARTER. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. May I ask the gentleman, if the Federal Government wished to condemn a site in his State or in the State of Missouri for a post-office building, or for the establishment of an Indian school, does the gentleman believe it is necessary, before the Government may procure the land on which to locate such building or institution, to have it get the consent of the State to do so? Has that ever been done in the history of our country?

Mr. EBERHARTER. In answer to the question asked by the gentleman, I say that so far as this flood-control proposition is concerned there was no necessity for the States to surrender their sovereign rights. The proposition of a post office is altogether different. We gave to the Federal Government the right to come in and take the natural resources of the States without even saying "How do you do" to the State authorities.

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. Does the gentleman know of any instance where a reservoir was constructed or a dam erected that the consent of the State was required before this was done, even prior to the passage of the 1938 act?

Mr. EBERHARTER. In actual practice before the passage of the 1938 act, the United States Army engineers collaborated with the State authorities of any State in which there was a flood-control project in contemplation. Under the provisions of the 1938 act that will not be necessary.

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. The Flood Control Act of 1936 provided for the construction of a reservoir in Missouri. Under this act the Federal Government was given power to condemn the land necessary for this reservoir. There was no requirement there for the consent of the State of Missouri.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Under the act of 1936? Mr. ZIMMERMAN. Yes. It was declared that flood control was a national emergency, that it was the duty of the Federal Government to assume the responsibility for it, and we gave the Federal Government the power to condemn these lands. There was no usurpation of State rights; there was nothing in the act that required the Government to get the consent of the States.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Will the gentleman admit that the act of 1938 gives to the Federal Government powers which it did not possess under the act of 1936?

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. Not at all. It has the same power to go in and condemn land, pay for it, and take full control. In connection with the New Madrid spillway, the Government went in and condemned land under the act of 1938 and, in some instances, took title to the land. There was no consent of Missouri or any other State required. What is the basis for the gentleman's contention?

Mr. EBERHARTER. The basis for the contention is that in previous acts the States were compelled to participate and were compelled to pay a certain share of the initial cost of the project. Under the 1938 act they are not compelled to do that. Previously, if the State did not wish to participate, or did not agree with the plans and specifications and the conclusions of the Engineering Department of the United States Army, there would be no flood-control project in the particular State. For these reasons the States did not surrender any of their sovereign rights.

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. To refresh the gentleman's memory, may I say that under the Flood Control Act of 1928 the New Madrid-Burns Point spillway was made a part of the lower Mississippi River project. The local interests did not contribute anything, neither did the States. The Federal Government went in there and condemned in the Federal courts, took the flowage rights, and in some instances condemned outright and took over complete title to those lands. Was that a violation of any State rights?

Mr. EBERHARTER. Did not the 1936 Act provide that there should be local contribution by the States? If so, then that dam was constructed contrary to the provisions of the 1936 act and the policy declared by that act of 1936.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. EBERHARTER. For a question.

Mr. RANKIN. The gentleman quoted from a statement of the President, but the gentleman's quotation would indicate that the President is opposed to the provisions in the Flood Control Act of 1938, of which the gentleman complains. The facts are that the President approved those amendments.

[Here the gavel fell.]

#### FLOOD CONTROL AND STATES' RIGHTS

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I detain the House to say a few words respecting flood control and States' rights in view of the statements of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Eberharter] and in view of the address and the correspondence embraced in the address of the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. Plumley] day before yesterday as they appear in the Record of Monday, January 16, 1939, beginning at page 528.

I oppose amending the Flood Control Act of 1938 to require local contribution for the construction of reservoirs. The gentleman from Vermont [Mr. Plumley] advocated no such amendment and apparently he, as well as the distinguished chief executive of Vermont, Governor Aiken, is satisfied with the provision for the Federal Government paying the entire costs of reservoirs for flood control.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. EBERHARTER] advocates local contribution, and the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. Plumley] pleads for an amendment to protect the alleged rights of the States.

Under the omnibus Flood Control Act of 1936 the local interests are required to furnish lands and rights-of-way for dams and reservoirs. There was an exception that reduced the local contribution, and it happens that the reductions in local contributions were applicable to Pennsylvania and New England and to no other sections of the country. A more liberal yardstick for local contribution obtained in the act of 1936 for Pennsylvania and for New England than for other areas. Whatever else may be said, the same yardstick applies under the Flood Control Act of 1938, sometimes called the Whittington bill.

The power of condemnation is not new and there is nothing novel about it. Generally, condemnation and consent are incompatible. Condemnation implies taking without consent, otherwise there could be no condemnation. Consent implies agreement. The power of eminent domain is vested in all governments—national, State, and local. Such a power is essential to their proper functioning. It is no answer to say that agreements are usually negotiated. The power is essential nevertheless.

Again, public-service corporations, including railways and utilities, are vested by all of the States in the Nation with the power to condemn. A consent is not essential. As a boy I recall a home taken, without the consent of the owner, by a railway company as a right-of-way, by eminent domain. I know of many homes condemned for rights-of-way for levees along the Mississippi River. Consent was not given. Only condemnation provided for the public work that was essential to protect the lives and property of the people.

The controversy as to States' rights properly raises the question as to whether or not a utility company in Vermont, Pennsylvania, or Mississippi, may have the power of eminent domain and that power be denied to the Federal Government in the exercise of a Federal function. To ask the question is to answer it.

I saw in the public press a few days ago where a distinguished Member of another body, Senator Austin, of Vermont, was credited with the statement that the Federal Government had never exercised the power of eminent domain without the consent of the State since 1841. The Senator evidently had in mind title 40, section 255 of the United States Code, first enacted in 1841. I quote:

No public money shall be expended upon any site or land purchased by the United States for the purpose of erecting thereon any armory, arsenal, fort, navy yard, customhouse, lighthouse, or

other public building of any kind whatever until the written opinion of the Attorney General shall be had on the validity of the title, nor until the consent of the legislature of the State in which the land or site may be, to such purchase, has been given.

Eminent domain was not authorized. This statute relates to purchase and purchase contemplates a voluntary agreement. My information is that the Post Office Department, and, for that matter, other departments of the Government follow the policy laid down in this statute. However, there is another statute that has been in force, certainly ever since 1888. This statute gives to the United States the power to condemn. It is title 40, section 257, and I quote:

In every case in which the Secretary of the Treasury, or any other officer of the Government has been or shall be authorized to procure real estate for the erection of a public building, or for other public uses, he shall be authorized to acquire the same for the United States by condemnation under judicial process whenever, in his opinion, it is necessary or advantageous to the Government to do so.

Nothing is said about consent. No consent is required. Under the Reclamation Act of June 17, 1902, title 43, section 421, the power to condemn was conferred upon the Secretary of the Interior. No consent of the State was required in reclamation projects. I am advised that in the past 35 years some 80 reservoirs have been constructed for reclamation and that some 35 are now in process in construction. No provision obtains in the law requiring the consent of the States for the construction of reclamation works.

#### RESERVOIR TITLES IN UNITED STATES

In all cases, as I now recall, where the Federal Government has borne the entire costs of the construction of reservoirs, the title to the reservoir is in the United States Government. This is the case in the Tennessee Valley, at Fort Peck, at Bonneville, at Grand Coulee, and at Boulder Canyon.

There is nothing new about title being vested in the United States. All public improvements made at the sole cost of the United States provide, as I recall, that the title shall be vested in the Federal Government. The title to land on which every public building and every post office is in the Federal Government. The title to all resettlement and farm security projects is in the United States; the title to forests is in the Government and in laws authorizing the enlargement of the national forests there is provision for condemnation. The consent of the States is not required.

I know of no statute providing for condemnation by the Federal Government or by a State or other legal subdivision that stipulates that such condemnation can only be exercised by consent. Consent and condemnation are incompatible.

The Secretary of War is authorized to condemn, under title 33 of section 591 of the United States Code "land and right-of-way needed to enable him to prosecute works for rivers and harbors." This statute has been in force since 1888; it was made applicable to flood control by the act of March 1, 1917, which is section 701 of title 33 of the United States Code. There is no requirement for consent in the exercise of eminent domain in river and harbor work and in flood-control work. The power to condemn has existed by statute for some 60 years. No requirement for consent obtains.

#### DAMS IN VERMONT

Under the National Industrial Recovery Act the President of the United States was given the power to condemn. This act provided for the Public Works Administration; it provided for the Civil Works Administration, subsequently the Works Progress Administration. Public works were authorized. River and harbor and flood-control improvements were authorized among others. The power to condemn contained no provision for consent of the States in which the projects obtained.

Many States established boards to cooperate with the Federal Government in the construction of public works. Among these was the State of Vermont. These boards were given the power to condemn and the power to transfer title to the Federal Government.

Substantially no dams for flood control have been constructed unless practically all of the costs have been paid by the Federal Government. One of the first States to

take advantage of the construction of public works to provide for unemployment under the National Industrial Recovery Act was the State of Vermont. I make reference to hearings before the Committee on Flood Control, March 30 to April 19, 1938, page 312. Three dams were constructed in the State of Vermont along the Winooski River; they were begun under the National Industrial Recovery Act. The power to condemn obtained. There was no protest on the part of Vermont when the Federal Government was providing for her unemployed; there was no protest when the Federal Government was paying substantially all of the costs of construction. Dams were built at East Barre, Wrightsville, and Waterbury. There were certain channel works. The total cost to the Federal Government was \$12,888,723. The cost to the local interests was \$435,831. There is no more occasion for controversy now with respect to the construction of flood-control dams under the act of 1938 than there was for the construction of the three dams mentioned along the Winooski River in Vermont under the National Industrial Recovery Act and the amendments thereto. But few if any States have received more generous treatment at the hands of the Federal Government than the State of Vermont in the construction of reservoirs for flood control.

#### CONSENT OF STATES UNNECESSARY

Congress has the power to pass flood-control legislation on navigable streams and their tributaries, to provide for navigation, to promote interstate commerce, to provide for the national defense, and for the general welfare. The States have delegated such powers to the Congress. The exercise of the power by Congress contemplates the power to pass legislation for the execution of the works, but the discussion of the academic power to condemn is wholly unnecessary for, as I have pointed out, the United States, by many statutes, has authorized practically all agencies of the Government to condemn lands when construction is provided. The consent of the State is not necessary. The question has been passed upon by the Supreme Court. Justice Brandeis rendered the decision. I quote from the case of Arizona against California that arose in connection with the construction of Boulder Dam:

The United States has power to construct a dam across a navigable river for the purpose of improving navigation, and need not first obtain approval of its plans by the State in which the dam is to be located even though this be expressly required of it by statute of the State. (283 U. S. p. 451).

#### STATES' RIGHTS IN VERMONT

I have read the correspondence placed in the RECORD, as I have stated, by the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. Plumley]. With deference, in my judgment, the controversy between the Governor and the Secretary of War is wholly unnecessary. A casual reading of the correspondence between the Secretary of War and the Governor of Vermont indicates that there was no occasion for the controversy. The Federal Government is ready to construct a reservoir for flood control; the funds are available; it has not sought to condemn; it has sought to acquire by purchase; it has indicated that it is agreeable to the board of public works in Vermont acquiring title and transferring it to the Government. There seems to be agreement that the State acquire and that the Federal Government, upon transfer, pay the costs of lands and easements. Governor Aiken, of Vermont, insists that a formal contract be executed. As shown by page 389 of the Record, the Secretary of War states that no formal contract is necessary and that he is ready to initiate the works under the agreement reached.

A further casual reading of the correspondence will indicate that the Governor of Vermont rather went out of his way to emphasize his opposition to the power to condemn contained in the Flood Control Act of 1938. I live in the lower Mississippi Valley. Ordinarily formal contracts between the Secretary of War and the local levee boards are not entered into. In a good many cases the Federal Government was authorized to condemn along the lower Mississippi River. In practice the local levee boards obtain title and transfer the title to the United States. Formal contracts were not necessary. If the Governor of Vermont had adopted the sug-

gestion contained in the letter of the Secretary of War dated January 5, 1939, the controversy respecting States' rights would never have been heard of. Flood-control works would be under construction in Vermont.

For years I have advocated national flood control at Federal expense. It is my matured view that reservoirs for flood control will not be constructed unless the Federal Government underwrites the costs of construction. The policy contained in the Flood Control Act of 1938 represents the culmination of my efforts for national flood control at national expense. The bill was carefully considered. The conference report passed the House almost unanimously; there were but 4 votes in opposition.

#### FEDERAL CONSTRUCTION REQUIRES THE POWER TO CONDEMN

As chairman of the Committee on Flood Control, I am interested in promoting flood control in all parts of our common country. As matters now stand the Governor of Vermont is responsible for the cessation of flood-control work in that State. He requested the General Assembly of Vermont to petition Congress to direct the Secretary of War to approve the proposed contract and to repeal the power to condemn contained in the Flood Control Act of 1938.

I have already stated that there is no occasion for a contract. The Federal Government will comply with the requirements of the act of 1938. The work is under the supervision of the Chief of Engineers; he has always dealt fairly with the States. I oppose the repeal of the power to condemn. The Governor did not request that Vermont be authorized to contribute. As I have stated, if the Federal Government is to pay, the Federal Government should be protected by having the power to condemn, if necessary.

Again, in a telegram to Representative Plumley, on page 390 of the Record, the Governor of Vermont urges at ratification of the New England compacts. These compacts were negotiated under the Flood Control Act of 1936. This act has been amended. There is no occasion for the compacts under existing law. Moreover, the compacts already authorized are inapplicable to existing law. I repeat, there is no occasion for compacts under the act of 1938.

## PURCHASE AND NOT CONDEMNATION THE POLICY

While the Federal Government must have the inherent power to condemn if the Federal Government is to construct, it has been the policy of the Federal Government to purchase and not to condemn. Ordinarily the Federal Government will not construct public works unless desired by the local interests. It has been the universal policy of the Corps of Engineers in river and harbor and flood-control work to cooperate with States and with local interests. It has been their policy to do no work where the local people opposed such works.

It is my view that it may be necessary to exercise the power to condemn where the benefits will be to a State in which the works are not located. Such a power is essential if the program is to be national.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. In just a moment I shall be glad to yield. For years I have advocated flood control as a national problem. I have stated that reservoirs would not be constructed unless the Federal Government assumed the entire costs. When the Committee on Flood Control reported the bill to the House in 1938 it provided for the payment of 70 percent of the costs of reservoirs by the Federal Government. I opposed enlarging the Federal contribution on the floor of the House in order to protect my committee and to protect the bill, for at that time we were afraid of a veto if the Federal contribution were increased.

There were extensive hearings. Representatives from all parts of the country were heard. Among others, Governor Aiken, of Vermont, appeared. He was heard at length and his views were given careful consideration. Representatives from Oklahoma, from Texas, from Colorado were heard; in fact, advocates of flood control from Boston to Los Angeles and from Portland to Savannah appeared before the committee.

The Senate amended the bill so as to provide for the Federal Government paying the entire costs of reservoirs. The conference report agreed to the amendment. I advocated the approval of the conference report because I was advised that the bill would be approved.

The controversy precipitated by the Governor of Vermont, that will deprive Connecticut and Massachusetts and splendid cities in the lower reaches of the Connecticut River of adequate flood control that has been authorized by Congress, is most unfortunate. [Applause.]

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. In just a moment I will be pleased to yield.

The Federal statute first passed in 1841 authorizing purchase by agreement and with the consent of the State had a definite purpose. The matter of States' rights was not preeminent or specially involved. Under the Federal Constitution, without the consent of the State lands purchased by agreement would not be subject to Federal jurisdiction. Congress authorized the purchase by agreement in order to provide jurisdiction. Such, however, is not the case with respect to the power of eminent domain. If the Federal agency is vested with the power of eminent domain, the consent of the State is not necessary for the exercise of Federal supervision.

I have before me the correspondence between the Secretary of War and the Governor of Vermont inserted in the Record, as I have stated, by the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. Plumley]. I regret exceedingly that the controversy has arisen. It will result in delay in the construction of flood-control works; it is wholly unnecessary; a formal contract is not required.

In every instance the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers have lived up to their agreement. In every case they have complied with the Federal law. Such will continue to be their policy.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Mississippi may proceed for 10 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Rankin). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. There has been much said about States' rights. I have before me, as I have stated, the statements inserted in the RECORD by the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. Plumley] respecting the correspondence between the War Department and the Governor of Vermont, and I may say, with all deference, there is no occasion for delay in construction. There is no occasion for controversy. The power given to condemn in the act of 1938 is the power that has been exercised or has been possessed by the Chief of Engineers for 40 years in river and harbor work. It is a power he has had since 1917 in flood-control work. It is a power that has been given to every agency of the Government that has been authorized to improve for Federal purposes from almost time immemorial, and under this power there have been constructed in the West 80 dams and reservoirs for reclamation and, possibly, in some cases for flood control. The Boulder Dam was constructed, the Parker Dam was constructed, the Bonneville Dam was constructed, and all the dams and reservoirs that have been built in the Tennessee Valley were constructed under a similar power. So there is nothing new or novel involved.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. WHITTINGTON. In just a moment.

There is nothing new or novel involved in the power of condemnation in the execution of flood-control projects as vested in the Corps of Engineers. It is not the policy of the Post Office Department to condemn for post-office sites. They undertake to negotiate. It is not the policy of the Bureau of Reclamation to condemn for reclamation sites.

They undertake to negotiate, but the power is vested in the Federal agency nevertheless, because there might be some individual who would undertake to obstruct and prevent the construction of a worthy project. That power remains for Federal purposes.

I respectfully submit that in the correspondence between the Governor of Vermont and the Secretary of War there should not be any delay and there is no occasion for controversy. Nothing remains except for Vermont to cooperate.

The Governor of Vermont recommended to his legislature—and I read from his address to the legislature—that the Congress of the United States be petitioned to approve the proposed contract between the State of Vermont and the Federal Government. There was no occasion for formal contracts. The Government of the United States has expended hundreds of millions of dollars over a period of years. It has been by correspondence and by agreement. Formal contracts were not executed.

I reside on the lower Mississippi River. I know something about flood-control works. The plan that has been suggested by the Secretary of War is the policy that has been pursued in flood-control works, as I have stated.

A casual reading of this correspondence indicates, with all deference, that the Governor of Vermont complained and found fault with this legislation, as does my colleague from Pennsylvania. He began talking about States' rights. He manifested a political attitude at the beginning, but Secretary Woodring, in his letter of January 5, said that he would gladly cooperate with him, that he would accept the good offices of the public works board in Vermont, that he had no desire to condemn, and that they would pay Vermont just as they had paid other agencies the reasonable value of the lands and of the flowage rights.

So as to the first recommendation of the Governor to his legislature to petition Congress to approve the contract between Vermont and the Federal Government, if such a contract were unnecessary, when Vermont under a similar statute got three dams built at a cost of \$13,000,000 to the Federal Government and contributed only about \$400,000, it is unnecessary now. There was identical or similar language for condemnation in the National Recovery Act. The power was not exercised then, as it is not to be exercised now.

The Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers say that they stand ready to pay the reasonable value of the lands and proceed with construction.

The petition states:

Secondly, that the Congress of the United States repeal the unfair and unjust amendments to the Flood Control Act authorizing condemnation.

If the Federal Government is to pay, as was said by every Member of this body, save four, last session for the entire cost of reservoirs for flood control, I respectfully submit it is not anything but sound and just that the Federal Government should have the power to execute that program and to obtain the lands and the flowage rights necessary to enable the Government to construct those works by condemnation if unable to purchase.

As I have stated—and for the benefit of Members who have come in since I began my remarks—in a telegram inserted in the Record by the Governor of Vermont to the Representative from Vermont [Mr. Plumley] he suggested that the compacts entered into in 1937 among the New England States be ratified by the Congress. The law has been changed. Those compacts would be null and void. There is no occasion for any compact; none is necessary. There is no more occasion for compacts than for compacts to authorize Congress to construct Fort Peck Dam or Parker Dam.

Something has been said about the illegality of condemnation without the permission of the State. If the Governor of Vermont, as I have stated, will refer to Two Hundred and Eighty-third United States Reports, page 521, a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, rendered by Mr. Justice Brandeis, in the controversy between California and Arizona growing out of the construction of Boulder Dam, he

will find that the Supreme Court of the United States in exact

The United States has the power to construct a dam across a navigable river-

And that means tributaries of a navigable river-

for the purpose of improving navigation, and need not first obtain the approval of its plans by the State in which the dam is to be located, even though this be expressly required by a statute of the

It is unnecessary for a State to agree. As a matter of policy the Chief of Engineers executing the river and harbor and flood-control works has very seldom, if ever, exercised the power of eminent domain, but he has had the power, and he has the power. If the Federal Government is to pay the cost, as every Member of this body save four said it should pay the cost, then it must follow that the Government of the United States should protect itself by having the power to condemn in the event of not being able to purchase.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Yes.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Did the Flood Control Committee of the House when it reported the 1938 bill have in it a provision that the Federal Government should pay the entire cost?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. If the gentleman listened to what I said he would know that that bill was reported to the House providing that the Federal Government should pay 70 percent of the cost of reservoirs. The Senate amended it and said that if we are authorized to pay 70 percent there is no reason why we should not pay 100 percent.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. The gentleman has referred to the correspondence between the Governor of Vermont and the Secretary of War which the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. PLUM-LEY | placed in the RECORD, I believe, Monday. Is it the opinion of the gentleman from reading that correspondence that there has been any arbitrary exercise of the control given to the Secretary of War in the 1938 act, as evidenced by that correspondence?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I think a casual reading would be a complete answer to that statement. There never has been a suggestion that the Federal Government wanted to condemn. The Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers have never said a thing on earth except that they were ready to pay the reasonable values of the land, and they offered to let the Board of Public Works of Vermont undertake to cooperate and secure those values and reimburse them for it.

Mr. HEALEY. And to use the agencies of the State itself in acquiring the land.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Absolutely. There has been no question about invading the rights of Vermont.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Yes.

Mr. GIFFORD. I am interested in whether the gentleman is attempting to prove, because there has been no violation of a principle, that there is no principle involved. Does the gentleman attempt to ridicule five Governors of the New England States because they do actually say a principle is involved? Is there not a principle involved?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I have not ridiculed anybody. I have stated the facts with reference to the United States having the power to condemn. I have said that since 1888 the Federal Government has had the power to condemn under title 33, section 591, for river and harbor works. It has the power to condemn for flood-control works, and it has the power to condemn without the consent of the State in that case or any other case for public works. Thirty-five dams are now being constructed and 80 have already been built under power to condemn without the consent of the State for reclamation purposes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has again expired.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed for 5 minutes more.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. And, Mr. Speaker, I ask that the gentleman be granted 5 minutes more, because I want to ask him some questions.

Mr. GIFFORD. There is no lack of suspicion that there is something more than flood control in the matter, something behind it as the gentleman knows. The gentleman has not touched that subject. The gentleman has heard of a power project following as a consequence.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Oh, yes; I have heard more talk and seen less power in New England than almost any other part of the country. You have more politics and less power along the river where the proposed dam is to be constructed than along other rivers in the United States.

Mr. GIFFORD. Will you let me inject something more?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. But I want to answer the gentleman's question.

Mr. GIFFORD. This may seem to the gentleman foolish, but one man said to the other he had the homeliest wife in the world, and the man licked him for it, and then somebody suggested, "Why, you have no wife, anway; why did you do it?" "I did it for the principle of the thing." [Laughter.]

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I never talk about another man's wife. [Laughter.]

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. The gentleman knows how tremendously interested in flood control I am. I deeply appreciate the courteous hearing he gave me at various times. I feel if we do not have it in my district—the Merrimack Valley-we will lose the industries we now have, and no new industries will come there. Will the gentleman answer me. as an engineering fact, is it not true that if dams are built for power there is much less flood control? We all read in the papers about a dam in the West that was built for power, and they had a flood, and as the dam was full, the floodwaters flowed over and flooded the whole territory.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. If there is to be a dam for both power and flood control, it will be generally a much more expensive dam than a dam for flood control alone.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. And also you do not get the protection from floods if you have power there?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. If you use the same reservoir for both purposes, that is true. In order to have flood control you must have an empty reservoir. If you provide for power. you will have to have a pool, or constant head, and additional storage for floodwaters.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I hope the gentleman will work out some plan.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. WHITTINGTON. I yield to the majority leader.

Mr. RAYBURN. When they build a dam where it is possible to generate power they always design the dam so that the power may be generated and yet the biggest flood taken care of also?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. In the Flood Control Act that we passed in 1938 with only four votes in opposition we made just such provision.

Mr. RAYBURN. Exactly. Now, another thing which I direct to the attention of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gifford], is not New England really a strange place for the doctrine of States' rights to be propounded? [Laughter.]

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I may say in answer to that question that the State of Mississippi, honoring Jefferson Davis as it does, stands for States' rights as much as any State in the Union, but I undertake to say further that we do not stand for States' rights in the guise of obstructing necessary public improvements for political purposes. [Applause.]

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gen-

tleman yield?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I yield.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. The gentleman mentions political purposes, but is it not a fact that in the New England compact, the compact was approved by the four New England legislatures and four New England Governors, both Democratic and Republican?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. That is ancient history, so to speak. Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. No; it is only recent history.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I have answered the question. I say that is ancient history as far as that compact is concerned, because that compact was negotiated under the act of 1936, and that act has been amended as to local contribution, and the compacts are no longer applicable.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Is it not true that the gentleman himself opposed the amendment last year?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I will be glad to answer you. I have nothing to conceal. I protected the bill as it was reported by my committee. In making that report I got the very best concession possible from the administration. I stated on the floor of the House, and I stated repeatedly in other parts of the country, that I stood for national flood control at national expense, and the first time we got reservoirs at Federal expense I embraced it. I cooperated with the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack] and others who introduced such bills.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time may be extended 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I yield.

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. I will ask the distinguished chairman of the Flood Control Committee if last year, when we were considering this bill, we did not haggle for days over the amount of contribution which the Government would make, seeking to raise it to the highest possible amount?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Without undertaking to disclose the deliberations of the committee, I answer the gentleman by saying that we reported the most liberal bill that we thought would secure approval at the time we reported it.

Mr. ELLIS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I yield.

Mr. ELLIS. There has been much said by the gentleman from Pennsylvania and the gentleman from Vermont about amendments. Is it not true that the President did approve those amendments last year?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. He signed the bill.

Mr. ELLIS. And is it not true that he did approve them before they went into the bill?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I am not authorized to say. He signed the bill afterward. I understood they were satisfactory to him.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I yield.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Does not the gentleman feel that if we are to have a real, effective national program of flood control, in view of the fact that dams are frequently built in one section for the protection of other sections, it is absolutely essential, from a national standpoint, that we have a program such as the gentleman has been advocating, so that you have in the Federal agency an opportunity to prosecute a consistent program for the benefit of the maximum number of people?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. The dams to be constructed in Vermont are for the benefit of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Without this power there might not be an opportunity for the Federal Government to exercise that function. Human nature is very much the same everywhere. The county that is far up the stream has got to sacrifice in order to protect the counties farther down. The power of eminent domain is absolutely imperative if flood-control reservoirs are to be constructed, because, even as between and among counties,

there will not be consent by the counties in the upper stretches of the stream for the protection of the counties below. The State must have the power of eminent domain, and so must the Federal Government.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I yield.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I may advise the gentleman at this time, particularly in view of the specific controversy, that if Vermont does not want the money the Federal Government offers them for control, the Nineteenth District of California would appreciate it, or any portion the people of Vermont do not want.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. The controversy is just this: The Governor of the State of Vermont says, as shown by this record, "I want you to sign a contract." The Secretary of War says, "Here is your money. It is not necessary to sign a contract. Here is your money. I am ready to go to work." But the Governor refuses to cooperate.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I tell my colleague that we would gladly take the money without requiring the Government to sign a

contract.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I yield.

Mr. EBERHARTER. The gentleman is familiar with every flood-control project in the Nation. As long as the subject of power has come up, I would like to know whether or not the gentleman is familiar with surveys made by the United States Army engineers and by Pennsylvania experts indicating that there is no possibility of any development of a plan which would generate hydroelectric power in the State of Pennsylvania?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I have not discussed power, but have discussed flood control. There should not be any conflict. I am talking about the Flood Control Act of 1938. The projects were authorized primarily for flood control. I am saying that I oppose the amendment by the gentleman this afternoon requiring local contributions for reservoirs. I am saying that if the gentleman's proposition were to be approved by Congress there would never be any reservoirs for flood control. I oppose the proposition advanced by the gentleman.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Is it not true that under the act of 1936 and others dealing with flood control, in the western part of the State of Pennsylvania a number of dams were

under construction?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I stated that Pennsylvania was one of the exceptions, that there the costs of the lands and damages far exceeded the cost of the dam itself. The gentleman will recall that there was a smaller proportion of local contribution in his State than in many of the others, except in New England. So we decided to modify the act and provide for the construction of flood-control reservoirs at Federal expense, making the same yardstick apply to all.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I am in an unfortunate situation, for there is no reservoir in our own State of Massachusetts that can in any way assist us in flood control of the Merrimack River. I have the second largest district in the State. In the last 2 years we have had two major floods, two freshets, and high water every single month. My people have suffered terribly, and it seems they will continue to suffer because the States of Vermont and New Hampshire and the Federal Government cannot get together. It seems so unfair that we have to be penalized because the other States will not go along. It is absolutely cruel for the administration to withhold from us money for flood protection because these States and the administration cannot get together as to power and other rights.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I will gladly answer the gentlewoman's question. The act of 1938 providing that the Federal Government pay the entire cost of the reservoirs was not approved by the President until after the Congress adjourned. The great flood came along in the fall of 1938. Necessarily there had been no appropriation. My information is, however, that the President set aside something like \$11,000,000 or \$13,000,000, largely out of relief and emergency funds, to provide for the local protective works and to begin the construction of reservoirs along the tributaries of the Connecticut and the Merrimack Rivers. My further information is that the procedure was adopted that had been adopted for the construction of other dams and reservoirs by the Corps of Engineers in other places and just as the Corps of Engineers had been proceeding for 40 years under the power to condemn.

I answer by saying that the President of the United States went out of his way to provide \$11,000,000—perhaps \$13,-000,000—in order to protect the people of Massachusetts and New England. In all sincerity, there is no good reason, in my judgment, for the controversy to have arisen, because the State of Vermont—and I now read from the record—the State of Vermont contributed \$435,831, and the Federal Government contributed \$12,888,723 for the construction of three reservoirs under the National Industrial Recovery Act and amendments thereto, and the act contained substantially the same provisions that Congress laid down in the

Flood Control Act of 1938.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. May I put the question in another way, because that really does not answer the question?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. It may not to suit the gentlewoman,

but it does give the facts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts It does not give me all the information I ask. May I ask, does not the gentleman feel we should have local flood protection, if we cannot get the reservoirs? The gentleman realizes I am absolutely helpless to do anything under the circumstances.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I think all the dams and other protective works in Massachusetts should be constructed.

Mr. HEALEY. The Federal Government is now ready to pursue a permanent policy in reference to flood control for all the New England States and it has made provision for that?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. It passed the law and the money is available. Only the cooperation of Vermont and other States is needed. The Federal Government has done its part.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. The gentleman injects politics into this matter. We of New England do not feel it is a political matter. May I inform the gentleman that the senior Senator from Massachusetts, and the only Democratic Senator, has opposed this provision and is seeking an amendment to the 1938 Flood Control Act?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I trust the Senator will be able to agree with the views I advocate. I have not injected politics. I urge flood protection and I insist that politics be eliminated.

Mr. GIFFORD. If the gentleman will yield, apropos of the House leader's suggestion, it is so strange that his State should be pleading for State rights. The strangeness of it all is the total abandonment of every one of those States that formerly looked after their State rights.

Mr. RAYBURN. Not all of them.

Mr. GIFFORD. Yes.

Mr. RAYBURN. The gentleman from Mississippi gave a very complete answer with reference to our stand in State rights. We stood for that as long as there was any reason to, and we stand for it today when it does not stand in the way of progress and the doing of things that ought to be done.

Mr. GIFFORD. My statement stands.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I have listened to the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Whittington] with interest and appreciation. I wish to congratulate him on his able discussion of the question of State's rights in connection with Federal flood-control and similar projects.

What he has said applies well to some current opposition to construction of a dam on Red River in Oklahoma and Texas which the Congress authorized last year, a part of which will be in the district I represent and a part in the district of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN], the able majority leader of the House.

Last week the new Governor of Oklahoma, Hon. Leon C. Phillips, devoted a large part of his inaugural address to opposition to this proposed dam near Denison, Tex., and Durant, Okla. He has evidently been greatly misinformed. I had expected to make some remarks on this subject in the House and discuss that part of Governor Phillips' address referring to the Red River Dam, but the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Whittington] has answered my Governor's arguments completely, and I thank him very much.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I conclude by saying that the policy adopted in the Flood Control Act of 1938 provides for the construction of the reservoirs authorized in that act. No reservoirs for flood control, except the few in Vermont and other States where there were substantially no local contributions, and except proposed reservoirs protecting the wealthy city of Pittsburgh, have been constructed in any part of the country. Such reservoirs will not be constructed unless the Federal Government pays the cost. The local interests in one State or in one county will not construct reservoirs that will protect people and property in another State or in another county. If the United States is to pay the costs of reservoirs for flood control the Treasury of the United States should be protected by giving to the Secretary of War the power to condemn. Under the terms of the act of 1938 the Chief of Engineers is authorized to select the reservoirs for the several basins. If reservoirs are not desired in any State they will not be constructed. In the future as in the past wherever possible purchase and not condemnation will obtain, but the power of condemnation will aid the power of purchase. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. CANNON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein a statement made by myself on Friday, January 13, 1939.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks in the Record and to include certain figures therein.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks in the Record and to include excerpts from certain United States statutes with respect to condemnation, to which I referred in my remarks this afternoon.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

## LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. Keogh, on account of death of his father.

To Mr. Gibes (at the request of Mr. Peterson of Georgia), for remainder of the week, on account of official business.

To Mr. Plumley, for 2 days, on account of official business. Mr. CARTWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, due to the death of his father, the gentleman from Oklahoma, Mr. Nichols, requests leave of absence until he can return.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

## ADJOURNMENT

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, January 19, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

## COMMITTEE HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, at 10 a.m. Tuesday, January 24, 1939. Business to be considered: Hearing on H. R. 2531—transportation bill. Commissioner Splawn, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, is expected to be the first witness.

#### COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Public hearings will begin Wednesday morning, February 1, 1939, at 10 a.m., on social security legislation, in the Ways and Means committee room of the New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

# EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

282. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated December 28, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on reexamination of Royal River, Maine, requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted February 17, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

283. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated January 3, 1939, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on reexamination of Missouri River at and above Sioux City, Iowa, requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted January 29, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

284. A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1921, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

285. A letter from the Acting Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, concerning Federal-aid work of the Bureau of Public Roads; to the Committee on Roads.

286. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, dated January 13, 1939, forwarding statements of cost of manufacture at the armory and arsenals named therein for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

287. A letter from the Administrator of the Department of Labor, transmitting the informal interim report of the Wage Hour Division of the Fair Labor Standards Act for the period August 15 to December 31, 1938; to the Committee on Labor.

288. A letter from the president of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, transmitting a report submitted by a board of survey of the District of Columbia water system; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

289. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a report of activities of the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 986); to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

290. A letter from the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, transmitting a report on the subject of whether or not any new wire or radio communication legislation is required better to insure safety of life and property; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

291. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to repeal the act of May 6, 1910 (36 Stat. 348); to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

292. A letter from the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend the act entitled "An act to establish a Civilian Conservation Corps, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Labor.

293. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to define the status of certain lands purchased for the Choctaw Indians, Mississippi; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

## PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CELLER:

H. R. 2714. A bill to repeal the Miller-Tydings Resale Price Maintenance Act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2715. A bill to create an Interracial Industrial Commission; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2716. A bill for the better assurance of the protection of persons within the several States from mob violence and lynching, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## By Mr. COCHRAN:

H. R. 2717. A bill to repeal sections 3744, as amended, 3745, 3746, and 3747 of the Revised Statutes; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. OLIVER:

H. R. 2718. A bill authorizing an appropriation for full payment of the approved schedules of prices for salvaged timber products purchased or to be purchased by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, Northeastern Timber Salvage Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

## By Mr. LEAVY:

H.R. 2719. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products; to prevent unfair competition; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to promote the general welfare by assuring an abundant and permanent supply of such products by securing to the producers a minimum price of not less than the cost of production, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BARRY:

H. R. 2720. A bill to authorize the purchase of certain pictures by William E. Norton; to the Committee on the Library. By Mr. CELLER:

H. R. 2721. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to construct and maintain a Government radio-broadcasting station; authorizing the United States Commissioner of Education to provide programs of national and international interest; making necessary appropriations for the construction, maintenance, and operation of the station and production of programs therefor; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 2722. A bill to assure to certain aliens legal admission for permanent residence within the United States; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 2723. A bill relative to jury trials in cases of maritime jurisdiction; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McGRANERY:

H. R. 2724. A bill for the better assurance of the protection of persons within the several States from mob violence and lynching, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## By Mr. RANKIN:

H.R. 2725 (by request). A bill to provide benefits to certain veterans and to the dependents of certain veterans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 2726. A bill to provide pensions for the needy widows and orphans and for the needy mothers and fathers of deceased World War veterans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

# By Mr. SATTERFIELD:

H.R. 2727. A bill to confer jurisdiction upon United States commissioners to try certain criminal cases, and to provide for their compensation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

H.R. 2728. A bill to add certain lands to the Cleveland National Forest in Orange County, Calif.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. STEFAN:

H. R. 2729. A bill to amend an act approved December 17, 1928, entitled "An act conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, examine, adjudicate, and enter judgment thereon in claims which the Winnebago Tribe of Indians may have against the United States, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia:

H. R. 2730. A bill to permit the President to acquire and convert, as well as to construct, certain auxiliary vessels for the Navy: to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 2731. A bill to authorize alterations and repairs to certain naval vessels, and for other purposes; to the Commit-

tee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 2732. A bill to provide for a further reduction in the excessive supply of cotton grown in the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. VOORHIS of California:

- H. R. 2733. A bill to provide a pension of \$60 per month to any war veteran so permanently disabled as to be unable to earn a living by the performance of manual labor, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 2734. A bill to provide for a statutory award of \$10 per month to any World War veteran who was wounded, gassed, injured, or disabled by an instrumentality of war in a zone of hostilities, and for other purposes; to the Committee

on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 2735. A bill to provide that the compensation or pension of service-connected disabled veterans shall be increased by 10 percent of the basic amounts payable for each 5 years of age beginning with fortieth birthday, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. WELCH:

H. R. 2736. A bill to amend the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, section 301 (a), paragraph (3); to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. CLASON:

H. R. 2737. A bill to establish the Federal Youth Service for the purpose of fostering the useful and gainful employment of post-school youths; to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. PIERCE of Oregon:

H. R. 2738. A bill providing for the disposition of certain Klamath Indian tribal funds; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. McGEHEE:

H. R. 2739. A bill to aid in furnishing training in flying at the several land-grant colleges, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ALEXANDER:

H. R. 2740. A bill to prevent the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PEARSON:

H. R. 2741. A bill to amend the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933 (Public, No. 17, 73d Cong., U. S. C., 1934 edition, title 16, sec. 8311), providing that a portion of the taxes to be paid by the Tennessee Valley Authority on its gross sales of power in the States of Tennessee and Alabama shall be paid to certain counties in the State of Tennessee; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MAY:

H. R. 2742 (by request). A bill to authorize the transfer to the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Treasury of portions of the property within the military reservation known as the Morehead City Target Range, N. C., for the construction of improvements thereon, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CLAYPOOL:

H. R. 2743. A bill to provide that the widow of a veteran otherwise entitled to pension shall be entitled thereto if she was married to and living with the veteran for 3 years immediately preceding his death, or she gave birth to a child by the veteran; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 2744. A bill to provide that any 90-day honorably discharged war veteran suffering with any non-service-connected permanent total disability shall be eligible for pension, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 2745. A bill to provide increases of pensions payable to the dependent widows and orphans, and to provide pensions to the dependent mothers and fathers of deceased World War veterans who at time of death were suffering with service-connected disabilities of 10 percent or more in degree, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. PACE:

H.R. 2746. A bill to authorize the erection of a United States Veterans' Administration hospital for the southwest section of Georgia; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 2747. A bill relative to annual labor on mineral claims in the Territory of Alaska; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

H. R. 2748. A bill to authorize the Postmaster General to contract for certain powerboat service in Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. RANKIN:

H.R. 2749. A bill for the development and improvement of navigation, sanitation, water supply, recreation, transportation, and of electric power on the Potomac River and its tributaries; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. COCHRAN:

H.R. 2750. A bill to prohibit the issuance and coinage of certain commemorative coins, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

H.R. 2751 (by request). A bill to repeal sections 3711, 3712, and 3713 of the Revised Statutes which relate to the purchase in the District of Columbia of coal and wood for public use, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. LEAVY:

H.R. 2752. A bill to include within the Kaniksu National Forest certain lands owned or in course of acquisition by the United States; to the Committee on the Public Lands-

By Mr. VOORHIS of California:

H.R. 2753. A bill to extend the benefits of the Social Security Act to include individuals who are physically disabled; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H.R. 2754. A bill to provide for financing certain self-liquidating public works, to provide additional facilities for the national defense, to aid in the relief of unemployment, to stimulate business recovery, to promote the public safety, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. FERNANDEZ:

H. R. 2755. A bill to provide for the examination and survey of Lake Pontchartrain, New Orleans, La.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. CHANDLER:

H.R. 2756. A bill to change the name of Pickwick Landing Dam to McKellar Dam; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WELCH:

H. R. 2757. A bill to provide for the acquisition of drydock facilities for the Navy, on San Francisco Bay, and to authorize the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. COCHRAN:

H.R. 2758. A bill to provide for the payment of interment expenses of Federal officers and employees dying abroad and transportation expenses to the United States of the remains, families, and effects of such officers and employees; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. YOUNGDAHL:

H. R. 2759. A bill to amend paragraph (1) of section 4 of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended February 28, 1920 (U. S. C., title 49, sec. 4); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. McREYNOLDS:

H.R. 2760. A bill to extend the facilities of the Public Health Service to active officers of the Foreign Service of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri:

H. R. 2761. A bill to diminish the causes of labor disputes burdening or obstructing interstate and foreign commerce, to create a National Labor Relations Board, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. DOUGHTON:

H. R. 2762. A bill to consolidate and codify the internalrevenue laws of the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WEST:

H.R. 2763. A bill to amend paragraph 1606 of the Tariff Act of 1930; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SCHAEFER of Illinois:

H. R. 2764. A bill to authorize the construction of a fill along the Illinois shore of the pool of lock and dam No. 26 at Alton, Ill., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. LESINSKI:

H. R. 2765. A bill to remove discriminations against disabled retired enlisted men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard who served in war; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LEMKE:

H. R. 2766. A bill to provide for the purchase and sale of farm products; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H.R. 2767. A bill to improve the facilities for transcontinental motor transportation; to provide additional facilities for the national defense; to aid in the relief of unemployment; to promote the public safety; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. GERLACH:

H. R. 2768. A bill to authorize a preliminary examination and survey of the Neshaminy Creek, Bucks County, in the State of Pennsylvania, for flood control, for run-off and water-flow retardation, and for soil-erosion prevention; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. DARDEN:

H. R. 2769. A bill providing for the acquisition of additional lands for the naval air station at Hampton Roads Naval Operating Base, Norfolk, Va.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. GUYER of Kansas:

H.R. 2770. A bill for the relief of veterans of the World War to whom adjusted-service certificates were issued on erroneous certifications of service and from whom recovery is demanded for sums advanced on such adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GRANT of Alabama:

H. R. 2771. A bill to provide that a veteran's compensation, pension, or retirement pay shall not be reduced during first 90 days of his hospitalization or domiciliary care, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 2772. A bill to provide that veterans now receiving compensation for certain so-called presumptive disabilities equivalent to 75 percent of the amount to which they were previously entitled shall henceforth have such compensation restored to 100 percent thereof, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 2773. A bill to increase the pensions payable to the widows and orphans of World War veterans who die by reason of service-connected disabilities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 2774. A bill to provide for adjudication of any claim for compensation, pension, or retirement pay upon evidence

in file at time of death of the veteran; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. O'CONNOR:

H. R. 2775. A bill authorizing the Arapahoe and Cheyenne Indians to submit claims to the Court of Claims, and for other

purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H.R. 2776. A bill conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, examine, adjudicate, and enter judgment in any claims which the Assiniboine Indians may have against the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 2777. A bill to credit certain Indian tribes with sums heretofore expended from tribal funds on Indian irrigation works; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. SNYDER:

H. R. 2778. A bill to defray the cost of travel and transportation of household effects of Government employees transferred other than by their own request, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. WOLCOTT:

H.R. 2779. A bill to authorize a preliminary examination and survey of the Clinton River and its tributaries in the State of Michigan for flood control, for run-off and water-flow retardation, and for soil-erosion prevention; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. MAY:

H. R. 2780. A bill to provide more effectively for the national defense by increasing the number of aircraft authorized to be procured and maintained; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H.R. 2781. A bill to provide that Government life-insurance policies shall be incontestable after 2 years, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 2782. A bill to provide for reduction of interest on Government life-insurance policy loans from 6 percent to 5 percent per annum, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 2783. A bill to provide that persons in the armed forces of the United States may take out Government life-insurance policies at any time during their active service therein, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. ELLIS:

H.R. 2784. A bill to provide for the flood control and to improve the navigability of the White River; to provide for the development of electric power; to provide for the agricultural and industrial development of the White River Valley; to provide for reforestation and the proper use of marginal lands in said valley; to provide for the national defense by the creation of a corporation for the operation of Government properties therein; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. COSTELLO:

H. R. 2785. A bill to repeal section 38 of the act of February 2, 1901; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. O'CONNOR:

H.R. 2786. A bill to provide for the erection of a public historical museum in the Custer Battlefield National Cemetery, Mont.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FISH:

H. J. Res. 113. Joint resolution to prohibit the shipment of arms, ammunition, and implements of war from any place in the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. McREYNOLDS:

H. J. Res. 114. Joint resolution authorizing appropriation for expenses of a representative of the United States and of his assistants, and for one-half of the joint expenses of this Government and the Government of Mexico, in giving effect to the agreement of November 9–12, 1938, between the two Governments providing for the settlement of American claims for damages resulting from expropriations of agrarian

properties since August 30, 1927; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H. J. Res. 115. Joint resolution creating a Superhighways Commission; to the Committee on Roads.

H. J. Res. 116. Joint resolution creating a Transcontinental Superhighways Commission; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. O'CONNOR:

H. J. Res. 117. Joint resolution to amend the act of July 3, 1926, entitled "An act conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, examine, adjudicate, and render judgment in claims which the Crow Tribe of Indians may have against the United States, and for other purposes" (44 Stat. L. 807); to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. SHANLEY:

H. J. Res. 118. Joint resolution exempting 200-ton vessels from the provisions of the International Labor Treaty, draft No. 53; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. By Mr. LEMKE:

H. Res. 59. Resolution amending section 4, of rule XXVII of the rules adopted as the rules of the Seventy-fourth Congress; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. COCHRAN:

H. Res. 60. Resolution authorizing the continuation of the Select Committee on Government Organization; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. SHANLEY:

H. Res. 61. Resolution requesting the Speaker to appoint a committee of five Members of the House of Representatives to properly observe the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the first meeting of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANDERSON of California:

H. R. 2787. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Florence D. Marx-Greene; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BROWN of Ohio:

H. R. 2788. A bill granting a pension to Frederika Bushong; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BROOKS:

H. R. 2789. A bill for the relief of Peavy Byrnes Lumber Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BYRNE of New York:

H. R. 2790. A bill for the relief of Steve Soulis; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CANNON of Florida:

H. R. 2791. A bill for the relief of Earl J. Reed and Giles J. Gentry; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CELLER:

H.R. 2792. A bill for the relief of Cristofaro Sapienza; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. CLAYPOOL:

H. R. 2793. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eliza Cook: to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 2794. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Shelton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2795. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ellen J. Vince; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 2796. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Baker: to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2797. A bill granting an increase of pension to Jeanette Wallace; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2798. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eliza Noble; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2799. A bill granting an increase of pension to Martha Buckingham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2800. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth B. Orndurf; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2801. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Foughty; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2802. A bill granting an increase of pension to Bertie L. Santee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 2803. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Swick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2804. A bill granting an increase of pension to Alwilda Ray; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2805. A bill granting an increase of pension to Flora Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2806. A bill granting an increase of pension to Clara Collins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2807. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emma Turner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2808. A bill granting an increase of pension to Martha McGraw; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2809. A bill granting an increase of pension to Delilah Coffman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2810. A bill granting an increase of pension to Julia A. Hull; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2811. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Devol; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2812. A bill granting an increase of pension to Augusta Lambert; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2813. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary Briggs; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 2814. A bill for the relief of A. R. Wickham; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 2815. A bill granting a pension to Mamie G. Poindexter; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2816. A bill granting a pension to Edith Pyle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2817. A bill granting a pension to Norma Roush; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2818. A bill granting a pension to Mary Emma Bussard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2819. A bill granting a pension to Debbie Klingler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2820. A bill granting a pension to Emma Blosser; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2821. A bill granting a pension to Amanda Hart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2822. A bill granting a pension to Willard Fulk; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2823. A bill granting a pension to Stella Littlejohn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2824. A bill granting a pension to Corda Nichols; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2825. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Poling; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2826. A bill granting a pension to Hazel M. Beeman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2827. A bill granting a pension to Anna B. Friel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2828. A bill to amend certain records of the Department of the Navy, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. CLEVENGER:

H. R. 2829. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eliza Jane Miley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DARDEN:

H. R. 2830. A bill to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claims of the persons named in this act for overtime service in the Norfolk (Va.) Navy Yard, Portsmouth, Va., between the years 1878 and 1882; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DUNCAN:

H. R. 2831. A bill granting a pension to Edna A. Cole; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DOUGHTON:

H. R. 2832. A bill for the relief of John T. Dula; to the Committee on Claims,

By Mr. DOWELL:

H.R. 2833. A bill granting a pension to Amelia Armenta Thomas; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2834. A bill granting a pension to Mary Etta Stark; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. EBERHARTER:

H.R. 2835. A bill for the relief of Carrie Means; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FORD of Mississippi:

H.R. 2836. A bill for the relief of Louis M. McDougal; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GIFFORD:

H.R. 2837. A bill to amend the military record of Walter Gordon; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GILLIE:

H. R. 2838. A bill for the relief of Clyde C. Rhodenbaugh; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GRIFFITH:

H. R. 2839. A bill to confer jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana to determine the claim of D. D. McElveen; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HOBBS:

H.R. 2840. A bill for the relief of the estate of S. J. Dean; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KEAN:

H. R. 2841. A bill granting a pension to Clara T. Wilkins Simmons; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LECOMPTE:

H.R. 2842. A bill for the relief of J. P. Harris; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2843. A bill for the relief of Sarah E. Garnes; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McREYNOLDS:

H. R. 2844. A bill for the relief of Elisha M. Levan; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MANSFIELD:

H. R. 2845. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Southern District of Texas, Galveston Division, to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of the Southern Compress & Warehouse Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MASON:

H. R. 2846. A bill to record the lawful admission for permanent residence of Kurt Wessely; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. O'BRIEN:

H.R. 2847. A bill granting a pension to Grace E. Fairchild; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2848. A bill for the relief of Anna Mattil and others; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. O'CONNOR:

H. R. 2849. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Guy A. McConoha; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2850. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent for certain lands to Jordan N. Bean; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H. R. 2851. A bill for the relief of Maurice J. O'Leary; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2852. A bill for the relief of Charles F. Kegel; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PETERSON of Georgia:

H.R. 2853. A bill for the relief of Frank Burgess Bruce; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. RISK:

H. R. 2854. A bill for the relief of Edward Burk; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. RODGERS of Pennsylvania:

H. R. 2855. A bill granting a pension to Lizzie Lawson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SACKS:

H. R. 2856. A bill for the relief of Nicola Mordeglia; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. SECREST:

H. R. 2857. A bill for the relief of August Ammann; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin:

H. R. 2858. A bill granting a pension to Hakon B. Duee; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

H. R. 2859. A bill for the relief of Harry J. Thiessen; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH of Virginia:

H. R. 2860. A bill for the relief of Ben Willie Jones; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SMITH of Washington:

H. R. 2861. A bill extending the provisions of an act entitled "An act to amend the act entitled 'An act for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service, and for other purposes,' approved May 22, 1920, and acts in amendment thereof," to W. P. Campbell; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. SPRINGER:

H. R. 2862. A bill for the relief of James A. Harris; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 2863. A bill granting a pension to Zack Pool; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee:

H. R. 2864. A bill for the relief of R. A. Smith; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2865. A bill granting a pension to Maud Russell; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky:

H. R. 2866. A bill to authorize the award of the Congressional Medal of Honor for distinguished service to Pleas Sanders; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WIGGLESWORTH:

H.R. 2867. A bill extending the benefits of the Emergency Officers' Retirement Act to Charles A. Bixby; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

232. By Mr. BOLLES: Petitions of the citizens of Burlington, Waterford, Milton Junction, Janesville, Kenosha, and Madison, Wis., and vicinity, requesting that we adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

233. By Mr. BURCH: Petition of the Ministerial Association of Danville, Va., through its president, Rev. Joseph Dunglinson, and its secretary, D. L. Buchanan, and petition signed by C. B. Clements and numerous citizens of Danville, Va., requesting the Congress to take prompt and effective steps to prevent the passage of munitions and war supplies of any kind from this country to Japan so long as Japanese armies are on Chinese soil; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

234. By Mr. CARTER: Petition of 37 members of the St. Anthony's Holy Name Society of Oakland, Calif., urging continuance of the Neutrality Act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

235. Also, petition of the executive committee of the California Crusaders, representing more than 25,000 nonpartisan members, urging an adequate appropriation to permit the Dies committee to continue its work on un-American activities in this country; to the Committee on Appropriations.

236. By Mr. CLASON: Petition of the Connecticut River Game Fish Association, requesting the improvement of the Connecticut River in regard to flood control, by widening and dredging the same from the flats above the Coolidge Bridge in the city of Northampton at the village known as Smiths Ferry, for the purpose not only of controlling the waters of said river from flood stage but also to eliminate pollution so as to make it a stream which will allow the propagation of game fish in order that sportsmen may be induced to come to the district; to the Committee on Flood Control.

237. By Mr. CURLEY: Petition of the Conference of Mayors and other municipal officials of the State of New York, urging New York State Representatives to oppose any legislation taxing municipal securities and revenues unless the reciprocal provisions are included; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

238. Also, petition of Lieutenants Benevolent Association, police department, New York City, urging support of legislation to prevent retroactive application of any Federal tax

upon employees of the States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

239. By Mr. DEROUEN: Petition of certain citizens of Welsh, La., praying for continuation of present neutrality policy of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

240. Also, petition of Sister Superior Venard and community of Sisters of the Sacred Heart, Lake Charles, La., protesting against the lifting of the Spanish embargo and urging the adherence of the United States to its present neutrality policy; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

241. By Mr. HAWKS: Petition of 43 residents of Fort Atkinson, Wis., protesting against any change in the neutrality policy of our Government; to the Committee on

Foreign Affairs.

242. Also, petition of 21 residents of Doylestown and Columbus, Wis., protesting against any change in the neutrality policy of our Government; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

243. Also, petition of 92 members of faculty and student body of the College of the Redemptorist Fathers, at Oconomowoc, Wis., protesting against any change in the neutrality policy of our Government; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

244. By Mr. HOOK: Petition of Anton Pertile, Leonard Erickson, and others, favoring increase in appropriation for work relief; to the Committee on Appropriations.

245. Also, petition of the City Council of the City of Ann Arbor, Mich., regarding taxing of securities and revenues of States and municipalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

246. Also, petition of the Michigan Municipal League, concerning taxing of securities and revenues of States and municipalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

247. By Mr. HOUSTON: Petition of 400 farmers of Sumner County, Kans., urging the repeal of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938; to the Committee on Agriculture.

248. By Mr. JARRETT: Petition of 149 residents of Sharon, Pa., protesting against any change in the Spanish embargo;

to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

249. Also, petition of 400 residents of Greenville, Pa., to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

250. Also, petition of 52 residents of St. Marys, Pa., protesting against any change in the Spanish embargo; to the

Committee on Foreign Affairs.

251. By Mr. KEAN: Petition of sundry citizens of the city of Newark, N. J., on the subject of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

252. By Mr. JENKINS of Ohio: Petition signed by 20 residents of Lawrence County, Ohio, urging the passage of a bill to provide grants to the States for assistance to needy incapacitated adults; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

253. By Mr. KINZER: Petition of St. Joseph's Parish Council of the National Council of Catholic Women of Lancaster, Pa., setting forth a declaration of policy on the subject of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

254. Also, petition of St. Peter's Parish Council of the National Council of Catholic Women, of Columbia, Pa., setting forth a declaration of policy on the subject of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

255. Also, petition of St. Anthony's Parish Unit of the National Council of Catholic Women, of Lancaster, Pa., setting forth a declaration of policy on the subject of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

256. Also, petitions of 797 citizens of the Tenth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, setting forth a declaration of policy on the subject of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

257. By Mr. KRAMER: Resolution of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles, relative to the Pacific coast obtaining its proportionate share consistent with the best national policy, in the construction and reconstruction of the merchant marine, etc.; to the Committee on Appropriations.

258. Also, resolution of the American Water Works Association, relating to taxes levied on State and municipal securities, etc.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

259. Also, resolution of the Dancers' Federation, relative to passage of the deficiency appropriation to maintain Works Progress Administration uncurtailed, etc.; to the Committee on Appropriations.

260. By Mr. LAMBERTSON: Petition of Rev. F. A. Staab and 280 other members of the Sacred Heart Rectory, Topeka, Kans., urging adherence to our general policy of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

261. Also, petition of Rev. Patrick McInerney and 209 other members of the Church of the Assumption, Topeka, Kans., urging adherence to our general policy of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

262. By Mr. LANDIS: Petition of certain citizens of Washington, Ind., urging the adherence of the United States to the Neutrality Acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

263. By Mr. LEAVY: Petition of Local Union 98, lumber and sawmill workers of Ione, Wash., deploring the use of deceit and demagogy on the part of candidates for high office, and urging the installation of broadcasting equipment in the halls of Congress in order that proceedings may be heard by all citizens, and alleged proponents of social reforms may be exposed if they fail to adhere to their pledges and perform in office according to the mandate of the people by whom they were elected; to the Committee on Rules.

264. By Mr. MERRITT: Resolution of the New York State Permanent Firemen's Association, urging the Members of both Houses of Congress to support the bill to prevent the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

265. Also, resolution of the Holy Name Society of St. Andrew's Roman Catholic Church in Flushing, N. Y., protesting against the lifting of the embargo upon shipments to Spain of munitions and war materials of any kind or description, and urging all Representatives to vote against any bill or measure which advocates the lifting of such embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

266. Also, resolution of the Holy Name Society of St. Andrew's Roman Catholic Church in Flushing, N. Y., strongly urging the continuance of the Dies committee, and that such committee as continued consist of its present members without change or exception; to the Committee on Rules.

267. Also, resolution of the Colon Council 309, Knights of Columbus, Long Island City, N. Y., respectfully demanding and exhorting the Congress of the United States to continue its policy of strict neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

268. Also, resolution of the Colon Council 309, Knights of Columbus, Long Island City, N. Y., demanding and exhorting the Congress of the United States to appropriate the necessary funds to continue the work of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

269. Also, resolution of the Oyster Bay Council, Knights of Columbus, Oyster Bay, N. Y., requesting that every effort be made to oppose any measure designed to lift the embargo on arms to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

270. By Mr. REED of Illinois: Petition of John P. Schreimer, of Elgin, Ill., and 13 interested persons, recommending the adherence to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

271. Also, petition of Rev. Burwell Beddoes, of Elgin, Ill., and 62 interested persons, recommending adherence to the

general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

272. Also, petition of William E. Mann, of Elgin, Ill., and 20 interested persons, recommending adherence to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

273. Also, petition of Rev. Father Francis J. Epstein, pastor St. Michael's Church, of Wheaton, Ill., and 38 members of the church, opposing the lifting of embargo on arms to Spain; opposing aid and comfort to combatants and recommending an investigation of such conditions; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

274. By Mr. REES of Kansas: Petition of the Kansas Farmers Liberty League and farmers of Sumner County, Kans.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

275. Also, petition of C. W. Covell, 410 Pine Street, Peabody, Kans., and others; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

276. By Mr. RISK: Memorial of the Holy Name Society of St. Augustine's Church, Providence, R. I., to maintain embargo against munition shipments to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

277. Also, memorial of the members of the Holy Name Society of Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church, Bristol, R. I., to maintain the embargo against munition shipments to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

278. By Mr. RODGERS of Pennsylvania: Petition of certain citizens of Corry, Pa., favoring the policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and also the act of May 1, 1937, etc., extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

279. By Mr. SCHAEFER of Illinois: Petition of members of Knights of Columbus Council, No. 1143, Edwardsville, Ill., urging Congress to keep the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

280. By Mr. SCHIFFLER: Petition of the West Virginia Society of Professional Engineers, Charleston, W. Va., urging that the National Labor Relations Act be amended to the extent that any members of the legally recognized learned professions shall be exempt from any requirement to be represented by any nonprofessional organization for collective bargaining; to the Committee on Labor.

281. By Mr. TENEROWICZ: Petition of Alphonse Dombkowski, Joseph J. Rajski, and other citizens of Detroit, Mich., urging that we adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935. and the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

282. By Mr. VORYS of Ohio: Petition of C. J. Weisgerber and 21 others, of Columbus, Ohio, petitioning the Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and also to retain on our statute books the corollary principle of the same act and to extend the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

283. Also, petition of J. E. Grace and 41 others, of Columbus, Ohio, petitioning the Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and also to retain on our statute books the corollary principle of the same act and to extend the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

284. Also, petition of Lena Anderson and 34 others, of Columbus, Ohio, petitioning the Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and also to retain on our statute books the corollary principle of the same act and to extend the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

285. Also, petition of Dan A. McEneany and 22 others of Columbus, Ohio, petitioning the Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and also to retain on our statute books the corollary principle of the same act and to extend the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

286. By Mr. WELCH: Petition of the Gentlemen's Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, St. Ignatius Church, San Francisco, Calif., protesting against lifting of the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

287. Also, petition of the Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County, Calif., urging the Federal Government to see that the Pacific coast gets its proportionate share of construction and reconstruction work with reference to American merchant marine; to the Committee on Appropriations.

288. By Mr. WHITE of Idaho: Letter of Andrew J. Mac-Donald, Gem, Idaho, opposing any change in the Wagner Labor Act; to the Committee on Labor.

289. Also, petition of Henry Hussa, Bill Hansley, S. M. Trover, R. T. Stump, H. Loftis, Frank Depee, George Hensley, Mrs. R. T. Stump, C. E. Wolfe, L. C. Bloom, Jordan Bush, Herbert Busch, Thomas E. Ball, all of Wallace, and Minnie Larson, of Gem, and Frank J. Kenny, of Kellogg, State of Idaho, opposing any change in the Wagner Labor Act and asking for a \$6,000,000 appropriation for the Labor Board; to the Committee on Labor.

290. Also, petition of citizens of Shoshone County, Idaho, respectfully petitioning Congress, for as long as we shall adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

291. Also, resolution of the Canyon County Pomona Grange, Caldwell, Idaho, stating that since this country is in a depression again and the landowners by reason of the low prices received are and will be unable to meet the principal payments to the Federal Land Bank and also commissioner loans to the Government; therefore, be it resolved, that the Canyon County Pomona Grange ask our congressional delegation to use all the influence at their command to secure a moratorium on such principal payments; to the Committee on Agriculture.

292. By Mr. WOLCOTT: Petition of John Ordowski, Sr., and family, requesting Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935; also that Congress launch an investigation of those Leftist groups which are sponsoring propaganda favoring the lifting of the embargo on arms to "red" Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

293. By the SPEAKER: Petition of St. Mary's Holy Name Society, Milwaukee, Wis., petitioning consideration of their petition with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

294. Also, petition of St. Mary's Holy Name Society, Milwaukee, Wis., petitioning consideration of their petition with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

295. Also, petition of the Amalgamation of Patriotic Societies, Philadelphia, Pa., petitioning consideration of their petition with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

296. Also, petition of Mrs. Dan Reed, Oil City, Pa., petitioning consideration of a petition with reference to war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

297. Also, petition of Incarnate Word Guild, Cleveland, Ohio, petitioning consideration of the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

298. Also, petition of Sophie Kielpinski, of Columbus, Ohio, petitioning consideration of a petition with reference to neutrality and embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

299. Also, petition of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, municipality of Papaya, Nueva Ecija, petitioning consideration of their resolution No. 113, dated December 15, 1938, with reference to Felipe Buencamino, Jr., and William P. Buckner; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

300. Also, petition of the American League for Peace and Democracy, New York, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to neutrality and embargoes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

# SENATE

# THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1939

(Legislative day of Tuesday, January 17, 1939)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

#### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Barkley, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Tuesday, January 17, 1939, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

#### CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. LEWIS. I request a roll call in order to ascertain the presence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll and the following Senator

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Donahey	La Follette	Schwartz
Ashurst	Downey	Lee	Schwellenbach
Austin	Ellender	Lewis	Sheppard
Bailey	Frazier	Lodge	Shipstead
Bankhead	George	Logan	Smathers
Barbour	Gerry	Lucas	Smith
Barkley	Gibson	Lundeen	Stewart
Bilbo	Gillette	McCarran	Taft
Bone	Glass	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Borah	Green	McNary	Thomas, Utah
Bridges	Guffey	Maloney	Tobey
Brown	Gurney	Mead	Townsend
Bulow	Hale	Minton	Truman
Burke	Harrison	Murray	Tydings
Byrd	Hatch	Neely	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Hayden	Norris	Van Nuys
Capper	Herring	Nye	Wagner
Caraway	Hill	O'Mahoney	Walsh
Chavez	Holman	Pepper	Wheeler
Clark, Idaho	Holt	Pittman	White
Clark, Mo.	Hughes	Radcliffe	Wiley
Connally	Johnson, Calif.	Reed	
Danaher	Johnson, Colo.	Reynolds	
Davis	King	Russell	

Mr. LEWIS. I announce that the Senator from Florida [Mr. Andrews] and the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Overton] are detained from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MILLER] is unavoidably detained.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety-three Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

EXTENSION OF MONETARY POWERS UNTIL JANUARY 15, 1941

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following communication from the President of the United States, which was read and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency:

THE WHITE HOUSE, Washington, January 19, 1939.

Hon. JOHN N. GARNER,

President of the United States Senate.

DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: The powers conferred by section 10 of the Gold Reserve Act of 1934, as amended, dealing with the stabilization fund, and the powers specified in paragraph (b) (2) of section 43, title III, of the act approved May 12, 1933, as amended, relating to the fixing of the metallic content of the dollar, will expire on June 30, 1939.

The existence of these powers has enabled us to safeguard the Nation's interests and to carry forward international monetary and economic cooperation. It is obvious, however, that the international monetary and economic situation is still such that it would not be safe to permit such powers to be terminated. I believe the sound and wise policy to pursue under the circumstances is to extend these powers until January 15, 1941.

The Secretary of the Treasury and other representatives of the Treasury Department will be available to discuss with the appropriate committees of Congress the problems relating to such legislation.

Very truly yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

REMOVAL OF TAX-EXEMPTION PRIVILEGE FROM GOVERNMENTAL SECURITIES AND SALARIES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read and referred to the Committee on Finance:

To the Congress of the United States:

In my message of April 25, 1938, I urged that the time had come when the Congress should exercise its constitutional power to tax income from whatever source derived. I urged that the time had come when private income should not be exempt either from Federal or State income tax simply because such private income is derived as interest from Federal, State, or municipal obligations or because it is received as compensation for services rendered to the Federal, State, or municipal governments.

A fair and effective progressive income tax and a huge perpetual reserve of tax-exempt bonds could not exist side by side. Those who earn their livelihood from government should bear the same tax burden as those who earn their

livelihood in private employment.

The tax immunities heretofore accorded to private income derived from Government securities or Government employment are not inexorable requirements of the Constitution but are the result of judicial decision. I repeat that it is not unreasonable to hope that judicial decision would permit the elimination of these immunities.

Decisions of the Supreme Court rendered since my message, particularly the decision in the Port of New York Authority case, have made an important and constructive contribution to the elimination of these inequitable immunities.

It is obvious, however, that these inequities cannot be satisfactorily corrected by judicial decisions alone. Without legislation to supplement them, many individuals and corporations will be subjected to tax liabilities for income received in past years which they mistakenly, but in good faith, believed to be tax-exempt. It is evident, for example, that employees of many State agencies as well as the holders of securities of public corporations believed that the income they received from such sources was tax-exempt, in view of the opinions of eminent counsel based upon earlier decisions of the Supreme Court. In the interest of equity and justice, therefore, immediate legislation is required to prevent recent judicial decisions from operating in such a retroactive fashion as to impose tax liability on these innocent employees and investors for salaries heretofore earned or on income derived from securities heretofore issued.

In the light of those decisions there are, among the taxpayers of the Nation, inevitable uncertainties respecting their tax liabilities. There is uncertainty whether the salaries which they receive are not taxable under the existing provisions of the revenue acts; there is uncertainty whether the interest which they receive upon the obligations of governmental instrumentalities is similarly not taxable; and there is an uncertainty whether the salaries and interest which they have received for past years will create an unanticipated source of tax liabilities and penalties.

In view of the fact that the Bureau of Internal Revenue will have no choice but to enforce our income-tax law as declared in the latest decisions of the Supreme Court, prompt legislation is necessary to safeguard against the inequities to which I have referred. The need, therefore, is for the prompt enactment of equitable rules, prospective in operation, which the Bureau can apply and taxpayers can observe without that mass of litigation which otherwise is to be anticipated. We are confronted with a situation which can be handled with fairness to all and with reasonable administrative convenience only through the cooperation of the Congress and the courts.

Unless the Congress passes some legislation dealing with this situation prior to March 15, I am informed by the Secretary of the Treasury that he will be obliged to collect back taxes for at least 3 years upon the employees of many State agencies and upon the security holders of many State corporate instrumentalities, who mistakenly but in good faith believed they were tax-exempt. The assessment and collection of these taxes will doubtlessly in many instances produce great hardship.

Accordingly I recommend legislation to correct the existing inequitable situation, and at the same time to make private income from all Government salaries hereafter earned and from all Government securities hereafter issued subject to the general income-tax laws of the Nation and of the several States. It is difficult for almost all citizens to understand why a constitutional provision permitting taxes on "income from whatever source derived" does not mean "from whatever source derived."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 19, 1939.

# DETAIL OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES TO AMERICAN REPUBLICS AND THE PHILIPPINES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

To the Congress of the United States of America:

I commend to the favorable consideration of the Congress the enclosed report from the Secretary of State and the accompanying draft of proposed legislation designed to amend the act entitled "An act authorizing the temporary detail of United States employees, possessing special qualifications, to governments of American republics and the Philippines, and for other purposes," approved May 25, 1938, in order to obviate difficulties encountered in administering the fiscal provisions of the act.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 19, 1939:

[Enclosures: 1. Report of the Secretary of State; 2. Draft of proposed bill.]

STATUS OF LANDS OF THE CHOCTAW INDIANS, MISSISSIPPI

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to define the status of certain lands purchased for the Choctaw Indians, Mississippi, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

#### OMAHA AND WINNEBAGO INDIANS, NEBRASKA

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation for the benefit of the Omaha and Winnebago Indians, Nebraska, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

## LOANS TO INDIAN CHARTERED CORPORATIONS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of loans to Indian chartered corporations for the purpose of promoting the economic development of tribes and their members, and two reports showing the status of credit operations as of June 30, 1938, and November 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying reports, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

#### REPORT OF MIGRATORY BIRD CONSERVATION COMMISSION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, ex officio chairman of the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of the Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

#### AMENDMENT OF CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS ACT

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, trans-

mitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the act entitled "An act to establish a Civilian Conservation Corps, and for other purposes," approved June 28, 1937, as amended, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

#### EMPLOYMENT OF ALIENS BY GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the associate commissioner of Federal Prison Industries, Inc., stating, in response to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938, that no aliens are employed by the corporation, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate a letter from the executive officer of the Alley Dwelling Authority, District of Columbia, stating, in response to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938, that no aliens are employed by the Authority, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

## BOARD OF SURVEY OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA WATER SYSTEM

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the president of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of a board of survey of the District of Columbia water system looking toward the completion of the system not later than 1950, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

#### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a telegram in the nature of a petition from the international executive board of the United Automobile Workers of America, of Detroit, Mich., praying that Congress appropriate \$875,000,000, as originally proposed by the President, for the Works Progress Administration, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also laid before the Senate the petition of Stanley Odom, of Chicago, Ill., praying for the enactment of legislation to appropriate money for a claim arising from an injury to his son, Stanley Lee Odom, on a Works Progress Administration project, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also laid before the Senate petitions of sundry citizens of the United States, praying for retention of the principle of the present neutrality law and extension of the law to include civil as well as international conflicts, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by members of the Republican Club of the fifteenth assembly district of the city and State of New York, favoring continuation of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities (House of Representatives), which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also laid before the Senate the petition of the St. Simon School (conducted by the Sisters of Mercy), of Ludington, Mich., praying for the preservation of peace, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. CAPPER presented a petition signed by 400 farmers of Sumner County, Kans., praying for repeal of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. MALONEY presented letters and telegrams in the nature of petitions from the Ridgewood Non-Partisan Club and the Hopeville School faculty, of Waterbury; the executive board of the Holy Name Society of St. John's Church, of Watertown; the Boy Scout Troop Committee of St. John's Church, of Bridgeport; the Holy Name Society of Mount Carmel Church, of Meriden; several citizens of Manchester; Rev. Benedict Biro, pastor of St. Emery's Church, of Fairfield; sundry citizens of Ukrainian descent, of Stamford; and sundry citizens of Bridgeport, all in the State of Connecticut, praying for adherence to the existing neutrality law and the continuation of the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. LODGE presented petitions of sundry citizens of the State of Massachusetts, praying for the enactment of the so-called Townsend General Welfare Act, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of the State of Massachusetts, praying for retention of the principle of the present neutrality law and extension of the law to include civil as well as international conflicts, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. TYDINGS presented petitions of sundry citizens of Hagerstown and Frederick, Md., praying for retention of the principle of the present neutrality law and extension of the law to include civil as well as international conflicts. which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented memorials of Brute' Council, No. 1860, Knights of Columbus, of Emmitsburg; members of the Cadoa Residence Club, of Baltimore; a group of Catholic women voters of St. Martin's Guild, of Gaithersburg and Rockville; members of St. James Catholic Church, of Baltimore; and sundry citizens, all in the State of Maryland, remonstrating against lifting the embargo on the shipment of arms to Spain, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

Mr. CONNALLY presented a petition of sundry citizens of San Marcos and vicinity, in the State of Texas, praying for the repeal of existing neutrality legislation and the enactment of a new neutrality law distinguishing in international policy between aggressors and their victims, and denying the help of our economic resources to the former and granting it to the latter under conditions designed to remove the risk of war, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented petitions of Rev. Martin Fischer, O. S. B., chaplain, and members of the congregation of St. Mary's Church, of Windthorst; and Rev. Robert P. Schertz and sundry citizens of Westphalia, all in the State of Texas, praying for retention of the principle of the present neutrality law and extension of the law to include civil as well as international conflicts, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Houston and the Bishop of Galveston, C. E. Byrne, transmitting the names of nearly 400 citizens signing a petition at a Holy Name rally, praying for adherence to the existing neutrality law and continuation of the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Crystal City, Tex., praying that the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain be not lifted, which was referred to

the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. WAGNER presented telegrams in the nature of petitions from Mayor Frank J. Hogan, of Troy, and Alex Rose, State secretary of the American Labor Party, of New York City, in the State of New York, praying for the enactment of legislation making an appropriation of \$875,000,000 for the Works Progress Administration, as recommended by the President, which were referred to the Committee on Appropria-

He also presented a letter in the nature of a petition from the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City, praying for an appropriation of \$1,050,000,000 to maintain the present number of workers under the Works Progress Administration, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mrs. CARAWAY presented the following concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor:

## Senate Concurrent Resolution 2

Whereas glaring inequalities characterize education opportuni-

ties and expenditures for schools throughout the Nation; and
Whereas the level of educational service that can be maintained
under present circumstances in Arkansas and other States is
below the minimum necessary for the preservation of democratic institutions; and

Whereas the citizenship of Arkansas rightfully demand that the youth of this State be permitted to enjoy adequate educational

advantages in keeping with the youth of other States in the Union, which advantages cannot be provided without the assistance of the

which advantages cannot be provided without the assistance of the Federal Government: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate of the Fifty-second General Assembly of the State of Arkansas assembled in regular session (the house of representatives concurring therein), That this representative group of Arkansas citizenship hereby petition the Congress of the United States to enact legislation to provide Federal grants for educational purposes in accordance with the recommendations of the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education; and

Report of the Freshelt's Advisory Committee on Education, and be it further Resolved, That copies of this resolution shall be forwarded to His Excellency the President of the United States, Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, in Washington, D. C., and to each member of Arkansas' congressional delegation.

Mrs. CARAWAY also presented the following concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

#### Senate Concurrent Resolution 4

Whereas the President of the United States, on Thursday, January 12, in a special message, has urged upon Congress the immediate appropriation of necessary funds for the national defense, in order that the country may not be unprepared for defense against accreases policies; and against aggressor nations; and

Whereas an adequate national-defense program has been advo-cated for 20 years by the American Legion, other patriotic organi-zations, and citizens, many of whom by their service and experience

know the cost to an unprepared nation; and
Whereas the critical international conditions prove the wisdom Whereas the critical international conditions prove the wisdom and necessity of an expanded national defense: Now, therefore, be it Resolved by the Senate of the Fifty-second General Assembly of the State of Arkansas assembled in regular session (the house of representatives concurring therein), That the Arkansas delegation in the Congress be memorialized to support wholeheartedly the President's program of defense; and be it further Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be immediately dispatched to said Senators and Congressmen.

Mrs. CARAWAY also presented the following concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post

Senate concurrent resolution memorializing Congress to enact leg-islation permitting the use of Federal funds for improvement and maintenance of county roads used as rural mail routes

and maintenance of county roads used as rural mail routes

Whereas the use of Federal funds for road work appears now to
be limited to the construction of new roads and is not available
for improving or maintaining county roads already in existence
over which United States mails are carried; and

Whereas in many of the counties of Arkansas there are hundreds of miles of county roads already in use but in bad condition
and in great need of improvement and maintenance in order to
facilitate the carrying of the United States mails over them and
public travel generally: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of Arkansas (the house of
representatives concurring therein). That the Congress of the
United States be, and it hereby is memorialized and requested to
enact proper legislation to permit the use of an adequate amount of
Federal road funds in the improvement and maintenance of county
public roads over which United States mails are now carried or
may hereafter be carried. may hereafter be carried.

# APPROPRIATIONS FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I present for appropriate reference and printing in the RECORD a telegram received by me from the Governor of the State of New York, Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, appealing to the Senate not to reduce the Federal relief appropriation.

There being no objection, the telegram was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ALBANY, N. Y., January 13, 1939.

Hon. Robert F. Wagner, United States Senate:

Any reduction in Federal relief appropriations which would require the dropping of needy unemployed persons from the Works Progress Administration rolls more rapidly than they can be absorbed by industry would, in my opinion, inevitably impose on the State of New York and its municipalities an additional burden which they could not possibly carry the State of New York and 165 arry.
which they could not possibly carry.

HERBERT H. LEHMAN, Governor.

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I present for appropriate reference and printing in the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Senate of the State of Connecticut, urging that the Congress do not decrease the funds proposed to be appropriated for relief purposes. In this connection I also present and ask unanimous consent to have published in the RECORD and appropriately referred telegrams which I have received from Hon. John W. Murphy, mayor of New Haven, Conn., the largest city in my State, relating to the same subject.

There being no objection, the resolution and telegrams were referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolved by the senate, That President Roosevelt's proposal to the United States Congress recommending a W. P. A. deficiency appropriation in the amount of \$875,000,000 be, and the same is hereby, wholeheartedly indorsed by the Senate of the General Assembly of Connecticut, and that the clerk of the senate be instructed to inform the Connecticut delegation to Congress of such action and urge them to vote for said appropriation.

Passed January 12, 1939.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., January 12, 1939.

United States Senator Frank Maloney, Washington, D. C.: Washington, D. C.:

Earnestly urge you support present proposal of eight hundred and seventy-five million for W. P. A. New Haven has no money on hand or in 1939 budget to meet increased relief costs that committee proposal of seven hundred and twenty-five millions will compel if adopted.

JOHN W. MURPHY, Mayor of New Haven.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., January 19, 1939.

Senator Francis Maloney:

I again respectfully urge your support of eight hundred and seventy-five millions W. P. A. appropriation. Reduction to seven hundred and twenty-five millions will put many now on W. P. A. back on direct relief and thus add to tax burden of real-estate owners, many of whom are poor people.

JOHN W. MURPHY, Mayor, New Haven, Conn.

#### FLOOD CONTROL IN THE STATES

Mr. MALONEY. I further present and ask unanimous consent to have appropriately referred and published in the RECORD as part of my remarks a telegram which I have received from the several Governors of the New England States and another separate telegram from the Governor of Vermont. Hon. George D. Aiken, relating to flood control, and a copy of my reply thereto.

There being no objection, the telegrams and letter were referred to the Committee on Commerce and ordered to be

printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BOSTON MASS., January 14, 1939.

Senator Francis T. MALONEY:

We urge the Federal Government to cooperate immediately with the New England States to accomplish flood control without de-manding the complete surrender to the Federal Government of

basic rights which belong to the people in the States.

We believe that the natural resources of all the States belong to the people therein and that they should not be taken away without the consent of the States, acting through the duly chosen

representatives of the people.

Gov. George D. Aiken, Montpelier, Vt.

Gov. Francis P. Murphy, Concord, N. H.

Gov. Raymond E. Baldwin, Hartford, Conn.

Gov. Levier Saltonstall, Boston, Mass.

Gov. Lewis O. Barrows, Augusta, Maine.

GOV. WILLIAM H. VANDERBILT, Providence, R. I.

MONTPELIER. VT., January 14, 1939.

Montpelier, Vt., January 14, 1939.

Senator Francis T. Maloney,

Washington, D. C.:

I have been informed that the President has stated that if Vermont doesn't want any dams Vermont doesn't have to have them. I hope the President is not trying to becloud the real issue. It is not flood-control dams we oppose. It is surrendering of State sovereignty and resources to the Federal Government as a price for building these dams that we object to. As evidence of this, I am urging the New England congressional delegation to press for ratification of the New England flood-control compacts immediately and to amend the 1938 flood-control law by restoring to all the States the same rights they held previous to its enactment. States the same rights they held previous to its enactment.

GEORGE D. AIKEN. Governor of Vermont.

JANUARY 17, 1939.

His Excellency George D. Aiken,

The Governor, Montpelier, Vt.

My Dear Governor Aiken: Please let me acknowledge receipt of your telegram of January 14 referring to the recent statement accredited to President Roosevett concerning dams in Vermont.

I do not believe that the President is trying to becloud the issue, but on Savely of the english that he is revermed with

but am firmly of the opinion that he is very much concerned with the building of flood-control dams in New England, and I am confident that so long as there is evidence of cooperation on our part,

we may expect the cooperation of President Roosevelt and his administration.

A part of your telegram advises me that you are urging the New England congressional delegation to press for ratification of the New England flood-control compact immediately and "to amend the 1938 flood-control law by restoring to all the States the same rights they held previous to its enactment."

While I joined in submitting the original flood-control compact,

and regret that it failed to receive consideration, I want to look at the matter realistically, and with the desire of bringing about flood control at the earliest possible moment.

It is my opinion that there is not the slightest possibility of getting approval of the compact at this time, and I entertain no hope of the approval of that kind of compact in the future. That being so, it seems to me that a probably futile effort should be abandoned, with the thought in mind that flood control is of paramount importance, and should be attained under the best possible circumstances.

circumstances.

I am as anxious as you are that States' rights be preserved and protected, but I am not blind to the fact that changing conditions and a changing public desire, necessarily bring about a change in governmental policy and practice. We cannot neglect the protection of the lives and health and property of the people of New England or ignore a course that has been determined by the Congress and will probably endure.

When I lent my efforts toward the approval of the original compact, I did so upon the understanding that the primary concern of the authors and sponsors of the pact was to provide adequate protection of the people of New England against floods. In the last session of Congress it seemed to me that the differences arose through an honest disagreement as to the best method of achiev-

through an honest disagreement as to the best method of achiev-

ing this objective.

I regret that I am forced to conclude that the seemingly irreconcliable attitude reflected in your recent statements indicates that this primary objective seems in danger of being abandoned. It will be most unfortunate if action on this important public ques-

will be most unfortunate if action on this important public question should be impeded by considerations of private power problems. You know full well my attitude in this respect. I have never sponsored and never will sponsor the preservation of private control of national resources as a social objective.

At this time, deeply conscious that the emergency with respect to floods requires an immediate understanding between the States of New England and the National Government, I feel I would be unresponsive to the pressing needs of the people of my State if I joined with you in an uncompromising stand. I do not recognize that any academic adherence to the rights of individual States, as against the extension of a national program, should be insisted upon where danger to the lives, health, and property of individual citizens may be involved. citizens may be involved.

citizens may be involved.

In my opinion the time has come for action, and it seems clear that the National Government must take the lead. I am confident that the real interests of the citizens of New England can best be served by working out a program for such action, and I shall support any reasonable plan. In any case, you may be certain that I shall not sacrifice protection against floods for a preservation of private control over power sites.

I am sure that you will continue your approach to a solution of the matter in a spirit of compromise. I still feel that the difficulties can be overcome without sacrifice on the part of the people of Vermont or the other New England States, and I suggest that the Governors of New England, all of whom have wired to me, seek a conference with the authorities here in a further effort to bring

conference with the authorities here in a further effort to bring

about a satisfactory agreement.

May I respectfully call your attention to the fact that funds now available might not be available a little later. Unless we do come to an agreement and get flood-control work under way before the close of this fiscal year, we may sacrifice an existing opportunity and at the same time subject the people of our States to further flood dangers.

My State is in greater danger from floods than the State of which you are chief executive, and I am sure that you believe that I am tremendously concerned with the subject which is now having your attention.

If you think well of my suggestion that an effort be made to arrange a conference with the Washington authorities, please feel certain of my cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

FRANCIS MALONEY, United States Senate.

# REPORT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. PITTMAN, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to which was referred the bill (S. 326) for the payment of awards and appraisals heretofore made in favor of citizens of the United States on claims presented under the General Claims Convention of September 8, 1923, United States and Mexico, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 3) thereon.

## BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I am advised that a number of Senators desire to introduce bills and resolutions. I ask unanimous consent that they may be permitted to do so at this time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

#### BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

#### By Mr. PITTMAN:

S. 799. A bill to extend the facilities of the Public Health Service to active officers of the Foreign Service of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

S. 800. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase silver, issue silver certificates, and for other purposes," approved June 19, 1934, 9 p. m., known as the Silver Purchase Act of 1934; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

#### By Mr. CLARK of Idaho:

S. 801. A bill for the relief of Carey Act settlers in the Black Canyon Irrigation District under the Payette division of the Boise reclamation project in Idaho; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

# By Mr. HAYDEN:

S. 802. A bill to authorize Federal cooperation in restoring and developing the potential productivity of natural grasslands and other ranges in the States and Territories, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

S. 803. A bill to grant permission for the interment of the ashes of the late Louis C. Hill at Roosevelt Dam, Ariz.; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

# By Mr. MALONEY:

S. 804. A bill for the relief of John W. Barbrick; and

S. 805. A bill for the relief of George S. Geer; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 806. A bill granting a pension to Lucy A. Thayer; and S. 807. A bill granting an increase of pension to Susan A. Armington; to the Committee on Pensions.

# By Mr. SMATHERS:

S. 808. A bill for the relief of Calliope Minaca Pilavakis; to the Committee on Immigration.

## By Mr. LA FOLLETTE:

S. 809. A bill for the relief of Jessie M. Durst; and

S. 810. A bill for the relief of Joe Pizl, Sr.; to the Committee on Claims.

# By Mr. SCHWELLENBACH:

S. 811. A bill for the relief of George A. Rogers; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 812. A bill for the relief of Linza Wesley Bowers; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

### By Mr. NEELY:

S. 813. A bill granting an increase of pension to William C. Milliner; to the Committee on Pensions.

# By Mr. LUNDEEN:

S. 814. A bill to provide for the location, survey, and building of a system of three transcontinental and six north-south highways; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. McNARY: S. 815. A bill for the relief of Christine Lund; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 816. A bill to place the name of Jeannette Earle Morser on the final roll of the Cherokee Indian Tribe of Oklahoma, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

S. 817. A bill granting a pension to Lee A. Smith; and S. 818. A bill granting an increase of pension to Caroline

S. 818. A bill granting an increase of pension to Caroline Rhude; to the Committee on Pensions.

# By Mr. MEAD:

S. 819. A bill for the relief of the widow and children of James Patrick Mahar; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 820. A bill providing for the granting of leave to certain employees of the United States to enable them to vote at elections; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# By Mr. BYRD:

S. 821. A bill for the relief of Charles L. Kee; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 822. A bill for the relief of the heirs at law of Barnabas W. Baker and Joseph Baker; S. 823. A bill for the relief of John P. Shorter; and

S. 824. A bill to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claims of Herbert R. W. Lauterbach, and others, for overtime labor performed at the Norfolk Navy Yard, Portsmouth, Va., in excess of the legal day of 8 hours; to the Committee on Claims

#### By Mr. SMITH:

S. 825. A bill for the relief of Hugh Frederick Barnhart; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 826. A bill granting an increase in pension to Decatur M. Bronson; to the Committee on Pensions.

# By Mr. WALSH:

S. 827. A bill for the relief of John H. Barry; to the Committee on Civil Service

(Mr. Walsh also introduced Senate bills 828, 829, and 830, which were referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, and appear under a separate heading.)

#### By Mr. GILLETTE:

S. 831. A bill to amend the Commodity Exchange Act, as amended, to authorize the Commodity Exchange Commission to regulate customer margin requirements; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

S. 832. A bill granting a pension to Rose Mary Smith (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

#### By Mr. WHEELER:

S. 833. A bill to further reduce for 2 additional years the interest rate on certain Federal land-bank loans, and on land bank commissioner's loans; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 834. A bill for the relief of Bert Peters; to the Commit-

tee on Claims.

S. 835. A bill to provide compensation for disability or death resulting from injury to employees of contractors on public buildings and public works; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

S. 836. A bill for the relief of Russel E. Lawrence; to the

Committee on Finance. S. 837. A bill to admit Mrs. Henry Francis Parks permanently to the United States; to the Committee on Immigration.

# By Mr. SHEPPARD:

S. 838. A bill for the relief of Thomas L. Boren; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 839. A bill to amend the Retirement Act of April 23, 1904;

S. 840. A bill to amend and clarify the provisions of the act of June 15, 1936 (49 Stat. 1507), and for other purposes;

S. 841. A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to prescribe the number of grades and ratings of enlisted men of the Army;

S. 842. A bill to provide more effectively for the national defense by increasing the number of aircraft authorized to be procured and maintained; and

S. 843. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for placing educational orders to familiarize private manufacturing establishments with the production of munitions of war of special or technical design, noncommercial in character; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

# By Mr. WAGNER:

S. 844. A bill to simplify the accounts of the Treasurer of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(Mr. Wagner, Mr. Van Nuys, and Mr. Capper introduced Senate bill 845, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and appears under a separate heading.)

# By Mr. LUNDEEN:

S. 846. A bill making an appropriation for seed flax investigations; to the Committee on Appropriations.

# By Mr. McCARRAN:

S. 847. A bill to authorize and direct the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to set aside the trial board conviction of Amos B. Cole and his resulting dismissal, and to reinstate Amos B. Cole to his former position as member of the Metropolitan Police Department; to the Committee on the District of Columbia. By Mr. CAPPER:

S. 848. A bill to create a United States Civil Service Board of Appeals; to the Committee on Civil Service.

S. 849. A bill forbidding the payment of ransom or reward in kidnaping cases; to the Committee on the Judiciary. S. 850. A bill for the relief of Maj. Wilbur Rogers; and

S. 851. A bill authorizing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to provide appropriate military honors at the funerals of certain veterans; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

S. 852. A bill to increase the efficiency of the Chaplains' Corps: and

S. 853. A bill to constitute the Chaplains' Corps with a general officer as chief; to the Committee on Military Affairs. By Mr. PITTMAN:

S. J. Res. 46. Joint resolution authorizing appropriation for expenses of a representative of the United States and of his assistants, and for one-half of the joint expenses of this Government and the Government of Mexico in giving effect to the agreement of November 9-12, 1938, between the two Governments providing for the settlement of American claims for damages resulting from expropriations of agrarian properties since August 30, 1927; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. DAVIS:

S. J. Res. 47. Joint resolution authorizing the coinage of 1-cent pieces to symbolize peace; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

#### THE NATIONAL DEFENSE-NAVAL BILLS INTRODUCED

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I introduce several bills for appropriate reference. Three of the bills are introduced at the request of the Navy Department and relate to the administration policy for the national defense. I ask that a brief memorandum explanatory of the naval bills be printed in the RECORD in connection with my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the bills will be received and appropriately referred, and the memorandum of the Senator from Massachusetts will be printed in the

The bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, as follows:

S. 828. A bill to permit the President to acquire and convert, as well as to construct, certain auxiliary vessels for the

S. 829. A bill to authorize alterations and repairs to certain naval vessels, and for other purposes; and

S. 830. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes.

The explanatory memorandum presented by Mr. Walsh is as follows:

### MEMORANDUM EXPLANATORY OF NAVAL BILLS

A bill to authorize the President to acquire and convert, as 1. A bill to authorize the Fresident to acquire and convert, as well as construct, certain auxiliary vessels for the Navy. The last Congress authorized the construction of a considerable number of auxiliary vessels for the Navy, which consisted of oil tankers, de-stroyer tenders, aviation tenders, seaplane tenders, mine sweepers,

submarine tenders, and fleet tugs.

This bill will permit the President to purchase vessels and convert This bill will permit the President to purchase vessels and convert them into auxiliary vessels for the Navy, as well as to construct new vessels when proper appropriations are made. It does not authorize any additional vessels for the Navy. It is represented that \$1,500,000 can be saved by purchasing for the Navy an oil tanker already under construction by the Maritime Commission for the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey. The enactment of this bill will enable the Navy to obtain an additional high-speed tanker in the shortest results. obtain an additional high-speed tanker in the shortest possible time.

2. A bill authorizing modernization of three submarines—the Argonaut, Narwhal, and Nautilus—at an estimated cost of \$5,500,-000. The military value of these vessels has been seriously reduced by defects in their main propelling plants. These vessels are powered with German type Diesel engines built at the Navy Yard, New York. They are defective in speed and severe crankcase explosions have occurred on all three vessels, a casualty seemingly inherent in the design and which resulted in the loss by fire of the Fulton.

Senator Walsh stated that the Navy Department is of the opinion that the reengining and modernization of these vessels will greatly increase their value to the Navy by enabling them to maintain speeds necessary for operations with the fleet. These vessels have

excellent sea-keeping qualities, carry a large number of mines and torpedoes, and have a long radius of action.

3. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to develop or increase naval aviation facilities, including authority to purchase or otherwise acquire land and to construct buildings and accessories at or in the vicinity of the following places: Kaneohe Bay; Midway Island; Wake Island; Johnston Island; Palmyra Island; Kodiak, Alaska; Sitka, Alaska; San Juan, P. R.; Pensacola, Fla.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Pearl Harbor, T. H.; and Guam.

These air bases constitute a selected number from the so-called Hepburn board report to the Congress on the needs and location of air, submarine destroyer, and mine bases. The total estimated cost is \$65,000,000. The Hepburn Board recommended the acquisition of or major improvements to 41 naval bases, and this bill, as submitted by the Navy, falls far short of the recommendations con-

submitted by the Navy, falls far short of the recommendations con-tained in the Hepburn report.

#### PREVENTION OF AND PUNISHMENT FOR LYNCHING

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Van Nuys], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CAPPER], and myself I introduce a bill for appropriate reference, and ask that an explanatory joint statement of the bill may be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the bill will be received and appropriately referred, and the statement will be

printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 845) to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State due process of law and equal protection of the laws, and to prevent the crime of lynching, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The joint statement of Mr. WAGNER, Mr. VAN NUYS, and Mr. CAPPER is as follows:

JOINT STATEMENT OF SENATORS WAGNER, VAN NUYS, AND CAPPER UPON INTRODUCTION OF FEDERAL ANTILYNCHING BILL

The year 1938 witnessed a repetition of a familiar pattern in the tragic history of lynching in the United States. During the first 6 months, when the Wagner-Van Nuys-Gavagan antilynching bill was pending in Congress and was being vigorously pressed, not a single lynching stained the record. During the second half of the year, and beginning promptly after the adjournment of Congress, seven hypothesis against the second half of the year. lynchings occurred in rapid succession. Although more than 1,000 persons participated in the lynching mobs, there has not been a single conviction, prosecution, or even an arrest. If the threat of a Federal antilynching bill is sufficient to put a temporary halt to lynching, that is the very best argument for a permanent Federal antilynching law.

The introduction of the antilynching bill at this time is the open-ing gun in the renewal of the fight to write such legislation into the

ing gun in the renewal of the fight to write such legislation into the statute books. The fight must go on until carried to a successful conclusion. We cannot stop until lynching stops.

The bill we have just introduced follows closely the pattern of the Wagner-Van Nuys-Gavagan bill which was pending in the last Congress. State officers, guilty of neglecting or refusing to use all diligence in the protection of persons from lynching mobs, are subject to criminal prosecution. In addition, the governmental subdivisions in which such lynchings occur are subject to civil suits for damages in the Federal courts. Whenever a lynching occurs and information of violation of this law is submitted under oath to the Attorney General, the Attorney General of the United States is required to institute an investigation.

The bill differs from that considered in the last Congress in two

institute an investigation.

The bill differs from that considered in the last Congress in two respects. First, it eliminates the exception of "gangster killings" from the definition of lynching. This exemption was not included in the bill as originally introduced, and its sponsors were pledged during the last Congress to strike out this exemption when the bill reached a vote on the Senate floor.

The second point of difference involves the issue of proof of liability in civil suits for damages. The bill last year imposed upon the county the burden of proving that its officers had exercised all due diligence to prevent the lynching in question. The new bill eliminates this provision, so that the burden of proving negligence is at all times on the party bringing suit. The bill declares, however, that a showing of failure to provide protection under certain circumstances, such as after knowledge or general apprehension of danger of mob violence, shall be prima facie evidence of liability. liability.

Inability.

In recent months the course of world affairs has focused the attention of our people as never before on the fundamentals of democratic government. The antilynching bill goes beyond any considerations of party; it transcends the urgent needs of any one race or any one section. The bill embraces those principles of humanity and justice which underlie the establishment of representative government among free men. If America is to vindicate its proud position as the foremost example of a functioning democracy, it must stamp out for all time the spirit of the lawless mob. It can and will be done. It can and will be done.

# CHANGES OF REFERENCE

On motion by Mr. SHEPPARD, the Committee on Finance was discharged from the further consideration of the bill (S. 473) for the relief of George Francis Burke, and it was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

On motion by Mr. MINTON, the Committee on Finance was discharged from the further consideration of the bill (S. 556) for the relief of Catherine Humler, and it was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

### PASSAMAQUODDY TIDAL POWER PROJECT

Mr. VANDENBERG. I submit a resolution, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the resolution will be received and read.

The resolution (S. Res. 62) was read, as follows:

Whereas the Federal Power Commission reported on January 3, 1934, that the tidal power project at Passamaquoddy was unsound and unjustified; (1) because it will cost approximately \$40,000,000 while a comparable steam-generating plant would cost only \$16,000,000; (2) because the steam-electric power would be cheaper at the higher-load factors; (3) because Quoddy power could not compete with steam-power rates in export; (4) and because there is no present or prospective market for Quoddy power at any price: and

Whereas the Congress has been asked to resume its considera-tion of the Passamaquoddy project: Therefore be it Resolved, That the Federal Power Commission is requested to review its previous reports upon this project and bring them down to date; and to report to the Senate as soon as possible (1) the relative costs of steam-generated or tidal-generated power plants at Passamaquoddy; (2) the relative costs of power to the consumer; and (3) whether there is either a local or export market for power thus generated by either method.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I ask that the resolution be referred to the Commerce Committee.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I inquire whether legislation on this subject heretofore has come from the Commerce Committee or the Interstate Commerce Committee?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Commerce Committee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is advised by the clerk that it has been before the Commerce Committee.

Is there objection to the reference of the resolution to the Committee on Commerce? The Chair hears none, and the resolution will be so referred.

## FLORIDA SHIP CANAL

Mr. VANDENBERG. I submit another resolution, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the resolution will be received and read.

The resolution (S. Res. 63) was read, as follows:

Whereas the Department of the Interior reported on August 26, "there appears to be no reasonable doubt that serious adverse effects will be produced upon the important underground water supplies of the Ocala limestone in a wide zone extending outward from the canal line by the construction of a sea-level (Florida) canal"; and

Whereas the United States Geological Survey asserted on December 15, 1936, that it "knows no facts that require modification of the opinions it has heretofore expressed about the possible effects on ground-water levels in Florida" of the construction of such a

canal; and

Whereas this phase of the Florida ship canal problem is of deep concern to many citizens, and of primary interest to the Congress in connection with any further study of this project: Therefore

Resolved. That the Secretary of the Interior be requested to report to the Senate at his earliest convenience the present opinion of the United States Geological Survey regarding the probable effect of the construction of the Florida canal, as reprojected, upon ground-water levels and ground-water supplies in any affected area.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I ask that the resolution be referred to the Commerce Committee.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I did not catch one expression, about whose opinion is asked for.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The opinion of the United States Geological Survey.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Michigan? The Chair hears none, and the resolution will be referred to the Committee on

Mr. VANDENBERG. I submit one further resolution which I ask to have read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the resolution will be received and read.

The resolution (S. Res. 64) was read, as follows:

Whereas the Department of Commerce made an exhaustive and whereas the Department of Commerce made an exhaustive and voluminous report upon the proposed Florida ship canal in 1934 and found that "the consensus of opinion of that part of the shipping industry with which contact has been established appears to be that the probable cost of building the projected waterway is not justified through any benefits which might thereby accrue to the cargo or the vessel"; and

Whereas the Congress is again asked to consider this project:

Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Department of Commerce is requested to
survey its previous findings respecting the Florida ship canal and
bring them down to date and to report thereon to the Senate at its earliest convenience.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I ask that the resolution be referred to the Commerce Committee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, the Constitution provides that each State shall have two Senators in the United States Senate. Florida has availed itself of that provision of the Constitution, and has sent to this body two Senators who are endeavoring to represent the people of Florida in respect to their local affairs. So I am somewhat chagrined to have my friend the Senator from Michigan take upon his competent shoulders the representation of the people of Florida about their local water supply, along with the people of

Grateful as we are for the contribution the Senator makes to things which affect the general public weal, we are getting along fairly well in Florida. My colleague [Mr. ANDREWS] and I are for the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal, and we have been elected in the State of Florida. So, on matters pertaining to the internal welfare of that State, we shall appreciate it if we may be given an opportunity to protect the interests of our citizenry to the best of our ability.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Florida yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. PEPPER I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I desire fully to acknowledge the great capacity of Florida's representation in the Senate, and to disclaim any purpose to supersede it by way of spokesmanship for Florida; but inasmuch as the State of Florida is asking for upward of \$200,000,000 in connection with this project, for which my State of Michigan has to pay at least to the tune of \$10,000,000, I shall continue to exercise at least \$10,000,000 worth of interest in what Florida is undertaking to do. [Laughter.]

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I know of no Senator more capable of asserting at least \$10,000,000 worth of interest in this matter than the Senator from Michigan, because it has had a particular appeal to the interest of the Senator from Michigan ever since it has been before the Congress.

I know not what it is about Florida that has such great attraction for my friend the Senator from Michigan, but I know at least that he placed a degree of emphasis on the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal which is at least very flattering to the ego of Florida. So I will not question the Senator's right to interest himself in the expenditure of Federal money, and I did not address my remarks to that portion of the Senator's comment. But it is not the first time that our friend from Michigan has interested himself in the effect which the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal would have on the water supply of Florida. I was a candidate for election in Florida in May and November of last year, and I stated publicly and unequivocally my support of the Florida ship canal. So it is only the interest of the Senator in our internal water supply, unless his geological knowledge is greater than I think it is, to which I object.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. Gladly.

Mr. BURKE. Does the Senator from Florida raise any objection to the propriety of asking at this time that the various departments of government which heretofore have declared that the Florida ship canal was neither feasible nor proper should bring their reports down to date? That was all that was embodied in the request of the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. PEPPER. I will answer the query of the Senator from Nebraska in this way: I recall that when this project was before the Congress the last time, at least before this body, it came here in a manner somewhat out of the ordinary for a river and harbor project. But I know that that unusual procedure has long since been departed from in respect to this project, and that in the last Congress, pursuant to a resolution passed in 1932, there was filed through the agency of the Secretary of War, from the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army, with the Speaker of the House of Representatives, a favorable recommendation of the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal.

Based upon that report, which was identical, so far as procedure was concerned, with the report which accompanies every other river and harbor project, the regular committee of the House of Representatives, the Rivers and Harbors Committee, undertook an open and public hearing, as the result of which not an irregular body, but the Rivers and Harbors Committee of the House, favorably reported to the House of Representatives the bill providing for the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal.

Mr. President, everything, therefore, is in order in the consideration of that matter, the same as when any other river and harbor project is considered. I shall ask only that this project in the future receive the usual and the regular and the proper consideration which any other river and harbor project would receive from the engineers and from the Congress of the United States, and only that.

The Committee on Commerce of the Senate now has the President's recommendation before it. I ask only such privileges, and willingly accept such liability, for this project as will attach to the usual river and harbor project which comes before Congress.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, the Senator has not answered my question, as to whether he was opposed to asking the Department of Commerce, in the first instance—

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I ask for the regular order. The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate is transacting routine business by unanimous consent, and the order now is the presentation of resolutions.

HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

Mr. SMITH submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 65), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, or any subcommittee thereof, is hereby authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any sessions or recesses of the Senate.

HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION

Mr. BANKHEAD submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 66), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not to exceed 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be before said committee, the expenses thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate.

HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY

Mr. BARKLEY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 67), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Library, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized during the Seventy-sixth Con-

gress to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate.

HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

Mr. CONNALLY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 68), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR MURRAY BEFORE WASHINGTON POST OF JEWISH WAR VETERANS

[Mr. Murray asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered by him at a meeting of the Washington Post of the Jewish War Veterans in Washington, D. C., January 17, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

ADDRESS BY SENATOR PEPPER TO YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF SEATTLE, WASH.

[Mr. Schwellenbach asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered by Senator Pepper at the national rally of Young Democratic Clubs at Seattle, Wash., July 16, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

WATERWAYS AND THE NATIONAL DEFENSE—ADDRESS BY SENATOR HILL

[Mr. Hill asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address prepared by him for delivery at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Association on the 21st of November 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

# AGRICULTURE IN THE SOUTH

[Mr. Hill asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered by Mr. Donald Comer, president of the Avondale Mills, Birmingham, Ala., before the annual meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation on December 12, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.1

JACKSON DAY DINNER-ADDRESS BY HON, JAMES W. MORRIS

[Mr. SMATHERS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by James W. Morris, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, in Portland, Maine, on January 7, 1939, on the subject Effective Democratic Government, which appears in the Appendix.]

COOPERATION BETWEEN STATE COMMISSIONS AND FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION—ADDRESS BY COMMISSIONER WALKER

[Mr. Lee asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered by Hon. Paul A. Walker, Federal Communications Commissioner, at the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners, New Orleans, La., on November 16, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

# INVESTIGATION OF THE SILVER PROGRAM

[Mr. Townsend asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record excerpts from letters received by him with reference to Senate Joint Resolution 1, providing for the appointment of a special joint committee to investigate the silver program, which appear in the Appendix.]

# FLORIDA SHIP CANAL

[Mr. Neely asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an editorial published in the Washington Herald on January 18, 1939, on the subject Florida Ship Canal, which appears in the Appendix.]

## EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

# EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. WAGNER, from the Committee on Banking and Currency, reported favorably the following nominations:

Forrest F. Hill, of New York, to be Governor of the Farm Credit Administration, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice William I. Myers, resigned;

Edward C. Eicher, of Iowa, to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the remainder of the term expiring June 5, 1940, the office to which he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice John W. Hanes, resigned; and

Franklin W. Hancock, Jr., of North Carolina, to be a member of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board for a term of 6 years from July 22, 1938, the office to which he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice William F. Stevenson, term expired.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah, from the Committee on Education and Labor, reported favorably the nomination of Henry Ohl, of Wisconsin, to be a member of the Federal Board for Vocational Education to fill an unexpired term of 3 years ending July 16. 1941.

Mr. BAILEY, from the Committee on Commerce, reported favorably the nominations of sundry officers for promotion or appointment in the Coast Guard.

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of sundry postmasters.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The reports will be placed on the Executive Calendar.

NOMINATION OF HARRY L. HOPKINS TO BE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I desire to state that by direction of the Committee on Commerce, and under authority of the order of the Senate of the 17th instant, I filed on yesterday with the Secretary of the Senate a favorable report on the nomination of Harry L. Hopkins, of New York, to be Secretary of Commerce.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will state the nomination reported by the Senator from Texas.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Harry L. Hopkins to be Secretary of Commerce.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, in taking up the nomination of the Honorable Harry L. Hopkins to be Secretary of Commerce, I desire to say in the beginning that I accord to any President of the United States, regardless of party, the maximum latitude in choosing his own advisers, in other words, his Cabinet, and I accord to the present President of the United States that degree of latitude. At the outset I wish to say that I shall discuss Mr. Hopkins as a nominee for a Cabinet office, and not as an individual. I think the policies of Mr. Hopkins as Administrator of the Works Progress Administration are proper matters for consideration by this body.

Mr. Hopkins has been a conspicuous member of this administration for several years. As head of the Works Progress Administration he has been at the head of the largest spending agency this Government has ever had in times of peace, and, so far as my reading of history goes, the largest spending agency ever known in peacetimes in any nation.

For the last 2 or 3 years there have been increasing complaints about and criticism of the W. P. A. and its administration. Those complaints became so numerous, and were apparently so well founded, that the Senate of the Seventy-fifth Congress authorized a committee to investigate, among other things, rumors and reports about the W. P. A. That committee was headed by the distinguished senior Senator from Texas [Mr. Sheppard], whose integrity, earnestness, and fairness have never been and I do not think ever could be

questioned. I may say the same for his colleagues on the committee, three of whom were Democrats, from the other side, and one a Republican, from this side.

In discussing this matter this afternoon I shall not rely upon rumor, I shall repeat no gossip, I shall indulge in no personal questions. I shall call as witnesses only those distinguished Senators who were members of the committee to which I have referred, and who fairly and industriously and earnestly investigated the reports which I have mentioned.

At the beginning of its work the committee, known as the Sheppard committee, made two statements, which I desire to read to the Senate. They are very clear statements of a sound public policy, a policy so important that I think it goes to the very foundation of the Republic. I read now the statement of the committee to be found on page 3 of part 1 of its report. The committee stated its objective in this language:

The objective is simple and clear—the maintenance of the integrity of the elective processes, the preservation of democracy at its most vital point, the ballot box, the free exercise of the voting franchise, and to that end the prevention of any improper use of money and of any coercion or intimidation by any person, group, or agency, outside or inside the Government.

The statement I am now going to read was made by the committee on the 17th of June of last year. It further said:

The committee likewise gives warning that all governmental agencies must keep clear of all primary and election campaigns—must keep their hands off. Any other course, in the judgment of the committee, would amount in reality to the use of Federal funds to influence votes, and under the terms of the Senate resolutions would require investigation and censure, and is to be exposed, condemned, and prevented insofar as it is within the power of this committee to do so.

In connection with those two statements, in which I concur and with which I most heartily agree, the committee defined those things which it would regard as offenses against the law. Beginning on page 3 and continuing on to page 4 of the report of the committee is found this language:

Solicitation or assessment of Federal officials and employees either by Federal officials and employees or others for contributions in behalf of a senatorial candidate; \* \* \* intimidation or coercion by Federal officials and employees or others in behalf of a senatorial candidate; use of funds appropriated by Congress in behalf of a senatorial candidate.

These declarations were made by the committee at so early a date that they preceded virtually every primary election in the States which had to choose Senators last year, and so Mr. Hopkins and every member of the personnel of the W. P. A., down to the humblest worker, were charged by the committee with notice of its conception of a sound public policy and of the things which it regarded as contrary to the public interest, and therefore unlawful.

The committee went to work. It industriously investigated the situation. In discussing the matter I feel that I should take only the amount of time sufficient to discuss the report of the committee as it pertains to three States, and that I shall do. I do not want my limitation to those three States to be taken as a confession on my part that there was no abuse of the use of W. P. A. funds, no oppression of W. P. A. workers, no coercion of the poor, or no misuse of the money appropriated for the relief of misery and distress in any other State.

I shall take up first, following the report of the committee, the State of Kentucky. I read now from the report of the committee, to be found on page 11. Following is the language of the committee:

During June of 1938 a series of articles dealing extensively with conditions in the Kentucky primary by one of the staff writers for a prominent press association was published, in which he alleged \* \* \* undue political activities in the W. P. A. in Kentucky. A press release containing a résumé of all charges contained in these articles, 22 charges in all, prepared in the form of individual paragraphs, and a reply to each, by Hon. Harry L. Hopkins, was issued by the W. P. A. at Washington, D. C., on June 30, 1938. Mr. Hopkins denied all but two of these charges, admitting the correctness of these two.

# I still read from the committee's report:

The committee's representative, and the force assisting him, after investigation, made a report sustaining the staff writer in a majority of the charges and concurring with Mr. Hopkins in four instances.

The findings of the committee's investigator in reference to these charges indicated solicitation of W. P. A. employees and officials for contributions to the campaign funds \* \* \* and a systematic canvassing of W. P. A. employees as to preference in the race for the Democratic senatorial nomination. These activities, so far as solicitations were concerned, were carried on mainly by private parties, not connected with W. P. A., but in some instances by W. P. A. officials. Canvassing activities were carried on by W. P. A. officials entirely.

The situation in the Kentucky campaign is a matter of common knowledge. Nothing that I say here departs from the view which the committee took, that the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, the majority leader of the Senate, was in no way a party to what happened, but in the public interest I think it is important that there be put into the Record the report of the committee, insofar as it may be done, upon these matters.

I now read a further statement of the Sheppard committee, beginning on page 12 of part 1 of its report:

In Pulaski and Russell Counties, which are both located in the second district of the W. P. A. for the State of Kentucky, there was a systematic canvass of all certified workers instituted, whereby lists of all the workers were copied from the official records on forms with columns headed: "Name and address," "Identification No.," "Mark," "Number in family," and "Remarks."

## The committee further said:

These forms were mimeographed for the most part on the back of stationery on which is printed "Works Progress Administration in Kentucky."

# It further said:

That it was admitted in an affidavit by S. C. Taylor, area engineer of the W. P. A. for Pulaski and Russell Counties, that the said canvass was instituted by his personal direction and that copies thereof were handed to all foremen to have them filled out, to get the political affiliation of the workers; that the foremen were instructed to put in the column designated "Mark" whether the worker was a Republican or a Democrat.

# The committee further said:

That he, said Taylor, had had a list of all voters in Pulaski and Russell Counties copied from the county records, in order to check them with the said lists.

# Then the committee says on the same page:

Despite contrary protestations, the investigation discloses that in many instances men known to hold views contrary were discharged, there being always assigned some reason other than political, and that being denied.

The committee deals with the Kentucky primary situation at some length.

I shall read one further extract from its report, beginning at the bottom of page 12, and continuing over to page 13, as follows:

That in the first W. P. A. district, which comprises the 32 westernmost counties in Kentucky, there was a recognized comprehensive canvass of the entire personnel of the W. P. A. in those counties, comprising approximately 18,000 employees, of whom approximately 17,200 were certified workers.

# I again read from the committee's report:

That the efforts of the entire supervisory force were coordinated in a plan to place in the hands of the campaign committee chairmen for each of the 32 counties a list of the names and addresses of the 17,200 workers, which list also showed the names and addresses of all legal voters in the respective families, whether or not they were registered, whether or not they had moved since registering, and precinct where registered.

## Further, the committee said:

That forms to provide for this information to be filled out by the 340 project timekeepers of said district No. 1 for the workers were mimeographed in the W. P. A. office at Madisonville, Ky., headquarters for the W. P. A. district No. 1, on official time, at Government expense, except for stationery, which was furnished by the campaign committee.

# Again:

That the 9 supervising timekeepers in charge of the 340 project timekeepers for said district No. 1 received their instructions to carry out this plan from their immediate superior, the supervisor of tools and equipment for W. P. A. district No. 1, who in turn received his instructions from the director, J. B. Boddie, of W. P. A. district No. 1.

## The committee further said:

It is true that Mr. Hopkins, after an investigation of his own, disagreed with some of the findings of the committee as stated

above. The committee, however, after still further investigation of its own, adhered to its own findings.

Mr. President, I think that is all that needs to be said about the Kentucky situation. I now move to the sovereign State of Tennessee.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REED. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. Before the Senator leaves Kentucky, has he the information available to complete his recital, showing what action, if any, was taken when these matters were called to Mr. Hopkins' attention?

Mr. REED. I am sorry to have to say to the distinguished Senator from Maryland that I have not had time to make that investigation. I think it would be of very great interest, and I hope the Sheppard investigating committee may pursue its investigation further.

Mr. President, I am a freshman Senator, and feel timid in the presence of the great Senators sitting in this Chamber. However, I shall be very happy to introduce a resolution to that effect unless one of the senior Senators should see fit to do so.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I do not think I made clear what I was attempting to suggest to the Senator. The Senator has recited conditions that existed in Kentucky. As the record from which he read now stands, there is nothing in the recital to show whether or not Mr. Hopkins did anything about it, and, if he did anything about it, what he did. Mr. Hopkins might claim that he did not know about these things.

Mr. REED. I am coming to that.

Let us go over into Tennessee. The story in Tennessee is not a long story, but it is a fairly horrible story of the misuse of public funds and the coercion of men and women on the W. P. A. rolls.

I now read from the report of the committee, part I, page 18:

The report of our investigators in Tennessee shows that there was a vigorous effort throughout the State to raise campaign funds by contributions from Federal employees, including not only those having civil-service status but those having relief classifications as well, with circumstances in certain instances indicating intimidation and coercion, or efforts partaking of intimidation and coercion.

That such employees included not only certified and nonrelief workers of W. P. A. but certain employees of other Federal agencies.

# The committee further says, on page 19:

That contributions from Federal employees for the coalition ticket were solicited by attorneys and other persons and from W. P. A. noncertified workers by foremen, timekeepers, and others, with the knowledge of ranking W. P. A. officials.

I now invite attention to the following language, which is the language of the committee:

That Works Progress Administration labor and materials, paid for with funds appropriated by the Congress for emergency relief purposes, namely, farm-to-market roads, have been used in the construction, improvement, and repair of private drives and roadways under circumstances and conditions giving rise to a fair inference that such use may have been suffered and permitted for the purpose of influencing votes and voting in behalf of both sides.

Finally, so far as Tennessee is concerned, I conclude with the following, from page 20 of the committee's report:

The committee has evidence of similar solicitation by W. P. A. workers and private parties in different parts of the State.

I now move from the State of Tennessee to the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Of course, I come from the kind of a State which the Postmaster General and chairman of the Democratic National Committee has described as a "typical prairie State." Therefore, I freely grant that I am not qualified to speak upon the brand and character of politics played in Pennsylvania. However, I shall read what the very able committee had to say, in part, as to the conditions in various counties in Pennsylvania, from which probably a greater stench arose than from any other section of the United States.

# On page 23 the committee said:

The committee heard evidence from its investigators that owners of trucks used on W. P. A. projects were solicited for \$100 each in Carbon County, Pa., that owners of trucks were requested by

W. P. A. officials to visit the representative of a certain political leader at his home, that on one occasion 10 or 12 were at the home of this political leader at one time, and the committee has been furnished with affidavits that 7 were solicited there, that 4 promised contributions to the campaign and afterward made part or full payments on these contributions.

#### The committee further stated:

The committee further stated.

The investigators of the committee reported further that in Luzerne County large numbers of W. P. A. workers were mailed postal cards requesting them to call at Democratic headquarters on particular dates at different hours. The investigators reported that there was some evidence that lists had been prepared of relief workers at the W. P. A. headquarters in their county, and it is believed that these lists were used in mailing out the postal cards. Further evidence from the investigators showed that when these relief workers called at the Democratic headquarters they were solicited for campaign contributions, in some cases the amounts requested being \$100.

This phase of the report continues on page 24, from which I read:

The investigators further stated that they had affidavits that at these visits by relief workers contributions were actually made. The investigators of the committee further reported that the Democratic leader who was interviewing these relief workers and to whose office they were sent, was employed by the Unemployment Compensation Service, which aids in administering the social security law and whose salary is paid, in part at least, from funds coming from the Federal Treasury, and was on leave from his official position, working for the Democratic Party.

Those activities are pretty bad, but they are not all. Again I read from the report of the committee, on page 24:

Investigators also reported that in Northampton County they had obtained evidence that in three cases either the forelady or the supervisor of a women's sewing project under the W. P. A. had handled the sale of tickets for three different political gatherings, the tickets being in two instances \$1 apiece, and in another instance \$1.50. The evidence further showed that large numbers of these women on this sewing project purchased tickets. The supervisor of the W. P. A. admitted to the committee that at least 30 tickets were sold for one of these political gatherings, that 125 were sold at another, and that 123 were sold to or at a third political gathering. The investigators also reported that the ticket selling by foremen and forewomen on W. P. A. projects was general in that county.

## I continue to read:

The committee's investigation in Pennsylvania showed that in some instances pressure was brought to bear on W. P. A. employees and workers by individuals outside the W. P. A. For instance, under date of October 24, 1938, Mr. Joseph F. McElwee, chairman of the Democratic committee in Montgomery County, Norristown, Pa., mailed a letter addressed to "Fellow Democrats," which stated that at the direction of Senator Joseph F. Gufffer and Mr. David L. Lawrence a joint meeting of all State, Federal, and W. P. A. workers would be held in Norristown on a certain date at a specified time. The letter went on to say:

And the committee places this phrase in quotation marks: There will be no excuse accepted for lack of attendance.

That is the end of the quotation.

I continue to read from the committee's report:

"There will be no excuse accepted for lack of attendance." A representative of the committee attended the meeting mentioned in Mr. McElwee's letter and reported that about 2,500 persons were present. \* \*

## The committee-

is of the opinion that the phrase "There will be no excuse accepted for lack of attendance," addressed to W. P. A. workers on relief, is indefensible, and that it is in the nature of an implied threat and a grave interference with the right of relief workers to be free from coercion in the exercise of their political rights.

I have not quite finished with Pennsylvania. I read now from page 25 of the committee's report:

In further reference to Luzerne County, the committee found that not only truck owners and truck drivers, but timekeepers, foremen, and other workers and employees were, in numerous instances, solicited for contributions and for the purchase of political tickets; and that such solicitations were not confined alone to persons at Democratic headquarters, but were made by W. P. A. employees.

# I continue to read:

This further evidence submitted to the committee by its investigators in Luzerne County showed that numerous W. P. A. workers, including timekeepers, laborers, and others, even women on sewing projects, were requested and ordered to change their registrations from Republican to Democratic with threats of the loss of their relief employments if they refused to comply with the demands;

and it was further disclosed that numerous persons were separated from their employments with W. P. A. shortly after their refusal to accede to such and similar demands.

Now I wish to read the final reference to the disgraceful conditions which were a matter of common knowledge and which have been set down so concisely and so clearly by this most intelligent, earnest, and sincere investigating committee of which the distinguished Senator from Texas [Mr. Sheppard] is the chairman. On page 26 it is stated by the committee:

The investigators further reported to the committee with respect to the Senator Davis charges that they had 23 affidavits from persons who testified a demand was made on them to change their registrations from Republican to Democratic, and these persons asserted that in various ways they were threatened with the loss of their jobs if they did not change. "For the most part," the investigators stated, "they were either timekeepers, foremen, or are employed in some supervisory capacity; but, in a few instances, demands were made to change the registration of relief workers and laborers who were receiving \$60.50 a month." The affidavits were uniform in stating that insistent efforts were made to bring about a change of registration and that if they did not change, they would not be able to continue their work on W. P. A.

#### On page 27 the committee said:

The evidence disclosed, however, that Democratic county officials and Democratic local party workers did bring pressure to bear upon W. P. A. officials in Allegheny and other Pennsylvania counties regarding appointments and dismissais of W. P. A. personnel.

## I now read from page 28:

The investigation disclosed that the evidence obtained by the committee's investigators shows conclusively that Hershey picnic tickets were sold to W. P. A. workers and employees, that they were sold in some instances on Government property and W. P. A. projects, and that the transactions in some cases were handled in such a manner as to amount to coercion of the workers into buying the tickets. Evidence was obtained to show in some instances that the full transaction of the sale and the purchase of the tickets was among W. P. A. employees and that there were other forms of political activity on the part of W. P. A. personnel.

And, finally, from the concluding statement of the committee, so far as my quotation goes with regard to Pennsylvania, I wish to quote this most significant paragraph:

Evidence before the committee was to the effect that the average salaries of W. P. A. employees who were solicited was \$60.50 per month. The committee's investigators also reported on the basis of their investigation and observations in Northampton County, Pa., that it was very apparent to them that an atmosphere of fear appeared to exist among all W. P. A. employees in that county, and that if they were to express themselves they would lose their employment.

I have just finished quoting from the report of the committee, with one exception, to which I shall briefly refer

Mr. President, I have been in public life a long time; I have seen political parties, my own and the party of the gentlemen upon the other side, do many unlovely things. I have seen them use unsavory methods in the collection and distribution of money in campaigns. They proceeded upon the theory that they were out to win and that "the end justified the means." But, in all my experience and in all my reading of the history of this country, never have I found an instance or instances where political practices were so sordid, where all considerations of fairness and decency were so disregarded as in the cases reported by this committee.

I think we have reached the depth of political depravity when those clothed with authority and power take for political campaign expenses pennies, dimes, and dollars from those nearly destitute, which must be paid out of the meager funds given them through an appropriation by the Congress out of the Treasury of the United States, and that money appropriated not for political purposes but for the relief of misery and suffering.

I do not charge Mr. Hopkins with ordering these things; I do not even charge that he was cognizant of all these things. I do charge, however, that these things could not have taken place except with his general knowledge, and, therefore, with his general consent. Through the administration of Mr. Hopkins there had been built up among W. P. A. workers an atmosphere that emboldened Democratic local workers in the precincts and the counties and in the States to run riot with threats of discharging men and

women from the W. P. A. if they failed to comply with the orders of the Democratic politicians. That happened, if you please, Mr. President, in my own town and in my State, though the committee of the Senate never got to them. I charge these things have produced a condition that represents the lowest level of political management this Nation has ever known.

I do not know whether Mr. Hopkins made the statement which well-known newspaper writers printed as having been made by him, that familiar statement that "we will spend and spend, tax and tax, and elect and elect." I do not think it is important whether or not Mr. Hopkins ever made that statement. The fact remains that that phrase is a cogent statement of the philosophy under which Harry L. Hopkins administered the W. P. A., and was especially apparent in the last 2 years and throughout the last campaign.

In that campaign, as I said, we reached a low level of political morals, in which all considerations of fairness and decency, all sympathy for the poor and distressed, were

forgotten.

When Mr. Hopkins was selected for this place, and the announcement was made, it occurred to me as a citizen of the country that the President was taking Mr. Hopkins out of the line of fire which was certain to foliow the results of last year's election. In nearly every State where there was a free expression of opinion the so-called New Deal was repudiated. Progressive Republicans, conservative Republicans, Republicans neither conservative nor progressive, but just Republicans, were able to beat New Deal Democrats. I had a part in that campaign. I speak out of first-hand knowledge that one of the important factors in the last campaign was the political mismanagement of the Works Progress Administration.

I desire to read the final and further statement of the committee. You know, in order to get Mr. Hopkins out of the line of fire, he was kicked upstairs. Unfortunately, his principal associate in W. P. A. did not fare so well. I read now from

the committee's report on page 32:

Another example of undue political activity was seen in an address by Aubrey Williams, Deputy Works Progress Administrator, before the Save the Professional Works Progress Administration Projects Conference in Washington on June 27, 1938, composed mainly of Works Progress Administration workers. In his address Mr. Williams said in part: "We've got to stick together. We've got to keep our friends in power." The committee felt that this was an unfortunate statement, and made a public announcement to that effect. It believes that where a supervisory official addresses an audience of the employees under him or composed mainly of such employees and urges a certain political line of action he uses a form of coercion contrary to public policy and the spirit of our Government.

Alas, poor Aubrey. While his distinguished superior was being kicked upstairs, he was sent to the cellar.

I have no illusions as to the effect of the remarks I have made, or the emphasis I have placed upon the very able and impartial investigating committee of this body. I have no doubt that when the vote is taken Mr. Hopkins will be confirmed. A majority of the majority upon the other side of the aisle will furnish the votes necessary to do that. I desire, however, to leave with the Senate the thought that when it shall have confirmed the appointment of Harry L. Hopkins it will have condoned the acts, the policies of his administration, and the atmosphere which he created; and we on this side will meet Senators on the other side and their party with that as an issue in the election of 1940.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, my remarks will be very brief, and I ask not to be interrupted while I am speaking.

During my years in the Senate I have never opposed a Cabinet appointment by the President. I dislike to take a contrary position at this time. I know the close relationship which has existed between the President and Mr. Hopkins for many years, reaching back to their work together in New York State. The identity of their interests and the mutual bond of their viewpoints have been thoroughly well established since they have been in Washington together during the past 6 years. I believe that nothing I shall say will prevent the confirmation of Mr. Hopkins. However, I should be recreant in my duty, unrepresentative of my constituents, and false to my own beliefs if I voted to confirm him.

Throughout my entire political experience of over 40 years I have opposed the coercion of the voter. I have fought these pernicious influences within both industry and Government. I shall never yield to this destructive attempt to undermine the American principle of a free electorate.

My experience has taught me that these difficulties are encountered among both Republicans and Democrats, frequently in industry as well as in Government. During the recent campaign in Pennsylvania fear in the hearts of hungry men, open reward by way of a better job, relief fraud, and political coercion caused many to barter away their political liberties and yield to unscrupulous demands of partisanship made upon them,

The private coercion of the voter is intolerable. The public coercion of the voter through public funds is even worse. Words fail to describe the resentment of the American public against these abuses.

I hold in my hand a volume of the Investigation of Senatorial Campaign Expenditures in Pennsylvania, representing undisputed findings of this distinguished Senate committee. It is an honest document. It is a confidential report. This is not the time to review all the instances of public abuses shown in it. I have, however, examined it carefully, and I have entire confidence in the integrity of the Senatorial Campaign Expenditures Committee and its findings in Pennsylvania.

Never before in the history of Pennsylvania has such a brand of infamy been set upon partisan political activity. Never before has there been such open exposure of the naked and unabashed shamelessness of unscrupulous spoilsmen. Mr. President, I take this opportunity to congratulate the Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures on the perseverance and courage of its labors. I regret that the committee found conditions so unspeakably bad as to make this extended report necessary.

I regret that in the past Pennsylvania has suffered from the tyranny of the political spoilsman. I have been active in my opposition to these practices within my own party. I know full well the nature and the extent of these abuses. But, irrespective of the charges made against Pennsylvania Republicans, history does not record anything which would begin to equal the findings of fraud and voter coercion contained in the volume now before me, the record of the spoilsmen of recent years. Cameron, Quay, Penrose, and Vare were charged with extremes of political partisanship; but their activities pale to insignificance compared to the streamlined plunder of the present day.

I say this as my own party now returns to responsibility in Pennsylvania. I shall expect the same fidelity to public trust in my own party which I ask of any responsible administration. If that trust is violated, I shall openly and promptly condemn it. Under no circumstances will I condone the partisan use of public funds.

Mr. President, for many years I tried to secure from the office of Mr. Hopkins some slight cooperation in my earnest attempt to take politics out of the administration of W. P. A. in Pennsylvania. Mr. Hopkins gave me no help. All he would do was to make slighting references to me, saying, "You cannot expect me to turn handsprings every time Senator Davis makes a political charge." Seeking to cover up his own administration, he accused me of political partisanship.

I should be unfair to Mr. Hopkins and to my own constituents if I lost this opportunity to say that my interest in the unemployed then, as now, was not that of a political partisan. I have voted for all work-relief and public-works appropriations. I voted for W. P. A. appropriations, although I knew they were being used to build up a political machine in Pennsylvania for the purpose of defeating me. I frequently stated this on the floor of the Senate and throughout the State of Pennsylvania. However, that political machine became so arrogant and so thoroughly degraded that the citizens of Pennsylvania, including thousands of men and women on W. P. A. rolls who had been insulted by the treatment they had received, rose up in rebellion against the machine and registered a stern verdict against it on November 8.

I have been increasingly confirmed in a profound conviction that partisan politics should not be tolerated in the administration of relief, work relief, or any form of social-security legislation. Despite a manifest public opinion on this subject, the representative of Mr. Hopkins at Harrisburg, Pa., has not uttered a single protest against the partisan conditions under his administration; nor has Aubrey Williams, his chief deputy, recanted a single word he spoke during the recent campaign, although Mr. Hopkins has apologized for him.

Mr. President, I do not wish to indict the intelligence of Mr. Hopkins by saying that he did not know what was going on in W. P. A. in the great State of Pennsylvania. He had every opportunity of knowing. He could have known if he had wanted to know, and I do not think he has been in Washington for 6 years without knowing the work-relief problems of our State. At no time, however, until he was called before the committee considering his nomination have I heard of him indicating his clear recognition and sure condemnation of these abuses.

I do not wish to judge the motives of Mr. Hopkins in obscuring the partisan developments in W. P. A. I can only take him at his own word when he now says that he regrets the intrusion of partisan politics into the great public trust committed to him. I am glad that he has admitted the truth of these findings, and that he does not seek to deny the evidences of fraud, voter coercion, and dissipated public funds shown in the report of the Senatorial Campaign Expenditures Committee. At last he has adopted an attitude becoming in a public servant. Mr. Hopkins is now like the repentant sinner who, through his tears, can find courage to sing:

Yield not to temptation, for yielding is sin.

The apparent ease with which he makes these admissions has not increased my confidence in him. However, it is my sincere hope that should he now be confirmed he will take to his new official responsibility a more certain respect for the public opinion of the American people.

Mr. President, the document I now hold in my hand is ample proof of wicked practices of voter coercion in W. P. A. in Pennsylvania. The temporary activities of the conscientious Senate committee investigating campaign expenditures has given insight as to what may be expected when a complete investigation is made. I shall not cease my insistence on this point. W. P. A. must be fully investigated. The public is entitled to know how much has been spent for administrative overhead, to whom it was paid, what work they did, and why some were discharged while others were retained at princely salaries at a time when tens of thousands of heads of families were driven from the rolls immediately after election day, or in the pitiless cold of winter.

Mr. President, I am not for further cuts in W. P. A. at this time. This is not the time, in the dead of winter, to drive workers from the rolls. Snow has fallen in Pennsylvania. In thousands of homes there are no shoes for the children, no suitable clothing, but little food in the kitchen, and little fuel for warmth. If such were the case in my home, I would seek the work opportunities necessary to protect it, and I believe my fellow citizens have the same right.

I repeat, however, that W. P. A. must be fully and completely investigated. I should not like to believe the current rumor that the removal of Mr. Hopkins from W. P. A. was designed primarily to stop such an investigation. I carry an order from the voters of Pennsylvania as of last November 8 demanding that W. P. A. be cleaned up. The voters do not want a whitewash. They do not want the self-investigation of W. P. A. such as Mr. Hopkins has conducted. They want W. P. A. purged from top to bottom. Nothing less than a complete investigation of W. P. A. will satisfy the taxpayers of this Nation.

I was among the first, if not the first Member of the Senate, some 4 years ago to ask for a full investigation of W. P. A. I did so for a number of reasons. I desired a rethinking of the principles on which public work is administered. I desired to remove partisanship from the administration of relief and work relief. I desired a thorough examination of the administration.

istrative costs of public work. We shall not come to a satisfactory solution of these questions until W. P. A. is fully investigated. Such an investigation has an importance far higher than any partisan claim, and deserves the support of every patriotic American citizen.

The report in my hand is only the beginning. Mr. President, let me repeat, this is only the beginning. At a later date I expect to present additional evidence which will, I believe, make a complete investigation of W. P. A. imperative at the source of expenditures in every State in the Union.

Mr. President, I conclude. In view of the facts which I have reviewed, I shall not vote for the confirmation of Mr. Hopkins. If I should do so I should be kept busy from now until my dying day in unsatisfactory explanations.

I ask to have printed in the Record at this point, as a part of my remarks, the affidavit of Mary E. Lucot, of Pittsburgh. She was formerly chief clerk in the office of the W. P. A. of Allegheny County, which had charge of all projects operated in the boroughs, townships, and third-class cities. Seven weeks before the day when she made this affidavit she was discharged because she refused to purchase W. P. A. tickets for the Hershey picnic.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Johnson of Colorado in the chair). Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. CONNALLY. Before consent is given, Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Pennsylvania whether this affidavit attacking W. P. A. was made while this lady was still working for the W. P. A. or after she had been discharged.

Mr. DAVIS. It is filed in the confidential report of the committee.

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator is offering it. I merely desired to know whether she made the affidavit while she was still working for the W. P. A.

Mr. DAVIS. No; after she had been discharged from the W. P. A.

Mr. CONNALLY. After she lost her job she made the affidavit?

Mr. DAVIS. That is correct—after she was discharged for political reasons.

Mr. BARKLEY. In this affidavit did she state she was discharged for political reasons?

Mr. DAVIS. No; I do not think she did say that.

Mr. BARKLEY. If she was discharged for political reasons, she must have been discharged by the W. P. A., and if they discharged her for political reasons, or because of her political activity, does the Senator complain of that?

Mr. DAVIS. Does the Senator think anyone down in Kentucky is going to make the statement that he knows he is going to be discharged for political reasons? They will not do that in Pennsylvania. They wait until the action is taken.

Mr. BARKLEY. I know a great many of them who were discharged for reasons entirely legitimate who afterward made affidavits that they were dismissed for political reasons.

Mr. DAVIS. I know some who were discharged just for political reasons, when the W. P. A. had no legitimate right to discharge them on that ground.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Davis]?

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I ask the Senator from Pennsylvania whether the affidavit directly connects Mr. Hopkins with the matter that is set forth in it.

Mr. DAVIS. It does not mention Mr. Hopkins' name. It mentions W. P. A. and the officers in Allegheny County, Pa. For the benefit of the Senate, I ask that the clerk read the affidavit, if that course is agreeable to Senators, so that they may have the full information as to what is contained in the affidavit. Mr. President, I ask that the affidavit be read by the clerk.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, the affidavit need not be read into the Record in order to satisfy the purpose of my taking the floor. I wish to inform the Senator that I did not intend to object to its being read into the Record. I was simply

seeking a little information, because the returns from Pennsylvania led me to conclude that everyone, including the W. P. A., had voted the Republican ticket in that State, and I was wondering whether the Senator from Pennsylvania was dissatisfied with the result.

Mr. DAVIS. For the information of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] and my very good friend, the Sena-

tor from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY]

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, does not the Senator from Pennsylvania include me among his very good friends also? Why does the Senator discriminate between the Senator from

West Virginia and me? [Laughter.]

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I call attention to a rule of the Senate, a rule which is important, that before a Senator may speak he must be recognized by the Chair. That rule is constantly being violated by Senators on the floor who ought to know the rules. So far as the Senator from Pennsylvania is concerned, he does not need to make a request for unanimous consent to have the affidavit read. He can read it in his own right, under the rule.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Davis] originally asked that an affidavit be printed in the RECORD. Is there objection to that request?

The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The affidavit is as follows:

#### EXHIBIT 1

The following affidavit was filed with Senator Sheppard, chairman, Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee:

OFFICE OF SENATOR JAMES J. DAVIS, November 2, 1938.

#### [Copy]

THE REPUBLICAN ATTITUDE TOWARD W. P. A. (By Mary E. Lucot)

(By Mary E. Lucot)

(Mary E. Lucot was formerly chief clerk of the office of the W. P. A. of Allegheny County, which had charge of all projects operated in the boroughs, townships, and third-class cities. Seven weeks ago she was fired because she refused to purchase W. P. A. tickets for the Hershey picnic.)

As chief clerk of the office which had charge of all projects operating in the boroughs, townships, and third-class cities in Allegheny County, I am qualified to write of conditions which have existed during my 2½ years in that office. As chief clerk, I kept a record of approximately 200 projects. From 110 to 125 of these were in actual operation at all times. I wrote every requisition for the assignment of labor orders, skilled and supervisory men. the assignment of labor orders, skilled and supervisory men,

for these projects.

If the W. P. A. office in Allegheny County is investigated, the stench of favoritism and politics in its administration will far surpass the scandal at Harrisburg.

surpass the scandal at Harrisburg.

Federal funds are used injudiciously to promote the financial chests of the Democratic Party in Allegheny County.

In July of this year I personally made a trip to Harrisburg and advised Mr. J. Banks Hudson, State administrator of W. P. A., of the conditions which exist in the Allegheny County office. Mr. Hudson knows these facts to be true.

I saw honest, competent, and efficient men refused work, due solely to their political standing or to the fact that the ward chairman preferred to place his own workers in these positions. Political bosses were not concerned about whether a man was able to perform the work which was set up to be done by appropriated Federal funds, but only what they could get out of the men for the pert election. for the next election.

During the election.

During the election of the mayor in the city of Pittsburgh in 1937, we purged the W. P. A. rolls of all men who had been sponsored by John Kane, county commissioner, who was supporting P. J. McArdle against C. D. Scully. We substituted and assigned in their places organization men by the scores and the organization supported Mr. Scully who was the victor, for it was not possible to beat the organization pay roll within its own rights. However, Mr. Waddell, the Republican candidate for mayor, had stiffer opposition, for after the primaries, all the Democrats were once more "sweethearts."

"sweethearts."

During October and November of 1937, the two heavy campaign months, W. P. A. aided considerably but this time we were opposing the Republican Party and heavier fuel was added to the mixture. We took hundreds of cases from the relief rolls and assigned them to W. P. A. pay rolls. The manning on city streets alone jumped over 1,000 men. All this was done to help the Democratic Party keep control of the city of Pittsburgh. If the manning of W. P. A. had been checked 30 days previous to this election day with the pay rolls as they were reduced 30 days later, you could verify that the W. P. A. rolls had been padded for election day. Allegheny County has a quota of men that has been set up by the State office to take care of W. P. A. work within the county. An accurate check will show that we kept within that figure during most of the year and that the discrepancy occurs only during the election period.

The Guffey-Earle machine also may resort to other means for winning an election if increasing the load and assigning choice supervisory positions fail. Harrisburg is contacted and we get an official notice, signed by Mr. J. Banks Hudson, to suspend all work

official notice, signed by Mr. J. Banks Hudson, to suspend all work on election day, said work to be made up at a later date, and thus all the ward bosses are given a chance to use their W. P. A. appointees at the polls and they see that those on the relief rolls in their particular balliwick get taken to the polls in cars.

If W. P. A. workers were given an opportunity to work 40-44 hours per week, 52 weeks of the year, 95 percent of them would be honest and efficient. They would give as much to their work as any man in private industry. I have talked with and questioned more than 2,000 men on the W. P. A. Ninety-five percent of them are dissatisfied with their present wage and working conditions.

(5) W. P. A. employees are supposed to receive a notice, coming from Washington, before every election. This notice is expected previous to the election. However, during the recent primary campaign, we received this notice 2 days after the election and it stated that at no time were we to coerce or intimidate any Federal employee and that the knowledge of such would result in our imstated that at no time were we to coerce or intimidate any Federal employee and that the knowledge of such would result in our immediate dismissal. They failed to send notices to the political bosses and ward heelers who were coercing and intimidating the W. P. A. workers. We were given permission to vote independently but 99 percent of those employed on the administrative and supervisory pay rolls are well aware of this fact. They know this is the usual form letter and is to be treated as such.

If the administrators of W. P. A. took this election notice seriously would they tolerate the distribution of the Hershey State.

If the administrators of W. P. A. took this election notice seriously, would they tolerate the distribution of the Hershey State picnic tickets in the old Federal post-office building to W. P. A. workers? You answer "no." But those tickets were distributed in this building and were handed to the officials themselves during W. P. A. work hours.

If W. P. A. administrators took their election notice seriously would they lend to outside agencies, men charged to the Federal pay roll, to distribute tickets to the supervisory personnel? Would they personally O. K. the travel expense accounts of these men, working on Government time, for this purpose? You answer "They should not." But I know they did. Would they condone the collecting of moneys for these same tickets by Federal employees during office hours and knowingly permit them to tell you that they thought it would be much better if you paid for them rather than to turn them back? They actually did this after the State picnic in Hershey Park.

Would officials in the building permit certain individuals to take

Would officials in the building permit certain individuals to take their tickets out to the various work locations and sell them to the laborers and skilled men in order that they would not have to dig into their own pockets for their share of the graft, which is and has been carried by the W. P. A. employees?

In the face of these questions do you think that Governor Earle and Senator Guffer, who connive with others to mace W. P. A. workers, are fit men to control the destiny of our State? Should they, by the control which they exercise over the public pay roll, be permitted to tell us who will be our candidates for Governor and Hutted States Constant. and United States Senator?

During the May primaries Senator Guffer appealed to W. P. A. workers to nominate an honest man for Governor and not a hand-

workers to nominate an honest man for Governor and not a handpicked candidate of David Lawrence. Now Mr. Guffer is telling
the W. P. A. workers to support the same candidate he then
opposed. Was Mr. Guffer right in May or is he right now?

During these same May primaries, through the influence of
Senator Guffer, the assignment division in Allegheny County
worked strenuously for 2 or 3 weeks to assign some 5,000 to 6,000
on W. P. A. rolls. This necessitated additional supervision which
was passed to the Kennedy-Guffey supporters. Some of the supervision on W. P. A. projects went from laborers at \$60.50 or C. L. F.,
at \$85 to general foreman at \$1,800-\$2,160. It was not a question
of qualifications or ability but one of political strategy. Some of
the Kennedy-Guffey workers who thought to make a good showat \$50 to general noteman at \$1,000-\$2,100. It was not a question of qualifications or ability but one of political strategy. Some of the Kennedy-Guffey workers who thought to make a good showing on their application stated that they had experience with the Casey Construction Co., extending from 1 to 20 years. These statements were checked and fraud was uncovered on 14 out of

statements were checked and fraud was uncovered on 14 out of 15 applications.

When Mr. Kennedy was defeated in the primaries, we purged our rolls of 6,000 men within 3 weeks, in order to get down once more to quota. This should have automatically reduced our supervision, but everyone was in doubt as to who should be discharged. Should it be the recently appointed Kennedy workers or should it be the old organization men who did not go along with the Guffey purge? The consequence was that for many weeks we carried a supervisory roll far in excess of that needed.

Judge Arthur James and Senator James J. Davis have signed a public statement, together with other Republican candidates, promising a full continuation of W. P. A. until jobs can be provided through private employment. This is the outstanding issue of this campaign and the Republican position on it is clear and satisfactory to W. P. A. workers. The Republican Party promises that workers will not be stuck on W. P. A. rolls and then dropped as the Earle gang has done. The constructive attitude toward as the Earle gang has done. The constructive attitude toward W. P. A. should be endorsed at the polls by every fair-minded

voter.

Senator Davis states that "A bill should be introduced into the Senate of the United States to brand political macing as a crime punishable with a \$5,000 fine for any man who seeks to extort even as much as one thin dime from a W. P. A. worker or forces the purchase of \$100 a plate dinners from Government employees." When this bill becomes the law of the land, the disgraceful con-

dition of political macing, which now prevails in Pennsylvania, will be removed

I expect to vote Republican November 8 and ask my many oldtime associates and friends on W. P. A. to vote for Arthur James for Governor and Senator James J. Davis for United States Senator. MARY E. LUCOT.

2901 Middletown Road, Pittsburgh, Pa. Sworn and subscribed before me this 1st day of November 1938 by Mary E. Lucot.

(Signed) N. M. GAERTNER, Notary Public. [SEAL]

(My commission expires March 30, 1941.)

Mr. HOLT obtained the floor.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. HOLT. Yes. I am enjoying the debate.

Mr. BARKLEY. A while ago, when I asked the Senator to yield, and he declined, he was stating in his address that he was satisfied and actually charging Mr. Hopkins with knowing the condition which he described in Pennsylvania. If the Senator insists on that attitude, then he disagrees with the Senate committee, which in its official report exonerated Mr. Hopkins from any knowledge or responsibility in connection with any of these matters that were critized by the committee in the States referred to.

Mr. DAVIS. I am expressing my opinion that that is the opinion of the Senate committee. The district representative of Mr. Hopkins in Pennsylvania certainly knew about it. Mr. Aubrey Williams certainly knew about it in Pennsylvania. And I said I did not want to indict him in a way to show that he did not know what was going on in his

Mr. BARKLEY. Then by not being willing to indict Mr. Hopkins, the Senator is willing to indict the Senate committee for making the report.

Mr. DAVIS. No; I am not willing to indict the Senate committee. I say the Senate committee did an excellent job.

Mr. BARKLEY. Very well. They said that Mr. Hopkins knew nothing about this and was in no way responsible for it. The Senator disagrees with the committee?

Mr. DAVIS. I disagree with the committee on that point because of the fact that on many occasions I have called incidents to the attention of Mr. Hopkins, and Mr. Hopkins said that he could not turn a handspring every time I brought in the political question of W. P. A. and

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, we are here to discuss the question of a Christmas present. It was said in the newspapers, and reliably said, that the President of the United States had given a Christmas present to Mr. Hopkins, whom he affectionately calls "Harry the Hop," as he calls Mr. Morgenthau "Henry the Morgue," and Mr. Corcoran "Tommy the Cork"-

Mr. ASHURST. The Senator spoke the name "Henry"did he refer to me?

Mr. HOLT. No; I do not refer to my distinguished and good friend from Arizona.

Mr. ASHURST. The Senator said "Henry the Morgue." Mr. HOLT. I do not refer to the Senator from Arizona, because I am sure he is not "Henry the Morgue"-he is very much alive. [Laughter.]

However, it is a known fact that the President gave the Secretaryship of Commerce to Mr. Hopkins as a Christmas present. I believe a large number of the American people would not accept Mr. Hopkins even on a Christmas tree. [Laughter in the galleries.] However, I do not doubt that he will be confirmed, because Mr. Hopkins has played ball with too many Democrats not to be confirmed. I should like to express and will express my opinion about the man in my address this afternoon.

Jefferson some time ago-known as the father of the Democratic Party, but lately known as the forgotten man of the Democratic Party, and particularly he was the forgotten man that was spoken of in the 1932 campaign-Jefferson made the statement that the question concerning a candidate shall be, "Is he honest, is he capable, is he faithful to the Constitution?" In my opinion I can answer all three of those questions with a definite negative, "No." I do not believe that he is honest. I do not believe that he is capable. Nor do I believe he is faithful to the Constitution. I am in a little better position to make such an assertion than a number of Senators on this side of the aisle. I do not have any job to lose, and I may make that assertion. I was looking through the Congressional Directory as to the official duties of the Department of Commerce. Oh, there are quite a number of duties in the Department of Commerce. I shall not read them all, but on page 573 I found out why the President has appointed Mr. Hopkins as Secretary of Commerce. One of those duties is listed as follows:

The Secretary of Commerce is charged with the work of-

What?-

the supervision and control of Alaskan fur seal, salmon, and other

I do not know of any man in America who should be more qualified to regulate the Alaskan fur seals than Mr. Hopkins, because he has done a great deal of boondoggling, and no doubt in his boondoggling ventures he has studied the Alaskan fur seal. Some of the Works Progress Administration workers even went back to Pharaoh's time, and before, in Egypt to trace the history of the safetypin. So I am sure that Mr. Hopkins has traced down something of the history of the Alaskan fur seal and is perfectly at ease in determining what shall be done about it.

I do not want to be facetious, particularly now. I want to read a very excellent summary about Mr. Hopkins appearing in the Baltimore Sun this morning written by Frank R. Kent. I shall amplify it, but I think it summarizes the matter very well. It is entitled "The Hopkins Ballyhoo."

I want to read it, because I am sure that a number of Senators would like to hear it:

If the interesting effort to build Mr. Harry Hopkins, newly apof the interesting enort to build Mr. Harry Hopkins, newly appointed Secretary of Commerce, up into a solid and reassuring figure in whom businessmen will confide and in whose behalf his influence will be benevolently exerted—if that effort has begun to bog down, it is not the fault of the administration propagandists.

Certainly they have done their best. The basic cause of the failure can be traced back to that trenchant, ancient, but still appoint required to with that trenchant.

appallingly accurate saying, to wit, that "you cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear."

How true, how true!

While it is true that an extraordinary concentration of the New While it is true that an extraordinary concentration of the New Deal political and publicity forces succeeded in pulling him through a hearing where the clarity of his memory about not having uttered his famous spend, spend, tax, tax, elect, elect remark was only equaled by the amazing fogginess which made him uncertain that he had ever said, among other things, that Upton Sinclair is "one of us," or that he had ever been enrolled as a Socialist—nevertheless, the Senate gauntlet rubbed off a good deal of the grease with which the heroic Harry had been anointed.

He will enter upon his new job with the White House journalistic reflectors almost tearfully insisting upon his noble personal character, his great executive ability, and many admirable qualities of mind and heart. The chorus, however, is a little too loud; its synthetic nature slightly too apparent; the butter much too thick.

synthetic nature slightly too apparent; the butter much too thick. Mr. Hopkins' W. P. A. record, Mr. Hopkins' testimony, and the points made about Mr. Hopkins in the Senate and outside stand him out far too clearly to permit the picture to be blurred by propaganda or the actual facts to be hidden from the people as a whole.

Outstanding among these is that Mr. Hopkins was not taken from the W. P. A. and put into the Cabinet as a deserved promotion, but to get him out of a job which he had badly botched and into a place where he would be out of the line of fire. That is the plain truth and there isn't an informed man in Washington who does

I intended to discuss that question a little later. At present I continue the reading of Mr. Kent's article:

As for the botching, the evidence—some of it provided by Mr. Hopkins himself—is overwhelming and convincing. As he leaves, Congress prepares to dismantle and revamp the whole relief set-up. It does this after the political saturation of the W. P. A. has been disclosed by a Seneta committee and partially admitted by Mr. disclosed by a Senate committee, and partially admitted by Mr. Hopkins; after it has been denounced by both Democrats and Republicans, and after public sentiment has reached the limit of tolerance.

The job of forming a new system of relief administration, about to be tackled by Congress, is not recommended either by the President or Mr. Hopkins. On the contrary, neither has as yet made the slightest constructive suggestion, and until Mr. Hopkins admitted certain things on the stand, including his own misiaken political participations that W. P. A. wes. political activities, the attitude of both had been that W. P. A. was

without a flaw and that all charges were partisan and unfounded. The situation as it exists today, with Mr. Hopkins taken out as a precaution against attack, his aide, Mr. Aubrey Williams, side-tracked for similar reasons, and the whole structure itself about to be made over, is about as complete an indictment as could be framed.

Under the circumstances, to sing the praises of Mr. Hopkins is to be ridiculous. However, that does not deter the administration minstrels who are thoroughly aware that in saving Mr. Hopkins' face they also save the President's. The tune upon which they now harp is that Mr. Hopkins was really urged for Secretary of Commerce by big-business leaders who believe in him. This is simply not true. There were no detached business leaders who urged his selection or wanted it. The idea of making him Secretary of Commerce originated in no business mind, but was evolved by the slick palace politicians, of whom he is one, as a way out of the W. P. A. jam which made his retention there impossible.

The position he now occupies is the least important of all Cabinet

# And am I glad of that!-

far less important, of course, than that of W. P. A. Administrator, which he relinquishes. But to justify the advance notices tentative plans have been formed to have Mr. Hopkins expand into a sort of superlabor peacemaker and otherwise avoid sinking into what might prove humiliating obscurity.

I am reminded of the President's desire for anonymity in certain of his officers. If he leaves Harry Hopkins alone, the appointee will sink into that anonymous position, and, as Mr. Kent says, he will sink into "humiliating obscurity."

They will not amount to much. Actually Mr. Hopkins is the complete "yes man," the most subservient whom the President has in Washington, which may account for the high favor in which he holds him.

It has taken an administration drive of major proportions to get him safely into the new job where his power is curtailed, his importance diminished, and his usefulness to the opposition as a target decreased. But neither the strained tributes of the business stooges of the so-called advisory council, the "great American" adjectives of his jobholding colleagues, nor the encomiums of his gifted chief can make of him a public official whom the harried businessman will trust or love. In the graphic words of an old-time politician, no businessman not wholly foolish "would ever go to sleep with his finger in Harry's mouth."

That is the end of Mr. Kent's article. Of course, I would not try to add to it, but I desire to amplify it to some extent. I might read all afternoon about Mr. Hopkins, and what the people of the country think of him. However, I wish only to read a few references from some of the newspapers of the country about this so-called great Secretary of Commerce, who, as Secretary of Commerce, is going to settle all our labor troubles.

I invite attention first to an editorial from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat. I emphasize the word "Democrat":

President Roosevelt's selection of Harry L. Hopkins to assume the Cabinet post vacated by Commerce Secretary Daniel C. Roper is purely a political act and reflects a dismal disregard for national welfare. Scrutiny of Mr. Hopkins' record reveals no qualifications for the job. His business experience is nil, and his conduct as head of the Works Progress Administration has been the New Deal's most arrogant example of shameful political exploitation.

I shall not read more from that editorial. Let me go to the Little Rock (Ark.) Gazette, a Democratic newspaper, which says:

As Secretary of Commerce the W. P. A. Administrator will be taken out of his life work and made responsible for work of a totally different kind, in which he has had no training or experience.

The Reno (Nev.) Gazette labels its editorial about Mr. Hopkins' appointment "Silencing an Inquiry."

Not a man in the Senate who knows the facts will deny that one of the reasons why President Roosevelt named Harry Hopkins as Secretary of Commerce was to stop an investigation of the Works Progress Administration, and in order that the administration cohorts on the floor, when we start to discuss the W. P. A. and Mr. Hopkins, may say, "Well, you are discussing something in the past. Mr. Hopkins is gone. What are you talking about?" We all know that that was one of the chief reasons why he was kicked upstairs. He was kicked upstairs by the President in order to avoid an exposé of the most shameful conduct that has ever been known by any official who has had his power.

I could go ahead and read many articles. The Lansing (Mich.) Journal labels its editorial "Hopkins Offends Common Sense."

Turning to the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, its editorial starts with this language:

The appointment of Harry Hopkins as Secretary of Commerce is remarkable from several aspects. Next to the naming of Hugo Black—

I think some Senators will remember him.

Next to the naming of Hugo Black to the Supreme Court, it is probably the most unfit appointment the President has yet made. By neither training nor experience is Hopkins acquainted with the problems which arise in the Commerce Department; nor is it likely he has much sympathy for them.

Another Democratic newspaper is the Galveston Tribune. The label of its editorial is "Mr. Hopkins Gets a Christmas Present." The editorial goes on to say:

In the eyes of some it would be difficult to find a man less qualified for the post of Secretary of Commerce than Harry Hopkins.

The Colorado Springs (Colo.) Gazette labels its editorial about Mr. Hopkins "Unfit But Safe." The editorial begins thus:

Harry Hopkins is probably the most unpopular man the President could name to the Department of Commerce.

The editorial from the Long Beach (Calif.) Press-Telegram is labeled "Christmas Gift for Senators." It states:

It was 2 days before Christmas, and all through the land not a politician was thinking of anything more serious than turkey and fixings, when President Roosevelt yesterday shoved Santa Claus from the center of the stage by appointing Harry L. Hopkins to the Cabinet as Secretary of Commerce. What chance has an old fellow like Santa against a man who has won the title of "Biggest Spender on Earth"?

I shall not read more from that editorial. I should like to quote a sentence from the Christian Science Monitor, of Boston, Mass., which labels its editorial "An Uncommercial Secretary." The first sentence of that editorial is:

Never has there been an American Secretary of Commerce with less of a private business background than Harry L. Hopkins,

As I stated a moment ago, I could read at great length from newspaper comments, both Democratic and Republican, about Mr. Hopkins. We have in this country a poll known as the American Institute of Public Opinion, otherwise known as the Gallup poll. On December 16 the Gallup poll, named after Dr. George Gallup, its director, was taken to determine whether the people of the United States wanted Harry Hopkins to succeed Roper. The Gallup poll showed that 66 percent of the people of the United States felt that Hopkins should not be named as Secretary of Commerce.

Different individuals throughout the country were asked, Do you think Harry Hopkins has done a good job in the W. P. A.? The majority, or 53 percent, felt that he had not done a good job.

A number of businessmen were asked whether they thought Harry Hopkins would be a good Secretary of Commerce. Only 22 percent of the businessmen of America felt that Harry Hopkins would be a good Secretary of Commerce and 78 percent thought that he would not be a good Secretary. Of course, the office of Secretary of Commerce was created to help business and evaluate business conditions. Mr. Hopkins is utterly unfit for that; and, although I desire to discuss this a little later on in my very, very short speech, I should like, since I have mentioned the Gallup polls, to refer to the Gallup poll which was published on June 19, 1938. The headline is "New Deal injecting politics into relief. poll voters believe." It shows that 54 percent of the people actually believed that politics had been injected into the W. P. A. It also shows that of that entire group 91 percent objected to the use of politics in relief. Of course, we have heard that Mr. Hopkins has repented. Oh, yes. His appearance and conduct before the committee reminded me of the instance of a man who was caught and found guilty of stealing something, who goes before the judge and says, "Judge, I did not mean to do it at all; I will not do it again if you will just let me off." So that is practically what Mr. Hopkins says: "I did not mean to do this; I think it was wrong; but if you will just give me another lease on life and \$15,000 a year"-that is thrown in-"If you will just give me that, I will be a good boy and will make political speeches only when they have the approval of most of the Senators, whether they be purged or not."

Referring to the hearing, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG asked him what he thought about a statement Mr. Williams made on June 27 in which Mr. Williams said, "We have got to stick together; we have got to keep our friends in power." Mr. Hopkins said that that was an indis-

cretion on the part of Mr. Williams.

Now let me compare what Mr. Williams said with what Mr. Hopkins said in September. Mr. Williams said-and I repeat it, and then I want to inquire which was worse, and I ask Senators to listen-Mr. Williams said in June, "We have got to stick together; we have got to keep our friends in power." Here, however, is what Mr. Hopkins said, according to the Associated Press in September 1938 at New Ulm, Minn.—and I quote from the press dispatch:

NEW ULM, MINN., September 13.-Harry Hopkins, Federal Works Progress Administration chieftain, toured local W. P. A. projects today after declaring "It is—

This is Mr. Hopkins speaking.

"It is perfectly proper in a democracy for relief to become a political issue."

The article goes on:

Addressing 100 civic officials and businessmen last night, Mr. Hopkins said: "There is nothing wrong in supporting the political group that will give you the most."

There is nothing wrong in supporting the political group that will give you the most.

Mr. Williams said-

We have got to stick together; we have got to keep our friends in power.

Let the Senate determine which statement is worse. One was made by Mr. Williams in June and the other was made by Mr. Hopkins in September. Mr. Hopkins is the man who wanted to keep politics out of relief, and yet he made that statement in his speech. Perhaps he thought it was just one of those times when he was "playing around" about which he spoke. It will be recalled he said he might have made it while he was "playing around," but he never defined what he meant by that. I do not know what he meant, but, nevertheless, the Associated Press got this particular statement and I am going to quote a little further from it. This is Mr. Hopkins still speaking:

Relief is a good issue-

and should be debated. The public is demanding more and more service from its Government and should elect candidates that will

Oh, it was wrong for Mr. Williams to say it; Mr. Hopkins said it was indiscreet for Mr. Williams to say it. I ask which statement was worse?

Then he proceeds:

I am no more worried about relief clients becoming a pressure group than I am about school teachers organizing for higher wages or Andrew Mellon lobbying for an aluminum tariff or the cement manufacturers for paved roads-

So, Mr. Hopkins feels that there should be no politics in relief: at least, that is what he has now said, and he criticizes Mr. Williams for making the statement to which I have

Here is something else he said—and I quote from his testimony in the nomination hearing. He said:

Senator, I am the last man to try to avoid either responsibility or to seem to quibble about politics in relief. I do not think it is funny. I do not think the American people like it. I know you do not like it, Senator, because ever since I have been here never once have you ever by any implication attempted to even, directly or indirectly, have anything to do with W. P. A. or with anything I have ever done about politics.

In other words, he said in his statement when he appeared before the men who are to pass on his nomination that he does not think it funny to quibble about politics and relief. He did not tell them that he delivered a speech in Minnesota about which the committee did not know and which was not given to any members of the committee and which happened to be found by me as I plowed through the record of Mr. Hopkins. It is all right to play politics in Minnesota, but when his side gets licked in the election and when he cannot "purge" those he desired to purge, and when he wants to be Secretary of Commerce then he puts on his saintly air, his hypocritical cloak, and says, "Gentlemen, I have done wrong, but I shall be a good boy from now on if you will just excuse me once again."

I could proceed and show a number of things from the hearing, but I do not think it is necessary to read all of them. I should like, however, to read some of the questions regarding Mr. Hopkins' activity in the 1938 campaign. I quote from the hearings, as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. I will remind you of what you said and where you said it.

It would be necessary to do that, and then, when it was done, his memory would become very bad and he would not remember saying it at all, even though he would be told where he said it.

You said it at Hyde Park, after having seen His Excellency the President, that the New Deal would make a clean sweep and "you can take my word for it that Governor Murphy will be elected by 500,000 majority."

That was not the first time Mr. Hopkins has been wrong; but Mr. Hopkins had to quibble about that. Here is what

Mr. HOPKINS. I do not recall the 500,000, but I was awfully sure

that Murphy was going to win.

The Charman. It is not a matter of being sure; it is a matter of making a political declaration as the head of an organization that permeated the whole country and that was dispensing public money and getting out projects.

Mr. HOPKINS. I did not consider that I was making a political speech at all. Everybody in the United States was discussing the

Including, I may say, Mr. Hopkins.

Some newspaperman asked me how I thought Michigan was coming out, and I probably said I thought it was "in the bag."

"In the bag"! Another instance will be remembered, the newspapermen asked Mr. Hopkins a question as to what he thought about the Iowa election, and he said that if he were in Iowa he would vote for Mr. Wearin; and then when he was questioned about it he said, "I just said that off the record to the newspapermen." So he said "off the record" that Michigan was "in the bag."

I should have consulted Senator Vandenberg, first, because I

should have known better than to make such a statement.

The Chairman. If you had consulted your better thoughts as you have expressed them this morning, you would not have made that statement?

Mr. Hopkins. I am not sure about that. I think that is a little different. I was not urging that Murphy be elected. I was simply doing something that all of us do—guessing about politics.

I wonder if he guessed about South Carolina and Georgia, and I may add Maryland, also.

The Chairman. We will let you have your view about it. We fellows who are probably more political than you are—I don't

Even the Chairman expressed a doubt

think that predictions are meant in some degree as expressions of wishes. You did not think of that at all?

Mr. HOPKINS. No; I did not. That certainly did not cross my

mind.

He did not think that anybody would be interested. The newspapermen just asked him that question, and it did not even cross his mind that the newspapers asked him that for any political reason. Is not that peculiar?

The CHAIRMAN. You did not think that that would rally the

boys? Mr. Hopkins, No. I would have been very sure it would not; certainly not.

The Chairman. You did make a statement about the New Deal sweeping the whole western country through which you traveled. What was the basis of that?

Mr. Hopkins. I saw a great many people when I was out West, public officials, and had many, many discussions out there.

Then he tells about that. I read further:

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you stop? Mr. HOPKINS. I stopped in Minnesota.

The CHAIRMAN. There was a contest on there?

Mr. Hopkins. Yes. I guessed that one badly-wrong.

Yes; I would say he guessed it wrong.

The CHAIRMAN. You were supporting-Mr. Hopkins. Now, wait a minute, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the Senator's name who got beat out Benson?

Mr. Hopkins. The party has not had a Senator there for quite a while.

The CHARMAN. Benson was Senator and then got to be Governor and then got beat this past year?
Mr. Hopkins. He was not a Democrat.

The CHAIRMAN. No; he was a Farmer-Labor. But the Democratic Party has been supporting the Farmer-Labor candidates out

Mr. Hopkins. I don't know about that.

That is the reason-because members of the Democratic Party in Minnesota in some instances are anti-New Deal, but he did not tell the committee about that; those are the ones he did not consult.

The CHAIRMAN. You went to Minnesota where there was a contest on, and you got some political information there. You evidently talked with the politicians.

Mr. HOPKINS. The Democratic State chairman came to see me.

The CHARMAN. And you told him, "We are going to sweep the country

Mr. HOPKINS. No, sir.

He did not say he spoke in New Ulm, Minn., where he told the people that they should elect those who gave them the most. Oh, no, no, no; that was not politics at all!

Now, he left Minnesota, and he went on out farther West.

Mr. Hopkins. No; quite the contrary. He was very sure they ere going to get whipped in Minnesota. I then went on to South Dakota.

Is not that peculiar? There was an election for Senator in South Dakota. Check the places where he stopped and see where the senatorial elections were. I just ask you to do it. I would not imply that he stopped for any political reason. He stopped to see how they were getting along on the project out there. Of course, he could do that on the train.

I then went on to South Dakota.

There was an election there.

I went from there to North Dakota.

And there was an election there. Mr. Hopkins is not saying this. I am putting in the words "and there was an election there." Do not get wrong about that. He did not admit it.

I went from there to Montana and stayed only a few minutes

Of course, there was not a contest for Congress there in which he was interested-oh, no!

I went to Washington.

Then the chairman said:

There was a contest on in Montana, was there not? Mr. HOPKINS. I had no part in that of any kind or description. The CHAIRMAN. Did you see any of the candidates? Mr. Hopkins. Oh, yes; they came to see me.

What is the difference between his going to see them and the other way? You can determine that.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us the names. Mr. Hopkins. I recall Jerry O'Connell—

So do a number of us here recall him; but he has also gone to the Great Beyond. He probably will get an appointment of some kind; but, nevertheless, Mr. Hopkins says:

I recall Jerry O'Connell coming down to the train to meet me.

Did Senator WHEELER come down?

I saw Senator MURRAY.

Why? Who controls the patronage there? Check who controls the patronage, who controls the politics in the W. P. A., and then see who consulted Mr. Hopkins on his "nonpolitical" trip throughout the country. You can be the judge. I do not have to tell you.

I saw Frank Walker's brother, who was running for supreme court judge out there, and I think I met the candidate for sheriff.

No, no; he just stopped there, you know. There was not any politics at all in Montana, but for some particular reason he did not take the time to call on Senator Wheeler. You can judge why he did not call on Senator Wheeler; but he did have a discussion with Jerry O'Connell. He did not have a discussion with the Montana Representative who defeated Mr. O'Connell.

The chairman said:

I am surprised that all the candidates did not come to see you.

Mr. Hopkins. I was probably there 10 minutes.

The Chairman. You were a man in authority. You could say to one, "Go," and he goes, and to another one, "Come," and he comes. I am not surprised that they came to see you. But you were not leaking for them? were not looking for them? Mr. HOPKINS. No.

This is what he was doing: He stopped in South Dakota, where there was a contest for Senator. He stopped in North Dakota, where there was a contest for Senator. He stopped in Minnesota, where they were interested. He stopped in Montana and Washington, where they had very important elections; but this is what he was doing: Do you know what he was doing out there?-

The CHAIRMAN. You were just looking after the W. P. A. in those States?

Mr. Hopkins. Yes. I had no interest in the political situation and took no part whatever.

Oh, Mr. Hopkins took no part in those particular elections. Anybody may believe that who wants to, but Rush Holt does not. [Laughter.] RUSH HOLT knows that Mr. Hopkins was clear up to his neck and probably in his mouth, because some of his clerks made political gestures around it, anyway; and he was out in the West playing politics to defeat anybody who would not take orders from the White House.

Why was it, when the distinguished and a most outstanding Member of the Senate from Georgia was a candidate for renomination, that Mr. Hopkins had particular business in the State of Georgia? You can guess why. Why was it, when the Florida election was on, that he had business in Florida? He was just "looking after projects." Oh, yes; I admit he was "looking after projects"—the projects that W. P. A. wanted to complete—namely, political control. That was the project he was looking after.

Why was it that he became very much interested in many of these trips where the "purgees" were to be purged? Oh, he was looking after projects down there. Why was it that he was interested in any place where the New Deal was having a particularly hard battle? Of course you can decide that just as well as I. You know, and, in my opinion, there is not a man here who honestly and sincerely does not believe, that Harry Hopkins was talking politics on those trips to the West and the South, and any point that would help Harry Hopkins stay in power. He was in politics, as I said a moment ago, up to his neck. Where he went the people just put it on over his head and buried it; but I must go ahead with this particular hearing. You know, he was quoted as saying that "We will spend and spend, and tax and tax, and elect and elect." Oh, yes; he denied it. Oh, yes; I admit Mr. Hopkins denied it, but he also denied that there was any politics in relief, too.

Mr. Hopkins is the greatest denier this country has ever known. The first action that he took in the Department of Commerce was to deny a story. He started in all right; there is no question about that. Mr. Hopkins has denied, and denied with gusto, and I may say with particular finesse, every single thing where he was in a hole. He is the great denier; there is no question about that. Does anyone doubt that the statement "We will spend and spend, tax and tax, elect and elect," was made by Mr. Hopkins, after knowing his political philosophy? In other words, if he did not actually say it, the man who attributed it to him was a mind-reader, because that is his political philosophy—spend and spend, and tax and tax. They got that far, but the people said "No" when it came to "elect and elect." Maybe that is what he was worried about. The spending and taxing went through, but the electing fell considerably short.

Here is what Mr. Kent says about it; and I believe Mr. Kent more than I do Mr. Hopkins. You may believe Mr. Hopkins if you want to. That is your privilege, but I believe Mr. Kent; and here is what he said:

I was first told of the remark in New York by a friend of Mr. Hopkins who is also friend of mine. It was repeated with a good deal of emphasis as part of a conversation that occurred between Mr. Hopkins and this mutual friend in August at one of the New York race tracks.

When he was playing around.

This friend is a man of reputation and standing. It is impossible to conceive of him imagining the remark and he had no conceivable reason for misquoting Mr. Hopkins. It seemed to me to fit perfectly into previous expressions of Mr. Hopkins' political philosophy.

Oh, I know that some of you say, "Why did not this man come to confront Mr. Hopkins with the statement?" That is all right; you may say that, but there is no Member of the Senate who does not know why a man would not come. If he is in business, the best way for him to get out of business would have been to come and prove this statement on Mr. Hopkins, because the administration would check his incometax immediately-immediately-and I challenge contradiction of my statement on that subject. They would check his income tax, and then they would check and see if he had violated the Wagner Labor Act, and then they would see if he had any stock under the S. E. C., and then, after they had curried him this way and combed him that way, they would say, "All right; it is all right for you to say that Mr. Hopkins made that statement."

If he was in business, he had enough sense not to come forward, because he knew that the very day he came forward to confront Mr. Hopkins with that statement he would be the victim of all kinds of attack from every administration lackey and smear artist that this country knows. If you do not think the administration would do that, I want some of you to try it. I want some of you to try it. I want you to step out in front and watch them take after you.

I do not think there is a person here who does not know why that man did not answer that question and why he did not come forward. You know and I know, and I think it is a terrible condition, that in the United States of America a man cannot make a public statement about the administration without being investigated in a week's time by some of the New Deal agencies. Yes; I think that is terrible. You know it, and I know it is true. No wonder he did not come forward, but I believe what Mr. Kent said is truthful. I believe it is truthful. Maybe Mr. Hopkins said that after he had lost \$2 across the board at the race track. [Laughter.] I do not know, but nevertheless I believe he said it, because he believed in spending, taxing, and electing.

But let me go on to some more of Mr. Hopkins' testimony before the committee. I want to read parts of it:

Senator Johnson of California. You said that you assume respon-

sibility for the mistakes they have made.

Mr. Hopkins. I assume that goes into the question of responsibility. I have never attempted to divest myself from responsibility

for the subordinates under me.

Senator Johnson of California. Yes. Do you know whether Mr.
Williams did make mistakes in the investigations in Pennsylvania? Mr. Hopkins. So far as I know, he did not.

In other words, he accepts the statements of his subordinates as being the truth. This repentance is rather belated. Oh, the mourners' bench was there that day! The mourners' bench was there, and Mr. Hopkins went up and became good that particular day before the committee. Oh, he repented for all of the terrible things he had done. Yes; he repented as no man ever repented before. The greatest critic Mr. Hopkins had was Mr. Hopkins himself. But on page 91 they asked him about the Hatch amendment, and he said he thought it should have been adopted. This is what he said: I want to quote him exactly:

As a matter of fact, I thought it was a great mistake that it did not pass the Senate. I was not consulted at all, at the time that happened. It happened all of a sudden, one afternoon. I think the Hatch amendment should have been passed, and that something like it should be passed.

"It happened all of a sudden, one afternoon," and poor Mr. Hopkins knew nothing about it. I wanted to see if "it happened all of a sudden, one afternoon." I did not know whether my memory was good, and I went back to look at the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I found that the amendment was debated on June 2. On the next day the News, of this city, printed the names of those who voted for it and those who voted against it, and suggested that it was going to be reconsidered. It was not reconsidered until June 3, the following night, and Mr. Hopkins was silent. Oh, yes, Mr. Hopkins was silent. He was as silent as an oyster on the beach in July. Oh, yes; he was silent, because he did not know about the Hatch amendment. It was not on the "must" list. He knew only those bills on the "must" list. In other words, you must vote for it if you get a project. That is the "must" part of it.

I do not think of any better way to speak of that particular recanting than to quote from the News, of Washington. It closes its editorial with this language:

Harry Hopkins now says that he thinks the Senate made a bad mistake when it voted down the Hatch amendment forbidding politics in relief.

"Well do we remember that hot summer night of sweat and oratory when the Senate got down to the final vote on the Hatch amendment, and when the 'purge committee' "-does that word sound familiar to any of the "purgees"?-when the "purge committee" was cracking the whip, and the majority of Senators said, "Me, too," on the proposition that W. P. A. should be left free to play politics. It must have been the heat, because Mr. Hopkins did not know anything about it; but in the cool reflection of January Mr. Hopkins said he was "in favor of the Hatch amendment." Then the editorial closes:

Where, where was Roderick then? One blast upon his bugle horn Were worth a thousand men.

[Laughter.]

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LEE in the chair). Does the Senator from West Virginia yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. HOLT. I am glad to yield.

Mr. GEORGE. Did Mr. Hopkins again refer to the vote on the Hatch amendment in the hearing before the Commerce Committee?

Mr. HOLT. He referred to it. They asked him the specific question. It is found on page 91 of the hearing.

Mr. GEORGE. Was his attention called to the fact that there were more than two votes taken on the Hatch amendment, or at least more than one vote?

Mr. HOLT. Not to my knowledge. The report of the hearing does not show that they asked him about that further, because he said it happened all of a sudden one afternoon, and he did not know about it.

Mr. GEORGE. Did he rest his answer on that point, upon that bald statement that it happened all of a sudden one afternoon?

Mr. HOLT. I think it is best to read that again. Let me read what he said.

Mr. GEORGE. I am just curious to know whether or not he was willing to deceive the committee.

Mr. HOLT. I wish to read it again, because I think it is important to read it. He said, "Not at all, Senator."

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator read the question the chairman asked him?

Mr. HOLT. I shall be glad to read it. This is the record: The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any hand at all in preventing the enactment of that legislation?

Mr. Hopkins. Not at all, Senator. As a matter of fact, I thought it was a great mistake that it did not pass the Senate. I was not consulted at all, at the time that happened. It happened

all of a sudden, one afternoon. I think the Hatch amendment should have been passed, and something like it should be passed.

There is no other statement in the record by Mr. Hopkins about that.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, if I may be permitted to interrupt—

Mr. HOLT. I am glad to yield to the Senator.

Mr. GEORGE. Every Member of the Senate knows that we voted not only upon the Hatch amendment, but voted at least once to reconsider the vote, and I think twice; and the votes did not come on the same date.

Mr. HOLT. That is correct.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, may I correct the Senator?

Mr. HOLT. I am glad to yield to the Senator from California.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I merely desire to correct the Senator. The Hatch amendment came to a vote one day. Mr. HOLT. Let me interject and say it was on June 2.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Subsequently the Hatch amendment came to another vote, when the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Burke] made a motion to reconsider. That was 1 day subsequent. In the interim an amendment of similar import, but much stronger, was offered by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Austin].

Mr. GEORGE. I very well recall that.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. And that was defeated, as I recall, by one vote. There was considerable time intervening between the first action, upon the Hatch amendment, and the action on the Austin amendment.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, if I do not unduly interrupt the Senator from West Virginia—

Mr. HOLT. I am glad to yield to the distinguished Sen-

ator from Georgia at any time.

Mr. GEORGE. To me it is perfectly remarkable that Mr. Hopkins, a man appointed to a Cabinet position, should have rested his position on the Hatch amendment upon that statement, that it came suddenly one day, when for days the matter was thoroughly agitated in the Senate. I felt at the time, and I feel now, that the defeat of the Hatch amendment and the defeat of the Austin amendment were most regrettable pages in the history of the Democratic Party in this country.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I agree heartily with the Senator from Georgia. There is not a Senator here who was a Member of the Senate in June last who does not know that every administration "yes" man—and we have them, those who control the W. P. A. patronage in their States—every single individual who could be controlled, voted against the Hatch amendment and voted against the Austin amendment, and every one knows that the whole thing was decided, and that there was a flurry and an actual panic in some places for fear the motion to reconsider would be agreed to.

Did they get busy! Every one here knows they got busy. One could hardly use the telephone that night. I do not know what they were discussing on the telephone—Senators can decide that for themselves—but I know that whenever the administration is cracking the whip, if a Senator goes into the cloakroom to use the telephone, he will soon see how easy it is for him to get one.

Everyone knows that the whip was used. Everyone knows that the projects which Mr. Hopkins himself could stop or could start were to be determined, in a great number of instances, by the vote that one would support or not support the administration.

Yes, it happened "all of a sudden, one afternoon." Oh, would that not make a good title for a song? "It happened all of a sudden, one afternoon." [Laughter.] It has no rhyme or reason, really, but nevertheless it would be a good song to go along with "Flat Foot Floogie" and some of the rest of that particular type. [Laughter.] The country knew about it, the Senate knew about it, everyone knew about it except Mr. Hopkins, but it came on him "all of a sudden, one afternoon," that the Senate was trying to take politics out of relief.

Mr. President, I hope when Mr. Hopkins becomes Secretary of Commerce—and he is going to become Secretary of Commerce, there is no question about it—he will have an administrative assistant, one of the 10,000 they have around Washington, to tell him what is happening up here on Capitol Hill, so that it will not come on him "all of a sudden" one afternoon. I do hope he will become acquainted with what is going on, and that the Hatch amendment, if it is presented again, will not surprise him, that we will not sneak up on him and say, "Here is an amendment."

Of course, Senators can form their own opinions about that, but my decision is already made. I do not believe Mr. Hopkins. I would not say more. I could, but I must confine

myself to that particular statement.

Mr. Hopkins helped put politics in relief. Senators may believe otherwise if they care to, but I know, and others here know, that Mr. Hopkins consulted with the patronage bosses of the various States as to whom they wanted as administrators. Of course, if one were on the "purgee" list, he was not consulted. Oh, no, he would not consult such a Senator at all, if the Senator were a "purgee." Of course, all the "purgees" are back in the Senate, thanks to the good judgment of the people. If one was a member of the "purgee" band, he was not consulted, so I excuse any in that particular group, but if one voted for all the other "court jester" plans that were sent to Congress he had a right to determine who should run the W. P. A. in his State.

You can imagine that if you wanted a certain project approved and there was an important vote on Capitol Hill, if there was a very important vote in which the administration was interested, and you should call down to Mr. Hopkins' office and say, "Mr. Hopkins, I wish you would see that they approve a certain project," do you think it would be approved? You know it would be approved. There is not a man in the Senate who does not know it would be approved if you wanted to get John Jones or Bill Smith on the pay roll and there was a vote here and you had a good record. If you were not one of these terrible conservatives, or "Tories," or whatever they might be called, that was a good time to call-oh, it was an extremely good time to call-because you would be rewarded, not only by the appointment of that man but, depending on the necessity, by the appointment of as many others as might be necessary.

I shall not discuss the reversal of Mr. Hopkins. I think the greatest indictment of Mr. Hopkins' conduct of the W. P. A. was Mr. Hopkins' own testimony. There cannot be a greater indictment against Mr. Hopkins than Mr. Hopkins himself. It is a confession in itself, but the confession was made just the same as a man throwing himself on the mercy of the judge, saying, "Judge, I did it, but I did not mean it. It just happened to be in my pocket when they caught me."

Oh, it is easy to make those statements, but we all know that the politics put in by Mr. Hopkins was put in by the Democratic Senate. W. P. A. was a good political project until the last election. It is surprising now, it is indeed surprising, to see the attitude toward relief in politics, for back in 1936, when I started to speak of that matter, most of the Democratic Senators could be found in their offices, because they thought that if they should walk out and not say anything about the W. P. A., they would hush the talk and stop it. But the American people have found out the tragedy of the W. P. A., not the tragedy of feeding people, but the tragedy of not feeding people and putting in their places political officeholders.

Oh, these crocodile tears which are being shed about the hungry people we will cut off if we cut the appropriation. Those crocodile tears are not for the poor relief worker; most of them are for some fellow sitting behind a desk.

Mr. President, I want to make this statement public; if the money that was appropriated to feed the hungry had been spent to feed the hungry instead of in trying to purge the Senate, we would have enough money in the Treasury to carry us through. If the money that was spent to purge the Senate of men who, in my opinion, reflect the great intelligence of the Senate, had been spent to feed hungry people

in this country, we would have enough money in the Treasury.

Yes, crocodile tears! You may shed them as you like, but in my State, where they are cutting thousands off the relief roll, how many bosses do you suppose they put out of office? Before the election they had 549 on the administrative staff. On December 15 some poor fellow, who must not have voted right, got cut off, because, I understand, there are now 548. Yes, one was cut off. One poor, unfortunate fellow—and he probably was in the \$780 class; do not be fooled about that—was cut off. I have not checked the class he was in, but I should not be surprised if he was in that class.

Mr. TYDINGS. Perhaps he lost his precinct.

Mr. HOLT. Yes, he probably lost his precinct. I think the Senator's suggestion is right. I expect it will be found that he did not deliver the goods. But we had 549 bosses before the election, and now with the terror of money running short-oh, the money is running awfully short-one boss got the ax, and yet the poor relief fellow for whom the tears are being shed all over the country about him it is being said, "You cannot cut him off because if you do we will have hunger throughout the land." It is indeed a tragedy. And how they love the poor unfortunate relief worker. If they had loved him more when they put bosses on the pay roll their present argument would be more dependable, in my opinion. I say, yes, feed the people, but take out by the seat of their trousers those men who sit behind the desks and do nothing except work at election time. If you do that you will have money for relief. You know and I know that thousands are on the relief rolls of America because they are political workers. I intend to discuss that, and I hope that my distinguished friend, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Davis] will be here when I do, because I want to discuss his State most thoroughly. [Laughter.]

I will not proceed to go into the question of "spend and spend, and tax and tax, and elect and elect," because at last the Senate has asserted itself. Senators know it is a little more popular to tell the truth in 1939 than it was in 1936. Oh, it is now a whole lot more popular to tell the truth. If Senators do not think so, let us try it. It will be a good way to determine it. But I should like to discuss at some time, when the W. P. A. appropriation bill is up for consideration in the Senate, the great projects of the W. P. A., the greatest projects that Mr. Hopkins has.

The first project I wish to discuss then is, "If I were in Iowa I should vote for Mr. Wearin." That is the Iowa politi-

cal project.

Then I would discuss the Georgia project, when Mr. Hopkins became very busy and ran down to Georgia to look about the projects in Georgia, in an effort to defeat, in my opinion, as I say again, one of the most intellectual men who ever sat in the United States Senate, and we need that type at all times.

Then the third one. He went to the State of Maryland. Of course, we all know about the proposal with respect to bridges in Maryland. I do not know whether they built those bridges over in Maryland or not. They were going to build two bridges.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Lucas in the chair). Does the Senator from West Virginia yield to the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. HOLT. I am glad to yield to my friend from Maryland.

Mr. TYDINGS. I should like to tell my good friend about those bridges. They had determined to give them up, but I prevailed, using my great influence with the administration, and they are now under construction. [Laughter.]

Mr. HOLT. The Senator from Maryland, whom we all like, and whom we all admire, probably was a little more welcome after the election than he was before.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator again vield?

Mr. HOLT. I am glad to.

Mr. TYDINGS. I think the Senator will agree that there is probably no man in the Congress who has as much influence

with the administration as the Senator from Maryland now has. [Laughter.]

Mr. HOLT. On personal grounds, I must object to that statement, because I believe I have particular power with the administration.

This political project in Maryland, the building of the bridges, I shall discuss when the appropriation measure comes up.

Then, I wish to discuss the particular project in the State of California, a project in connection with which Mr. Hopkins just had to dash out there. Senators know he simply could not wait. He had to dash out there before the election to find out if they were building a road up some gulley in California. He found out. I shall discuss that a little later on.

I think the best illustration of Mr. Hopkins' power is shown in November 1936. Of course, 1936 was different from 1938. I think Senators all know that—1936 was quite a little different from 1938. Mr. Hopkins was sitting on the top of the world, because he delivered in 1936, and somebody delivered him in 1938—that was the difference. [Laughter.]

In 1936, here is what was said by an administration propagandist. Here is the exact language:

gandist. Here is the exact language:

And Mr. Hopkins is, politically speaking, sitting on top of the world—

I knew he was sitting some place, and I wager he was on the Government pay roll, because he has been on it most of the time.

And Mr. Hopkins is, politically speaking, sitting on top of the world and able to write his own ticket—

That must be straight across the board. [Laughter.]

If the relief workers hold the political balance of power in American elections, and Hopkins is paymaster of relief.

Now, that is just as true a statement as ever was made—
If the relief workers hold the political balance of power in American elections, and Hopkins is paymaster of relief.

That was in 1936. I am quoting from the Des Moines Register of November 1936, the State concerning which Hopkins said, "If I were in Iowa I would vote for Wearin."

I shall not discuss that any more, except to say that there is not a Democrat on this side of the aisle who does not know the part that Mr. Hopkins played in the purges. I do not know what title they gave him. But you know and I know that Mr. Hopkins was a member of the purge committee, with Tommy Corcoran, who loves to play the accordian. I do not know whether Mr. Hopkins sings or not, but they have a nice time together, all at the expense of the people. Nevertheless, this purge committee, not one of whose members was ever elected to office to my knowledge; no, not one of them, but they are all on the "take-in" end, being paid by someone—that purge committee met in the palace, with the court jesters, and all the kingly characters that went along with it, and started out and said "The Senator from Iowa should bite the dust first." He was selected.

Of course, some of the rest of us got it a little earlier, but we were not up for election at that time. Nevertheless, the Senator from Iowa was to bite the dust. He was to be taken out. Then they would go down to South Carolina and defeat that terrible man from South Carolina—they said he was terrible—the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Smith], but the people of South Carolina felt just as I felt, that they were ably and well represented by a great and distinguished Senator in Senator Smith. So the purge committee took a shot at him.

Then he went down to Warm Springs, Ga., to defeat the Senator from Georgia [Mr. George]. Of course, he wanted to look at a project down there. Do not get me wrong. He just went down to look over a project of some particular nature. I just do not know what it was. I would like for Mr. Hopkins to tell me what projects he was inspecting down there. I know he was not trying to trace the history of the safetypin, or count the doors in the Minneapolis city hall, or count the number of trees in Cleveland, but nevertheless he had a project down there of some nature at just the particular time that the purge was being made, and you know and I know

that the Senators were to be driven from office because they would not take orders, and that W. P. A. was the instrument by which they were to be defeated. I say that openly, I say it frankly, that W. P. A. was to be used, with Mr. Hopkins' consent, to try to beat the Senator from Georgia [Mr. George], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Gillette], and all other Senators that would not agree with the administration and vote "yes" when they were told to vote "yes."

Senators remember when they put the heat on the Senate. They put it on quite often here. Senators remember when they put the heat on in the Supreme Court battle. One of the instances of putting the heat on during the Supreme Court battle was a radio speech by Mr. Harry L. Hopkins on the Supreme Court. He told the unfortunate, needy, relief workers that they were going to starve to death unless they backed the court change. There is no doubt about that. He spoke of those "old men" standing in the way of food for the needy. I need not give Senators that information. It is in the hearings. I wish Senators to read Mr. Hopkins' speech on the Supreme Court plan. There Senators will find Mr. Hopkins taking a part in the Supreme Court battle, and putting on the heat, so that the various Senators were supposedly to get in line behind the Supreme Court change.

I know some will say, "Oh, Mr. Hopkins has said time and time again that no man shall be fired if he votes as he pleases"; that "W. P. A. had no part in politics." They would take that ground because he sent out a letter to that effect. He would send a letter, and then the boss would tell the workers, "All right; but you and I know what it means. It is nice to put it out before the public, but you know and I know that it means vote as we tell you." Think of the hypocrisy behind the idea, the political hypocrisy of Mr. Hopkins saying he was taking no part.

Senators will recall very distinctly a speech made by President Roosevelt in Madison Square Garden in 1936, when he criticized those who would put slips in pay envelopes threatening people with loss of their jobs if they did not vote a certain way. I, too, condemned that. I think it was wrong. I think it was a form of economic coercion. But what are we doing? We are exercising a governmental economic coercion on poor, unfortunate men who are hungry, and whose families are hungry, in America, in order that the bright day may come to America, that the happier life, the "more abundant life," may come.

Mr. Hopkins has said, "I am against politics in relief." Some time in the near future, when Mr. Hopkins is sitting down there in the Department of Commerce building—which was called Hoover's folly, and which is now overrun with Government employees—I wish Mr. Hopkins would send to the Senate the list of persons whom he has fired from the W. P. A. for playing politics. It would not take long to read that list. It could be read very, very quickly. We have heard much about such persons being fired. Down in Kentucky they did not fire them. They just slapped them on the wrist after they had done their work, and said, "You have been a good man, but don't do it again."

So it is that the denial of relief in politics has developed. Of course, Mr. Hopkins controlled his own investigation. This is what happened: Some Senator made a complaint about W. P. A., as I did. I have made plenty of such complaints, and I intend to make plenty more.

When a Senator made a complaint about politics in the W. P. A. Mr. Hopkins named an investigator to go to the Senator's State and find out about it. As I once said, he sent out those investigators to investigate themselves. I once said on the floor of the Senate—and I wish to repeat it—that sending a W. P. A. investigator to investigate the W. P. A. was like sending Baby Face Nelson to investigate Dillinger. I said that in 1936, and I say it again. Those investigators never found anything. Where and when has a W. P. A. investigator ever found that there was politics in relief? I know from my own knowledge that in one instance investigators were told not to look into the facts presented but to obtain facts on the man who made the complaint. That is the type of investigation which Mr. Hopkins has con-

ducted. Thousands of dollars have been spent by the W. P. A. to obtain evidence on Members of Congress who would not go along. He has spent much on that activity.

I should like to refer for just a moment to Kentucky. I shall not spend much time on that question; but, according to Mr. Hopkins, there was not any politics in relief in Kentucky. After enumerating every one of the 22 charges made by Tom Stokes, which charges the committee discussed at length, Mr. Hopkins was satisfied. He said:

There you have the record on every specific charge made in this series of articles. Against the unsupported statements of the reporter and the affidavits of disgruntled workers and party workers stands the documented evidence and the sworn testimony disproving every important accusation.

This is Mr. Hopkins talking about Kentucky:

General charges of political favoritism by W. P. A. officials have been based upon these specific cases. They have no more validity than the specific cases upon which they depend for support, and a thorough investigation, as fully set forth above, has swept away their foundation in fact.

A thorough investigation would prove that there was not any politics in the W. P. A. in Kentucky. This is Mr. Hopkins speaking, and I want to be sure to quote him correctly:

I recognize that in a far-flung organization covering the 3,300 counties in America, with 64,000 projects and 2,700,000 workers, there will occur indiscretions by overzealous partisans in the midst of heated campaigns, but that is a vastly different thing from a planned and organized political campaign on the part of the responsible heads of any Government agency.

I wish to digress long enough to ask, What does Mr. Hopkins think of the purge? I shall discuss that subject a little later, and I shall read his speech in Boston on the purge. He was in favor of the purge, and yet here he flipped again. He is the daring young man on the flying trapeze, who flies through the air with the greatest of ease. He flies to one trapeze, and when it becomes too hot he flies to another.

Proceeding with Mr. Hopkins' denial of politics in relief in Kentucky, he said:

I am mindful of the fact that in political campaigns newspapers and others have a tendency to make loose and unsupported charges involving the integrity of the political party they oppose. In the heat of a campaign partisans on occasion give out misleading and inaccurate information. This seems to be inherent in our political system. While I know that this series of articles was based on inaccurate information, I am quite aware of the fact, nevertheless, that other similar misleading and inaccurate statements may be made before the coming elections are over. I do not intend to permit charges against W. P. A. officials and employees, in whose integrity I have confidence, to go unanswered, and I intend to use every instrument at my command to acquaint the American people with the truth or falsity of such charges.

When, oh when, has Mr. Hopkins ever acquainted the people with the truth about politics in relief? Never to my knowledge. I invite any Senator present to show instances in which Mr. Hopkins has taken the ax, except to pat his workers on the back. He might have said, "Do not do it again, boys. At least, do not do it openly. Be careful, and do not get caught the next time." Nevertheless, such things were done.

Back in 1938, when the relief appropriation bill was before us, the Senator from Delaware [Mr. Townsend] asked Mr. Hopkins whether there was any politics in relief. The Senator said:

That is especially true in Pennsylvania right now, where a lot of charges are being made.

I shall read Mr. Hopkins' answer about politics in Pennsylvania. When I talk about politics in Pennsylvania I have to hold my nose. However, this is what Mr. Hopkins said:

Well, I think the best answer to that is that it is simply not true.

That was Mr. Hopkins in 1938 saying that there was no politics in relief in Pennsylvania. The charge was "simply not true."

Of course, I realize that Mr. Hopkins is a little obstinate, a little bull-headed. This morning, for the first time, I found that he has a good namesake. According to a story appearing in the New York Post of January 7, 1939, one of the mules in Warm Springs, Ga., is known as "Hop." Nevertheless, I shall not discuss that point.

I wish to go a little further into the question whether or not Mr. Hopkins played politics in relief and the speeches which he made to play politics in relief. The New York Times of October 20, 1936, quotes the language of Mr. Hopkins. Of course, the New York Times also quoted him to the effect that "We will spend and spend, tax and tax, and elect and elect," but he has denied that. The New York Times quoted Mr. Hopkins' speech at a campaign gathering. He merely wanted to have the W. P. A. get along nicely. This is what he said:

It is always thus. The politics is always in some other city than your own. The bad projects are always in some other city, too.

Then he asked the people in New York City in 1936 to vote for the Democratic ticket. No; that did not mean politics at all. He knew that they would do it anyway. He said 90 percent of them would do so.

I should like to talk again about the purge. I should not talk about that, because it brings sad memories to many Members of this body, not that it was successful, because it was not successful. The purge died the death of many such things.

I have before me a photostatic copy of an article from the New York Times of Wednesday, August 31, 1938. The headline is:

Roosevelt purge upheld by Hopkins. He attacks those who ore "our insignia" at polls, then flouted ideals. Role of Tories

Can you not see Mr. Hopkins assailing the Tories?

Foes are active in primaries, W. P. A. chief tells Democratic women

He is not in politics. Do not accuse Mr. Hopkins of being in politics.

Boston, August 30-

Perhaps Mr. Hopkins forgot this. I do not know. He forgets very easily. He has a most remarkable memory.

Boston, August 30 .- Harry L. Hopkins, Administrator of the BOSTON, August 30.—Harry L. Hopkins, Administrator of the W. P. A., went to the defense of the governmental agency he directs and still more vehemently to the justification of President Roosevelt's "purge" program in an address before Democratic women assembled tonight from 10 northeastern States. He was the main speaker at the main event of the 2-day conference held under the auspices of the women's division of the Democratic National Committee.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLT. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. What is the date of that article?

Mr. HOLT. August 30.

Mr. TYDINGS. 1938?

Mr. HOLT. 1938.

Mr. TYDINGS. Just before the primary?

Of course. Mr. HOLT. That was before the primary. Mr. Hopkins did not take any part in politics. He was going to slap the fellows who took part in politics.

I do not think there is any humor in what Mr. Hopkins told the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG]. Let me read what he said. He believed the purge was all right. Because those who were to be purged voted their convictions, and did not take orders from Harry Hopkins. That is why they were to be purged. They would not take orders from him. They would not sell their votes for a few projects.

Let me continue with the reading:

To the enthusiastic applause of men and women of the party, he attacked the opponents of the administration before both a local and radio audience as "witch burners" who have forfeited political integrity to wreak destruction upon the Democrats.

I am sorry the Senator from Maryland is a witch burner, but he must have been, because I am sure Harry Hopkins would tell the truth.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLT. I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. TYDINGS. I have been called so many things in the past 6 or 8 months that I am inclined to look upon the name "witch burner," coming from that source, as a compliment.

Mr. HOLT. I do not know whether he is a witch burner, but he has burned them up in Maryland, I will say.

Mr. Hopkins said:

As "witch burners" who have forfeited political integrity to wreak destruction upon the Democrats.

"The object of political campaigns is to win elections," he

asserted. "It was therefore inevitable that the conflict between the administration and the tories would shift at least partially to a few of the primaries within the Democratic Party.

"This is not just a piece of logic. It is an accomplished fact. The leadership of the opposition is right now putting its full strength in men and money behind candidates in half a dozen States who have been most hostile to the things for which this administration stands.

#### ASSAILS OWN PARTY MEMBERS

"The leadership of the opposition," Mr. Hopkins went on, "is today urging people who never had any desire to enter a Democratic before, and have no desire to do so now, to register and help defeat the aims of President Roosevelt, not in clear-cut general election where the divergent views of parties are clearly understood by the voters, but stealthily within the councils of our own party."

That is Mr. Hopkins speaking. Let the Senate understand that. In other words, he said that they were doing a terrible thing. How many times, Mr. President, have you and I heard the leader of our party on this side ask the Republicans to come over and vote with the Democrats? We are all the same people except that we are "tweedledee" Democrats and you are "tweedledum" Republicans.

I quote further from Mr. Hopkins:

The effect of this is that there is no general opposition party which stands on its own feet under its own banner and advocates its own principles. The opposition has given up its identity, and even its integrity, for a better chance to win.

In 1936 the course was crystal clear. Everybody knew which way

we were going.

I am glad somebody knew, because we have not got there yet. Nevertheless, he said everybody knew where we were going. The country went some place in 1937 and 1938 but they are having a hard time finding where it went. Nevertheless, he said everybody knew which way we were going.

Everybody had had 4 years to make up his mind.

It did not happen all of a sudden one afternoon, but they had 4 years to make up their minds-

Everybody had had 4 years to make up his mind, yet there were men who did not believe in these things and who tricked

the voters by wearing our insignia, only to turn against us as soon as they got into office.

They fought wages and hours. They fought relief for the unemployed. They fought social security. They fought agricultural legislation.

legislation.

They fought the very heart of the program which the Demo-cratic Party has pledged to the American people that it will carry

There was another pledge we made, I remember, in 1932, and I also remember the headline in the New York Times of Thursday after the election, "President Roosevelt dashes back to Washington to balance the Budget." That was in 1936. In 1932 there was another pledge made to reduce expenditures 25 percent. However, I need not bring these matters up now, for I wish to discuss them a little later on.

I quote further from Mr. Hopkins:

## SAYS PRESIDENT CLEARS CONFUSION

"Even while they hacked away at the foundation of our program with one hand they were patting the President on the back with the other, protesting to the voters that they were really good Democrats," the speaker continued; "that they were really with us in the broader sense, pleading that they were merely exercising independent judgment.
"Under those circumstances, what would you expect the President of the president in the pre

"Under those circumstances, what would you expect the President, as the leader and spokesman of his party, to do?

"He is calling the attention of the voters to the records of these men. He is merely saying: These men who came into office with the administration no longer support the administration. If you believe in the administration and want to help it, do not send these men back. If you oppose the administration, these are your

men.'
"After that the voters will vote exactly as they want to.

"To say that this is not democracy is an insult to the voters, not

"The course he has taken is really a step in the direction of responsible government. He is clearing away the cobwebs and the confusion and making the issue plain before the voters who must pass upon it.
"I know the President," Mr. Hopkins resumed.

Yes, Mr. Hopkins knows the President well.

Neither abuse nor flattery, neither pressure nor ridicule, will sway him from the path he and his party have made with the Amer-ican people. Adulation has not made him arrogant; defeat has not made him timid.

#### DEFENDS W. P. A.'S ATTITUDE

What we have to decide is whether to go back or go ahead; whether to wink at social and economic injustice or to correct it; whether we want prosperity and profits for a few or prosperity for us all-

"Prosperity for us all." I may say that he will have prosperity; he will have at least 2 more years of prosperity at \$15,000 a year; there is no question about that; that will be the greatest prosperity that Mr. Hopkins ever had or ever will have, for that matter; but there is no question that he used the correct pronoun when he said "prosperity for

whether we want weasel words or leadership.

Whether, in short, we want to abdicate the stronghold of democracy or to fight for it. And I think we, too, have "only just begun to fight."

And I think we, too, have only just begun to fight.

Then he says, right after making that speech-and this is very interesting-

In defense of the political purity-

"Political purity"! I want the Senate to appreciate that. That is his exact language:

In defense of the "political purity" of the W. P. A., Mr. Hopkins declared he was only reiterating his former assertions of the real situation in his declaration that no pressure was being brought to bear on its beneficiaries.

"No one is fired from the W. P. A. for the way he votes," he proclaimed. "I have stated our position so many times that you must know it by heart. No one need be a Democrat to get work from the W. P. A. The W. P. A. will not tolerate political activity within its ranks.

Think of that! After making a speech saying, "You know who was putting you in here; you know who was responsible for it; I think our opponents ought to be defeated," he says, "but I do not mean to tell you how to vote; I am just telling you that; do not pay any attention to it, just listen to it and then forget about it." Then he says:

"W. P. A. workers are free men and women, however, who are just as much entitled to their own opinions as any other American citizens, and they do not dwell in a vacuum; they are just as subject to influences and solicitation outside the W. P. A. as anyone

"But within, this organization is as clean as honest, earnest effort can have it, and I have not the slightest apology for it."

Every administration in this country's history, Mr. Hopkins said, has "seen fit to take its case to the people."

In other words, in one breath, he says-

Elect the men who vote with us; they are the great men of the country; they are the men who will feed you, the men who will insure good prices for the agricultural regions; they are the men who will put you on the W. P. A. The other fellows are merely "witch burners"; they want to destroy all these reforms; but do not think I mean anything by way of politics at all. I am just saying these

The Senate can determine whether or not Mr. Hopkins meant that message to go to every relief boss in the State of Massachusetts and every other boss in the New England States where it was made. In one breath, he was talking politics and in the next breath prating of "political purity"-"political purity!" Mr. President, have you ever heard a more ridiculous statement than that when he talks about the W. P. A. he has in mind "political purity?" Of course, Mr. Hopkins' attitude is one of political piety. That is the only difference, and he knows it. Mr. Hopkins helped put politics in the W. P. A., as I said a moment ago, and there is not a Democrat on this side of the aisle who does not know it and know it well. Every Democrat knows that the W. P. A. was behind the organization, that is if the organization was not supporting Democrats to be purged. Of course if they were to be purged they would not be consulted. I understand that is to be the case; that "the powers that be" are going to consult only those who do not put any politics in W. P. A. Let the boss determine it. But let me go ahead with these statements. I wish to recur to a statement to which I referred a moment ago. I want again to read it and put it in the RECORD. It is a speech made at New Ulm, Minn., where Mr. Hopkins went just to look after W. P. A. projects in Minnesota. However, he had time to make a speech at New Ulm on the 13th day of September, and I want to quote from the Associated Press again as to what Mr. Hopkins said.

Harry Hopkins, Federal Works Progress Administration chieftain, toured local W. P. A. projects today after declaring—

This is Mr. Hopkins speaking-

it is "perfectly proper in a democracy for relief to become a political issue."  $% \left( 1\right) =\left( 1\right) \left( 1\right) \left$ 

Think of that! In one breath he says there is no politics in relief; then he goes to Minnesota, and when he did not know there was a reporter present and when he was touring W. P. A. projects-and he has never denied the statement, although I expect him to do so tomorrow; I presume it just happened that his memory does not serve him right in this connection-and at New Ulm, Minn., according to the Associated Press, he said:

It is perfectly proper in a democracy for relief to become a political issue.

Furthermore-

Addressing 100 civic officials and businessmen last night-

He must have been thinking about the office of Secretary of Commerce, for there were businessmen there. So I am sure Mr. Hopkins must have been thinking about that-

Addressing 100 civic officials and businessmen last night, Mr. Hopkins said, "There is nothing wrong in supporting the political group that will give you the most."

I will read that again. This is what the committee raised such a howl about Aubrey Williams saying, but here is Mr. Hopkins directly quoted in Minnesota saying:

There is nothing wrong in supporting the political group that will give you the most.

Oh, no; there is no politics in relief at all: "just support the fellows who give you the most; and we give you the most." In other words, "Put seats in the United States Senate, put seats in the House of Representatives of the United States. put governerships on the auction block, and sell them to the man who will give you the most." No wonder the country is in a bad condition; no wonder business is stagnating. How can we have recovery when we have a system of government that says that offices shall be given to those who give you the most? That is the quotation from the Associated Press.

Then, Mr. Hopkins goes further and says:

Relief is a good issue and should be debated.

That is what I am trying to do here.

The public is demanding more and more service from this Government and should elect candidates who will give it to them.

I will repeat that: "No politics in relief," yet this is Mr. Hopkins speaking. He probably spoke "off the cuff"; but, nevertheless, here is what he said:

Relief is a good issue, and should be debated. The public is de-manding more and more service from its Government, and should elect candidates who will give it to them.

Oh, no-no politics in relief at all; none whatsoever!

Then he says: "Boys, don't pay any attention to that. I was just talking to businessmen. I want to become Secretary of Commerce."

Then Mr. Hopkins went out to South Dakota, North Dakota, and Montana, where he talked to Jerry O'Connell. Some of you were not in the Chamber when I told you about that trip out to Montana, where he did not talk to Senator BURTON WHEELER. I thought he knew Senator WHEELER pretty well. Senator Wheeler has been up here on the hill a long while, but it is a funny thing that Mr. Hopkins went through Montana, and Jerry O'Connell was there. Well, Jerry has been in a number of places that I know of.

Nevertheless, you know, Jerry was being groomed as the boy to take Senator Wheeler's place in the Senate because Senator Wheeler would not take orders. So Mr. Hopkins just stopped, you know. There was a project up Jerry

O'Connell's back alley that Jerry wanted to talk about, and it may have been that the sidewalk in front of Jerry's house needed to be paved as a W. P. A. project, so Mr. Hopkins decided to talk to Jerry on the train as he went through Montana; and he talked to Frank Walker's brother, who was a candidate for judge; and this other poor fellow he did not know so well. He was just a candidate for sheriff. Mr. Hopkins did not know who he was, but he knew he got on the train, and Mr. Hopkins talked to him, but he did not say what they talked about; but I would not want any of you to infer that I thought Mr. Hopkins talked about politics. You know he would not do that, because he is against politics in relief. He says so. But, anyway, he went on through Montana. Did I tell you the result of the election out there? You know it. Just look in your Congressional Directory and see what happened to Jerry.

Nevertheless, Mr. Hopkins went on through Montana and went on out to Washington, and took nearly as extensive a trip as that taken recently by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Reynolds], whom I see in the Chamber, though Mr. Hopkins did not go up to Alaska. Nevertheless, after he went up to Washington he went down to California; and, according to the Los Angeles Times of November 3, 1938, he did not go out there for politics. He told the committee he just went out there to see about some projects. He had to go out there just the week before election. This is what the article in the Los Angeles Times says:

W. P. A. chief extols party. Hopkins recommends vote for Democrats in radio address.

No; he did not mean anything about politics. This is dated November 3. Do not get me wrong. Mr. Hopkins does not believe in politics in relief—not at all—but on November 3, 1938, he made this radio address, and I do not know of any election since that time. Maybe some of the rest of you do, but I do not. But the Los Angeles Times of November 3, 1938, said what I am about to read. Of course, Mr. Hopkins did not go out there in connection with politics, but here is what the article says:

Hopkins, who slipped quietly into Los Angeles and attended a Hollywood ice carnival Tuesday with Mrs. John Hay Whitney, defended President Roosevelt and enumerated many of his policies in his radio address. He was a guest at the Beverly Hills Hotel.

But let me read you the article about his political speech out there. I am not saying anything about the candidates in California. I am just showing you what Mr. Hopkins did, and you can determine whether or not there is any politics about it.

Urging the election of Democratic candidates in next Tuesday's voting, Harry L. Hopkins, National Works Progress Administrator, last night delivered a radio address here under the auspices of the California Volunteers, an Olson-for-Governor campaign group.

Here is a quotation from Mr. Hopkins:

"For my part," said Hopkins, "I am convinced that Olson, Patterson, Downey and the Congressmen running on the Democratic ticket will give to the people of this State a more effective representation in assuring the continuance and expansion of our Democratic processes.

Then the next heading of this article is:

Sees opportunity.

There is no question about that. The article says, "Sees opportunity," and here is what it goes on to say, quoting Mr. Hopkins again:

In the last analysis this means that every man, woman and child in America shall have the opportunity for a way of life that is typically American.

You find in this State two sets of men pleading for your vote. On one hand, those who believe government has no power and no place in the economic scheme to influence favorably a way of life, who believe that interest rates to home owners and farmers and prices of farm products should find their own economic level.

That is the sort of thing that he said there. I wonder if that is "no politics in relief" that he is thinking about.

Masked under a cloak of fine phrases, these candidates are men whose record and history can put them down only as men who have not only falled to take one affirmative step in the interest of labor, but, indeed, might well be classified as persons who would destroy the very dignity of labor itself.

Now, get this clear: This is Mr. Hopkins speaking in Los Angeles on the subject No Politics in Relief. I am sure he spoke on that subject, because here he is going ahead:

On the other hand you have candidates on the Democratic ticket whose backgrounds in political life have been schooled and developed in an environment leading to convictions that a better way of living could be found for all people.

I say that is "the more abundant life" that we have heard so much about; but he does not use that term. But going back to Mr. Hopkins again, the next heading in this story is:

#### CHOICE OUTLINED

I have found these men vitally concerned with the way businessmen shall make adequate profits who believe that the basis of our economic system is found in giving every reasonable assurance and opportunity for persons who employ labor or buy and sell goods to make a decent profit.

sell goods to make a decent profit.

Real personal liberty, not controlled by vigilantes and self-constituted police forces, but by a government determined to represent all the people fairly, is the choice of the voters of this State.

That is the end of Mr. Hopkins' speech on the subject "No politics in relief, but vote for the Democratic ticket on the side"; and so it is. Now, as I said, you may believe, if you want to, that Mr. Hopkins knew nothing about politics in relief. I do not believe it. I know he knows about it.

Then there is another thing: It is funny that this pamphlet just happened to arrive on the third day of November 1938, through the mails. It is postmarked November 3. It was sent to me for some reason; I do not know why, but it was sent. I do not get very much literature any more. I used to. I used to get plenty of literature on "the American way of living" and "the more abundant life," and how to cut 25 percent off the cost of running the Government, and many subjects; but I do not get those things any more. I did get this pamphlet, however. It is from the Works Progress Administration, and it is entitled: "What is the American Way?" by Harry L. Hopkins, Administrator of the Works Progress Administration. It was just a coincidencea most peculiar coincidence. The pamphlet was printed by W. P. A. funds and paid for by the Government; but Mr. Hopkins wanted to tell the people what the American way is, and he wanted to see that they knew the American way before the election in November, because I got this pamphlet on the third day of November 1938, as did a number of other persons in the United States. So it was important that the American way should be impressed upon all the voters just a week before election.

It was just a coincidence that that happened. Mr. Hopkins does not believe in politics in relief at all. You all know that he does not. He just sent that pamphlet to me a week before the election so that I could think about it some time later next year. [Laughter.] You can believe that, I say again, if you want to, but I know what he did it for, and you know what he did it for.

In my opinion, what I am about to read is one of the greatest indictments against a public official that I know of. It is from the newspaper of November 27. This is important, because it shows what is done to Members of the Senate and House. I am not worried. They do not have any of my conversations down there—not at all—but this is what the article says:

W. P. A. investigation: There is an excellent though secret reason why the chances are strong Harry Hopkins, W. P. A., will not be subjected to congressional investigation. Reason is that W. P. A. has a record of every telephone conversation with every Congressman—

So I am giving you notice now that you had better watch yourselves; you had better be careful, if you have not seen this article. [Laughter.]

Reason is that W. P. A. has a record of every telephone conversation with every Congressman, including every time they wanted W. P. A. to do a little "politicking"—

I thought there was not any politics down there. Why did they keep a record of the conversations? I am sure this column is not against the administration. Do not be fooled about that. It is for the administration. Nevertheless, the article continues—

Every time they wanted W. P. A. to do a little "politicking" or to cut a corner for the benefit of that particular solon.

In other words, if you call them up and ask them about a project, they have you on record down there. You had better not vote wrong, or they might bring it up on you for some reason. Is it not fine that that sort of thing can happen in an American democracy, and there is "no politics in relief"? Yet if you wanted a project, or wanted a little "politicking" done, they kept a record of the conversation. The best way to do now is to tell them to come on up here and talk to you; but the article goes ahead and says:

A W. P. A. stenographer listened in on every conversation, and the record of congressional requests certainly makes juicy reading.

#### [Laughter ]

I think that record ought to be published. You know, the W. P. A. publish guides, and they publish histories, and they publish everything that can be published. They have the history of the polar bear, I think, in one of their publications, if you go to the Zoo. Nevertheless, with all these publications, I should like to see published the record that they have down there of telephone conversations with Members of the Senate. That would be most interesting. I am sure it would.

Do not think that was done merely with telephone requests. They wanted the Congressman to understand this:

Note: Congressional mail requests which Hopkins carefully has preserved—

Now, listen:

Congressional mail requests which Hopkins carefully has preserved also would be enough to empty a lot of seats in Congress.

[Laughter.]

You may turn in your resignations if you want to; but, nevertheless, that is what has been going on. Why did Mr. Hopkins take a record of your conversation if you were one of those who called him? I did not call him. I have called him plenty of things, but not on the telephone [laughter]; and I am going to call him a good many more things before the session is over, too. Do not be fooled about that.

While we are talking of calling Mr. Hopkins up, why is it that they make a record of your conversations? If you write him a letter, they have a copy of that letter, and you cannot afford to say anything about it because, if you do, Mr. Hopkins will tell on you. Is not that a nice situation in government? I do not see any particular reason why you should not have a conversation. Perhaps Mr. Hopkins had a conversation recorded in which he said, "we can spend and spend, and tax and tax, and elect and elect."

Of course, it might be suggested that one put in an anonymous telephone call. But many people when they are complaining about relief are afraid to say anything about it because they are afraid they will be punished. There is not a Senator on the floor here today who does not have at least one or more letters from someone complaining about relief, someone who was afraid to sign his name because of the fear of punishment. Many American people are afraid to say anything because they know that every time they do say anything they will be punished.

I have brought along a few such letters, and I want to show Senators the feeling of fear the American people have in regard to complaining about W. P. A. Here is one letter:

I am not signing my name to this letter. If you regard this as anything, and for my protection, you may type this and destroy my handwriting. Otherwise I would not care, but I am a W. P. A. worker, and I realize what it would mean to me and my family if I signed my name and one of the gang mentioned herein saw it.

Is not that a nice condition, that citizens of the United States are afraid to sign their names because they are afraid the Federal Government will punish them? What is worse today in Germany than that?

Let us look at a few more of these letters. Here is another one:

I am afraid to sign my name as I have been dealt heavy enough blows.

Here is another afraid to sign his name because he knows "they will boycott me if my name is known."

These things are happening in America. Here is another one. The writer asked me to investigate this. He says:

We can't come out openly as we work on the W. P. A. and don't want to lose our job, as we have been told that there are no other jobs to get.

Here is another one:

This is the first anonymous letter I have ever written, but if my name gets out, out I go.

He knew so well what would happen. He knew, just as you and I know, that if they got his name as complaining, out he would go.

Here is another one:

As I do not relish the idea of being drawn into this political mess, I will not sign this letter.

Here is another one. He speaks about the administrator calling him in, and says:

He called a private meeting of all employees, having a general discussion; all employees were told if they discussed anything that was said to anybody they would be fired at once. Everything was to be strictly confidential among the employees. We were under strict orders to make no discussions whatever about anything that was talked in this private meeting of the office force of the W. P. A. Keep mum or get fired. I am very poor and need to work and will not sign my name.

Such letters as that in America! Here is another one:

The political intrigue is so great here that I do not desire my name be made public under penalty of losing my job with them, and it is a desire to see justice done that I write you.

Now I quote another letter. I could quote hundreds of them.

For fear of losing my job maybe I had better not sign my name. But if you investigate you will find every statement is true.

He has taken ink and run it through his name so that I cannot find who it is. In other words, after he had written these things he was afraid to sign his name—in America!

Here is another one:

I am not signing my name for I know my business would be destroyed by their low-down methods, but I can say this much to you, my reputation has never been challenged.

Here is another one. I have four or five more to read. I want to put these into the Record to show what is happening in America, people afraid to sign their names because they know that they would lose their W. P. A. jobs, their families go hungry, their business be destroyed, if they dared to sign their names. Then think of people coming here and defending it!

The next letter starts:

It is not my custom to write letters without a proper signature to them but in this instance it is worth my existence to do so, therefore am not doing so, as I need to earn a living and have to hold to what I have to do so.

So he did not sign his name.

Here is another one I should like to read to the Senate:

I will not sign my name, as I have a business and might get into trouble, but just put this on file.

Here is one from my State which I desire to read—all this in America, honest citizens, poor, unfortunate men without jobs, working on the W. P. A., afraid to write a letter to a Senator because they know that if the letters get into the hands of the W. P. A. boss, off the roll they go, on some sort of an excuse. This is the letter:

You may think that one who writes letters without signing them is a coward and that is true in this case, for I am afraid that if I would tell all I know and then you should fall in your attempt to sterilize the W. P. A. set-up in our State, I would be immediately dropped from the rolls and my dependents would suffer.

That in a democracy, people afraid to sign their names for fear of punishment.

Here is the last one. I could go ahead all afternoon, but I wanted the Senate to hear these letters. This is the statement in the last one:

I am not giving my name, for I have a relative or so on the W. P. A. pay rolls, and I know that they would be summarily cut off, and they, needing the job, had rather pay the demanded percentage.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. HOLT. I vield.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I regret that I entered the Chamber a little late, but I heard the Senator mentioning Germany. Is the Senator reading from German records or American records?

Mr. HOLT. I am reading from letters which have been received by me through the United States mail giving me information about W. P. A., in which W. P. A. employees indicated they were afraid to sign their names for fear of punishment—in America, under the guidance of Harry L. Hopkins, whom they are now trying to make the greatest Secretary of Commerce since I do not know when. [Laughter.] Nevertheless, that is happening in America, and Senator after Senator could follow me on the floor and tell of anonymous letters he has received. But you know and I know that the very fear not only of punishment to themselves but of their children's starving through their being put off the rolls is indeed a great influence.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLT. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator does not mean to leave the impression that the writers of these anonymous letters to him were afraid that he would turn their names over to Mr. Hopkins if they signed the letters, thereby resulting in their punishment? He does not mean to leave that impression?

Mr. HOLT. No.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator would not have done that, would he?

Mr. HOLT. I would not have turned over anything to Mr. Hopkins, because I would not trust him with anything. [Laughter.] But I know, and the Senator from Kentucky well knows, that men who did not go along in Kentucky lost their jobs.

Mr. BARKLEY. I will say to the Senator that I know no such thing.

Mr. HOLT. I intend to discuss the Kentucky situation in full, not this afternoon, but later on.

Mr. BARKLEY. Very well; I welcome that sort of discussion. I will say to the Senator from West Virginia that I think I know more about the Kentucky campaign, in which I participated, than he does.

Mr. HOLT. That is correct.

Mr. BARKLEY. Congress adjourned on the 16th of June. I immediately began my active campaign in Kentucky, and from that until the 6th day of August I made an average of over 6 speeches a day, covering 117 out of the 120 counties. In every speech I made, to audiences which assembled to do me honor with their presence, I not only insisted but urged that every W. P. A. employee, every Federal employee, every State employee, and every other public employee, not only had the right to vote as he pleased, but ought to exercise that right. I announced publicly that if anyone would come to me and convince me that any Federal employee or officer or agent had exercised or attempted to exercise coercion or intimidation or force in any way to bring about a vote in my behalf or a contribution in my behalf, I would do my level best to have such person discharged from any such public employment; and from that day until now no one has ever responded to that invitation, which I extended in the utmost sincerity for a period of 6 weeks. So I do not know of any such instances as those referred to by the Senator.

Mr. HOLT. I will ask the Senator from Kentucky a question in my time. Does he mean to tell the Senate that there

was no politics in relief in Kentucky?

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not mean to tell the Senate that. I have never insisted that there was no politics in Kentucky.

Mr. HOLT. Who put the politics in relief in Kentucky? Mr. BARKLEY. I did not put it in, and I do not think Mr. Harry Hopkins put it in. There was politics, but it was very largely down in the counties where there were contests carried on among certain officers who had the control of the appointment of the certifying agents in those counties, and

which was not controlled by the W. P. A. As the Senator knows, the W. P. A. does not employ or compensate or appoint the local certifying agents in any county. Those agents are appointed by the county officers. In my State it happens to be by the county judges, and fiscal courts, and they are responsible to the county judges for their appointments and for their compensation.

There were instances perhaps in some counties where county officers and county agents, certifying agents, went beyond the bounds of propriety, locally, in the matter of politics. I did not instigate that. I not only did not instigate it, I condemned it then, as I condemn it now. And Mr. Hopkins knew nothing about that and had nothing to do with it, and it is not fair either to Mr. Hopkins or to me for the Senator, in his own time or anybody else's time, to assert that I knew that there was politics in relief in Kentucky, or that I had anything to do with it.

Mr. HOLT. Let me ask the Senator another question. I am glad that he has joined Mr. Hopkins in politics in relief.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have not joined Mr. Hopkins or anybody else. I am merely stating the facts. I have been in public life for more than 30 years. I have never in any way sought to buy a vote, or authorized anyone to buy a vote, or consented to anyone's buying a vote in my behalf. I have never in any political race I have made undertaken to intimidate or to coerce or to force anyone to vote for me. It has never been my policy to do anything like that, and I do not want anyone in the Senate of the United States to intimate that I have. I do not want the reputation which I have built up during 30 years to be shattered by such an imputation on the part of the Senator or anybody else.

Mr. HOLT. The Senator spoke about politics in relief. Can the Senator give the Senate the name of any individual or individuals who were dismissed for playing politics in relief?

Mr. BARKLEY. I cannot. I am not personally acquainted with them. I do not know anything about them. I knew nothing about what the Senate committee under the chairmanship of the Senator from Texas [Mr. Sheppard] reported until 3 months after the primary election was held in Kentucky.

Mr. HOLT. It is most interesting. The Senator ought to read it.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have read it, and I read it more dispassionately and with greater disinterestedness than the Senator from West Virginia read it.

Mr. HOLT. The Senator from Kentucky admits there is politics in relief. He admits that he knows it.

Mr. BARKLEY. I know it now, yes; because I have read the report, and I presume no man who has any sense will fail to realize that so long as there is human nature in the human heart and in the human head there will be some politics in anything. I am willing to join the Senator or any other Senator or group of Senators in any effort to take politics not only out of relief, but out of all Federal expenditures, provided it is done in the same way in which other Federal or State problems are dealt with by legislation

Mr. HOLT. I am glad that the Senator will join Mr. Hopkins in behalf of the Hatch amendment. We needed that help awfully bad in the last session.

Mr. BARKLEY. I voted against the Hatch amendment in the last session for the reasons that I then expressed, and if it were again offered under the same circumstances I would vote the same way. I sincerely hope that an amendment or a substantive law can be worked out here to take politics out of relief, but I do not believe we should pick out a particular group of the most unfortunate people in the country and deny to them the privilege that every other American enjoys.

Mr. HOLT. I am glad the Senator from Kentucky is going to join with us in cleaning up relief from all this political

Mr. BARKLEY. I am not joining with the Senator from West Virginia. I disclaim any intention of joining with the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. HOLT. If the Senator will not join with me, will he join with those who do stand for cleaning up relief from politics?

Mr. BARKLEY. If that question rises again, I will stand where I always stood. If the Senator is with those who are doing so, well and good, but I am not joining him.

Mr. HOLT. I am against politics in relief. I am for civil service. I have voted for measures to take politics out of relief and to uphold the civil service, and I welcome the opportunity to have the Senator join in such measures. I am glad that he is repenting and coming to the mourner's bench and joining us to take politics out of relief.

Mr. BARKLEY. I voted to put the post-office employees under civil service, and I am ready to vote to incorporate in the appropriation measure which has been sent over here by the House a provision under which the President on the first day of February would cover the executive and supervisory officers of the W. P. A. into the civil service.

Mr. HOLT. I do not blame the Senator for being for that, because that blankets in all of his friends in Kentucky. I do not blame him one bit for being in favor of that.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am no more anxious to blanket in my friends than is the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. HOLT. None of my friends are on the pay roll.

Mr. BARKLEY. Some of these days I may take the time and trouble to enlighten the Senator on the situation in Kentucky.

Mr. HOLT. I shall be glad if the Senator from Kentucky would enlighten me with regard to the situation in Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am sure the Senator wants to be fair, and is not actuated by prejudice whatsoever.

Mr. HOLT. The Senator from West Virginia has been actuated by prejudice many times.

Mr. BARKLEY. I want the Senator to have the full information, but in all likelihood the covering of the W. P. A. employees into the civil service will put as many of my enemies in as my friends. If the Senator had an open mind I could convince him about that. I did not have the support of all W. P. A. workers in Kentucky.

Mr. HOLT. I am glad the Senator has an open heart and wants to blanket his enemies into the civil service.

Mr. BARKLEY. I did not say anything about an open heart. I spoke of an open mind.

Mr. HOLT. Whether those who are covered in are friends or enemies all amounts to the same thing, so long as they get on the civil-service list.

Mr. President, I am still waiting for somebody to tell me who if anyone got fired for playing politics in Kentucky. The Senator from Kentucky admits it was done. Everyone knows it. The W. P. A. knows it. Everyone knows it except Harry Hopkins. Those who played politics are still working for the W. P. A. in Kentucky, and waiting for the next election. Do not worry about that. They will be at work. It is most amusing and to me it is a most striking coincidence that the rolls of the W. P. A. in Kentucky mounted just before the primaries—

Mr. BARKLEY. Will the Senator yield there?

Mr. HOLT. I gladly yield to my distinguished friend.

Mr. BARKLEY. Will the Senator tell the Senate and the galleries and the country what the employment rolls in Kentucky were?

Mr. HOLT. I cannot.

Mr. BARKLEY. Then how does the Senator know the rolls mounted?

Mr. HOLT. I have read it, and I shall be glad, if the Senator wants me to do so, to put it into the Record. Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent to have placed in the Record at this particular place the rolls of the W. P. A. before the primary, at the time of the primary, before the election, and at the time of the election, so as to verify my point. I ask that, Mr. President, because I do want to be fair

Mr. BARKLEY. Has the Senator from West Virginia seen those figures?

Mr. HOLT. I have not only seen them but I have studied them.

Mr. BARKLEY. Does the Senator know how many people were on the rolls in Kentucky?

Mr. HOLT. I do not, but I know there is plenty for the Senator. [Laughter.]

Mr. BARKLEY. Does the Senator know that the pay rolls in Kentucky from the 1st day of January until the 1st day of September 1938 were not increased in proportion to the increases that were made in practically every other State in the Union? Does the Senator know that?

Mr. HOLT. I know that the-

Mr. BARKLEY. Does the Senator know that?

Mr. HOLT. I cannot say that I actually know that to be a fact, but I know that the highest relief roll in America was on the Saturday before the general election, and it was cut immediately afterward. Mr. President, in order to be fair, I again ask the Senate for unanimous permission to put into the Record the rolls in Kentucky before the primary and at the time of the primary. I will get those figures and place them in the Record.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have here a tabulated statement.
Mr. HOLT. I ask the Senator if he objects to putting it in in my time.

Mr. BARKLEY. No; I will put it in in my own time.

Mr. HOLT. I am glad that the Senator will do so.
Mr. BARKLEY. I have here a tabulated report of all the
employees in all the States, for 1937 and 1938, down to and
including the 31st day of December. I think the Senator will
not find a single State in the Union in which the rolls were
not increased during the summer months, not only of 1938
but of 1937, a year in which there was no election involved,
either for the United States Senate or otherwise.

Mr. HOLT. Does the Senator mean to say that the rolls were increased in 1937?

Mr. BARKLEY. They were.

Mr. HOLT. I dispute that.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator will find when he looks at the records that the rolls were increased in 1937, for the very reason that in the construction of highways and other outdoor projects, the open season for work is in the spring, summer, and autumn.

In all the 48 States, beginning with January 1, 1938, and ending with December 31, 1938, there was a gradual increase in the pay roll, depending somewhat upon the season and weather conditions favorable to constructing highways and public buildings of all sorts. The same is true in 1937, when there occurred no congressional election, and there was no senatorial investigation.

The Senator referred specifically to Kentucky. I will say to him that a majority of the States in this list for 1938 show a higher percentage of increase in the pay roll from along in March until along in November, which represents the better season for outdoor construction, than is true of Kentucky. The percentage of increase was not as large in Kentucky as it was in a number of States. I will say to the Senator that in the State of Maryland there was probably a smaller increase in the total number of men and women on the pay rolls of the W. P. A. from January until December than in Kentucky, and several other States, including West Virginia, Massachusetts, and Texas.

Mr. HOLT. There was a reason why there were fewer put

Mr. HOLT. There was a reason why there were fewer put on the rolls in Maryland. They wanted to beat the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. BARKLEY. There were fewer W. P. A. workers in proportion there. There have always been fewer W. P. A. workers in the State of Maryland in proportion to the population than in a number of other States of equal population, and I think that is a subject on which Maryland might be congratulated, because I presume it has been based upon a lesser need in Maryland than in other States of similar population in the United States.

Mr. HOLT. I wanted to read the number of W. P. A. workers. I did not know that I had the information on my desk, but I have found it.

W. P. A. workers March 1, 1937, 2,114,800.

November 1937, that had declined to 1,519,740, or nearly 600,000 workers.

Let us turn to 1938, since the Senator asked about it. I intended merely to mention it, but I am glad to put it in the RECORD, because the Senator made the point for me. In March 1938, we find on the W. P. A. pay rolls 2,394,843.

In November 1938, in the same comparable period, 3,216,400; or an increase of between 800,000 and 900,000 in election year 1938 as compared to a decrease of 600,000 in the off year of 1937.

Mr. BARKLEY. The same proportion would apply to West Virginia, and inasmuch as the Senator has not read it I will give it to him. March 1937 and 1938 in the State of West Virginia-

Mr. HOLT. Oh, I have been very much interested in the State of West Virginia.

Mr. BARKLEY. There was no senatorial election in West Virginia in 1937.

Mr. HOLT. No; but they were interested in a bunch of fellows on the other side of the Capitol. Do not worry about that

Mr. BARKLEY. In March 1937 on the rolls of the W. P. A. in West Virginia there were 2,148,000-

Mr. HOLT. Two million? We have only 1,800,000 people. Somebody is getting something.

Mr. BARKLEY. That was the amount of money spent. I was reading the wrong figure.

Mr. HOLT. It would not surprise me if there were 2,000,000 on the rolls.

Mr. BARKLEY. I was reading the amount of money spent, and not the number employed. I think the Senator read from the same list.

In March 1937 there were 47,482 people on the rolls in Kentucky. I think the Senator will recall that he was reading the amount of money, because he referred to two

Mr. HOLT. No; I was talking about the whole United States.

Mr. BARKLEY. I thought the Senator was referring to Kentucky.

Mr. HOLT. No.

Mr. BARKLEY. In March 1937 there were 47,482 on the rolls in Kentucky.

Mr. HOLT. How many were there in November?

Mr. BARKLEY. In November there were 39,652.

Mr. HOLT. Very well. Let us see about— Mr. BARKLEY. In West Virginia there were 37,381 on the rolls in March 1937, and in December of the same year there were 28,806.

Mr. HOLT. While the Senator has the record before him, let us look at 1938.

Mr. BARKLEY. I will say to the Senator that in March 1938 there were 48,285 in Kentucky. In December of that

Mr. HOLT. How many were there in November?

Mr. BARKLEY. In November there were 69,431.

Mr. HOLT. I do not think I need say any more.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am not through with the Senator's records. The Senator wants the whole record, does he not? Mr. HOLT. Oh, yes.

Mr. BARKLEY. In West Virginia, in March 1938, there were 40.557. In November there were 43,117. Taking these figures at random, in the State of North Carolina in March 1938, there were 31,145; and in November there were 55,143.

In the State of Massachusetts, in which my good friend the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Walsh] is interested, in March 1938 there were 97,708 persons on the W. P. A. rolls. In November of that same year there were 129,305 on the rolls.

In the State of Maryland, in March 1938, there were 12,021 persons on the rolls of the W. P. A., and in November there were 15.619.

I will say to the Senator that there have been increases in all these States, some of them a larger percentage than others. The percentage varies from March to November, because, in the first place, Congress appropriated a new sum of \$1,450,-000,000 at the end of the last session, which was not available for projects until after July 1, as the Senator knows, and, of course, there was an acceleration of the work all over the country during the summer months, as a result of the expenditure of the extra one and a half billion.

If the Senator will go through the list, which extends through the entire year 1937, and up to the end of 1938, he will find that in all the States, without regard to any election, whether there was an election for United States Senator, for Governor, or for any other office, there was a perfectly natural increase in the number of employees on the W. P. A., due to the appropriation of additional sums by Congress, and due to the fact that in the summer months, covering the period from March until November, a larger amount of outside work can be done, not only by the W. P. A., but by any other agency of Government which has outdoor work.

The Senator knows that a large proportion of the money was spent in the construction of highways, and that highways must be built when the weather is fair.

Much of the work was done in the construction of schoolhouses and other sorts of public buildings. The season for that sort of construction runs largely from March until November. In most parts of the country the weather is excellent until the latter part of November.

So, coming back to Kentucky, which the Senator has specifically mentioned, if the Senator will take the average increase between March and November, or between January 1 and December 31, 1938, and 1937, he will find that the proportion of men put on the pay roll of the W. P. A. in that State fell materially under the proportion put on in a number of other States, in which there was no contest for United States Senator.

Mr. HOLT. As I stated a moment ago, I do not believe I can add anything to what the Senator from Kentucky has said. He has given the figures. However, in order that the matter may be clear in our minds, the Senator spoke about the right season. I admit that 1938 was the proper season. There is no question about that. It was the political season. It was different in 1937. A moment ago I mentioned the fact that in the United States-

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLT. I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. WALSH. May I ask the Senator from Kentucky whether the figures he has given represent the number of relief workers, or the number of so-called administrative employees, or both?

Mr. BARKLEY. They represent both. I have before me the list for the entire country for the 2 years, and it speaks for itself. As I interpret it, it does not show that the number of W. P. A. employees was artificially boosted in any State. The number of employees will depend on the number of projects, and the number of projects will depend very largely on the ability of local communities to sponsor their part of the necessary cost, the average in my State being about 25 percent.

Let me also say to the Senator from West Virginia that on account of the inability of communities to vote bonds at any election except the 8th of November of last year, many desirable projects were denied, because October 1 was set as the dead line before which elections had to be held in order to authorize bonds. Because of the inability of towns, counties, and cities to vote bonds to enable them to expend their part of the necessary amount to construct any public building or enterprise, Kentucky, both in respect to the W. P. A. and the P. W. A., is under the quota of the amount of money to which she would have been entitled if the communities had qualified, or could have qualified by holding elections at which bond issues could have been authorized in order that the local community could pay its part of the expense. The Senator can verify that statement by inquiry at the W. P. A. and P. W. A. offices.

Mr. HOLT. I desire again to offer the record to show, as I said a moment ago, that the relief rolls were boosted in an election year and cut down in an off year. According to the W. P. A. there were 2,114,800 employees in March 1937. In November that number was reduced to 1,519,740,

or a reduction of approximately 600,000, while in 1938, an election year, in March there were 2,394,843 employees in the W. P. A. in the United States, and in November there were 3,216,400, or an increase of 822,000, figuring it roughly.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLT. I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator does not contend that in 1937 the W. P. A. spent less money than Congress had authorized it to spend, does he?

Mr. HOLT. I have never known the time when the W. P. A. did not spend more than Congress gave it.

Mr. BARKLEY. In other words, the number of men put on the rolls in any year must depend upon the amount of money available, and that amount is determined by Con-

Mr. HOLT. That is correct.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator would not contend, would he, that in 1937 the W. P. A. spent less than the amount Congress had allowed it? And I take it he would not contend that in 1938 the W. P. A. spent more than the amount Congress allowed it. So the amount of the appropriation for 1937, as well as the amount of the appropriation for 1938, would determine the number of men and women who could be put on the W. P. A. rolls. Therefore, the question of how many men or women shall be put on the W. P. A. rolls is not a matter of caprice on the part of Mr. Hopkins, or anybody else. It depends on the amount of money Congress appropriates to put men and women on the rolls. I am assuming that in 1937 and in 1938 the W. P. A. put on all the men and woman that the appropriation made by Congress would justify.

Mr. HOLT. The Senator is absolutely correct in saying that the appropriation was lower in 1937 than in 1938.

Mr. BARKLEY. Then, why is it-

Mr. HOLT. Let me finish my answer. However, the Senator from Kentucky can probably tell us why the amount was higher in 1938 than in 1937. The Senator had much to do with it.

Mr. BARKLEY. No; I cannot, any more than the Senator can, because the appropriation was made-

Mr. HOLT. I am not on the inside. I do not know.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator is on the inside of the Senate, and the Senate had something to say about it. The Senator knows that the appropriation-

Mr. HOLT. I am not in the inner circle of the Senate.

Mr. BARKLEY. There was nothing secret about the appropriation.

Mr. HOLT. Oh, no.

Mr. BARKLEY. The appropriation was openly debated in both the Senate and the House.

Mr. HOLT. Yes.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator from West Virginia participated in those debates, as he always does.

Mr. HOLT. Does not the Senator think that the Senator from West Virginia contributed to the debates?

Mr. BARKLEY. I beg the Senator not to ask me to commit myself on that question. The Senator always contributes to every debate. Just what he contributes may be subject to debate. However, the Senator was present, and he knows that the amount of money is not a secret.

Mr. HOLT. That is true.

Mr. BARKLEY. The matter was debated openly day by day in both the House and the Senate; and if Congress appropriated less money for 1937 than it did for 1938, Congress is responsible for it. It was not due to any election. If it was due to an election, Congress must accept its responsibility for appropriating more in 1938 than it did in 1937. So, the Senator is not fair with the W. P. A. or with anybody else when he says that the rolls were increased in 1938 because there was an election coming.

Mr. HOLT. I am glad that the Senator has joined the mourner's bench, and taken the responsibility.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am always eligible to join any mourner's bench. However, I do not want the hand of fellowship extended to me by the Reverend Dr. Holt, of West Virginia. [Laughter.]

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, a point of order. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it. Mr. LEWIS. I have no desire to interfere with what may be appreciative applause for any speaker on the floor of the Senate. However, in my position I must invite the attention of the Chair to the fact that the occupants of the galleries have been permitted to express their feelings in a form so violent and rude to the Senate, and so contrary to the dignity of the body, and so thoroughly opposed to what should be the courtesy accorded to the Senator speaking, that I now ask the Chair to instruct the galleries that. under the rules of the Senate, forms of expression such as have been indulged are not allowed and are not in harmony with the rules of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point of order of the Senator from Illinois is well taken. The Chair at this time must admonish the occupants of the galleries to refrain from any audible approval or disapproval of any remarks that are made by any Senator upon the floor. The occupants of the galleries are here as the guests of the Senate, and order in the galleries must be maintained.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I appreciate fully that the point of order made by the Senator from Illinois is well taken. It is against the rules of the Senate for our guests in the galleries to give expressions of approval or disapproval. But, without regard to approval or disapproval, it is frequently difficult for the occupants of the galleries to refrain from an expression of amusement, which does not necessarily indicate approval or disapproval when something happens on the floor that amuses even the Members of the Senate who hear it. It is not always possible for the occupants of the galleries to exert more self-restraint than it is for the Members of the Senate themselves.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, the Senator from Kentucky may use more interesting figures, and, although he says he will join with me-and I will be glad to have him join me or stay where he is-nevertheless we are in the same position; we both now believe that politics should not be in relief. He did not believe that in 1938 before the primary, but nevertheless-

Mr. BARKLEY. I deny the right of the Senator to interpret my belief or say what I believe.

Mr. HOLT. I am perfectly willing to have the Senator state what he believes.

Mr. BARKLEY. My record here speaks for itself; I am not ashamed of it, and I am not apologizing for it or recanting anything I said when the question was under consideration.

Mr. HOLT. Would the Senator support the Hatch amendment if it were presented to the Senate today?

Mr. BARKLEY. There will probably be a Hatch amendment presented, and I hope-

Mr. HOLT. That does not answer my question.

Mr. BARKLEY. And I hope to be able to support an amendment that will in reality eliminate politics from relief. But if the Senator wants a specific answer from me-

Mr. HOLT. I do.

Mr. BARKLEY. As to whether I would support the original Hatch amendment as it was offered in the Senate during the last Congress under the same circumstances, my answer is "No"; I would not do so. My reason for that is that, in my own conscience, I have never been willing to be so unfair, without criticizing the attitude of anyone else, to the most unfortunate class of our people who, in order to support their wives and children, must go on these public rolls, as to deny to them the same right possessed by every other American or any other office holder, including United States Senators. That is my attitude.

Mr. HOLT. I agree with the Senator in that respect.

Mr. BARKLEY. And whenever any bill or amendment is brought before the Senate that will put W. P. A. workers on the same basis as every other worker or every other citizen, I will support it. But I said in that debate, and I repeat now, that I do not think a United States Senator has any more rights under the Constitution of the United States than has the humblest man or woman who works on the W. P. A. rolls in any county of the United States.

Mr. HOLT. I agree with the Senator in that respect; that is absolutely correct.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am glad to welcome the Senator to the mourners bench.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLT. I will yield in a moment. I have not just joined the bench, I will say to the Senator from Kentucky; I was in the first group that supported the proposal; and I wish to say further to the Senator from Kentucky that I agree with him that the humblest man in the country should have the same rights that we have. Therefore I protest with all the vigor that I have against "firing" W. P. A. workers who will not take orders from political bosses. We are not "fired" according to the whim of a boss; we may be purged but we are not fired. Nevertheless, going back to that, it is my contention that the W. P. A. workers should have the same opportunity as every other citizen, but they do not have it in America.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President-

Mr. HOLT. Let me finish the thought.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator from West

Virginia yield to me?

Mr. HOLT. Let me first finish my statement. They do not have the same opportunity, because the very day, as the Senator from Kentucky very well knows, that they become outspoken in their political beliefs against any party in power, in Kentucky or any other State, then they are "fired" and removed from the public rolls.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator is not telling the accurate truth there.

Mr. HOLT. I ask the Senator to read the record as to Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. I know of counties of my State—I do not care to name them here—where the proportion of Republican workers is much larger than that of Democrats right now, and none of them have been "fired" because they did not vote for me in the November election; and no Democrat who voted against me in the primary election has been "fired." The Senator cannot name one.

Mr. HOLT. I am glad that the Senator admits he is trying to get Republicans over. That method has been used in a number of States to put them on.

Mr. BARKLEY. Now the Senator is not being serious.

Mr. HOLT. Oh, yes.

Mr. BARKLEY. He is not being fair. I am not trying to get Republicans over, though I welcome them when they decide to become Democrats. In the counties of Kentucky, I will say to the Senator, from the very beginning, due to the local situation to which I referred a while ago, where the local administration, instead of the W. P. A., determines who will go on the rolls, who can obtain work, we all get complaints about politics in the various counties. Other Senators get letters; I get them; all of us get them. The first adminstrator of W. P. A. in Kentucky was a Republican. He held office for 2 years until he was promoted to a regional office. I am not going into the question of the history of the W. P. A. in Kentucky, but many of the most serious complaints I received from many counties-and I think my colleague [Mr. Logan] will bear out my statement-most of the complaints which we have really received from Kentucky were due to the fact that in many of the counties the Republicans who were on the rolls, out of all proportion, outnumbered the Democrats.

Democrats protested, and, of course, I agree whether the protest was heeded or not by W. P. A. officers, that was not fair; there ought not to be an undue proportion of Republicans in any county or an undue proportion of Democrats on the rolls. I believe I can say, with absolute candor, that not a State director of the W. P. A. in any State in the United States has done so consistent a job of trying to keep

politics out of relief as has the administrator appointed for the State of Kentucky. There may have been other instances, but I do not approve them—

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President-

Mr. BARKLEY. Just a moment. I knew nothing about them. I was not consulted about the cases. The report which has been presented shows that out of 120 counties in the State of Kentucky there were 2 counties in which foremen or area engineers took it upon themselves, without the knowledge of myself or without our consent or without the knowledge of anybody running my campaign or without the knowledge or approval of anybody above them in the W. P. A., to go out on the projects which they were supervising, and take action which might be criticized. I do not know the men themselves; but there was a large amount of confusion, I will say, in Kentucky in regard to registration.

Mr. HOLT. Yes; I will admit that.

Mr. BARKLEY. I wish the Senator would be serious for a moment. The legislature was considering, I will say to the Senator, early last year the enactment of a law which would give to the chief executive of the State the right to appoint boards in each county to determine who might vote in a primary election. In one county 1,500 men had their right to vote challenged, and they were required to go to the county seat and defend their right to vote. Some of them had lived in their present homes for 30 years; yet they were challenged; and not only that, but heretofore anybody who was unregistered or who had changed his voting place could go within the last 2 weeks before the primary or general election and register if he had become of age or if he had become a voter or if he had moved from one precinct to another. In the very midst of the contest in 1938 in Kentucky the legislature passed a law moving that date up 60 days, so that many of the voters of the State were uninformed and were confused about their right as to when and where and how they could change or correct their registration.

In one of the offices, in one of the regions of the State, in order that information might be given to employees who had made many verbal requests for information about their right to vote and register, there were, as I understand from the committee report—and I never knew of it until the committee made its report—mimeograph forms of instructions sent out to workers on the projects, not with a view to determining how any of them was going to vote but with a view of determining whether they were registered and to give them the information that would enable them to register in order that they might take part either in the Democratic or Republican primary, for under the laws of Kentucky a registered Republican may not vote in a Democratic primary and a registered Democrat may not vote in a Republican primary.

I am informed—and the committee's report so shows—that in these mimeograph forms which were sent out giving this information there were was no effort made to find to what political party an individual belonged or for whom he intended to vote for United States Senator. It may be that that was improper. It may be that these lists of employees in the particular counties are not public property; but the testimony of the man who supervised them says that he regarded them as public property; that anybody who wanted them and would come for them could have gotten them, and that he thought he was doing a public duty as an American citizen in informing these unfortunate people what their rights were in qualifying themselves to vote, if they desired to vote.

When everybody is obtaining all sorts of lists from every possible source, I myself think it is quite technical to say that any drastic punishment should have been meted out to a man who simply tried to help his employees in qualifying to vote according to their own sentiments in an election which was pending at that time.

Mr. HOLT. I should like now to quote the Sheppard committee report on Kentucky. On page 36 it says what I shall

now read. I did not investigate Kentucky, but I desire to read what the report said on August 2, 1938:

The evidence thus far presented to it convinces the committee that a deplorable situation exists in Kentucky. It is certain that organized efforts have been, and are being made to control the vote of those on relief work, and that contributions have been sought and obtained from Federal employees in behalf of one of the senatorial candidates. It is equally certain that State officials charged in part with the distribution of Federal funds for oldage assistance and for unemployment compensation have been required to contribute from their salaries and of their services in the interest of another candidate for the United States Senate.

Then the committee—a Democratic committee entirely—make this statement. Here is what the said about Kentucky:

These facts should arouse the conscience of the country. They imperil the right of the people to a free and unpolluted ballot.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator say what the date of that was?

Mr. HOLT. It says on page 36 that it was for release after the committee meeting on August 2, 1938.

Mr. BARKLEY. That was a press release?

Mr. HOLT. Yes; from the committee. It was the committee speaking.

Mr. BARKLEY. Within 4 days of the primary, that press release was issued, as I understand.

Mr. HOLT. I do not know as to that.

Mr. BARKLEY. It was on the 2d of August.

Mr. HOLT. Yes.

Mr. BARKLEY. The investigator from the committee was not sent to Kentucky until about the 20th or 25th of July, and remained there until the 28th day of October, and the committee did not make its official report on Kentucky until within the past 2 weeks.

Mr. HOLT. That is correct. I wish I had time to go into the State of Kentucky. It may be advisable for me to speak tomorrow on Kentucky, because this is what the report, on page 11, says about Kentucky. It speaks about the Stokes charges, and in the second paragraph it says:

The committee's representative, and the force assisting him after investigation, made a report sustaining the staff writer in a majority of the charges and concurring with Mr. Hopkins in four instances

There were 22 charges.

The findings of the committee's investigator in reference to these charges indicated solicitation of W. P. A. employees and officials for contributions to the campaign funds of Candidate ——.

The rules of the Senate do not let me say who it is.

Mr. BARKLEY. I will suppy the name. I suppose the rules do not prohibit me from saying.

Mr. HOLT. No.

Mr. BARKLEY. I was the candidate referred to there.

Mr. HOLT. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield again?

Mr. HOLT. Let me finish this, and then I will be glad to yield. The report says:

The findings of the committee's investigator in reference to these charges indicated solicitation of W. P. A. employees and officials for contributions to the campaign funds of Candidate—

The Senator furnished the name-

and a systematic canvassing of W. P. A. employees as to preference in the race for the Democratic senatorial nomination. These activities, so far as solicitations were concerned, were carried on mainly by private parties not connected with W. P. A., but in some instances by W. P. A. officials. Canvassing activities were carried on by W. P. A. officials entirely.

Then the report goes ahead and discusses Kentucky; but I now yield to the Senator.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator has referred to some newspaper articles written by Mr. Thomas L. Stokes—

Mr. HOLT. That is correct.

Mr. BARKLEY. Who represented the Scripps-Howard newspapers—who was sent into Kentucky early in the spring to investigate the situation in Kentucky with respect to the use of W. P. A. funds and employees in the senatorial contest?

At that time there were about 60,000 employees on the W. P. A. rolls in Kentucky. Mr. Stokes found 22 cases out

of 60,000 in which he thought the conduct of the person referred to was reprehensible; and I admit, for the sake of argument, that if what he said about the conduct was true it was reprehensible. The committee investigating the matter found that in 18 of the cases that was the situation; that is, they considered the testimony of the person who made the charge, and considered the denial of the person against whom the charge was made, and then held that 18 out of the 22 charges were sustained.

Of course, these charges were called to the attention of Mr. Hopkins by the committee, and he sent his investigators down there to investigate, and they took affidavits and took what they thought would be credible evidence on the subject; and all of the charges were denied by Mr. Hopkins except two, in which instances he admitted that the charges were sustained.

So that really presents a difference of only 16 cases between the finding of the committee and the charges of Mr. Stokes, who was the newspaperman who went down there and with a fine-tooth comb combed the State of Kentucky for evidence against the W. P. A. and found 22 cases out of 60,000, 18 of which were sustained by the committee out of 60,000 workers.

Now, should Mr. Hopkins be blamed for that sort of thing if he was not responsible for it, if he knew nothing about it, but after it was called to his attention he sent his own investigating force there to look into it?

The Senator says he does not credit the report of that kind of investigators; but I do not know of any other department that does not do the same thing. If you make a charge against a postmaster or a rural mail carrier, the Post Office Department sends its own inspector to investigate the charge. If you make a charge against somebody in the Department of Justice, the Department sends out its own investigating force. The same thing is true of the Treasury Department. The same thing is true of the Federal Trade Commission. All the departments send their own investigating forces to investigate charges made with respect to their employees.

Mr. HOLT. I want to add right there that the investigating forces in those departments are under civil service, while investigators on W. P. A. are under the political coercion of a boss. There is a great difference there. The investigators know, in the case of the other departments, that they can report frankly and not lose their jobs.

Mr. BARKLEY. That means that in the opinion of the Senator the moral fiber of men not under civil service who are appointed to investigate charges is less than that which obtains in the case of those who are under civil service.

Mr. HOLT. No; but the Senator-

Mr. BARKLEY. I stand ready-

Mr. HOLT. I should like to answer in my own time.

Mr. BARKLEY. I stand ready to put those men under civil service; but they were not under civil service because Congress never put them there.

Mr. HOLT. The Senator from Kentucky knows just as

Mr. HOLT. The Senator from Kentucky knows just as well as I know that if the political ax of a man's job is over his head, if he brings in an unfavorable report, that is economic coercion. Congress has passed so many, many times on that.

Mr. BARKLEY. Does the Senator think that even in Kentucky, which he desires to paint in such black terms—Mr. HOLT. No; I am just taking what the Sheppard com-

mittee says.

Mr. BARKLEY. Out of 60,000 employees, they find that 18 have gone beyond the bounds of propriety and against the instructions of the head of the W. P. A., without the knowledge of any responsible manager of any candidate for public office in that State. Does the Senator think that because of those 18 cases Mr. Hopkins ought to be denied confirmation, when he never knew anything about them until they were called to his attention officially, and then made an investigation in the regular way to ascertain the correctness and the merits of the charges, and admitted 2 of them and denied 20, while the committee of investigation sustained the charges in 18 cases? Does the Senator seriously think that in those circumstances Mr. Hopkins ought to be denied confirmation on account of those transactions in the State of Kentucky?

Mr. HOLT. I will answer the Senator by saying that the Senator from West Virginia is going to vote against Mr. Hopkins' confirmation. There is no question about that.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am satisfied that the Senator from West Virginia would have voted against Mr. Hopkins' confirmation if there had never been a Senate committee ap-

pointed to investigate W. P. A.

Mr. HOLT. Yes; because I knew him better than they did a long while ago. I want to say, however, since the Senator from Kentucky talks about a man going down to Kentucky and finding only 22 instances, that here is a newspaper reporter from Washington, with no connection with Kentucky, going down there and in a few days finding this condition of affairs. The Sheppard committee only had twenty-odd investigators, and, of course, they could not send many investigators down there; but it is my honest opinion—

Mr. BARKLEY. There were five.

Mr. HOLT. They sent five investigators to cover the 60.000 people and find out whether there was any politics in relief. The Senator from Kentucky knows that the committee was not amply provided with investigators to get down to the bottom of the rotten political situation in Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator from Kentucky knows nothing of the sort. The Senate committee had \$80,000 available. I do not know how much of it they used.

Mr. HOLT. For thirty-odd States.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not know whether they used all of it or whether they had a surplus left. I have no information on the subject.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, they had a surplus of about fifteen or twenty thousand dollars left.

Mr. BARKLEY. So the committee did its work on about \$55,000.

Mr. HOLT. And did a good job.

Mr. BARKLEY. And they could have used fifteen or twenty thousand dollars more if they had wanted to use it. So the Senator's statement is not correct that the committee was handicapped for lack of funds.

Mr. HOLT. I did not say that. I said they were handicapped for lack of investigators.

Mr. BARKLEY. Well, they used the only investigators they could have employed. I do not know how many they had. I do not know how many States they went into; but if they used \$60,000, say, and had \$20,000 left, they could have employed at least a third more investigators, if they needed them, than they actually employed with the \$60,000.

Mr. HOLT. No; they wanted to stay, and properly so, within their budget.

Mr. BARKLEY. They would have stayed within their budget if they had spent \$20,000 more.

Mr. HOLT. No; the Senator knows that when they got down in Kentucky, if they had employed enough investigators, it would have cost \$75,000 to investigate Kentucky alone.

Mr. BARKLEY. No; the Senator from Kentucky does not know that, and the Senator from West Virginia does not know it.

Mr. HOLT. The Senator from West Virginia does know it.
Mr. BARKLEY. No; the Senator does not know it. He
does not know that, and there are a good many things the
Senator from West Virginia does not know that he asserts
here as matters of fact.

Mr. HOLT. There are a number of things the Senator from West Virginia does not know, but he knows there is politics in the W. P. A. in Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am astonished that the Senator from West Virginia should admit that there is anything he does not know.

Mr. HOLT. The Senator will admit many things, but that is one thing he will not admit. He knows there is plenty of politics in Kentucky, and he would also like to know why the peculiar conference with the W. P. A. director was held in Kentucky just before the campaign. Of course, he came up just to pass greetings with the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. What is that the Senator is talking about?

Mr. HOLT. I said the W. P. A. administrator for Kentucky conferred with the Senator from Kentucky before the primary.

Mr. BARKLEY. The W. P. A. administrator in Kentucky has his headquarters at Louisville, where my headquarters were. He was never around my headquarters.

Mr. HOLT. That is very good, to have them in the same city.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. George H. Goodman, the director of the W. P. A. in Kentucky, is a friend of mine, and I saw him frequently, but I never conferred with Mr. Goodman before the primary about W. P. A. workers, or about the use of political funds, or W. P. A. funds or workers in the primary, and I did not confer with him about the primary immediately before the primary election, or otherwise. Is the Senator satisfied?

Mr. HOLT. No; the Senator still says there is politics in Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator talked about a conference I had, and there was no such conference.

Mr. HOLT. I am glad the Senator changed the name of it. [Laughter.] We were discussing the number of people on W. P. A. rolls in the United States bearing directly on the election, and the Senator from Kentucky rose in all his oratory, and oratorical style, and his good nature, which I enjoy, and which I like, and tried to criticise me by saying, "Do you mean to say that the rolls varied with elections," and then, when he started to read the figures, he read them more and more softly as he proceeded. Nevertheless, I want to read the figures again, I want to show what happened.

In the State of Kentucky, in March 1937, according to his own statement, there were 47,482 employees on the W. P. A. This was not an election year. In November of 1937, I think he said, the number had been reduced to 39,652, or a difference of 7,830, as I count quickly, who went off the

W. P. A. roll, in the State of Kentucky alone.

Let us look at the figures for 1938, and see what happened. According to the statement he gave, in March 1938 there were 48,285, and in November the small number of 69,431, or a difference of 21,146 people. In other words, in 1937 in Kentucky the rolls went down by nearly 8,000, in an off year, and in an election year went up by 21,000. There may not be any politics to it, each Senator may determine that for himself; but I think there was.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator read the figures for the same period for the State of Georgia, for the State of Louisiana, and for the State of Texas?

Mr. HOLT. I do not have them.

Mr. BARKLEY. I thought the Senator had them.

Mr. HOLT. No.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have them. Will the Senator read them?

Mr. HOLT. I am glad to.

Mr. BARKLEY. I should like to have them put in, too. Mr. HOLT. In the State of Louisiana in March there were 31,120 on the W. P. A. rolls. In November there were 54,649, as compared with 31,120. There was an increase in Louisiana, but it was an election year.

Mr. BARKLEY. What election was there in Louisiana in which the question was involved?

Mr. HOLT. I do not know; but it was an election year. Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator is talking about it being an election year, and he is assuming that the increase was due to some election in Louisiana. What election was it?

Mr. HOLT. I could not say.

Mr. BARKLEY. Then the Senator does not know that it was due to it being an election year?

Mr. HOLT. I have my-

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator has his suspicions? [Laughter.]

Mr. HOLT. Oh, yes. [Laughter.]

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I insist on the rule requiring Senators to address the Chair be enforced.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point of order is well taken, and Senators will comply with the rule.

Mr. HOLT. All I can say is-and the records prove itthat the W. P. A. roll went up in 1938 and went down in 1937. There is no question about that. That is the fact, whether the Congress is responsible, whether the people were responsible, whether Hopkins was responsible; the relief rolls went up in an election year and went down in an off year, except in the State of Maryland, as the Senator has said, where they were quite interested in the rolls not going up. It is most interesting to check the States where the purges were on. I did not know this was of so much interest to the Senator from Kentucky, so tomorrow, when the debate continues, I hope to put in the RECORD figures showing how the rolls went up before the purgee primaries. I think it would be quite interesting to show those bounds upward and down, as Elderman showed them in a cartoon in the Washington Post. He said, "There's gold in them thar hills." So there was "gold in them thar hills" up and down, depending on the elections.

In the State of Massachusetts, the figures just given, I repeat, in March 1938, 97,000 people were on the W. P. A. roll. In November 1938 there were 129,000, or a difference of 32,000 more in the State of Massachusetts; and there was an election there. No one will question that.

I should like to have Senators check-and I hope it will be in my time tomorrow—the business index of the country, which will show many, many times that as business was going up so were the W. P. A. rolls; but the W. P. A. rolls have never gone up in an off year but have always gone up in a direct election year.

You may say there is no politics in it if you care to, but, as Aubrey Williams says, "Vote for the boys that are with you." This is not a direct quotation but the thought. Harry Hopkins said in Minnesota, "You should keep those in power who give you the most," and certain people gave them the most. So we find a constant increase in W. P. A. rolls.

I want to quote Mr. Hopkins actually and directly so that he cannot squirm out of it. This is what he said in Minnesota:

There is nothing wrong in supporting the political group that will give you the most.

And that is what he meant. He meant they should support them.

We find a peculiar thing, that the depression passed on the 5th day of November. Is that not peculiar, that we reached the hump of business recession on the 5th day of November, and now we are sailing down the road, and the relief rolls are being cut daily?

I know what was behind it and you know what was behind it. Those men were put on the rolls for the purpose to help in the election in those years in the States named. I want to give those again and again as time goes on.

May I ask the Senator from Kentucky how long he intends to have the Senate sit today?

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I had hoped we might vote this afternoon, but if the Senator intends to talk very much longer, I think the Senate would be compelled in self defense to take a rest.

Mr. HOLT. I agree with the Senator from Kentucky-Mr. BARKLEY. I think we will remain in session until at least 5 o'clock, and then we can determine what we will do. I hope the Senator can conclude by that time.

Mr. HOLT. I will say that I cannot conclude by 5 o'clock. I shall be glad to cooperate with the Senator.

Mr. BARKLEY. Will the Senator tell me how much longer beyond that time he would wish to speak?

Mr. HOLT. At quite some length; but I should be glad to act according to the wishes of the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. Does the Senator mean about stopping the speech? [Laughter.]

Mr. HOLT. No; I will not go that far with the Senator from Kentucky, because I would be sitting down now if I were consulting his wishes.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator told me when he started that he intended to speak about 2 hours, and he has spoken now about 4 hours.

Mr. HOLT. I expect it seems like that to the Senator, but it was not quite that long.

Mr. BARKLEY. It seemed longer, to be perfectly frank. I held out the hope at the last session of the Senate that if we could dispose of this nomination today we would adjourn over until Monday, but if we cannot do that, I do not desire to hold the Senate so very late, if we have to meet tomorrow. We can conclude the session about 5, if the Senator is not through by that time.

Mr. HOLT. We can go on until 5, or stop now, as the Senator desires.

Mr. BARKLEY. Very well.

Mr. HOLT. Now, concerning Mr. Hopkins and his place in politics, which was discussed at some length, I think it would be quite interesting at this time to have the clerk read and to put into my speech an editorial from the Parkersburg News entitled "Greatest Indictment." I ask unanimous consent that the clerk may read the editorial.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the clerk will read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

#### GREATEST INDICTMENT

There follows here an editorial from the Washington Daily News, a Scripps-Howard newspaper. It is reprinted because it deals with a subject, the importance of which can scarcely be exaggerated. a subject, the importance of which can scarcely be exaggerated. It should be understood the Scripps-Howard newspapers originally supporters of President Roosevelt before his first nomination and until recently have given generous approval of the present administration. When it says the Sheppard committee report is "the greatest indictment of mass political prostitution the country has ever seen" the seriousness of this situation must be realized. It should be remembered too that one of the chief beneficiaries, Senator Barkley, has not only been reseated, but has again become the majority leader and that Hopkins and Williams, who were responsible for this situation, have been rewarded by new offices of even greater importance.

The editorial follows:

The editorial follows:
"Now comes the time to complete the record on a certain con-

troversy.

"Last June, Thomas L. Stokes, reporter for The News and other Scripps-Howard newspapers, went into Kentucky to write about the primary campaign of Senator 'Dear Alben' Barkley and Gov. 'Happy' Chandler.

"He found, and reported, that the Chandler State machine was systematically shaking down State employees for contributions and compelling them to support Candidate Chandler. Those findings were never denied.

"Reporter Stokes also found, and reported, that the Barkley

and compelling them to support Candidate Chandler. Those findings were never denied.

"Reporter Stokes also found, and reported, that the Barkley Federal machine was shaking down Federal jobholders and resorting to widespread coercive practices to compel W. P. A. relief workers to support Candidate Barkley. He listed 22 specific instances of W. P. A. in politics."

Those findings created a considerable stir. W. P. A. Administrator Harry Hopkins put on a great show of W. P. A. investigating itself, and then with an air of righteous indignation gave out a press release taking up those 22 "alleged" instances one by one and proclaiming that in only 2 of the 22 instances could W. P. A. investigators find evidence to support the accuracy of what Reporter Stokes had reported.

Then Senator Sheppard's campaign expenditures committee took up the trail. Over the months the committee has released preliminary reports of its findings. Now the Sheppard committee has turned in its final report. And here is the score:

Mr. Stokes reported 22 W. P. A. abuses. Mr. Hopkins denied 20. Senate investigators sustained Mr. Hopkins on only four counts.

Considering the time the W. P. A. chiselers had to cover their tracks before the Senate investigators got into Kentucky, we think the final reckoning looks pretty good for Tom Stokes—and pretty sad for Harry Hopkins.

Sad for Harry Hopkins.

Kentucky was only one of the many States where the Sheppard

Kentucky was only one of the many States where the Sheppara committee investigators found W. P. A. up to its ears in politics. Tennessee, Arkansas, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Maryland, New Jersey—wherever they went it was the same sordid story. Politicans on the public pay roll devoting their time and energies not to public service but to political campaigning. Wanton misuse for political ends of Government funds and labor and materials furnished by the Government. Unfortunate citizens, working on W. P. A. projects for a meager livelihood, herded and bossed and intimidated by political ward heelers. W. P. A. ditch diggers fired because they wouldn't promise to vote for certain candidates. Women on W. P. A. sewing projects shaken down for campaign contributions—ad infinitum, ad nauseum. Vote right or starve!

The Sheppard committee report is perhaps the greatest indictment of mass political prostitution the country has ever seen. And we're not forgetting the callous days of Boies Penrose and

Mark Hanna when the bosses posted notices on factory doors. Admittedly it may be that what was done in W. P. A. only seems worse because it was done under the cloak of humanitarianism and because all the while the top W. P. A. administrators were so unctuously holier than thou.

Well, a lot of water has flowed under the bridge since the pri-mary and general elections. In a great many States the W. P. A. highbinders found their brute force and threat technique didn't work, once citizens got inside the voting booths—just as the old-time partisan Republican employers found they couldn't scare their workers by posting notices on factory doors.

their workers by posting notices on factory doors.

Tom Stokes is still at his old job, still a working reporter of facts. Harry Hopkins has gone on to a politician's reward—a place in the Cabinet. His right-hand man, former Deputy Administrator Aubrey Williams, has been shunted out of the line of fire, assigned exclusively to running the National Youth Administration. The difficult and important task of restoring the W. P. A. to what it was originally intended to be—an organization to provide jobs for unemployed men and women (not to provide votes for politicians)—has been turned over to an Army officer, Colonel Harrington.

And the Sheppard committee has recommended that Congress.

And the Sheppard committee has recommended that Congress enact a great number of new laws "to make impossible, so far as legislation can do so, further offenses of this character."

That gigantic task of reform lies ahead. All citizens who cherish our democratic form of government should insist that on this issue their lawmakers stand up and be counted.

Mr. HOLT. Does the Senator from Kentucky desire me to continue with my speech?

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes, Mr. President.

Mr. HOLT. I shall now leave the State of Kentucky, and discuss the State of Pennsylvania. Although I shall not be able to conclude my discussion before the Senate recesses, I do wish to discuss Pennsylvania quite at some length. I want to quote from page 23 of the report on senatorial campaign expenditures, as follows:

The committee took up the charges of Senator James J. Davis with respect to the activities of W. P. A. officials and employees in the Pennsylvania election. For the text of the Davis' charges, see part 2 of this report entitled "Summary of Cases by States." The committee heard evidence from its investigators that owners of trucks used on W. P. A. projects were solicited for \$100 each in Carbon County, Pa.; that owners of trucks were requested by W. P. A. officials to visit the representative of a certain political leader at his home; that on one occasion 10 or 12 were at the W. P. A. officials to visit the representative of a certain political leader at his home; that on one occasion 10 or 12 were at the home of this political leader at one time, and the committee has been furnished with affidavits that 7 were solicited there; that 4 promised contributions to the campaign and afterward made part or full payments on these contributions.

Here we find Mr. Hopkins' own group soliciting money from truck operators under the W. P. A. Mr. Hopkins is a man who does not believe in politics in relief, a man who does not believe in politics in the W. P. A., and yet the report shows what I have read.

I should like to read the development of the truck situation in Pennsylvania, and read about the banquets which were held. Not only did they knock down, or rake down, or in some way take money from those who owned trucks and worked on W. P. A., for the Democratic campaign fund of Pennsylvania, but they held banquets. Here is a ticket to one which was held on the 11th day of October 1938. It says:

Banquet sponsored by W. P. A. truck owners and operators, Fort Stanwix Hotel, Johnstown, Pa., October 11, 1938, 8 p. m.

Under that:

Tickets, \$1.50.

We find here a definite, determined, concerted effort in the State of Pennsylvania not only to club the W. P. A. officials into contributing money, but going to the truck owners and operators they had under contract. Why did they do that? Because the W. P. A. can either use their trucks or not use their trucks. If politically favored they can find their trucks perfectly satisfactory. If they are not politically favored they can find some little mechanical difficulty in the trucks that would keep them from being used. Therefore the truck owners of the State of Pennsylvania, under the threat of coercion, under the threat of losing their trucking, had to donate money to what, in my opinion, is one of the worst political machines this country has ever known. The machine may not actually be the worst in its effectiveness, but there has never been a machine

in America which has hit the gutter type of politics as did the Pennsylvania machine which was then menacing W. P. A. workers. I shall discuss at quite some length tomorrow the question of truck owners and truck operators in the State of Pennsylvania

In the committee report we find this statement:

The committee heard from its investigators testimony with respect to the activities of officials and employees of the W. P. A. in Luzerne County, Pa. Investigators reported that 18 relief workers on a W. P. A. project near Wilkes-Barre were ordered transferred from this project, which was near their homes, to a project located come 25 cm. 40 wilks from their homes, to a project located some 35 or 40 miles from their homes.

No coercion? No politics in relief? Because certain poor unfortunate men on relief would not go along with the political machine in Pennsylvania they were transferred to a project 35 or 40 miles from their homes. Oh, no; Mr. Hopkins says there is no politics in relief. Mr. Hopkins says there could not be anything but political purity about the distribution of relief funds. Yet we find that same condition going on in Pennsylvania today, and it will continue to go on until the administration cleans up relief, and cleans up the Works Progress Administration.

Quoting from the Sheppard report again:

The investigators stated that the reason for this transfer action was that these workers were wearing Republican buttons at work and had registered Republican.

Is that not a crime? Here is a W. P. A. worker out digging a ditch, making enough to feed himself and his family, and he wears a Republican button during a campaign. Therefore he was to be transferred 35 or 40 miles from his home. knowing that he could not get to the project, in order that he might know who the political boss of the State of Pennsylvania was, and in order that the political control of Pennsylvania could be continued under the present group.

Oh, yes; we do not find any individuals transferred 30 or 40 miles who wear the buttons of those people in charge of the Pennsylvania political situation. No; we do not find any of that. The report goes on to say:

The State assistant district attorney for Luzerne County took up the complaints of these workers with the W. P. A. authorities, after they had been transferred, and was told by the W. P. A. director for Luzerne County that they had been retransferred to a project near their homes.

Here they were, transferred 35 or 40 miles from their homes, and only after public pressure, after the State district attorney had intervened, do we find that they were transferred back to where they could earn enough for a living for themselves, their wives, and their children. Yet the hypocrisy of some individuals saying there is no politics in relief. The hypocrisy of saying that Harry Hopkins knew nothing about that, whereas he knew that the set-up in Pennsylvania. this machine, not only tolerated but continued these things.

The W. P. A. director for Luzerne County advised the committee's investigators that in his opinion, after his investigation, the complaint was true, and for that reason he had ordered the retransfer of the men to a project near their homes.

Men trying to earn a living on a W. P. A. project were so indiscreet as to wear Republican campaign buttons. They were transferred 35 miles from their homes and would still be working there if at all if they could get to their jobs. There was no way to reach that situation until public opinion brought pressure to bear.

The W. P. A. is not being cleaned up today from within. The W. P. A. is being cleaned up because public opinion forced a clean-up, because the people of the United States were not willing further to tolerate corruption and politics in relief. Many of those who are now joining the parade to clean up relief were not sincere when relief needed cleaning up. They were quiet in 1936. They were quiet in 1937. They were quiet in 1938. However, they have now become vocal in some instances in cleaning up relief in 1939. Why? Because it is more popular to tell the truth in 1939 than it was in 1938.

Corruption in relief will continue as long as it is tolerated by the people. It would be tolerated and promoted by the

politicians. We find this patronage mess of the W. P. A. particularly bad in the State of Pennsylvania. However, public opinion forced the W. P. A. itself to clean house.

The report of the committee states that the investigation further disclosed that more were transferred to that par-

ticular group.

We could go ahead with many, many charges against the W. P. A. in the State of Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania W. P. A. was owned, lock, stock, and barrel by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Guffey], and it was to be used for his political ends. It was his to do with as he desired. Men were to be fed or to be starved at his wish and the wish of those who were his subordinates. That was the condition in Pennsylvania—a condition which, in my opinion, smells to high heaven. That condition was repudiated by the people of the State of Pennsylvania in no uncertain terms.

If there is one thing that helped contribute to the defeat of the Democratic Party in the State of Pennsylvania, it was the rotten condition and corruption of the Works Progress

Administration itself.

The condition was known by Mr. Hopkins. Mr. Hopkins had the facts with regard to the boss of the Pennsylvania situation. But did he give them out? No. He kept them just as closely as he could, and to this day we have never heard Mr. Hopkins say anything more about the Pennsylvania political situation than that it was "a rough campaign." A rough campaign! Oh, yes; it was rough for the hungry people of Pennsylvania, who had to depend for their food and shelter upon the boss of a political machine who was dispensing the Federal money as he desired to dispense it, and as he desired to control it. It is a shame and a disgrace that the American people did not know of the situation before.

Of course, Mr. Hopkins is being promoted to the Department of Commerce. Why? In order to move him from the line of fire of the W. P. A. investigation. In other words, the purpose is to transfer him to a more secure place, so that if we start going after the W. P. A. it can be said "Well, Mr. Hopkins is not there any more. The Administration has changed." It was considered good political strategy to move him over to the Department of Commerce and try to silence all opposition to him.

However, facts are facts; and sooner or later the American people will know the true facts about the scandalous handling of relief. When the people know the facts, it is my honest and sincere opinion that the trail will lead into the office of Harry Hopkins himself. I think Harry Hopkins definitely, openly, and purposely put politics in the W. P. A. Why? He has political ambitions himself. I shall not discuss his political ambitions tonight. Nevertheless, sooner or later, I shall discuss the true facts with respect to the W. P. A. in the State of Pennsylvania and other States.

Back in 1938, when I brought forward some of these charges in the State of Pennsylvania, they were denied by Mr. Hopkins. They were denied by the political bosses of the Democratic Party. However, the charges were true. They were just as true as the other statements I have been making with respect to the Works Progress Administration. They were true because they were supported by the facts which had been gathered. When the true facts are known, we shall know the whole case.

Mr. President, I shall not continue any longer tonight, but I shall speak tomorrow. I do not care whether or not I speak immediately after the convening of the Senate. However, at this time I shall conclude for the day.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I suggest that the remain-

ing nominations on the Executive Calendar be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Lucas in the chair).

The clerk will read the remaining nominations on the calendar.

## POSTMASTERS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of postmasters.

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask that the nominations of postmasters be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations of postmasters are confirmed en bloc.

#### IN THE MARINE CORPS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations for promotions in the Marine Corps.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask that the nominations for promo-

tions in the Marine Corps be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations for promotions in the Marine Corps are confirmed en bloc.

That concludes the nominations on the Executive Calendar with the exception of that of Mr. Hopkins.

#### NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, in regard to the confirmation of the nominations of Mr. Murphy as Attorney General and Mr. Frankfurter as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, I ask unanimous consent that the President be notified in both those instances.

Mr. McNARY. I have no objection, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the President will be notified.

#### RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. As in legislative session, I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Friday, January 20, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 19 (legislative day of January 17), 1939

#### UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

Thomas D. Samford, of Alabama, to be United States attorney for the middle district of Alabama. (Mr. Samford is now serving in this office under an appointment which expired May 2, 1938.)

## COAST GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES

Carpenter Robert L. Blanchett to be a chief carpenter in the Coast Guard of the United States, to rank as such from January 1, 1939.

## PROMOTIONS IN THE REGULAR ARMY

# TO BE LIEUTENANT COLONEL

Maj. Walter Alexander Pashley, Quartermaster Corps, from January 16, 1939.

# TO BE MAJORS

Capt. James Edward Dooley, Infantry, from January 12, 1939.

Capt. John Max Lentz, Field Artillery, from January 16. 1939.

# APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY

Commander John H. Magruder, Jr., to be a captain in the Navy, to rank from the 1st day of January 1939.

Lt. Comdr. Jerome L. Allen to be a commander in the Navy, to rank from the 23d day of June 1938.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

Joseph N. Wenger, June 23, 1938.

Paul F. Dugan, June 23, 1938.

Murr E. Arnold, September 8, 1938.

Valentine L. Pottle, November 2, 1938.

Lt. (Jr. Gr.) George K. MacKenzie, Jr., to be a lieutenant in the Navy, to rank from the 21st day of September 1938.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy, to rank from the 6th day of June 1938:

Roger M. Keithly

Sam C. Loomis, Jr.

The following-named citizens of the United States to be assistant surgeons in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), to rank from the 31st day of December 1938:

Edward F. Ritter, Jr.
John T. Cangelosi
Wallace E. Allen
Leslie G. Seebach
Richard A. Rasmussen
Lewis S. Sims, Jr.
Robert C. Ray

Pay Director Arthur F. Huntington to be a pay director in the Navy with the rank of rear admiral, to rank from the 17th day of August 1928.

Civil To August 1920.

Civil Engineer Ralph M. Warfield to be a civil engineer in the Navy with the rank of rear admiral, to rank from the 1st day of November 1938.

Boatswain John Lickwar to be a chief boatswain in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 22d day of October 1938.

Gunner Charles A. Coombs to be a chief gunner in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 2d day of December 1938.

Electrician Louis G. Giard to be a chief electrician in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 22d day of October 1938.

# CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 19 (legislative day of January 17), 1939

# PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY

MARINE CORPS

To be brigadier general

William P. Upshur

To be colonels

Harry Schmidt Earl C. Long Selden B. Kennedy Miles R. Thacher Henry L. Larsen William H. Rupertus Harry K. Pickett Allen H. Turnage

To be lieutenant colonels

Evans O. Ames Emmett W. Skinner Merritt B. Curtis Charles N. Muldrow James D. McLean Joseph T. Smith Raymond E. Knapp Omar T. Pfeiffer Lewie G. Merritt Claude A. Larkin

To be majors

Gordon Hall Max D. Smith David A. Stafford Erwin Mehlinger Donald Spicer Frank P. Snow Chesley G. Stevens Walter W. Wensinger Lawson H. M. Sanderson Jacob F. Plachta Harold E. Rosecrans Leo Sullivan Hayne D. Boyden Franklin G. Cowie Christian F. Schilt Walter A. Wachtler William E. Maxwell

Clarence R. Wallace Ronald A. Boone William B. Onley James H. Strother Ivan W. Miller Joe N. Smith Louis E. Marie, Jr. James S. Monahan John A. Bemis John C. McQueen Howard N. Kenyon William W. Davies Vernon E. Megee James M. Smith Ernest E. Linsert Orin H. Wheeler Lewis A. Hohn

To be captains

Samuel G. Taxis
Mercade A. Cramer
James B. Lake, Jr.
Chandler W. Johnson
George R. Weeks
Clifton R. Moss
Bankson T. Holcomb, Jr.
Frederick L. Wieseman
Robert S. Brown
Harlan C. Cooper
Robert E. Fojt
Billy W. King
George R. E. Shell
James H. Brower

Joseph P. McCaffery
John B. Hendry
Frederick B. Winfree
Samuel D. Puller
Ernest R. West
Roger W. Beadle
Robert R. Porter
Ellsworth N. Murray
Howard J. Turton
Thomas J. Colley
Walter Asmuth, Jr.
Alpha L. Bowser, Jr.
Marvin T. Starr
George Corson

# To be first lieutenants

Robert E. Cushman . Charles W. Shelburne Richard G. Weede Charles O. Bierman Frederick A. Ramsey, Jr. William N. McGill Carl A. Laster Leonard K. Davis Elmer T. Dorsey Earl A. Sneeringer Merlyn D. Holmes Lewis J. Fields Bruce T. Hemphill James W. Crowther Edwin P. Pennebaker, Jr. Wallace M. Nelson Leonard F. Chapman, Jr. Dixon Goen Herman Nickerson, Jr. Richard H. Crockett Wesley M. Platt George A. Roll Floyd R. Moore Chevey S. White Marvin H. Floom Richard E. Thompson Kenneth F. McLeod Willard C. Fiske James G. Frazer Robert E. Stannah Stanley W. Trachta Carey A. Randall Ronald B. Wilde William S. McCormick William J. Van Ryzin Albert F. Metze Joe C. McHaney Gould P. Groves Donn C. Hart Eugene F. Syms Wilmer E. Barnes John W. Stage Kenyth A. Damke Kenneth D. Bailey Raymond L. Murray John S. Oldfield Kenneth A. Jorgensen Alexander B. Swenceski Julian F. Walters Hoyt McMillan Harry A. Schmitz Herbert R. Amey, Jr. Peter J. Negri

Frank P. Hager, Jr. Elmer E. Brackett, Jr. William T. Fairbourn Custis Burton, Jr. Clayton O. Totman George H. Brockway Harold G. Walker Bruno A. Hochmuth Thomas F. Riley Frederick P. Henderson Donald J. Decker Michael Sampas Charles W. Harrison Frederick E. Leek William R. Wendt Arthur A. Chidester John A. Anderson Gordon A. Bell Robert A. McGill James M. Clark Peter J. Speckman Roy L. Kline Odell M. Conoley Louie C. Rineberg William W. Buchanan Jack Tabor John W. Easley Frank L. Kilmartin Eschol M. Mallory Robert D. Moser Joseph N. Renner Clyde R. Huddleson William R. Collins Norman Van Dam John J. Nilan, Jr. Herbert H. Williamson Leo R. Smith John C. Miller, Jr. Dwight M. Guillotte Thomas S. Ivey Loren S. Fraser William E. Boles Harry O. Smith, Jr. Joseph L. Winecoff James S. O'Halloran William G. Robb Ferdinand Bishop Wendell H. Duplantis Benjamin L. McMakin Joseph R. Little, Jr. Lawrence H. McCulley Alexander A. Vandegrift, Jr. Edwin A. Law

To be second lieutenants

William H. Doolen Daniel C. Pollock Harvey B. Atkins Monfurd K. Peyton Lawrence V. Patterson Charles W. McCoy Elmer A. Wrenn James C. Magee, Jr. Jackson B. Butterfield Edward N. Rydalch Robert S. Howell Jess P. Ferrill, Jr. John W. Burkhardt William E. Benedict Maurice W. Fletcher Raymond G. Davis George A. Graves Thomas L. Ridge William M. Frash Harold R. Warner, Jr.

Lowell E. English George H. Cannon Robert A. Abbott Ransom M. Wood Bruce B. Cheever Albert H. Follmar Guy H. Kissinger, Jr. Byron V. Leary John P. Haines, Jr. James R. Christensen Albert J. Roose Robert F. Steidtmann Alvin S. Sanders Robert B. Chadwick Donn J. Robertson Ralph A. Collins, Jr. Edward H. Hurst Merrill M. Day Benjamin S. Hargrave, Jr. Walter S. Osipoff

To be chief quartermaster clerks

Alexander N. Entringer Samuel G. Thompson

To be chief pay clerks

Emmett G. Hall Charles T. Gates

To be chief marine gunner

Albert S. Munsch

POSTMASTERS

Robert E. Hamilton, Eloy. Aurelio B. Sanchez, Sonora.

KENTUCKY

Sister Basil Pike, Maple Mount.

TEXAS

Annie Koon, Buchanan Dam. Ova Richardson, Caddo. Frank E. Schrack, Catarina. Ruby M. Smith, Deweyville. Joe P. Luce, Graford. Mary E. Cummins, Grandfalls. Thelma L. Thames, Monroe City. Edward H. Reinhard, Poth. Martha Iduma McDonald, Santo. Mary E. Featherhoff, Velasco. Pearl B. Monke, Weinert.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1939

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, with whom time and space are nothing and life in Thee is life indeed, to Thee we pray with humble hearts. For Thy name's sake consider and hear us. Awaken deeply in us the divinity that we may have uninterrupted communion with Thee. Take from us unrighteous thoughts, ignoble desires, and selfish ambitions that we may live each day with our associates in the spirit of brotherhood. Help us to so labor for our fellows that they may have life in its fullness of liberty, pursuit of happiness, in peace and dignity. He who lives right serves wisely, and he whose heart responds to the needs of man is our country's true benefactor. Heavenly Father, always enable us to preserve what is best. Persuade us, blessed Lord, that it lies in a broad charity, in wide tolerance, and in a sincere respect for the opinions of others. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

## MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

### HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING COMMISSION

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of title 40, sections 175 and 176, United States Code, the Chair appoints the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Sabath] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. Hancock] members of the House Office Building Commission to serve with himself.

# AMENDING THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, on last Monday I was pleased by the President's recommendations to amend the

Social Security Act. However, I wish that he had included in his recommendations a provision for the payment of compensation to permanently and totally disabled workers beginning at the date of their disability.

Under the Social Security Act at the present time a disabled worker cannot receive any compensation until he reaches the age of 65. In other words, if a married man 40 or 50 years of age becomes totally disabled, he or his family does not receive any aid whatsoever under the provisions of the present act until he reaches the age of 65, as I stated before.

I have introduced a bill to amend the Social Security Act which provides that if any working person who comes under the Social Security Act becomes permanently and totally disabled, he will receive compensation beginning on the date of his disability, and that in no case shall any person coming under this amendment receive less than \$60 per month.

I hope the committee, when taking under consideration the recommendations of the President, will include my bill so as to provide compensation for permanently and totally disabled workers who at the present time cannot receive any compensation until they are 65 years of age. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD at this point my bill (H. R. 42) to amend the Social Security Act.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, the bill to which I have referred is as follows:

A bill to amend the Social Security Act so as to provide for the payment of benefits to permanently and totally disabled individuals

Be it enacted, etc., That the title heading of title II of the Social Security Act is amended to read as follows:

"TITLE II-FEDERAL OLD-AGE BENEFITS AND DISABILITY BENEFITS" SEC. 2. Such title II is amended by adding after section 202 the following new section:

# "DISABILITY BENEFITS

"Sec. 202½, (a) Every individual who becomes permanently and totally disabled shall be entitled to receive, with respect to the period beginning on the date he becomes so disabled and ending on the date of his death, a disability benefit (payable as nearly as practicable in equal monthly installments) equal to the old-age benefit he would have been entitled to receive under section 202 if he had

attained the age of 65 on the date he became so disabled, but in no such case shall the monthly rate of payment be less than \$60.

"(b) Whenever the Board finds that any individual has received wages with respect to regular employment after becoming permanently and totally disabled the payments to such individual under this section shall be reduced for each calendar month in any part of which such regular employment occurred by an amount equal to 1 month's payment. Such reduction shall be made under regulations prescribed by the Board by deductions from one or more payments to such individual provided for by this section.

"(c) Benefits payable pursuant to this section shall be in lieu of

"(c) Benefits payable pursuant to this section shall be in lieu of any old-age benefit that would be payable to the same individual with respect to the same period."

SEC. 3. (a) Section 203 of such title II is amended to read as

"SEC. 203. (a) If any individual dies before attaining the age of 65 and before any benefit becomes payable to such individual under section 202½, there shall be paid to his estate an amount equal to 3½ percent of the total wages determined by the Board to have been paid to him with respect to employment after December 31, 1936.

m(b) If the Board finds that the correct amount of the benefits payable to an individual during his life under sections 202 and 202½ was less than 3½ percent of the total wages by which such benefits were measurable, then there shall be paid to his estate a sum equal to the amount, if any, by which such 3½ percent exceeds the amount (whether more or less than the correct amount) paid to him during his life under sections 202 and 2021. to him during his life under sections 202 and 2021/2.

"(c) If the Board finds that the total amount paid to an individual during his life under sections 202 and 202½ was less than the correct amount of the benefits to which he was entitled under such sections and that the correct amount of the benefits to which such sections and that the correct amount of the benefits to which he was so entitled was 3½ percent or more of the total wages by which such benefits were measurable, then there shall be paid to his estate a sum equal to the amount, if any, by which the correct amount of the benefits payable to him under such sections exceeds the amount which was so paid to him during his life."

(b) Section 206 of such title II is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 206. If the Board finds that the total amount paid to an individual during his life under sections 202 and 202½ was more

than the correct amount of the benefits to which he was entitled under such sections, and was 3½ percent or more of the total wages by which the benefits under such sections were measurable, then upon his death there shall be repaid to the United States by his estate the amount, if any, by which such total amount paid to him during his life exceeds whichever of the following is the greater: (1) Such 3½ percent, or (2) the correct amount to which he was entitled under sections 202 and 202½."

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday I noticed that some of the newspapers in the New England States, especially in the State of Maine, had gone out of their way to attack me on my position on the flood-control proposition.

I do not care to take up the time of the House to answer these statements from the floor, so I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and to include therein tables showing the electric-power rates paid by the people of the State of Maine.

Mr. RICH. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I may say we are interested in having these power rates put in the Record, but there is hardly a day goes by that the gentleman from Mississippi does not place in the Record similar figures for one State or another. The gentleman has put the figures in the Record a half dozen times. Why fill up the Record by again inserting these rates?

Mr. RANKIN. Let me say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania while he is on his feet that he is the last man on earth who ought to object.

Mr. RICH. I am trying to save the Record. The gentleman can put in the Record all the tables he wishes to, but he should not place them in the Record time after time after time.

Mr. RANKIN. The gentleman is not trying to save the RECORD. If he were, he would not have let the long speech of the Governor of Pennsylvania go in the RECORD yesterday, and he would not have let the long speech of the Governor of Vermont go in the RECORD.

Mr. RICH. It is the duty of the gentlemen on the other side of the aisle to keep the Record clean. The responsibility is not mine; it is the administration's.

Mr. RANKIN. The material I shall put in the Record will be clean, although it will show a very bad situation for the people of Maine who have to pay electric bills. Light and power rates in Maine are exorbitant; they are simply terrible; they are even worse than they were in Pennsylvania during the Republican administration, if such a thing is possible.

By exposing the Pennsylvania rates in the Congressional Record, we have been able to force reductions of light and power rates in Pennsylvania more than \$40,000,000 a year, and it may help the situation in Maine for us to throw some light on it.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I pointed out a day or two ago that the real motive behind the fight against the administration's flood-control program in New England was to prevent the installation of penstocks in those dams for the development of hydroelectric power. The Power Trust does not want that done; they would rather see those dams built of solid concrete and the birthright of the people of New England in their water power destroyed for a hundred years than to see those penstocks built and generators installed that would give the people of New England a yardstick for the proper measurement of electric lights and power.

To build these dams without installing these penstocks would be a crime against the people of New England. It would be a crime against the people living there now and the ones that are to follow them for generations to come.

Nowhere in New England would the people suffer more as the result of such a policy than in the State of Maine. Maine has no coal, she has no gas, she has no oil, and her timber supply is rapidly disappearing. She must depend for her electric current upon the waters in her navigable streams and their tributaries, or upon fuel transported over long distances

I am going to insert below the table showing the electric rates paid by the people in every city and town in Maine. In that State there are 152,000 domestic consumers of electricity. They use on an average of a little more than 40 kilowatthours a month, and every single one of them is overcharged more than 100 percent. Maine produces more white potatoes, or Irish potatoes, as we call them, than any other State in the Union. Yet her entire potato crop last year would not have paid the overcharges on the electric-light bills of the domestic consumers in that State. No wonder the Power Trust and all its influences are opposing the development of Quoddy project and the installation of penstocks in these flood-control dams.

In order that everyone who reads this Record may make his own comparisons, I am inserting below a table showing the residential rates for electricity in Ontario, Canada, just across the line from Maine, and in Tacoma, Wash., in the far West, and in the Tennessee Valley in the South.

Since the average consumption in the State of Maine is less than 50 kilowatt-hours a month, I will not run this table above 100 kilowatt-hours, in order to save space in the Record—which the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich] is so anxious to conserve.

Table of comparative monthly rates—Residential service

	9-1-4		
Kilowatt-hours			
25	40	100	
\$0.75 1.13 .75	\$1.02 1.52 1.20	\$1. 74 2. 12 2. 50	
	Kil 25 80. 75	Kilowatt-hour 25 40 \$0.75 \$1.02	

Now compare the above rates with the rates charged in the State of Maine, as shown by the following table, and remember that Maine borders on Ontario for hundreds of miles.

Table 1.—Maine—Typical net monthly bills, Jan. 1, 1938—Residential service, communities of 250 population or more

		Lighting appli	Lighting, small ap- pliances,		
Community	Popula- tion	25 kilowatt- hours	40 kilowatt- hours	and re- frigera- tion—100 kilowatt- hours	
Abbot	250	\$1.85	\$2.60	\$4,70	
Acton	250	2.00	2.80	5.00	
Addison		2. 25	3. 00	4, 95	
Albion	400	1.85	2.60	4.70	
Alfred	250	1.85	2.60	4.70	
Andover	250	2.50	3.70	7.30	
Anson		1.50	2.40	3.38	
Ashland	2, 100	3.00	4.60	8.50	
Do	2, 100	1.85	2.60	5, 60	
Athens	300	1.85	2.60	4.70	
Auburn	18, 571	1.85	2.60	4.70	
Augusta		1.85	2.60	4.70	
A von		2.50	3. 25	5. 75	
Baileys Island	250	1.85	2.60	4.70	
Bangor.	28, 749	2.00	2.75	4.70	
Bar Harbor	4, 400	2. 25	3.00	4.95	
Bar Mills	300	1.85	2.60	4.70	
Bath	9, 110	1.85	2.60	4.70	
Belfast		1.85	2.60	4.70	
Belgrade Depot	250	1.85	2.60	4.70	
Belgrade Lakes	304	1.85	2.60	4.70	
Benton	250	1.85	2.60	4.70	
Berwick	1, 200	2.00	2.80	5.00	
Bethel	964	1.85	2.60	4.70	
BiddefordBingham	17, 633 700	1.85	2,60 2,60	4. 70 4. 70	
Blaine	500	2.50	3. 25	5, 50	
Blue Hill	800	2. 25	3, 00	4.95	
Blue Hill Falls	400	2.25		4. 95	

TABLE 1.—Maine—Typical net monthly bills, Jan. 1, 1938—Restdential service, communities of 250 population or more—Con.

TABLE 1.—Maine—Typical net monthly bills, Jan. 1, 1938—Residential service, communities of 250 population or more—Con.

She to it does for the term		Lighting appli	and small	Lighting small ap- pliances,	Carlotte and the party of the comment of the commen		Lighting appl	and small	Lighting small ap-
Community	kilowatt- hours hours kilowatt- kilowatt-		Community	Popula- tion	25 kilowatt- hours	40 kilowatt- hours	pliances, and re- frigera- tion—100 kilowatt hours		
Boothbay Harbor Bowdoinham Bradford Center Bradley Brewer Bridgton Bristol Mills Brooklin Brooks Brownfield Brownville Brunswick Bryant Pond Buckfield Brunswick Bryant Pond Buckfield Bucksport Burnham Celais Cambridge Camden Cansan Canton Cape Elizabeth Capital Island Caribou Carmel Castine Cathanee Center Lovell Cherryfield Chesterville China China China China China Corinna Cororille Crosent Beach Crouseville Crowlle Croweville Crowler Comberland Foreside Damariscotta Dast Harbor Deer Isle Deer Isle Denmark Deeter Dester Dixfield Dover Foxcroft Dresden Mills Dryden East Auburn East Boothbay East Hiram East Boothbay East Hiram East Millinocket East Newport East Pittston East Sullivan East Witon East Sullivan East Witon East Sullivan East Witon East Pairfield Farmington Farifield Farmington Farifield Farmington Farifield Fort Kent Do Frenchille Fort Fairfield Fort Kent Do Frenchille Fort Fairfield Fort Kent Do Frenchille Fort Fairfield Fort Fairfield Fort Fairfield Fort Fent Fort Fairfield Fort Fent Fort Fairfield Fort Fent Fort Fairfield Fort Fent Fort Frenchille F	302 270 500 6, 329 1, 625 2, 500 600 600 600 600 600 600 600 600 600	\$1. 85 1. 85	\$2.60 2.60 3.00 2.75 2.60 3.00 3.275 2.60 3.20 2.60 3.25 2.60 2.26	\$4.70 4.70 4.95 4.70 4.70 4.95 4.70 4.70 4.95 4.70 4.70 4.95 4.70 4.70 4.95 4.70 4.70 4.70 4.70 4.70 4.70 4.70 4.70	Great Chebeague Greenville Greenville Greenville Greenville Greenville Junction Guilford Hallowell Hampden Do Hampden Highlands Harmony Harrison Hartland Hermon Center Hinckley Hiram Hope Houlton Howland Island Falls Do Jackman Jay Jefferson Jonesboro Jonesport Keegan Kennebunk Kennebunk Beach Kennebunk Beach Kennebunk Kennebunk Beach Kennebunk Jury Kittery Point Lakewood Lebanon Levant Lewiston Liberty Limerick Mills Limestone Lincoln Center Lisbon Falls Livermore Falls Lovell Village Lower Glucester Lubec Machiasport Madswaska Do Madison Manchester Manset Mars Hill Mattawamkeag Mechanic Falls Mercer Mexico (Ridlonville) Millbridge Millord Millo	1, 705 3, 036 250 300 400 1, 650 250 250 4, 000 1, 650 250 250 1, 000 25, 350 1, 600 250 1, 070 1, 000 250 300 400 250 1, 200 800 800 800 800 1, 121 1, 200 625 400 625 400 625 400 625 400 625 400 625 635 635 635 6570 6575	\$3.45 1.85	\$4.40 2.60 2.60 2.60 2.60 2.60 2.60 2.60 2.6	\$6.77.77.79.95.07.77.79.95.07.77.79.95.07.77.79.95.07.77.79.95.78.79.77.77.95.77.77.95.77.77.95.78.79.79.77.77.95.77.77.95.78.79.79.77.77.77.77.77.77.77.77.77.77.77.

Table 1.—Maine—Typical net monthly bills, Jan. 1, 1938—Resi dential service, communities of 250 population or more.—Con.

Lighting and small appliances pliano pliances, and re-frigera-tion—100 Popula-Community kilowattkilowattkilowatthours hours \$2.60 2.60 2.60 4.60 2.60 2.60 2.60 \$1, 85 1, 85 3, 00 1, 85 1, 85 1, 85 1, 85 1, 85 1, 85 North Windham 250 2, 446 600 600 2, 000 Do.
Oakland.
Ocean Point.
Ogunquit.
Old Orchard Beach.
Old Town
Oquossoc.
Orono...
Orrs Island.
Oxford...
Palermo.
Palmyra  $\frac{250}{600}$ 2, 60 1,000 7,266 634 2,100 2. 60 2. 75 4. 55 2. 75 2. 60 2. 60 2. 60 2. 60 2.00 3.50 2.00 1. 85 1. 85 1. 85 1. 85 450 483 250 250 250 800 800 712 1.85 2,60 4.70 4.70 4.495 4.54 4.70 4.95 4.54 5.75 4.70 4.70 4.95 4.70 4.60 2.60 4.40 2.60 2.60 2.60 2.60 Patten.... Do\_\_\_\_\_Peaks Island\_\_\_\_\_\_ Peaks Island
Pejepscot
Pemaquid Beach
Pemaquid Point
Pembroke
Perry 1, 85 1, 85 1, 85  $\frac{400}{250}$ 250 250 350 500 330 734 250 2,075 250 3. 00 3. 00 2. 38 3. 25 2. 60 2. 25 2. 25 1. 69 2. 50 1. 85 1. 85 1. 85 3. 00 Peru
Phillips
Philpsburg
Pitrsfield
Pymouth
Port Clyde
Portage
Do
Portland
Portalad 2.60 2.60 2.60 4.60 2.60 2.60 3.60 2.45 4.90 250 250 516 516 70, 810 4, 662 4, 662 500 800 866 250 Portland
Presque Isle
Do
Princeton 1. 70 3. 25 1. 85 3. 50 1. 85 2. 60 4. 55 2. 60 2. 60 Rangeley
Raymond
Readfield
Readfield Depot 300 250 800 1. 85 1. 85 1. 85 2. 34 2.60 2.60 3.09 300 9, 075 1, 000 250 8, 726 900 7, 233 1, 000 1, 000 1. 85 1. 85 1. 85 1. 69 1. 85 1. 85 2,60 Round Pound Rumford (Rumford Falls) Sabattus.
Saco. St. Agatha Do. St. Albans. St. Francis. Do. Sanford 2.60 2.38 2.60 2.60 4, 60 2, 60 4, 60 4, 60 2, 60 250 1,000 3.00 8, 50 5, 60 4, 70 4, 70 1,000 9,500 Do.
Sanford.
Sanerville.
Seal Cove.
Seal Harbor.
Searsmont.
Searsport. 2.60 2.60 700 600 2. 25 2. 25 1. 85 1. 85 2. 25 4. 95 4. 70 4. 70 4. 70 4. 70 4. 70 4. 70 4. 70 5. 00 4. 70 4. 70 5. 20 3.00 319 250 1,000 2. 60 2. 60 3. 00  $\frac{300}{250}$ 1. 85 1. 85 1. 85 2. 00 2. 25 1. 85 1. 85 2. 20 2,60 5, 000 250 400 2.60 2.60 2.80 3.00 Smitneid
Solon
South Berwick
South Brooksville
South Casco
South China 1,800 300 250 250 963 250 600 250 300 2. 60 2. 60 2. 80 2. 60 2. 60 South Eliot
South Freeport
South Gardiner
South Harpswell
South Hope.
South Paris
South Portland
South Protland
South Union
South Waterford
South Waterford
South Windham
Southwest Harbor
Springvale.
Starks South Eliot. 1, 85 1, 85 2, 50 1, 85 1, 85 1, 85 1, 85 1, 85 2, 25 1, 85 1, 85 1, 85 1, 85 2, 25 1, 85 2, 25 2. 60 3. 70 2. 60 1, 961 13, 840 2.60 2.60 250 250 250 3. 70 2. 60 2. 60 3. 00 300 500 2. 60 2. 60 2. 60 3. 00 4. 00 2. 60 2, 500 250 250 Starks
Steep Fells
Steuben
Stockholm
Do
Stockton Springs
Stonington 400 900 900 390 800 452 325 300 2. 50 1. 85 1. 85 3. 50 3. 75 2. 50 2. 25 1. 85 1. 85 1. 85 1. 85 2.60 4.55 6.00 3.25 Stonington\_\_\_\_\_Stratton\_\_\_\_ 5. 20 4. 95 4. 70 4. 70 4. 70 4. 70 Strong..... 3. 25 3. 00 2. 60 2. 60 2. 60 2. 60 Surry
Tenants Harbor
Thomaston
Thorndike
Togus 1,700 250 2, 350

Table 1.—Maine—Typical net monthly bills, Jan. 1, 1938—Residential service, communities of 250 population or more—Con.

MARY TOP ONLY BUILDING			and small	Lighting, small ap- pliances,
Community	Popula- tion	25 kilowatt- hours	40 kilowatt- hours	and re- frigera- tion—100 kilowatt- hours
Topsham	800	\$1.85	\$2,60	\$4.70
Troy	250	1.85	2.60	4.70
Turner Center	250	1.85	2.60	4. 70
Union	500	1.85	2, 60	4, 70
Unity	500	1.85	2.60	4.70
Van Buren	3, 300	1, 90	2, 98	5. 50
Vanceboro	300	4.75	7.30	17. 50
Vinalhaven	1,800	2.50	3. 25	5. 55
Waldoboro	1,200	1.85	2.60 2.60	4. 70
Warren	1,000	1.85 2.75	3, 50	4. 70 5. 75
Washburn	250	1.85	2.60	4.70
Waterville	15, 454	1.85	2.60	4.70
Wayne	250	1.85	2,60	4, 70
Weeks Mills	250	1.85	2.60	4. 70
Weld	493	2, 50	3, 25	5. 20
Wells	500	1.85	2, 60	4. 70
Wells Beach	250	1, 85	2,60	4, 70
West Boothbay Harbor	250	1.85	2.60	4.70
West Brooksville	260	2. 25	3.00	4. 95
West Enfield	700	2, 25	3.00	4. 95
West Farmington	395	2, 50	3. 25	5. 20
West Franklin	250	2. 25	3.00	4.95
West Gardiner	250	1.85	2, 60	4.70
West Hampden	300	3.00	4. 20 3. 00	6. 60 4. 95
West Jonesport	500 719	2. 25 1. 63	2, 35	4. 05
West Kennebunk	300	1, 55	2.00	3. 80
West Paris	513	1. 85	2.60	4.70
West Pembroke	350	2. 25	3.00	4. 95
West Scarboro	250	1.85	2, 60	4, 70
West Sullivan	300	2, 25	3.00	4. 95
Westbrook	10,807	1, 85	2.60	4. 70
Whitefield	250	1.85	2, 60	4. 70
Whiting	275	1. 55	2.00	3. 80
Wilton	2,000	2. 50	3. 25	5. 20
Winn	250	2. 25	3.00	4. 95
Winslow	3,000	1.85	2. 60 2. 60	4. 70 4. 70
Winslow Mills	250 400	1.85 2.25	3, 00	4. 70
Winter Harbor	600	1.85	2.60	4. 70
Winterport	1,500	1.85	2.60	4, 70
Wiscasset	750	1, 85	2.60	4.70
Woodland	1,800	2, 40	3, 60	6,00
Woolwich	400	1.85	2, 60	4, 70
Yarmouth	1,000	1.85	2, 60	4.70
Yarmouth Junction	250	1.85	2, 60	4. 70
York Beach	425	1,85	2.60	4.70
York Village.	500	1.85	2, 60	4.70

Who can read these high rates imposed upon the helpless consumers in the State of Maine and compare them with the rates paid just across the line in Ontario without being shocked at such a merciless exaction of exorbitant overcharges?

What we are trying to do is to secure justice for the people in that State, as well as in all other States, by bringing light and power rates down to their normal levels. The installation of these penstocks, against which selfish interests so vigorously protest, will be the greatest step yet taken in that direction.

Mr. Ludlow asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—TAX IMMUNITIES (H. DOC. NO. 113)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read and referred to the Committee on Ways and Means and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

In my message of April 25, 1938, I urged that the time had come when the Congress should exercise its constitutional power to tax income from whatever source derived. I urged that the time had come when private income should not be exempt either from Federal or State income tax simply because such private income is derived as interest from Federal, State, or municipal obligations, or because it is received as compensation for services rendered to the Federal, State, or municipal Governments.

A fair and effective progressive income tax and a huge perpetual reserve of tax-exempt bonds could not exist side by side. Those who earn their livelihood from Government should bear the same tax burden as those who earn their livelihood in private employment.

The tax immunities heretofore accorded to private income derived from Government securities or Government employment are not inexorable requirements of the Constitution but are the result of judicial decision. I repeat that it is not unreasonable to hope that judicial decision would permit the elimination of these immunities.

Decisions of the Supreme Court rendered since my message, particularly the decision in the Port of New York Authority case, have made an important and constructive contribution to the elimination of these inequitable immunities.

It is obvious, however, that these inequities cannot be satisfactorily corrected by judicial decisions alone. Without legislation to supplement them, many individuals and corporations will be subjected to tax liabilities for income received in past years which they mistakenly but in good faith believed to be tax-exempt. It is evident, for example, that employees of many State agencies as well as the holders of securities of public corporations believed that the income they received from such sources was tax-exempt in view of the opinions of eminent counsel based upon earlier decisions of the Supreme Court. In the interest of equity and justice, therefore, immediate legislation is required to prevent recent judicial decisions from operating in such a retroactive fashion as to impose tax liability on those innocent employees and investors for salaries heretofore earned or on income derived from securities heretofore issued.

In the light of those decisions there are, among the taxpayers of the Nation, inevitable uncertainties respecting their tax liabilities. There is uncertainty whether the salaries which they receive are not taxable under the existing provisions of the revenue acts; there is uncertainty whether the interest which they receive upon the obligations of governmental instrumentalities is similarly not taxable; and there is an uncertainty whether the salaries and interest which they have received for past years will create an unanticipated source of tax liabilities and penalties.

In view of the fact that the Bureau of Internal Revenue will have no choice but to enforce our income-tax law as declared in the latest decisions of the Supreme Court, prompt legislation is necessary to safeguard against the inequities to which I have referred. The need, therefore, is for the prompt enactment of equitable rules, prospective in operation, which the Bureau can apply and taxpayers can observe without that mass of litigation which otherwise is to be anticipated. We are confronted with a situation which can be handled with fairness to all and with reasonable administrative convenience only through the cooperation of the Congress and the courts.

Unless the Congress passes some legislation dealing with this situation prior to March 15, I am informed by the Secretary of the Treasury that he will be obliged to collect back taxes for at least 3 years upon the employees of many State agencies and upon the security holders of many State corporate instrumentalities, who mistakenly but in good faith believed they were tax-exempt. The assessment and collection of these taxes will doubtlessly in many cases produce great hardship.

Accordingly, I recommend legislation to correct the existing inequitable situation, and at the same time to make private income from all Government salaries hereafter earned and from all Government securities hereafter issued subject to the general income-tax laws of the Nation and of the several States. It is difficult for almost all citizens to understand why a constitutional provision permitting taxes on "income from whatever source derived" does not mean "from whatever source derived."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 19, 1939.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—TEMPORARY DETAIL OF UNITED STATES EMPLOYEES TO GOVERNMENTS OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS AND THE PHILIPPINES (H. DOC. NO. 114)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following further message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States of America:

I commend to the favorable consideration of the Congress the enclosed report from the Secretary of State and the accompanying draft of proposed legislation designed to amend the act entitled "An act authorizing the temporary detail of United States employees, possessing special qualifications, to Governments of American Republics and the Philippines, and for other purposes," approved May 25, 1938, in order to obviate difficulties encountered in administering the fiscal provisions of the act.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 19, 1939.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. White of Ohio asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the Record.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 2½ minutes.

Mr. RAYBURN. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I may say we are going to begin general debate in just a few moments.

Mr. REED of New York. I shall not press the point if it is not convenient. I can wait until some other time.

Mr. RAYBURN. We should like to get along with the general debate. I may say to the gentleman from New York, he knows I would hate very much to object to any request he might make, but I tried during the last session of Congress to hold down to 1 minute remarks made before the consideration of the legislative program of the day was begun.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, the only reason I want the time just now is that I have some information which I believe the Members of the House may wish to study with reference to the President's message. I was just going to call the attention of the Members to another message which has some application to what was stated in the message today. However, I shall defer to the wishes of the majority leader.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include therein an article by Westbrook Pegler appearing on last Friday, entitled "Deep Thinking."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

## FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL, FISCAL YEAR 1939

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado, from the Committee on Appropriations, reported the bill (H. R. 2868) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 5), which was read a first and second time and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed.

Mr. TABER reserved all points of order on the bill.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2868) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and for other purposes; and pending that, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that general debate may continue throughout the day, the time

to be equally divided between myself and the gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia moves that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 2868, and pending that motion asks unanimous consent that general debate on the bill continue throughout the day, the time to be equally divided between himself and the gentleman from New York. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

Mr. RANKIN. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, is the debate to be confined to the bill?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. No; general debate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection. The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 2868, the First Deficiency Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1939, with Mr. Doxey in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The bill is as follows:

## H. R. 2868 (Rept. No. 5)

A bill making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appro-priations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, to provide supple-mental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and for other purposes

Be it enacted, etc., That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and for other purposes, namely:

#### LEGISLATIVE

### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

For payment to the widow of Allard H. Gasque, late a Representa-

For payment to the widow of Allard H. Gasque, late a Representative from the State of South Carolina, \$10,000.

For payment to the widow of Robert L. Bacon, late a Representative from the State of New York, \$10,000.

For payment to the widow of John J. Boylan, late a Representative from the State of New York, \$10,000.

For payment to the widow of Stephen W. Gambrill, late a Representative from the State of Maryland, \$10,000.

For payment to the widow of Ben Cravens, late a Representative from the State of Arkansas, \$10,000.

The five foregoing sums to be disbursed by the Sergeant at Arms

The five foregoing sums to be disbursed by the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives.

### DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

## FOREST SERVICE

National forest protection and management: For an additional National forest protection and management: For an additional amount for national forest protection and management, including the same purposes and objects specified under this head in the Agricultural Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1939, \$500,000, to remain available until June 30, 1940, and to be expended only for the protection and management of the White Mountain National Forest, New Hampshire and Maine, including the salvaging of wind-damaged timber and restoration of experimental areas therein.

New England hurricane damage: For rehabilitation and reestablishment of forest-protection improvements, reduction of forest-fire hazards, and prevention of forest fires on State, county, municipal, and private forest lands in the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut that were damaged by the hurricane of September 1938, including the employment of persons and means in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, printing and binding, and the purchase, exchange, operation, and maintenance of passenger-carrying vehicles, fiscal year 1939, to remain available until June 30, 1940, \$3,000,000: Provided, That section 3709, Revised Statutes (41 U. S. C. 5), shall not apply in the case of any expenditure hereunder where the aggregate amount involved does not exceed \$300: Provided further, That the amount allocated for expenditure in any State of the amount herein appropriated shall be available when the State to which allocation has been made shall have made or shall make available a like sum from State funds for the purposes contained herein. New England hurricane damage: For rehabilitation and reestabpurposes contained herein.

### BUREAU OF ENTOMOLOGY AND PLANT QUARANTINE

Control of incipient and emergency outbreaks of insect pests and plant diseases: For carrying out the purposes and provisions of, and for expenditures authorized under, Public Resolution No. 91, Seventy-fifth Congress, entitled "Joint resolution to amend the joint resolution entitled 'Joint resolution making funds available for the control of incipient or emergency outbreaks of insect pests or plant diseases, including grasshoppers, Mormon crickets, and chinch bugs,' approved April 6, 1937," approved May 9, 1938 (52

Stat. 344, 1126), fiscal year 1939, to remain available until December 31, 1939, \$2,000,000.

# DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

## WAGE AND HOUR DIVISION

Administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act, Department of Labor—Salaries and expenses: For an additional amount for all authorized and necessary expenses of the Wage and Hour Division in performing the duties imposed upon it by the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, including personal services and rent in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, contract stenographic reporting services, travel expenses, including not to exceed \$2,500 for expenses of attendance at meetings concerned with the work of the Wage and Hour Division when incurred on the written authorthe Wage and Hour Division when incurred on the written authority of the Secretary of Labor, maintenance, repair, and operation of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles, printing and binding, law books, books of reference, periodicals, manuscripts and special reports, newspapers and press clippings, supplies, office equipment, advertising, postage, telephone and telegraph service, reimbursement to State, Federal, and local agencies and their employees for services rendered, fiscal year 1939, \$850,000: Provided, That the Secretary of Labor may allot or transfer, with the approval of the Director of the Bureau of the Burget, from approval of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, funds from this appropriation to any bureau or office of the Department of Labor to enable such agency to perform services for the Wage and Hour Division.

#### CHILDREN'S BUREAU

Salaries and expenses, child-labor provisions, Fair Labor Standards Act, Children's Bureau: For an additional amount for all authorized and necessary expenses of the Children's Bureau in performing the duties imposed upon it by the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, including personal services and rent in the District of Columbia including personal services and rent in the District of Columbia and elsewhere; traveling expenses; printing and binding; supplies; equipment, newspapers, books of reference, periodicals, and press clippings; and reimbursement to State and local agencies and their employees for services rendered, as authorized by section 11 of said act, fiscal year 1939, \$79,000: Provided, That this appropriation shall be available for expenses of attendance of cooperating officials and consultants at conferences concerned with the work of the Children's Bureau under the Fair Labor Standards Act when called by the Children's Bureau with the written approval of the Secretary of Labor, and shall be available also in an amount not to exceed \$1.000 for expenses of attendance at meetings concerned with the \$1,000 for expenses of attendance at meetings concerned with the work of the Children's Bureau under said act when incurred on the written authority of the Secretary of Labor.

### TREASURY DEPARTMENT

### PROCUREMENT DIVISION, PUBLIC BUILDINGS BRANCH

Bureau of the Census Building, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.: For the acquisition of the necessary land and the construction of a building for the Bureau of the Census of the Department of Commerce under the provisions of the Public Buildings Act approved May 25, 1926 (44 Stat. 630), as amended, including the extension of steam and water mains, removal or diversion of such sewers and utilities as may be necessary, and for administrative expenses in connection therewith, \$3,500,000.

Sec. 2. This act may be cited as the First Deficiency Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1939.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 15 minutes

Mr. Chairman, the deficiency bill now pending before the Committee contains six items which the Bureau of the Budget felt were very urgent and, perhaps, should not be held over until we would ordinarily bring in a deficiency bill about the middle of February. I may say that the bill and report are available if Members wish to see them.

On page 2 of the bill there are items for the payment of the usual amounts to the widows of deceased Members.

The next two items in the bill are for the United States Forest Service in consequence of the hurricane and flood which visited New England in September 1938. It will be recalled that this hurricane was of unusual ferocity and with devastating effect it swept over the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, laying waste vast areas of their fine timberlands in addition to the terrific damage that was done by flood waters.

The first item on page 2 of this bill is for \$500,000 for the National Forest Service, to augment the amount of about \$11,500,000 which they have in the current appropriation bill for such purposes, and this amount of \$500,000 is to be used in the White Mountain National Forest area for the purpose of cleaning up fallen timber, eliminating fire hazards, and reestablishing fire-prevention stations and facilities. Bureau of the Budget estimated \$700,000 for this item. The committee cut the amount to \$500,000, feeling that this amount of money, in addition to such portion of the usual amount of \$11,500,000 which the Forest Service has for national forest protection and management, augmented further by the activities of 45 Civilian Conservation Corps camps which are operating in the storm-damaged area, and augmented further by the services of some 15,000 to 17,000 W. P. A. workers who, our New England brethren told us, in this particular instance, have performed very notable and valuable service, would be a sufficient sum to enable the Forest Service to do the fire-prevention work and other necessary tasks on the Government-owned lands, and we have brought in a report accordingly.

The next item of \$3,000,000 is practically for the same purposes but is to be used upon the privately owned lands in those States where the hurricane wrought such havoc and damage.

It was represented to our committee that something like 4,000,000,000 feet of merchantable timber was laid upon the ground by the force of this terrible storm. This is as much timber as would normally be cut and marketed in 5 years, which, at one swoop of a magic wand, as it were, was laid upon the ground, and we were told that it constitutes a fire menace and danger of major proportions. The committee could well comprehend that such a situation would be a menace to that part of the country and that it probably was of such national character as to justify the Federal Government in taking cognizance of the necessity to assist in firepreventive measures. The Bureau of the Budget has sent in an estimate of \$5,000,000 to be used by the Forest Service on these privately owned lands toward cleaning up the devastated timber areas and restoring fire protection and prevention facilities. The committee went into the matter, we feel, very carefully. Our colleagues from New England on both sides of the aisle were kind enough to come before the committee and give us the benefit of their information and judgment and, of course, were very much interested, naturally, in seeing that appropriate and adequate relief from this condition was afforded to the territories they represented.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at this point?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I would rather finish a chronological statement, and then I shall be pleased to yield to the gentleman.

We found, however, that notwithstanding the fire hazard and the menace of this condition that had existed since September 1938, little or nothing had been done by the States involved toward meeting the cost of relieving the situation. It developed that the State of Massachusetts—and I shall be pleased to be corrected if I am in error—had by legislative enactment made available something like \$19,000,000 for repairs in the flood- and hurricane-stricken

But a very small part, an infinitesimally small part, of that sum had been designated to be used in this method of cleaning up the fire hazards caused by this fallen timber.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I am told that over a million dollars was appropriated to be used on the State forest reservations, and, as the gentleman knows, we suffered terribly from the flood. Roads were damaged, our bridges were down, and there was a very bad condition of sanitation. That money had to go for that use as a matter of health protection and transportation. Will the gentleman yield further about matching dollar for dollar at this point?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I understand that under our State constitution Massachusetts cannot match an appropriation dollar for dollar for work in private property and lands, and a great deal of this timber is a part of the farmhouses. The timber was cut in order to build the farmhouse and for the other accessory buildings. So I am not sure that we can avail ourselves of any of the money that must be matched dollar for dollar. I am sending for the ruling by the Attorney General on that point. The Supreme Court ruled on a rather similar occasion that the State could not contribute

toward clearing or helping in respect to private lands. It is a very serious proposition for us.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I think it is a serious proposition for all of us.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. It is, because it affects the whole country. If the purchasing power of all New England is greatly diminished by great fires, certainly the entire country will be the loser.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. TREADWAY. I understood the gentleman to say that the State contributions have been infinitesimal, and then he referred to what Massachusetts has bonded itself for at the special session of the legislature, and I shall talk about that more a little later, if I am permitted to do so. I have in my hand here a photostatic copy of the law passed at the extra session of the Massachusetts Legislature, and included in that \$19,000,000 were the following: Title 201-A, Forestry, \$350,000; 281-B, Forest fire service, \$123,000; 281-C, Recreations, \$90,000; 288-A, Parks, \$67,000; Enforcement of laws, \$2,678; aggregating considerably over \$1,000,000. That was direct for fire protection under this special appropriation of \$19,000,000.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I am glad to have that information.

Mr. JENKS of New Hampshire. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. JENKS of New Hampshire. I would say that the New Hampshire Legislature has not been in session since this disaster, but the Governor has just made a recommendation to the legislature, that has just gone into session, that a substantial sum of money be appropriated to take care of its part of this disaster.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I felt confident that that would be done.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at this point?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. The only obstacle I see now is getting the consent of the Governor of Vermont. Before you can do anything in Vermont, you have to get unanimous consent nowadays.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. It does appear, however, that the only financial aid rendered by any State involved in this tragedy is the \$1,000,000 of the \$19,000,000 appropriated by the State of Massachusetts. So far as the committee knows, no other State involved has made available any funds for this purpose.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield again there?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I interrupt again at this point to state that, as the gentleman knows, the President sent on a great many people from the forestry and the W. P. A. and various Government agencies, and there was a general feeling that a great deal of money would be given to the States for rehabilitation work. That may be one reason why the other States did not contribute—through a misunderstanding.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Whatever the reason may be, the fact remains that they have not taken cognizance of the fact that what they recommend to the Congress is a serious menace—and I do not underestimate that it is a menace—they have taken no action themselves to ameliorate it. I do not see why the Federal Government should bear the major portion of the cost of cleaning the situation up.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. There has never been such a hurricane, such disaster, and such danger to timberlands before.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Oh, let me say to the distinguished gentlewoman from Massachusetts that there have been many national tragedies, even in my experience here of 16 years, and almost without exception the action that Congress has taken has been to make available loans to the areas affected. Those loans in many cases were almost without security, but at least they went through the form of loans, for the very reason that the Congress as a national legislature is affected by the same ethical and theoretical conditions that the gentlewoman finds affect her own State. We have no right theoretically to appropriate money to be used on private lands.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. But the fire hazard is so extremely great in Massachusetts alone, where 531 lives to the square mile are endangered by this fire hazard. It is an emergency; this is not a regular appropriation and must be made immediately if it is to serve its purpose. The threat of fire is even more serious than the hurricane.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I quite agree with the gentlewoman from Massachusetts, and the committee agrees. Otherwise we would not be recommending \$3,000,000 of Federal Government money to meet this situation.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. RANKIN. If the people live 531 to the square mile, as the lady from Massachusetts says, they ought to be able to put out any fire.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. COCHRAN. Are we laying down a policy that will come back to plague us in the future, that whenever we have some disaster, due to an act of God, the Congress of the United States will be called upon to rehabilitate the area?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I will say to the gentleman, as he well knows, the Congress has responded on many occasions to relieve suffering in the drought areas in Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida and other States, but they were loans in most cases by or through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and many of them have been repaid.

Mr. COCHRAN. Is this a loan or an outright gift? Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. This is an outright gift.

Mr. COCHRAN. Well, there is a difference between the two even though you require the States in this instance to match the Government contribution.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Of course there is a difference, but the evidence before our committee was to the effect that it had been such a terrific blow to this section of the country, not only this section but to the individuals involved, that we felt the Federal Government, through the Forest Service, might have a substantial part in cleaning it up.

Mr. COCHRAN. Another question. Does not the gentleman feel there should be some limitation placed upon the amount you are going to spend in the District of Columbia?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. It does not provide for any of it to be spent in the District of Columbia.

Mr. COCHRAN. Oh, yes; in the bill you provide that part of it can be spent in the District of Columbia even for printing and binding and also for automobiles. Now, the District of Columbia was not affected by the hurricane. You are liable to have a lot of employees in the District of Columbia getting a lot of this money that should go to this area. The Forest Service should be able to handle this without additional personnel.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 additional minutes.

I should be willing for the gentleman from Missouri to draw an amendment. I am sure the committee has no objection to a reasonable limitation. Of necessity, there will be some departmental expense in administering this money, but I would have no objection to any reasonable limitation that the gentleman feels should go in here.

Mr. COCHRAN. This has come so fast that I have no information about the project at all. The bill has just come in and the hearings released only an hour ago. Those who heard the testimony should be able to draw an amendment which provides for a limitation, or better still, one that would prevent any of the money being used in the District

of Columbia. Let them get along with their present force here.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I appreciate the suggestion of the gentleman.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I understood that the Congress gave an outright grant to the city of Chicago at the time of the great fire, and to California at the time of the earthquake and fire in San Francisco. So there is a precedent for this. This country has given grants to foreign countries in supplies to care for distressed people.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. That may be true.

Now, the next item in the bill is an item for the Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine, for the control of various insects—Mormon crickets, chinch bugs, various kinds of grasshoppers and other pests that come along to pester people and crops.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The Bureau of Entomology, as I understand, recommended to the Budget \$6,000,000 to take care of these pests. The Bureau of the Budget recommended \$3,300,000. Is that correct?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. That is correct.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I have not had a chance to read the record. Has the gentleman ever seen these grasshoppers, Mormon crickets, and so forth, in action? They are about as long as the old crawfish we used to see in the swamps. Has the gentleman ever seen these things in action?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. No; but I have heard they

are quite active.

Mr. O'CONNOR. They are very active. They will go into a field of wheat in the morning, and usually it is destroyed by nighttime. Of course, I do not know who the other members of the committee are, but I am taking your word for it that you never saw these bugs in action. Does not the gentleman think that the department that has to do with the carrying on of this work, together with the aid of the farmers who actually do the work in the spreading of this bait, and so forth, ought to know more about what would be necessary to conduct this campaign against these pests than we Members sitting down here who really do not know much about it?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Ordinarily, it would seem that they would, but actually they do not. I say that for this reason: They have come before our committee on more than one occasion with an estimate for pest control in excess of what the committee felt was justified. The committee cut their estimates, and our friends hollered blue murder. They had just been ruined. They envisioned the grasshoppers, Mormon crickets, chinch bugs, and other bugs just carrying the country away. They were just ruined. Yet they were not able to spend the appropriations we provided.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I know the gentleman is going to say they did not get the money as soon as they should. That is true.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I will call the gentleman's attention to another thing. I get this from the Bureau of Entomology in Washington. They tell me that in Montana those bugs, grasshoppers, and crickets were eradicated early in the spring and then they migrated, later on, from the State of North Dakota into Montana, and I have these figures from the Bureau of Entomology. As the result of their invading the State of Montana later on in the spring, crops to the value of \$6,000,000 were destroyed by them.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Here is the point to the thing: There is no doubt this Department will not spend any money that is not necessary to carry on this campaign. Let us give them sufficient at this time to prevent just such occurrences as have been outlined to the gentleman by the Bureau here in Washington.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. They did a very good job last year in controlling it. No effort, apparently, is being

made to exterminate these insect pests. The Bureau of Entomology and the Department of Agriculture have thrown up their hands, seemingly. They do not know what to do. About all they can do is to fight them when they put in an appearance. Last year they did a very good job with \$2,000,000 and did not get it nearly as soon as we are making it available to them this year. We are giving them the same amount they got last year and giving it to them very much earlier. They will have available \$2,700,000, which ought to be ample.

The next item is for the administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act. That act was passed very late in the last session of Congress. An amount of \$400,000 was made available. The Administrator has set up the organization. They are operating, they are trying to meet the terrific duty imposed upon the Department of Labor in the construction and control of this new law affecting every State in the Union and every business and every industry to some extent.

We went into the matter very carefully. The Budget estimate of \$950,000 the committee cut to \$850,000, not with the idea of trying to throw any impediment in the way of a fair enforcement of this act and a fair trial for it but upon the statement of the Administrator that all of the personnel had to come from civil service. Many examinations have to be held to recruit his staff, and we felt that the slight cut made by the committee would be evidence of the committee's hope and of the hope of the Congress that he would move cautiously.

We were very much encouraged to hear from Mr. Andrews the statement that in traveling over the country and contacting many business and industrial leaders who had been very antagonistic to the suggestion of the passage of such a law and who had opposed it in every way they could, that they now show almost universally a fine spirit of cooperation and intention to try it out, put it into operation in their plants, and endeavor to make it work. Almost invariably, however, they impressed upon the Administrator the fact that if the law is ever to be a success, in order to be fair to those who are trying to observe it, the administration should enforce it against those who are inclined to disobey it. The committee did not feel that the Congress should be too drastic in curtailing a new agency of such wide scope and character as the wage and hour division, and I do not believe we have.

The last item in the bill is for the purpose of erecting a Census Bureau building. When the matter was first suggested to me, that we were being called upon to build another Government building in Washington, I was antagonistic to the idea. We went into the matter very carefully and we found that in the District of Columbia, Government agencies are now housed in 120 buildings other than Government-owned buildings. Twenty-two thousand employees of the Government are employed in these privately owned buildings. The rental bill that we are paying to the landlords of Washington is \$3,500,000. The Department of Agriculture is housed in 29 different buildings and pays \$468,000 a year rent. The Department of the Interior, although we just built a handsome new building for it, is housed in 11 different buildings and is paying \$236,000 a year rent. The Treasury Department is in 16 different buildings. Government agencies, as I say, are in 120 different privately owned buildings in Washington and are paying \$3,500,000 rent.

We are faced with the fact that we must take the decennial census. In order to take the census the Bureau of the Census will have to augment its normal personnel of about 700 to a personnel of about 7,500 in the District of Columbia for 6 or 8 months.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 additional minutes.

There will be housed in this building in the District of Columbia the 7,500 people who will take this census. They all come from civil-service rolls. They are temporary employees. There is no space in the District of Columbia that can be gotten to house this activity. The only other alterna-

tive would be to have some private individual or agency put up a building. Bids were solicited from such sources, and the best offer received was for a building way out on the outskirts of Washington where transportation would be difficult, and at a rental of something like \$400,000 a year.

Mr. MASON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MASON. Would this building that it is proposed to build house 7,500 for 6 months in the 10-year period and then only 700 during the other nine and a half years?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I am coming to that, I may say to the gentleman.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. I notice an item for New Hampshire and Maine. I was of the opinion that New Hampshire and Maine did not want any relief from the Federal Government.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. We had a pretty full discussion of that matter, I may say to the gentleman.

Mr. BARTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BARTON. Does the gentleman think it would be in order to abolish some of these bureaus, such as the National Emergency Council and the Guffey Coal Commission, to make room for the Census Bureau?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I think it is very much in order to abolish some of the commissions, I may say to the gentleman; but when you look over the list of agencies that are housed in rented buildings, the gentleman will find he raises a very difficult problem.

Mr. Chairman, this is not any peculiar condition that has existed for only the last 6 years. Since I have been here, a total of 16 years, the Government has had a terrific rent bill. The Government has always paid for outside space and has never had sufficient room in the public buildings in Washington, even when my friend's party was in power. There were more bureaus and agencies in Washington at that time than the Federal Government had buildings in which to house them.

Mr. BARTON. Does the gentleman know how many buildings have been built under this administration to house these new bureaus?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. A great many buildings, but the majority of the fine building program in the District of Columbia can be taken credit for by my friend's party. The first great building that was put up was the palace for the Department of Commerce, with the noted gold-plate dishes for the Secretary of Commerce, as my friend will remember, the shower bath, the private elevator, and what not.

That was the first palace that Mr. Hoover built. All of the string of buildings along Constitution Avenue was started under the administration of the gentleman's party, and the gentleman's party can take credit for them because this is the greatest nation in the world and we should have a government housed commensurate with its dignity. I favor that, and I am sure the gentleman does.

Mr. BARTON. When Mr. Hoover was putting up that building, does the gentleman recall what the national deficit was as compared with the present time?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Of course, there was a deficit, and there has been a deficit right along. The gentleman and I understand that.

Mr. MICHENER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. MICHENER. As a matter of fact, when those buildings were authorized, the national debt was being reduced at a great rate. This Congress passed bills reducing the debt at the rate of a billion dollars a year. There was no deficit. These buildings were authorized in the prosperous

days, but many of them have been built in the depression days.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. That is a long story. History will tell the story in full.

Mr. MICHENER. But is that not so?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I do not want to get into that. The question now is, Shall we build the Census Building that is needed? This type of building is badly needed by the departments in Washington. Answering specifically my friend's question, when the census is completed and the normal personnel of the Bureau of the Census drops back to 700 or so, one of two things will happen; either there will be brought in some of these agencies that are housed now in rented quarters or else do what should be done-that is, put into the building a great many of the inactive files of some of these departments that now occupy high-priced rental space in other buildings, files that do not come within the category of records that should be put in the Archives Building and yet should not be destroyed. The building is needed for the regular, normal activities of the Government. Even if our dreams and hopes for restriction of unnecessary agencies should mature, we could not hope to vacate all of these 120 buildings.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. EBERHARTER. I notice the report states that the building will be of the brick and sandstone type. If that building is located near Constitution Avenue, does the gentleman think that would mar the beauty of Constitution Avenue and the buildings located thereon?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. It is not to be located in that group of monumental buildings on Constitution Avenue. It is to be well back of the Mall and will be of the same type as the building occupied by the Procurement Division, a very substantial one—will involve a construction cost of about \$9 per square foot. It is a utilitarian type of building.

Mr. EBERHARTER. The gentleman does not think the location of this type of building here will mar that locality?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. No; the building will be well removed from the locality the gentleman has in mind. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time. [Applause.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY].

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I shall speak solely of the one item involving disaster from the recent hurricane in New England, and I would like to give a brief description of my own personal experience in that flood and hurricane.

On the morning of September 21 last year I endeavored to drive from my home in western Massachusetts to Springfield. where I had a scheduled meeting, not a political one, purely business. I found that following 3 or 4 days of constant, steady rain the roads were practically impassible. I therefore drove a few miles and took a train from Pittsfield to Springfield, which was one of the last trains to operate over the Boston & Albany Railroad for quite a period of time. Following the meeting I attended in Springfield I had occasion to go to Holyoke, which is the largest city in my district. A friend had driven the 11 miles from Holyoke to Springfield to meet me. At that time it was raining terrifically hard, and my friend drove down through the rain. About 4:30 in the afternoon, following the business meeting I was attending, one of my friends came out of the building where we had held the meeting and said the radio had announced a hurricane was coming up the New England coast. This was the first intimation of the possibility of the hurricane's visiting that area. Another friend came from the same meeting and said, "My wife is driving home from down in Connecticut and I am worried about her on account of the The suddenness of this catastrophe can be shown by the fact that the next morning I picked up a newspaper and read that the wife of this friend had been drowned in an effort to get back to Springfield that afternoon. LXXXIV-93

What I have said so far has to do with the rain, which continued for quite a few days, but at half past four in the afternoon when I left Springfield for Holyoke the wind started. We were 2 hours covering the 11 miles between those two cities, over a good State highway which in ordinary circumstances one could travel in 20 minutes. I got to the point where fear no longer existed for me because the feeling of helplessness came over one so strongly. Trees were coming down all over the road, wires were being thrown down, and automobiles were being hit. One did not know from 1 minute to another whether the next tree was going to fall on the car one happened to be in or fall down beside the road. Through the skillful driving of my friend I was able to get to Holyoke in about 2 hours. This gives you just a word picture of the terrible suddenness of this storm.

The hurricane followed the flood. We were therefore doubly afflicted, first by the tremendous flood and second by the hurricane.

The first preparation for recovery had to do with the flood. Entire towns were inundated. Roads were absolutely washed out in entire communities. The events of which I have been speaking occurred on a Wednesday afternoon. On the following Saturday I attended a meeting of representatives of the towns of Franklin County, Mass., all of which are in my district. The county commissioners were endeavoring to appease the citizens of these small communities, telling them what they could do for them and what they would do for them. People in large areas there were endeavoring to get milk to the market daily, and were finding fault because they could not get their milk to market. The chairman of the county commissioners said, "Suppose we could send a team up into that town instead of trying to get down there by automobile truck, would that be all right? Could we not send you a team to get the milk down to "Why, Mr. Commissioner," was the reply, "a market?" goat could not travel over a single road in the town."

Where a goat could not go certainly there were not many transportation facilities.

Following this tremendous storm I made a trip to Washington purposely to see some of the officials. They were extremely courteous and very much interested in the story of the flood conditions. However, that action had to do with the clearing up at that particular time.

Certain towns in my district were absolutely put out of business. No industry survived this awful flood. I could take all the time allotted to me in telling you of that situation, but what you are interested in today is the hurricane situation, so I wish to pass on to the hurricane feature of the existing situation. I say "existing" because the result of it still exists right there.

We found the Forest Service eager to cooperate in every way possible, and they have been continuing to do so. I read in the report which has just been issued by the Committee on Appropriations certain very significant statements, which I thank the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Woodrum] for making as they certainly aid our case tremendously. For instance, the report states:

The evidence is indisputable as to the urgent need of freeing the wooded areas—some 8,000,000 acres, through which the storm passed—of great quantities of inflammable debris, constituting a serious fire hazard, in many cases adjacent to thickly populated communities.

In another place the report states:

The Congress has, in the case of a number of past catastrophes, responded with Federal financial aid.

I have here a long list, and I am sorry it is not carried up to the present time, of instances of aid the Federal Government has rendered when catastrophes have occurred, even in Italy. There is an item here of Congress appropriating \$800,000 for procurement and distribution of provisions, clothing, medicines, and so forth, for the suffering and destitute people of Italy as a result of the Messina earthquake. Many of the items in the list I hold in my hand refer to loans, so-called, but of course not repaid and not expected to be

repaid. For instance, reference is made to the fire in San Francisco, and to the appropriation of \$100,000,000 as a revolving fund to furnish foodstuffs to the populations of Europe following the war. Here is an item of \$1,775,000 for Army stores for the relief of sufferers from fire at Astoria,

As I see it, no greater calamity ever happened than what has happened to New England at the present time, so why should there be any anxiety at the present time over the size of the appropriation to be made by the Congress to relieve this terrible situation?

I particularly call the attention of the Members of the House to this map. It is a map of New England. The pink area here is where the hurricane hit. The hurricane came up from Long Island Sound on the afternoon of which I have spoken, and about half past 4 in the afternoon it started and went directly up through that entire area, hitting sections in Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and a small section of Maine.

Every New England State was directly affected, and there is timber down in this whole area.

Now, look at these pictures which I have here from the Forest Service, every one of them showing down timber. While this picture I have here is small and not very easy for the Members of the House to see, yet here is a very typical picture of the down timber surrounding a farmhouse, and unless this slash is cleaned up and removed by spring, even though the logs are taken out of there, is there a chance in the world for the inhabitants of this house to be able to save that property? Fire is inevitable.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I will yield to the gentleman, but I must finish my statement on the bill.

Mr. REED of New York. I simply wanted to call attention to the fire hazard involved there.

Mr. TREADWAY. I am coming to that very feature, and that is exactly what I meant when I asked if there was a chance for the inhabitants of this place to survive.

These other pictures I have here are quite similar. This particular picture happens to be on a State forest in New Hampshire. I simply wish the House to see the condition in that area, which is duplicated everywhere. Here are logs, which, of course, are perhaps merchantable and marketable, but when you go in and clean up by just taking out the logs, naturally, you are leaving all this slash and there is a fire hazard of tremendous proportions.

What the Forest Service did was to endeavor to make contracts with the owners of private property to take out their merchantable timber.

Let me give you a word of illustration about that. I attended a meeting just before Congress opened. I was asked to come up to a town in my district to meet the owners of down timber. I went to that meeting and met 60 men and women whose entire source of income or entire property was flat on the ground. They did not have a dollar with which to market this timber or to continue carrying on their work as ordinary farmers. There were 60 of these people and I am going to speak of them, as well as the entire Massachusetts picture, a little later, but I want to cover particularly the New England situation as we who are in New England see it.

I am a Massachusetts man, interested in Massachusetts as such, and interested in these constituents of mine that I am telling you about who are suffering so as a result of this existing situation, and appealing to you in their behalf, but the picture is bigger than any one State, Mr. Chairman, the picture is a New England picture as shown by this map.

Now, the Forest Service estimates there are 14,000,000 acres in the hurricane area; that is 14,000,000 in this pink section of the map, and there are 150,000 acres of down timber on which there are from three and a half to four billion feet. The Forest Service has made 2,000 contracts covering 400,-000,000 feet already. The method of contracting is this. The Forest Service has graded this timber into three classes,

1, 2, and 3, of which they estimate that class 1 is about 5 percent. On that they will pay \$18 per thousand feet at a mill or at a pond. The next classification is at \$14 a thousand and this they estimate at about 40 percent. The other 55 percent is in the third classification at \$12. This \$12 means that under the Disaster Loan Corporation there will be paid to those log owners at a pond or at a mill, no matter how inaccessible it may be, or how impossible it may be for the lot owner to get his timber to these places, \$12 per thousand feet in the log, less 10 percent; in other words, it will amount to \$10.80 only.

Mr. HARE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. Yes; I will yield to the gentleman very briefly, because I have a long picture to paint.

Mr. HARE. I am just wondering whether the price designated by the gentleman refers to sawed timber or is the price in the log.

Mr. TREADWAY. In the log.

Mr. HARE. A pretty high price.

Mr. TREADWAY. Not a sufficient price to encourage the owners to market the logs or return a new dollar for an old

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. When they have forest fires in the State of Washington, the Government does not pay the people out there for the damage, and I do not see why they should pay for these damages which they have sustained from forest fires in New England.

Mr. TREADWAY. I do not know about other fires, although I do know that Oregon has been paid in a similar

I have here another picture of the same situation I have been describing, and these pictures are available if any Members care to see them in more detail.

After these 2,000 contracts are made, and we hope the number will be materially increased, you will still have this terrible fire hazard; and unless this fire hazard is removed by early spring, just as soon as this slash begins to dry out, no one can conceive of the probable damage that will happen in the way of fires.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Are not the C. C. C. now engaged in clearing away that brush?

Mr. TREADWAY. Yes; they are doing as good a job as it is possible to do, and I shall be very glad to quote a reference from the Forest Service that I have of the work that they are doing; but there are not enough of them, nor of the W. P. A.

Mr. HEALEY. Their work is also on private property?

Mr. TREADWAY. Yes; the gentleman is correct.

Mr. HEALEY. Where there may be a fire hazard.

Mr. TREADWAY. Yes; and perhaps it might be well, as long as the gentleman is referring to private property, for me to bring up the situation in Massachusetts, as regards the item in the bill before us, namely, the matter of matching dollar for dollar. I have a telegram that I received last evening from the Governor of Massachusetts, which reads as follows:

Hon. ALLEN TREADWAY,

House of Representatives:

Over \$1,000,000 appropriated at special session of Massachu-Over \$1,000,000 appropriated at special session of Massachusetts Legislature, October 1938, to remove fire hazard in timberlands owned by Commonwealth, including farms, reservation areas, and State forests. Appropriation for privately owned timberlands not permitted under State constitution. Fallen timber in this State estimated at one and one-half to two billion board feet, including four million in State-owned properties. Removal cost estimate, \$3,000,000. Approximately 9,000 C. C. C. and W. P. A. workers employed removing hazard from privately owned areas under easements. Doubt that Massachusetts can participate on dollar-matching program on privately owned properties.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL.

Therefore, we cannot match dollar for dollar, as I see it, because we are prohibited under the State constitution from using the State funds on private lands. The telegram of the Governor explains the situation as far as Massachusetts is concerned in connection with the item in the bill under

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 5 minutes more.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman

Mr. TREADWAY. I would like to proceed, but I yield. Mr. KNUTSON. Has the gentleman any information as to the probability of these devastated lands being reforested

Mr. TREADWAY. Oh, let us get over the catastrophe before we begin to find out what we will do in the future.

Mr. KNUTSON. The reason I asked that question is this. It is a fire hazard at the present time and if that hazard is not cleared up and there should be a severe fire, it would retard reforestation.

Mr. TREADWAY. I agree with the gentleman that perhaps we ought eventually to reforest it, but let us clean it up first so that we can reforest it.

I take occasion at this moment to speak most highly of both the Forester, Mr. Silcox, and his assistant, Mr. Tinker, and the cooperation they have endeavored to give us in Massachusetts, but there are not ample funds available at the present time, nor is there any possibility of our securing them unless it is by direct appropriation. I have a memorandum here from the Forest Service to which I have already referred, and I shall read the reference that he makes in this statement.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. It is a fact, is it not, that the total recommended by the Forest Service for six New England States, broken down by States, amounts to approximately

Mr. TREADWAY. The original request of the Forest Service was for \$8,000,000 for use in the States, and then I think \$870,000 for the national forest in New Hampshire, but that was cut down by the Budget from \$8,000,000 to \$5,000,000 and by the committee to \$3,000,000. The telegram from the Governor says that it would require \$3,000,000 in Massachusetts alone to clean up the fire hazard.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. And still leave the emergency features of the work.

Mr. TREADWAY. Yes; absolutely. I call the attention of the House now to this memorandum which I received from Mr. Tinker, the assistant forester:

## MEMORANDUM TO MR. TREADWAY

1. When the Forest Service was precipitated into the hurricane disaster work in New England by order of the President the State conservation agencies were called into consultation in Boston and a definite plan of hazard elimination developed and agreed upon. State projects, involving the use of available W. P. A. facilities, were submitted and acted upon immediately. These resulted in 15,000 to 17,000 men being employed on hazard-elimination work, a totally inadequate number, but the maximum that could be utilized in areas accessible to the sources of supply of labor. All of the C. C. C. camps administered by the Forest Service, State agencies, and the Park Service were turned over to the coordinating agency and their efforts directed toward hazard elimination.

2. Realizing the necessity for proper supervision and direction,

2. Realizing the necessity for proper supervision and direction, the Forest Service drew upon its resources of experienced personnel, established an office in Boston to assume direct responsibility for the operations, and employed field technicians through the W. P. A. to exercise technical direction over the hazard-elimination opera-

tions and to inventory the extent of the damage, the hazard, and the requirements to meet the catastrophe.

3. As a result of the action taken, an integrated program of hazard elimination has been developed in cooperation with the State agencies, and something over 20,000 men have expended their efforts in an attempt to reduce the hazard to normal. This program has required planning, organization work on a tremendous scale, and constant supervision. It could have been accomplished in no other way than through the detail of experienced Forest Service personnel to the job. It can be carried on in no other way. The State agencies were totally unprepared to cope with a diseaser of such prepartitions.

disaster of such proportions.
4. The hurricane damage in New England was not confined to The furnishe damage in New England was not comment or unined forests. There was a tremendous loss of property of all kinds, and the States were overwhelmed in their attempt to repair the effects of wind and flood. Towns utilized all possible labor in clearing away debris, in repairing sewer and water systems. The burden of men and money fell heavily on towns and States. 5. The fire-hazard reduction work being directed by the Forest Service covers some 600 towns in the stricken area. In nearly all of these towns committees have been organized and have been occupied with aiding in the fire-hazard reduction, giving of their time and money freely.

6. In Mr. Tinker's memorandum to you dated December 22 he

wrote as follows:

"The fire-hazard reduction work has proceeded under severe limitations. Unfortunately, W. P. A. has not been able to furnish us anything like the required number of men. The estimated force required was 39,000, whereas at the peak in late November only 18,000 men were obtained. Fire-hazard conditions in New England or they will exist next entry grants be expressed. as they will exist next spring cannot be exaggerated. To anyone who has been in the disaster area the thought of the possibilities of a disaster even greater than the hurricane is appalling. The timber-salvage work this winter will appreciably reduce the fire hazard, but in spite of this, under the limitations that now exist in elimination work, the situation next spring will represent a very real menace to the public safety.

"If the above-enumerated measures are not taken and fires are not adequately handled during the coming spring fire season, I predict there will be loss of life and property throughout the path of this hurricane equal and even beyond that done by the storm itself. I feel a tremendous responsibility in all these undertakings and feel that all influential and thinking people should be properly apprised of the exact situation and then prepare to prevent these things from hampening." things from happening."

7. The Forest Service estimates that there is a gross area affected by the hurricane of about 14,000,000 acres in the New England States needing protection, with about 150,000 acres of blown-down timber where intensive fire-hazard reduction work over a period of almost 2 years will be needed to reduce the hazard to normal. There are about 1,200 miles of roads to be opened and about 950 miles of telephone lines and five lookout towers to be constructed.

To make possible quick action for fire suppression it will be necessary to organize, in conjunction with the States, fire-suppression and fire-fighting crews to be ready to act expeditiously. The necessary fire-fighting equipment must be purchased and located at strategic points throughout the area and the organized crews instructed in the use of this equipment. All of this organization is for protective purposes while the work of removing the blown-down timber is being corried on Covernity to the control of the control of the control of the covernity is being corried on Covernity to the control of the covernity of the covernit timber is being carried on. Our minimum plan calls for about 7,500 temporary employees to carry on fire-hazard reduction. This force includes patrolmen, foremen, straw bosses, and about 5,800 laborers. This force is in addition to the C. C. C. camps and whatever W. P. A. labor can be secured for use in areas accessible to such labor. labor.

Now, as to precedents for this sort of an appropriation, the very next item in the bill, Mr. Chairman, is for relief from grasshoppers—an item where the Federal Government is to aid people who have grasshoppers on their property. Well, I cannot conceive of grasshoppers being as serious a menace to anybody's property as such a fire hazard as I am showing the pictures of here today. I have been along the highways in my own district and they are in no way other than correct representations even for miles in extent.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has again expired.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I yield the gentleman 5 additional minutes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TREADWAY. I have a little memorandum here of where the Federal Government has aided in other lines to relieve distress and troubles: The foot-and-mouth disease, cattle tick, grasshoppers, tuberculosis in cattle, contagious abortions, Mediterranean fruitfly, corn borer, boll weevil, stem rust. All those things have to do with agricultural situations, and this situation I am describing has just as much to do with agriculture, because these people who own this down timber are practically all farmers. They are not simply timber owners but their actual assets are all lying flat on the ground today. It certainly is not an unreasonable appeal that we are making to the Federal Government to relieve this distressed situation in New England. I cannot conceive of a reduction being made by the Appropriations Committee. If Mr. Silcox and his department, or we, as the representatives of this affected area, fail in our duty to the committee in providing the necessary information on which to base its decision to give sufficient money for this purpose, let us have an opportunity of supplying that information at some further hearing.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Is it not a fair statement to say that the fire hazard of which the gentleman speaks extends to towns and cities and entire communities in the New England States?

Mr. TREADWAY. The memorandum which the Forest Service gave me, which I will extend in the Record, shows how worried they are that this fire hazard will just sweep New England. It is just as likely to start at Long Island Sound and go right through this whole area as did the hurricane originally. The number of industries, cities, communities and people endangered—the number of deaths that will result from such a calamity are inestimable. I cannot conceive of cutting down an appropriation where humanitarian work is as much required as it is here.

I do not know how this \$3,000,000 is broken down and what part of it is going to Massachusetts, but Massachusetts alone would need more than that amount, in accordance with the word I have from the Governor. But we are not going to argue about allotting this entire sum to Massachusetts alone. It is a New England problem, and the appropriation ought to be made sufficient to cover New England. I am not familiar with the statutes of other States, but if we cannot, under our State constitution, match dollar for dollar, it is unfair, it seems to me, to make that a condition under which any money will be given to Massachusetts by the Federal Government. I feel very strongly that at least that feature ought to be eliminated, and let Members from other States quote what the laws and constitutions may be in their respective States.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I am told by Members that the laws in certain States may not allow them to contribute. They probably can only contribute a small amount in any event.

Mr. TREADWAY. I do not feel qualified to speak for other States. I am speaking for New England as a whole, anxious to see this disaster condition removed from New England as a whole. But I do feel that we in Massachusetts ought to have special consideration in view of the constitutional provision to which I have referred.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has again expired.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I yield the gentleman 1 additional minute.

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield to the gentleman from Massa-

Mr. McCORMACK. I think the gentleman from Massachusetts ought to emphasize the fact that the bill before the committee today is not concerned with the purchase of timber, but confines itself only to the fire hazard.

Mr. TREADWAY. I am glad the gentleman called attention to that, because he and the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. Rogers] and I all have similar bills asking for additional money for the purchase of this timber. That has nothing to do with the question under consideration at this time. We are discussing only the fire hazard and the fire possibilities of the future in today's appeal to Congress.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. TREADWAY. I yield.

Mr. HEALEY. Does the gentleman think that even the amount recommended in this bill is sufficient to do that?

Mr. TREADWAY. Oh, it would not cover Massachusetts alone, but we have to divide it up, in fairness to the other States and our hope in the fairness of Congress to make an additional appropriation for all of us.

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield.

Mr. OLIVER. Is it not true that unless this fire menace is cleared up the tremendous investment the Federal Government now has in the White Mountain National Forest will be jeopardized by any forest fires that might start?

Mr. TREADWAY. I may say further that every bit of this money will be used for labor. It is to be used for nothing except cleaning up this slash and fire hazard. The question of unemployment, therefore, is vitally involved also.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Montana [Mr. O'CONNOR].

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, first, I wish to congratulate the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations for the early action it has taken with reference to dealing with a subject that is of prime importance to us in the territory I represent, namely, eastern Montana.

So that you will have some sort of picture in mind as to this territory, I may say that we have large farm units, great grazing territories on which no human being lives. These areas are so vast that it is difficult to deal with them effectively when the grasshoppers become promiscuous. Attention must be given to these pests early in the season to be effective.

A few dollars spent early in the spring will accomplish much more than perhaps five times that amount spent later. We are already receiving warnings as to what is going on in eastern Montana. I shall read from an Associated Press dispatch from Broadus, Mont., the Powder River country—and I think everybody here has heard of Powder River.

I wish to insert the following Associated Press dispatch which appeared in the Billings Gazette, Billings, Mont., on January 14:

Broadus, January 14.—Ranchers in Powder River County have started their 1939 Mormon cricket worries.

Mild weather caused an early hatching of the destructive pests, and Guy Nash, rancher, living 9 miles west of here, declared he could "collect tubs full" of them if his word was doubted.

Ranchers hope the early hatched crickets will be caught in an expected cold wave and destroyed.

If that does not happen, namely, cold weather sets in, Mr. Chairman, it is going to be a mighty serious problem in this territory. I wish to say to those of you who have not seen Mormon crickets and are not familiar with them that they are a mighty destructive cannibalistic insect, or whatever you call them. It would remind you of the old craw-daddy that we as children used to see in the swamps along the Missouri River. They are so ferocious that Indian legend has it that the Mormon cricket is the reincarnation of the buffalo returning to vent its wrath for the wholesale slaughter of the buffalo decades ago. You will recall, as history tells us, the infestation of the Mormon crickets on lands cultivated by the Mormons in Utah in such numbers that destruction of their crops was imminent. You will recall also that history informs us that the sea gull, the sacred bird of the Mormons, gorged itself with these crickets in the fields and then carried them to the middle of what is known as Great Salt Lake and there disgorged them, returning to the field to repeat the operation. That is why today we have a statue of a sea gull in Salt Lake City commemorating its service to humanity. In order that you may have some idea of how the campaign of destruction on these pests works, the Government buys the bait, sends it to each county. There it is mixed and the farmers come and take the bait and distribute it where it will do the most good. As a matter of fact, the State and the farmers perhaps equally match in work and money the amount expended by the Federal Government.

I wish to insert, at this point, a telegram received by me from H. B. Mills, Montana State entomologist, as follows:

Have information for Montana only. Seven thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven tons bait needed for crops compared with 5,018 last year. Further need 6,280 tons for idle land and 8,824 for range, total 19,241. Increase 14,223, or 300 percent necessary to expand program to reduce possibility of vast migrations which cost Montana over six million last year. Cannot adequately plan for campaign unless total needed available in advance of season. Lee A. Strong, Chief, Bureau of Entomology, in Washington can give you picture of general situation.

And I got in touch with Dr. Strong, and he did.

Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes; I yield to my colleague from Arizona.

Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona. What percentage of the money appropriated by Congress is spent for this bait the gentleman

speaks of? Is it not largely spent for bait?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Practically all of the money Congress appropriates is spent for bait with the exception of what is used for the construction of miles of tin barriers to prevent the crickets crawling on uninfested areas. The cost of transportation and distribution is borne by the farmers.

Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona. In other words, then, the localities themselves are contributing at least as much as the Federal Government toward the eradication of this pest?

Mr. O'CONNOR. The gentleman is virtually correct when we consider the help furnished by the State and the cash contributions or work done by the farmers and the transportation of the bait to the place of intended use.

Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona. If the statement made by the gentleman is correct, then, perhaps, instead of \$2,000,000,

the proper figure would be nearer \$6,000,000?

Mr. O'CONNOR. It would be. The Bureau of Entomology, which makes a study of these matters, which has to do with the expending of this fund, recommended to the Bureau of the Budget the sum of \$6,000,000. The Director of the Bureau of the Budget, in turn, recommended to Congress the appropriation of \$3,300,000.

This recommendation was made in view of the fact, I understand, that some \$700,000 was left over from the amount appropriated last year. Congress does not need to be afraid of appropriating this sum, for it will not be spent unless emergency condition makes it necessary. The very fact that there was a carry-over from last year shows how carefully

the fund is administered.

We have heard much talk about different menaces here this morning, and I do not want to mitigate anything the gentleman from Massachusetts has said about fire hazard, because we have seen fire in Montana, and too, we have seen the C. C. C. boys, without fear, disregarding the danger to their lives, and in many instances losing their lives, fight their way into the mountainous regions to extinguish, in a short time, a conflagration which was raging in our virgin forests.

When, however, it comes down to real injury and damage, the pests I am talking about, the grasshoppers, are the real menace to the agriculturist and they destroy vegetation and crops. They rise in clouds so thick as virtually to obscure the rays of the sun. They light in a field in the morning, and by nightfall it is stripped of its grain, and all vegetation.

These Mormon crickets, my friends, are worse than grass-hoppers. I do not know whether they come from the Mormon territory or not, but wherever they come from they are a serious menace. I may say I never saw them in Montana until the last few years and they absolutely destroy everything they touch, not only crops, but garments, fence posts, and so forth.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield to my good friend the gentleman from New Mexico.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What makes the gentleman think the crickets are more destructive than the grasshoppers?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Because they are larger. Has my friend ever seen a Mormon cricket?

Mr. DEMPSEY. No.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Has the gentleman ever seen an old-fashioned craw-daddy in the swamps?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. With those long tentacles?

Mr. DEMPSEY. I fully realize the destructiveness of the grasshoppers and the crickets, and though I have not seen the crickets, I have heard them discussed on the floor of this House and elsewhere and have read up on the subject; and I know that crickets really do more damage than grasshoppers do, as they are larger, move more slowly, and destroy more thoroughly. Does not the gentleman think that the amount recommended by the Department, namely, \$6,000,000, should be restored in this bill?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I should think so. I am going to propose an amendment which I think the House should seriously consider.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I agree with the gentleman; crickets and grasshoppers are extremely destructive.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I have the figures on the amount of money used for the destruction of the grasshoppers and crickets in each State. In Montana \$12,519 of Federal funds were used for destroying grasshoppers.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Was that not entirely inadequate?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Entirely so. The sum of \$151,578.79 was used in Montana to take care of the cricket problem. In other words, the Mormon crickets are a more serious menace to our crops in Montana than the grasshoppers.

Mr. DEMPSEY. In New Mexico we have voluntary brigades. We have the National Guard, and we have hundreds of men from the W. P. A. The destruction ran into hun-

dreds and hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is correct. I cannot estimate the damage these pests do to us. As a matter of fact, when the crops are taken from the farmers, what happens? We have to come before this Congress and appeal to the Congress for an appropriation to keep our people from starving and freezing to death. This happens not only in Montana but all of these Northwestern States. It will only take a few dollars here to guard against this serious situation.

Last spring, as pointed out by the Bureau of Entomology, the crickets and the grasshoppers were destroyed, but later on in the season, about May, there rose into the heavens clouds of grasshoppers which came from the Dakotas into Montana and destroyed crops that were valued by the Bureau of Entomology at the sum of \$6,000,000.

Mr. STEFAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska. [Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 5 additional minutes.

Mr. STEFAN. If the gentleman will yield, I would like to contribute something to the gentleman's statement, which is very valuable, especially to us who come from districts in which grasshoppers have done considerable damage. I have a telegram from the president of the Nebraska Crop Growers' Association who believes they should have \$6,000,000. May I ask the gentleman if he does not believe that unless the larger amount is appropriated, the one or two million dollars is practically wasted? Does not the gentleman think that the larger amount, with a real, expert program to take care of the entire insect situation, would solve the problem better than a smaller appropriation?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes.

Mr. STEFAN. Does the gentleman know why they did not use the \$700,000 which they have on hand?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Apparently it came too late.

Mr. McCORMACK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. The problem, while it is your immediate problem, is a matter of concern to the whole country?

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is right, because what concerns us in Montana concerns every State in the Union. If we lose our crops in Montana, Wyoming, and the Dakotas, we will have to come down here to Congress and my good friend, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Woodrum], than whom there is no more courteous, able, and influential Member on the floor of this House, will help us get an appropriation to feed our people. So it is your concern and it is the concern of every member of this Committee.

Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield to the gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona. I was impressed with the gentleman's statement a moment ago, as well as the statement made by the gentleman from Massachusetts. The gentleman stated he did not want to detract from the plea made by our friends from New England.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes.

Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona. And he further stated that this is a matter of concern to the entire country. We have only a little of this pest, thank God, in Arizona, but I understand there are 24 States of the Union bothered to some extent with this same situation. I would like to call the Committee's attention to the fact there are dynamic hazards as well as potential hazards. The fire hazard is a potential hazard. When you are dealing with insects you are dealing with a destructive force that some scientists tell us is likely to conquer the world and is worse than militarism among humans. You are dealing with a very dynamic hazard and it directly affects more than half the States of this Union.

Mr. STEFAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. STEFAN. I do not think the gentleman has finished his discussion as to the amount necessary for the eradication of these insects. The gentleman is correct in stating this is a national problem, but I still believe if we are going to appropriate only one or two million dollars we are wasting the money unless we appropriate a sufficient amount to completely cover the situation.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is right.

Mr. STEFAN. We should appropriate a larger amount; that will take care of the situation.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The Committee on Appropriations may answer that by stating that when the demand arises Congress will act. You know what happens here. You know that you cannot get any bill through the House that is controversial in nature without extended debate. It takes time. Why not have some confidence in the Department that has the administration of this fund and give such an amount at this time as will enable the Department to carry on an effective campaign to destroy these pests, in case of an emergency, which are the greatest of menaces to the West. [Applause.]

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. REED].

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, I have been very much impressed and very much stirred by the remarks made by the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts, and also by the gentleman from Montana. I am in entire sympathy with their appeals. What they are asking, of course, is of a constructive character.

However, there are other things than grasshoppers and crickets that are hazards to the people of this country, and other things than hurricanes and fires. Sometimes, perhaps, in an unguarded moment we are responsible for certain devastating legislation that brings great injury to large numbers of persons in this country.

I recall that when the campaign was on in 1932 things became very tense, and farmers all over this country were listening to the campaign speeches made at that time because they were deeply concerned with possible legislation that might be placed on the statute books in the event of the election of one candidate or the other. At that time the farmers, and particularly the dairymen and the cattlemen, were very eager to know just what would be the fate of the tariff rates on farm products if Franklin D. Roosevelt were elected President and his party put in power. I imagine many communications were received by President Roosevelt, then Candidate Roosevelt, urging him to state his position on the question of the tariff on farm products. At any rate, on October 25, 1932, he spoke in Baltimore, and millions of men listened intently to what he had to say. At that time he made this statement:

It is absurd to talk of lowering tariff duties on farm products. I know of no effective excessively high tariff duties on farm products. I do not intend that such duties shall be lowered. To do so would be inconsistent with my entire farm program, and every farmer in the United States knows it and will not be deceived.

It is quite evident from the majority Mr. Roosevelt received, especially in the farm sections, that the people relied on his assurance that the tariff duties on farm products would not be reduced. All the farmers knew was that he had made that assertion and that promise. They did not know

how easily he would break that promise, as many other promises have been broken, if trusted with power.

I invite the attention of the Members of the House, and especially those representing farm interests, to the fact that it was not long after Mr. Roosevelt became President of the United States that he asked Congress to delegate certain powers to him to exercise through the Secretary of State in the handling of tariff duties. The power he requested was delegated to him. The result was a series of trade agreements with various countries. Among these trade agreements was one entered into with our neighbor to the north, Canada. Tariff duties were reduced in that agreement. He could go only as far as the statute permitted, which was a 50-percent reduction of the rates in the 1930 Tariff Act; but later, under a second agreement, he reduced the duty on cattle, dairy cows, cream, whole milk, white seed potatoes, and white potatoes the full 50 percent, just as low, in fact, as the statute permitted him to go.

My statement would not be complete unless I gave some evidence of the effect of the lowering of these duties. The fact is that imports of cattle from Canada increased 56 percent from 1935 to 1936. Then from 1936 to 1937 there was an increase of 66 percent, or an increase from 1935 to 1937 of 122 percent. These increases in imports occurred under the first trade agreement with Canada; but now a new trade agreement with Canada has been entered into which not only further reduces the rates but increases the quotas of cattle and dairy cows that may enter our market.

The American farmer faces a serious situation. When we consider that imports of cattle from Canada under the old trade agreement exceeded the quota by more than 67,000 head it is safe to assume that under the new trade agreement, with lower rates of duty and enlarged quotas, the number of imported cattle from Canada will increase to the full quota limit. I may say we are feeling the effects in our markets up in the North. Our farmers have gone into Buffalo and cooled their heels for hours while Canadian trucks were being unloaded and the Canadians were underselling them in the Buffalo market. This has been true all along the border.

I wish to discuss another item. We reduced the duty on cream.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REED of New York. I yield to the gentleman from Maine.

Mr. BREWSTER. May I ask the gentleman whether or not he has had occasion to observe the conditions along the New England border?

Mr. REED of New York. I shall be pleased to answer the question.

Mr. BREWSTER. During the hearings before the Committee for Reciprocity Information Mr. Grady, the chairman, stated he had secured a concession from Canada by allowing potatoes from the United States to enter Canada free of duty. I should like to ask the gentleman whether or not the fact we can send potatoes to Canada free of duty is calculated to offset the devastating effect of the importation of some millions of bushels of Canadian potatoes into the American market?

Mr. REED of New York. I am very glad to reply to that question.

Occasionally for educational purposes to see what our good neighbors are doing and since I live not very far away from the Canadian line I have taken trips into various parts of Canada. Last year in the early part of September, I drove up through that great potato empire in Maine, Aroostook County, which is so ably represented by the gentleman who has just propounded the inquiry. Proceeding up through that great territory, with its wonderful storage houses, fertile fields, and its farm machinery, and where I saw more potato fields than I had supposed existed in the United States of America, I went across the Canadian border. The people on that side of the border have the same fertile land and produce the same types and grades of potatoes as are

produced in Maine. In talking with a very distinguished and well-informed man in a small city in Maine located on our northern border I made some inquiries of him with regard to conditions at that time, and as I recall it—and if I am not correct the gentleman from Maine will correct me—buyers were then offering only 35 cents a barrel for first-grade potatoes raised in Aroostook County. Is that correct?

Mr. BREWSTER. That is right.

Mr. REED of New York. The farmers were in a desperate plight and I said to this well-informed gentleman, "Can you compete?" and he said: "No; the cost of production in Canada is so much lower; I own land on both sides of the border, the same kind of land, one just as fertile as the other and," he said, "my taxes on the land on the Maine side are \$60 a year while the same amount of land used for the same purpose on the Canadian side is taxed \$2," and he said further: "You will notice why this is true when you enter Canada."

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from New York 10 additional minutes.

Mr. REED of New York. I drove up along that border and through Canada; on the other side the roads were inferior, the schools were inferior, the pupils or parents had to furnish their own books and supplies in the schools, and in driving along the border on a Sunday for a distance of 100 miles, we counted the number of horses and buggies which we met and counted over 500 horses and buggies and noted that the churchyards were filled with horses and buggies, and we met only 25 automobiles.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REED of New York. I yield.

Mr. BREWSTER. Then the gentleman would think that this reciprocal trade policy is nicely calculated to send us back to the "horse and buggy" age?

Mr. REED of New York. It is inevitable that if we raise our cost of production here to a point beyond the cost of production abroad, they are going to take our markets, and if they take our markets we face the proposition that we must accept a lower standard of living unless we are prepared to protect our own market. Have I answered the gentleman's question?

Mr. BREWSTER. Yes. I am very much indebted to the gentleman.

Mr. REED of New York. Let me go a little bit further. We have gradually reduced the tariff on cream, and in driving through there I saw the preparations being made to take advantage of these lower tariff rates, and to show you how unfair they have been in these trade agreements, which have lowered the tariff on cream from 56 and a fraction cents a gallon to 281/4 cents, in driving through one of the dairy sections of Canada along toward evening at milking time there was a downpour of rain. The milk cans were standing out in the open field and 25 or 30 men would be milking at one time out in the rain with the rain pouring down over the backs of the cows and running into the pails or soaking through the felt hats and sweaters of these men and then running into the milk pails. There are no sanitary restrictions in these trade agreements. You can go up into New York State or along the border in Wisconsin and see the sanitary requirements adding to the cost of production of our farmers, and yet this milk or cream comes in from Canada under the conditions I have mentioned with all this filth and disease germs to be sold in our markets.

It is not difficult to predict the effect which the lowering of the duty on cream will have on the volume imported. I need mention only what occurred when the duty on cream during the first half of 1929 was 20 cents a gallon. Under that law duty imports of cream in the first half of 1929 were 2,964,189 gallons. When the duty was raised by Presidential proclamation, effective June 13, 1929, Canada exported to the United States during the next 6 months only 1,942,704 gallons of cream. The Tariff Act of 1930 increased the duty on cream

to 56% cents a gallon; the imports of cream from Canada dropped to 117,168 gallons.

Where is this going to end? Must we pauperize our farmers by whittling away our protection through these trade agreements? There is not a man on the floor of this House, not one, who would have dared vote for a bill brought into this House seeking to lower these duties as they have been lowered by these trade agreements, and yet we have given away the rights of a sovereign people and placed them in the hands of bureaucrats under a Department of this Government that would not dare go to the people and ask for their suffrage upon their record made by these trade agreements. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cochran].

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if the distinguished gentleman from Pennslvania [Mr. Rich] will tell me whether or not he is in favor of this bill?

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, I am not in favor of this bill. There is an item in there which should not be there, and when you spend three and a half million dollars on a deficiency appropriation bill to construct a new building, that is contrary to sound legislation and I am opposed to the bill.

Mr. COCHRAN. How about the \$3,000,000 for the New England States?

Mr. RICH. The gentleman asked me if I was in favor of the bill.

Mr. COCHRAN. How about that item? The three million for New England.

Mr. RICH. If the gentleman gets down to specific items I will answer in respect to specific items. There are some things that we are in favor of and some things that we are opposed to, and the gentleman from Missouri knows very well that the gentleman from Pennsylvania was never found wanting in expressing his opinion one way or the other, yes

Mr. COCHRAN. The gentleman seems to be found wanting now, and if he is in favor of that item, then I want to ask him where are we going to get the money. [Laughter.]

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman-

Mr. COCHRAN. Oh, I have only 5 minutes.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COCHRAN. Not now.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Let me tell him where we will get the money.

Mr. COCHRAN. I do not yield. In reference to the argument of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich] concerning the three and a half million dollars for the Census Bureau, I have been trying for many years to get this Congress to authorize an appropriation to construct a concrete building, not any marble structure, nor one out of Indiana limestone, somewhere in the southwest section where we can store all of what might be called the inactive files of this Government.

Mr. RICH. I say to the gentleman that that is a mighty sensible thing to recommend, and I hope that sometime it will be constructed.

Mr. COCHRAN. If that kind of a building is constructed, I predict that 40 percent of the space now occupied by Government agencies in the city of Washington will be released for desks. Old files only used occasionally should be removed from the beautiful buildings and placed in what I would call a warehouse—stored where the file clerks can get their hands on them quickly and send them up to the department whenever it is necessary. Mr. Chairman, I have introduced that bill again this year, and I have taken the floor to again call attention to it. I shall ask the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds to give me a hearing. I have already had one hearing. There was a conference where the committee was appointed to decide as to whether or not it was desirable to construct that building.

A majority of those on this committee were in favor of the warehouse, but it finally ended up in putting three and a half million dollars more in The Archives Building, constructing

stacks in the center of that building. That three and a half million dollars would have constructed the type of building that I have referred to-space to be set aside for every department and independent establishment.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COCHRAN. It is an absolute necessity, as the gentleman should know, to have a place for the Census Bureau to work. The Constitution says we must take the census every 10 years. Now, I yield.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, I say-and I have said on the floor time and time again—that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cochran] knows how to save money for the Government, if he will only do it, and being a member of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments it ought to be his duty to do it, not only here but every place. His suggestion is a mighty fine one, and if Members will look at the hearings on this bill, on page 10, they will see where we are spending money for rentals at the rate of \$22,745 for 1,830 square feet of space for Government buildings, and a great part of that is being used for files. Nothing in the world would be more desirable than what the gentleman is now recommending, and he will find the gentleman from Pennsylvania supporting him and voting for a bill of that kind.

Mr. COCHRAN. I thank the gentleman. The committee of which I am the chairman has no jurisdiction over the bill that I have introduced. If it did, I would have had it reported long ago. As I said, the Census Bureau must have a place to work. The Census Bureau files are going to be always active from now on, because they are being used every day by every State in the Union in checking up the age of applicants for old-age assistance. You cannot put those files in the Archives Bureau. You have to put them in a warehouse. Then you have the record of every man that served in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps since their inception. They are not in the Archives. Some of them are even stored at Governors Island, N. Y. You have historical documents from the World War that are stored at Governors Island, N. Y. You have files of this Government, valuable files, in hundreds of places. The General Accounting Office alone has 14 different places where it is now storing its documents. You cannot conceive the damage that would result if they were destroyed by fire. The necessity for this warehouse is apparent.

In conclusion, I say this. I do not know whether I am going to be able to be here tomorrow, but if I am I am not going to support this \$3,000,000 appropriation.

Those who have suffered have my sympathy. I also was in sympathy with the million W. P. A. workers who are going off the W. P. A. rolls unless the Senate restores the \$875,000,000 asked by the administration. Many who are very active in support of this item did not have the same view on the W. P. A. appropriation as I had, but voted for the reduction of \$125,000,000. That, however, has nothing to do with my opposition to this appropriation.

We have, from time to time, I know, assisted others in distress but consult the record and you will see it was loans, not grants. It is the principle I fear. Using the language of some of my friends on the Republican side of the aisle when they were opposing some so-called New Deal measures, "just another experiment, I suppose." Well it is a very dangerous experiment, and one you are going to hear from at some future date.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, if I am here tomorrow I am not going to support it. My reason is that I believe we are establishing a policy that will come back to plague us. Every time you have a disaster in this country, due to an act of God, you will have Members from that section of the country saying, "Well, look what you did for the New England States. Do the same for us."

I will vote for an authorization to loan the people of the New England States \$10,000,000, if necessary, but I will not vote to hand them \$3,000,000 without any strings attached to its whatsoever, other than it be matched by the States. It is simply a gift, so when you do this for the New England States, remember you are going to do it for other parts of the country.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COCHRAN. I yield.

Mr. MAY. I notice in the papers that at the time of this disaster the W. P. A. was very active in the expenditure of funds. I wonder if the hearings disclose how much money was spent by them at that time?

Mr. COCHRAN. That is covered in the hearings, I under-

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COCHRAN. I yield to my good friend. Mr. GIFFORD. The gentleman said it was not within the jurisdiction of the committee to prevent the expenditures to construct this building. I want the gentleman to tell the House, especially the new Members, just what the committee's jurisdiction is.

Mr. COCHRAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts knows the jurisdiction of the committee. He is the ranking member on the minority side. He knows what the jurisdiction is. But I will say among our duties is to investigate the executive branch of the Government at any time any Member of this House lays before the committee any concrete evidence of fraud or waste. I have told the gentleman on this floor time and time again that whenever he will put the evidence on the table that will warrant an investigation he can have it, but not before.

Mr. GIFFORD. That is, if we bring the skunk and lay it there you will help us smell it, but you would not try to catch the skunk. [Laughter.]

Mr. COCHRAN. Well, the gentleman brought in one skunk. He made so many speeches that finally Mr. Hopkins said to me, "Cochran, I am tired of you defending me on the floor of the House. I will come down." I brought him down. The gentleman from Massachusetts had his opportunity, and if ever I felt sorry for a man in my life I felt sorry for my friend from Massachusetts when Mr. Hopkins got through. [Laughter.]

Mr. GIFFORD. I was sorry for myself. I never was so insulted. Every Democratic member of the committee rushed to the defense of Hopkins. I was not allowed to proceed hardly at all.

Mr. COCHRAN. Oh, if you will read the hearings, nobody had a chance to say anything but the gentleman from Massachusetts. [Laughter.]

Mr. GIFFORD. Are the hearings in print?

Mr. COCHRAN. Certainly.

Mr. GIFFORD. Has the gentleman any copies left?

Mr. COCHRAN. I believe we have some. I do not know. They were so uninteresting that I do not know whether they are there or not. I will look, and if I find one I will send the gentleman a copy.

Mr. GIFFORD. The gentleman will acknowledge that is the only day, 1 day in 6 years, and no one else has been allowed to come before the committee.

Mr. COCHRAN. But the gentleman has never laid the evidence on the table.

Mr. GIFFORD. I or no one else could produce evidence enough for his committee to act.

Mr. COCHRAN. I do not deal in skunks. I did not investigate your administration during the last 2 years of Hoover. I was fair. I am not going to investigate my own unless facts warranting an investigation are placed before me. [Laughter and applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I cannot help addressing myself to the remarks of the President of the United States on January 4 on the state of the Nation. He made this statement:

And we still intend to do our own thinking. We still intend to do our own thinking.

Now the question in my mind is, does he expect the Congress to do its own thinking, or does the President, Cohen, Corcoran, and company, expect to do the thinking and send the bills to Congress for us to rubber stamp? I can hardly think that is possible. I do not believe the Members of Congress will rubber stamp any more legislation, and I think we will see different legislation in the House during this session than we have seen before during the New Deal administration of F. D. Roosevelt.

On yesterday I asked the majority leader a question about Government finances, and the insinuation was, "Where are we going to get the money?" He did not want to reply to me, or at least he did not. I feel that today the responsibility for the operation of this Government devolves upon the membership of Congress, especially the leaders of the majority party. When I pick up the Treasury statement of January 16, and I think of the Speaker of the House, the majority leader, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, the chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments, and the chairman of the Committee on Accounts, and others, and when I think of the importance of the offices which those men hold with the majority party. I say to you as Members of Congress, it is up to the men I have just mentioned to lead the way and show the people of this country we are going to economize in our Government spending. It can easily be done-should and must.

I call your attention to the fact that the Democratic Party in its platform of 1932 said:

We will abolish useless commissions and offices, consolidate departments and bureaus, and eliminate extravagances to accomplish a saving of not less than 25 percent in the cost of government.

I now call attention to the remarks of the President of the United States on March 10, 1933, when he addressed the Congress as follows:

For 3 long years the Federal Government has been on the road toward bankruptcy. With the utmost seriousness I pointed out to the Congress the profound effect of this upon our national economy. Too often in recent history liberal governments have been wrecked on rocks of loose fiscal policy. We must avoid this danger.

The Hoover administration in the 3 years the President talked about went into the red \$3,500,000,000, but after 6 years of his administration he has put the country in debt \$20,000,000,000. What does Mr. Roosevelt think of his economy measures? I know what I think of them, as well as millions of other American citizens. It is a crime against our American civilization for a man in high and responsible public office to tell you he will do one thing when he gets in office and then to repudiate his word when he does get in. It is almost inconceivable that he could change so completely around. No stretch of the imagination could give a logical and businesslike reason.

I call attention, Mr. Chairman, to the condition of the Treasury as shown by the Treasury statement of January 16, published by the Treasury Department, Mr. Morgenthau's We find that we have gold to the extent of secretary. \$14,594,000,000 belonging to the Government. Where is it stored? In a hole in the ground down in Kentucky. And they are storing the silver of this country in a hole in the ground up at West Point. This story of buried treasure reminds me of the old story that when you hide your treasures they are of no value. This is where we find ourselves today so far as our gold and silver are concerned. It is of no value. It is in the hands of the President of the United States only, and he can use it at any time he sees fit. Be careful he does not declare an emergency exists before he goes out of office and he will be the sole controller and I might say sole

Looking at this Treasury statement again, I am shocked to find that the Government has a balance of \$3,000,000,000 lying in the banks of this country on which the taxpayers are paying interest. Why under the sun is it necessary for the Secretary of the Treasury to carry such a balance? It was never thought of or dreamed of by Secretaries of the Treasury before Mr. Morgenthau came into office. Why is it necessary today? There is a reason, but it is not a good one—let him answer it; I have asked the question a number of times, but no answer.

Let me call attention further to the fact that since July 1 the taxpayers of this country have paid \$3,087,000,000. Against that receipt you have expended \$4,920,000,000. This shows that we have gone in the red, since July 1 last, to the extent of \$1,833,000,000. We will be close to four billion in the red by the end of the year. Terrible, horrible, unexcusable, unbusinesslike, unheard of in peacetime. It shows to our people this administration knows nothing of running the Government.

A few years ago the President of the United States talked about a balanced Budget. He has forgotten that phrase today. He says nothing about it, and he knows nothing about it.

### WHERE ARE YOU GOING TO GET THE MONEY?

If we keep traveling in the direction we are now going, it will be but a few years until our Government will experience the greatest wreck ever seen in the history of the world, and our children and children's children will suffer for the folly of this administration.

The establishment of a policy of responsibility and economy in government, Mr. Chairman, belongs to this Congress. The majority party promised economy in government. You promised to consolidate departments. You have had this opportunity for 6 years. Instead, however, of making that promise good, you did the very opposite.

In 1932, on November 4, in Brooklyn, N. Y., the President

of the United States stated:

The people of America demand a reduction of Federal expenditures. It can be accomplished not only by reducing the expenditures of existing departments, but it can be done by abolishing many useless commissions, bureaus, and functions; and it can be done by consolidating many activities of government.

After making that statement what did the President of the United States do? He established more bureaus than any other administration in the history of our Nation. At the time he took office we had 63 separate and distinct bureaus of government. He has established 61 additional bureaus and commissions. Is that the kind of reduction he promised? Think of it, men; it is a serious question.

We have a law on our statute books forbidding the Federal Government going into debt beyond \$45,000,000,000. We shall soon reach that limit of indebtedness. Before long you will have presented to the Committee on Ways and Means a bill asking that the permissible debt of the United States be increased to \$80,000,000,000.

I say to you Members of Congress that if you want to assume the responsibilities of government, if you want to assert your rights as American citizens and do the thing you ought to do, never let this resolution pass with Mr. Roosevelt in the White House. It is to be hoped that one of these majoric committees, the Speaker of the House, or the majority leader will try to and be successful in forcing economy in the affairs of Government. Such a bill should not pass. Every Member should rise on this floor and say, "Such a bill shall never pass under present conditions this Congress."

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICH. Yes; I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Oregon.

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. I am much in sympathy with what the gentleman says, but I wish you would tell us his remedy. How are we going to take care of the unemployed? The gentleman stands simply for cutting down taxes and cutting down appropriations. Do not do it. Are we going to extend the wage and hour legislation, or what are we going to do to take care of men that have not got jobs?

Mr. RICH. Let me give the gentleman the answer. The gentleman has asked an appropriate question and I can tell him the answer. The first thing necessary to be done is to restore confidence amongst the businessmen of this country.

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. That does not put food into hungry stomachs.

[Here the gavel fell].

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 additional minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. RICH. Restore confidence amongst the businessmen of the country, so that private capital will not be afraid to venture into business. If you do this, you will be doing something that will put 300 men to work where you now put 1 man to work on the Government pay roll. We will put food in their stomachs and sunshine in their hearts, clothes on their backs, and happiness in the home.

Another thing to do is to get people off the Government pay roll at \$50 a month and get them back into industry, where they can make \$100 a month. The good, sound men of this country want jobs, not dole. The American with red blood in his veins says, "Give me a job, and I will go to work." This administration, however, tries to prohibit their working by ill-conceived laws.

Another thing you can do is to change the N. L. R. B. Act and the Wagner Act so that the businessmen and industrial men of this Nation can feel they have some rights in their own plants and that there is some opportunity ahead. It requires a business executive to run a business, and not a rabble rouser. They only breed discontent and destroy. If the businessman makes too much money, we can hold him down by the income tax, and we can by law regulate his earnings, but when we kill opportunity, we destroy all. We kill business; we destroy jobs. Confidence is lost. Government of the people and by the people is destroyed.

Let us stop these reciprocal-trade agreements. Let us keep the agricultural industry of this country for our own farmers and our own laborers instead of permitting foreign goods to come in here to usurp all of our markets—the best in the world. If we will do that, I will say to the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. Pierce], we will put these men back to work and we will have a satisfied, happy, contented people in this country. I hope the Members of Congress will use their own minds instead of expecting the President of the United States to do everything for them. If we follow this policy we will go places, we will make this country a happy, contented country, and we will be doing that which is for the best interests of all the American people.

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. RICH. I yield to the gentleman from Oregon.

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. That is no answer to the problem. The machines are busy. These men are out of work and they can never go back to work. The gentleman cannot find work for them.

Mr. RICH. Let us regulate mass production then so we can give them jobs and not permit machinery to do everything. Men need jobs in order to do something. Idleness breeds discontent. Idleness makes men shiftless and lazy. If the gentleman wants to regulate mass production, let him offer a bill.

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. The gentleman does not point the way.

Mr. RICH. None is so blind as he who will not see. [Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen].

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, there is an item in the pending bill for the construction of another Federal building and, while it is necessary in the scheme of things, yet I suppose this would be a most appropriate time to call the attention of the members of this Committee and the Members of the House to the tremendous program of Federal construction that has been carried on since 1933.

A botanist measures the age of a tree by the number of rings. I suppose the size of the Government and its present status, so far as functions are concerned, can be measured by the amount of new construction that has taken place since 1933. Some of the figures you will find in the hearings which accompany this bill, but all of the important information is not contained therein, particularly that which relates to construction and rentals outside the District of Columbia.

There is a statement in the hearings to the effect we are renting within the confines of the District of Columbia today 120 buildings or portions thereof, with a total available space of approximately three and one-half million square feet. I put it in that fashion because it will be easy to compare, and I think the figures bear emphasis. There are 120 leased buildings, containing three and two-thirds or three and one-half million square feet for which we pay an annual rental in the Nation's Capital of about three and one-half million dollars. Of course, that is not the whole story as we consider the proposal to appropriate in excess of \$3,000,000 for the building of a new building to be occupied by the Bureau of the Census in anticipation of the taking of the next census. It is rather interesting to see how buildings have accumulated over a period of time and to note that in and of themselves they have been insufficient to house the various governmental activities.

I received some figures from the Procurement Division this morning which I think will be interesting. I suppose some of the Members of the House do not know that in addition to the three and one-half-million-odd square feet that we rent in the Nation's Capital, we also lease almost 26,000,000 square feet outside of the District of Columbia. The total annual lease cost outside the District of Columbia is eighteen and three-fourths million dollars. But what intrigues me is the number of buildings we have built and still we are unable to catch up with the governmental functions.

Some time when you get down on Fourteenth Street, going in the direction of the bridge across the Potomac, you will find completed there very recently an annex to the Bureau of Printing and Engraving, in which building they print nice, new, green money and beautifully colored postage stamps. That building, completed recently, provides 244,292 square feet of space.

When you have occasion to call on the Secretary of Agriculture or one of the department heads in the Department of Agriculture, and you get lost running around 22 acres of stone and masonry, take particular notice of the South Building, which was completed not so long ago, containing 1,054,724 square feet of space. Also observe the Department of Agriculture's Economics Building, built since 1933, embracing over 26,000 square feet.

When you wander down Constitution Avenue you will find the place where the Attorney General has his office, together with all the divisions in that Cabinet Department. Take particular note of that swanky building that has 477,000 square feet of space. Then the very genial lady, who has been the object of some criticism here and elsewhere lately and who presides over the destinies of the Labor Department, is installed in a very beautiful structure there which contains 229,000 square feet of space.

Not so long ago they had the dedication of the Apex Building, occupied by the Federal Trade Commission. I admit they were in dismal quarters formerly, wholly unsuited to the needs of the Commission, but it is simply another accretion to the Government's building program. When that building was completed it made available 131,000 square feet of space.

Then there is the Government Printing Office warehouse, with 160,000 square feet; the new Interior Building, a tremendous monument of stone, steel, and masonry, with 541,000 square feet of space, finished last year. Then there is the Internal Revenue Building, on Constitution Avenue, with 112,000 square feet; the Interstate Commerce and the Labor connecting wing, with its auditorium, cafe, and hearing rooms, embracing 81,000 square feet; the Interstate Commerce Building proper, containing 228,000 square feet; the new Post Office Building, with 418,000 square feet; and the new Procurement Building, with 141,000 square feet.

The total area we have added through Government construction in the Nation's Capital is 4,148,000 square feet. Add to that three and one-half million square feet of rented space and add further almost 26,000,000 square feet of rented space outside the District of Columbia and you will get a pretty fair idea how this Government has grown in its activities and functions since 1933.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Will the gentleman let me make one more observation? Then I shall yield with the utmost grace to my good friend.

Consider all this rented space in Washington, D. C. A rough calculation indicates that if it were all rolled into one it might be a single-story building 6,000 feet long and 600 feet wide. Such a building would extend from the Union Station to the Willard Hotel and probably be four times as wide as the over-all width of Constitution Avenue.

It seems to me that here, then, is a focal point at which we can begin some reflections on the expansion of governmental functions. If we continue to expand in the same degree in the next 6 or 7 years, obviously we will have to carry on a more adequate building program and lease other space everywhere in the country. I do not know when and where we shall reach the end. I do want to make one observation, however, and I believe my good friend the gentleman from Colorado will bear me out in this, that we are centralizing and centralizing and centralizing in the Nation's Capital to the point where the Government workers must go to work in three shifts in the morning and go back home in three shifts at night in order to avoid and avert constant traffic congestion. I know of no particular reason why we have to be always concentrating these functions in the Nation's Capital.

The census is an activity of government that requires no particular identity with other establishments in Washington. They are going to gather up their own data. They are going to calculate it on machines, some of which have been devised by persons in their own Department and others of which must be rented. Is there any reason you can think of why a building for that Bureau must be placed in Washington and another 7,500 people ultimately at peak operations of the Census Bureau be added to the congestion that has obtained here all these years? Why can it not be located in Chicago? Why can it not be located in Detroit? Why can it not be located in St. Louis? I see no reason in particular why it must be placed here. So it occurs to me that the members of the Committee might well consider this whole scheme of decentralization, which, in my judgment, would be very happy for the Nation's Capital and would render equity and justice to the rest of the taxpayers of the Nation.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 additional minutes to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Soon we shall hear a voluminous discussion of the national-defense program and the need for providing protection to certain parts of the country that are considered vulnerable especially in time of war. I wonder whether we are not year after year making the Nation's Capital more and more vulnerable by concentrating virtually every activity of government here. If there is anything to the representations and protestations that somebody might send an airplane carrier within 500 miles of our shores and then send bombing planes on, why, the first place to which any military tactician would direct his efforts would be the Nation's Capital. With every activity of the Government concentrated here, such an attack would in great measure destroy the coordinated functions of government in a very little while. Unless it can be demonstrated that the Census Bureau is so dependent on other agencies for information and service as to cripple its functions by removal to another site, there is much to be said in favor of taking these functions

I speak also for the taxpayers of the country. In the case of this building for the Census Bureau, whatever information they need from other governmental departments can be obtained by telephone or by telegraph, or by air mail or some other means of communication. I am wondering whether it is going to be the policy and the best possible program to add another huge building to the collection of masonry that already exists in Washington, D. C.

Now I yield to my very charming and gracious friend from

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I have listened very attentively to the enumeration of the large buildings which have recently been erected in Washington by the Government. I notice the gentleman took particular pains to state these buildings had been constructed since 1933.

Mr. DIRKSEN. May I say to the gentleman I was just expressing a fact without emphasis.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I recognized only one building in the list, and that was the new Interior Department Building, which actually originated under this administration. The gentleman might have mentioned the \$15,000,000 Babylonian palace over here across the park housing the Supreme Court, and he might have mentioned the great building recently constructed as an annex to the Library of Congress. All of these buildings were authorized under previous Republican administrations, and the program started then.

Mr. DIRKSEN. My able friend, the gentleman from Colorado, can always pick out the weakness in an argument. However, I wish to say to the gentleman, who, along with so many others some years ago when I first came here, was inveighing against this great monument they referred to as Hoover's folly, now known as the Commerce Building, that we had only a handful of people in that building when it was completed, but you came along just in time to occupy it from cellar to garret and had to build extra walls and partitions in the building until the total number of people working there in one building finally reached 12,000, under the able leadership of General Johnson and his N. R. A. While the building was there and was occupied by us we did not pile up all the activities on the program and force thousands of people upon the Federal pay roll.

There were only some 40,000 or 50,000 people working in Washington then. Look at the Civil Service Commission list today. There are nearly 120,000 on Uncle Sam's pay roll in the District of Columbia. So, while we authorized it, and for a very good purpose, we did not make it a beehive of industry that was one day going to fall upon the shoulders of the

taxpayers as a great, onerous burden.

That, I think, is a suitable and sufficient answer to my friend the gentleman from Colorado.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. DIRKSEN. However, it does occur to me that we are going on with a program of centralization that is not good for this city, and one that is not fair or equitable to the rest of the taxpayers of the country, and I see no good reason why the rest of the country should not have the benefit of some of the jobs that are always concentrated around the construction of a building and why the masons and the architects and the skilled workers and others in other portions of the country should not share in the beneficences of the Federal Treasury and of the present administration. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 minutes. Mr. Chairman, the Appropriations Committee has set a reasonably good example in making a 26-percent cut on this bill. The only trouble is it did not cut deep enough.

There was such a nice opportunity to wipe off another three and a half million dollars which the committee did not embrace. This bill carries \$3,500,000 to put up a building for the Bureau of the Census, and let me say to you that that building would only be required for about 1 year and 3 months, for then the work would have evaporated and there would be nothing with which to fill up the building. It is absolutely unnecessary that we do this.

As the gentleman from New York [Mr. Barron] pointed out earlier today, the thing we need to do is to get rid of some of those highfalutin, worthless agencies that are occupying rented space. We might better pay rent for 15 months than to spend three and a half million dollars for a building that is only necessary for 15 months.

Now what are some of these agencies that we could just as well evaporate or just as well get rid of and save a few dollars for the taxpayers as we go along; some of these agencies that are feeding off of the vitals of the Republic and sapping the strength of our taxpayers and destroying their independence?

Let me say to you that the average rental that is paid is 95 cents a square foot, but let me read to you some of these highfalutin agencies and the amount they pay for their space:

National Defense Power Committee, 7,990 square feet, \$19,974.96, or \$2.50 a square foot.

Central Statistical Board, 6,700 square feet, \$10,084.44 or \$1.50 per square foot.

Federal Housing Administration, 18,000 square feet at \$17,000, and 100,000 square feet at \$155,000, and 48,000 square feet at \$74,000.

National Emergency Council, that council that came in here a year ago with a statement to the public that they had to have more money in an election year, 16,500 square feet at \$28,800, or \$1.70 a square foot.

National Labor Relations Board, 29,790 square feet at \$74,475, or \$2.50 a square foot.

T. V. A., 2,800 square feet at \$6,300, or upward of \$2 a square foot.

About three-fourths of these institutions which I have read and referred to and which actually pay the bulk of the high-priced rent that is paid by this Government out of the 3,600,000 square feet of rented space, should be abolished immediately and we should get rid of that cancer on the Government of the United States.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. KNUTSON. Unfortunately, that happy situation cannot be brought about until 1941, I may say to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. Well, that may be; but I have been hopeful that this Congress would have common sense enough to abolish a number of these worthless and useless agencies and get rid of some of this cancer that is sapping the vitals of America.

On top of this, even according to the program of the administration, there is a curtailment proposed in the W. P. A. proposition which should release space sufficient to take care of 2,500 of the employees of the Census Bureau that will need to be housed long before the requirement for the space can be met.

It seems to me that it is the height of folly to construct more buildings at this time to satisfy the greed of the bureaucrats to fill that space. I do not believe that the situation in Washington at this time justifies such a thing as going ahead with a building of that character. If you will look over the hearings from pages 8 to 14, inclusive, you will find almost invariably that those institutions that are carrying the high rental charge are the ones that could be gotten rid of, that there would be plenty of space available out of that occupied by the 22,000 who are in rented space here in the District of Columbia. There is plenty of opportunity to get rid of 4,500 and make room for all we need in the Census Bureau. For that reason, when this item in the bill is reached, when we read the bill under the 5-minute rules, I propose that we shall have an opportunity to vote on whether we want to saddle the taxpayers with more buildings.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mr. CRAWFORD. The gentleman is speaking of square footage. Has this been broken down at any time so as to give us an idea of what it cost per employee for rent? In other words, does it run as high as \$600 per annum per employee in some cases?

Mr. TABER. The T. V. A. runs \$300. The National Emergency Council runs \$250. The National Labor Relations Board runs \$250.

Mr. CRAWFORD. What about the P. W. A., to be found on page 12? Does not that run about \$600 per clerk per annum for rental space?

Mr. TABER. Yes; it does.

Mr. CRAWFORD. In other words, as high as \$600 per capita.

Mr. TABER. Six hundred dollars per employee, but, of course, that is a highfalutin organization. I did not happen to see that. They are not like ordinary Government clerks.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 additional minutes.

Mr. CRAWFORD. May I ask again with reference to one of the new bureaus covered in the hearings? I have just briefly glanced at it. It is the Wage and Hour Division. I understand that Department is just getting into form and digging its channel, so to speak. It is looking forward to having a minimum of 1,500 employees.

Mr. TABER. It is looking forward to a disbursement of better than \$3,000,000 a year.

Mr. CRAWFORD. For clerical staff?

Mr. TABER. Yes; for clerical and administrative staff. Some of them do not even do clerical work—some of these professors and economists and that sort of thing.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Do we understand that these 1,500 listed are not the maximum that they expect to have when they get into full bloom?

Mr. TABER. All I know is that the Budget estimate calls for better than \$3,000,000.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Where will that Bureau be housed?

Mr. TABER. A part of it will be in the Labor Department Building, and a part of it spread around. I understand there is only one item of rental here for it. There is 729 Fifteenth Street, 2,700 square feet, but only 35 employees. Of course, they are going to have before the 1st of July 400 employed in the field as snoopers and inspectors, try to annoy these fellows who have only two or three employees who do not come under the act that the Wage and Hour Commissioner has in my opinion illegally ruled should be brought under it, and they are going to annoy those businessmen who have two or three employees and have not any business being brought in under the act by following them up. The big fellows are a minor problem.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Do I understand that Administrator Andrews can make a ruling which has the effect of law that such employees are within the provisions of the bill?

Mr. TABER. He cannot, but he thinks he can.

Mr. CRAWFORD. In other words, the industrial operator in the field goes along then under the assumption that he is covered by the bill after this ruling is made.

Mr. TABER. That is it.

Mr. CRAWFORD. But it does not have the effect of law? Mr. TABER. It does not.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Has the gentleman anything in the hearings about complaints against Administrator Andrews and Mr. Magruder along the lines of those which have been filed against the National Labor Relations Board insofar as the administration of the Wage and Hour Act is concerned?

Mr. TABER. No; I have not.

Mr. CRAWFORD. The gentleman has not heard of any reports like that?

Mr. TABER. Nothing of that kind. I do not think from anything that I have heard that he has overreached himself in that fashion at all.

Mr. Chairman, I yield myself another 5 minutes to say a word or two about the rest of the bill. With reference to this item for grasshoppers, I thought that we were pretty fairly liberal. There is \$2,000,000 appropriated and there is \$700,000 left over and that should fairly meet the situation. It is \$700,000 more than what was spent last year and with no reason to believe that there would be a situation that they would be facing that would be worse.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I have a very high regard, I may say, for the gentleman's economic views and his purpose in trying to economize as much as possible, but I find in these hearings where Dr. Strong testified that for every dollar

expended last year on grasshopper control alone, \$79 was saved. Now, does not the gentleman think if we have an infestation of grasshoppers and Mormon crickets as we did last year, the sum ought to be sufficient to deal with the subject now instead of having to come back to Congress later on to deal with the menace?

Mr. TABER. The money will be available now. This bill, in my opinion, will be passed and become a law within 2 weeks. The money will be available when it can be used most efficiently. From everything I could get from the entire set-up, including the fact that they failed to use \$700,000 of the money that was available last year, this will be sufficient. They said they did not get the money until too late to use it. On the other hand, they told us that they did not come too late when we were appropriating the money, so we have to bear that in mind when we consider that question. We are giving them \$700,000 more than they had last year. That will enable them to go out on some of this land that is not cultivated, and for which the farmer receives certain benefits and emoluments for keeping it out of cultivation, and correct the situation to a certain extent.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The very fact that this Department did not expend this \$700,000 shows that they can be entrusted with the money. Is it not advisable to give them a sufficient amount of money to deal with the usual infestation of grasshoppers and crickets to the end that they will have it if they need it, and the fact that they did not spend it before shows that they will not expend it unless it is necessary?

Mr. TABER. You know they have been coming here with a build-up on that situation for a great many years getting increased appropriations. There is not any evidence that they have it in hand any better today than when they first started. I think we ought not to give them more money than it is manifest they could use intelligently. I think we have given them enough.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. MICHENER. I did not understand what the gentleman from Montana said, but is this grasshopper money spent for the purpose of exterminating pests after they appear or is it spent for the prevention of the appearance? I think it makes a great deal of difference whether we appropriate the money for one purpose or the other.

Mr. TABER. I think it is entirely spent for poison that

kills the grasshoppers.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. And also the eggs.

Mr. TABER. But I do not think it does go into the question of getting rid of the eggs.

Mr. MICHENER. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mr. MICHENER. In other words, the money is available and will only be expended if the crickets or grasshoppers

Mr. TABER. I do not know about the crickets. I cannot

tell you about that.

Mr. MICHENER. Well, the gentleman referred to crickets.

Mr. TABER. The gentleman from Montana did, but I cannot answer that question. I do not know whether their method of killing the crickets gets rid of the eggs or not, but the grasshoppers are only killed with this poison bait that they have after they come to life.

Mr. HAWKS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield. Mr. HAWKS. Is it not a fact that the extermination is a matter dependent almost entirely on the weather? That is, these things develop very rapidly.

Mr. TABER. Cold, damp weather tends to kill them off. Mr. HAWKS. And they develop very rapidly under certain conditions?

Mr. TABER. Yes, that is true; in warm, dry weather.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I have seen that territory and I have seen the damage they can do. I am very much in favor of the appropriation.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Is the gentlewoman in favor of increasing it?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Yes.

Mr. MICHENER. Does the gentlewoman mean to increase the New England item or the grasshopper item?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Both.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. The gentleman is a good watchdog of the Treasury.

Mr. TABER. Well, I do not know about that.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. As I understand from the report, on page 2, which gives a summary of the items in the bill, it mentions the Budget estimate of \$3,300,000 for the Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine: Control of incipient and emergency outbreaks of insect pests and plant diseases, 1939, \$3,300,000, but the bill, as I understand, only contains \$2,000,000, which is a decrease of \$1,300,000 under the Budget recommendation.

Mr. TABER. Yes. [Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 3 additional minutes.

That is true. At the same time, there are \$700,000 more available to them than they spent last year. The committee felt, after considering the thing very carefuly, that that, with \$2,000,000 more, was sufficient for them to do everything they could do intelligently.

Now, I want to take a minute or two about the New England situation. The committee has brought in \$3,000,000 to help with the fire-hazard situation resulting from the hurri-

There it is proposed to use this money with an equal amount to be matched by the States to get rid of the brush, clean up the roads and trails through the forests, and back a ways from the roads and the trails so that the fire hazard will not be so great. It is also intended to make breaks through the forest 200 or 300 feet wide so that if a fire should start it could not spread all over. With the situation that was presented to us and the evidence that we had available, I think this is about as far as the committee could be asked to recommend. We have not yet had evidence of what the local communities and States are going to do. Massachusetts itself has appropriated \$19,000,000. I understand that \$1,000,000 of that is to be used for this particular purpose. In Connecticut, Vermont, and New Hampshire, all of which are affected by this situation quite extensively, their legislatures have just met and are considering the proposition. I have no doubt but what they will provide funds to do something that may help the situation in their States and meet their share of any obligation that should be met.

I hope that the Committee can go along and carry this item.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. MARTIN].

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, to descend from discussing the marble and granite fortresses here in the city of Washington to discussing grasshoppers is quite a tumble from the sublime to the ridiculous. It is rather funny and mirthful as a subject of debate here, but to those who have witnessed this phenomenon there is absolutely nothing funny or laughable about these insect infestations. When you consider the vast areas over which they occur, when you consider that these insects can travel from 500 to 700 miles per day with a favorable wind, when you consider that they actually eat the heavy-corded canvas coverings off of gas-tank hose, eat the carpets off of the floor, eat fence posts, eat all the foliage on the trees until they kill the trees, and when you consider that they move in solid waves over great areas and destroy everything in their path, even a flood does not compare in crop damage with a grasshopper invasion.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. My time is too limited to yield.
Mr. DIRKSEN. I merely wanted to make an appropriate observation at that point.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Very well; make the observation, but do not ask a question.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Was it in the gentleman's country that the grasshoppers ate the feathers off of the turkeys? [Laughter.]

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. They not only ate the feathers off the turkeys, they ate the turkeys. [Laughter.] I just cannot fancy a hungry grasshopper contenting itself with feathers when there is a turkey under the feathers. [Laughter.]

Seriously, I remember reading some years ago a prediction that eventually insect life would destroy and exterminate every other form of life on the globe; and it really makes a fellow think of that when he sees one of these infestations. I have seen such things as this, that when the eggs hatched and the insects got so they could just crawl, because they had developed sufficiently to fly, looking over that vast area of moving insects it looked like the surface of water rippled by the wind. If you do not think that will make the flesh crawl on your back and make you want to vote for big grasshopper control appropriations, I am here to tell you.

But this is really what I got up to say: My experience in 1937 caused me to have very great confidence in the Bureau of Entomology, in its knowledge of this situation, and in the reliability of its prognostications. It is true it transpired that last year they were not able to use all the money appropriated. I think there was a balance of \$700,000 that may be available in 1939. That was due, however, to a very great change in weather that occurred out in that country at the critical hatching period in the spring. We had a great deal more snow and cold rain over that area along in March and April than we had had in a good many years, and this arrested the development of the insects.

In 1937 the Budget asked \$2,000,000 for insect control. This recommendation came up here in the latter part of January or early in February. The committee cut it to \$1,-000,000. The Bureau of the Budget stated that the Bureau of Entomology had predicted an infestation in 24 States. The infestation developed in 24 States, and just about the time the \$1,000,000 was gone the grasshoppers, the crickets, and so forth were just getting good and beginning to spread. It developed that more money was needed, and an additional \$1,000,000 was appropriated, but it was appropriated too late.

Let me say, Mr. Chairman, that every resource of those States was thrown into action to save the situation. Why, in Colorado they called out the National Guard, they requisitioned all the trucks of the National Park Service, of the highway department, of the National Guard, and the C. C. C. camps. They threw the C. C. C. boys into action. That was the only order of business throughout that whole area for several weeks—simply fighting grasshoppers.

I am not going to mention any names, but something happened at that time which shows that it is an ill wind that blows no man good. When I saw that the \$1,000,000 was not going to go far enough I went down to every agency of the Government that could deal with the matter. I found they had scraped the barrel clean. I put in the resolution to appropriate the other \$1,000,000 which was recommended in the Budget. I was informed, however, by a very influential member of the committee that it was too late to get action on a resolution of that sort and to make any appropriation; that all I could do was to make my showing and lay the ground work for the next year.

One morning I got a call from his office. He said, "Martin, can you run over to my office? Come on over. I want to show you something." I went over there. He had a daily paper from his own district. He lived in another

State that was supposed to be entirely beyond the danger of invasion. Across the top of the front page of the daily paper was the statement that his State was threatened with the greatest grasshopper invasion in its history.

He said, "How long do you think it will take you to get your grasshopper people before the committee? Can you do it before 10 o'clock?" I said, "You bet I can." By 10 o'clock I had the best bunch of grasshopper storytellers you ever saw before that committee. The gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. Burdick], where they really grow grasshoppers, came on last and stole the show so far as telling grasshopper stories is concerned. At 3 o'clock the resolution passed the House by unanimous consent.

We got action on that million dollars, but if it had not been for the invasion by grasshoppers of one congressional district

we would not have gotten the money.

We have a lot of confidence in the knowledge of the Bureau of Entomology. The Bureau of Entomology is a scientific organization that knows its business. It does its job and it generally does it accurately. Mr. Chairman, I cannot imagine their asking for \$6,000,000 to take care of a situation wherein \$2,000,000 would be sufficient. I do not honestly believe that Bureau would do that. So far as I know, the Bureau of Entomology has never come up here before and asked for any such sum as that. I believe when they do ask for it they have the information on which to base a campaign calling for the expenditure of that amount of money or else they would not ask for such an appropriation. If more is provided for them than they need, they will do what they did last year. They will not expend it and it will be a carry-over to future years.

Mr. LEAVY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. LEAVY. I am very much in sympathy with what the gentleman says and I know for a fact, being a member of the Agricultural Subcommittee on Appropriations, that the Bureau of Plant Quarantine and Entomology is one of the very fine agencies of the Government. My district is not seriously affected by this matter, but the gentleman's district is and many others are. I wish the gentleman would state to the House what the accomplishments were as a result of the money spent last year in connection with the protection of the farmers' crops in those regions where the work was carried on.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I can only say it was very effective, but would have been more so had the \$2,000,000 been appropriated in the first place.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Will the gentleman yield? I think I can answer that question, as shown by the hearings, copy of which I hold in my hand. Dr. Strong testified, and it is undisputed in the record, that of every dollar expended by the Federal Government \$79 were saved. If that is not a good investment, I do not know what would be.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I thank the gentleman from Montana for his figures. Mr. Chairman, when you have an infestation in 24 States, and, as stated in this report, they anticipate a grasshopper infestation in 22 States and an infestation of Mormon crickets in 11 States, that means half of the area of the United States, and when you consider it is in the western country, it is more than half the area of the United States. In an extraordinary year it would be very easy to infest the other half. It was an astonishing piece of information to me that these insects could move as far as 700 miles in 24 hours. They could rise from the district of the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Carlson] and could be parked in Illinois next morning.

I hope we will at least be given the \$3,300,000 recommended by the Budget, which, with the unexpended balance of \$700,000, will give us \$4,000,000.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. Burdick].

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Chairman, I do not know whether everyone here is familiar with what a grasshopper infestation means.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Go ahead and tell them.

Mr. BURDICK. I happen to come from the headquarters of the grasshopper damage. There are a lot of you who do not know the difference between a grasshopper and a Mormon cricket. The only difference I can see is that the horns of the Mormon cricket are a little bit larger than those of the grasshopper. I would characterize a Mormon cricket as an overgrown grasshopper. The only difference is in laying their eggs the Mormon cricket lays them wherever they stop, while the grasshoppers lay them in swarms. It is much easier to eradicate grasshoppers than it is Mormon crickets.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to insert as a part of my remarks here the areas in the United States which will

be affected during the year 1939.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Chairman, I may say that the Government has asked for something like \$6,000,000 to do this job. From that sum they have deducted \$700,000, that was not expended last year.

I want to call your attention to the fact there are about 51,000,000 acres in the United States that will be infested with grasshoppers this year. Of this 51,000,000 acres about 17,000,000 acres are raw land, unoccupied land, that is really the breeding bed for the entire grasshopper infestation. There are about two and one-half million acres of land that has been used but taken out of cultivation through foreclosure and the farm program.

Mr. GILCHRIST. Does the gentleman mean this year? Mr. BURDICK. This year there will be 2,500,000 acres of that kind of land. That is where they breed the worstwhere fields have been and have gone back. Last year they made no concerted effort to stop these grasshoppers in any section of the area except on the farms where there were

The purpose this year is to do the job and do it right, and with nothing short of the \$6,000,000, with the \$700,000 deducted, can we hope to do the job. If you do not want to go the full way in making this appropriation as the Department has recommended it. I would say to you, do not appropriate any money at all, because it is useless. Let me give you an example of what occurred right in my own part of the country.

This year, in July, we had the largest crop standing we have had in the last 30 years. It would probably go from 25 to 40 bushels per acre of wheat. We had poisoned all the grasshoppers in that section of North Dakota, which is called the Missouri Slope section, the hardest part of the State to handle in respect to grasshoppers. However, we had poisoned and poisoned, and followed the directions of the Department until we had the grasshoppers cleaned out. Then, within a period of 24 hours, thousands and thousands of acres of that wheat were totally destroyed, The farmers never put a binder on a large part of it. The hoppers came in from the southwest, from the direction of Wyoming, in swarms that swarmed in the air to a height of a thousand feet. They came in with the wind. In 24 hours, as I say, millions of acres of wheat in North Dakota were destroyed.

If you do not want to go the whole way and do this job right and stop the grasshoppers in their breeding grounds, which are located by sending out an army of men to find these fields-and it is proposed to spread the poison by airplane after these areas across the country are flagged and the beds located-there is not very much use of doing anything. My experience has been that we can poison grasshoppers, but if we do not go on the vacant land, on the land that has been taken by foreclosure, which no one occupies, we might just as well let the whole thing go, because a farmer cannot lose any more than 100 percent of his crop in any event.

The Congress has never appropriated the amount of money the Department of Agriculture has recommended. It is claimed that we have \$700,000 left from the appropriation of last year, and that this shows we had too much money then. That is not the case at all. No effort was made to poison the grasshoppers on these two types of land. vacant, unoccupied land, and the abandoned fields, which is where the grasshoppers came from this year. If we are to do the job anywhere near as it should be done I am prepared to say from practical experience that the estimates made by the Department of Agriculture are true and correct. If you propose now to spend another \$2,000,000 or \$3,000,000 on this job and let the grasshoppers increase in other sections of the country, my advice to the country is not to spend anything, just leave it the way it is. However, if you really intend to help us, there is something that can be done.

Let me say that the loss to the farmers of the United States from grasshoppers last year was between \$150,000,-000 and \$200,000,000. While in some sections the expenditure of the money appropriated by Congress did help and did save some grain, and there was some general benefit, yet no attempt was made, and there never has been an attempt made in this country to stamp out this infestation absolutely, or bring the infestation under control. However, if you will appropriate what the Department has asked, some \$5,000,000, we will then be in position to control this infestation, which takes from the farmers of America an average loss of \$150,000,000 to \$200,000,000 every year.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. BURDICK. I yield to the gentleman from Montana.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Is it not true that when the grasshoppers got through eating you up in North Dakota they swept over into Montana and destroyed in three or four counties there wheat valued in the neighborhood of \$6,000,000?

Mr. BURDICK. The gentleman is correct. The loss in eastern Montana, the section adjacent to my area of North Dakota, was slightly over \$6,000,000 in one crop.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan. Mr. CRAWFORD. With regard to the fields where the "hoppers" destroyed the grain and no crop was harvested did the farmers operating those farms receive any benefits at all under the Soil Conservation Act?

Mr. BURDICK. Not any more than they had arranged for in the first place under the agricultural program. They had cut down their acreage.

Mr. CRAWFORD. What I mean is, did they receive any benefits due to the fact the crop was not harvested?

Mr. BURDICK. No. No insurance was in operation at

Mr. CRAWFORD. What is the method used in destroying the eggs in the uncultivated fields in advance of the hatching?

Mr. BURDICK. There is no method or no program for digging down in the ground and destroying the eggs.

Mr. CRAWFORD. What is done? Do you poison the

Mr. BURDICK. We poison the "hoppers" when they are hatched, when they come out. You can destroy a lot of them by plowing, of course.

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Answering the question more fully, nothing is being done except by the farmer himself who volunteers to go and get the material the Government is going to furnish him. We do not go on the field as long as someone is there.

I may say, however, the whole theory of exterminating the grasshoppers is out of the question. The only thing that will exterminate the grasshoppers is climatic conditions.

Mr. BURDICK. I think the gentleman is right.

Mr. LAMBERTSON. So no effort is being made to exterminate the grasshoppers, but only to get to the farmers the food that will poison the hoppers and get them to use it;

yet the gentleman is intimating in his remarks that we ought to aim at extermination.

Mr. BURDICK. No; I said control the damage done by the grasshoppers. There will always be grasshoppers. It would be a fool proposition for this Congress to try to exterminate the grasshoppers, because they always have been and always will be. We can control the damage they do, however.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Is it at the time the hatching takes place and the grasshoppers begin to appear that you apply this poison through the use of airplanes?

Mr. BURDICK. For the first 6 weeks after they are hatched. If you wait until after that time you might as well feed the poison to the wind.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Does the wheat crop insurance provision cover the loss incurred by reason of the destruction by grasshoppers?

Mr. BURDICK. It will in 1939 and 1940, but the premium is very high and it would take about all a man has to pay for such insurance. It is all right in the eastern sections of the country where the hazard is not so great, where drought is not prevalent and where there is no hail and very few grasshoppers.

Mr. CRAWFORD. On that point, what did the farmers in your State who actually placed wheat on the market and sold it and collected for it last summer get per bushel for their wheat?

Mr. BURDICK. About 58 cents.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Fifty-eight cents per bushel?

Mr. BURDICK. Fifty-eight cents for number 1 wheat, but we did not have very much of that and most of our wheat brought about 41 cents.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Chairman, under the permission granted me, I insert the following from the hearings before the Committee on Appropriations:

Allotments for control of emergency and incipient outbreaks of insect pests

	Pub	lic resolution	Second Defi-	Take 1		
Project	No. 26 (1937-38)	No. 55 (1938)	No. 81 (1938-39)	ciency Act (June 25, 1938)	Total	
Grasshopper control	\$1,000,000 (¹)	\$615,000 169,560 215,440	\$1, 495, 000 314, 100 154, 946 (2) 35, 954	\$500,000 	\$3, 610, 000 483, 660 370, 386	
Total	1,000,000	1, 000, 000	2, 000, 000	700,000	4, 700, 000	

<sup>1</sup> Not to exceed \$100,000 was made available for this purpose from the allotment for grasshopper control; approximately \$4,400 expended.

<sup>2</sup> Not to exceed \$50,000 is available for this purpose from the allotment for grasshopper control; approximately \$11,100 expended.

The obligations by crop years are shown in this table:

Control of emergency and incipient outbreaks of insect pestsobligations by crop seasons

The second of the second secon	1937	1938	Total
Grasshopper control	\$1, 103, 542 6, 571 56, 099 4, 400	\$2, 120, 645 392, 103 299, 514 11, 137	\$3, 224, 187 398, 674 355, 613 15, 537
Total	1, 170, 612	2, 823, 399	3, 994, 011

Analysis of estimate for grasshopper control, 1939 General information:

Total number of States involved	22
Total acres of infested cropland	30, 884, 595
Total acres of infested range land (migratorial species)  Total acres of abandoned infested farm land (mi-	17, 357, 035
gratorial species)	2, 771, 671
Total acres infested	51, 013, 301

General information—Continued.  Tons of bait needed to protect crops in farm areas, 140,569 less 40,000 on hand  Tons of bait needed to control migratorial species	100, 569
on abandoned farm and range lands, 65,673 less 15,000 on hand	50, 673
Total tons of bait needed	151, 242
Cost of control on farm lands: Purchase and transportation to distribution centers of 100,569 tons of bait material at \$20 per ton (includes administrative and supervisory costs)	\$2,011,380
farmers.  Cost of control of migratorial species on abandoned farm land and range land in North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma:  Purchase and transportation to distribution centers	
of 50,673 tons of bait material at \$20 per ton (includes administrative and supervisory costs). Cost of mixing bait, in addition to local labor and facilities.  Cost of hauling bait from mixing stations to field crews, including rental of trucks.	1, 013, 460 221, 092 361, 296
Cost of pulling spreaders 1,954,860 miles in spread- ing bait	179, 872 901, 600
Total cost  This involves the use of 2,254 bait-spreading machin 195,486 hours in spreading bait and the employment of Analysis of estimate for Mormon-cricket control, General information:  Total acres infested in 11 States (Nevada, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming)  Heavily infested acres needing control to protect crops	es working 4,508 men. 1939
Cost of control on 417,324 acres: Labor for control operations on public and private lands and supplementing farm labor and labor furnished by local agencies.  Materials, equipment, and supplies supplementing that furnished by local agencies.  Technical, supervisory, and administrative expense  Total, Federal cost.  Control will involve the use of approximately 300 mil	600, 400

barrier, over 200 power dusters, and 1,000 hand dusters, work to be

conducted by approximately 1,500 laborers.

Cost of control to Federal Government will be approximately \$1.45 per acre. The total cost will be approximately \$2.15 per acre; one-third of the total cost is expected to be borne by States and other cooperating agencies as was the case last year.

EXTENT OF AREA TO BE COVERED

Mr. O'Neal. How much of an area would you cover? Dr. Strong. Grasshoppers would cover 24 States, Mormon crickets 11 States

Mr. Johnson of West Virginia. What States are they? Can you put the names of the States in the record?

Dr. Strong. Yes, sir. The grasshopper situation is shown on this

Dr. Strong. 1es, sa.

map.

(The statement referred to follows:)

"The States where grasshoppers will occur in outbreak numbers in 1939 are: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

"The States where Mormon crickets will occur in outbreak numbers in 1939 are: Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming."

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DITTER].

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, the general purpose of a deficiency bill is to provide supplemental appropriations for the operation of the departments that have already been provided for in previous appropriation bills. Such appropriations are intended as emergency measures to piece out the needs of a department or bureau after the regular appropriation has been made. Included in the bill we have before us today is an appropriation for the Department of Labor for the operation and administration of the wage and hour bill.

When the committee had the draft before it, sent up by the Department of Labor, there was tucked into that draft a provision that I think should be called to the attention of the House, for it indicates an attitude that I believe the House does not approve and which I believe should be criticized.

Those of you who happen to have the hearings before you will note that on page 71 of the hearings the assistant to the Secretary of the Department of Labor, as well as the Administrator of the wage and hour agency, was before the committee for examination. At that time the attention of the administrator was directed to language in the draft of the bill which was sent to the committee providing that the agency could use a part of the fund provided for in this deficiency appropriation for packing, crating, and transporting household goods and effects of its employees.

During the course of the examination on the subject in question, the assistant to the Secretary of Labor finally excused the inclusion of this particular language in the draft sent to the committee with these words:

Would it not be well to raise that as a point of order?

The Administrator and the assistant to the Secretary of Labor both admitted that there was nothing in the existing law giving any authority whatever to the Department or to this agency for the expenditure of funds for this purpose. Pressed for a reason as to why it was included, the suggestion was made that other appropriation bills had carried such an item and therefore this newly created agency felt that it might, too, secure the same privilege, using, however, the subterfuge and the cunning of including it in a deficiency measure rather than waiting until the regular appropriation for that activity came before the Committee on Appropriations.

The amount involved here is not very great, but I do believe that the principle involved is a very material and a very fundamental one. I believe it goes to the matter of good faith of a department in dealing with the Congress. I believe this Congress cannot condone or excuse an assistant to one of the Cabinet officers who suggests that it is perfectly proper to include in the Department's draft of legislation such language as that public official knows to be improper and then gloss it over by saying that it can be eliminated on a point of order. I say the duty of the Department is to send a draft to the committee which the Department knows will not be subject to a point of order. A course of conduct which depends for its standards of honor upon the avoidance of detection of violations of the law indicates a low-water mark in moral competency. Every agency of our Government, and that means those who are responsible for setting the standards of these agencies, should seek to inspire confidence in those with whom they deal, confidence not only in their efficiency, but what is vastly more important, confidence in their integrity of purpose. Perfect candor should prevail. Subterfuge should have no place. And that applies in their dealings with the Congress.

We have been subjected too long to the demands of the the executive branch of the Government that anything sent here with executive approval must be accepted-must be approved. During the last 5 years executive agencies have been springing up like mushrooms, each of them ambitious and grasping for power. They secure such power by means such as the Department of Labor resorts to here. The motive is clearly indicated in this case, to get by without detection. In effect the assistant to the Secretary of the Department of Labor says, "You should pass or introduce or urge the adoption of legislation which is beyond the rules of the House, and which can be subject to a point of order." If those who are responsible for the submission of estimates to the Congress for appropriations are guilty of the same indifference in determining the financial needs of our Government bureaus as the indifference to the rules and regulations of the House advocated by the assistant to the Secretary of Labor, then no credibility whatever can attach to the justifications upon which all appropriations are based. Such a course casts a shadow of doubt upon the probity of the administration of the Department as a whole and destroys that confidence without which cooperation between the executive and legislative branches of our Government cannot be maintained. Good faith is a fundamental requisite.

Under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 a new agency was created. This is the agency with which we are dealing. It is under the Department of Labor.

It deals with the relations existing between employer and employee. Utmost good faith in its operation will be necessary if it is to carry out the purposes of the act.

I wonder how the employer or employee or the consumer can be assured that a just and honorable and equitable adjustment of differences will be reached by an agency that suggests that it is right to do something which it knows to be wrong, providing it is not detected. Wait for a point of order is the advice of the assistant, even though we know it is against the rules of the House. What degree of confidence can a wage earner or an employer have in the inspectors and investigators of this agency if this is the code of fair dealing advocated by the Department?

We have heard the President say that he is proud of the reestablishment of spiritual values. Spiritual values do have real worth. Let those values include the old homely virtues of honesty, fair dealing, and integrity of purpose. Let the legislative and executive branches feel that they are dealing with each other open and above board and that the cards are not being stacked under the table. That will go far to reestablish a moral standard which will reflect real spiritual values.

Mr. Chairman, I believe the House will join with me not only in criticism but in censure of any agency of the Government that comes here under the cover of a deficiency appropriation bill, an emergency appropriation, and then tries to cunningly, craftily, adroitly, and with subterfuge slip something into the bill which it knows to be against the rules of the House. Such an attitude cannot be condoned. It deserves criticism and censure. Let us have a little less cunning, a little more candor, a little less craftiness, a little more conscience. Let the executive agencies give us the same measure of good faith as they expect at our hands.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 minutes. I cannot permit the remarks of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Ditter] to go unchallenged. He is usually so logical in his thinking and discriminating in his judgment that I actually sat amazed during his diatribe against the wage and hour administration. I never met Mr. Andrews until he appeared before our committee.

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. DITTER. If the gentleman followed me personally, he will know that I directed no attack on Mr. Andrews. The quotation to which I directed the attention of the House was an answer of the assistant to the Secretary of Labor, Mr. Saunders. I join the gentleman in having real regard, from what I have been told and what I have observed, for the Administrator of the wage and hour group.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I appreciate what the gentleman says, but even that statement of the gentleman puts a different light upon it. The gentleman held up to the committee the departments had "cunningly, craftily," stealthily, tried to slip something into a bill that has no place in the bill. My friend is too sophisticated in parliamentary procedure and in appropriations to feel that way about it. Mr. Richard Saunders, the gentleman referred to, is the Budget officer of the Department of Labor. My friend knows, he should know, he does know, that the language sent to the committee was sent by the Budget Bureau and not by the Department, that the language which comes to the deficiency subcommittee either is prepared by or approved by the Director of the Budget. The Department asked the Budget for \$400,000 more than the Budget recommended. The Budget slashed the figures heavily. The Department asked the Budget to permit them, when they moved their agents from one place of duty to another, to pay a certain amount of the costs incurred by

those employees of the Government in moving from one official post of duty to another-a procedure that is quite common in the Government service, a provision that is carried in many of the appropriation bills, a provision that could have been knocked out many times if anybody had challenged it.

The Army and Navy have that provision; the State Department; all of the bureaus of the Government who have important field officers, who periodically have to be changed from one point to another in their official duties are permitted, by legislation, to pay a portion of the cost of transporting those officers and their goods from one post of duty

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Certainly.

Mr. DITTER. I recognize the long experience of the gentleman and how well informed he is. Will the gentleman tell us whether or not he knows of any instance in which this effort was made in a deficiency bill for a newly created agency?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Perhaps not. I am not able to see the significance that the gentleman draws by this matter coming up in a deficiency bill. Deficiency is a name that covers a multitude of things. There is no deficiency connected with the New England hurricane situation.

Mr. DITTER. The gentleman will admit, and does, of course, acknowledge that all of the matters in connection with the operation of a department are more clearly inquired into in the regular bill for the operation of that department than when a deficiency bill for that department is before the committee? That is reasonable to assume, is it not?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. No. I cannot admit that. I do not think there is a stronger group in the House than the deficiency subcommittee, headed on the gentleman's side by the industrious and alert gentleman from New York IMr. Taberl, augmented now by the discerning services of my friend from Pennsylvania. I think there will be careful inquiry.

Mr. DITTER. I think the gentleman is attempting a construction that he knows I in no sense intended. Headed by the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts, than whom there is no more able man in the House, the deficiency is well manned on the Democratic side, and particularly well managed in the chairmanship, but is there not greater opportunity and more time put in when the regular bill for the Department is before the subcommittee, than during the time that the deficiency matters come before the committee?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Well, I cannot agree with the gentleman on that.

Mr. DITTER. The gentleman and I disagree very amiably. May I inquire, Is the House to understand that if any criticism attaches to this matter to which I directed the attention of the House, the gentleman feels that criticism should be directed to the Budget officer, rather than the Department of Labor?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I do not think any criticism, in the sense that the gentleman made criticism, is appropriate to anybody. The provision in question was struck out of the bill unanimously when the gentleman called attention to it. I do not think the matter is one which, by the wildest stretch of imagination, could be turned into anything that the gentleman has pictured as an effort of a department or an officer to undertake to put something over on the Congress or the Government.

Mr. DITTER. Are we to understand the gentleman feels that the economies he has so advocated to the House will be advanced if all of the departments, all of the agencies, and all of the bureaus that have sprung up in the last 5 years are permitted to have this privilege of paying the moving expenses of the hordes of New Deal employees?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Oh, I quite agree with the gentleman, and did so in the committee, that it was not a proper provision to go in the bill; but for the life of me I cannot see how the gentleman has worked himself into a

lather over it. He indicts the Department of Labor, indicts the wage and hour administration, and throws suspicion on the whole administrative organization. Perhaps the gentleman did not intend to, but when the gentleman reads his remarks I think that is what he will find.

Mr. DITTER. I in no sense retract. I still feel the im-propriety of including in a deficiency bill the language in question, and in the absence of a better explanation than that afforded by either Mr. Saunders or any of those identified with him, with only the explanation that it should be protected by the alertness of the House in taking it out on a point of order, I still stand fast on the censure that I intend to bring to those chargeable with it.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Of course, the gentleman is entitled to his position.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. MICHENER. I agree with the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DITTER] as far as inserting matters of this kind in appropriation bills is concerned, but I am wondering whether a department that happens to slip these items in, knowing that they are subject to a point of order, is in any different position than the Appropriations Committee which. in every appropriation bill we have before the House, brings before us items of legislation, knowing they are subject to points of order, and yet attempting to let them slip through if that can be done without attracting the attention of the Members. What is the difference?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Speaking of a point of order, the gentleman, of course, knows, because he is an alert parliamentarian, that there is an item in this bill in which many of his colleagues on his side of the aisle are interested, that is subject to a point of order—the New England hurricane item. There is no authorization for it in the law.

Are we to impugn the motives of the New England delegation? Are we to impugn the motives of the Bureau of the Budget? Is everybody connected with Congress to doubt these departments and feel that they are trying to put something over on Congress which is subject to a point of order?

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Certainly.

Mr. DITTER. The gentleman hardly feels that there is justification in drawing an analogy between this hurricane situation and the relationship existing between a department or bureau and the Congress in providing for the regular operations of the department or bureau. The analogy certainly does not hold good.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Perhaps it does not.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

I think, however, it is perhaps as logical as the position my friend takes that a bureau or department asks the Budget to include certain language, the Budget Bureau does so, the committee finds it and unanimously strikes it out. My friend is greatly agitated about that. It seems to me it puts a very wrong interpretation on a bureau that certainly from my viewpoint made a very creditable showing before the com-

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I notice that the language of that portion of the bill dealing with hurricane damage carries this additional proviso:

That section 3709, Revised Statutes, shall not apply in the case of any expenditure hereunder where the aggregate amount involved does not exceed \$300.

The usual provision of law in that regard is for purchases not exceeding a certain amount.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Was there some purpose in changing that language so that donations on account of storm damage could be made?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. No; the statute cited by the gentleman does not apply to donations. It requires proposed purchases and contracts for supplies or services to be advertised. We have adopted the practice of exempting small purchases from this requirement of the law.

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Does the gentleman desire to use

further time?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from California [Mr. Tolan].

MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS ACROSS STATE LINES

Mr. TOLAN. Mr. Chairman, this week the Department of Education of the State of California is requesting our State legislature to appropriate \$750,000 for the education of children of destitute citizens of other States. There are 30,000 of these children, and the financial burden they thrust upon the school districts and the State of California's fine educational system is appalling.

This condition, Mr. Chairman, deplorable as it is, is merely a consequence of the shameful and inadequate treatment now provided in this Nation for the 1,000,000 destitute citizens who are "Stateless", are forced by unbearable standards of living, poverty, health, and debt to cross State lines in an attempt to avoid starvation, and gain the bare necessities of life.

### WHAT THE CONGRESS HAS DONE WITH THE PROBLEM

Three years ago the Senate reported a resolution calling for an investigation of the plight of the migratory worker, and by amendment gave the Labor Department the job of investigation without appropriation. A splendid preliminary report was made to the Senate and the Secretary of Labor stated at that time that an appropriation of \$20,000 would be needed to print the report, complete the investigation, and assemble sufficient data to recommend remedial legislation.

The preliminary report of the Secretary of Labor was never printed as a Senate document. It is in my office now, nearly 2 years old, and still not sufficiently complete to be used for

the drafting of remedial legislation.

I regret that the Joint Committee on Printing refused to

order the publication of this report.

I regret the fact that after the Senate passed Senate Joint Resolution 85, and it was reported in the House, that we failed to join the Senate at the last Congress in the passage of this resolution granting the Labor Department \$20,000 to complete its work.

## HOUSE INVESTIGATION REQUESTED

Today, Mr. Chairman, I am introducing a resolution, which I sincerely trust the Rules Committee will report without delay. It provides that the Speaker appoint a special investigating committee of five members to "inquire into the interstate migration of destitute citizens, to study, survey, and investigate the social and economic needs, and the movement of indigent persons across State lines, obtaining all facts possible in relation thereto which would not only be of public interest but which would aid the House in enacting remedial legislation."

The purpose of this investigation is simply this: (1) To permit the Secretary of Labor to complete her report, and the various national authorities who put so much time into the preliminary study, to complete their investigation and suggest legislative remedies; (2) to permit public charitable agencies and social-science authorities to add their recommendations to those of the Labor Department; and (3) to print for the use of the committee a selected and authoritative document which will give the Nation and the Congress reliable information on the extent of this problem, and its social implications.

## SEEKS INTELLIGENT APPROACH

To carry out the purposes of the resolution I offer today would only involve a minor expense and, in the face of a problem which is every day becoming more acute, an expenditure which is absolutely necessary if the Congress is going to take action.

The transient unemployed are the constituents of no individual Congressman; they are the constituents of the Nation at large. If you cut relief appropriations for their care, no State welfare agency or county charitable organization is

interested in the nonresident application. So I say that it is time that the Congress set about approaching this problem intelligently, instead of bouncing our "Stateless," homeless, and poverty-stricken citizens from one committee to another, while throughout the Nation they are bounced from one State to another.

### SERIOUS PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THE STUDY

Mr. Chairman, I should like to list briefly for the House the principal problems which necessitate study by the proposed committee:

### 1. Interstate nature of the migratory problem

California, as we all know, is the hardest hit by the western migration of families who have suffered from drought or other economic setbacks in the Midwest. We have 900,000 persons who receive some form of relief in our State, and the non-resident-relief load for the last 3 years has increased by 100,000 indigent Dust Bowl refugees each year for 3 years.

The Nation as a whole has been affected. Before the program of work relief was adopted, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration gave \$90,000,000 in direct Federal aid to these people. Now the policy of the Government has been to divert the handling of these cases to the W. P. A. and the Farm Security Administration on a rigidly curtailed program.

However, the following States are suffering from a serious influx of these destitute families: New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, District of Columbia, Florida, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Texas, Arizona, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, and California. And the rest of the States have no machinery or appropriations to provide for these families when they are stranded.

### 2. The problem of health

Forty-two percent of the cases in the Kern County Hospital in California for last year involved the treatment of nonresident patients. This is another serious financial burden upon the county. Local agencies alone cannot control the spreading of tuberculosis and venereal diseases by these infected migrants. Children suffer from malnutrition and exposure, and the normal community facilities are not available for these outcasts in any State, except in extreme emergency.

### 3. The problem of labor

Wage scales of 20 cents per hour and less in the Southwest are very common. In California, where we pay agricultural workers on the average of 50 cents an hour, this influx of workers is driving our wage scales down. A starving man will work for food, and the labor department survey shows that he will work for any salary, no matter how small. In California today there are four workers in the field for every position, and the number of jobs for this seasonal income is being slashed because of the national crop curtailment program.

## 4. The problem of education

These children are entitled to education, and that is the opinion of the California educational authorities. They need both academic instruction and vocational education. Many States will not attempt to see that these children, who are nonresidents, go to school. We give direct student aid through the National Youth Administration, but I feel that a portion of such funds should be set aside for the homeless transient waif that, because of real handicaps of life, is in greater need of education than those children in good homes.

## 5. The legal problem

Laws relating to residence in the various States are popularly designated "settlement laws." They work great hardship on persons forced to move. There is no uniformity, and in some States merely crossing the border means loss of citizenship, while in others a year's absence cuts off all claim to residence. In California a person under law cannot receive county relief unless a resident of that county 3 years; nor State relief unless a resident 1 year; nor W. P. A. unless the State certifies that the person is a resident. Thus these Stateless persons are fed and clothed illegally by our counties and by the State, and the W. P. A., while the Farm Security Administration assists them to remain in the State

long enough to demand State and county relief as citizens. When they get on the W. P. A. they send for the rest of their relatives in the Midwestern States and help them keep alive in California with Federal funds until they too may demand relief.

#### WHAT TRANSIENTS NEED

Mr. Chairman, these 1,000,000 Stateless citizens of our country need help today in the following forms: First, relief provisions, clothing, and shelter; second, medical aid and instruction in hygiene; third, accurate information as to possibility of employment in other States where migratory workers are needed for seasonal crops; fourth, educational facilities for the children, particularly vocational training; and fifth, uniform treatment in all States with a Federal agency responsible for their treatment and the earmarking of special funds from relief appropriations.

Mr. Chairman, at a later date I will address the House further on this subject, but I request at this time that Members of the House that are interested in this problem join with those of us who regard this as a problem more important to the Nation as a whole than to my State, or any particular State now caring, in many cases illegally, for the citizens

of other States. [Applause.]

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from California [Mr. Gearhart].

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Chairman, since the district I have the honor to represent is located in the San Joaquin Valley of California, the area to which so many unfortunate transients have migrated in recent years, I am more than ordinarily interested in the proposal offered by my colleague, Mr. Tolan.

During the past several years California's treasury has been drained, its relief administrators harassed by demands impossible of fulfillment, and its private citizens constantly called upon to supplement an all too inadequate Government relief. Even California's famed hospitality is now strained to the breaking point.

According to Mr. Thomas W. McManus, secretary of the California Citizens' Association, over 300,000 indigent migrants have come to California in the last 2 years. As a consequence of a survey conducted by this organization, it was discovered that, contrary to popular belief, these transients are not migratory farm laborers fitted for specialized farm work in California. Rather, they are farm and share-crop families displaced, through no fault of their own, by drought, depression, and crop curtailment—good people who have come to California in the slim hope of obtaining some sort of subsistence to tide them over from day to day.

This migration has brought the State's daily relief load to 900,000. There are four agricultural workers for every single available job; and should a further crop-curtailment program be levied upon California agriculture, this ratio will reach

disastrous proportions.

Time does not permit a detailed account of the misery occasioned by this optimistic migration. Because of fierce labor competition, the wage structure has been threatened with collapse. Large families have been forced to use cardboard shacks as places of permanent abode. Squatter camps have sprung up in numberless locations, a constant threat to the public health.

True, State, Federal, and private relief organizations have attempted to cope with the problem, but the ever-increasing burden is now too much for State and local authority to bear.

Even if this perplexing problem could be solved by relief agencies, the result would be merely a temporary palliative. A long-range plan looking to a permanent solution is necessary, and I confidently believe that if the House should adopt the resolution proposed by the gentleman from California [Mr. Tolan], a long step will have been taken in the right direction. [Applause.]

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Crawford].

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, I desire to make a few observations at this time in connection with the wage and hour division which is under discussion.

Mr. Chairman, I voted against the bill, but I feel that in justice to Administrator Andrews and Mr. Magruder that those who opposed the bill should say a word in their behalf for the genuine, common horse sense which I feel they are using in administering the act. I am certain that if the vote were to be taken again I would vote against the bill as I did before; but, as I observe and check on the situation, I feel that the services, or the administration of these gentlemen whom I have mentioned, is so far above and beyond that of the National Labor Relations Board that Members of Congress should recognize the high type of administration which is being given by these two gentlemen.

The difficulty that I want to call to the attention of the House at this moment is something that may prove to be a disastrous defect in the act in that contingent liabilities are being piled up every day on the industries of this country; that is, against their capital structures which may at some future time precipitate a situation as embarrassing to public accountants, bankers, stockholders, and all others involved as has the Musica-Coster, McKesson-Robbins proposition.

It is practically impossible for an accountant to examine the books of an institution which has hundreds of employees and then certify as to the responsibility, or financial obligation, which that company has to the employees under the Wage and Hour Division with reference to the time-and-ahalf, or overtime, liability which is piling up. If a concern makes the payment without knowing that the law holds that the liability exists, and it finds later that the liability does not exist, the stockholders have been deprived of equities in the concern, because the payment was made although the law did not require it. If the firm runs on for weeks, months. and years and then does find that the liability exists, some accounting firm may be severely criticized for having certified to the financial balance sheets to banks and other lending institutions that the company had no liability under the act and later find that the assets must be decreased by the amount of the liability which runs by reason of some court decision. I think this Congress at the appropriate time should amend the law and set a date beyond which such liability shall not run against the company.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. MICHENER. We all appreciate that the gentleman has had expert training as an accountant and that he knows what he is talking about in this particular. What length of time does the gentleman think would be the proper limit to place?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I am just going to make the observation that when you set the date you put into effect a stopgap against the interest of the employee. In other words, why should I as an employee be deprived of my time and a half for overtime if the law grants it to me?

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 additional minutes to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CRAWFORD. But if the rights of the employee are recognized as this act, I think, did recognize on this particular point, then you cannot recognize the right of the industrial concern, or the capital structure, we will say. So I am not prepared to answer the gentleman's question except in an arbitrary manner; that is to say, to make the period, say, 1 or 2. Even if you run 2 years, in the case of a company with a weak capital structure and a large number of employees, or even with just a weak capital structure, when the law takes effect and the liability is established and the company must pay, there is serious danger that you destroy the capital structure of the company.

For other reasons, as well as this one, I voted against the act. I believe that in due course unless we change it very materially, we will find that the act will result in the financial collapse of a great many institutions when the force of the law becomes operative.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Hawks].

Mr. HAWKS. Mr. Chairman, this being my maiden trip down to the Well of this House, I should like to confine my comments to a subject about which I know something. I should like to speak about the Forest Products Laboratory at Madison, Wis., because in the great catastrophe that has occurred in New England the value and the importance of our great laboratory manifests itself, and when I say "our great laboratory" I include all of the Members of the Congress and all of the States of the Union, because the services of this laboratory are not in any way limited or restricted to Wisconsin and the States immediately adjacent thereto.

I believe the laboratory operating at Madison, Wis., under the Forestry Division of the Department of Agriculture, the Director, and all of the employees of that laboratory would be more than happy and more than willing to extend all of the facilities of the laboratory to this stricken area in its rehabilitation. I do not believe, however, that the people in that particular area, or the Members of Congress representing the various districts of these United States, have a true appreciation of the equipment contained in this laboratory.

This laboratory has developed portable sawmills which could be used in the stricken area at the present time. It has other equipment that could be moved up there. It has technical devices that could be used in the proper handling of all the timber that is down. May I suggest to the Committee and to the House that perhaps a small amount of money included in this \$3,000,000 deficiency appropriation measure be allotted and earmarked for the Forest Products Laboratory, with the idea in mind that their technical help and material assistance be placed on the field immediately.

Mr. Winslow, the Director, has indicated to me he would like to go up there, that he would like to send his men up there and that he would like to have all of the facilities of the laboratory put to work in the above-mentioned stricken area.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAWKS. I yield to the gentlewoman from Massa-

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Did Mr. Winslow speak at the New England council regarding forests?

Mr. HAWKS. He was up there.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I think he made very fine recommendations.

Mr. HAWKS. Mr. Chairman, according to Mr. Winslow's statement, in 1928 and since then there has been recommended for the Forest Products Laboratory an appropriation of \$1,000,000, but never has that amount been appropriated. Last year I believe the sum was \$628,000.

Mr. Chairman, this laboratory needs the million dollars. This is one part of our Government which is performing a real service and I do not hesitate a minute in coming before this House and recommending that the full million dollars asked for by the Department of Agriculture be appropriated to this particular division of the Government. It is performing a service that benefits everyone in this country. It has developed uses for forest products that have proved of value to various people in this country, those interested, for example, in the building game and those who are interested in building homes but find themselves confronted with high costs.

I should like to have the Committee specifically recommend that a part of this \$3,000,000, say at least fifteen or twenty thousand dollars, be earmarked and set aside for the Forest Products Laboratory for use in the particular area at this time. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Doxey, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that

that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 2868) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. CULKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record on the subject of the St. Lawrence and to include a statement to the President and the reply by the President on that question.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Culkin]?

There was no objection.

Mr. GEYER of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I asked unanimous consent to insert in the Record a speech of Governor James of Pennsylvania. The Public Printer has advised me that this exceeds two and a half pages of the Record. I ask unanimous consent to insert this speech of Governor James, of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in the Record, notwithstanding the estimate.

The SPEAKER. Has the gentleman secured an estimate from the Public Printer?

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Yes. The Public Printer's estimate is \$112.50.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Van Zandt]?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a speech delivered in the previous session of the Congress.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sirovich]?

There was no objection.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 2 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. Rogers]?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein a very fine brief presented to the board of hospitalization 2 days ago in favor of a general medical, surgical, and diagnostic center for Boston or the metropolitan area and also to include certain other material in favor of the hospital.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. Rogers]?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago the entire Massachusetts delegation and a number of the Senators and Representatives from other New England States appeared before the board of hospitalization requesting that the board grant money for a hospital at Boston or in the metropolitan area of Boston. For 20 years and over, especially since 1925, Mr. Speaker, I have plead with the Veterans' Administration to build such a hospital in metropolitan Boston. We have the finest medical staff in the entire country, although I appreciate other people have very fine medical men in their districts. We have a tremendously large veteran population. We sent a great many men to the World War and many to the Spanish-American War. Everyone knows the part the old Sixth Regiment played in the Civil War.

Our veterans should be properly cared for with a diagnostic center. We all know that if you have a diagnostic center and a general medical and surgical hospital in connection with a veterans' hospital, staffed by fine physicians, with fine outside consultants, the veterans receive better care and their cases may be service-connected more readily; and it is also true the men do very much better when they are near home.

Also, it is less expensive than sending patients hundreds of

miles away for hospitalization outside the State.

I am extremely grateful to Captain Kirby, the legislative counsel of the Disabled American Veterans, who has helped constantly and persistently during the past years in fighting for this hospital. He has represented the Disabled American Veterans, who are, of course, the ones primarily interested in such a hospital.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars have also been very helpful and their brief, filed 2 days ago, I believe, with the board of hospitalization, will carry great weight. The American Legion has also been helpful. The brief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars is as follows:

> DEPARTMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS,
> VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES Boston, Mass., November 26, 1938.

To All Congressmen and Senators:

If we could only communicate to you our intense interest in the erection of a general medical hospital in Boston, we would have gone far on the road to our objective. Even though on two different occasions we have set forth cold, indisputable facts that buttress our convictions, we want you to know that this is not simply agitation from a veterans' organization; that the facts became known of the course of our mission and not the cause of our

tation from a veterans' organization; that the facts became known after we had entered on our mission and not the cause of our seeking the establishment of the hospital.

We knew the hospital was and had been needed, and then followed the search to see whether or not Massachusetts could be justified in requesting the location of such a facility here. We feel that we have made out a case for Boston. We express the firm conviction that Massachusetts is entitled to have its program of hospitalization carried out here and any permanent allocation of general medical beds otherwise would bring unsatisfactory results.

beds otherwise would bring unsatisfactory results.

The subject is continuously being reexamined and we give you herewith the results of a survey made as of October 1, 1938, of the population of the Veterans' Administration facilities of New England:

Bland Will ale it	Total patient load	Massa- chu- setts	Rhode Island	Maine	New Hamp- shire	Ver- mont	Connect-
Bedford Northampton	1, 215 702	865 390	105 49	109	78 30 37 15	11 45	24 NP 140 NP
Togus	1,032	387 19	49 63 8	224 111	37 15	15 3 9	57 D 2 GM
NewingtonRutland	186 896	123 143	18 10 17	3	29 5	1 3	117 GM 4 GM 36 TB

You will note from these figures that the State with the greatst number of men receiving general medical treatment in any State other than their own is Massachusetts. You will also see that Massachusetts leads in the number of men receiving domiciliary care and they have to go to Maine for that. The ratio of out of State N. P. cases continues so that the Bedford facility is roughly equal to the number of Massachusetts men hospitalized for the deliver of Massachusetts men hospitalized. for this disability and consequently the additional number of beds in the Northampton facility is for the hospitalization of veterans from other States—Massachusetts hospitalization in location only.

If we seem to be unduly urging action, it is only because we realize that the time is growing short for arrangements for next year, the regular appropriation bills will be considered by the House Appropriations Committee in December. Surely we can expect that our national representatives will press for a meeting of the Federal board of hospitalization before December 1 of this year, and have the decision of the board on record prior to

Today's headlines:
"Great defense program planned at Washington."
"Mass airplane production, larger Navy, power works due to crisis abroad."

There is contained in these headlines every reason for a general medical hospital in Boston and the last reference to Chelsea being considered as available for veterans in the not too distant future.

We have sought your aid, calling to mind oft-repeated statements we have heard of the importance of our Representatives and Senators in Washington, chairmen of important committees, ranking minority leader, ranking minority Member, important member of Ways and Means Committee, member of powerful Appropriations Committee. All of these, indicative of influence and prestige and to you we entrusted our cause, supported with the best evidence for the Massachusetts disabled soldier, sailor, and marking of quender services and so we set your marine of quondam service, and so we ask you:

How long are you going to let veterans of western Massachusetts be sent 120 miles to the Bronx hospital in New York for all eye, ear, nose, and throat periods of hospitalization?

How long must western Massachusetts veterans with a service-connected N. P. disability be forced to go to Northampton facility for general medical treatment; Newington not admitting such

How long must Massachusetts men be forced to go to Bronx hospital for cancer treatment and to Tupper Lake, N. Y., for lung operations?

When Boston is the medical center of the United States but not for veterans:

And Massachusetts ranks sixth in the contribution of her sons for World War service;

And Boston is the ninth largest city in the country;
And Massachusetts is eighth among the States in population;
And Massachusetts is thirty-ninth in consideration from the
Veterans' Administration for supplying general medical beds under its aegis;
And when is the Federal board going to consider Massachusetts

general medical needs?

Yours in comradeship, THE HOSPITAL FOR BOSTON COMMITTEE. By Francis X. Cotter, Chairman.

The statement of the Disabled American Veterans and of the American Legion will follow later.

I shall be extremely grateful, and I know the veteran population of all New England will be very grateful to the Members if they will bear this situation in mind if they have an opportunity to speak to the members of the board of hospitalization.

Mr. Speaker, in my work with the veterans and in the work of hospitalization I have never favored one section of the country over another. I believe the veterans of every section should be served. In the matter of a general medical and surgical hospital we have not been given our share. We have no Veterans' Administration general medical and surgical hospital in the great metropolitan district of Boston. I shall be extremely glad to help any and all other Members in securing proper hospitalization for their veterans. [Applause.1

[Here the gavel fell.]

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD by printing an editorial from the Christian Science Monitor.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. PATRICK, for Friday and Saturday, on account of important business.

### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 2 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, January 20, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

## COMMITTEE HEARINGS

## COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, at 10 a. m. Tuesday, January 24, 1939. Business to be considered: Hearing on H. R. 2531transportation bill. Commissioner Splawn, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, is expected to be the first witness.

## COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Public hearings will begin Wednesday morning, February 1, 1939, at 10 a.m., on social security legislation, in the Ways and Means committee room of the New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

## EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

294. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the procurement, without advertising, of certain aircraft parts and instruments or aeronautical accessories, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

295. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the purchase of equipment and supplies for experimental and test purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

296. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the disposal of cemetery

lots; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

297. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

298. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII,

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: Committee on Appropriations. H. R. 2868. A bill making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 5). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

### CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 2218) for the relief of Mary E. Spinney; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Com-

mittee on the Civil Service.

A bill (H. R. 2672) for the relief of Paul Edmond Beliveau; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (H. R. 2674) granting a pension to Samuel Harris; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 2678) granting a pension to Fordyce Tucker; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 2679) for the relief of William Henry Savage; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

# PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado:

H. R. 2868. A bill making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and for other purposes; to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

By Mr. BROWN of Ohio:

H. R. 2869. A bill to prevent the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. THOMAS F. FORD:

H. R. 2870. A bill to provide for the acquisition of drydock facilities for the United States Maritime Commission at Los Angeles Harbor, in the city and county of Los Angeles, and to authorize the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 2871. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of a graving dock at Los Angeles Harbor, in the city and county of Los Angeles, Calif.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. HOUSTON:

H. R. 2872. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products; to prevent unfair competition; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to promote the general welfare by assuring an abundant and permanent supply of such products by securing to the producers a minimum price of not less than the cost of production; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. MAY:

H. R. 2873. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for placing educational orders to familiarize private manufacturing establishments with the production of munitions of war of special or technical design, noncommercial in character"; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Washington:

H. R. 2874. A bill to provide that pensions otherwise payable for a child of a deceased veteran of the Spanish-American War, Boxer Rebellion, or Philippine Insurrection shall continue until the child reaches the age of 21, where he is attending accredited school, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2875. A bill to provide that pensions payable to the widows and orphans of deceased veterans of the Spanish-American War, Boxer Rebellion, or Philippine Insurrection shall be effective as of date of death of the veteran, if claim is filed within 1 year thereafter; to the Committee on

Pensions.

By Mr. VAN ZANDT:

H. R. 2876. A bill to provide that the widows and orphans and dependent parents of deceased World War veterans who were suffering with permanent total combat-incurred disabilities shall, regardless of the cause of death, be entitled to the rates of pension which would be payable to them if the veteran had been killed in action in such service; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 2877. A bill to provide the same privileges for hospitalization and domiciliary care for campaign and expedition veterans as are now applicable to World War veterans; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia:

H. R. 2878. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 2879. A bill to amend section 619 of the Revenue

Act of 1932; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 2880. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs. By Mr. HORTON:

H. R. 2881. A bill to authorize the use of certain facilities of national parks and national monuments for elementaryschool purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. MAPES:

H. R. 2882. A bill to incorporate the National Society-Army of the Philippines as a body corporate of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PEARSON:

H. R. 2883. A bill to amend the Federal Firearms Act (Public, No. 785, 75th Cong.) so as to more adequately define the term "ammunition" as said term is defined in said act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MARTIN of Colorado:

H. R. 2884. A bill to appropriate moneys for construction work on reservoirs on the Rio Grande and Conejos Rivers in Colorado; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. SCHAEFER of Illinois:

H. R. 2885. A bill to provide for a term of court at Edwardsville, Ill.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FLANNERY:

H. R. 2886. A bill to impose taxes on fuel oil; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CLASON:

H. R. 2887. A bill for the better assurance of the protection of persons within the several States from mob violence and lynching, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STEAGALL:

H.R. 2888. A bill to amend the United States Housing Act of 1937, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. LESINSKI:

H. R. 2889 (by request). A bill to provide that the widows and orphans of deceased veterans of the Regular Establishment shall be entitled to the same pensions, under the same conditions otherwise, as provided for the widows and orphans of deceased World War veterans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BLAND:

H.R. 2890. A bill to create a division of water pollution control in the United States Public Health Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. COSTELLO:

H. R. 2891. A bill to grant pensions and increases of pensions to widows and children and other dependents of veterans who died as a result of injury or disease incurred in, or aggravated by, active military or naval service in the World War; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. IZAC:

H.R. 2892. A bill to provide uniform reciprocal hospitalization in any Army or Navy hospital for retired personnel of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2893. A bill to remove discriminations against retired Army enlisted personnel and to equalize hospitalization and domiciliary benefits of retired enlisted men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 2894. A bill to readjust the allowances of retired enlisted men of the Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LELAND M. FORD: H. R. 2895. A bill to amend the act of June 28, 1938 (Public, No. 761), authorizing the construction of certain public works on rivers and harbors for flood control, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. IZAC:

H. R. 2896. A bill to readjust the allowances of retired enlisted men of the Navy and Marine Corps; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts:

H.R. 2897. A bill to equalize the pensions payable to the dependents of veterans of the Regular Establishment with those payable to dependents of veterans of the World War whose death is due to service; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROMJUE:

H. R. 2898 (by request). A bill to reclassify salaries of employees in the custodial service of the Post Office Department and in the custodial service of the Treasury Department of the United States, including all positions therein, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. SCRUGHAM:

H.R. 2899. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase silver, issue silver certificates, and for other purposes," approved June 19, 1934, 9 p. m., known as the Silver Purchase Act of 1934; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DARDEN:

H. J. Res. 119. Joint resolution to amend Public Resolution No. 127, Seventy-fifth Congress; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. BROWN of Georgia:

H. J. Res. 120. Joint resolution authorizing the issuance of a special postage stamp in honor of the late Thomas E. Watson for his services in the origination of Rural Free Delivery Service; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. HILL:

H.J.Res. 121. Joint resolution requesting the President to proclaim October 9 as Leif Ericson Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MAPES:

H. J. Res. 122. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the week of April 17 to 23, 1939, as National Humane Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JENKINS of Ohio:

H. J. Res. 123. Joint resolution to provide for the utilization of a part of the unfinished portion of the historical frieze in the rotunda of the Capitol to portray the story of aviation; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. MILLER:

H. J. Res. 124. Joint resolution to provide for the purchase and sale of timber in the New England hurricane-stricken area; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. JARMAN:

H. Con Res. 5. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of House Report No. 2, on Investigation of Un-American Activities and Propaganda; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. DISNEY:

H. Con. Res. 6. Concurrent resolution authorizing the holding of ceremonies in the rotunda in connection with the presentation of a statue of the late Will Rogers; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. COFFEE of Washington:

H. Res. 62. Resolution authorizing the payment of mileage for each clerk to each Representative or Delegate in Congress during the first session of the Seventy-sixth Congress; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. TOLAN:

H. Res. 63. Resolution authorizing a select committee to investigate the interstate migration of destitute citizens; to the Committee on Rules.

### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BROWN of Georgia:

H. R. 2900. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Middle District of Georgia to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of David T. Beck; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2901. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Middle District of Georgia to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of Geraldine Ash; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BUCKLEY of New York:

H. R. 2902. A bill for the relief of Eugene Jacob Steiner; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BURCH:

H. R. 2903. A bill for the relief of Jake C. Aaron and Thomas W. Carter, Jr.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CLASON:

H. R. 2904. A bill for the relief of Peter Koutsaymanes; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 2905. A bill for the relief of Edmund L. Moore; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. COLE of New York:

H. R. 2906. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emma E. King; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2907. A bill granting an increase of pension to Addie Webster; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2908. A bill granting an increase of pension to Arzilla A. Bailey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2909. A bill granting an increase of pension to C. Cordelia Strong; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2910. A bill granting an increase of pension to Louisa C. Ludwig; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2911. A bill granting an increase of pension to Forrest E. Andrews; to the Committee on Pensions. H. R. 2912. A bill granting an increase of pension to Phoeba C. Huffman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2913. A bill granting an increase of pension to Jennie Bean; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 2914. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary Luella McEwen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2915. A bill granting an increase of pension to Maryette Vannatta; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 2916. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary

B. Norwood; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2917. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emma S. Dolaway; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DARDEN:

H.R. 2918. A bill granting a pension to Arthur Leonard Wadsworth 3d; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DISNEY:

H. R. 2919. A bill for the relief of Marie K. Trottnow; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2920. A bill for the relief of Paul Lindley; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DOWELL:

H. R. 2921. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Westlake; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FLAHERTY:

H. R. 2922. A bill for the relief of Owen J. Doherty; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HARTER of New York:

H. R. 2923. A bill granting a pension to Emil J. Dahlman; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HOFFMAN:

H. R. 2924. A bill granting a pension to Cora Rodell Lewis; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. IGLESIAS:

H. R. 2925. A bill for the relief of Julia Santiago; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JENKINS of Ohio:

H.R. 2926. A bill for the relief of Bernard Woodruff; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JOHNSON of West Virginia:

H. R. 2927. A bill granting an increase of pension to America E. Dye; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McLEAN:

H. R. 2928. A bill for the relief of Anton Kostiuk (Anthony Kostiuk); to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization

By Mr. MYERS:

H. R. 2929. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth Jennings; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. O'TOOLE:

H.R. 2930. A bill for the relief of the estate of Morris Farash; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PIERCE of New York:

H. R. 2931. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ida M. Lent; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. REECE of Tennessee:

H.R. 2932. A bill for the relief of Claud Mead; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2933. A bill for the relief of Oscar O. Taylor; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2934. A bill granting a pension to Jacob J. Short; to

the Committee on Pensions.
H. R. 2935. A bill for the relief of Hunter C. Brown; to the

Committee on War Claims. H. R. 2936. A bill granting a pension to James A. G. Liv-

ingston; to the Committee on Pensions. H. R. 2937. A bill granting a pension to Alfred Arrowood;

to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 2938. A bill for the relief of James A. Mills; to the

Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2939. A bill for the relief of M. F. Powers; to the

Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 2940. A bill for the relief of W. S. Rosenbalm; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2941. A bill granting a pension to Martha Samsel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 2942. A bill granting a pension to Dona Samples; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SCHAEFER of Illinois:

H.R. 2943. A bill for the relief of Jos. Greenspon's Son Pipe Corporation; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 2944. A bill for the relief of Jerome Scalione; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2945. A bill for the relief of certain persons for obtaining purchase options on real estate in slum-clearance and low-cost housing projects in East St. Louis, Ill.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SMITH of West Virginia:

H. R. 2946. A bill for the relief of Naoma Kinder, a minor; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 2947. A bill for the relief of the West Virginia Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SOMERS of New York:

H. R. 2948. A bill for the relief of Morris Hoppenheim, Lena Hoppenheim, Doris Hoppenheim, and Ruth Hoppenheim; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. WADSWORTH:

H. R. 2949. A bill granting a pension to Jennie Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WHITE of Idaho:

H. R. 2950. A bill authorizing the naturalization of Samuel F. Swayne; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 2951. A bill directing the payment to William H. Carter of travel allowances from Manila, P. I., to San Francisco, Calif.; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. YOUNGDAHL:

H. R. 2952. A bill granting a pension to Henry J. Esch; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions,

## PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

301. By Mr. BALL: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Durham, Conn., urging the enactment of legislation to prevent, as far as possible, the advertising of alcoholic beverages by press and radio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

302. Also, petition of certain citizens of Stonington, Conn., having reference to the general policy of neutrality to be pursued by the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

303. Also, petitions of citizens of Rockville, and citizens of Jewett City, all of the State of Connecticut, requesting that we adhere to the general policy of neutrality now in force in the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

304. By Mr. BOLLES: Petition of the citizens of Monroe, Wis., and vicinity, requesting that we adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

305. By Mr. COFFEE of Washington: Resolution of the Neuwaukum Home Grange, No. 622, Enumclaw, Wash., Mrs. L. C. Fant, secretary, Auburn, Wash., pointing out that the agriculture crisis continues; that dairy farmers in western Washington are badly hit; that farmers generally are faced with foreclosure and in such cases would be compelled to go on relief; that in view of agricultural conditions generally it is urged that Congress pass an act to suspend payments on the principal farm loans as was done up to last year; that such suspension continue until such time as the agricultural situation improves; to the Committee on Agriculture.

306. By Mr. DEROUEN: Petition of the St. Joseph's Holy Name Society, Ponchatoula, La., protesting against the lifting of the so-called Spanish embargo and urging the adherence by the United States to its present neutrality policy; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

307. By Mr. FLAHERTY: Petition of Lewis E. Keith and others of Swampscott, Mass., urging that the Dies committee be reappointed to continue its investigation; to the Commit-

tee on Appropriations.

308. Also, petition of the Massachusetts Chiefs of Police Association, Fitchburg, Mass., to prevent the retroactive application of any Federal taxes upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

309. Also, petition of the Massachusetts Catholic Order of Foresters, Boston, Mass., opposing the lifting of the Spanish arms embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

310. Also, petition of the Clare Circle, No. 69, National Circle, Daughters of Isabella, Whitinsville, Mass., opposing the lifting of the Spanish arms embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

311. Also, petition of the Court St. Jude, No. 1123, Catholic Daughters of America, Charlestown, Mass., opposing the lifting of the Spanish arms embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

312. Also, petition of the Scandinavian Workers League of America, Boston, opposing the lifting of the Spanish arms embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

313. By Mr. FULMER: Resolution submitted by Julian Wolfe, David Doar, and Clyde Fair, committee on behalf of Thomas Raysor Summers Post, No. 4, American Legion, Orangeburg, S. C., urging that Representatives in the National Congress be requested to pass such legislation as will better protect the people of this Nation, and at the same time have on hand enough of the latest type firearms and munitions so that should another war come upon us this country will be in a better position to protect its property and its citizens; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

314. By Mr. HALLECK: Petition of citizens of Reynolds, Ind., and vicinity, submitting a declaration of policy on the subject of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign

Affairs.

315. Also, petition of members of All Saints Church, San Pierre, Ind., submitting a declaration of policy on the subject of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

316. Also, petitions of citizens of Star City, Lafayette, and North Judson, Ind., submitting a declaration of policy in respect to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

317. Also, petition of citizens of Kewanna, Ind., submitting a declaration of policy in respect to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

318. By Mr. HOUSTON: Petition of 149 residents of Wichita, Kans., and vicinity, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts, for as long as we shall adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

319. By Mr. JARRETT: Petition of Grace Fitzgerald and other residents of Sheffield, Pa., asking Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

320. By Mr. JOHNS: Petition of the Reverend J. A. Szuprijl and 82 other residents of Peshtigo, Wis., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and amended May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

321. Also, petition of Dr. N. J. McLaughlin and 19 other residents of Wrightstown, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality contained in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

322. Also, petition of Roscoe T. Page and sundry citizens of Appleton, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United

States to retain provisions of the Neutrality Act of August 31, 1935, and amended May 1, 1937, and also to retain the embargo on arms and to investigate leftist and communistic groups in the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

323. Also, petition of the St. Ann's congregation and 16 other residents of Francis Creek, Wis., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

324. Also, petition of Rev. John H. Huhn and 44 other residents of Luxemburg, Wis., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

325. Also, petition of Judge G. H. Crowns and the signatures of 18 residents of Kewaunee, Wis., urging adherence to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and amended May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

326. Also, petition of Frank Schmitt and 19 other residents of Greenleaf, Wis., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

327. Also, petition of the Reverend Vincent Cottam, pastor of the St. Mary of the Lake Catholic Church, Baileys Harbor, Wis., and 19 other citizens of Baileys Harbor, Wis., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and amended May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

328. Also, petition of the Reverend H. A. Littel and 219 other residents of Green Bay, Wis., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; and to keep the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

329. Also, petition of Joe Gunschevich and 19 other residents of Combined Locks, Wis., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and as amended in the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

330. Also, petition of the Reverend L. C. Becker and 19 other citizens of Oconto, Wis., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality contained in the act of August 31, 1935, and amended in the act of May 1, 1937, to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

331. Also, petition of John Goodland, Jr., mayor, and 29 other residents of Appleton, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

332. By Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY: Telegram from the American Federation of Musicians, Local 802, New York City, urging support for adequate appropriations for the arts and Federal theater projects in New York City; to the Committee on Appropriations.

333. Also, petition of the Walnut Hill Realty Corporation, New York City, concerning the Patman chain-store bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

334. Also, petition of the Loyal Order of Moose, Borough Hall Lodge, No. 222, Brooklyn, N. Y., concerning the Dies investigating committee; to the Committee on Rules.

335. By Mr. KINZER: Petitions of 39 citizens of Lancaster County, Pa., setting forth a declaration of policy on the subject of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

356. Also, petition of certain citizens of Lancaster County, Pa., urging consideration of a petition with reference to advertising and the sale of alcoholic liquors; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

337. Also, petition of certain citizens of Marietta, Pa., protesting against any change in our neutrality laws; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

338. Also, petition of the faculty and students of Immaculata College, in the Tenth District of Pennsylvania, protesting against any change in our neutrality laws; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

339. By Mr. KUNKEL: Petition of the members of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Market Square Presbyterian Church, of Harrisburg, favoring the retention of the embargo on munitions to countries engaged in war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

340. By Mr. LEAVY: Petition of the Four County Council, composed of commercial organizations of Grant, Okanogan, Douglas, and Chelan Counties, of the State of Washington, expressing the opposition of this group to the proposed establishment of a national park in the Cascade Range, it being contended that there is already set aside in the State of Washington adequate areas for park and recreational facilities and that it would not be in the best interests of the State to preclude development of mineral, timber, water power, grazing, and hunting resources in that area; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

341. By Mr. LESINSKI: Petition of the residents of the Sixteenth Congressional District of Michigan favoring the policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of Congress of August 31, 1935, and also the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

342. Also, petition of the members of the Holy Name Society of the Parish of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Oakwood Boulevard, Detroit, Mich., opposing the lifting of the Spanish embargo: to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

343. Also, resolution of the Common Council of the City of Detroit, Mich., opposing taxation of State and municipal securities by the Federal Government without consent of the State, and urging support of legislation prohibiting retroactive Federal taxation of salaries of State and municipal employees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

344. Also, petition of the International Association of Fire Fighters, Local Union No. 356, Wyandotte, Mich., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to preventing the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

345. Also, resolution of Wyandotte Council, No. 1802, Knights of Columbus, urging the continuation of the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities and sufficient appropriation to enable the committee to function and perform its services; to the Committee on Rules.

346. Also, resolution of the State, County, and Municipal Workers Local 79, Detroit, Mich., opposing any amendment to the National Labor Relations Act; to the Committee on Labor.

347. By Mr. MARSHALL: Petition of the citizens of Clyde, Ohio, urging adherence to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and to retaining on our statute books the further and corollary act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

348. By Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts: Petition of Hugh L. Garrity and sundry citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, urging Congress to adhere to the general

policy of neutrality enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and to retain the further and corollary principle of the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

349. By Mr. MERRITT: Resolution of the St. Joan of Arc's Holy Name Society, of Jackson Heights, resolving that this society respectfully demand of the Congress of the United States to continue its policy of strict neutrality on behalf of the people of this Nation and to prevent the exportation of arms from this country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

350. By Mr. MYERS: Petition of Mrs. Charles Cross and eight other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the Neutrality Acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

351. Also, petition of John P. McCotter and 23 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the Neutrality Acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

352. Also, petition of Louise Owens and 23 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the Neutrality Acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

353. Also, petition of Robert Burkett and 19 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the Neutrality Acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

354. Also, petition of Mrs. T. Powers and 17 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the Neutrality Acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

355. Also, petition of H. J. Binck, Jr., and 18 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the Neutrality Acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

356. Also, petition of John A. Moos and 35 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the Neutrality Acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

357. Also, petition of Mary J. O'Connor and 20 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

358. By Mr. RICH: Petition of citizens of Kane, Pa., favoring the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

359. By Mr. SANDAGER: Memorial of the members of Our Lady of Mount Carmel Parish, Providence, R. I., urging maintenance of the embargo on munition shipments to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

360. By Mr. SCHAEFER of Illinois: Petition of parishoners of St. Elizabeth's parish, East St. Louis, Ill., calling upon Congress to retain on the statute books the Neutrality Act of May 1, 1937, and extend its provisions to include civil and international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

361. By Mr. SCHIFFLER: Petition of the Marion-Taylor Chapter, of the Department of West Virginia, Reserve Officers Association of the United States, Fairmont, W. Va., favoring the continuation of hearings on un-American activities by the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

362. By Mr. SMITH of Virginia: Petition of Rev. T. A. Rankin and 75 citizens of Virginia, protesting against the lifting of the Spanish embargo on arms; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

363. By Mr. THORKELSON: Petition of the State wheat committee (Montana), petitioning Congress to appropriate a total of \$6,000,000 for the control of insects of regional importance, which appropriation shall be administered by the Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine, of the Department of Agriculture; and that said appropriation be made in sufficient time so that proper preparations can be made for the control program this spring; to the Committee on Appropriations.

364. Also, petition of the Northern Montana Development Association, requesting that there be no acreage control applied to the production of sugar beets; that the production of sugar beets be encouraged in all areas where the crop may be produced successfully in order to divert acreage of surplus producing crops, such as wheat, cotton, corn, and tobacco; and urging adequate sugar-beet legislation that will permit the further development of the irrigation resources of the State of Montana; to the Committee on Agriculture.

365. Also, petition of the Lions Club of Libby, Mont., requesting that the parts of the act of March 4, 1907, and the act of August 24, 1912, which prevent the President from making changes in the national forests of Montana, be repealed to enable an extension of the Kootenai National Forest to include the Kootenai Canyon; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

366. Also, petition of the county commissioners of Beaverhead County, Mont., requesting the enactment of a work relief law to divert labor back to private industry and relieve the present relief rolls; to the Committee on Ways and

Means.

367. Also, petition of the Butte branch of the American Association of University Women, requesting revision of the neutrality law in certain respects; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

368. Also, petition of the Helena Teamsters Union, Local No. 666, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, protesting against the modification of the National Labor Relations Act and favoring increase of the annual appropriation for enforcement of the act; to the Committee on Appropriations.

369. Also, petition of the Northeast Montana Production Credit Association, requesting that the farm bill be amended or a new bill be passed establishing a bushelage quota for farmer-producers, with a set parity price for wheat based on 12-percent protein; to the Committee on Agriculture.

370. Also, petition of the Cascade County Trades and Labor Assembly, opposing any modification in the National Labor Relations Act, and petitioning an increased appropriation to

carry on the work; to the Committee on Labor.

371. Also, petition of the Northern Montana Development Association, requesting an increase of the appropriation for the insect (grasshopper) control work of the Bureau of Entomology to \$6,000,000; to the Committee on Agriculture.

372. Also, petition of the Farm Rate Council, of Montana, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington, suggesting certain provisions involving production of farm rates and coordination of railroad facilities in proposed railroad legislation; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

373. By Mr. VAN ZANDT: Petition of Rev. John E. O'Connor and others, of Altoona, Pa., urging adherence by the United States to the Neutrality Acts of August 31, 1935, and

May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

374. Also, petition of Altoona Council 551, Knights of Columbus, of Altoona, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

375. Also, petition of Mr. and Mrs. Albert A. Greiner, of Altoona, Pa., urging United States adherence to the Neutrality Act of August 31, 1935, and to retain on our statute books the further and corollary act to include civil as well as international conflicts, urging Congress to launch an investigation of those leftist groups which are sponsoring propaganda favoring lifting of the embargo on arms to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

376. By Mr. WHITE of Idaho: Petition of M. Louise Lavalla, Financier Council No. 3471, the Security Benefit Association, Buhl, Idaho, urging the passage of an amendment to the Social Security Act, exempting subordinate councils or lodges of fraternal benefit societies and their officers from the provisions of the act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

377. By the SPEAKER: Petition of St. Anthony's Church, Joilet, Ill., protesting against the lifting of the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

378. Also, petition of A. P. Robert, Marquette, Mich., petitioning in favor of neutrality and keeping the embargo on Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

379. Also, petition of John Cappio, Sr., Philadelphia, Pa., urging consideration of a petition with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

380. Also, petition of Mrs. Matilde A. Wild, Clarion, Pa., petitioning the keeping of the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

381. Also, petition of John Kish, Elrama, Pa., and others, petitioning the keeping of the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

382. Also, petition of the Women's National Democratic Club, Inc., New York City, petitioning consideration of their resolution adopted January 15, 1939, with reference to an elective third term; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

## SENATE

# FRIDAY, JANUARY 20, 1939

(Legislative day of Tuesday, January 17, 1939)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

#### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Thursday, January 19, 1939, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

### CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. BARKLEY. I suggest the absence of a quorum. The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll. The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Donahey	La Follette	Russell
Andrews	Downey	Lee	Schwartz
Ashurst	Ellender	Lewis	Schwellenbach
Austin	Frazier	Lodge	Sheppard
Bailey	George	Logan	Shipstead
Bankhead	Gerry	Lucas	Smathers
Barbour	Gibson	Lundeen	Smith
Barkley	Gillette	McCarran	Stewart
Bilbo	Glass	McKellar	Taft
Bone	Green	McNary	Thomas, Okla.
Borah	Guffey	Maloney	Thomas, Utah
Bridges	Gurney	Mead	Tobey
Bulow	Hale	Miller	Townsend
Burke	Harrison	Minton	Truman
Byrd	Hatch	Murray	Tydings
Byrnes	Hayden	Neely	Vandenberg
Capper	Herring	Norris	Van Nuys
Caraway	Hill	Nye	Wagner
Chavez	Holman	O'Mahoney	Walsh
Clark, Idaho	Holt	Pepper	Wheeler
Clark, Mo.	Hughes	Pittman	White
Connally	Johnson, Calif.	Radcliffe	Wiley
Danaher	Johnson, Colo.	Reed	
Davis	King	Reynolds	

Mr. LEWIS. I announce that the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Overton] is detained from the Senate because of illness. The Senator from Michigan [Mr. Brown] is detained on important public business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety-four Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF PAUL Y. ANDERSON AND RODNEY DUTCHER

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, since the final adjournment of the Seventy-fifth Congress Messrs. Paul Y. Anderson and Rodney Dutcher, who were long distinguished, respected, and

beloved members of the press gallery, have passed into the silent land.

These outstanding journalists were well and favorably known to all the Members of the Senate. In my opinion, official notice should be taken of their departure, as the result of which this body has suffered irreparable loss. Therefore I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD as part of my remarks two newspaper articles which I send to the desk concerning these eminent men.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The articles referred to are as follows:

The Washington Post, after quoting Mr. Anderson's last words, "My usefulness is at an end," says:
"In this instance Anderson was tragically wrong. His usefulness, far from being over, had in a sense only just begun. At 45, with a lifetime of superb reporting experience behind him, he could look

lifetime of superb reporting experience behind him, he could look forward to many more years of active service.

"Anderson had the virtues of his defects. The world in which he lived and moved and had his being was a world of brilliant whites and unrelieved blacks, of angels and devils, of ultragood and ultrabad. What he believed, he believed with passionate intensity and with self-sacrificing devotion. What he despised, and above all he despised what he considered the cheap, the shoddy, the mediocre, and the fraudulent, he hated with evangelical ferocity.

"Anderson was not always just in his judgments. But just or unjust, his viewpoint reflected an implacable honesty of mind wedded to an unflinchingly courageous spirit. One of the great crusading reporters of our times, he gave luster to his profession and rendered service which was never underestimated by those who disagreed with him."

disagreed with him.'

The Wheeling Intelligencer and associated Ogden papers in West Virginia printed the following, written by their Washington correspondent, Mr. Charles Brooks Smith, concerning Mr. Dutcher:

"OH, SO TIRED!

"Fifteen years ago he arrived in the Nation's Capital, assigned here to do a column a day for 750 newspapers subscribing to a national press association. He had won it in apprenticeship which demonstrated that he had it—talent and versatility. In due time he was known personally to all worth his knowing, who came and went, strutting their brief hour upon the national stage. Unnumbered thousands knew him through his daily column favorite local journal. His style was factual—if you could call it style. Press associations won't stand for style. He was a hard and style. Press associations won't stand for style. He was a hard and a serious worker. He didn't seem to be able to find much time for play. He must have had a longing for it; he was still young—38 he was. There is no royal road to a column a day. It's rough and hard-going as the years add up. There are days when one bogs down into the hopeless feeling that he just can't travel any further. The typewriter is stubbornly silent. Its tired-out operator stares out the window into autumn but sees nothing the sun shining through silver mist upon the white spires of the Cathedral upon Mount St. Albans, a thrifty squirrel scurrying up a tree with a treasured nut for storing against wintry days; and he is deaf to the happy call of a bird on the bare branch of a faintly tinted elm.
"He withdraws his gaze and stares dully at his idle typewriter.

"He withdraws his gaze and stares dully at his idle typewriter. Oh, so tired; so very, very tired! He crosses his arms upon the machine and drops his head at rest upon his arms. And thus at rest was Rodney Dutcher, when a boy came for copy.

"There was no copy. There never will be any copy by Rodney Dutcher. A hidden hand had swept the keys and written for him—'30'."

# PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a petition of sundry citizens of Washington, D. C., praying for an appropriation of \$1,000,000,000 for continuation and maintenance of the Works Progress Administration program until June 1939, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by a meeting of the Washington (D. C.) Branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy, favoring an appropriation of \$915,000,000 for the Works Progress Administration, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also presented a petition, signed by sundry administrative employees of the Works Progress Administration, of Washington, D. C., praying that benefits of the civil-service system as provided for in the Executive order of June 24, 1938, be not denied administrative employees of the Works Progress Administration, which was referred to the Committee on Civil Service.

He also laid before the Senate a letter from Arthur L. Johnson, executive secretary of the General Welfare Federation of America, Washington, D. C., enclosing numerous petitions signed by sundry citizens of the United States, praying for the enactment of general-welfare legislation providing old-age assistance, which, with the accompanying petitions, was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Women's National Democratic Club, Inc., New York City, N. Y., favoring a constitutional amendment making the Presidential term 6 years without a reelection, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. CAPPER presented a petition of sundry citizens of Ellsworth, Kans., praying for the enactment of general-welfare legislation providing old-age assistance, which was re-

ferred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. LODGE presented a petition of sundry citizens of the State of Massachusetts, praying that the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain be not lifted, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of the State of Massachusetts, praying for retention of the principle of the present neutrality law and extention of the law to include civil as well as international conflicts, which were referred to the Committe on Foreign Relations.

Mr. REED presented a petition of 475 farmers of Pratt County, Kans., praying for the imposition of a processing tax on wheat and wheat products, to be used in financing farm programs, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented a petition of 193 citizens of Wichita, Kans., praying for the enactment of general-welfare legislation providing old-age assistance, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of 200 students of St. Mary's College, of St. Marys, Kans., praying that the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain be not lifted. which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of 21 citizens of Concordia, Kans., praying for the retention of the principle of the present neutrality law and extension of the law to include civil as well as international conflicts, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented petitions of 28 citizens of Alton, 64 citizens of Independence, 21 citizens of Herington, and 86 citizens of Madison, all in the State of Kansas, praying that the United States stop the shipment of such goods and munitions as may be used by the military forces of Japan in their present Chinese operations, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mrs. CARAWAY presented the following joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

# Senate Joint Memorial Resolution 1

Whereas the State of Arkansas had developed a large soil conservation program through the organization of soil conservation districts in the State embracing approximately six and a half million acres of land; and

Whereas there is an area in the State of Arkansas consisting of approximately 13,000,000 acres, in which there is no existing soil erosion experimental station from which information can be compiled for distribution to the 20,000 farmers in this area; and

Whereas there is no experimental station in surrounding regions located in or dealing with soil of this particular type from which information can be secured and distributed to farmers in operating

Whereas the United States Department of Agriculture has in many regions and sections of the United States established soil erosion experimental stations; and

Whereas the Department of Agriculture of the United States of America has considered and investigated the necessity of estab-lishing a soil erosion experiment station in Arkansas to deal with Hanceville soils, which soils comprise an area of approximately 20,000,000 acres extending from McAllister, Okla., to Little Rock, Ark., and affecting 22 counties or parts of counties in the State of Arkansas: Now, therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of Arkansas (and House of Representatives of the State of Arkansas concurring herein), That the Congress of the United States of America, acting through the

United States Department of Agriculture, establish, or cause to be established, a soil erosion experimental station in Arkansas adequate to serve the needs of the farmers in the Hanceville soil area;

Resolved, That a copy of this memorial be submitted to the Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives representing the State of Arkansas, and to the Secretary of Agriculture, and to the regional director of the Soil Conservation Service. RETROACTIVE FEDERAL TAX UPON STATE AND OTHER EMPLOYEES

Mr. HOLT presented a resolution adopted by Local Union No. 289, Mingo County Teachers, of Williamson, W. Va., which was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it resolved by the Mingo County Teachers in meeting this 17th day of December 1938, Union, Local No. 289, Williamson, W. Va.:

First. That the union urges all West Virginia Members of Congress and the Senate to support the following bill in Congress at

the 1939 session:

"A bill to prevent the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities

"Be it enacted, etc., That any taxes imposed by the Revenue Act of 1936 or prior revenue acts upon any individual in respect of of 1936 or prior revenue acts upon any individual in respect of amounts received by him as compensation for personal services as an officer or employee of any State or States or of any political subdivision, or any municipal or public corporate instrumentality or agency thereof (except to the extent that such compensation is paid out of funds of the United States of America), together with any interest or penalties in connection therewith, shall be canceled, abated, credited, or refunded."

Second That the union composes any attempt to add to the cost of

Second. That the union opposes any attempt to add to the cost of Second. That the union opposes any accents to dud to the cost of the State and municipal government by Federal taxation without first securing the consent of the States through a constitutional amendment guaranteeing the reciprocal right to tax future issues of Federal securities in the State and prohibiting any Federal taxation of the revenues and already-issued securities of the States, their subdivisions and agencies

MINGO COUNTY TEACHERS UNION, LOCAL No. 289, By Shade Chapman, Recording Secretary.

Similar resolutions were presented by the Pocahontas County Teachers' Association, the Tyler County Teachers' Association, the Marshall County Education Association, and the Ohio County Teachers' Association.

# WINDOW-GLASS INDUSTRY AND FOREIGN COMPETITION

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD and referred to the Finance Committee a letter submitted to me by Mr. W. L. Monro, president of the American Window Glass Co., of Pittsburgh, Pa. This document is a statement addressed to Mr. Monro by Mr. Theodor H. Weihs, who has had long experience in the manufacture of window glass abroad. It confirms evidence which I have brought to the attention of the Senate many times in the past regarding the invasion of the American market by foreign products which undercut our own because of governmental subsidies by which they are supported.

Mr. Monro advises me that Mr. Weihs, the writer of the letter, is aged 39 and a graduate chemist of the University of Vienna. Since 1925 he has been closely associated with the manufacture of window glass in Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, and Germany. Since 1936 he has been assistant superintendent of a window-glass factory in Austria, until it was taken over by the Germans, and also assistant superintendent of the largest window-glass factory in Czechoslovakia, which was owned by his uncle, Dr. Oswald Weihs, the factory of Erste Boehmische Glasindustrie A. G. Bleistadt, Bohemia.

Mr. Monro also states that Mr. Weihs has only recently come to this country and entered the employ of his company, and that if it is desired to question him regarding any matters relating to this report the company will be very glad to have Mr. Weihs come to Washington whenever his presence is desired for that purpose.

There being no objection, the letter was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JANUARY 3, 1939.

Mr. W. L. MONRO,

President, American Window Glass Co.,

Pittsburgh, Pa.

DEAR SIR: Referring to our recent conversation in reference to the Czechoslovakian sheet-glass industry, I beg to give you in the following a general review of that conversation.

this purpose, I will subdivide my report into two sections, dealing—

(a) The situation previous to the annexation of the Sudetenland

by Germany; and (b) After this event.

(A) SITUATION PREVIOUS TO THE ANNEXATION OF THE SUDETENLAND BY GERMANY

You recall that the Sudetenland, as well as the remaining part of Czechoslovakia, formed part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918. It should be noted that all five operating sheet-glass

factories in Czechoslovakia, some of which are more than 100 years old, were located within the Sudeten area which was ceded to Germany. Until the end of the World War they supplied mainly the Empire, which counted about 60,000,000 inhabitants. In all these

many years there was hardly any serious attempt made to export sheet glass, the world markets being dominated by the Belgians.

Only after the World War, when those factories with their great productive capacity could no longer find sufficient outlets in the reduced area comprising Czechoslovakia, which counted only about reduced area comprising Czechoslovakia, which counted only about 13,000,000 inhabitants, export was started on a large scale. At this period such a proposition seemed also most inviting, owing to the general shortage in merchandise in the whole world shortly after the war. Under such circumstances, prices could not be otherwise but satisfactory, and, besides, the present tariff walls in most countries were just being built up at that time, and the now prevailing self-sufficiency tendency was only at its very beginning.

The Czechoslovakians could count on a further asset, having developed faster than other countries the mechanical glass-manufacturing system, and all these factors together enabled them to to build up within a few years a widespread export organization.

facturing system, and all these factors together enabled them to to build up within a few years a widespread export organization. Already in about 1929 serious set-backs were felt. Various countries started an energetic drive toward self-sufficiency and, in this effort, many factories have been created artificially for domestic consumption and, had it not been for very high duties, these factories could not have continued in operation. Furthermore, the technical development in other sheet-glass producing and exporting countries, and particularly Belgium, was gradually reaching the Czechoslovakian standard, and naturally the shortage of merchandise had disappeared by then.

The logical consequence was an outbreak of a steadily intensi-

The logical consequence was an outbreak of a steadily intensified competition in the various markets, European manufacturers fighting each other and sometimes also the domestic plants. Before long the prices dropped to cost price and even below, while on the other hand the technical progress allowed much greater pro-duction without increase in the number of working units, so that outlets for these additional quantities had to be found. Furthermore, the unemployment problem was becoming serious and the Government would no more allow dismissal of workers. At this stage the Czechoslovakian manufacturers claimed that

there existed but one solution, namely, to finance their exports by demanding a compensation in higher prices on the domestic market, which was always closely watched by the Government. The latter had to assent and from then on, since 1930, export was more and more assisted by the higher selling prices in the domestic market.

and more assisted by the higher selling prices in the domestic market.

At this point I wish to call your attention to the fact that over the period from 1930 to 1937, the sheet-glass production averaged roughly 10,000,000 to 14,000,000 square meters per year (about 2,000,000 to 2,800,000 boxes), of which only about 2,500,000 square meters (about 500,000 boxes) could be sold on the domestic market. You will easily realize how much higher prices had to be secured for this comparatively small amount in order to make good for the growing losses on the glass exported.

As a result of all these conditions, the following facts are not surprising. In 1937, for example, a total of about 2,000,000 boxes were sold. The domestic price reached a peak of about 15 to 17 Czech kronen (\$2.30-\$2.74 a box), while the average net selling price of the export, heavy drawn sheet glass included, had declined to about 5.50 Czech kronen per square meter (\$0.38 per box), which is about 1 kronen per square meter (about \$0.16 per box) lower than the average cost of production during this period. About 1 year earlier, in 1936, the price had averaged 11 to 13 Czech kronen (\$1.68-\$2 per box), while cost price has remained practically unchanged for at least 3 years in spite of variations in the value of the Czech kronen.

value of the Czech kronen.

It might surprise you that the Government continued to assent a constant increase of prices on the domestic market, which, I believe, were at that time among the highest in the world, comprising the countries without domestic production, and allowing, on the other hand, to extend dumping so far that the prices obtained, for instance, in the Philippines, were as low as 1.30 Czech kronen f. o. b. Czechoslovakian border (\$0.21 per box).

The main reason for the Government permitting such excesses was by far not so much the fear of additional unemployment, but he adverse trade belonge the shortage of coverage for the domestic

the adverse trade balance, the shortage of coverage for the domestic currency, the ever-decreasing foreign appraisal of the Czech krone, and the ensuing difficulties to import even the goods considered as prime necessities, namely, all the purchases of the material for

armament purposes.

It should be noted that there are still a few small hand-blowing furnaces within the present boundaries of Czechoslovakia, but none of these have been operated in the manufacture of window glass

during the past 15 years.

The window glass sold by the Czechoslovakian manufacturers through their sales corporation for export to the United States for

many years prior to the new Czechoslovakian trade agreement was sold at approximately their cost of production.

Naturally the reduction of 30 percent in the duty on window glass, as provided in the Czechoslovakian reciprocal-trade agreement effective April 16, 1938, materially increased the ability of the Czechoslovakian manufacturers to ship window glass into the United States. United States.

However, in 1937 they succeeded in convincing the Government after long sessions, conducted by Mr. Fritz Heller, that all these fixed prices and duty concessions had become insufficient to offset their losses on export and obtained direct subsidy for the entire

glass industry, of which about 8,000,000 Czech kronen (about \$275,-000) were allotted to the sheet-glass industry in form of refund of taxes. Only by such means was it possible to maintain an adequate volume of export business.

After the Czechoslovakian reciprocal-trade agreement with the United States went into effect the Czechoslovakian window-glass manufacturers, through their sales organization, continued to maintain the contractive collinar price of form 15 to 17 Czech kronen normalization. tain their domestic selling price at from 15 to 17 Czech kronen per square meter (\$2.30 to \$2.74 per box).

My report on the situation after the annexation of the Sudetenland by Germany (subject b) is set forth on the subsequent pages. I beg to remain, dear sir,

Respectfully yours,

THEODOR G. WEIHS.

(B) AFTER THE ANNEXATION OF THE SUDETENLAND

(B) AFTER THE ANNEXATION OF THE SUDETENLAND

The sheet-glass production in German amounted in 1937, if the figures I heard are correct, to about 19,000,000 square meters (about 3,800,000 boxes), of which only about 3,500,000 square meters (about 700,000 boxes) were exported. The German Government had so far never consented to price excesses, but also, as we all know, the situation of the German Reichsbank is a very precarious one. Only toward the end of 1937 did the German Government start to exercise pressure on the Detag (the leading German Sheet Glass Manufacturers Union) in view of starting operations again at the plant of Torgau, which had been lying idle for over 6 years.

The Detag, together with the Rezag, another German firm, bought up all shares (which, by the way, is also the reason why I am particularly well informed on the subject, having represented personally one of the main shareholders in these negotiations) and set up an agreement with the Government which visualized not only the well-known export premium, granted, I believe, practically to all German exporters, but also a certain adjustment of the domes-tic prices, with the understanding that Torgau, working exclusively so-called supplementary export, could never hope to cover the

for so-called supplementary export, could never hope to cover the expenses of operation.

I do not know whether work has already been resumed, especially as in the meantime the Czechoslovakian glass factories have fallen into Germany's lap, which causes him, as the Reichsfuehrer of the German sheet-glass industry, Mr. Otto Seeling, told me personally, much concern because he was well aware how difficult it would become to sell these goods from now on under the German flag; even more difficult than it had already previously been in Czechoslovakia.

No wonder then if ideas like the control of the cont

No wonder then, if ideas like the one I already communicated to you, could be born. I beg to recall to your attention some paragraphs of my letters dated October 21 and November 8, 1938,

namely:

'The new authorities are fully aware that export for instance to the United States of America will show a sharp decline, owing to hostility against the purchase of German goods, thus favoring home manufacturers in the respective countries."

hostlity against the purchase of German goods, thus favoring home manufacturers in the respective countries."

"In trying to find a way out of this difficulty the Germans intend, as I was told, setting up such an agreement with the Czech Government concerning sheet glass that the sales office in Prague would be maintained and would go on working in the same way as it did until now. This should lead the customers to believe that they are still receiving Czechoslovakian goods and, furthermore, the trade-mark 'Made in Czechoslovakia' should also be used as formerly.

"I beg to attach to the present letter a cut of the semiofficial bulletin of the German manufacturers' union, Industrie, No. 41, 1938, which was issued a few days ago.

"The article deals with the consequences due to the annexation of the Sudeten area on the German glass trade, especially with bottle and window glass. The following is the translation of a few outstanding paragraphs:

"The capacity of the plants is insufficiently utilized. About 70 percent of the production was exported. About one-third of the export went to United States of America, one-fifth to England, and the rest to France, Germany, Austria, Holland, Belgium, etc. The capacity of the plants of the old Reich (Germany before the annexation of Austria and Sudeten) is about three times as large and naturally much better utilized.

"The enormous increase which Germany requires through the Sudeten glass industry places Germany's class through the Sudeten glass industry places Germany class and sudeten glass in facet.

'The enormous increase which Germany requires through the Sudeten glass industry places Germany's glass business in front

"Time will show if the Sudeten industry, which even before the annexation was not sufficiently employed, will be able to continue her export to America, France, and to supply the present Czechoslovakian districts. \* \* \* slovakian districts

"" \* \* It thus means that steps must be taken in advance to prevent the loss of business for the Sudeten plants, as neither the Altreich (former Germany) nor Austria could absorb the

surplus.

""\* \* \* It can be expected in full confidence that the skilled representatives of the German Government will be able to transform the former contracts of Czechoslovakia with her export countries in such a way that a considerable loss for the Sudeten plants will be avoided \* \* \*."

"Said article, in spite of its rather careful wording, sounds to me as a partial confirmation of the suspicion I outlined in my letter of October 21."

Naturally such set-ups are sentenced in advance, but neverthe-

Naturally such set-ups are sentenced in advance, but nevertheless the fact remains true that sheet-glass exports from former Sudetenland, now Germany, can only be maintained by keeping

up an economically unjustifiable, artificial construction; this on behalf of a country which claims not only to have no unemployed but even a shortage in workmen. Hence, with a visible aim of solely counteracting, regardless of sacrifice, an unfavorable trade balance, in which the overcharge is due, as we all know, in a substantial part to the purchases of raw material for war purposes.

I beg to remain, dear sir,

Respectfully ware.

Respectfully yours,

THEODOR G. WEIHS.

# BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. NEELY:

S. 854. A bill for the relief of James L. Barnett; to the Committee on Civil Service.

By Mr. SMATHERS:

S. 855. A bill to extend for 1 year the period within which certain loans may be insured under title I of the National Housing Act, as amended; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. MILLER:

S. 856. A bill to authorize a modification of the project for improvement of the Ouachita and Black Rivers, Ark. and La.; and

S. 857. A bill to authorize the construction of flood-control works on the White River between Augusta and Clarendon, and at DeValls Bluff, in the State of Arkansas: to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mrs. CARAWAY:

S. 858. A bill for the relief of Emma Fein; and

S. 859. A bill to authorize the refund of certain amounts collected from physicians for the privilege of prescribing the waters from the Hot Springs National Park; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 860. A bill authorizing the President to present a medal of honor to Harold R. Wood; to the Committee on Naval

S. 861. A bill granting a pension to Florence Cooper; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

S. 862. A bill for the relief of Fred C. Lindsay (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

S. 863. A bill to provide for the payment of attorneys' fees from Osage tribal funds; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. WHEELER:

S. 864. A bill authorizing the Arapahoe and Cheyenne Indians to submit claims to the Court of Claims, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. CONNALLY:

S. 865. A bill to authorize the construction and operation of an auditorium in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. WALSH:

S. 866. A bill for the relief of Eleanor J. Griggs, Dorothy L. Griggs, and Vernon M. Griggs; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BYRD:

S. 867. A bill to amend section 1 of the River and Harbor Act approved July 25, 1912, authorizing the removal of temporary obstructions from tributaries of waterways under Federal improvement (37 Stat. L. 722), as amended in section 3 of the act entitled "An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," approved July 3, 1930; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 868. A bill for the relief the the estate of Dr. David O. Clements, deceased;

S. 869. A bill for the relief of James E. Haynes; and

S. 870. A bill for the relief of Roland P. Winstead; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 871. A bill for the relief of James T. Moore; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 872. A bill to correct the naval record of Commander Royall Roller Richardson; to the Committee on Naval Affairs. S. 873. A bill granting a pension to Laura E. Myers; and

S. 874. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emily Semple Wood; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CHAVEZ:

S. 875. A bill for the relief of Andrew J. Crockett and Walter Crockett: to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. HATCH and Mr. CHAVEZ:

S. 876. A bill to authorize the purchase of certain lands for the Apache Tribe of the Mescalero Reservation, N. Mex.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

S. 877 (by request). A bill to add certain public-domain land in Montana to the Rocky Boy Indian Reservation; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

MOBILIZATION FOR HUMAN NEEDS-ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

[Mr. Barkley asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a radio address by the President, broadcast from the White House, on behalf of the 1938 mobilization for human needs, on October 14, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### JEFFERSON MEMORIAL-ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

fMr. Thomas of Utah asked and obtained unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an address delivered by the President on the occasion of the ground breaking for the Jefferson Memorial in Washington, on December 15, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

# JACKSON DAY ADDRESS BY SENATOR PEPPER

[Mr. Clark of Missouri asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record excerpts from the Jackson Day dinner speech delivered by Senator Pepper at Springfield, Mo., on January 7, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

ADDRESS BY SENATOR PEPPER AT INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

IMr. GREEN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by Senator Perper at the Institute of Public Affairs, Charlottesville, Va., July 4, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

ADDRESS BY SENATOR WALSH AT AMERICAN LEGION NATIONAL CONVENTION

IMr. Connally asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered by Senator Walsh at the American Legion National Convention at Los Angeles, September 19, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

ADDRESS BY SENATOR THOMAS OF UTAH BEFORE COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

[Mr. Smathers asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered by Senator Thomas of Utah before the Council of State Governments at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., January 19, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

JACKSON DAY DINNER ADDRESS BY FORMER SENATOR LONERGAN

[Mr. Walsh asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered by former Senator Lonergan, of Connecticut, at the Jackson Day dinner held at New Haven, Conn., on January 17, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

SENATOR BYRD'S LETTER TO MR. ECCLES—LETTER FROM ROBERT L. OWEN

[Mr. Logan asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a letter from Hon. Robert L. Owen discussing the letter which was recently addressed by Senator Byrd to Hon. Marriner S. Eccles, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, which appears in the Appendix.]

APPROPRIATIONS FOR W. P. A.

[Mr. SMATHERS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Don't Slug W. P. A.," published in the Atlantic City Daily Press Union, January 19, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President-

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate has not as yet gone into executive session. The Chair sees no Senator claiming

recognition except the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Holf].

Mr. McNARY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

# EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. SHEPPARD, from the Committee on Military Affairs, reported favorably the nominations of sundry officers for appointment as general officers in the Regular Army, the National Guard, and the inactive Reserve (reappointment) of the United States.

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of sundry postmasters.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The reports will be placed on the Executive Calendar.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States submitting a nomination was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

NOMINATION OF HARRY L. HOPKINS TO BE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

The Senate resumed the consideration of the nomination of Harry L. Hopkins, of New York, to be Secretary of Commerce.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I want it distinctly understood that I am not unduly prolonging the discussion of this particular confirmation. However, I feel that the Senate has a right to know something about the conduct of the Works Progress Administration. It has a right to know because the reason given for Mr. Hopkins' elevation to the office of Secretary of Commerce is his handling of the Works Progress Administration. As far as I am concerned, I do not care when the Senate votes upon his confirmation; but I do want the record to be as complete as possible before the confirmation. I do not want it said that only two or three or four instances have been cited of his misconduct, or the misconduct of an administration of which he had charge. I feel that the people and the Senate have a right to know not only one but all of the charges against the Works Progress Administration.

I realize that if the charges were confined to one State, one might say, "Oh, that just happened in one State"; but I have tried in 3 hours, and I could not conclude in that time, to show some—not all by any means, but some—of the charges against the Works Progress Administration. I want the record complete. I see no reason why the activities and the actions of the Works Progress Administration should not be known and should not be put in the Record in Mr. Hopkins' behalf likewise should be placed in the Record; but I realize that our case cannot be done in a short time. I had hoped to complete my remarks yesterday, and would have completed the entire statement I had to make had not other matters intervened yesterday afternoon.

One of the things brought to my attention yesterday afternoon during my discussion with my friend, the majority leader, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Barkley], was the number of persons on the Works Progress Administration rolls in November as compared to March. As you know, it was impossible for me to have all those figures at my fingertips; so during the interim I prepared a number of those figures, showing the increase of W. P. A. rolls just before election and the decline in off years. I want to give those figures to the Senate so that the facts may be known. You can draw your own conclusions. If you think these workers were put on as a matter of need, that is your judgment; but I feel that the pay rolls were padded and added to for election purposes, not in one State but in almost every State where there was an important election, and I want to give the facts to prove it.

Let us look at the relief rolls in 1938, preceding the election.

I find that on April 2, 1938, the Works Progress Administration had in its employ 2,445,415 workers, but by November 12 the number had been increased to 3,257,592; or between April and November we find the Works Progress Administration rolls increased by 812,177 persons. If each of those individuals means four votes, you can determine what that means.

But let us compare the figure of November 12, 1938, with the figure of November 27, 1937, not an election year. We find that on November 27, 1937, there were on the pay rolls of the W. P. A. in the United States 1,519,740 employees, whereas in November 1938, in an election year, we find 3,257,592 on the rolls. The pay roll of the W. P. A. was doubled in 12 months' time. We find that it was not merely doubled, but it was even more than doubled. We find that it was increased by 1,737,852 employees in 12 months.

It may be just a coincidence. You may think it is a coincidence, if you so desire, that the pay rolls were increased just at election time. I do not know.

Mr. LOGAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLT. I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. LOGAN. I inquire of the Senator, believing that he wishes to be fair, if it is not true that what has been commonly known as a recession began about August 1937, and business conditions became very bad again for more than a year. I ask the Senator if he believes that the recession had anything to do with the increase in the number of persons upon the W. P. A pay rolls

sons upon the W. P. A. pay rolls.

Mr. HOLT. I think the Senator is absolutely correct that the recession or depression—what it is called depends upon which party you belong to; it does not make any difference about that; but, no matter what it is called, a business drop—occurred during the meantime; but, of course, I felt that "We planned it that way." [Laughter.] Nevertheless, I know that the recession did increase the relief rolls; but I also know that politics increased them. I intend to develop that matter a little later on, and I will show the Senator what the condition was, but I appreciate his question.

Mr. LOGAN. I thank the Senator.

Mr. HOLT. Now let us look at the increase.

In November 1936, an election year, we find 2,482,681 individuals on the W. P. A. pay roll. In November 1937 that number had declined to 1,519,740. In November 1938, another election year, back up the number goes to 3,216,400. You may say the difference is because we had unemployment. Let me take the figures of the American Federation

of Labor on unemployment.

In November 1936, when we had 2,482,000 persons on the W. P. A. pay rolls, we had 8,286,686 unemployed; but in November 1937—an off year as far as elections were concerned—the W. P. A. pay roll declined to 1,519,740, although the unemployment in November 1937 was greater than it was in November 1936 by nearly 200,000 individuals. There we find unemployment increasing in 1937, and the W. P. A. rolls decreasing.

You may draw your own conclusion about that if you so desire. I have no objection. If you feel that what was done was just, that is all right. Let us check the figures for March. I have given you those for November. You know,

we do not have elections in March.

In March 1936 we find 2,800,000 persons on the W. P. A. pay rolls; in March 1937, 2,100,000; and in March 1938, 2,300,000. Compare those figures with the figures for November 1936 and 1938, election years, and the figures for November 1937, and at the very same time that the rolls were going up we find industrial production going up.

This may illustrate a point. I do not think we had a particularly bad depression between October 8 and November 5. We may have had, but I do not recall that business just

took a sudden drop. Let me give you these facts:

In 1938, an election year, we find on page 143 of the hearings that between September 10 and October 8 there were added to the W. P. A. pay rolls 34,750 individuals; but between October 8 and November 5—you see, that was right before the election—we find that there were 125,857 added;

or nearly four times as many were added during the month of October as were added during the month of September. You may feel that there is no politics about relief; it looks bad to me.

Mr. LOGAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLT. Yes; I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. LOGAN. It seems from the Senator's argument that the more W. P. A. workers we have, the fewer votes the Democratic Party gets in the election. Is that true?

Mr. HOLT. I would not say that is entirely true, but I do know that a great many of the men working down in the ditch in the W. P. A. voted against certain Democratic candidates because they objected to the Democratic bosses who did nothing, getting a much higher rate of pay than the men who actually did the work. There was a great deal of dissension among the Works Progress Administration employees, because they felt that the men who did the work ought to get at least part of the money, and that the men who sat behind the desks ought to do a little work. I admit it did have a great deal to do with the result of the election. There was a great deal of dissension in the Works Progress Administration; and not only that, but the same thing influenced the American people. If there was one thing that helped cause the Democratic Party to take the set-back that it took in 1938, it was the conduct of the Works Progress Administration. There is no question in my mind about it.

Now, I want to put some figures in the RECORD, so that the record will be clear.

On September 10, 1938, we find 3,102,062 persons on the W. P. A. pay rolls. On October 8, 1938, we find 3,136,812 on the W. P. A. pay rolls, or an increase of only 34,750; but on November 5 we find on the W. P. A. pay rolls 3,262,669, or an increase of 125,857 for the same length of time.

It may be just a coincidence, but I cannot understand how we find that great increase. A number of primaries were being held in August and September in which certain Members of the Senate were to be purged, or to be defeated, or something was happening in the primaries. It has not been exactly determined what it was, but between June 11 and August 27 we find an increase in the W. P. A. pay rolls of 13 percent, an increase from 2,711,762 to 3,066,895. This also can be found on page 143 of the hearings.

The increase occurred before election. Was it due to unemployment and the recession? Let us look at the Government records to see if it was due to those factors. I am quoting from the Labor Information Bureau of the Department of Labor. I am sure that would not be against the administration. It shows that in July 1938 there were 40,000 individuals returned to their jobs. In August 1938 there were 250,000 returned to their jobs. In September 1938 there were 440,000 returned to their jobs. In October there were 255,000 returned to their jobs. In that period alone this shows between 900,000 and a million workers went back to private work. At the very time when a million people were put back on private pay rolls, an increase from 2,806,931 on the 2d day of July to 3,257,592 on the 17th day of November. While nearly a million individuals were added to the private pay rolls of the United States, we find W. P. A. pay rolls increased to the extent of 400,000.

It seems to me interesting that those things happened. We find a great increase in both those groups, and it is surprising that the depression or the recession—I do not care what it is called, but it meant a lot of unemployment in the land—hit its peak, or its bottom, on November 5. Others may entertain that thought if they care to, but I do not. I think that November 5 was important because it was the Saturday before election, and the W. P. A. was used for the purposes of the election.

If anyone can show me any figures in the Government statistics or in private statistics which would demonstrate that the Works Progress Administration was justified in saying that November 5 was the top or the bottom of the depression, I should like to know where the figures are. They cannot be found. It is well known that the figures went up and down.

LXXXIV-35

Now I wish to call attention to another figure. I do not care to go into a discussion of Kentucky again, but since my friend from Kentucky called attention to these figures and asked me to give them, I looked for the record last night. I found that in April the Works Progress Administration spent \$1,884,558 in Kentucky, and in the same month in the State of West Virginia—and we live next door to Kentucky—we had \$1,830,957. Listen to this: Kentucky had only \$53,601 more for W. P. A. in April than West Virginia had.

Now let us look at the figures for August, on the day of the primaries, in Kentucky, and Senators can make their own determination. We find in Kentucky the W. P. A. spent \$3,369,425, and in West Virginia only \$2,363,996. We find in the State of Kentucky they spent \$1,005,429 more than in West Virginia, whereas in April they spent only \$53,000 more. There was not any politics about that, none at all. Gentlemen may believe that if they care to, but I do not.

Let us look further at the figures for Kentucky as compared with West Virginia. My reason for giving these is that the figures were almost the same in April, \$1,884,000 against \$1,830,000, a difference of only \$50,000 in round figures. But between April and August in Kentucky the Works Progress Administration added to its pay roll, in comparative figures, \$1,484,867, as compared to an increase in West Virginia of \$533,039, or nearly three times as much in the State of Kentucky as in the State of West Virginia.

There was a discussion of the State of Maryland, and I wanted to get the figures as to that State. If any Senators want any more figures, I shall get them for the RECORD.

We find in April in Maryland \$619,314 was spent by W. P. A., and in August \$785,108. In the State of Maryland we find an increase of \$165,784, whereas in the State of Kentucky we find an increase of \$1,485,867, or nine times as great an increase in the State of Kentucky as in the State of Maryland. Of course, there was not any politics about that at all, none at all. It just happened that way, just happened that there was a severe depression hitting the State of Kentucky and putting all those people out of work just before election time.

The State of Louisiana was mentioned yesterday, so I wanted to be sure to get the figures as to Louisiana in the Record, and I looked them up. In April in the State of Louisiana there was spent by the W. P. A. \$1,383,699, whereas in that State in the month of August \$1,880,479 was spent. In the State of Louisiana the increase was only \$496,780, while in the State of Kentucky the increase was \$1,485,867, or nearly three times as much. If anyone in this Chamber has any figures to dispute this, I should like to have them; I should like to see them.

It will be found the figures show in nearly every instance the W. P. A. rolls went up before the primaries in certain States, then took a lull, then took a jump before the general election. There was a general increase, then a lull, then another increase.

Of course there was not any politics in the W. P. A.! Do not misunderstand me. Harry Hopkins says there was not any politics in the W. P. A. It is strange that Harry Hopkins found between the month of April and the month of August that there was a depression in the State of Kentucky. It was peculiar.

While I am speaking of that, I should like to mention something about the State of Pennsylvania. I like to talk about Pennsylvania, the neighboring State to my State. Now let us look at the figures for the State of Pennsylvania.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Johnson of Colorado in the chair). Does the Senator from West Virginia yield to the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. HOLT. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I do not know what the Senator is about to bring out, but from what he has already presented it is likely that there might be some adverse criticism of the W. P. A. in Pennsylvania, and I think we ought to have

the Senators from Pennsylvania present. I do not believe the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Guffey] is in the Chamber at this time. I only mention that because it would be well if he were here to defend the purity of his State.

Mr. HOLT. I should be glad to yield long enough for a quorum to be called so that he can be brought to the Chamber, if the Senator from Maryland so desires, because I certainly do not care to talk about the State of Pennsylvania unless the State of Pennsylvania has representation here to defend the record.

Mr. TYDINGS. At least the Senators should be notified. I certainly would want to be notified if my State were being attacked. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Donahey	La Follette	Russell
Andrews	Downey	Lee	Schwartz
Ashurst	Ellender	Lewis	Schwellenbach
Austin	Frazier	Lodge	Sheppard
Bailey	George	Logan	Shipstead
Bankhead	Gerry	Lucas	Smathers
Barbour	Gibson	Lundeen	Smith
Barkley	Gillette	McCarran	Stewart
Bilbo	Glass	McKellar	Taft
Bone	Green	McNary	Thomas, Okla.
Borah	Guffey	Maloney	Thomas, Utah
Bridges	Gurney	Mead	Tobey
Bulow	Hale	Miller	Townsend
Burke	Harrison	Minton	Truman
Byrd	Hatch	Murray	Tydings
Byrnes	Hayden	Neely	Vandenberg
Capper	Herring	Norris	Van Nuys
Caraway	Hill	Nye	Wagner
Chavez	Holman	O'Mahoney	Walsh
Clark, Idaho	Holt	Pepper	Wheeler
Clark, Mo.	Hughes	Pittman	White
Connally	Johnson, Calif.	Radcliffe	Wiley
Danaher	Johnson, Colo.	Reed	
Davis	King	Reynolds	

Mr. LEWIS. I again announce that the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Overton] is detained from the Senate because of illness and that the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Brown] is detained from the Senate on important public business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Ninety-four Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I shall repeat what I was saying before the roll was called for the purpose of obtaining a quorum. The particular purpose of calling the roll was to get the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Guffey] here, because I am sure he would be interested in anything I have to say about his State, and if he should wish to challenge the truth of anything I have said—and I am sure I am correct in what I have said and will say—he should have the opportunity afforded him to challenge the correctness of my statement. I am glad he has come to the Chamber, and I should be very glad if he would dispute any statements of tact regarding the State of Pennsylvania which he thinks are incorrect.

Going back to the State of Pennsylvania—I see that the Senator from Pennsylvania has left as quickly as he came in. Going into the State of Pennsylvania, I wish to give the Senate certain facts to show the increase in the W. P. A. in the State of Pennsylvania before the primary was held there. Of course, the primary election in the State of Pennsylvania was the part of the campaign in which there was particular interest. Let us look at what happened during the primary campaign. We find that on the 25th day of December 1937 there were on the pay roll of the W. P. A. in the State of Pennsylvania 158,982 individuals, whereas on April 30, 1938, or just preceding the primary in the State of Pennsylvania we find that the number had increased to 227,635. They found out about the depression in the State of Pennsylvania, and between December and April, in the primary campaign in the State of Pennsylvania, we find added to the W. P. A. pay rolls in that State 68,000 individuals, or nearly a 40percent increase. They found out, between the 1st of January and the date of the primary that 40 percent more people were unemployed in the State of Pennsylvania, and therefore they needed a 40-percent increase in the Works Progress Administration rolls. Quite peculiar! Of course, I would not want anyone here to think that there was any politics to that. None at all. There was not any politics to it. It just happened that they found out about the State of Pennsylvania having such a great amount of unemployment just preceding the primary of 1938.

Again I wish to say that I want every Senator to draw his own conclusion as to whether there was any politics or not

in that situation.

Why is it in these States just before the primaries we find these increases, and after the primaries we find a lull until

they need the votes in the general election?

One well-known officeholder said to me personally, "You know it pays to put them on a month before the election. They will not forget it." Of course, there is not any politics about that. They just become needy the month before the election. Of course, I know that those in official life become needy just before the election; but I want to give the figures to show what happened in the State of Pennsylvania.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. HOLT. I am glad to yield to the Senator from New

Vork

Mr. WAGNER. I do not want to get into any controversy concerning figures, but I ask the Senator if he does not think that when a public official holding a responsible position makes a statement like that to the Senator that the official's name ought to be disclosed, because he is not fit to hold office if he deliberately used his office for the political purposes which the Senator just mentioned?

Mr. HOLT. No; I do not.

Mr. WAGNER. I think it is very unfortunate to repeat such assertions and not name the person who made the assertions.

Mr. HOLT. I can assure the Senator from New York that that statement was made.

Mr. WAGNER. I do not doubt that, of course, if the Senator says it was made to him.

Mr. HOLT. It was made to me personally.

Mr. WAGNER. But does not the Senator think he ought to disclose the name of the individual, then?

Mr. HOLT. It was made personally to me, but I know that the best way for the man either to be promoted or demoted would be for me to give his name. His position would be affected one way or the other if I should give his name, because that would be the immediate result.

Mr. WAGNER. If a public official confessed to the Senator that he was guilty of the offense stated he is not fit to hold public office, and I think the Senator ought to give his name to the Senate so we may know who the individual is.

Mr. HOLT. What would happen if his name were given to the Senate?

Mr. WAGNER. What would happen?

Mr. HOLT. Yes.

Mr. WAGNER. What should happen is that he-

Mr. HOLT. No; I am asking: What would happen to him if his name were given to the Senate?

Mr. WAGNER. He ought to be removed from office. That is what should happen.

Mr. HOLT. I am not speaking of what should happen. I ask: What would happen?

Mr. WAGNER. I am not a clairvoyant, but I can tell the

Senator what should happen. Mr. HOLT. I agree with the Senator as to what should happen.

Mr. WAGNER. He should be summarily removed from

Mr. HOLT. That is why I want the Senator from New York and all other Members of the Senate to join me in an investigation of the W. P. A., so the facts can be brought out. I wish to have that investigation. That man can be put under oath and forced to give his statement and tell his story. I think we should have such an investigation. I am sure the Senator from New York will not only find that such

a statement will be obtained from that individual, but that many more individuals will make statements just like his.

Mr. WAGNER. Of course, I voted for the Hatch resolution in the Senate.

Mr. HOLT. I am not criticizing the Senator from New York. I am sure he would join me in the investigation.

Mr. WAGNER. But I would not make a statement on the floor of the Senate that a public official has made a statement to me that he deliberately was guilty of maladministration, and then refuse to disclose his name.

Mr. HOLT. I assure the Senator from New York that if he will go along in an investigation of the W. P. A., not only

will that matter be brought out but much more.

Mr. WAGNER. Do it now.

Mr. HOLT. We will do it.

Mr. WAGNER. Do not talk about these things being done at some time in the future, but do it now.

Mr. HOLT. No; I want an investigation of the W. P. A. so the facts can be brought out publicly under oath; so the boys in the W. P. A. cannot squirm out of it. If the W. P. A. is clean, they need not fear an investigation. But it is not clean. That is why they are fighting an investigation of the W. P. A.

I want to say to the Democrats here that if we do not clean up the W. P. A. from such misconduct in office by 1940 we are going to pay with many more seats in the United States Senate, because the American people will not tolerate such corruption and graft as the W. P. A. has shown in this country. I am saying that in behalf of the party, and I say you cannot cover up those things without the American people knowing it. Therefore, some time during the session I intend to reintroduce a resolution to investigate the W. P. A. and let all the facts be brought out. I tell the Senator from New York and every other Senator that I can prove every statement I have ever made. Let us have the facts in the open. Oh, yes, the facts are dangerous to some. Let them fall where they may.

It has been said that Congress is responsible for politics in the W. P. A. If that be the case, let us name the Representatives and Senators who are responsible for the wrongs of the W. P. A. Let us go out into the open with this and give it to the American people. Corruption and graft cannot long be covered up. Men may get away with it for a little while, but the same thing will happen to this political machine that has happened to every political machine when corruption and graft has been found. Corruption and graft cannot be covered up in the State of Pennsylvania. It will be defeated wherever it may be in this country.

Let me tell the Senate about the State of Pennsylvania. I should like to go into a discussion of some other States; I want the case to be perfectly clear about the State of Pennsylvania. I wish to read from the Sheppard report concerning the State of Pennsylvania and what happened there. I also wish to add some things that have taken place in the

State of Pennsylvania to which I object.

Let us look at the first thing we find in the Sheppard report. The committee found that the W. P. A. truck operators and owners were assessed \$100 apiece. The names of those who made the assessments are known. What has happened to those who made the assessments? Not a thing. Not a thing will happen to them, because they are still working for the W. P. A. Yes, we find truck owners saying, "Here is \$100." Let me tell the Senate how they paid it. I can tell Senators how I have been told they paid it. You were to go into a certain room in a certain city in Pennsylvania and walk toward a door, and you would stand there in the door with \$100 in your hand, and put it in the hand of a man who would stick his hand out. would not see his face, but he would stick his hand out. He would take the \$100 and put it in the campaign fund to elect the ticket in the State of Pennsylvania. Of course if the one assessed was a small worker he would put \$1 or \$2 or \$3 in the man's hand, depending upon what he might have been assessed. The hand went out, and then back in it went with the money that was taken for the W. P. A. and those connected with the W. P. A. Why should

they not be brought forward? Why should they not be known?

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLT. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. TYDINGS. I wish to call the Senator's attention to the fact that not many years ago a Senator who had been elected from Pennsylvania was unseated for practices of that kind.

Mr. HOLT. That is absolutely correct. The time is coming in America when the people will clean house. We can sit here and think it is not coming, but if we do not clean up the situation, and if we do not unseat some of the men who are doing this, the American people will do it at the first opportunity. It is impossible to hide behind such things and get away with it for long.

Let us look at some of the other things in connection with the development of the use of the W. P. A. in the State of

Pennsylvania.

Who is responsible for the conduct of W. P. A.? Mr. Harry Hopkins. He is the Administrator. It is his duty to hire or fire, or to clean up any abuses which may develop. What has he done about the State of Pennsylvania? Has anything happened in the State of Pennsylvania to show that Mr. Hopkins has objected to such actions? I think not. Why? Would not an honest and upright public official have brought forward these charges? Oh, yes; Mr. Hopkins made an investigation of it, according to an account printed in the Washington Star, which I should like to read. This account is from the Washington Star of June 2, 1938. It says:

An honest admission of the disgustingly political quality of Pennsylvania's political relief was suppressed, and an effort to cor-rect the situation was prevented a few days before the Pennsyl-vania primary. Works Progress Administrator Harry L. Hopkins was personally determined to make a clean breast of it, but some higher influence prevailed.

If that be the case, let us find out who the higher influence

The account continues:

The charge is ugly. Unfortunately, the facts cannot be washed away or ignored. They will be loudly denied, of course, both at the White House and the W. P. A., but the facts are—

This column went all over the United States. Should we not look into the matter?

Sometime before the Pennsylvania voting, the anti-Guffeyite boss of Philadelphia, John B. Kelly, wired Hopkins protesting against political activity in the W. P. A. The W. P. A. in Pennsylvania was and still is owned by Senator Joe Guffey, but, before they quarreled with their satrap, the anti-Guffeyites had got a foothold in it. Senator Guffer was therefore conducting a purge of the relief army.

We have heard the word "purge." This purge of the relief army started back in June. That reminds me of something else. The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Guffey] was going to purge the Senate of a few of us. Senators will remember his speech, wherein he said he was going to purge the Senate. At the present time he is holding on tightly to try to keep from being purged by the people.

The account in the Washington Evening Star continues:

Administrator Hopkins promised that he would investigate. The W. P. A.'s usual solemn flummery of self-inquisition was started. But this time it produced a new result. Either conditions previously unknown to Mr. Hopkins were discovered or Mr. Hopkins simply decided to seize the opportunity to clean house. At any rate, he told more than one close friend that his answer to Kelly would not be a whitewest. would not be a whitewash.

It quotes him exactly.

"We're going to take the lid off," he said, in effect. "We've got to. Things are so bad in Pennsylvania that if we don't act ourselves there will be an explosion sooner or later which will discredit the whole Works Program."

That is Mr. Hopkins, quoted in quotation marks.

When Mr. Hopkins talked with his friends he had already heard Senator Guffer and his henchmen clamoring for a whitewash. Perhaps in the end he merely gave in to Senator Guffer. Perhaps the White House intervened. On May 13, at any rate, he telegraphed Mr. Kelly that the charges of political activity in the Pennsylvania W. P. A. were "for the major part untrue."

That is Mr. Hopkins. I want to read the last two paragraphs:

A slip in his organization made Mr. Hopkins' denial completely ludicrous. With his telegram to Mr. Kelly a press release was issued announcing that "in Luzerne County seven W. P. A. employees were summarily dismissed" for political activities.

Let me tell the Senate where Luzerne County is. It is the county in which Dr. Mundy lives, and with him I understand are 147 relatives on the pay roll. There is quite a little evidence about Luzerne County which I intend to discuss.

The release was hardly in the hands of the reporters before the W. P. A. press agents were on the telephone anxiously explaining that there had been a mistake, that the Luzerne County dismissals were not political. As it happened, Luzerne County was precisely the place where Joe Guffey's purge of anti-Guffeyites was most

Indeed, the whole business would be comic if it were not deathly erious. The W. P. A.'s solemn self-investigation and solemn selfserious. exculpation are a ritual regularly gone through in campaign years. Everyone knows that the self-investigation is a farce, that the self-exculpation is untruthful.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLT. I yield.

Mr. DAVIS. Did the Senator obtain any information from Luzerne County on the contest between one of the W. P. A. politician administrators and the truant officer? Work relief cards were being given to the boys in the grade schools and in the high schools. The boys were kept around, and they would have to play hookey from school. The truant officer would then go and find them and bring them back. There was a constant fight as to whether these young people were going to work for the political boss, or whether the truant officer was going to get them and put them back in

Mr. HOLT. The Senator from Pennsylvania does not mean that such a thing could happen in the W. P. A., does he?

Mr. DAVIS. That happened in the W. P. A. in Luzerne County.

Mr. HOLT. I would not want anyone to think that there was any politics in connection with that matter. I should like to ask the Senator from Pennsylvania if he knows whether or not anybody was fired on account of it.

Mr. DAVIS. There were some 20,000 of them fired in Pennsylvania the morning after the election. [Laughter in the galleries.]

Mr. HOLT. Was any firing done before the election?

Mr. DAVIS. I used to call Mr. Hopkins' attention to it, and Aubrey Williams said that my statements were untrue. Mr. HOLT. He said there was not a scintilla of truth in

Mr. DAVIS. That is correct.

them

Mr. HOLT. Of course, I would not want anyone within the hearing of my voice to think that these boys working on the W. P. A., out of school, would have parents who could vote. Did they have parents who could vote?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes; they had parents; and it was for the purpose of influencing the parents that the jobs were given to the minors. I do not mean coal miners either. I mean m-i-n-o-r-s.

Mr. HOLT. That circumstance absolutely proves that there was not any politics involved.

Mr. DAVIS. Did anyone tell the Senator about persons walking around with work cards in their pockets and selling them at auction in the saloons for \$4 apiece?

Mr. HOLT. No; I should like to hear more about it.

Mr. DAVIS. The Senator will hear more about it later. Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, a point of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MEAD in the chair). The Senator will state it.

Mr. LEWIS. I would not disturb any form of proper appreciation of the oratory of any speaker, particularly the distinguished Senator from West Virginia. However, I must call the attention of the Chair to the attitude of the occupants of the galleries, which causes a disturbance which is inconsistent with the dignity of this body. It violates the rules. It is unbecoming. This exhibition is not, sir, a

moving picture, with the comedy which is usually associated with it.

Therefore, I must request the Chair to inform the occupants of the galleries that under our rules these exhibitions of amusement, and the noises following them, which disturb the hearing of Senators, ought not to be allowed. Such demonstrations are not permitted by the rules. I ask that the occupants of the galleries be admonished, in order that they may not again violate the rules or continue to do so throughout the day, as was the experience on yesterday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point of order is well taken. The Chair admonishes the occupants of the galleries to conform to the rules, as suggested by the Senator from Ulinois

Mr. HOLT. I am afraid that when all the facts with respect to Pennsylvania are brought out, it will be very difficult not only for the occupants of the galleries but for Senators to keep quiet. The facts in the State of Pennsylvania are not entirely a laughing matter, but a very serious matter for the people of the United States. They are serious because they affect the moral conduct of government itself.

Let me say again that the W. P. A. was under the direction and administration of the man whose nomination we are now considering. I should like to ask the Senator from Pennsylvania whether or not the Works Progress Administrator, Mr. Hopkins, investigated the question of the boys on relief.

Mr. DAVIS. Not that I know of.

Mr. HOLT. I wish to make absolutely clear the story about the boys on the W. P. A. in the State of Pennsylvania. I do not wish anyone to think that there was any politics in the administration of the W. P. A. in Pennsylvania. Far be it from me to do that. Mr. Hopkins said that he did not believe in politics in the W. P. A.

We learn about the conditions in Luzerne County from the Sheppard committee report. It says:

The committee heard from its investigators testimony with respect to the activities of officials and employees of the W. P. A. in Luzerne County, Pa. Investigators reported that 18 relief workers on a W. P. A. project near Wilkes-Barre were ordered transferred from this project, which was near their homes, to a project located some 35 or 40 miles from their homes. The investigators stated that the reason for this transfer action was that these workers were wearing Republican buttons at work and had registered Republican.

That is a crime for which they were moved 35 or 40 miles away.

miles away.

The State assistant district attorney for Luzerne County took up the complaints of these workers with the W. P. A. authorities, after they had been transferred, and was told by the W. P. A. director for Luzerne County that they had been retransferred to a project near their homes. The W. P. A. director for Luzerne County advised the committee's investigators that in his opinion, after his investigation, the complaint was true, and for that reason he had ordered the retransfer of the men to a project near their homes. The investigators reported further that they were informed by the W. P. A. director for Luzerne County that the W. P. A. foreman responsible in this case was transferred to another project.

Was not that a terrible punishment to him? He was transferred to another project, where he was still on the W. P. A. pay roll.

The report continues with respect to the conditions in Luzerne County—

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLT. I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DAVIS. Does the Senator know why all that work was going on in the W. P. A. in Luzerne County?

Mr. HOLT. No; I should like to hear about it.

Mr. DAVIS. It was because the Republican candidate for Governor came from that county, and it was desired to carry that county for the Democrats. However, that effort was met with failure.

Mr. HOLT. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania mean to say that there were any political manipulations in all these things happening in Luzerne County? The Senator would not charge the W. P. A. with such activities, would he? Let us go ahead with Luzerne County. The report continues:

The investigators of the committee reported further that in Luzerne County large numbers of W. P. A. workers were mailed postal cards requesting them to call at Democratic headquarters on particular dates at different hours.

The investigators reported that there was some evidence that lists had been prepared of relief workers at the W. P. A. head-quarters in their county, and it is believed that these lists were used in mailing out the postal cards. Further evidence from the investigators showed that when these relief workers called at the Democratic headquarters they were solicited for campaign contributions, in some cases the amount requested being \$100. The investigators further stated that they had affidavits that at these visits by relief workers contributions were actually made. The investigators of the committee further reported that the Democratic leader who was interviewing these relief workers and to whose office they were sent, was employed by the Unemployment Compensation Service, which aids in administering the social-security law and whose salary is paid, in part at least, from funds coming from the Federal Treasury, and was on leave from his official position, working for the Democratic Party.

I should like to tell the Senate the story they told about calling the workers into Democratic headquarters. Perhaps the Senators know the story they told. They said they wanted the W. P. A. workers to become interested in their projects. The reason they called them into the Democratic headquarters, according to their own statement, according to the W. P. A. boss, was that W. P. A. workers were not doing good work and he wanted to call them in. May I quote him exactly? Here are his exact words as to why he called them into Democratic headquarters. This is a good one. He says he—

Wanted to get them interested in the welfare of the Democratic Party.

He meant they had reports the men were loafing on the job from people passing a project, and that reflected on the Democratic Party, and they tried to get the workers interested so as to stop such criticism. They were interested in stopping loafing on the job because it hurt the Democratic Party.

That is why they called them into Democratic headquarters. Senators can believe that if they want to, but I do not believe it. Then he says he did not mean any individual, but groups, and that those cards had nothing to do with solicitation of campaign funds. They just called the workers in to discuss with them the question of loafing on the job. I thought the foreman was to look after loafing on the job, and that workers were not called in for any other purpose.

Let us look into that a little further. The bosses on the Luzerne County pay roll became very active a month before the election. Why? Because it was to their interest to carry Luzerne County in the election.

I do not want to discuss conditions in Luzerne County much more, because I do not want to take the time of the Senate, but I do want the record to be complete. I want the record to be known so that no Senator can sit back and say, "I did not know that happened. I would not have voted for the confirmation of Mr. Hopkins if I had known that happened in the W. P. A." Who was responsible for the conditions in Luzerne County? The district director. Who appointed the district director? The State director. Who appointed the State director? Mr. Hopkins. Mr. Hopkins had only to tell the district director to stop it and it would have been stopped. He could have fired him if he so desired, but was he fired? Does the Senator from Pennsylvania know whether the district director in that district has been fired since the election?

Mr. DAVIS. Not to my knowledge. The State director is still administering W. P. A. funds in Pennsylvania.

Mr. HOLT. If he was not fired, was he promoted?

Mr. DAVIS. I cannot answer that question.

Mr. HOLT. Very well. Let us go into Northampton County, Pa., for just a moment:

Investigators also reported that in Northampton County they had obtained evidence that in three cases either the forelady or the supervisor of a women's sewing project under the W. P. A. had handled the sale of tickets for three different political gatherings, the tickets being in two instances \$1 apiece and in another instance \$1.50.

I want to understand the Pennsylvania situation clearly, and I ask the Senator from Pennsylvania was that a Republican gathering to which they sold tickets in the State of Pennsylvania?

Mr. DAVIS. It was a Democratic gathering.

Mr. HOLT. At any rate, the tickets were sold.

The evidence further showed that large numbers of these women on this sewing project purchased tickets. The supervisor of the W. P. A. admitted to the committee that at least 30 tickets were sold for one of these political gatherings, that 125 were sold at another, and that 123 were sold to or at a third political gathering. The investigators also reported that the ticket selling by foremen and forewomen on W. P. A. projects was general in that county. The committee was informed that a newspaper reporter from the Washington Evening Star had secured affidavits confirming the report of the committee's investigators with respect to certain of these findings.

Of course, I would not want anybody to think there was any politics connected with selling to women on sewing projects tickets for a political gathering at a dollar and a dollar and a half apiece. Here were women with families working on a sewing project to earn enough to feed their families, and then the W. P. A. foremen, who were direct political agencies, coming to them and making them buy tickets for political gatherings in the State. Oh, no, there was no politics about it; none at all!

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLT. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Does not the Senator think they are entitled to some credit for not charging a hundred dollars a ticket, according to the orthodox Democratic formula? [Laughter.]

Mr. HOLT. The difference was in the menu, I think. [Laughter.] In other words, at the \$100 dinner there was a better menu than at the \$1 dinner. In this connection it will be recalled that when they sold tickets in Pennsylvania to the Hershey ox roast one of the men who bought a ticket said he went there but could not find any ox. [Laughter.] Maybe the money was to pay for the ox. Whose ox is being gored? Perhaps the Senator from Pennsylvania knows about the menu; I am not entirely familiar with it.

Proceeding further with the committee report, I again emphasize that Mr. Hopkins was the Administrator, and was responsible for the administration of this condition. What has he done? Has a single person been "fired" in response to this investigation? None to my knowledge.

Now, let me go ahead and read further from the evidence:

There was evidence presented to the committee that a Democratic rally was held at Hershey, Pa., on or about August 27, for which tickets were sold at \$1 each; that a Mr. Halloran, a director for the fifth W. P. A. district of Pennsylvania, turned over to Chas. H. Spangler, chief pay-roll examiner of this district, 5,000 of these tickets; that Mr. Spangler distributed for sale approximately 4,500 of the 5,000 tickets to administrative workers, supervisory persons in the field, and to W. P. A. relief workers.

How much do you suppose, Mr. President, they took in at that Hershey ox roast? An affidavit shows that they took in \$105,000 at the Hershey ox roast. That was some ox, let me say. [Laughter.] That is what happened in W. P. A. in the State of Pennsylvania. What have we heard about it? The W. P. A. has been silent; Mr. Hopkins has been silent. It is said that Mr. Hopkins did not know anything about it. Well, if Mr. Hopkins, as Administrator, did not know anything about these conditions, someone had better wake him up before he is named Secretary of Commerce, for, otherwise, sometime somebody may take the Commerce Building away and he will not even know about it. [Laughter.] Senators can believe that he did not know anything about it if they want to, but I do not believe it.

Now, let us look a little bit further into conditions in the State of Pennsylvania.

The committee's investigation in Pennsylvania showed that in some instances pressure was brought to bear on W. P. A. employees and workers by individuals outside the W. P. A. For instance, under date of October 24, 1938, Mr. Joseph F. McElwee, chairman of the

Democratic committee in Montgomery County, Norristown, Pa., mailed a letter addressed to "Fellow Democrats," which stated that at the direction of Senator Joseph F. Guffer and Mr. David L. Lawrence a joint meeting of all State, Federal, and W. P. A. workers would be held in Norristown on a certain date at a specified time. The letter went on to say: "There will be no excuse accepted for lack of attendance."

I hope Senators appreciate the meaning of that suggestion. Word was sent out that a Senator of this body was going to speak to the W. P. A. employees, so they got notice, and in that notice there was this statement:

There will be no excuse accepted for lack of attendance.

What was meant by that? In other words, "We will check up on who is there, and if you are not there, you will get a 403." They did not say that, but that is what they meant. I quote further from the report:

A representative of the committee attended the meeting mentioned in Mr. McElwee's letter and reported that about 2,500 persons were present. It could not be determined how many of these persons were State, Federal and W. P. A. workers. The meeting was conducted as an ordinary political rally and no request for contributions was made.

Here is a meeting called concerning which it is said, "There will be no excuse for lack of attendance." If any Senators desire to check that letter, they can turn to page 245 of part II of the report and find the actual letter there with its complete wording.

Now, I should like to return to Luzerne County for a moment because the report does go back to that county.

In further reference to Luzerne County, the committee found that not only truck owners and truck drivers, but timekeepers, foremen, and other workers and employees were, in numerous instances, solicited for contributions and for the purchase of political tickets; and that such solicitations were not confined alone to persons at Democratic headquarters, but were made by W. P. A. employees and State highway department employees occupying supervisory and administrative positions with those Federal and State agencies, and that a number of contributions were made as result of these solicitations.

The report also goes ahead to show that not only were contributions made, but demands were made upon the men to change their registration from Democrat to Republican.

One of the letters that was sent out—a postal card with a letter—was addressed to a truck operator. With that was enclosed a 1-cent postal card addressed to the Democratic headquarters, corner Main and Clinton Streets, Johnstown, Pa., and here is what it says:

Dear Mr. Di Francesco-

This was the card he was supposed to send back—

Answering your letter of recent date, relative to the mobilization of automobile for election day.

I do not own an automobile.

There was a place to mark.

I own an automobile which will be available for your use on election day, November 8, in election district ———,

The recipients of the letters were supposed to send that card back to this man. It was sent to W. P. A. truck owners. They wanted to use the truck or the car at election time.

Here is another letter that was sent to different truck owners. Here is what it says:

Please arrange to attend a meeting of W. P. A. truck owners Friday evening, November 4, at 8 p. m.

When was the election? November 8, I believe.

Please arrange to attend a meeting of W. P. A. truck owners Friday evening, November 4, at 8 p. m. at Turner's Hotel, Jackson and Railroad Street, Johnstown, Pa. Subject will be—

This is what the subject was going to be at that meeting, 4 days before the election—

new registration for 1939 and "P. U. C." and hauling men.

Signed by Charles A. McCloskey.

This is the letter that the man received when he was asked about automobiles:

DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE OF CAMBRIA COUNTY HEADQUARTERS,

Ebensburg, Pa., October 13, 1938.

DEAR ———: Your name has been suggested at headquarters with

DEAR ———: Your name has been suggested at headquarters with the information that you own an automobile, which you might wish to volunteer for use on election day.

We desire to mobilize all the automobiles of owners who are interested in the election of the Democratic ticket. It is necessary, however, to have information at headquarters as to what automobiles we may have available for use and the precinct where these automobiles may be operated on election day

automobiles may be operated on election day.

If we are mistaken in our information that you own an automobile, then you will so indicate on the enclosed card. If, however, you do own an automobile which you wish to volunteer for use on election day, please so indicate on the same card and also where the automobile will be operated.

It is necessary to have this information at headquarters at the earliest possible convenience, and we therefore trust and hope that you will give us your cooperation in this matter.

Very truly yours.

Very truly yours,

SAMUEL R. DI FRANCESCO, Campaign Manager, Cambria County.

Of course there was not any politics to that! They just wanted to know who were running W. P. A. trucks, and who were operating W. P. A. trucks, and to tell them, "Here is a card. We shall expect you to go out and work for the Democratic ticket on election day."

Of course one could go ahead and show many, many instances of politics in W. P. A.; I should like to have Mr. Hopkins answer a question about this matter I shall discuss. The Sheppard committee refers to it. This is not an individual case. It shows manipulation of public funds which Mr. Hopkins certainly should know about. If he sat there not knowing about it, he is unfit to be a member of the President's Cabinet. If he sat there and did know about it and did not do anything, then, my friends, he is worse than unfit to be a member of the President's Cabinet.

This is what the Sheppard report says on page 28:

The investigation further disclosed that the State highway department in Pennsylvania was generally active politically and that on State-road projects partly financed through W. P. A. funds there was a great amount of political activity. Evidence was obtained to show that the State highway department had been receiving undue financial advantages as against the Federal Government in the matter of its contributions to road projects regardless of whether such advantages had served political purposes. This evidence was to the effect that the sponsor's contribution was supposed to be 20 percent of the cost of the road projects but that generally nothing like 20 percent was shown. The committee's investigators obtained evidence to show that sponsors have borne and paid 7.4 percent of the cost of road projects and that W. P. A. has borne and paid 92.6 percent of the cost of these projects. The investigation further disclosed that the State highway de-

It is not peculiar that in the year of the election it was found out that the State could not pay the 20 percent which the sponsors assured the Federal Government of paying and cut down their percentage to 7.4 percent? I have not checked this up. I am taking the word of the Sheppard committee on the subject. It is impossible for me to check the figures, because they are not available, but the report goes ahead to show what the condition was.

Whose money was that? That was not the money of the State of Pennsylvania. It was money appropriated by the Congress of the United States to feed hungry people; and

this is what the report says:

The evidence shows that the State highway department, the largest single sponsor, has borne and paid 6.4 percent and the W. P. A. has borne and paid 93.6 percent of the road-project cost, but that due to failure of the State highway department to report substantial expenditures made during 1935, 1936, and 1937 this percentage is lower. The total amount expended on roads by the W. P. A. in Pennsylvania, in accordance with evidence placed before the committee, from the beginning of the road program to and including September 30, 1938, was \$259.568.804, and that the before the committee, from the beginning of the road program to and including September 30, 1938, was \$259,568,804, and that the amount expended by W. P. A. on road projects sponsored by the State highway department was \$201,220,946. Evidence before the committee was further to the effect that the total net encumbrances of W. P. A. in Pennsylvania from its beginning, July 1, 1935, to September 30, 1938, was \$536,561,871. The total number of W. P. A. workers employed on all road projects in Pennsylvania so f November 4, 1938, was 168,487, and the total number of W. P. A. workers as of November 4, 1938, on road projects sponsored by the Pennsylvania State Highway Department was 141,746. The total number of persons enrolled in Pennsylvania on W. P. A. so of November 4, 1938, was 278,324 relief, 11,100 nonrelief, or a as of November 4, 1938, was 278,324 relief, 11,100 nonrelief, or a total of 289,424

Were the funds manipulated and juggled in order that that particular thing might occur?

We find many such things, not only in Pennsylvania but throughout the United States. We find them because we have sat idly by and tolerated them.

Now let me read from the record what the committee says about some of the occurrences in Pennsylvania, and some say Mr. Hopkins knew nothing about them. Mr. Hopkins knew nothing about the W. P. A. You may sit and vote as you please. It is your privilege to vote as you please; but if you vote for confirmation in this case you are voting to confirm a man who was responsible for this conduct of the W. P. A. You are voting to reward a man who was administrator of the W. P. A. during all these occurrences and did nothing about them.

Now let us see what the committee said happened in Pennsylvania. I am quoting from the committee:

It is the opinion of your investigator that the sending out of the above letter, naming, as it does, Federal and W. P. A. workers, constitutes a flagrant violation of ethics, but for which there is apparently no recourse in law.

This referred to a letter I read a few minutes ago.

Just a violation of ethics. The Hatch amendment would have gone after those who did it; but, of course, that amendment did not include the State officials, and we were told that when you are fighting State officials you have to get an even chance to use the money.

The report goes ahead and says:

It is further reprehensible for the letter to state that no excuse for lack of attendance would be accepted.

Now let us look for a minute or so-and it will be only that-at Carbon County, Pa.

The reason why I am giving all these facts is that I want the Senate to know that it is not a case of just one incident. These instances occured throughout the country; and I want many incidents given, in the time I shall talk, these to be known by the Senate and known by the country. It cannot be said, "Oh, that just happened in a place or so." With all of these Mr. Hopkins must have known something about at least one.

The investigation of the Sheppard committee shows in Pennsylvania:

First. That W. P. A. truck owners in Carbon County, Pa .-

That is another county in Pennsylvania

were instructed on September 2, 1938, by Warren Morthimer, W. P. A. foreman for said county, to attend meeting at 311 South Street, East Mauch Chunk, Carbon County, Pa., between the hours

of 5 p. m. and 7 p. m.

2. That W. P. A. truck owners were contacted at 311 South Street, East Mauch Chunk, Pa., by one William J. McGinley, garage inspector, State highway department, State of Pennsylvania.

3. That William J. McGinley asked and requested each W. P. A. truck owner to contribute \$100 to the Democratic election cam-

4. That three W. P. A. truck owners refused to make the contribution of \$100 as requested and on September 14, 1938, were separated from W. P. A.

Think of that! They refused to give \$100 each to the campaign fund and were fired on September 14, 2 months before the election. There would not be any politics in that. Do not misunderstand me at all. Mr. Hopkins says there is no politics in the use of W. P. A. money; but let me go ahead.

- 5. That five (5) W. P. A. truck owners had contributed to the Democratic election campaign.
- I wonder if they are still on the W. P. A. pay roll. I presume they are.
- 6. That Warren Morthimer, W. P. A. foreman, Carbon County, Pa., and William J. McGinley, garage inspector, State highway department, State of Pennsylvania, each emphatically denied that they at any time contacted any W. P. A. truck owner or requested them to make a campaign contribution.

That reminds me of another denial.

7. That although Warren Morthimer and William J. McGinley emphatically denied their participation in any solicitation of campaign contributions from W. P. A. truck owners, the preponderance of evidence discloses that they did, in fact, participate.

It not only shows that, but it shows that all these things were known to the W. P. A., and that nothing was done about them.

The Senator from Pennsylvania called attention to a number of things about Pennsylvania in letters to Mr. Hopkins. He directed the letters to Mr. Hopkins personally. I ask the Senator from Pennsylvania if that is not correct.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, that is correct, and I have on my desk here now copies of the letters I directed to Mr.

Mr. HOLT. In other words, Mr. Hopkins was apprised of these violations in Pennsylvania. Did he do anything about it?

Mr. DAVIS. I do not know that he was notified of all of them, but he was notified of some of them.

Mr. HOLT. Did he do anything about those of which he was notified?

Mr. DAVIS. No. Mr. HOLT. This is what the Sheppard committee found about the charges brought by the Senator from Pennsyl-

In general, the complaints submitted to the committee by and through Senator Davis are, in their main essentials, clearly substantiated.

That Federal funds have been used in the State of Pennsylvania directly and indirectly for political purposes.

That W. P. A. workers and employees of the various classes have been maced for political contributions, for the purchase of tickets to political rallies, picnics, and the like, not only by numerous political leaders and political henchmen but by officials and employees of the State highway department, the employees and employees of the State highway department, the employees and officials of other lesser political subdivisions of the State—

Notice this-

and by officials and employees of the Works Progress Administration.

Not one of them has been discharged, to my knowledge, and the Senator from Pennsylvania tells me he does not know of any of them who have been discharged. was in charge of this program? Mr. Hopkins was.

Let us go ahead with the fourth complaint, which is very important.

That such macing was accomplished and done with full knowledge on the part of high Works Progress Administration officials in the State, and under such circumstances and conditions as to lead inevitably to the conclusion that the Administration's officials in the national offices have been and were aware thereof.

Think of that. It was found that not only was it known by the high officials of Pennsylvania but that the officials "in the national offices have been and were aware thereof." Mr. Hopkins was in the national office. What has he done about it? Not one thing. Yet they are kicking him upstairs to get him out of the line of fire of the W. P. A. investigation. Of course, they would like to have him confirmed without any statement. That is the reason why they promoted him. It was thought that would keep down any talk about the W. P. A. But the people are finding out the facts.

Let us see what else the committee found, not what Rush HOLT found, but what the Sheppard committee found:

That the business and affairs of the Works Progress Administration in the State of Pennsylvania have been, were, and are so affected by politics and political motives that, in numerous instances, needy persons entitled to relief and relief work have been deprived thereof for the sole reason that their political beliefs and convictions failed to agree with those in charge of administering the funds made available by Congress for relief and relief work.

Think of it! Needy people were deprived of food because they would not vote as they were told to vote. No; no politics in the W. P. A.; none at all. I would not even imply that.

Now, let us go to the sixth thing they found:

That W. P. A. workers and employees throughout the State of Pennsylvania have been threatened, intimidated, and coerced to change their voting registrations as the result of undue persuasion and pressure upon them not only by officials and employees of the State highway department and other lesser political subdivisions of the State, and by political leaders therein, but by officials and supervisory employees of the Works Progress Administration as well.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLT. I am glad to yield.

Mr. DAVIS. That applies not only to Carbon County but to practically every county in the State of Pennsylvania.

Mr. HOLT. It applies not only there but it applies throughout the whole United States. Mr. Hopkins certainly must have been blind if he did not know about it. He can take either horn of the dilemma-either plead ignorance or admit malfeasance. I do not care which course he takeshe can take his choice—but he was either sitting back, unfit to handle these cases through ignorance of the facts, or he sat back unfit and not doing anything about it even though he knew about it. He can take his choice.

Let us see now what the seventh charge of the Sheppard committee was:

That numerous W. P. A. workers and employees and others, who were entitled to be and should have been free of coercion and intimidation, have been and were induced and coerced to make political contributions by and through certain letters circulated over what purports to have been the signature of United States Senator Joseph F. Guffer, who, during the campaign ended November 8 last, served as State campaign manager for one of the two principal political tickets in the State and National contest.

Here is another charge by the Sheppard committee, in the report of that committee:

That in numerous instances high officials of the Works Progress Administration and employees of other agencies the expenses of which are, in part at least, paid with Federal funds, the officials and employees of the Pennsylvania State Highway Department, and the officials and employees of lesser political subdivisions of the State stepped aside from their official duties and devoted their time to an active furtherance of political matters and interests, without the formality of regionizes at their part of the state of t the formality of resigning or taking any proper leave of their official positions and duties.

Here they were, working for politics in W. P. A. time; not resigning. Oh, no; do not think there was any politics about it. Mr. Hopkins is such a saintly man that he would not tolerate that; I am sure he would not.

Let us go ahead with other charges about the State of Pennsylvania:

That workers and employees of the Works Progress Administra-tion, of other Federal agencies, of the State highway department, and of other lesser political subdivisions of the State were imposed upon, intimidated, and coerced in the matter of attending political meetings and functions by and through representations by political leaders; that such attendance by them had been directed by Senator JOSEPH F. GUFFEY and other persons occupying official positions.

No, no politics at all; none at all. Here is another charge: That the business and affairs of that administration are affected by politics, is so strongly supported by facts other than those recited by him that further and comprehensive investigation thereof is clearly indicated.

That the facts disclosed clearly indicate that, through connivance, if not through actual fraud, the State highway department has been and is receiving undue financial advantages as against the Federal Government in the matter of its contributions to the costs of road projects, regardless of whether such advantages have served or do serve political ends and purposes.

Those are the things which happened. The Sheppard committee found them out. The people of the State of Pennsylvania found them out. Oh, no, Mr. Hopkins did not know. He can say he did not know about it. But let me read a press dispatch which came in. When these complaints were being filed with him from Kelly about the Government machine in Pennsylvania, this is what Mr. Hopkins said, as quoted from an article in the press on April 29:

In response to questions Hopkins said he would not say anything about the merits of charges by one politician against another, but added this-

This is what Harry Hopkins said:

I don't intend to let these babies operate on me.

This is Mr. Hopkins speaking:

I don't intend to let these babies operate on me-

Referring to politicians of the State of Pennsylvania.

Yet today these things are found out, and Mr. Hopkins, like the three monkeys, heard nothing, saw nothing, and said nothing.

I have called attention to what happened in the State of Pennsylvania. I now read a quotation from the Saturday

Evening Post, not a recent issue, but one which came out in plenty of time for Mr. Hopkins to know about it:

At present the Pennsylvania W. P. A. has only 6,000 nonrelief workers and few more than 2,000 administrative employees, as already stated. But in the all-important year 1936 its nonrelief workers were many more than 10,000 and its administrative employees numbered about 3,000. None of these jobs have required advance certification of need. In the Jones W. P. A. they have required another kind of certification-clearance from the Guffey organization.

They asked the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. GUFFEY] about it, and this is what he said:

I just put in Eddie Jones and left the rest to him.

No, no politics about the W. P. A.! This was printed a long time ago. We can show these things being brought out in the State of Pennsylvania a long time ago. But why continue telling about the State of Pennsylvania? We all know those things, and to my own personal knowledge Mr. Hopkins was apprised of this political situation, and instead of discharging the people who participated in it, he promoted them to better jobs. He promoted them instead of demoting them for doing these things.

Here is a letter. I quote the actual letter, which I have in my possession.

I hand you herewith a list of doctors in Ohio County. Separate the Democrats from the Republicans and list them in order of priority, so that we may notify our safety foreman and the com-pensation men as to who is eligible to participate in case of injury.

Separate Democratic and Republican doctors to treat injured W. P. A. employees. There is no politics to it; none whatsoever. Do not misunderstand me about that.

Here is another letter, and I have this one in my possession. This is what it says:

The time to correct mistakes is before they are made, if possible. Consequently, we do not want anyone on this job who is not right. These hundreds of applications going on should be taken to the designated leaders in each county, and sort them. Then the local leaders cannot blame the personnel office if the right boys are not on.

Those are letters which have been written. All of us know those things are happening.

Here is another one from another State:

DEAR COMMITTEEMAN: Contact all houses in your division and get the names of all men on relief; also of those holding W. P Urge them to register Democratic on March 26 or else lose their

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES MCDONALD.

No politics in that? No politics at all?

I call attention to another little incident showing the way they play politics. I am going to take you a moment to my State.

There is in the employ of the W. P. A. in my State a man named Raymond Lewis. Raymond Lewis is a brother of John L. Lewis, the director of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the C. I. O. Neither Raymond Lewis nor John L. Lewis is a resident of the State of West Virginia, never lived in the State of West Virginia; but when the W. P. A. was started in the State of West Virginia Mr. Raymond Lewis was brought in from another State and put on the W. P. A. pay roll.

While they were telling the relief workers there was no money to buy food with which to feed them Mr. Raymond Lewis has had his salary increased by \$1,200. I wonder if there is any politics to that! I wonder if Mr. Raymond Lewis, the brother of John L. Lewis, has become so particularly important as to have his salary raised in the State of West Virginia on the W. P. A., when they are telling the relief worker, the poor, unfortunate fellow in the ditch, or the woman in the sewing room, that there is not enough money for them.

With respect to my own State I will say that I have checked with my records and have found that since the work started, in the administrative staff of the W. P. A. alone there have been salary increases amounting to \$78,000 a year. Yet there is not enough money to feed the fellow down in the ditch. They have enough money to raise the salaries of the bosses,

and all that was done down here in Washington and down through the State offices, yet Mr. Hopkins knows nothing, sees nothing, says nothing.

In the time during which I have spoken I have tried to show the political situation in the W. P. A. I have not gone into the State of Tennessee. If I did, I would talk until day after tomorrow. But I have shown the Senate the situation in Kentucky. I have shown the Senate the situation in Pennsylvania. I have shown the Senate a little concerning the situation in West Virginia. I could bring to the attention of the Senate many instances all over the United States. I could show the Senate that Mr. Hopkins was out drumming

up votes in the campaign.

We now have the issue before us. There is only one thing to determine Mr. Hopkins' qualifications to be Secretary of Commerce, and that is: What kind of a job did he do as Administrator of the W. P. A. in Washington? If he did a good job or a bad job, let us look at it. He was the Administrator when all these things were happening. He not only tolerated what was going on, but helped it. And with all his power he promoted these things that have been going on in the W. P. A. Yet, in order to avoid an investigation of the situation he was kicked upstairs into the Department of Commerce.

As I said a moment ago, Mr. Hopkins is confined to the Works Progress Administration.

When I began speaking yesterday I set forth Jefferson's three qualifications of a candidate for office. First, is he honest? Second, is he capable? Third, is he faithful to the Constitution.

I shall reverse the order and take up the third one. I ask Senators to read Mr. Hopkins' speech made during the battle over the Supreme Court of the United States, and see what is Mr. Hopkins' belief with respect to the Constitution. He was one of the leaders in the purge movement.

Is he honest or is he capable? His record will determine that. If he occupied the position of head of the W. P. A. and tolerated the things that were going on, as they have been described to the Senate, knowing that they were going on, he is not fit to be a member of the President's Cabinet; and if he occupied that position and did not know that those things happened he is too ignorant to sit in the President's Cabinet. One of those two things is true. He either knew or did not know what was happening. He cannot excuse himself for not knowing what was happening, because all the people of the United States knew. If he did know what was happening, and played with the politicians of the country, he should indeed be censured.

As I have said many times, I know he will be confirmed. but I wanted to put in the RECORD the history and story of the man and of his administration, because there is no better way to judge him than by his conduct in official life. I have tried to do that in the time I have spoken before the Senate. I have given the Senate his history. I do not believe he is qualified to be Secretary of Commerce, and shall vote against his confirmation.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, even in my limited experience in Congress I have many times found it difficult to determine-

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me so that I may ask for a quorum call?

Mr. GILLETTE. Certainly.

Mr. McNARY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MEAD in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Borah	Clark, Mo.	Gibson
Andrews	Bridges	Connally	Gillette
Ashurst	Bulow	Danaher	Glass
Austin	Burke	Davis	Green
Bailey	Byrd	Donahey	Guffey
Bankhead	Byrnes	Downey	Gurney
Barbour	Capper	Ellender	Hale
Barkley	Caraway	Frazier	Harrison
Bilbo	Chavez	George	Hatch
Bone	Clark, Idaho	Gerry	Hayden

Pittman Thomas, Utah Herring Lundeen Hill Holman McCarran McKellar Radcliffe Reed Tobey Townsend Reed Reynolds Russell Schwartz McNary Holt Truman Maloney Tydings Vandenberg Hughes Johnson, Calif. Johnson, Colo. Mead Miller Schwellenbach Van Nuys Wagner Sheppard King Minton La Follette Murray Shipstead Walsh Smathers Wheeler Neely Lee Lewis Lodge Norris White Smith Wiley Nye O'Mahoney Taft Logan Thomas, Okla. Lucas Pepper

Mr. LEWIS. Again I announce that the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Overton] is absent because of illness, and that the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Brown] is detained on important public business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Ninety-four Senators have

answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I desire to assure my colleagues who have been called into the Chamber by the quorum call that the call was through the courtesy of one of my colleagues and through no desire of mine to force Senators to listen to what I have to say. I shall not take it unkindly if Senators care to leave the Chamber.

I shall speak very briefly, Mr. President, but, I hope, very expressively of what is in my mind and what is in my heart.

Even in my limited experience in the Congress I have very, very many times found it difficult to determine my legislative course or my action and vote on legislative matters, because I have found that my personal interest, my personal predilections, and especially my personal resentments, sometimes did not comport with, or were in fact at variance with, what I conceived to be my public duty. This is one of those occasions. I have some personal resentments in the matter which is before the Senate for consideration, and they are very deep ones. However, I shall vote for the confirmation of Harry L. Hopkins as Secretary of Commerce, or vote "yea" on the motion to advise and consent to the nomination of Harry L. Hopkins, who has been named by our President to the position of Secretary of Commerce.

I feel that I owe it to my colleagues and myself, and I know I owe it to the people of Iowa, to explain the reasons for this action. I think I am justified in referring to some particularly personal matters in this connection. Last summer, shortly before the June primary in my State, I found my name at the head of a list of proscribed Senators, not because I deserved to be at the head of the list by reason of any qualities which I possessed but merely because the State of Iowa primary was the first one to be held for the list of Senators thus proscribed.

That list of proscriptions was prepared by a group of men whom I then designated, and whom I now designate, as a band of political termites, who emulate or follow the habits of that insect by boring from within into the foundational timbers for their own interest, in a subterranean and secret way, instead of coming out in the open, without any regard for what the destruction of those foundational timbers might mean to the party edifice or the governmental edifice which is erected upon those basic principles.

At the same time some of these men—most of them I will say—were men comparatively new to the Democratic Party, men who attempted to define democracy and democratic principles, and to eliminate from the party many Senators who had been fighting for democratic principles long before these men could lisp the A B C's of the alphabet.

Mr. Hopkins made a statement with regard to the Iowa primary. I credit him with very frankly admitting in the hearings that he made the statement. However, when Mr. Hopkins admitted making the statement he said, "That statement is the beginning and the end of my interference in the Iowa primary."

I want to assure him that it was not the beginning; and I want to assure him that it was not the end. It was not the beginning because while there were newspaper reports at the time to the effect that the statement was inadvertently made, it was not inadvertently made. I have proof which

is satisfactory to me, from newspapermen on whom I can rely, who were told that if they would go down to Mr. Hopkins' office on that particular day they would obtain a statement with reference to the Iowa primary which would make an interesting story for publication. If there is any accident or inadvertence to that circumstance it is not apparent to me.

It was not the end, Mr. President, because the people of my State, and I believe the people of every State in the Union, resent just as deeply as we do the attempts of any one outside the citizenship of a State to determine for the people of that State whom they shall send to the United States Congress.

Mr. Hopkins has said that he is sorry for the statement. I credit him with sincerity in that regard. However, 8 months have elapsed since Mr. Hopkins made the statement with reference to Mr. Gillette in the Iowa primary, and from that time to this, sorrow or no sorrow, regret or no regret, he has never contacted me and expressed regret that the remark was inadvertently made, or intentionally made, up to the time I am now addressing the Senate.

I have these resentments, Mr. President, but I shall vote for the confirmation of the nomination of Harry Hopkins.

Let me tell the Senate why.

I have opposed with all my strength, limited as it is, any attempt on the part of the executive department to have enacted into law any measures which could conceivably be used, in my opinion, whether they were so intended or not, to exercise control over the judicial department or the legislative department. I have opposed every such effort without charging anyone with trying to do it, because I felt it essential to keep the several coordinate departments of our Government separate and independent, and to maintain them as the checks on one another that they were intended to be. I resent, and will oppose just as strongly, any attempt on the part of the legislative department to exercise control over the executive department.

I do not believe that there is any greater burden that can be laid upon human shoulders than the Presidency of the United States. I do not believe that any man can have forced on him any greater load of worry than that of being elected President of the United States. He is charged with full responsibility for the executive department. If there is any right upon which he should Jealously insist, if there is any right to name those with whom he is to work in that department, and particularly the official family, who are close to him, and his nearest advisers. I cannot conceive, Mr. President, how we as Senators can in justice to the Chief Executive deprive the President of that right. There is not a Senator in the Chamber who would not insist on such a right were he President of the United States.

I reserve to myself the right to differ with the President whenever my conscience and my judgment so suggest. However, I do not claim, and I will not exercise, the right to try to handicap him in any way in the work he has to do. If I were President, I should want to select the members of my official family with whom I should work, on whom I could depend, and whose advice I could take.

One of the last men on earth I would want in my Cabinet is Harry Hopkins. However, the President wants him. He is entitled to him. I think it is absolutely unjust for persons like myself, who harbor resentments, to deprive the President of his right. I shall vote for the confirmation of Harry Hopkins.

There is one more element, and then I shall have finished. I have a tremendous duty to the people of the State of Iowa. The vote which I shall cast is not my vote. It is the vote of 3,000,000 Iowans, one of the votes that they have in this body. The other is to be cast by my colleague, who at this moment graces the chair. It is the vote of the people whom I represent. I have pondered long and carefully over how it should be cast. It will be cast as I have just stated.

In Iowa we have a motto on our State seal which says, "Our liberties we prize. Our rights we will maintain."

I am speaking for that motto, to which every Iowan subscribes and to which I believe every American citizen subscribes. I do not want the vote which I cast in favor of the confirmation of the nomination of Harry Hopkins to be construed here or anywhere as a vote of approval on the part of the people of my State, who have once and again during the past summer expressed themselves at the ballot box. I do not want it to be construed as approval, limited or unlimited, for anyone outside our own citizenship, high or low, anywhere, at anytime, to attempt to dictate to the people of my State, wittingly or unwittingly, intentionally or unintentionally, purposely or without purpose, whom they shall send to the Senate of the United States, or to the House of Representatives from a district of my State, or to attempt to curtail or limit their right to participate in the legislative deliberations of the Congress of the United States through representatives of their own choosing.

And, in the words of the great Virginian, Mr. President,

"If that be treason, make the most of it."

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, in talking on the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Murphy for Attorney General of the United States I quoted a passage from a statement by the President of the United States, in which he said something like this:

The measure of a man's sincerity is what he does, not what he

That can be applied to Mr. Hopkins in this particular instance.

Now, let us measure Mr. Hopkins' qualifications for Secretary of Commerce. To start with, how does he stand in this Nation? The Gallup polls, which have come to be considered rather accurate in estimating public opinion, have recently reported that 66 percent of the people of this country, as evidenced by that poll, after being checked, are opposed to the nomination of Mr. Hopkins. Of the businessmen of the United States, who constitute the group which should be especially recognized in this appointment, because it is with them Mr. Hopkins will have to deal particularly, a canvass shows 78 percent opposed to Mr.

Who is Mr. Hopkins? Mr. Hopkins was born in the State of Iowa. He has spent his entire life in social or Government work. Mr. Hopkins has a very interesting background. He has had a very forgetful memory, in fact, one

of the shortest memories, I think, on record.

First, looking into Mr. Hopkins' background, according to the testimony before the committee, he fails to remember whether or not he was a Socialist, enrolled as a member of the Socialist Party. At first, some time ago, he denied that he had ever been a Socialist, and now he fails to remember whether or not he was ever a Socialist. So, for the record and the Members of this body, let me present here certain

The registration book of the thirty-fifth election district of the thirty-fifth assembly district of Bronx County, for the year 1915, pages 30 and 31, sixth line, shows that Harry L. Hopkins, 25 years old, of 2391 Davidson Avenue, 3 years a resident of New York State, 1 year a resident of the county, 1 year a resident of the election district, having cast his last previous vote at Grinnell, Iowa, and in 1911 employed as a social worker at 105 East Twenty-second Street, Manhattan, is officially enrolled as a member of the Socialist Party.

I come now to the registration book of the twenty-ninth election district of the nineteenth assembly district in New York County for the year 1916, and I refer to pages 30 and 31. The seventeenth line shows that Harry L. Hopkins, 26 years old, of 507 West One Hundred and Twenty-fourth Street, 4 years a resident of the State, 4 years a resident of the county, 7 months a resident of the election district, having cast his last previous vote at 2391 Davidson Avenue, occupation, city hall; place of employment, city hall; enrolled as a member of the Socialist Party.

There is the official record, Senators, of the man who a short time ago said that he was never enrolled as a Socialist.

There is the record of the man who has recently, at the hearings before the Committee on Commerce, said he could not remember; there is the man who was enrolled, as the records of New York City show, as a Socialist. There is the man of whom Mr. Paul Crouch, editor of the New South magazine, which is well known as a communistic publication. in an open letter, says:

Other New Deal people who should be on the list of possibilities for President of the United States in 1940 are Governor Murphy, of Michigan, and Hopkins.

Just think of that! These are the two nominees proposed, two men whose names have been before this body, are approved by this communistic organ for President in 1940.

Now, what is Mr. Hopkins' public record? He has been a boys' club leader; he has been engaged in social work; he has been engaged in relief work. The nearest he has come to having any contact with the businessmen of this country with whose activities the Department of Commerce has much to do, is in spending the Nation's money—and he is a good spender, for he has spent billions of dollars. He is the outstanding spender of all time. This man, who never met a pay roll in his life, this man who knows none of the problems of private business and industry, is to regulate the great channels of industry in this Nation.

Now, I desire to discuss for just a moment some of the remarks made by some of the Senators who have preceded me. I am sorry the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] is not present at the moment, and so I will refer to the New Jersey situation, about which I should like to secure some information. I wonder if the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Barbour] would permit me to ask him a question or two in my time?

Mr. BARBOUR. I would be very glad, indeed, to have the

Senator ask me any question.

Mr. BRIDGES. Is it a fact that the Senator's opponent in the recent election in New Jersey was W. P. A. director for the State of New Jersey?

Mr. BARBOUR. That is correct. My opponent was the State administrator of W. P. A.

Mr. BRIDGES. Did he resign?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes; he resigned that position either when he was nominated on the Democratic ticket for United States Senator or shortly before that time.

Mr. BRIDGES. Who was appointed in his place?

Mr. BARBOUR. His deputy was appointed acting administrator. His deputy had been associated with the director for many years; in fact, since the W. P. A. organization was started in New Jersey.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. Ely, then, was one of the original W. P. A. directors?

Mr. BARBOUR. He was; yes.

Mr. BRIDGES. Is it true that after he entered the contest as a candidate checks went out to W. P. A. workers and literature went out to W. P. A. workers bearing his name?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes; I am quite sure that is true; at least, I was told on good authority that checks went out. and I myself saw literature that still carried his name as the State administrator.

Mr. BRIDGES. I thank the Senator.

Now, Mr. President, let me refer to the philosophy expressed here yesterday by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY]. He made a statement-

Mr. LEWIS. Will the Senator allow me to say to him that the Senator from Kentucky has been called out of the Chamber on a matter of importance which no one else could properly handle? I understand, however, the Senator from Kentucky will return shortly.

Mr. BRIDGES. I will wait, then. I am also sorry the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE] is not present, because I wish to discuss the position of the Senator from Iowa. I will, however, refrain from doing that for the moment.

I desire briefly to take up now, out of courtesy to the Senators whose return I shall await, the question of why Mr. Hopkins actually has been appointed to this office.

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Holt] covered some of those points; but, you know, one of the duties of the Secretary of Commerce, a most interesting duty which he will be called upon to supervise next year, is the United States census. The United States census is a unique institution. Once every 10 years, thousands of census takers are sent out by the United States Government. They go to every home and every farm in every town and city in every county in every State of the Union. That is where Mr. Hopkins will come into his own. This great authority on relief and politics, politics and relief, the man who has regimented the armies of relief workers against certain outstanding Democratic Senators; and in the election campaign of 1940 he really will "go to town." Where could the President of the United States turn in this country to find a greater authority for marshalling and arraying an army of census takers to go from home to home and farm to farm in every city, town, in every county in the Nation?

What do you suppose the census takers will say when they reach these homes? First there probably will be a knock, knock, knock on the door. The lady of the house will come to the door. The census taker will say, "I am a census taker. I am working for Mr. Hopkins. Mr. Hopkins is my boss. I want to ask you some questions."

"To start with, how many people are there in this house over 21 years old? You know, madam, all we are interested in is the persons who vote. Ordinarily, we take a census of everybody; but this year we are giving particular attention to the voters."

The next question probably will be: "If you have any Federal mortgages on your place, a farm mortgage under any of the credit associations, or a home mortgage, what is the number of it? We want to know, and we will attend to you later in case you do not vote right."

Then they probably will say, "Did you ever hear my boss, Mr. Hopkins, or his superboss, Mr. Roosevelt, talk over the radio? If so, you have your instructions. If not, I want to go a little bit more into detail about what I have in mind. So let us proceed about this voting business."

That, perhaps, is exaggerated; but that is somewhat the program that we may see carried out in 1940. Make no mistake about it. That is one of the primary reasons why Mr. Hopkins has been elevated to the post of Secretary of Commerce in this country today. Mr. Hopkins knows his stuff. He has demonstrated it in the past; and, as the President has said, the measure of a man's sincerity is not what he says, but what he does-and we know what Mr. Hopkins did. Mr. Hopkins may now be for the Hatch amendment; but the fact remains, by the President's own standard, that we judge him not on what he says but on what he does. So, based upon what he did, we can predict that an army of census takers will be going forth in 1940 to do what I

Under Mr. Hopkins' instructions they are going to be against the purged Senators; they are going to be against many of the Senators who are on the other side of the Chamber. They are going to be out to promote the personal fortunes of Mr. Hopkins, who has already been endorsed by one of the leading communistic publications of the country for President of the United States. He is the fair-haired boy of the left-wingers.

So we have the picture of this young man from Iowa who came to the big city a Socialist, and now a New Deal Democrat, who has never met a pay roll, who knows none of the problems of industry, who has just been a good disciple in the ranks of the purgers, directing a department heading up all kinds of industry in the Nation.

I have here an editorial from the New York Herald Tribune of December 24, 1938, entitled "From Bad to Worse." I should like to read it; but, in order to save the time of this body, if there is no objection, I ask to have it incorporated in my speech as part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HERRING in the chair). Without objection, the editorial will be inserted in the RECORD.

The editorial is as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of December 24, 1938] FROM BAD TO WORSE

In the words of once all-too-familiar communiqués, President

In the words of once all-too-familiar communiqués, President Roosevelt has ordered Harry Hopkins to fall back from a hard-pressed post in the line to a "position previously prepared in advance." Unfortunately, as in the great war, there is scant reason to think that the new position is stronger than the old. There are, indeed, good grounds for suspecting that it is vastly weaker. For in his dugout, as head of relief, Mr. Hopkins was at least attending to something with which he was familiar and for which he had been trained. That is to say, he had spent his life as a social worker giving away money that someone else had earned. What possible qualifications can Mr. Hopkins have for his new job as Secretary of Commerce? He has never run a business or, for the matter of that, participated in a business. On a number of occasions he has paid lip service to the profit system. But has he any real appreciation of how profits are earned and of the heavy responsibilities of meeting a weekly pay roll and monthly bills and solving the endless other difficulties of cost and salesmanship which commerce, from the smallest unit to the largest, manship which commerce, from the smallest unit to the largest, involves?

The cynics may retort that when Mr. Hopkins turned politician The cynics may retort that when Mr. Hopkins turned politician in his handling of relief he became more crass and brutal in purchasing votes with taxpayers' money than any hard-boiled ward heeler would ever dream of being. He not only shelled out the dough but boasted of doing so. Indeed, he went so far in trying to buy one more election with relief funds and in seeking to make the purge work that he will face in the Senate as ugly a set of charges as a nominee for the Cabinet post has confronted in many record. If he is confirmed in office as now seems probable it will

charges as a nominee for the Cabinet post has confronted in many years. If he is confirmed in office, as now seems probable, it will only be after the hardest kind of fight and a spreading before the country of a record for manufacturing politics out of human misery that will do the administration far more harm than good.

Let it be agreed that this social worker, under pressure from the politicians, perhaps with a desire to demonstrate his own right to be one of them, exhibited an extraordinary callousness toward the decencies of government and a depressing faith in the corruptibility of the hard-up. When he decided to abandon idealism he became a realist and a cynic with a vengeance. We have vastly too much respect for business as it is practiced in this country to conceive that Mr. Hopkins' sudden conversion will aid him in comprehending the problems of commerce. It is not bribery that American business demands but justice and a realization by those in authority that you cannot destroy all hope of reasonable profits and expect the profit system to function.

If there is any evidence that Mr. Hopkins is equipped either

and expect the profit system to function.

If there is any evidence that Mr. Hopkins is equipped either with the standards of ethics or with a knowledge of the profit system sufficient to fit him for sitting down with American businessmen and helping to end their difficulties, we shall be glad to hear it. On the record, the President out of personal friendship and a hope of building up a political heir, is retreating under pressure of criticism to a position far less defensible than the one he has been holding. And the country seems likely to suffer not less but more. less but more.

Mr. BRIDGES. I also have before me an article written by Mark Sullivan which has a bearing on this subject. It is entitled: "Hopkins' rise to commerce chief likened to youth in Pinafore. Mark Sullivan scans new Secretary's history and that of ambitious clerk who became 'The ruler of the Queen's Navee.'

Let me read the first verse of the rhyme incorporated in this article. Then I am not going to burden the Senate further by reading it, but shall ask to have it made part of

> When I was a lad I served a term As office boy in an attorney's firm.
>
> I cleaned the windows and I swept the floor, And I polished up the handle of the big front door. I polished up that handle so carefullee That now I am the ruler of the Queen's Navee.

That experience typifies the experience Mr. Hopkins has had for this new responsibility, this new job that he is

I ask, without objection, to have the article made a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the article will be printed as a part of the Senator's remarks.

The article is as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of January 14, 1939] HOPKINS RISE TO COMMERCE CHIEF LIKENED TO YOUTH IN PINA-FORE—MARK SULLIVAN SCANS NEW SECRETARY'S HISTORY AND THAT OF AMBITIOUS CLERK WHO BECAME "THE RULER OF THE QUEEN'S NAVEE"

(By Mark Sullivan)

Washington, January 13.—Events of the day ought not to be permitted to go by without observing their resemblance to events of the past, as described in history or literature. Contemplation of one of the most conspicuous episodes of the present week in national politics led me to turn to some verse, in which one can sometimes find diversion.

Among the most entertaining bits of English rhyme is a ballad which tells the story of an ambitious and worthy youth. Starting lowly, and in an occupation far removed from maritime, he was nevertheless able, by diligence, to work his way up and up, until he entered politics, became a knight, and at the peak of his career was able to sing:

"I am the monarch of the sea, The ruler of the Queen's Navee."

The office which this hero attained by a lifetime devotion to another line of work was, I suppose, First Lord of the Admiralty. Whatever his title, he was "tops," and he told how he arrived there. I quote from the comic opera Pinafore. Anyone who wishes to read the rest of this engaging story of success achieved by diligence can find it in the plays of Gilbert and Sullivan, in the Modern Liberty. Modern Library:

"When I was a lad I served a term As office boy in an attorney's firm.

I cleaned the windows and I swept the floor,
And I polished up the handle of the big front door. I polished up that handle so carefullee
That now I am the ruler of the Queen's Navee." \*

As office boy, he was so good that he advanced to junior law clerk, to articled clerk, to serving writs, and finally:

"Of legal knowledge I acquired such a grip That they took me into partnership.

And that junior partnership, I ween,
Was the one ship that I ever had seen.
But that kind of ship so suited me,
That now I am the ruler of the Queen's Navee. Now landsmen all, whoever you may be, If you want to rise to the top of the tree Stick close to your desks and never go to sea And you all may be rulers of the Queen's Navee."

What this ballad teaches, the reader will observe, is that experience in one line may lead to elevation in a wholly different line. Granted intrinsic merit—and granted also perhaps a gift for politics, together with the favor of the great—there is no reason why a man's honors should be restricted to the particular kind of career he has led. To those who really have greatness in them, experience in one area of life can with complete appropriateness lead to

ence in one area of life can with complete appropriateness lead to honors in a wholly different area.

The proof of this we have seen this week. We have seen a man made Secretary of Commerce—made, so to speak, first lord of commerce, the governmental symbol of rule over industry, business, trade, and all that pertains thereto; monarch over mill and mine. When we turn to examine the career which led to this distinction,

we find it in Who's Who.

WHO'S WHO IS FORMAL

Who's Who, being an austere book, given to formal and condensed phraseology, does not tell this American success as charmingly as Gilbert and Sullivan told the English one. But the successive stages of advancement are set out with detailed thorough-

"Hopkins, Harry L., began as supervisor Assn. for Improving Condition of Poor; exec. sec. Bd. Child Welfare, 1918-22; div. mgr. New Orleans for Am. Red Cross, 1922-24; then asst. dir. Assn. for Improving Condition of the Poor; then dir. New York Tuberculosis and Health Assn.; apptd. exec. dir., N. Y. State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, 1931, chmn., 1932; apptd. Federal Administrator Emergency Relief 1933, Works Progress Administrator ministrator Emergency Relief, 1933. Works Progress Administrator,

Nothing about commerce in that. But to suggest that a Secretary of Commerce ought to have some experience in commerce would be as unreasonable as to say that the ruler of the Queen's Navee ought to have had some experience with ships.

I wonder if any American satirist will find material for a comic

opera in Mr. Harry Hopkins?

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I fail to see present any of the Senators to whose States I wish to refer; so I shall proceed anyway.

I cannot quite understand the philosophy of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE], whom I admire very much personally, whom I like as a friend, when he comes here and stands before this body condemning Mr. Hopkins, and then states that he is going to vote for his confirmation. Cabinet members, as well as other high Government officials, are subject, under the United States Constitution, to confirma-tion or rejection by the Senate. True, the President of the United States should have a wide latitude in making his selections, but the Senate, under the Constitution, has a right to confirm or reject all appointments. If we sit idly by and adopt the philosophy of the Senator from Iowa to the fullest extent, then we would sit idly by and let some President name Al Capone, or somebody else of his record, to the Cabinet. If that theory holds, that is what we would be bound to do.

The Senate of the United States has had no compunctions about turning down other men who have been nominated for Cabinet positions by Presidents of the United States, and I do not believe we should have any compunctions at this time; and certainly if the theory I have mentioned can be applied, it can be carried to almost any extent, which is, of course, unsound.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] yesterday said that there were some districts in Kentucky in which the number of either those on relief or those administering relief-I did not quite get the statement-ran in the ratio of 10 Republicans for 1 Democrat. I should like to know where that condition exists in the State of Kentucky. The State of Kentucky is a far different State than I have heard if that is true, and I hope the distinguished Senator will produce records to substantiate that statement in the days to come. Of course, this may be correct, but I did not realize that in any place in Kentucky the ratio of Republicans to Democrats ran 10 to 1.

The Senator from Kentucky further stated that the relief rolls normally were higher in the spring and summer and fall than in the winter, or at least I understood him to say That seems rather a contradiction of the fact that right now we are being pressed on all sides to restore the cut made by the House in the relief appropriation bill because we are told we are going through the hard winter months, the hardest time of the year, when the relief roll is the highest.

Mr. Hopkins' record has been pretty well covered here, but there is one statement I have not heard referred to. Probably it is like the "spend and spend, tax and tax, elect and elect" statement; he probably will deny it; but it was made, and it was quoted in many newspapers in the land, and, as far as I know, to date Mr. Hopkins has not denied What he may do tomorrow I should hate to predict. That was when he was questioned relative to the status of certain W. P. A. projects. He turned with contempt and said, "They are too damned dumb to understand." That is the attitude of the man who is now appointed Secretary of Commerce to regulate and direct recovery in this country. The American people are "just too damned dumb to understand."

I know some persons who may be too dumb to understand some things. There are some of them about the country, but the great majority of persons are not too dumb to understand. At least they understand enough so that in the Gallup poll 66 percent of them do not want Mr. Hopkins as Secretary of Commerce, and 78 percent of the businessmen who have been interviewed do not want him for Secretary of Commerce.

What was the first official act of Mr. Hopkins as Secretary of Commerce? It was to issue a statement giving a clean bill of health to his predecessor on the story that appeared and the charges made by Mr. Elliott, of the Comptroller General's office, in regard to the way in which Government boats were being used for private parties and outings. One of Mr. Hopkins' first acts was to rush to the defense of his predecessor in that respect. I am glad he has sensed his first duty and his first obligation. I am not informed as to the facts in this case, but I was interested in Mr. Hopkins' statement.

Mr. President, I had intended to cover this subject somewhat more thoroughly than I have done, but in the debate and discussion here over the past 2 days the matter has been pretty well covered and the record has been pretty well made relative to Mr. Hopkins' qualifications. So I am not going to take more of the time of the Senate.

But in closing may I say that probably there never was, in the recent history of our country, at least, a more ill-fitted man than Mr. Hopkins appointed to a post in the Cabinet.

We have had some bad Cabinet members in the past and some of them I can only condemn for their actions, but certainly Mr. Hopkins, from the viewpoint of his previous record, can be looked upon with a great deal of doubt as to the kind of a Cabinet member he will make. I believe that if I were speaking here as a partisan Republican for what I believed to be the best interests of the Republican Party, I might speak and vote to confirm Mr. Hopkins, because I believe he will be a noose around the neck of Mr. Roosevelt and the administration; but as an American citizen, I believe it is my duty to oppose him. So I propose to register my vote in opposition to the confirmation of his nomination.

Mr. WALSH obtained the floor.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators
answered to their names:

Donahev La Follette Russell Schwartz Lee Lewis Downey Andrews Schwellenbach Ashurst Austin Ellender Lodge Logan Sheppard Shipstead Bailey George Gerry Gibson Bankhead Lucas Smathers Lundeen Smith Barbour Barkley Gillette McCarran Stewart Taft Thomas, Okla, Thomas, Utah Tobey McKellar McNary Glass Bilbo Green Bone Guffey Maloney Mead Miller Gurney Bridges Townsend Bulow Hale Truman Tydings Vandenberg Harrison Hatch Burke Minton Murray Byrd Byrnes Hayden Neelv Herring Norris Van Nuys Capper Caraway Chavez Clark, Idaho Hill Nye O'Mahoney Wagner Holman Walsh Wheeler Holt Pepper Clark, Mo. Hughes Pittman White Johnson, Calif. Wiley Connally Radcliffe Danaher Johnson, Colo. Reed Reynolds King

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Ninety-four Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I repeat the announcement made at the time of the last roll call as to the absence of certain Senators.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, the debate on the question of the confirmation of Mr. Hopkins has naturally enough entered into the field of the work and activities of the Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures—the so-called Sheppard committee—and the general subject of political use of relief funds as disclosed in the committee's report. I shall be entirely impersonal, but I hope that at the end of what I have to say it will be clear to the country that some Democrats are as bitterly opposed to the pressure of politics in the administration of relief as are Republicans, and as all patriotic citizens ought to be.

Mr. President, apart from the immediate question before the Senate and in order that there may be no misinterpretation of my vote as indicating any condonation or palliation of the pernicious practices revealed in the report of the Sheppard committee, I wish to express the views I have long entertained on the subject of relief and its administration for political purposes. Particularly do I desire at this time to address myself to my colleagues on this side of the Chamber.

In my opinion, the recession in the Democratic vote in the last election was due in large part to three factors, which I shall enumerate:

First. The unsatisfactory administration of Federal relief funds by Federal and local agencies; the dissatisfaction with the administration of the National Labor Relations Act; and controversies concerning the application of the Social Security Act and the pay-roll taxes levied thereunder.

Second. The fear of higher taxes and the apprehension respecting the impairment of our national credit by reason of our rapidly growing debt and continued governmental expenditures beyond our income.

Third. The growing belief that some of those in important administrative posts are not standing foursquare for those fundamental and traditional democratic theories and policies which our people believe have been our safety and security in the past, and which most Americans still cherish.

I am not now asserting or attempting to prove the truth of all of these complaints. I am simply saying that, whether true or mistaken, they were, in my judgment, very much in the public mind, and all of them contributed somewhat to the election returns last November. It is my opinion also that the Democratic Party can go forth to future victories if these objections are corrected.

The objectives sought in unemployment relief; in the freeing of organized workers from coercion and economic pressure by employers; and in extending aid to the aged and incapacitated, and the statutory provisions therefor, in my opinion, were unquestionably among the greatest accomplishments of any political party in the history of the Republic. The tragedy of it all is that, in part at least, the appreciation of the electorate has been dimmed through the manner in which some of these laws have been administered.

One of these matters is here for discussion now—politics in relief administration. I speak on that subject with some knowledge since I was a member of the Sheppard committee drafted for this service by the Vice President against my own expressed desires to perform an unpleasant task—unpleasant because it was an investigation that led into some internal matters in the Democratic household.

The resolution creating that committee was drafted and adopted by the Democratic Senate of last year. I interpret that action to indicate a sincere and earnest desire upon the part of all Senators, but particularly the Democratic Senators, to insist that relief funds be administered free from political pressure within the party or as between the parties.

Such a course of action might very properly be presumed to be not only in the interest of decent government, but also in the political interest of the party in control of the Government. For certainly it must be seen that the most effective way to benefit politically by the distribution of relief would be to do the job honestly, efficiently, and in such a spirit of kindliness, generosity, and charity that all citizens of all parties would applaud the work; whereas it must be equally apparent that partisan administration of charity would lead to public disgust and condemnation.

What did the committee find, not upon its own motion, but from the investigation of complaints filed with it by Senators and candidates of the various political groups and parties seeking primary nominations and party elections? The story is too long for repetition. Let me quote only a sentence or two from the statements issued to the press by the Sheppard committee during the course of its investigation, which pointed out these abuses. Here is one sentence which referred to one State only:

Apparently every scheme and questionable device that can be used in a political contest to raise funds, to influence votes, and control the election is in full swing.

Here is another sentence:

Reports to the committee indicate that methods were used to influence votes and money was being spent on such a lavish scale (in some States) that it was almost unbelievable that a political election could reach such a low level. If conditions reported to the Sheppard committee were widespread and general, the American people would be shocked. To get a real picture of the situation, the committee should have an investigator in almost every voting precinct, which, of course, is an impossible task.

I may state here that I do not mean to infer that these abuses were universal and extended throughout all the States. But surely such things are reprehensible and indefensible, even if confined to particular localities.

Let me add also that the political pressure was not confined to the Democratic Party. Local authorities, of opposite political faith from the national administration, used the certifying roles for political advantage where possible. But even in these instances we, as Democrats, cannot escape blame, for the Federal Government has authority to review these certifications and remove from the rolls the names of those not honestly entitled to relief; and, indeed, it has the authority to withhold relief entirely in any community where it is found to be prostituted for political purposes.

All that I have said leads to this conclusion: We have now sufficient evidence of these abuses to take action to remove the cancer. We can do it by adopting the recommendations of the Sheppard committee when they come before us; and we can, in our appropriation of relief funds, condition their use

and administration in a manner that will in a large measure end this nauseating experience.

If I had my way, and the Constitution permitted it, I would make it a treasonable offense to play politics with relief funds.

I may suggest also that in the appointment of future senatorial committees to supervise campaign expenditures, and compel compliance with the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, it be done in the early part of the session so that the committee may be fully organized and its investigators experienced and ready. We should avoid in the future the position of the Sheppard committee of being obliged to organize and assemble an investigating staff in the midst of the campaign.

I suggest also that in future resolutions the committee be given authority to name culpable persons-officials and employees of the Government-distributing relief funds, and not limit the committee, as was the Sheppard committee, "to investigate whether all funds appropriated by the Congress had been spent or were being spent in such a manner as to influence votes cast or to be cast in any primary or election in which a candidate for the Senate was to be nominated for election."

Senators, we are not dealing with political pressure upon the beneficiaries of the usual political patronage-namely, Federal officeholders. The difficulties of dealing with that problem are apparent. That evil, however, is infinitesimally less. We are dealing with the inalienable rights of our fellow citizens, the rights of the destitute and the poor, to enjoy a free ballot. We boast of our democratic rights of free speech, free assembly, freedom of conscience, and freedom of worship; but what about a free, untrammeled ballot?

The problem is simple and clear—the maintenance of the integrity of the elective processes; the preservation of democracy at its most vital point, the ballot box; the free exercise of the voting franchise; and to that end the prevention of any improper use of money and of any coercion or intimidation by any person, group, or agency inside or outside the Government.

The gravity of this offense, I repeat, is that if relief is associated with political pressure of any kind, it amounts to denying the crust of bread to the hungry man unless he votes the mind of his particular benefactor who has the power to deny him food. Is there a graver or a more serious political offense than denying to a man a crust of bread unless he agrees to vote for a particular candidate or to support a political party?

If we do nothing else this session, let us free the poor and the destitute from political servitude.

Mr. President, I intend to vote for the confirmation of Mr. Hopkins to the Cabinet post to which the President has appointed him. We have his present disclaimers of personal responsibility for the political abuse of the W. P. A. in particular localities. We have his affirmation of his personal disapproval and detestation of such practices. I think we may agree that the selection of the members of his Cabinet is a peculiarly personal prerogative of the President-of any President-and that as Senators we should not withhold confirmation of the President's nominees for Cabinet office, except for grave cause and unmistakable disqualification. I cannot persuade myself that such is the present case.

# PREVENTION OF AND PUNISHMENT FOR LYNCHING

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I regret very much to disturb the present course of discussion, but I desire to call attention to the fact that certain influences seem bent upon wasting the remainder of the session of the Congress in what would be futile and unnecessary discussion. I hold in my hand Senate bill 845. The Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VAN NUYS], and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Capper] introduced yesterday the so-called antilynching bill, with a public statement to the press that "the battle must go on." The Senator from New York is present. The language sounds like that of the Senator from New York. I do not know which of the Senators prepared the statement. I did not see it in its entirety. But the statement was that "the battle must go on."

Mr. President, I want to say to these Senators that, while we very much regret the necessity, yet, speaking for myself, and I am sure for other Senators in the Chamber, we are prepared, if necessary, for "the battle to go on"; and if these Senators want to bring about a situation such as they brought about at the last session of the Congress, with the tacit cooperation, I suppose, of the leadership, they are going to waste about half of the time of this session of the Congress, because there are some Senators here who, so long as their legs will hold them up and so long as their mental faculties are normal, propose to discuss the bill as we discussed a similar bill at the last session of the Congress.

The discussion at the last session of the Congress resulted in bringing the press of the United States, the Northern press, the great newspapers of the United States, to the position of denouncing this measure, and saying that it ought not to be passed.

I hold in my hand a statement from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This seems to be the parent organization of all these movements. Let me say that I have nothing against the colored race. I have nothing against this association, so long as it pursues matters on their merits and not for political and personal purposes.

The campaign now inaugurated, however, is for cloture. I have before me the official statement of the association, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD for the information of Senators.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

IMPORTANT-IMMEDIATE ACTION REQUESTED

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE New York, December 6, 1938.

To Branch Officers:

The main item of our legislative program this year is passage of a Federal antilynching bill. Preliminary conferences have been held with Members of Congress and our legal committee. The new bill has been drafted and will be introduced as soon as Congress convenes in January. We are going to make an even harder fight this year than last to secure passage of this bill. Success depends on the fullest cooperation from our branches and cooperating organizations

organizations.

The long filibuster in the Senate last year defeated the bill, We can only break a filibuster next year by cloture. In order to invoke cloture we must have a two-thirds vote. In order to secure a two-thirds vote we must have the cooperation of all political parties. We must forget party lines in the interest of this legislation necessary for the protection of our citizens. Last year our branches cooperated in our efforts; this year we hope for even fuller cooperation from the entire membership of every branch.

Here are our immediate plans: Personal interviews with Senators mean more than telegrams, petitions, and letters. Congress opens in January. Soon your Senators will be leaving for Washington. We are urging each of our branches to organize delegations and personally visit both of your Senators before they leave for Washington. It will take a little time and expense, but it is worth it—it is a part of our program.

We are attaching to this letter a brief record of your Senators' records on cloture. Regardless of their records send a delegation to each and—

to each and—

(a) If he voted for cloture and signed pledge, thank him and urge him to continue his efforts on behalf of the bill.

(b) If he voted for cloture but has not signed pledge, thank him for voting for cloture and ask him if you can depend on him to

bill.

continue his efforts and to vote for cloture.

(c) If he did not vote for cloture last year, urge him to agree to do so this year—
tell him of the need for this legislation.

We are enclosing a brief memorandum on organizing a delegation. This memorandum includes suggestions which will help you. The responsibility for this bill rests on every branch and every member of this organization. We solicit your cooperation. Please let us know the results of your conferences.

Very truly yours,

WALTER WHITE, Secretary.

P. S .- As soon as the conferences are held please rush us a detailed report.

MEMORANDUM

**DECEMBER 6. 1938.** Re delegations to call upon Senators in regard to antilynching

1. Obtaining an appointment: Either telephone or send a telegram immediately for an appointment with both your Senators. If you are not successful, continue your efforts until an appointment can be obtained.

2. Organization of delegation: Appoint a special committee to request representative citizens to join delegations. Impress upon them the necessity of being present and being on time. Delegations should include representatives from all reputable and responsible organizations interested in our problems such as Y. W. C. A., Y. M. C. A., churches, fraternal groups, labor organizations, political parties, societies, clubs, etc.

Stress should be placed on having representatives of large groups as well as prominent individuals.

as well as prominent individuals.

3. Plans for the delegation: Arrange for transportation of the delegation to the home or office where the appointment has been made. Transportation can be arranged either by a motor caravan, by bus, or by train.

Have a preliminary meeting and elect a spokesman for the

Prepare a list of the members of the delegation present and organizations represented to leave with the Senator.

4. Suggestions for spokesman: If your Senator voted for cloture but has not signed the pledge it does not mean that he is not in favor of cloture in the next Congress. Explain that we are anxious to be able to know how many Senators will vote for cloture this year.

If your Senator did not vote for cloture last year urge him to promise to do so this time. The evil of lynching transcends party lines and objections to cloture in general under the present rules of the Senate. The only way to defeat the fillibuster is by limiting

debate by cloture.

Urge your spokesman to be tactful but firm in his presentation to the Senators. Our only hope is to obtain cloture and a vote against cloture is a vote against the bill.

5. Following your conferences keep the entire committee together. This will mark only the first stage in mobilizing public centiment around the antilypoking bill.

sentiment around the antilynching bill.

New York: Senator Robert F. Wagner, New York, Democrat, cosponsor of the bill and voted for cloture in last Congress. Signed pledge to vote for cloture in next Congress.

Mr. CONNALLY. I quote the third paragraph of the letter. It is addressed "To branch officers." It is headed "Important—immediate action requested." The date of the letter is December 6, 1938. I read the third paragraph:

Here are our immediate plans: Personal interviews with Senators mean more than telegrams, petitions, and letters. Congress opens in January. Soon your Senators will be leaving for Washington. We are urging each of our branches to organize delegations and personally visit both of your Senators before they leave for Washington. It will take a little time and expense, but it is worth it it is a part of our program.

We are attaching to this letter a brief record of your Senators'

records on cloture.

They have their eye on you, Senators. On the issue of cloture they have your record for the last session.

Regardless of their records, send a delegation to each; and—
(a) If he voted for cloture and signed pledge, thank him and urge him to continue his efforts on behalf of the bill.
(b) If he voted for cloture but has not signed pledge, thank him for voting for cloture and ask him if you can depend on him to continue his efforts and to vote for cloture.
(c) If he did not vote for cloture last year, urge him to agree to do so this year. Tell him of the need for this legislation.
We are enclosing a brief memorandum on organizing a delegation.

We are enclosing a brief memorandum on organizing a delegation.

Senators do not know anything about organizing delegations. They will obtain the information now from this association.

This memorandum includes suggestions which will help you. The responsibility for this bill rests on every branch and every member of this organization. We solicit your cooperation. Please let us know the results of your conferences.

Very truly yours,

WALTER WHITE, Secretary.

P. S .- As soon as the conferences are held please rush us a detailed report.

If any Senators are interested in finding their record on cloture, I have the official record sent out by this organization. They have already conducted a campaign, Mr. President, not only to get Senators to agree to vote for cloture but to make them sign on the line, in black and white.

They do not trust the Senator from New York [Mr. Wagner]. They do not trust his word. They made him sign a written pledge that he would vote for cloture. That is what the organization say. I had assumed that because of the Senator's Herculean efforts of last session, his standing with the organization would entitle him to their confidence, but it seems that it does not.

I do not know whether the pledge was signed before a notary public, or was merely signed without acknowledgment.

In the statement which accompanies the letter from the association, under the heading of "New York," we find the following:

Senator Robert F. Wagner, New York (D), cosponsor of the bill and voted for cloture in last Congress. Signed pledge to vote for cloture in next Congress.

Mr. President, the idea of Senators of the United States, long before the session convenes, going up to a desk somewhere in some little office, where it is dark, as though the blinds were already pulled down, and signing, in advance, a promise to vote to cut off debate in the United States Senate, going back on the traditions of 100 years! The Senate is the only free forum left in the country where the voices of the representatives of the people may be heard. However, those who signed the pledge said, "We will vote now, in advance, to cut off debate, and ram the bill down the throat of an unwilling Senate." Senators know it is an unwilling Senate. Senators do not want to pass this bill. The people of the country do not want the bill passed. The press of the North does not want the bill, as was shown at the last session of the Congress. However, the signers of the pledge said, in effect, "We will sign an oath to force the Senate to cut off debate, and ram down the unwilling throat of the United States Senate a bill which it does not want."

Mr. President, that will not happen. I think I know what

I am talking about.

The Senator from New York and his colleague have a recruit in this Congress. In the last Congress the sponsors of the bill were the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Van Nuys]. In this Congress the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Capper] has joined the funeral party. [Laughter.]

Mr. President, I do not wish to take up any more of the time of the Senate. I should not have made these remarks except that these Senators not only have introduced the bill-that is all right; let them introduce it-but they have sent out a blast to the country to the effect that the great "fight must go on." If it must go on, some of us are ready to meet those Senators, in the committee or anywhere else. I can tell them now that the bill will not pass.

NOMINATION OF HARRY L. HOPKINS TO BE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

The Senate resumed the consideration of the nomination of Harry L. Hopkins, of New York, to be Secretary of Com-

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I expect to vote for the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Hopkins. According to my belief, the debate so far, while very ably conducted, has not been exactly fair to Mr. Hopkins.

I am only slightly acquainted with Mr. Hopkins. I never met him until he took charge of this great work. Since then, of course, like all other Members of the Congress, I have often come in contact with him. I presume every one of us has been impressed, either favorably or unfavorably, with the work he was doing and with his motives and intentions in either trying to keep politics out of relief or to put politics into relief. If I am correct, Mr. President, the Congress of the United States is more to blame than is Mr. Hopkins or anyone else for putting the country in a condition in which the evils of partisan politics would have an opportunity to intrude themselves into the relief question.

Like all other Senators and other patriotic persons, I am very bitterly opposed to politics entering into the relief question in any degree whatever. My ideas are quite well known by my colleagues; and I know they will agree with me when I say that, in the judgment of some of my colleagues and friends, I am perhaps regarded as being rather a crank on the subject of nonpartisanship in office. I wish I could have my way. If I could, I would have nonpartisanship enter into every official act of the Federal Government from top to bottom.

I would not abolish parties; I am not complaining of the partisanship that infuses men and candidates at elections when they are advocating the principles of their party. But I believe, Mr. President, in the doctrine that when a man is once elected to office he ought to cease being a politician and a representative of a party and should represent all his constituents and all the people of the country, regardless of

Unfortunately I think there has grown up in this country ever since I have known anything about public life a party feeling, a party lcyalty that, in my humble judgment, goes beyond patriotic duty. I think that the Congress, through many years, under the control of both the great political parties, has been the main instrument in building up that kind of sentiment, a sentiment that extends to the rank and file of most of our people, that parties are justified when their representatives hold official position to carry the benefit and the welfare of the party away beyond what, in my judgment, is their patriotic duty.

I am not questioning the fidelity, I am not questioning the honesty of individuals in any political party. I am merely expressing my opinion—which is not of much value, I concede; it has not had any effect during all my public life in controlling either one of the great parties—that such a theory

of public duty should be abandoned.

I think I am going to show, Mr. President, that the condition of things which I have tried briefly to describe, and which I will go into more fully in my remarks, has confronted Mr. Hopkins in his official duty in carrying out the great mandate of the Congress. It was his duty to carry out the law of Congress. He had a right to take and ought to have taken into consideration the debates in Congress to ascertain whether he was carrying out the law as Congress really intended it to be carried out. In my judgment, the record will show, if he had done such a thing, that he would have been justified in putting more politics than ever was put in by him into his official duties and the administration of his office, although I think the record will show that he has tried to keep both out of politics. I know the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Walsh] has said there is a disagreement as to that, and that is one reason why I have taken the floor. I want to put in on the other side of this question some evidence that bears directly on the point, and which refutes, in my humble judgment, much of the evidence that has been produced-honestly produced, I concede-by those who are opposed to the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Hopkins.

We have dealt with the relief question for several years. It has been before us in various forms. We have had several bureaus and governmental corporations instrumental, in one way or another, in bringing relief to the unemployed. Mr. Hopkins has had, perhaps, to an extent, at least, the larger duty of that kind to perform, but his has not been the only one. The principle has been the same in all the others. Away back in 1934 the Senate had before it a bill amending the Home Owners' Loan Corporation Act. There was offered at that time an amendment to that bill. I desire to read it.

This is the amendment:

(m) In the appointment of agents and the selection of employees for said Corporation and in the promotion of agents or employees no partisan political test or qualification shall be permitted or given consideration, but all agents and employees shall be appointed, employed, or promoted solely upon the basis of merit and efficiency. Any member of the Board who is found guilty of a violation of this provision by the President of the United States shall be removed from office by the President of the United States, and any agent or employee of the Corporation who is found guilty of a violation of this section by the Board shall be removed from office by said Board.

I think that is a very mild provision. There is no penalty attached; there is no crime created; the provision merely separates the offender from the service and outlines the duty of the Board and the object that it has in view. It takes partisanship out of the consideration.

That amendment was debated at great length in the Senate. On the 19th day of March 1934 the Senate reached a vote and adopted the amendment by a roll-call vote of 40 in favor to 33 against. However, so earnest were many of the Senators in their objection to that amendment that a motion to reconsider it was made on the same day. It was openly announced on the floor of the Senate that there were some absentees who wanted to be present and vote on the question. It was again debated on the same day; another roll call was had, and the motion to reconsider the amendment was lost by one vote. Thirty-four Senators voted in favor of reconsideration and 35 against.

The bill as thus amended went to the House of Representatives, and the particular amendment was stricken out. Several other amendments were also in the bill as it went to conference. The conference report omitted the particular amendment and the conference report that omitted that

amendment was brought back to the Senate.

It is true, Mr. President, that there were some other amendments involved. It is true also that the question came up again on the conference report. I concede very frankly that in voting on a conference report many Senators were movedand I think very properly moved-by the consideration that the report if adopted is the end of the legislative proceedings on the measure and they are anxious to have the bill pass. So they take into consideration the vote by which disputed amendments were agreed to. A Senator often votes for a conference report which he dislikes very much. But the amendment to which I have referred was debated again when the conference report came up. There was an attempt made to reject the conference report because the amendment was excluded. The object of that amendment, as shown on its face, was to take politics out of the relief question. It was to make a business proposition of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation. The same idea prevailed there that has prevailed in other legislation to which I shall call attention later. It was to get rid of politics; it was to raise the relief question above political machines and political bosses. The conference report, however, was agreed to by a vote on a roll call of 40 to 30; and thus politics was left in the law.

The purpose of those who favor the amendment was to eliminate politics. They were defeated, and a law was enacted without any attempt on the part of the Congress, so far as the law was concerned, to eliminate the abuse of political machines in the handling of the question of unemployment

and relief.

The amendment was rejected by the House and was finally rejected by the Senate-a House and a Senate both controlled by Democrats. In my judgment it is no defense to say that when the Republican Party was in power, and controlled both Houses of Congress, it did the same thing in many other but different ways. That is no defense. You. the representatives of the Democratic Party, promised the country that you would do better than the Republican Party: and it was up to you, if you were to redeem your promise. to do better than the Republican Party. But you were tried, and you followed the rule of the very men whom you had condemned in campaigns, and gave it as an excuse that you were at least no worse.

I may say now, Mr. President, that you were reminded in this discussion, running over several days, that these chickens would come home to roost; and they are here now, my Democratic brethren. You suffered in the last campaign because you refused legislatively to take politics out of relief. You have already been held responsible. The country already has in part held you responsible, in my judgment. In this particular case I think you were found wanting when weighed on the scales of justice.

The last campaign, I think, to a very great degree, was to quite an extent disastrous to the Democratic Party because of the action I have just narrated and the others that I am about to narrate. It is not becoming for us, as a Congress dripping with the blood of partisanship in our National Legislature, to try to lay the blame upon an Executive official because he carried out the law which we ourselves refused to perfect by putting in a provision that politics should be eliminated.

Mr. President, we went on. I am not going to mention all the things that occurred, because it would take too much time; but here is another amendment. It was known as the Hatch

LXXXIV--36 amendment. On June 2, 1938, the Senate voted on it. That amendment read as follows:

SEC. —. No person employed in any administrative capacity by any agency of the Federal Government whose compensation, or any part thereof, is paid from funds appropriated by this act shall use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or affecting the results thereof. Any such person shall retain the right to vote as he pleases and to privately express his opinions on all political subjects, but shall take no active part in political management or in political campaigns. Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be immediately removed from the position or office held by him, and thereafter no part of the funds appropriated by this act shall be used to pay the compensation of such person.

The amendment of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH] was quite fully debated and a roll call was had on it in the Senate, and the amendment was defeated by a nay vote of 40 against a yea vote of 37, showing again that the Senate of the United States was not willing to put in an act of Congress anything that would remove politics from its administration.

It does not become us now to condemn somebody who followed the law which we ourselves enacted, even if Mr. Hopkins did it in this case. I am not saying that he did or did not. I myself think Mr. Hopkins had the most difficult job to perform that was ever given to a human being. I do not believe any man on earth could fulfill the duties of that office and give satisfaction even to a majority of the people of the United States. It was an impossibility; but we strangled Mr. Hopkins with our own law. We refused to put in the law any provision which would have made it unlawful to do the various things that the Sheppard committee, for instance, have reported to us as having been done. Therefore we ought to shoulder the blame; we ought to take upon ourselves the guilt, at least in great part, for any deficiency which has resulted in the carrying out of any of these laws; and there have been many. Even when the executive authorities were doing the very best they could, as I shall show later, to keep politics out, politicians put it in nevertheless.

Another amendment on this subject was offered by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Austin]. It is longer than the amendment which I have just read, but I think I ought to read the entire amendment at this time:

SEC. —. (a) No part of any appropriation in this act shall be used for any political purpose, and no authority conferred by this act upon any person shall be exercised or administered for any

(b) It shall be unlawful for any person whose compensation, or any part thereof, is paid from funds appropriated by this act to use or threaten to use his official authority, or influence for any of the following purposes:

(1) To interfere with, restrain, or coerce any individual in the

exercise of his right to vote at any primary or other election;
(2) To encourage or discourage membership in, or contribution to, any political party by discrimination, threatened or executed, in regard to the granting or withholding of benefits, or the execution of any of the powers, functions, or purposes, included in this

(3) To discriminate against any person in regard to benefits from the United States because such person has filed charges or given testimony with respect to any matter arising under this act;

(4) To discriminate against any individual in regard to benefits from the United States because such individual has voted at any election according to his free choice, or because such person is a member of, or has made contributions to, the political party of his own choosing; or

(5) To discriminate against any corporation in regard to benefits from the United States because any officer or director thereof is a member of, or has made contributions to, the political party of his own choosing.

(c) It shall be unlawful for any person whose compensation or any part thereof, is paid from funds appropriated by this act, to act as election official, ballot clerk, or watcher, or in any other similar capacity at any polling place in any primary or other

election.

(d) It shall be unlawful for any person whose compensation or any part thereof is paid from funds appropriated by this act, to solicit, persuade, or induce, by the exercise of his power to administer, supervise, regulate, or otherwise put into effect, this act or any part thereof, contributions to a political party, or any agency thereof, for any purpose whatsoever.

(e) It shall be unlawful for any person whose compensation, or any part thereof, is paid from funds appropriated by this act, to be detailed to service, or to serve as a political campaign worker for any political party.

(f) Any person who violates any provision of this section shall be punished, if such person is an individual, by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or by imprisonment for not more than 3 years, or both, and in all other cases, by a fine of not more than \$25,000.

Mr. President, that amendment was fully debated on the floor of the Senate, and a roll-call vote was had upon it. The amendment was defeated by a vote of 35 against to 33 for, and defeated, in the main, by Democratic votes. The Democratic Party is properly chargeable, I think, with the failure of that amendment, as it is properly chargeable with the failure of the other amendments to which I have referred. If we are to rule by party, then the Democratic Party must suffer for the evils to which I have referred. If that must be the way we are to rule, if partisanship cannot be obliterated from official action, then it is right that the party in control should suffer.

According to my doctrine, partisanship in government is not a good principle. As I stated a while ago, I do not think we ought to know such a thing as party in the discharge of our official duties. We ought to do the best we can to represent all the people, regardless of party, regardless of conditions. In that way, according to my theory, we would get better government, and we would bring greater happiness to our people. We would not have such charges as those made now, some of them established, involving the disgraceful things which have been brought to light by the Sheppard committee.

A little later on there was another Hatch amendment, which was a little different from the first one. The second one was defeated, also.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield.

Mr. HOLT. The second vote was on June 3.

Mr. NORRIS. No; this was on April 14, 1938. The one to which I refer was defeated by a vote of 39 nays to 38 yeas. It was the same proposition in principle, and was again defeated.

Mr. President, I do not believe we can reach any other honest conclusion than that Congress must take some of the blame for the disgraceful things which have been shown in the Sheppard report. I think we are mainly to blame, and it seems to me that we ought to be fair enough to say that when an administrative officer is carrying out a law which we have enacted he would be justified, in this case, for instance, in letting politics creep in if he wanted to, although I do not think Mr. Hopkins did that.

Congress has been doing this kind of thing for a hundred years, and the result is that the people of the country, regardless of party, patriotic as they are, have grown up under a system of partisanship, in which corruption rules. It is understood that political officials must contribute to their party, to such an extent that it is not considered an evil, no matter what means are used to get the contribution. It is a general sentiment over the country-all wrong, in my judgment-all because Congress has built it up by the laws it has passed and through its failure to enact certain laws.

Mr. President, permit me to refer to an illustration in my own life which demonstrates the point. Two years ago I was a candidate for reelection to the Senate. The committee having charge of my campaign had a headquarters, received contributions, and did the usual work that comes to a political campaign committee. Long after the election, before I ever knew that this incident had occurred, in visiting with the man who had been chairman of that committee, he told me of this occurrence. He said, "There came into my office one day during that campaign a nice-looking woman, of middle age, who said: 'Here is \$10, my contribution to Senator Norris' senatorial campaign."

He had never seen the woman before, and he said: "Who are you?" She told him her name.

"What does your husband do?"

"My husband is dead."

"Have you any children?"

I think the answer was that she had two minor children.

"What are you doing?"

"I am working for the W. P. A. I have a work job." "What did you do before you got that position?"

"I was on relief."

He said, "Who told you to come here? Who told you to make this contribution?"

She said, "Nobody."

"Did you ever talk with anyone about it?"
"No one on earth."

"Well, why did you come?"

"Why," she said, "is not that expected of all workers? Is not that expected of anybody who has a job? I don't know anything about politics, but in a general way I supposed that if I had a job I had to pay somebody."

The woman was very much surprised when he said to her, "I cannot take your money. We receive no contribu-

tions from people working for the W. P. A."

This incident demonstrates that the ordinary person in this country has lived under this kind of a system for so many years that it is a part of his life; it is taken as a natural thing.

I learned afterward, on making inquiry, that that committee had received various contributions from people on W. P. A. work. None of those contributions was asked for in the first place, and they were all returned. No one had been

requested to make them.

Mr. President, is there any wonder that local politicians, local political bosses, interested in the success of some candidate for office, will find it very easy to go among these workers and people on the relief rolls, and get their pennies, get their small contributions, perhaps, to go into a corrupt political fund? The people will ask no questions about it; they will assume it must be done. They have heard of both political parties taking contributions from such people, they have heard of various people who were threatened with loss of their jobs if they did not contribute. So it was a country-wide condition which Harry Hopkins had to meet. It was an impossibility for him to keep politics out. He had the whole United States under his jurisdiction. He had to build up an organization covering the entire United States, and he had to depend upon the recommendations of someone.

I happen to know, because I have had conferences with him about his work, that one of the things that was almost a nightmare to him was the fact that politicians, so influential and powerful that it was extremely difficult to withstand the pressure, were making so many demands. There is no doubt in my mind that practically anyone in Mr. Hopkins' place would many times have compromised, at least in some degree, when this great pressure was brought to bear upon him.

At one time when I was in Mr. Hopkins' office he was telling me about a certain State, which has been mentioned in this debate, to which he had just sent a telegram, and he read me a copy of it. It was a telegram removing a high official in that State because Mr. Hopkins had gotten evidence which demonstrated to him that this man was insisting that the laborers on W. P. A. should make contributions, that a list of them had been given to politicians in order that they might solicit from them.

With such a sentiment prevailing over the country, generally understood by practically all the people, when the political boss in a county comes to a man who has a job and says, "I want a dollar a month," or "a dollar a week," or some other sum, to go into the campaign fund, what will that man say? He will be afraid to say anything. The probability is that he will make the contribution. He may take the money that ought to be used for the purchase of food for his starving family or clothes for his ragged wife; but his job is everything to him. The dirty politician and machine boss does not care whether he gets the money from starving babes and ragged women, so long as he gets the money. And the man above will never know about it; for such things cannot all be followed up.

Mr. President, I am going to show the Senate what happened in my own State. I am going to show how difficult it is to keep politics out of relief. Politics was not kept out of relief in my State. I do not suppose it was kept out anywhere. I think I shall be able to show as earnest and honest

an effort to keep politics out of relief as ever was attempted by any human being.

I have before me some orders which were issued by the Works Progress Administration in my State. It will be found as I read them that most of them are connected up with Harry Hopkins himself. They refer to what he has said. They refer to orders he has given. They show an attempt on the part of a man in my State who wanted to carry out these orders, to bring the information home to every laborer and person employed on W. P. A., in order that he might protect himself against any attempt to get contributions from him or to influence his vote in any way.

I have before me a letter from J. R. Smith, addressed to me. I wrote Mr. Smith recently. I was familiar with these orders, but had not kept them all. Copies were sent to me at the time they were issued and I knew they existed. When Mr. Hopkins was appointed Secretary of Commerce I asked the State W. P. A. office to send me copies of all the orders Mr. Hopkins had issued regarding politics. The letter referred to is written by Mr. Smith, the deputy administrator in my State. It is dated January 17, 1939, and is as follows:

Mr. Felton-

He is the administrator-

being absent from the city I am taking the liberty of answering your telegram of January 16, 1939. We are enclosing copies of all orders issued by Mr. Felton in Nebraska regarding political activities

On March 13, 1938, copy of Mr. Harry L. Hopkins' general letter No. 8 was mimeographed and sent to the attention of all W. P. A. workers. This was accompanied by memorandum to all district directors, copy of which is enclosed.

Administrative bulletin DA-136 was issued March 12, 1938, and Bulletin DA-134 was issued March 18, 1938. Memorandum was issued May 7, 1938, calling attention to Administrator Hopkins' radio talk on Politics and the W. P. A.

I have a copy of that order. I did not know of it until I read this letter, but I sent and got a copy, and later I shall ask permission to have it printed in the Congressional Record so that the whole record may be at the disposal of anyone who desires to read it:

On October 18, 1938, memorandum was issued and instructions to

post this bulletin on all project bulletin boards.

In addition to the above written instructions verbal instructions were given numerous times to all field representatives and project supervisors that anyone using their position to influence W. P. A. workers' votes would be immediately dismissed by the Works Progress Administration.

Very truly yours,

J. R. SMITH, Deputy Administrator.

I am going to read the memoranda and orders referred to so that Senators may judge for themselves whether these men were trying to carry out the orders of their superior, Mr. Hopkins, to eliminate politics from the W. P. A., although the law we passed did not say that they should do it.

The following is written on the W. P. A.'s letterhead:

LINCOLN, NEBR., March 16, 1936.

To: All district directors. From: J. R. Smith, assistant State administrator. Subject: General letter No. 8.

We wish to call your particular attention to the copy of Mr. Harry L. Hopkins' general letter No. 8, which is being mimeographed and

will be forwarded to you very shortly.

It is important that you see that this letter is delivered to each project foreman and that every W. P. A. worker has an opportunity to read the letter or have it explained to them.

Yours very truly.

J. R. SMITH, Assistant State Administrator.

Here is another order:

General letter No. 8.

To: All State works-progress administrators.
Subject: Notice to all W. P. A. workers.
All State works-progress administators are hereby instructed to post in every district office and to deliver to every project foreman an exact copy of the following regulation.

Mr. President, that general letter went to everyone connected with W. P. A. It was put in the hands of all the foremen, was placed on the bulletin board of every office. Here is what it said:

No employee of the Works Progress Administration, either administrative or engaged on a project, is required to make any contribution to any political party. No Works Progress Administration employee's job will be in jeop-ardy because of the failure of said employee to make such contribution

No employee of the Works Progress Administration shall at any No employee of the Works Progress Administration shall at any time solicit contributions for any political party, and evidence of such solicitation will be cause for immediate discharge. The question of whether or not to contribute to any political party is a matter entirely for the voluntary decision of said employee.

No person shall be employed or discharged by the Works Progress Administration on the ground of his support or nonsupport of any candidate of any political organization.

HARRY L. HOPKINS, Administrator.

I read another order dated March 12, 1938.

To: All field and area engineers, supervisors of women's and pro-

fessional projects. From: D. F. Felton, State administrator. Subject: Political activity.

Field engineers and women's and professional project super-visors are hereby instructed to post in every office of the Nebraska Works Progress Administration, and to deliver to every foreman for posting on every project, the following regulations:

NOTICE

No employee of the Works Progress Administration, either administrative or engaged on a project, is required to make any contribution to any political party. No Works Progress Administration employee's job will be in jeopardy because of the failure of said employee to make such contribution.

Senators will notice that the notice contained in this order is practically a copy of the order sent out by Mr. Hopkins, which I previously read. This order came from Mr. Felton, State administrator, the man who had charge of all the works-progress projects in the State.

No employee of the Works Progress Administration shall at any time solicit contributions for any political party, and evidence of such solicitation will be cause for immediate discharge. The question of whether or not to contribute to any political party is a matter entirely for the voluntary decision of said employee.

Political solicitation in the guise of the sale of tickets—

That, Mr. President, is something new

Political solicitation in the guise of sale of tickets, etc., is pro-hibited, as are solicitations of any kind during working hours. Foremen will be held responsible for halting solicitations during

working hours.

No person shall be employed or discharged by the Works Progress Administration on the ground of his support or nonsupport of any candidate of any political party.

Supervisory employees are again warned against political activity in behalf of any party or candidate. Foremen must prevent any political talks or distribution of political literature during hours of work.

D. F. FELTON, State Administrator.

On March 18, 1938, Mr. Felton sent out another letter very similar in kind, directed to all Works Progress Administration employees. Inasmuch as it covers in principle the same ground as the one I have just read, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this order of Mr. Felton be printed at this point in my remarks, without reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The order referred to is as follows:

To: Works Progress Administration, Lincoln, Nebr., March 18, 1938.

From: D. F. Felton, State administrator.

Subject: Political activities.

The question has accommodate the control of the control of

The question has again arisen as to the policy of this Administration with respect to individuals participating in political activities and having W. P. A. employment simultaneously.

For your information, persons who are candidates for, or hold elective offices, shall not be employed on administrative staffs of the W. P. A. This ruling applies to nonrelief supervisory personnel. on work projects, as well as to State and field administrative

Likewise, persons managing political campaigns for candidates shall not be employed by the W. P. A. No W. P. A. project sign, marker, poster, or other device for giving information relative to a project shall carry the name of any person who is a candidate for political office, or otherwise tend to promote the candidacy of any individual.

No candidate for public office, or supporter of such candidate, shall be permitted to address workers or distribute campaign material during working hours of any project.

Project supervisors and administrative field staffs will be held personally responsible for any political activity on projects under

their supervision. Dismissal is the penalty in all cases where violations of these regulations are found.

D. F. FELTON. State Administrator.

Mr. NORRIS. Coming down to October, just before the election, we find another letter from Mr. D. F. Felton, State administrator, addressed to project workers, foremen, supervisors, and administrative employees. It is as follows:

Works Progress Administration, Lincoln, Nebr., October 18, 1938.

To be posted on all project bulletin boards.

MEMORANDUM

To: Project workers, foremen, supervisors, and administrative employees

From: D. F. Felton, State administrator.

It is my desire, as expressed in repeated memoranda to the field, that everyone connected with our administration in any capacity should know and understand the rules under which we work. I especially desire that all be informed on any question involving

especially desire that all be informed on any question involving personal rights.

I am repeating once more our rules regarding elections so that there can be absolutely no misunderstanding. Whatever your job, every person working for the W. P. A. has the right to vote for any candidate he chooses. Regardless of rumors, newspaper stories, or radio comments to the contrary, no W. P. A. worker is required to contribute to any political party or any campaign fund in order to hold his job. No one will lose his W. P. A. job because of his vote in any election or his failure to contribute to any campaign fund.

Moreover no supervisor or administrative person may attempt to influence the vote of any worker or solicit contributions to campaign funds from the people who work under him. Anyone who uses his position with the W. P. A. in any way to influence the votes of others by threat or intimidation will be dismissed. This has always been an absolute rule of the W. P. A. Administrator Harry L. Hopkins has repeatedly called attention of both you and myself to these rules. It is my responsibility and desire to see that there are no exceptions. I want you to let me know if anybody tries to tell you anything different.

I believe people of Nebraska know and appreciate the work which has been done. This is a big program and we are all responsible for seeing that it works. Personally I am proud of the fine things which W. P. A. workers in Nebraska have built and done. New wealth has been created and the life of the country has been enriched.

enriched.

Your personal opinions and your politics are nobody's business but your own. I urge you as American citizens to take the responsibility vested in you for selecting those who, in your opinion, can best conduct our public affairs. We should appreciate and exercise the franchise given us by our form of government.

In order to permit you to take your individual part in the coming election, I am authorizing the closing of projects at noon on Tuesday November 8

Tuesday, November 8.

State Administrator.

I do not know how Mr. Felton could go any further. I do not know how anybody could in better faith try to keep politics and contributions to political parties out of the W. P. A. work and its duties.

It seems to me we ought first to consider the magnitude of this great undertaking. In Nebraska, where all these admonitions went out from the man at the head, there were nevertheless many instances in which local politicians in one way or another obtained possession of the lists and, in violation of all the rules and all the honest attempts to stop such practices, did the very things which were denounced. Such things were usually done, not by employees but by local politicians and county or municipal bosses.

I think it was quite as impossible to keep all politics out of the great work of which Mr. Hopkins had charge as it would be to fly without wings. It was an impossibility. No greater burden has ever been placed upon the shoulders of one man in all the history of our country. I think Mr. Hopkins did the best he could in a very difficult situation. In fact, when Congress refused to put any stipulation in any of the laws directing officials to keep politics out of the W. P. A. work, we gave the green light to go ahead to every executive who had charge of the enforcement of the law. It seems to me that in justice we ourselves ought to shoulder most of the blame.

Mr. Hopkins delivered an address over the radio on May 8, 1938. It is a long address. I have not read all of it myself. I did not happen to hear it over the radio. However, I should like to read one extract from it. It will be remembered that Mr. Felton, of Nebraska, the man who had charge of the work in that State, sent out a letter calling attention to the fact that Mr. Hopkins was to deliver this speech over the radio and telling when and how the address could be heard.

Mr. Hopkins said in his radio address:

I have sent a letter to every worker in this country who is participating in the program which I administer. It says in part:

"I want to repeat once more our rules about elections so that there can be absolutely no misunderstanding. Every person who works for the Works Progress Administration, whatever his job, has the right to vote in any election for any candidate he chooses. Moreover, no W. P. A. worker is required to contribute to any posupervisor may attempt to influence the vote of any worker or solicit contributions to campaign fund in order to hold his job. No supervisor may attempt to influence the vote of any worker or solicit contributions to campaign funds from the people who work under him. Anyone who uses his position with the W.P.A. in any way to influence the votes of others by threat or intimidation will

way to influence the votes of others by threat or intimidation will be dismissed.

"No one will lose his W. P. A. job because of his vote in any election or his failure to contribute to any campaign fund. This always has been an absolute rule of the W. P. A., and it is my responsibility and yours to see that there are no exceptions. What's more, I want you to let me know if anybody tries to tell you anything different. Your personal opinions and your politics are nobody's business but your own."

Mr. President, I ask that the entire address be printed at this point in the RECORD as part of my remarks, without further reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The address referred to is as follows:

# POLITICS AND THE W. P. A.

For the sake of some unnamed critic who at this very moment may be planning to attack the W. P. A. for spending relief funds on radio time, I want to say at the outset that I am "not speaking at Government expense." This time is being contributed through the courtesy of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

The radio chains and radio stations of this country have made available to the W. P. A., without cost, every minute of radio time we ever have used. I want to thank them publicly for their generosity.

generosity.

On March 13, 1936, when the W. P. A. was only a few months old, I issued a notice to all W. P. A. workers which included the following sentences:

"No employee of the Works Progress Administration is required to make any contribution to any political party. No person shall be employed or discharged by the Works Progress Administration on the ground of his support or nonsupport of any candidate of any political organization."

of any political organization."

That statement was issued because 1936 was an election year and partisan voices were being raised in a thunder of charges that the holders of W. P. A. jobs were being coerced to vote in favor of the administration which had created the W. P. A.

Now we are in another election year, and again the charge is being made. It isn't being made in as many places as it was 2 years ago, and the opposition is being much nicer to me personally. They usually say: "Hopkins means all right, but he doesn't know what the local wardheelers are doing in the precincts."

I don't want anybody to think I regard these charges lightly, or feel they are not important. This is a serious matter. I know full well that the American people are very jealous about the way relief funds are administered, and deeply resent the idea of any political tampering with them. Surely I don't need to say at this late date how heartily I agree with this point of view.

The W. P. A's job is to direct the spending of Federal money

this late date how heartily I agree with this point of view.

The W. P. A.'s job is to direct the spending of Federal money for work-relief projects in such a way that both the workers and the communities get the most for the money. Beyond that, the program is localized. Local officials pick out the improvements they want, and draw the plans. Local welfare officials certify to us the people who are eligible for W. P. A. jobs and we put as many of them to work as we can with the money Contract of the proportion of the proportion

gress appropriates.

I don't want everything centralized and regimented any more than you do. We have to watch over this Federal money, and see that this program is sound and honest. Beyond that, it is up to each community, and the kind of local government you have

Is up to you.

I have sent a letter to every worker in this country who is participating in the program which I administer. It says in part:

"I want to repeat once more our rules about elections so that there can be absolutely no misunderstanding. Every person who works for the Works Progress Administration, whatever his job, has the right to vote in any election for any candidate he chooses. Moreover, no W. P. A. worker is required to contribute to any political party or any campaign fund in order to hold his job. No supervisor may attempt to influence the vote of any worker or solicit contributions to campaign funds from the people who work under him. Anyone who uses his position with the W. P. A. in any way to influence the votes of others by threat or intimidation will be dismissed.

"No one will lose his W. P. A. job because of his vote in any election or his failure to contribute to any campaign fund. This always has been an absolute rule of the W. P. A., and it is my responsibility and yours to see that there are no exceptions. What's more, I want you to let me know if anybody tries to tell you anything different. Your personal opinions and your politics are nobody's business but your own."

This letter will be placed in the hands of three and a half million workers. I now want to invite anybody who finds any evidence that this policy is not carried out to give me that evidence.

My subject tonight is "Politics and the W. P. A." and the question of whether W. P. A. workers will be permitted to vote as they please is just one part of it.

they please is just one part of it.

There are a number of other ways in which politics can be played with the question of unemployment relief. One of the most cowardly ways is to attack millions of unfortunate people whose only offense is that they can't find private jobs.

For years the few people who don't like Federal work relief have been saying that W. P. A. workers are a bunch of loafers who don't want to work, and who won't take private jobs when

they are offered.

Now that the W. P. A. has been operating nearly 3 years, we have full documentary answers to those charges. The new charge have full documentary answers to those charges. The new charge this year is that W. P. A. workers are working too much—that they are getting out and finding extra work on the side. These stories grew out of a limited survey of several thousand skilled workers in five cities, where about 60 percent of this small group were found to be getting a day or two of extra work each month. I don't think this is important, in spite of the play it got in the papers, and I do think it is the perfectly natural thing for a good American workman to try to do.

Suppose you were a skilled worker with a family, under similar circumstances. Would you, or would you not, hunt odd jobs in your spare time?

circumstances. Would you, or would you not, hunt odd jobs in your spare time?

I am willing to grant that a great many W. P. A. workers probably are trying to get odd jobs on the side, even though only a few of the ablest and best trained are succeeding in even a small

But where does that put the political critics who still are saying that the unemployed don't want private jobs so long as they can take it easy on the W. P. A.? I have contended from the beginning that it is ridiculous even to entertain the thought that any important number of American workmen with families are going to cling to a W. P. A. job if there's a chance of something better. better

A. workers are not refusing decent private jobs. I can say that with complete confidence because for more than a year we have investigated every charge of this sort we could find. And out of the thousands of workers involved in such charges the number who actually refused to take decent jobs under decent conditions is so small as to be insignificant.

conditions is so small as to be insignificant.

We visited 29 canneries because a produce company listed them and said they needed workers, and we found that only 1 of them needed a few women to clean strawberries. Over half of them weren't even operating. A contractors' association demanded that we stop W. P. A. construction in a certain State because it needed electricians. We immediately submitted the names of over 300 unemployed electricians in that State. It apologized to us, but it didn't hire any electricians. The demand was printed prominently in the papers, but not the apology.

There are hundreds of other stories like these in our files. We'll send summaries of them to anybody with an interest in them. It

send summaries of them to anybody with an interest in them. I don't cite any of them in a spirit of intolerance, but only in fairness to the unemployed and to the W. P. A. Our workers want private

jobs, and we want to help them get private jobs.

I want to make this appeal to all fair-minded Americans: Don't nistake political fiction for fact. Sensational charges too often are regarded as big news, no matter how flimsy the evidence on which they are based. When an investigation proves they were in no sense true it's old stuff and a line or two is printed about it back among the want ads.

It is often said or implied nowadays that a lot of Federal money as been wasted—particularly by the W. P. A. This, too, is politics—the political propaganda of people who are still unwilling to accept the idea that every citizen has a right to a certain minimum of security. They resent the beginnings that have been made in this direction because the Federal Government has made them, and Federal taxes are based upon ability to pay. Surely you can remember, all through 1930 and 31 and 32, how carefully and completely the Federal administration doded every responsiyou can remember, all through 1930 and '31 and '32, how carefully and completely the Federal administration dodged every responsibility for relief. This same crowd has fought the W. P. A. every inch of the way, and is still fighting it. It wants to return relief to the States. That not only will put the cost of it on real estate and sales taxes and take it off the income tax, but it also will lower relief standards generally.

These fellows are having a hard time with the W. P. A. First they said the workers wouldn't work, and now they say they work too much. First they said W. P. A. work was all boondoggling and leaf-raking, and now they say we're building too many fine big public improvements, and there ought to be a law not to let us build anything that costs more than \$25,000!

I say to you once more that, in spite of overwhelming public

I say to you once more that, in spite of overwhelming public sentiment, this crowd still wants a dole for the unemployed instead of work, because in immediate dollar outlay a dole looks

I am always glad to argue with them that a dole is not cheaper to anybody who can see beyond his own nose. It is my conviction, and one of the strongest convictions I hold, that the Federal Government should never return to a direct relief program. It is degrading to the individual; it destroys morale and self-respect; it results in no increase in the wealth of the community; it tends to destroy the ability of the individual to perform useful work in the future and it tends to establish a permanent body of dependents. We should do away with direct relief for the unnelpoyed in the United States. We should reach a concept where the able-bodied unemployed are entitled to a job as a matter of

The giving of useful public work to the able-bodied unemployed appears, at first glance, to cost more. But what do you get for

I would like to take only the W. P. A., which is alleged to be one of the most wasteful of the emergency agencies, and do a little auditing of it for you. In its first 2 years of operation well over a million of its workers went back to private jobs. It is difficult to appraise the value of a thing like the human spirit, but I am convinced that those people kept fit and kept their heads up because of their W. P. A. work.

But we might deal only with tangible assets. The W. P. A. recently took a complete inventory of all the work that had been completed on its 158,000 projects. It has completed 43,000 miles of new roads and improved 116,000 miles. It has built 19,000 new bridges, 185,000 culverts, 105 new airports, 12,000 new schools and other public buildings, 8,000 parks and playgrounds, 15,000 small dams, 10,000 miles of water and sewer lines. W. P. A. workers have planted 10,000,000 trees and improved millions of acres of land in manifold ways. manifold ways.

Those are just a few of the accomplishments in the field of construction. Four-fifths of the program is construction work, because that is the kind of work which four-fifths of the needy unemployed can do best. The other one-fifth of the W. P. A. program consists of projects for what is generally known as white collar workers—unemployed men and women trained as clerks and doctors and salespeople and architects and nurses and artists and teachers and many other professional or technical pursuits. Some of the women have been trained only as housewives and yet are the eco-nomic heads of families.

Jobless W. P. A. teachers have taught more than a million Ameri-

doness w. F. A. teachers have taught more than a million American adults to read and write English, reducing illiteracy in this country almost one-fourth. Would you call that a tangible asset?

Women on the W. P. A. have produced 85,000,000 garments for men, women, and children who hadn't enough clothing. They have served 128,000,000 hot school lunches to hungry children and renovated 30,000,000 library and school books. Would you question the

value of such services?

These are only a few of the things the Nation got because it had the courage to give public work to its able-bodied unemployed. These things constitute national wealth and national assets. Any private business which builds improvements to its physical plant counts those improvements as assets and considers itself richer ccunts those improvements as assets and considers itself richer because it has them. Government alone counts the cost of such improvements on the red side of the ledger without setting up the assets they represent on the black side. I am not particularly concerned about the bookkeeping so long as the American people know their money is not being wasted but is being used carefully and constructively to make democracy work.

Up to this point I have told you only what the W. P. A. says it has done. All the bookkeeping thus far has been our own, even though it has been honest bookkeeping. We are extremely fortunate, however, in being able to inject here the results of an independent Nation-wide study of the program which has just been completed.

completed.

Ten national organizations agreed with us near the close of last year that an impartial survey of the merits and demerits of the Federal works program would serve the public interest, and agreed to cooperate in such an undertaking. The organizations which to cooperate in such an undertaking. The organizations which cooperated are the American Engineering Council, the American Institute of Architects, the American Municipal Association, the American Public Welfare Association, the American Society of Planning Officials, the National Aeronautic Association, the National Education Association, the National Education Association, the Vnited States Bureau of Public Roads, and the United States Conference of Mayors. So much for the prestige of the survey, which was called the United States community-improvement appraisal. appraisal.

The appraisal was carried out in 42 States. About 9,000 local The appraisal was carried out in 42 States. About 9,000 local reports were submitted by the various community officials. These local reports were studied, judged, and evaluated in each State by a committee of civic leaders selected by the State sponsoring organization. These State appraisal committees included engineers, architects, labor leaders, farm leaders, heads of women's organizations, college presidents, social-welfare experts, bankers, ministers, editors and publishers, and many others.

I can give here only a few brief excerpts from the findings of these committees. But I hope they will convey to you, as they do to me, that the Federal works program is a far different thing in the eyes of those who really know it than its political opponents

would have you believe.

Out on the coast we'll take northern California. I quote: "The most obvious characteristic of the community reports is their virtually unanimous endorsement, regardless of political differences, of the work-relief program. The public facilities constructed are

permanent and much needed. The workmanship is found to compare favorably with private industry."

Here's the State of Washington: "Improvement projects have maintained a high technical standard, have been well planned, and in many cases have stimulated community planning. They could not have been undertaken without Federal aid. Work pay rolls have meant increased purchasing power."

In the Middle West, here is Minnesota: "The projects are not only useful but permanent, the quality of workmanship satisfactory."

factory.

Now Indiana: "Public-works improvement in Indiana is 10 years in advance of what it would have been without the various Federal programs. It is the opinion of the governmental officials of this State that the quality of workmanship is on the whole as good as that on private construction."

good as that on private construction."

Here's northeast Texas: "The projects have created in the workers a sense of real public service. The committee finds a wide variety of permanently useful projects carried on in a manner which commends public respect and approval."

Now, let's move over into the deep South, to Georgia: "The workmanship on construction projects compares favorably to that found on privately constructed jobs. The committee emphatically calls attention to the fact that there has been no suggestion of misuse of money."

Now, let's take two reports from New England, where unusually close scrutiny might be expected. Maine: "Many improvements of a highly desirable and permanent nature have resulted. The advantages of work relief over direct relief have been conclusively demonstrated."

Massachusetts: "Through the Federal works program, tax rates

Massachusetts: "Through the Federal works program, tax rates have been favorably affected and improvements of permanent value have been secured. The relative worthwhileness of the program to the needy unemployed is not debatable."

That's only 8 State reports, but there are 34 others like them.

I have not quoted them on the question of work versus the dole, because they all favor a work program for employable people. I hope a great many of you will look up the appraisal in your own

State, see who made it, and read it.

Evidence of this sort is why I have no hesitancy in speaking of the careful and constructive use of Federal money. I am proud to have been associated with the millions of hard-pressed men and women who stepped from the relief rolls and wrought such a record of achievement—such a triumph of democracy—across the face of this country.

I notice that the only living ex-President of the United States says we are headed extraight for faceless. He wants us to return to

says we are headed straight for fascism. He wants us to return to the policies he pursued in 1930, 1931, and 1932. He wants, in some the policies he pursued in 1930, 1931, and 1932. He wants, in some occult way, to go in for production and work and yet to stop spending. He is still talking about waste in the W. P. A. and still wanting to return relief to the States. He proposes to take one-third of the present relief away from the unemployed.

Mr. Hoover has just come back from visits to several of the Fascist nations, and he ought to know certain things which seem to have escaped him completely.

What he seems to have missed entirely is the basic fact that fascism came to those countries because the masses were not getting their fair share of things and were willing to submit to anything in the way of a change.

fascism came to those countries because the masses were not getting their fair share of things and were willing to submit to anything in the way of a change.

I am entirely willing to lay down the record of this administration alongside that of Mr. Hoover for the purpose of judging whose policies make toward dictatorship. I wonder if his stubborn refusal to recognize realities, when the house was crumbling about his head, strengthened the people's faith in democracy. I wonder if the pious phrases he gave to millions of desperate people, while denying any Federal responsibility for relief, strengthened the popular faith in this form of government. I wonder if the tear gas with which he greeted the bonus army was his idea of the full flower of democracy. I say it is policies like these which strike at the existence of our form of government. Is it dictatorship to try to operate a government for all the people and not just a few? Is it dictatorship to guarantee the accounts of small bank depositors, and keep phony stocks and bonds off the market? Is it dictatorship to save millions of homes from foreclosure and make possible the financing of new ones? Is it dictatorship to give the farmer the same break as the manufacturer, and protect the rights of labor to bargain collectively? Is it dictatorship to give a measure of protection to millions who are economically insecure, and jobs to other millions who can't find work? Is it dictatorship to try to put a floor under wages and a ceiling over working hours?

I have confidence in this Nation's ability to solve its problems by democratic means. I think the American people are defer-

I have confidence in this Nation's ability to solve its problems by democratic means. I think the American people are deter-mined we shall go ahead instead of back—determined that the

whole economic curve move uphill.

Conditions are serious today, but people are not frightened, as they were a few years ago. The measures I have just cited are reason they are not frightened.

This administration met the depression by fortifying the purchasing power of its people. It understood the effect on business activity of putting money in the pockets of workers and of putting workers on pay rolls. The measures put through by Congress set the wheels turning and raised the national income from \$40,000,000,000 in 1932 to \$68,000,000,000 in 1937.

What caused the present decline in business? I have my own opinions and I am quite sure that anybody who fixes on some one single cause of the decline is pretty sure to be wrong. It is very

apparent that consumer incomes did not increase fast enough to apparent that consider incomes du not increase actuse of the decline is to duck behind words which do not explain. I believe that the major contributing factors were: (1) Purchasing power in the hands of consumers failed to keep pace with production; (2) tremendous increase in inventories; (3) the failure of the promising building revival because of rising costs; and (4) unwarranted increases in

Our problem is how to get the national income up—how to so treat destitution and low incomes and unemployment that the underprivileged one-third of the American people can become consumers, and thus participate in our economy.

The passing of the frontier left a gap which we have not filled. As long as we had a frontier, aggressive and resourceful individuals could repair the ravages to their families caused by the ups and downs of the business cycle. The new frontier is idle men, money and machines, and all the resourcefulness, ingenuity, and courage that resides in twelve or thirteen million unemployed is helpless to take up this new frontier without tremendous organization of productive forces such as only government can supply when business is in the doldrums. ness is in the doldrums.

Our failure to conquer this new frontier of idle overhead has cost us at least \$200,000,000,000 in lost income we might have produced and didn't since 1929. That \$200,000,000,000 is about equal to the 1932 value of the entire wealth of this Nation. We have been losing nearly every year since 1929 almost two-thirds as much as the entire national debt.

But raising the national income to full employment levels is not enough. To attain more than a fleeting prosperity, income must be distributed among the mass of people so that consumption can

parallel output.

No one in his right mind is suggesting that we divide up the present national income. It has to go up. And certainly I do not believe that Government spending can do the whole job. Without the traditional investment of private money in a rising economy there can be no permanent recovery.

But a subsidy of purchasing power started the ball rolling 5 years ago, and it can start it again. This is not a new thing. Ever since the early days of the Nation, the Government has been in effect subsidizing purchasing power. It gave the railroad systems wast grants of land, and it gave the manufacturers protective fariffs. Why should anybody question further subsidies of puratariffs. Why should anybody question further subsidies of purchasing power, just because they are given to many individuals instead of a few?

The problem is not simple There are no ready panaceas for un-employment Sincere men and women will differ as to its cause and cure. Its solution can only be achieved by the fullest cooperation between Government, labor, agriculture, and business It can only be solved if they all work for the same end, avoiding wage only be solved if they all work for the same end, avoiding wage reductions, keeping prices in line, and reducing them as soon as unit costs justify it. It can only be solved if profits to business under genuine competition are encouraged; if labor is paid a fair wage; if the farmers attain a proper share in the national income, and if the great masses of people, who for any reason cannot obtain a minimum share in the national income, are protected by an all-inclusive program of social security.

On this basis I believe that not only can we get a rising national income but we will be able to maintain it, for it will be based upon

income but we will be able to maintain it, for it will be based upon a balanced distribution of purchasing power and well-being among all the American people. That is the way to fulfill the destiny of a democracy, to provide economic security without regimentation, and, above all, to maintain the personal as well as economic freedom

of every individual in the United States.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I have nothing further to say. It has seemed to me that an injustice has been done Mr. Hopkins. I may be entirely wrong about it. From my personal contact with him, which has been quite limited, I admit, I had formed the belief that he was sincere; that he was honestly trying to do a very difficult job under very difficult and sometimes almost impossible circumstances. It seems to me that it is only fair that what I have put into the RECORD should go into the RECORD, not because I expect to convince any other Senator or change the vote of any other Senator, but because in all fairness, Senators, whatever your decision may be, I want all the record, so far as I know of it, to be presented for such consideration as you individually think it is entitled to.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I doubt if there is any Member of the Senate who passed through a more difficult primary campaign than did the Senator from Maryland who now addresses the Senate. Every artifice that could be used was used by the National Government without stint, in the cruelest, most brutal, and most unwarranted interference in the affairs of a sovereign State in the history of this Republic. It seems almost anomalous, in the face of that situation, that the W. P. A. in my State was not more widely employed than it was.

One of the reasons why it was not more widely employed was that in the appointment of a director for the State of Maryland, at a time when I was consulted about such matters, I sought the best qualified man I could find in the entire length and breadth of my State, and I selected an outstanding engineer who had served on many big projects, one who had no political following or influence that was known. I told him when he took office that I hoped he would never allow, from me or anyone else, the slightest scintilla of political pressure to be exerted in the conduct of the W. P. A. in the State of Maryland. So far as I know, Colonel Dryden has lived up to what he said he would do at the time of his appointment.

However, Mr. President, there were others in the administration of W. P. A. in my State under him who were not so careful of their political activities as was the head. In one community workers were dismissed because they had Typings' pictures on their automobiles and wore Typings' buttons while working in W. P. A. gangs. In another section of the State the W. P. A. foreman handled the campaign of that great liberal who was my opponent in the last election. I can truthfully say that I never exerted the slightest bit of pressure on any employee of the Federal Government in my State, from the highest to the lowest. Nor did I ask any of them to contribute to my campaign fund; nor did I ask any of them to vote for me. They were as free, insofar as I was concerned, as if I had been in Siam during the conduct of that election.

But while that was the practice of the present speaker, who was only a candidate, higher authorities than Mr. Harry Hopkins did not live up to such ethics in the political arena. P. W. A. was used in my State for political purposes not merely by a few jobs here and there, but a \$3,000,000 bridge, if you please, Mr. President, was dangled before the eyes of the people of my State in an effort to sway them from allegiance to my cause and to my support in that contest in one of the most disgraceful exhibitions of using political funds to sway the election ever known in the history of the entire world. There is not a Senator on the floor who will dare say that is not the case.

I introduced a bill in this body providing for the building of a bridge across the Potomac River 10 years ago and reintroduced it session after session, in the hope that private capital, at first, would become interested. The bill lay dormant and, in company with Representative Kennedy of my State at the last session, I again introduced the same bill, providing for the building of a bridge across the Potomac River in southern Maryland toward the Atlantic Ocean. The bill passed, and about 3 weeks before the election, although the bridge site was not in the congressional district of my opponent, and although he had had nothing to do with the passage of the bill providing for its construction, at that time the President of the United States, with Mr. Lewis, rode in an automobile provided for him by the people to the site of the bridge, and there, without any engineering examination, without any approval by P. W. A., without any preliminaries, the good people of my State were told that the bridge was going to be built immediately. Mr. Lewis was there ostensibly to take upon his shoulders credit for securing this bridge with the legislation for which he had nothing whatever to do in its conduct through the Congress.

So outrageous was the handling of that piece of political maneuvering that the entire press of the Nation rebelled, and the people of southern Maryland, who founded the colony of Maryland, stood there, like the fine men and women they are, absolutely unmoved even though a \$3,000,-000 bridge was dangled before their eyes as bait. I may say parenthetically that one of the things I shall carry to the grave is the knowledge that in the election shortly following that occurrence they voted for me 3 to 1, even with the promise of a bridge to be built on their very shores. When one old tobacco farmer down in that section was asked by reporters if he was going to be present when Mr. Lewis and the President came down to inaugurate the building of that bridge he said, "I have got a date with a lady in Leonardtown on that day that I just cannot break." [Laughter.] And when the reporter asked him for whom he was going to vote, he said, "I ain't a telling."

That one little isolated incident was followed by a trip across the bay, not by the President of the United States but by the head of the Democratic Party, traveling on Government property, and when a landing was made at Crisfield, on the lower Eastern Shore, there the head of the Democratic Party rode in an automobile provided by the taxpayers, up the Eastern Shore to the city of Denton, where the Representative in Congress from the Eastern Shore has his home, for the Eastern Shore is one congressional district. Was that using Government property, was that expending

Government money for political purposes?

Then the broadcasting company called me on the telephone and said, "Inasmuch, Senator, as our facilities are going to be given to the President free of any charge, we offer them to you free of any charge to make answer." I said, "That is unusual; your facilities are not being given to the President but to the head of the Democratic Party. You have charged me for every minute of time I have used up to this hour. What right has any man in America to have free time in this political contest while you charge me for every minute of time that I use? I do not want your free time, and I do not want you to give it to anybody else, for no man under our democratic form of government has a right to have free time on the air while every other candidate running for office must buy his time in the conduct of his political campaign." I was persuaded to take a Nationwide hook-up that would not cost me a cent, and then a Statewide hook-up, but I said I thought it was unfair, it was unjust, it was undemocratic; that in every debate that my opponent and I had had in the months that had passed we both had to buy time, but now time was to be given free to an outsider who was coming into my State to intervene in that election.

Why should we censure Harry Hopkins? Is there a man in this body who does not know that Harry Hopkins did no more than was expected of him? Why make fish of one

and fowl of the other?

I believe Harry Hopkins would have acted in many of these cases if the green light had been given him to act. I believe his refusal to act was because he was advised to go very slowly in certain States; and I believe in their honest hearts most Senators will agree that that observation is sound and fair. Certainly Mr. Hopkins did nothing so blatantly wrong as was exhibited in the case of the proposed bridge across the Potomac River at Morgantown, in Charles County, Md In all these instances not an act can be pointed to that was inspired by Mr. Hopkins. I think he was guilty of negligence many times in not acting when information came to him about the conduct of the W. P. A.; but I do not believe Mr. Hopkins, except in some talk, inspired many of the pieces of chicanery which have been related on this floor. But in the case of the bridge to which I have referred, there is not the question of a doubt that it was ordered to be built to influence the election in the sovereign State of Maryland.

Where are the men who always find wrong in the conduct of elections—the men who voted out William Vare, of Pennsylvania, and Frank Smith, of Illinois, and other Senators for improper use of election funds? Where are they today? Most of them are as silent as the tomb, even though under their naked eye there was exhibited in this little State of mine, just over yonder, a circumstance which makes the Vare election machinery look like 30 cents on the dollar.

I could be vindictive and take it out on Mr. Hopkins, but I am going to vote for his confirmation, because if I did otherwise I should only be striking at the man who was not the front of these political operations.

We all know that in the recent primaries in many States every ounce of energy and support was thrown into the balance to determine the elections along certain lines. While I think Mr. Hopkins is a proper subject of censure, I should

feel that I had not brought in the right verdict in the circumstances were I to take it all out on him, who claims that his loyalty as a "member of the team" is his way of performing his duties in the Cabinet or wherever he may be located.

Before I leave the subject of outside interference in State elections, I desire to read what four great Presidents of this country have said about it.

The first I shall read from is George Washington, who

There had been the most scrupulous and pointed caution observed on my part not to express a sentiment respecting the fitness of any candidate for representative that could be construed by the most violent torture of the words into an interference in favor of one or to the prejudice of another, conceiving that the exercise of an influence, however remote, would be improper; such conduct would have been incompatible with the rule I have observed of not interfering directly or indirectly with the suffrages of the people in the choice of their representatives.

Let me read what Thomas Jefferson had to say about interference in the election of representatives of the people:

From a very early period of my life-

He said-

I determined never to intermeddle with elections of the people and have invariably adhered to this determination. \* \* \* I think the officers of the Federal Government are meddling too much with elections. \* \* Every officer of the Government may vote at elections according to his conscience; but we should betray the cause committed to our care were we to permit the influence of official patronage to be used to overthrow that cause. \* \* \* I proposed scop effer coming into office to entain the event too forms. proposed soon after coming into office to enjoin the excutive officers from intermeddling with elections as inconsistent with the true principles of our Constitution. \* \* One thing I will say: That as to the future, interferences with elections, whether of the State or General Government, by officers of the latter, should be deemed cause for removal.

Those are pretty strong words.

Now let us see what John Tyler had to say when he became President of the United States:

The right to remove from office, while subjected to no just restraint, is inevitably destined to produce a spirit of crouching servility with the official corps, which, in order to uphold the hand which feeds them, would lead to direct and active interference in the elections, both State and Federal, thereby subjecting the course of State legislation to the dictation of the chief executive officer and making the will of that officer absolute and supreme. I will at a proper time invoke the action of Congress upon this subject, and shall readily acquiesce in the adoption of all proper measures which are calculated to arrest these evils, so that of denser in their tendency. so full of danger in their tendency.

And now let me read the words of the present President of the United States about the interference of the Government or its officers in State elections, uttered at a time when he was the Governor of New York State, and when the Federal Government, from an administration of a different political complexion than that to which he adhered, tried to invade New York State in order to influence the elections in that State.

Said President Roosevelt:

We, in this State, in every city, and on every farm know the high impropriety of interference by the Federal Government in the purely local affairs of any State, and we are fully conscious of the effective manner in which the people of this great State will at the polls show their resentment against such conduct. Before we look into the soundness of the instruction given to the people of this State by these representatives at Washington.

the people of this State by these representatives at Washington, we have a right to demand that they show their credentials.

It is hard for me to soar on the wings of idealism in the face of what has happened in my own State of Maryland. But that is not the whole story, Senators. The palace guards met in the White House itself, and there they determined that one of the most effective attacks on the Senator from Maryland would be to dismiss some Federal official, put in his place some temporary man, and then, after the election was over, give the office permanently to some man who had been right in that great struggle. I learned of this determination the night after the conference took place. By an odd chain of circumstances, I learned where the conference was held, who was present, and much of the conversation. I knew that the man they had picked to go was

Mr. Harry Webb, the Federal housing administrator of Maryland. Mr. Webb has about as much political influence in Maryland as I have in the State of Kansas or California. He is a real-estate man. He had never before held political office, and he took over the duties of that job because he was especially fitted to do the work.

I sent Mr. Stewart McDonald, the head of the Federal Housing Administration, this telegram, in substance:

I learned from authentic sources that a proposition is afoot to remove Mr. Harry Webb as director of Federal housing in Maryland, and place in his stead a man who is friendly to one of the Representatives in the House of Representatives from Maryland. and after the election to give the place to the manager of my opponent's campaign. Will you please affirm or deny?

I received no answer for 9 days. It was a hard thing to answer. The conspirators had been caught red-handed; and, even though my telegram was published in the press, they just could not figure out the right way to handle it. So after 9 days of waiting I sent another telegram, calling Mr. McDonald's attention to the first one, and asking that he give me a reply thereto. The fire was getting too close; so Mr. McDonald quickly called Mr. Webb on the telephone and asked him to come immediately to Washington.

It takes about an hour and ten minutes to get from Baltimore to Washington. There Mr. Webb was first bludgeoned and then entreated to resign; and being a man of some pride and dignity, feeling that he was not wanted, and not knowing anything about the political show—because I had not let him in on the secret—his resignation was gently extracted. Then the personnel officer gave out a statement that Mr. Webb had been asked to resign, while Mr. McDonald gave out a statement that Mr. Webb had voluntarily resigned, and both of the statements went to the press within 10 minutes of each other. They forgot to coordinate in issuing those statements.

Well, Mr. Webb was out. The temporary man was put in. The other day, after I received a mandate from the people of Maryland to the extent of 204,000 majority—44,000 more majority than President Roosevelt received in the great landslide of 1936, carrying every county in my State without an exception, carrying every district in Baltimore City without an exception, the only time the feat has been achieved in the history of our State—with that mandate, my opponent's campaign manager was appointed to be the Federal director of housing in the State of Maryland, and thus the statement in my telegram had come true.

When the Federal housing bill was pending the Senator from Nebraska begged and plead with us to keep politics out of the Federal Housing Administration. He did not want the Senate to have the right to confirm those who were appointed, for fear we would select someone who might have a political string tied to him. So the law was written accordingly, and, far be it from me to say that politics was injected in the case I have just detailed. Mr. Mullikin was appointed Federal housing administrator, though he never in his entire life had any experience in handling Federal mortgages, which had been the main business of Mr. Webb, the old director. That is another patent illustration of what is going on today.

I could remain silent. I could be crouching and servile. I could come up to the mourners' bench. I could be very sweet and sorry, and perhaps I would be allowed to name some of the patronage in my own State. But, just as I was a free man before the primary, I am still a free man, and the representative first of the people who live in the State of Maryland, and of nobody else beneath God's sun.

I shall vote for the confirmation of Mr. Hopkins for the reasons I have detailed. To make fish of Mr. Hopkins, in the silence which will follow the recital of the facts I have just uttered, would be to pick out one man and hang him for murder and leave 55 other men, guilty of the offense, go scot free. If the Senate desires to go into this whole thing, if it wishes to clean house from top to bottom, that is one thing; but why make fish out of Mr. Hopkins, when he was only the tool, so to speak, of those in high authority, who, in

my judgment, connived at the very actions which have been related on this floor?

You cannot drive the relief rolls up 50 percent in 1938, when they went down 30 percent in the same period in 1937, and explain it in any other way than that the appropriations were used for politics; and that is exactly what every Senator here knows was the case.

I wish to close as I opened. What is going to be done about the conduct of a high official who gives credit for the construction of a bridge to one of the candidates in a political campaign, outside of that candidate's own congressional district, and holds it up, as the press said, as an inducement to the people to vote for this hand-picked candidate to represent them in the Senate of the United States? If we are going to remain silent about that—and every man knows the facts I have related to be true—then I am not going to pick out Mr. Hopkins, a little bit of an agent, and slaughter him when the situation is as I have stated. What is going to be done about the removal of the Federal housing administrator in my State—a pure snatching of a man away to make office for the campaign manager of a defeated candidate? Where is all the talk about the mandates I heard in 1936? Mandates are convenient things with which to bamboozle legislators while they are with you, but they do not apply when the mandate comes against the thing for which you contend.

I expect to remain here for 2 years shorn of all patronage, shorn of all influence, although I received the largest vote ever given a candidate in the history of my State. That is democracy, Senators; and who is the defender of that course who will rise and say it is right? Is there a Senator on this floor who desires to rise and defend it? I pause for an answer. No one responding, I take it for granted that every man on this floor condemns such a course.

I see sitting before me my friend the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. Minton], who, in the midst of a campaign, not in his own State, gave out a statement to the press that even if Tydings were elected he could not take his seat, the way the corporations were pouring money into the State to help elect him.

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. MINTON. Did the Senator ever see a statement like that coming from me?

Mr. TYDINGS. I saw it in many newspapers.

Mr. MINTON. Well, it is a dirty lie!

Mr. TYDINGS. I am glad to hear the Senator say so. Mr. MINTON. This is the first time I have heard of it.

Mr. MINTON. This is the first time I have heard of it.
Mr. TYDINGS. I am glad to hear the Senator state that,

Mr. MINTON. I say it now, and I say that this is the first time I ever heard of such a thing.

Mr. TYDINGS. I saw the statement. I apologize to the Senator.

Mr. MINTON. I am glad the Senator made the statement. I am glad to know it.

Mr. TYDINGS. I am glad to hear the Senator's denial.

Mr. MINTON. Never did I say a thing about the Senator's race in Maryland. That is the Senator's own business.
Mr. TYDINGS. I apologize to the Senator. I would not

Mr. TYDINGS. I apologize to the Senator. I would not have mentioned it except that I saw the statement in print, and it was not contradicted. I assumed, therefore, that the Senator had made it.

Mr. MINTON. Does the Senator know in what newspaper he saw it?

Mr. TYDINGS. I cannot tell the Senator offhand.

Mr. MINTON. It was not Frank Kent's column, was it?

Mr. TYDINGS. No; it was not. I assure the Senator that I should have been a little more cautious; I should have asked him in private, because there are a couple of columnists here in the Capitol who will print almost anything, and I will get around to them a little later. I am just starting.

Mr. MINTON. The Senator is not referring to Frank Kent, is he?

Mr. TYDINGS. No. The Senator knows to whom I am referring.

Mr. MINTON. Mr. Kent is one of these peddlers of gossip.
Mr. TYDINGS. These, Senators, are the facts: We have
just rung down the curtain on one of the most disgraceful
political campaigns ever conducted in the history of this
country. In the State of Georgia, represented by one of the
best Senators in this body, another high official was removed,
a man friendly to the Senator who was a candidate. So I
might go on all over the country.

I defy any living human being in my own State to say that I ever solicited, directly or indirectly, a single dollar from any employee of the Federal Government, high or low; that I ever brought the slightest pressure on high or low to make any one of them vote, and I am sorry that people holding higher offices than that which I now occupy, and who should have had more consideration for the proprieties of the occasion, cannot say the same thing.

I could be vindictive. There are some facts upon which I could make out a good case in reason and righteousness for voting against Mr. Hopkins. I know Mr. Hopkins has been derelict. I do not think he has inspired any of these things, but I do not think he has been diligent when utterances have been made by those under him in the W. P. A. and when facts warranting action have been called to his attention. But I am going to believe that I know how such things occur. Mr. Hopkins is a "member of the team," and I am not going to shoot Mr. Hopkins in midair while he is flying from one loyalty perch across the room to another loyalty perch. [Laughter.]

A few years ago I had to cast a vote on the seating of Senator Vare, of Pennsylvania, and Senator Smith, of Illinois. While at times I am a little quick tempered, I hope that if I can possibly help it I am not keen to do harm, no matter how justified, to any man. It was a difficult matter for me to vote William Vare and Frank Smith out of the Senate. I know something about practical politics, and I know that in the welter of a political campaign perhaps none of us are so pure that we in every little respect and degree have kept the faith. I did not want to sit here like a hypocrite and send those men out, and remain here with others who I thought perhaps deserved their seats no more than Vare and Smith. But as the evidence of slush funds in Pennsylvania and in Illinois unfolded, the Senate almost unanimously voted to unseat those men. I can see the righteous anger with which the credentials of those two Senators were attacked by men who today are on the other side. All that is done now is good and pure and lovely and beautiful! All that has taken place is of no consequence. The great desire to keep politics out of this and that is all glossed over in a wave and a splurge of words and oratory. That is the situation in the United States Senate today, that defenders of the faith of the ballot, if you please, have now all departed from their old, accustomed stations.

I shall not blame any one for voting against the confirmation of Mr. Hopkins, not that he has been guilty of acts of commission, perhaps, although some of his statements amount to that, as much as he has committed mistakes of omission by not disciplining those who have been parties to the practices which the Senate investigating committee have brought to light on this floor. But I have a feeling that somehow or other Mr. Hopkins in his mistakes was guided by a strong, unseen hand, and I am just going to be human enough to give Mr. Hopkins another chance, because I know that the real, motivating force behind whatever sins of omission there might have been will be entirely overlooked in this debate, except perhaps insofar as I have been so indiscreet as to mention it myself.

I do not know what we can do about such matters as happened in southern Maryland. I do not know what we can do about free use of the radio time to attack a man in his own State while charging him for all the time taken by him in his own speeches. I do not know what can be done about the matter of traveling in Government-owned property to make campaign speeches and to take part in elec-

tions. I do not know what we can do about the removal of Mr. Webb, a poor innocent bystander, a man whose loyalty to President Roosevelt could never be questioned, who contributed far beyond his means to both the campaign funds, and who at times remonstrated with me because I did not always stay in line on each and every proposition which was advanced. But because he liked me, although he never made a speech in his life, or to my knowledge ever asked any one to vote for anybody else, and in order to make a berth to be at the disposal of those who were parties to this whole scheme of political manipulation, he had to walk the plank, and just 3 weeks ago in his place was put the campaign manager of my opponent.

And now there has come to the Senate another matter. The Representative from the Eastern Shore, Representative Goldsborough, whose home town is Denton, where the meeting was held against Senator Tydings and for Lewis, has just been nominated as United States district judge for the District of Columbia. I would not say and I do not wish to imply that there was anything improper in Mr. Goldsborough's appointment. On the contrary, so far as I know, there is nothing improper in it. It is, however, significant that the nomination should be here, and I mention it only to show that my mandate in such matters is not as great as some people in 1936 said might be the case if one were lucky enough to get a mandate.

This, Senators, is briefly my own position in this matter. For the reasons I have stated I shall vote for Mr. Hopkins, feeling that I should be punishing the child rather than the parent were I to withhold my consent to his confirmation.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I shall detain the Senate for only a moment or two. I desire to speak just a few words in behalf of the confirmation of Mr. Harry L. Hopkins as Secretary of Commerce.

I never knew Mr. Hopkins until he came here as W. P. A. Administrator. Before meeting him I heard him make a speech at a relief gathering in Washington. He made a fine impression upon me at that time, and afterward when I became more closely associated with him I found him to be one of the most delightful of gentlemen and a high-minded, honest public official. I do not know of a more kindly, patient, forbearing, sensible gentleman, or a man more attentive or zealous in his work.

Notwithstanding all the criticism which has been made of him, I am convinced that Mr. Hopkins has made as good a W. P. A. Administrator as any man who could have been appointed to that job. He has made mistakes, of course, but what man worth a continental has not made mistakes? Taking it by and large, I think Mr. Hopkins has done a good job. I know he is a perfectly honest man; he is a well-educated man; he is gifted with a striking and delightful personality; he has had a vast experience, and I do not know of anyone who would fit in better as Secretary of Commerce than Mr. Hopkins.

Mr. Hopkins has the ability, the personality, the education, and the experience in public affairs which fit him for the duties of this particular office. I sincerely hope the majority by which he is confirmed will be a very large one. Unless I am tremendously mistaken, it will be a large one. Mr. Hopkins deserves the large vote he will receive in the Senate.

Mr. President, yesterday the distinguished Senator from Kansas [Mr. Reed] had something to say about W. P. A. in Tennessee, and about the report of the Senate committee in that behalf. I have that report in my hand, and I ask unanimous consent that the portion of the report dealing with Tennessee, as it appears on pages 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, and part of page 23, be printed in the Record at this point as part of my remarks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

Tennessee: The report of our investigators in Tennessee shows that there was a vigorous effort throughout the State to raise campaign funds by contributions from Federal employees in behalf of

the coalition group, to wit, Cooper-Stewart-Hudson ticket, including not only those having civil-service status, but those having relief classifications as well, with circumstances in certain instances indicating intimidation and coercion, or efforts partaking of intimidation and coercion;

That such employees included not only certified and nonrelief workers of W. P. A., but certain employees of other Federal agencies, such as employees of the soldiers' home at Mountain City, Tenn., employees of the Postal Service, employees of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, employees of the Bureau of Public Roads, and other

Revenue, employees of the Bureau of Public Roads, and other governmental agencies;

That contributions from Federal employees for the coalition ticket were solicited by attorneys and other persons and from W. P. A. noncertified workers by foremen, timekeepers, and others with the knowledge of ranking W. P. A. officials; and that similar contributions were solicited and obtained for the Browning group—that is, the group in opposition to the so-called coalition ticket in the primary—from State employees whose salaries were derived in part from Federal funds: from Federal funds

That there was a failure to keep lists of names, addresses, and amounts of contributions for senatorial candidates in many counties by county campaign workers and managers; that this practice occurred to such an extent as to make it virtually impossible to

occurred to such an extent as to make it virtually impossible to determine the amount of funds expended for political purposes by both sides in the primary;

That poll-tax receipts, which are prerequisite to voting by persons between the ages of 21 and 60 years, were frequently purchased in bulk by friends of candidates for office on both sides for the purpose

That Works Progress Administration labor and materials, paid for with funds appropriated by the Congress for emergency relief purposes, namely, farm-to-market roads, have been used in the construction, improvement, and repair of private drives and roadways under circumstances and conditions giving rise to a fair

construction, improvement, and repair of private drives and roadways under circumstances and conditions giving rise to a fair
inference that such use may have been suffered and permitted for
the purpose of influencing votes and voting in behalf of both sides.

As an example of methods employed, a laborer in the Post Office
Service at Knoxville testified under oath that about July 2, 1938,
he received a letter asking him to call at the office of a prominent
attorney, a former United States district attorney, and was told
when he arrived there that he would be expected to subscribe a
certain amount of money to be used for the coalition ticket, including the coalition candidate for the Democratic nomination for
United States Senator, Hon. Tom Stewart; that he knew of 10 or
15 other postal employees who had received similar letters; that
the letter was addressed to him at the place of his employment,
a United States post office, and received by him there. The Federal law makes solicitation by anyone of a Government employee
for a subscription for a political purpose in a Government building
a felony punishable by fine not exceeding \$5,000 or imprisonment
not exceeding 3 years, or both, and it has been held in court
decisions that a subscription requested by letter when the
letter is addressed to a Federal employee at a Federal building is
the same as a solicitation within the building (209 U. S. 39; 163
Fed. 926). The attorney testified under oath that he addressed a
number of letters to post-office employees who were Democrats
but addressed them all at their homes; that a number of employees calling on him in response to these letters, made contributions to him for the coalition ticket, of which he kept no record,
and the total amount of which he did not remember; and that he
delivered these contributions to the county chairman, Seaton
Garrett.

The committee has evidence of similar solicitation by W. P. A. Garrett.

The committee has evidence of similar solicitation by W. P. A. workers and private parties in different parts of the State in behalf of both sides.

behalf of both sides.

Seaton Garrett, county chairman of the coalition ticket for Knox County, testified before one of our investigators that he made no report or return to any official of the amounts collected by him in Knox County for the coalition ticket. Similar testimony to that of the former United States district attorney and Garrett was taken in various parts of the State by our investigators.

An employee at the soldiers home at Mountain City, Tenn., testified that a few weeks prior to the primary election of August 4, 1938, several sample beliots were passed around, and the employees were given to understand that this was the way the superintendance.

1938, several sample bailots were passed around, and the employees were given to understand that this was the way the superintendent expected the employees to vote. Several other employees also made affidavits as to circulation of sample ballots at the soldiers home in behalf of the Cooper-Hudson-Stewart ticket. A number of employees at the soldiers home denied that activities of this kind had taken place, but the weight of the evidence, in the opinion of the committee, is the other way.

The committee received charges from John R. Neal, Senator George L. Berry, and O. M. Tate, Jr.

Mr. Neal's charges were as follows:

"First every State primary election official was illegally ap-

Mr. Neal's charges were as follows:

"First, every State primary election official was illegally appointed as board consisting of Federal Marshal Henry A. Bell, United States District Attorney Horace Frierson, W. P. A. Contractor Herbert S. Walters, former United States official Wardlaw Steele, and the active head of the Shelby County machine, Roxy Rice; second, the Shelby County machine senatorial candidate, Hon. Tom Stewart, has already spent many thousand dollars above ten thousand limit allowed by law, said funds being supplied by W. P. A. and other Federal officeholders through assessments against them; third, Shelby County, controlled by a machine that has twice been investigated and reprimanded by senatorial committees, has registered twice the number of legal voters and

though a purge has been ordered, the State primary board, composed of a majority of Federal officeholders, can arbitrarily allow any person to vote whether registered or not, as no appeal is provided by Tennessee law to give any court jurisdiction; and because ballots and poll lists in Shelby County are invariably destroyed immediately after returns are reported, no evidence can be adduced in contests. Therefore, unless your committee impounds ballots and registration books as I request, candidates have no other redress; in recent county meetings connected with coming ballots and registration books as I request, candidates have no other redress; in recent county meetings connected with coming primary, deciding votes in every instance were cast by W. P. A. officials and workers. Customs and laws of 20 years' standing were swept aside and candidates refused representation on county boards, as provided by law. Many W. P. A. officials have assumed direct supervision of General Stewart's candidacy; for example, Mr. Seaton Garrett in Knox County. Immediate action urgent in view of short time remaining before primary."

The committee finds these charges were in the main not sustained. So far as the conduct of the election in Shelby County on primary election day is concerned the committee's investigators.

on primary election day is concerned, the committee's investigators reported no conditions or conduct calling for criticism by this

reported no conditions or conduct calling for criticism by this committee.

Senator Berry's first charge was that—
"The administrator of W. P. A. in Tennessee, Col. Harry S. Berry, and his direct and immediate assistant, Mr. Rhoton Clift, were in fact, but not in name, the campaign directors of the coalition ticket in Tennessee, among which was one candidate for the Democratic nomination to the United States Senate. These facts have been submitted to the Administrator of W. P. A. at Washington and to other important and prominent officials in Washington prior to the results, requesting action to be taken in abridging this interference in the political affairs of the State of Tennessee, but without avail."

The investigation discloses that Col. Harry S. Berry, State administrator, and Mr. Rhoton Clift, deputy administrator of W. P. A., Nashville, Tenn., by sworn statements, deny that they had any part in the management of the coalition ticket. Senator Berry presented no evidence to sustain this charge. The committee, how-

presented no evidence to sustain this charge. The committee, how-ever, directed its investigators to make an investigation of the charge. No evidence could be obtained to show that either Colonel charge. No evidence could be obtained to show that either Colonel Berry or Mr. Clift exerted any influence on employees of W. P. A. Evidence was obtained by the committee's investigators which showed that Colonel Berry had caused to be issued a statement regarding political activities of W. P. A. employees, both relief and nonrelief workers, and that this statement contained regulations providing penalties for including in any political activity while being employed by the Works Progress Administration.

Senator Berry's second charge was that—
"It has been said, and my advice is that the statement came from the administrator, Col. Harry S. Berry, that they had raised from assessments and collections from W. P. A. personnel and relief workers \$125,000. This can be sustained by placing Colonel Berry and Rhoton Clift under oath, and others who are prepared to take oath at the declaration. The latter persons are ascertainable."

The committee ordered its investigators to look into this charge, and they found no evidence to sustain it.

and they found no evidence to sustain it.

The third charge by Senator Berry was that—
"In the month of July, and prior to the primary of August 4, 1938, many thousands of men were placed upon relief, among them great numbers were placed upon the lists of personnel."

numbers were placed upon the lists of personnel."

The investigation discloses that beginning about June 1, 1938, the Washington office of the Works Progress Administration started to increase the W. P. A. rolls in the States constituting region III, of which Tennessee is a part. The investigation discloses that Tennessee received a smaller increase in proportion to the other States comprising region III. The increase in the rolls was distributed on a mathematical basis to each and every one of the 95 counties, based on certified relief rolls of each county. This increase, therefore, necessitated a corresponding increase of personnel in the administrative and supervisory staffs of the Administration. This increase was proportionate and apparently had no relation to the administrative and supervisory stalls of the Administration. This increase was proportionate and apparently had no relation to the primary. The investigation also discloses that the increase of personnel by the W. P. A. of both relief workers and administrative employees was without the solicitation of State officials of the W. P. A. and was entirely at the instance of the National Administration in Washington.

The fourth charge advanced by Senator Power is that

The fourth charge advanced by Senator Berry is that—
"The W. P. A. in Tennessee solicited persons to accept positions with the W. P. A. who were not in need of employment and who were not subject to relief, but who possessed certain political influence."

The committee found no evidence to sustain this charge. Senator Berry's fifth charge is that—
"It has been stated, and it is my belief to be a direct statement, that during the month of July, and immediately prior to the primary of August 4, 1938, that W. P. A. checks were sent in Tennessee and received by persons who had not contributed nor had been previously employed in W. P. A. duties and activities as measured by the purpose of the Congress of the United States in appropriation of the money."

The committee found no evidence to sustain this charge. The sixth charge submitted by Senator Berry is as follows:

"From the daily press I have observed that during the extraor-dinary month of July 1938 the W. P. A. administrator in Tennes-see announced an increase in the amounts to be paid men upon relief. It is extraordinary that this should occur, of course, during the month of July 1938, when a Democratic primary campaign was being held."

On this point Hon. Harry L. Hopkins, Works Progress Administrator, made the following statement to this committee:

"It is a matter of long-established record that States in the southern region have often protested the disparity in wages paid to the W. P. A. workers in this region and the scale paid in other regions. With the increased distress in the South among the unemployed, it became apparent that the wage scale should be W. P. A. in the 1937 Appropriation Act, however, made it impossible to do this. As soon as the 1938 appropriation became available the W. P. A. was able to make these long-deferred adjustments."

The seventh charge submitted by Senator Berry is as follows: "In addition to the foregoing, attention is directed to the fact that solicitations and collections were made in the city of Washthat solicitations and collections were made in the city of Washington among Tennesseans employed in the Federal service, both in and out of the civil-service category. Visits were made by persons to departments and the threat of coercion and intimidation was imposed in order to secure moneys, all of which were used in the Democratic primary in behalf of the coalition ticket—among which one was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the senatorship of the United States. This fact can be determined by your committee upon investigation of Tennesseans employed in departments in the city of Washington, both civil-service and nondepartments in the city of Washington, both civil-service and non-civil-service personnel."

The committee found nothing to substantiate this charge. On October 13, 1938, Mr. O. M. Tate, Jr., manager for Harley Fowler, Republican nominee for the United States Senate in Knoxville, Tenn., addressed a letter to the chairman of the committee, stating that-

"T have endeavored for the last few days to get in touch with the agents of your committee in Tennessee to lay before them information which I have concerning alleged violations of section 312 of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act but have been unable to contact them. If they are still in Tennessee, and in this locality, I would appreciate your having them get in touch with me."

After this letter was received an investigator was sent into Tennessee, with instructions to correct Mr. Total and to look into his

After this letter was received an investigator was sent into Tennessee with instructions to contact Mr. Tate and to look into his charge. This investigator made a report to the committee, in which he stated that he had contacted Mr. O. M. Tate, Jr., and that Mr. Tate stated that he was Mr. Fowler's campaign manager, and that he had received a letter addressed to Mr. Fowler from one T. L. Thompson stating that W. P. A. workers in his locality were being forced to contribute to the campaign of the Democratic nominee, but that he personally had no direct evidence or knowledge of any W. P. A. worker being forced to contribute to any campaign fund but had heard from numerous sources that this was being done. The investigator reported that from affidavits obtained from relief workers on W. P. A. in that locality that W. P. A. foremen and timekeepers solicited donations for Democratic candidates from such workers. However, the foremen and timekeepers referred to made affidavits denying such solicitation. solicitation.

In reference to the nomination to the Senate of Hon. A. T. Stewart, who was elected in the general election, the committee finds no evidence justifying any question as to his right to his

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I now wish to invite the attention of the Senate to the fact that the principal one, possibly the only one who attacked the W. P. A. in Tennessee, was Dr. John R. Neal, who received about four-thousand-odd votes out of a total of over 400,000 votes, and who runs for office in our State practically every 2 years, either for senator or Governor, and receives about the same vote. Dr. Neal made charges which the committee finds are without foundation. In fact, it holds against Dr. Neal's charges. Dr. Neal levied his charges principally against Shelby County, the county seat of which is Memphis, where I live. I quote from the committee report:

The committee finds these charges-

Meaning all of Neal's chargeswere in the main not sustained.

Then the committee continues to say:

So far as the conduct of the election in Shelby County on primary election day is concerned, the committee's investigators reported no conditions or conduct calling for criticism by this committee.

Then it takes up the charges made by former Senator Berry from our State. I think they were seven in number. It sets out the charges specifically, and then it finds that not a single one of the charges made by former Senator Berry is well founded. Those charges refer principally to the W. P. A., and it was found that they were not sustained.

I call attention to the end of the report of the committee on Tennessee, to be found on page 23, where, referring to my present colleague, the committee said:

In reference to the nomination to the Senate of Hon. A. T. Stewart, who was elected in the general election, the committee finds no evidence justifying any question of his right to his seat.

Mr. President, I think the junior Senator from Kansas referred to one thing critical of the situation in Tennessee; and at this point I ask unanimous consent to have reprinted in the RECORD the affidavit of the only witness who made the charge as to the condition at the Johnson City Veterans' facility and the letters of General Hines and others who examined into the matter. Those documents provide a full refutation of that charge. Therefore, Mr. President, I ask that those letters and the affidavit be reprinted in the RECORD at this point as they are found on pages 47 and 48 of the Appendix to the Congressional Record.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

# CASE OF ERBY HARRISON Docket No. 726

On September 8, 1938, Senator Walsh laid before the committee the following affidavit and enclosure, which had been brought to his attention:

#### AFFIDAVIT OF ERBY HARRISON

STATE OF TENNESSEE

County of Washington:
Affiant being first duly sworn according to law, states as follows: My name is Erby Harrison. I have been employed by the Veterans' Administration facility at Johnson City for the last 7½ years as meat cook in the general mess. On Saturday, July 30, 1938, while on duty at my place of work, the attached sample election ballot was handed to me by Claude Duncan, another employee of said facility, who stated to me that he received it from Jim Dempses and the all employees of said facility were being instructed to not be said facility were being instructed. and that all employees of said facility were being instructed to vote according to this marked guide ballot.

Immediately after I received this ballot and expressed my opinion as to what I thought of my right to vote as I pleased, my resignation was demanded, and I therefore resigned.

This is the 3d day of August 1938.

ERBY HARRISON

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 3d day of August 1938.

[SEAL]

L. W. Oakes, Notary Public.

My commission expires October 23, 1938.

# SAMPLE BALLOT

Candidates for Governor	
(Vote for 1)	
Gordon Browning	
Prentice Cooper	
Prentice CooperRoy C. Wallace	
J. Bailey Wray	
Candidates for United States Senator	
(Vote for 1)	
George L. Berry	
E. W. Carmack	
J. Ridley Mitchell	
John Randolph NealC. L. Powell	
A. T. (Tom) Stewart	
Candidates for railroad and public utilities comm	ussioner
(Vote for 1)	
Worth Crowley	
W. D. (Pete) Hudson	
J. Bradley Lea	
Joe E. Scott	
Candidate for Congress	
John A. Armstrong	
Candidates for State committeewomen	
(Vote for 2)	
Blanche Mitchell Bellaire	
Elizabeth Starnes Fuller	
Mrs. Ferdinand Powell	
Edith O'Keefe Susong	
Candidates for State committeemen	
(Vote for 2)	
John Bernard	
Murrell W. Snell	
Herbert S. Walters	
Charles E. Worley	
Candidate for State Representative	
(Vote for 1)	
(1000 101 1)	

ERBY HARRISON. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 3d of August 1938. (Signed) L. W. OAKES, N. P. My commission expires October 23, 1938.

Referred to Veterans' Administration: The committee's decision was to refer this affidavit, with its enclosure, to the Veterans' Administration requesting that an investigation be made and that the committee be advised as to the outcome. Pursuant to this ac-tion taken by the committee, this case on September 8, 1938, was

referred to the Veterans' Administration for investigation.

Letter from Veterans' Administration: On November 3, 1938, the chairman laid before the committee a letter of October 21, 1938, in further reference to the case of Erby O. Harrison.

OCTOBER 21, 1938.

Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD.

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.
My Dear Senator Sheppard: Further reference is made to your letter of September 8, 1938, concerning Mr. Erby O. Harrison, which was acknowledged by Mr. A. D. Hiller, executive assistant to the Administrator on September 15, 1938.

I have caused further inquiry to be made in this matter, and from the information obtained it appears that this former employee voluntarily submitted his resignation as an employee of this Administration because of his resentment of instructions given him with reference to the performance of his duties, and that he was not compelled or requested to resign for political reasons as allowed by him. sons, as alleged by him.

Your interest in this matter is appreciated, and any information obtained by your special committee indicating that this or any other employee of this Administration has been discriminated against or persecuted for political reasons will be appreciated.

Yours very truly,

FRANK T. HINES, Administrator.

Decision on Harrison case: After further considering the record of this case, the committee decision was that the charge was not sustained by the evidence.

Veterans' Administration, Mountain Home, Tenn., January 7, 1939.

Senator KENNETH D. McKELLAR,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Senators: Copy of the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Senatorial Campaign Expenditures and Use of Governmental Funds in 1938 received, and in view of the wide publicity given to this report, said publicity leaving the inference that the management of this facility was guilty of political coercion and political activity. I am writing you to protest such unfair accurations unfair accusations.

unfair accusations.

Only one affidavit was secured as to sample ballots being distributed, that being the affidavit of Erby Harrison, this case being reported as docket No. 726 and found on page 349 of the committee's report. It was referred to Gen. Frank T. Hines, Administrator, who in turn made an investigation and who wrote Senator Sheppard under date of October 21, 1938, stating the true facts in connection with the Erby Harrison case. The decision, as found on page 351, states as follows: "After further considering the record of this case, the committee decision was that the charge was not sustained by the evidence."

There are some 600 employees working at this facility, and

There are some 600 employees working at this facility, and every effort was made to prevent political activity during the last August primary. Every department head was instructed specifically to prevent distribution of political literature, circulars, stickers, etc., and the rules as laid down by the Veterans' Administration and the United States Civil Service Commission were rigidly enforced in connection with political activity.

ministration and the United States Civil Service Commission were rigidly enforced in connection with political activity.

Approximately 15 of the 600 employees testified before the Sheppard committee and all 15 stated under oath that there was not any political activity on the station and that sample ballots were not distributed. Approximately 585 employees were never even interviewed and yet this facility has been branded unfairly by the committee when it states on page 333 that the weight of the evidence indicated that sample ballots were distributed and employees were forced to vote for the coalition ticket. This conclusion of the committee was made in spite of the fact that a number of employees denied that activities of this kind had taken place.

I respectfully request that we be confronted with any testimony given by outside sources as to political activity at this station and that the 600 employees who are attempting to obey the rules of the Veterans' Administration and the United States Civil Service Commission be given an opportunity under oath to testify if we are to be condemned on an ex parte hearing of unknown witnesses

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

LEE B. HARR. Manager.

JOHNSON CITY, TENN., January 4, 1939.

Senator KENNETH D. McKELLAR,

Senate Office Building:

Report of investigating committee published Johnson City Press January 3 accuses superintendent, veterans' facility, distributing sample ballots. Accusation false. Demand show-down as head laundry department. Have 22 employees and all will testify under oath charges false.

D. L. KINSLAND, Superintendent of Laundry.

JOHNSON CITY, TENN., January 4, 1939.

Senator KENNETH McKELLAR,

Senate Office Building:
As head of hospital department, this facility with 250 employees immediately under my supervision, resent Sheppard's report that sample ballots were distributed to employees here and that political coercion was practiced. No witnesses were called from my group of employees, and any and all of us will be glad to testify under oath that such report is untrue and unwarranted.

J. H. S. MORISON, Chief Medical Officer.

JOHNSON CITY, TENN., January 4, 1939. Senator Kenneth D. McKellar,

Senate Office Building: Disgusted with unfair report of Sheppard committee. Have 74 employees under my jurisdiction and was charged specifically with responsibility of prohibiting political activity on station. These attacks are for sole purpose of hurting your friends here, and in my opinion you in 1940.

DAVID H. TAYLOR.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. HOLT. I should like to ask the Senator from Tennessee if he would object to reading into the RECORD what the Sheppard committee said about Tennessee on pages 18 and 19 of its report?

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator desires to have it in-

serted in the RECORD, I have no objection.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask to have inserted in the RECORD at this point the portions of the report of the Sheppard committee on Tennessee, to be found on pages 18 and 19 of the committee report.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McKELLAR subsequently said: Mr. President, a moment ago the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Holt] asked that portions of pages 18 and 19 of part I of the Sheppard committee report, be printed in the RECORD. I call the attention of the Senator to the fact that I have already asked and obtained unanimous consent to have that part of the report printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks, and it is not necessary to print it a second time.

Mr. HOLT. Since the request has already been made and granted to have the matter referred to printed in the

RECORD, I withdraw my request to have it printed. The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The request is withdrawn. Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I have nothing further to say on the pending question.

Mr. BARKLEY obtained the floor. Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President-

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I should like to inquire as to the present status of the pending question as it affects the debate. Does the Senator from North Carolina desire to address the Chamber at this time?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I wish to address the Chamber at this time. I desire the opportunity of speaking for about 30 or 35 minutes.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not yield for that purpose at this

Mr. President, I had hoped that we would conclude the consideration of this nomination today before we adjourned. A number of Senators have indicated their desire to address the Senate on the Hopkins nomination. I have no desire to keep them here to an unduly late hour today. I find that a number of them, thinking there would be no session tomorrow, have made other arrangements. I do not wish to inconvenience them in regard to the arrangements they have made. If the matter goes over until Monday, I am wondering whether we can enter into an agreement to limit debate during the remainder of the consideration of this nomination.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. McNARY. I have made some inquiry, and I think such agreement can be reached, if a limitation of 20 minutes be placed on each Senator who wishes to speak.

Mr. BARKLEY. That was the suggestion I intended to make. I ask unanimous consent that beginning with the assembling of the Senate on Monday all debate in connection with the further consideration of the nomination of Mr. Hopkins be limited to one speech by any Senator, and that he shall speak no longer than 20 minutes.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, I ask the Senator from Kentucky if he will not make that 30 minutes instead of 20

minutes?

Mr. BARKLEY. I have no personal objection to making it 30 minutes. The Senator from West Virginia advises me that he wishes to occupy 30 minutes.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I have no objection to that.
Mr. BARKLEY. I modify the request therefore and ask
that beginning on Monday, during the further consideration
of this nomination, no Senator shall speak more than once
nor longer than 30 minutes on the question of the nomination now under consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The

Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I regret that it will be impossible for me to attend the session of the Senate on Monday because of an engagement in the State of Massachusetts made many months ago. In the meantime I shall try to obtain a pair. If I shall not be successful, I wish the Record to show that, if present on the question of confirming the nomination of Mr. Hopkins, I would vote "yea."

# FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, while we are in executive session, I ask that the calendar be called for the further consideration of nominations.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will read in their order the remaining nominations on the calendar.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Forrest F. Hill, of New York, to be Governor of the Farm Credit Administration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

# FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Franklin W. Hancock, Jr., of North Carolina, to be a member of the Federal Home Lcan Bank Board.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

# SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Edward C. Eicher, of Iowa, to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

# FEDERAL BOARD FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Henry Ohl, of Wisconsin, to be a member of the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

# POSTMASTERS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of postmasters.

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask unanimous consent that the nominations of postmasters be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations of postmasters are confirmed en bloc.

# COAST GUARD

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations for promotions in the Coast Guard.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask that the nominations for promotions in the Coast Guard be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations for promotions in the Coast Guard are confirmed en bloc

That concludes the nominations on the calendar, with the exception of that of Mr. Harry L. Hopkins.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States submitting the nomination of T. Alan Goldsborough, of Maryland, to be United States district judge for the District of Columbia (new office), which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS TO REPORT DURING RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, as in legislative session I ask unanimous consent that during the recess of the Senate the Committee on Appropriations be authorized to report the deficiency relief joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83), which is now before the committee.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

# RECESS TO MONDAY

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until Monday, January 23, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

# NOMINATION

Executive nomination received by the Senate January 20 (legislative day of January 17), 1939

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

T. ALAN GOLDSBOROUGH, of Maryland, to be United States district judge for the District of Columbia, to fill a position created by the act of Congress of May 31, 1938.

#### CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 20 (legislative day of January 17), 1939

# FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION

Forrest F. Hill to be Governor of the Farm Credit Administration.

# FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD

Franklin W. Hancock, Jr., to be a member of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

# SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION

Edward C. Eicher to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

FEDERAL BOARD FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Henry Ohl to be a member of the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

PROMOTIONS IN THE COAST GUARD

TO BE CAPTAIN

Thomas A. Shanley

TO BE LIEUTENANTS

William H. Snyder

Richard D. Schmidtman

John T. Stanley

TO BE LIEUTENANTS (JUNIOR GRADE)

Clayton M. Opp

Gilbert R. Evans

Loren E. Brunner

Wallace L. Hancock, Jr.

Charles E. Columbus

Adrain F. Werner

William L. Sutter

Woodrow W. Vennel

TO BE CAPTAINS (ENGINEERING)

Martin A. Doyle

Norman B. Hall

TO BE COMMANDER

Raymond T. McElligott

TO BE LIEUTENANT COMMANDER

Francis C. Pollard

TO BE CHIEF RADIO ELECTRICIAN

Glen R. Bush

TO BE CHIEF BOATSWAINS (L)

Roy V. Dudley Oscar A. Johnson Joseph Mazzotta Albert C. Gross Palmer S. Midgett

TO BE CHIEF MACHINISTS

James R. Orndorff, Jr. Thomas R. Nan Carrow

POSTMASTERS

GEORGIA

Ola H. Bradbury, Bogart. Lucie D. Woodall, Brookhaven. John E. Jones, Lula. Miriam Dickerson, Rabun Gap. Hugh W. Williams, Red Oak. Charlie C. Parson, Watkinsville.

MARYLAND

James F. Cohee, Middle River. Henry J. Norris, Whiteford.

MASSACHUSETTS

Myrtie L. McLoon, North Truro.

VIRGINIA

Jessie M. Cross, Concord Depot. Albert W. Horton, Raven. George Washington, Woodford.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRIDAY, JANUARY 20, 1939

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father who art in heaven and in every manifestation of living nature, we turn our thoughts to Thee with the approach of these sacred moments. Thou art now here; we regret that we are not better. Forgive us, dear Lord, and give us another chance. So strengthen us that we shall avoid that which impairs the tenderness of conscience, obscures the sense of God, or takes the inspiration from spiritual things. We thank Thee for all our hopes and for the delight in sweet anticipations. Enable us to labor patiently, accept discipline willingly, and do our work as men strong, brave, and true. Let us yield ourselves to the Spirit Divine, who gives vision, freshness, and bestows blessings richly to enjoy. In the name of our Saviour. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 118)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following letter from the President of the United States, which was read and referred to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures and ordered to be printed:

THE WHITE HOUSE, Washington, January 19, 1939.

My Dear Mr. Speaker: The powers conferred by section 10 of the Gold Reserve Act of 1934, as amended, dealing with the stabilization fund, and the powers specified in paragraph (b) (2) of section 43, title III, of the act approved May 12, 1933, as amended, relating to the fixing of the metallic content of the dollar, will expire on June 30, 1939.

The existence of these powers has enabled us to safeguard the Nation's interests and to carry forward international monetary and economic cooperation. It is obvious, however, that the international monetary and economic situation is still such that it would not be safe to permit such powers to be terminated. I believe the sound and wise policy to pursue under the circumstances is to extend these powers until January 15, 1941. The Secretary of the Treasury and other representatives of the Treasury Department will be available to discuss with the appropriate committees of Congress the problems relating to such legislation.

Very truly yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Hon. W. B BANKHEAD,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and to include therein an address of Culbert L. Olson, the Governor of California.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may be given 3 more days for the formation and submission of my remarks on the W. P. A. appropriation.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, on last evening our colleague the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish] delivered an address over the air on the subject War Hysteria and National Defense. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record by including therein the speech of the gentleman from New York.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. THORKELSON. Mr. Speaker, I request unanimous permission of the House to address the House for 30 minutes next Monday on the Gold Reserve Act, after the disposition of regular matters that may be on the Speaker's table and the legislative program of the day.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana?

There was no objection.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HOBBS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record on two subjects.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. LEAVY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

# GOLDEN JUBILEE OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Mr. LEAVY. Mr. Speaker, the great State of Washington which is represented in this House by my colleagues and myself has attained the age of 50 years.

We are celebrating our State's fiftieth anniversary by designating the year 1939 as "Washington's Golden Jubilee Year."

Our State proudly bears the name of the Father of his Country, "Washington." In the 50 years since the Congress of the United States passed enabling legislation for the territory of Washington to become the State of Washington, we have had a most marvelous growth and development, and we have forged ahead until today we stand in the forefront among the great progressive States of this Union.

Within the confines of our State, we have former residents of every other State in the Union, and we are conscious of the great debt of gratitude we owe those pioneers whose intrepid spirit carried them across the wide-open spaces and caused them to endure the hardships incident to reaching the most northwest corner of this great Nation. These

pioneers came, not only prepared to perform the difficult tasks of building a great State in a physical way, but they brought with them those fine spiritual and intellectual qualities that have meant so much to our State in its marvelous development and growth. The best ideas in the field of political, social, and economic science of the older States were here brought together, and as result we find the State that bears the revered name of Washington, occupying a high place among its sister States and reflecting honor, glory, and credit upon that great American after whom it was named. Let me predict that the accomplishments in the half century since our State was born will prove small by comparison with those that we shall see in this wonderful State during the next 50 years.

Without in the slightest attempting to detract from the distinction and the credit due any of her sister States, the young State of Washington feels that it can with just pride point to its own accomplishments in face of the fact that it is but one-third as old as the National Congress itself, which is this year celebrating its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary.

Our legislature has just recently assembled in its regular biennial session and this body has the unusual distinction of having in its membership more native-born sons and daughters than any previous legislature in the State's history, there being 50 members of the present legislature who were born, reared, and educated in the State, a number exactly corresponding to the number of years that mark the existence of the State. It has the further distinction of having as its chief executive a native-born son whose knowledge of the State, pride in its accomplishments, and love for it are not surpassed by anyone.

The Honorable Clarence D. Martin, our Governor, upon the convening of the legislature in Olympia, Wash., on January 11 of this year, preceding the delivery of his message to the legislature, delivered to that body and to the citizenship of the State of Washington a proclamation, proclaiming the year of 1939 "Washington's Golden Jubilee Year." [Applause.] It affords me an honor and pleasure to make that remarkable address a part of the permanent records of this Congress by including it in these remarks. The address is as

# GOLDEN JUBILEE ADDRESS

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, senators and representatives, and you, my fellow citizens, who have pride and faith in our great State of Washington, 50 years ago our beloved State of Washington was born

So today, in honor of that memorable event, and with profound gratitude to the parents and their pioneering neighbors who made possible the things we now have and enjoy, I should like to speak briefly of the progress and future of our distinctive Common-

wealth before presenting my formal message on the condition of the State and its government.

Some of our splendid elderly citizens remember July 4, 1889, when 75 sturdy, purposeful pioneers gathered here in Olympia to draft a constitution for a new State. They worked long and distribution as man will but they were in to draft a constitution for a new State. They worked long and hard, differing and disputing, as men will, but they were inspired by the same purpose, and they finally accomplished it—a constitution for a State of the highest principles of Americanism and democracy, a charter that declared Washington forever to be the abiding place of spiritual freedom, tolerance, charity, and good will. This document was ratified wholeheartedly by the people on October 1, 1889. Then, on November 11, 1889, President Benjamin Harrison proclaimed Washington a severeign State, and 300,000 men, women, and children rejoiced, and joyful celebrations were held in the then distant Spokane area, amid the rolling hills of the Palouse and Walla Walla, in the still unreclaimed valleys of Yakima, Chelan, and Okanogan; in the sparse settlements of Vancouver and the Columbia River, and all up and down the evergreen slopes and the lowlands of the Puget Sound country. And so, my friends, with pride and confidence, and with the cheering shouts of the pioneers, Washington took a place in the great cavalcade of American States.

Today we may proudly agree that Washington kept faith and measurably fulfilled the hopes and dreams of her founding pioneers, and kept pace with the most progressive of her sister States. In 1889, a backwoods territory of straggling settlements—the lawmakers plodding along mud-splashed paths to meet in dimly lighted frame hulldings.

lawmakers piodding along mud-splashed paths to meet in diffigured frame buildings.

In 1939, a proud State of 1,600,000 spirited Americans, a State of importance in industry, agriculture, commerce, and culture, a solid cornerstone of the United States—her legislators, you men and women who should glow with pride, meeting in a \$14,000,000

capitol that is outranked by no State capitol in the Union, working in two legislative chambers that are not excelled by any legislative halls in the world.

Today, Washington stands first in the production of lumber; foremost in the production of wheat, dairy and poultry commodities, quality fruits and other products of the earth, the fields, and the hills.

Today, Washington has the finest of highway systems—modern, broad highways running into every part of the State, overcoming mountains, bringing remote communities near to all.

Today, Washington stands foremost in citizenship and culture—first in public education, high-school pupils, literacy, and literature

reading.

reading.

And today, as always, the people of Washington need not yield to any State, region, or group of people in devotion to the ideals of Americanism, loyalty, tolerance, good will, and unashamed respect and reverence for religion and the things that are God's.

But such a remarkable record of progress within the span of 50 years should not, and must not, be ascribed only to human minds and human hands. Nature provided an exceptionally favorable setting for this noteworthy progress. Rugged snow-capped mountains, clear tumbling streams, sky-blue lakes, deep and calm landlocked salt waters, rolling hills, timbered hillsides, rustic countryside—all yielding abundantly of their peculiar products, yielding enchantment and inspiration, and a healthy environment for all. Our climate is ideal, devoid of extreme temperatures. So far we have no reason to fear elemental devastation—no earthquakes crumple our buildings, no tornadoes twist and carry away

far we have no reason to fear elemental devastation—no earth-quakes crumple our buildings, no tornadoes twist and carry away our homes, no hailstorms destroy our crops. Truly, because of Nature's kindness, everyday life is more pleasant in Washington. My friends, we might easily leave these things go unnoticed, but it is manifestly appropriate that this record of progress and the blessings of Providence should be noted and observed. There-fore, as Governor, I am proud to proclaim this year of 1939, which marks the fiftieth anniversary of statehood, as golden jubilee year in the State of Washington.

jubilee year in the State of Washington.

I suggest, too, that this legislature should set aside a day for a joint session to formally open the golden jubilee observance, not only for your own inspiration, but as an example and incentive for all public authorities and good citizens to hold similar observances in their respective jurisdictions and communities. It might be well, if you decide on a session of commemoration, that you make some recognition of the 50 native sons and daughters among you—the largest number of born Washingtonians to ever sit in our legislature. I do not make this suggestion without heartfelt appreciation of the pioneers and other members of this legislature, but simply because a recognition of the native members might tend to impress our young people with the fact that they are of the first native generation to fully inherit this rich, unlimited heritage that is Washington, and the responsibility of developing and protecting it.

this rich, unlimited heritage that is Washington, and the responsibility of developing and protecting it.

Moreover, all of us might well make it a point to invite friends and good citizens of all parts of the country, and especially our neighbors of British Columbia, Idaho, Oregon, and California to visit us sometime during the year of the golden jubile—not only to enjoy the hospitality of an open-hearted citizenship, but also that they, too, may realize that it is indeed a privilege to live, and build, and grow in the State of Washington.

We should realize, and those who come to see us should know, that great as our progress has been, Washington's full bloom and glory still are ahead of us, that her destiny still is in the building

glory still are ahead of us, that her destiny still is in the building. We have timber to cut, valleys to irrigate, minerals to mine, raw materials to process, commerce to expand, cheap electric power to utilize, Grand Coulee, Columbia Basin, Bonneville, Skagit, Roza. In fact, we have all the essentials to the building of a Washington far beyond the dreams of the pioneers—a Washington of still greater blessings to all of us who are so fortunate to live within her borders.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. Leavy, Mr. Lemke, and Mr. Thorkelson asked and were given permission to extend their own remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. IGLESIAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and some remarks of certain members of the Government of Puerto Rico in regard to the sugar tariff.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico? There was no objection.

# FIRST DEFICIENCY BILL, 1939

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 2868, the first deficiency appropriation bill, fiscal year 1939; and pending that motion, I ask unanimous consent that general debate may continue for 40 minutes, one-half of the time to be controlled by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] and one-half by myself.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 2868, the first deficiency bill, fiscal year 1939, with Mr. Doxey in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon].

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, it is not surprising that there is some criticism of this bill as reported. It is seldom that any of the committees of the House bring in reports on any measure that meet with unanimous approval or adopt any conclusion on which there is complete accord. Regardless of what committee it is or the subject on which it reports, there are always some who take the position that the committee is either blocking the wheels of progress, or, on the other hand, driving headlong to national catastrophe, as the case may be. In that respect, the Committee on Appropriations is no exception to the rule. As a matter of fact, the Appropriations Committee has perhaps the most difficult task of any of the committees of the House in that it deals in cash, money on the barrel head, and there is no community or State or industry that is not sometime during the session an applicant, directly or indirectly, for allotments from the Federal Treasury, or their equivalent. As a result, it frequently gets to the point where Members or groups of Members feel that they are collectively discriminated against or personally agrieved because they have been denied appropriations the committee was not in position to approve, and so for that reason I wish here this afternoon, at the beginning of the session, before we take up the regular supply bills, to make the plea that was carried on a sign in one of the popular and turbulent dance halls of the West in pioneer days: "Don't shoot the fiddler. He is doing the best he can."

I hope Members will not hold it too much against the Committee on Appropriations when it cannot approve all requests and amendments, and that they will remember that the committee is in a very difficult position and is "doing

the best it can."

In drafting the supply bills the Committee on Appropriations is between two fires. On one hand, we have the departments every year asking for more money and wider jurisdiction. We have in practically every estimate received from the departments an exemplification of the omnipresent human trait which magnifies the importance of its own work, and which constantly reaches out for new fields and broader administration. There are no exceptions to the rule.

In every department of the Government, bureaus and divisions are asking more money, larger staffs, and addi-

tional projects.

Every year, with every supply bill, the regular establishments grow more complex and reach out into fields undreamed of a decade ago. Every year the cost increases.

I have often heard the opinion expressed by experienced Members on both sides of the House that in every supply bill there are millions of dollars that could be saved. Undoubtedly that is true. For as the departments branch out and take on new duties, they also cling tenaciously to all the old activities and expenditures. For example—an extreme one perhaps, but significant of the trend—we formerly maintained a veterinary department here in the District of Columbia.

It was before the days of motorization, and all street and refuse work was handled by draft animals, and naturally we had to have a veterinary department, to look after them. Those horses and mules disappeared long ago in the van of the motors and trucks and tractors, which took over their tasks, but for many years afterward we still maintained a veterinary department to service horses and mules which had passed on to the Elysian fields.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. MICHENER. Does the gentleman mean to tell the House that the Appropriations Committee, knowing those facts, being familiar with the facts, brought in a bill providing for veterinarians to care for mules, when there were no mules?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. They did. That was when our former colleague, Mr. Simmons, of Nebraska, from the gentleman's side of the House, was chairman of the committee. When we came in we cut it out. [Laughter.]

Mr. MICHENER. It is encouraging to know that the gen-

tleman has accomplished something.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. It was not much of an accomplishment to improve on a record like that. Other instances could be cited. But there is another phase that should be noted. The departments are resourceful in keeping old activities and acquiring new functions. They are in touch with organizations over the country, most of them beneficiaries, which respond aggressively when an old appropriation is to be defended or a new appropriation secured. We had an amusing instance of this just a year or two ago when a sudden flood of letters and telegrams demanded appropriations for the establishment of "eccological" stations. So effective was the barrage that Members rushed in on the floor from all sides waving telegrams and demanding that the Union be saved. For the time it seemed that the amendment would be carried practically unanimously. The only thing that prevented what later proved would have been an unwise expenditure was that the committee asked the proponents of the amendment what "eccological" stations were and as none of them could define the word or explain the use of such stations, support of the amendment collapsed. Such demands from all sections of the country. prompted by grapevine directions from Washington, feature the consideration of practically every major appropriation bill brought up in the House. When analyzed, Members will find that such pressure telegrams and letters do not represent any appreciable sentiment in their districts and certainly do not justify raids on the Treasury against the carefully considered report of the committee which has studied the question for months, and has allowed every dollar the activity is entitled to receive.

Now, on the other side we have our colleagues asking for appropriations in which their constituencies are interested. I think the most difficult duty devolving on a committee is the denial of the request of a colleague. We always do so with reluctance. It would be much pleasanter to comply with the wishes of our friends and go along. In fact so trying is the unwelcome necessity of saying no that when a bill is finally reported you can be certain that if the committee has made any mistakes at all, it has erred on the side of prodigality rather than parsimony. And I would like to emphasize this one thing-here at the beginning of the session, before the supply bills come in and before any Member takes a position either one way or the other on items in these bills, I would like to ask you to guard against that old fallacy that the advisability of making an appropriation depends upon whether the money would be well ex-

You can justify almost any expenditure on that ground. You can show that the purpose for which it is to be expended is a laudable one and that it will serve a great need and result in immeasurable benefits to the country. But that is not the question. We have only so much money to spend. The income of the Government is fixed and definite. When we spend for one purpose that means we must take it away from some other purpose. We must write our appropriations to conform to the amount available for expenditure. We must cut the coat to the cloth. So the question is not whether the money would be well invested or whether the purpose for which it is to be expended is a desirable one. The one question to be considered is that among all the purposes for which

we must appropriate, is the appropriation in question more desirable than others demanding consideration. We cannot look at each appropriation solely from its own point of view. We must look at the National Budget as a whole. And the problem which confronts the Appropriation Committee on every proposal is whether it fits into the picture or whether the money should be put to some other use for which there is more imperative need. It is wholly and solely a matter of relative need, and I hope our friends in the House will deal with us charitably and indulgently when, after due consideration, it seems to us that the money requested could be expended in some other way to better advantage. For that is the basic principle under which governments must operate.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from

Missouri has expired.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I wonder if the gentleman could let me have 5 additional minutes?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I am sorry. The time has been fixed in the House. I would be delighted if the time were available.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GIFFORD].

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I shall speak particularly relating to the hurricane in New England. Not many have taken the floor thus far relating to it. It is expected that amendments to this bill will be offered.

I am surprised to read this morning in the Washington Post, "House slashes storm funds in slap at Aiken," and that "members of the House Appropriations Committee said yesterday it was a spur to their 'economy-mindedness' in lopping off \$3,750,000."

From the debate on the floor of the House yesterday it seemed, indeed, to be a spur to cut this appropriation as a slap at Governor Aiken or the New England States.

I am reminded that last year when Governor Aiken slapped his own Republican Party for lack of liberality, he was a hero on the Democratic side of the House. I am exceedingly familiar with the taking of land for lighthouses and Coast Guard stations and for similar purposes of the Federal Government, and that jurisdiction was requested and that conditions were generally imposed by the States. It is not a new doctrine advanced by Governor Aiken and New England.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Would the gentleman be good enough to name the members of the Appropriations Committee who made the statement that any cut in this appropriation was aimed at Governor Aiken?

Mr. GIFFORD. I quoted the newspaper this morning. Shall I read it to you?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. If it contains the name of any member of the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. GIFFORD. Of course it does not, but it reads "A squabble with Vermont's Governor Aiken over States' rights, members of the House Appropriations Committee said yesterday was a spur," and so forth.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I say to the gentleman that no member of the Appropriations Committee made any such statement as that, either on or off the floor of the House.

Mr. GIFFORD. The gentleman will have to forgive me for bringing this up because the New England newspapers will copy that assertion.

I want to speak particularly of this hurricane problem. It has not been brought sufficiently to your attention. I live in the southeastern section of New England, much of which was engulfed by the tidal wave. You may have a serious forestry problem, but I have a tidal-wave problem, with resulting destruction that was perhaps much greater.

Have the States of New England contributed sufficiently? From the records it appears that-

Some 600 lives were lost. The American Red Cross places the deaths at 488, with 100 additional missing. The Red Cross found that 93,122 families suffered more or less serious property loss; 6,933 summer dwellings, 1,999 other dwellings, and 2,065 boats were destroyed—property estimated at between \$250,000,000 and \$330,000,000.

This bill carries \$3,000,000 for fire protection. You will notice that the total economic loss is estimated at \$330,-000,000. Again from the record:

The loss of life has been greater in a few other hurricanes, but the property damage in that storm was the greatest that ever occurred in a single storm anywhere in the world.

The New England States, with all the available forces at their command, set immediately to work. Private citizens offered help in every manner possible. The National Guard of Massachusetts was in service for as much as a couple of weeks. The Massachusetts Legislature immediately bonded the State for \$19,000,000 to meet this emergency. We suffered tremendous property loss and damage. Several towns in my district find that the storm has reduced their assessed valuation from 20 to 30 percent. Their tax rates, consequently, will greatly increase. What a suggestion-"that Massachusetts and the New England States have not contributed sufficiently"! And if they receive any of this \$3,000,000 they will get it, if you please, only by matching the funds offered. We heard a recommendation yesterday that if \$6,000,000 of wheat was in danger of destruction by grasshoppers we should appropriate \$6,000,000 to kill grasshoppers. I am glad to vote to kill the grasshoppers—any reasonable amount for that. But do not use such funds to kill them on private property. That, at least, is your apparent position regarding fire hazards. New England is seemingly regarded a rich section. Never before in an emergency like this has money been appropriated in this manner? Ridiculous! Precedents are many, if, indeed, actual authorization under the law may have been lacking. We asked for \$8,700,000; the Budget reported \$5,000,000; the committee cut it down to \$3,000,000, with the provision that funds should be matched before a grant would be made. The Budget recommended an appropriation of \$5,000,000, stating that authority exists, as conditions were closely analogous to those which follow a major flood, earthquake, or other disaster creating a national emergency, and so on. Even foreign nations have received outright gifts in cases of disaster. But this happened in New England, the forgotten land of these days.

Is New England rich? The finger has been pointed at us often, and the assertion made that we were rich because of favorable action of Government relating to tariffs. What we do have is largely because of thrift-which is seemingly no longer regarded as a virtue. We sailed the seas, cultivated rocky soil, saved, and furnished the capital assets for much of the rest of the country. We are not asking unusual consideration. If lack of authorization is advanced at this time as an objection, let it be a precedent to be followed in the future for similar appropriations. Poor old New England! You hesitate to give her very much. You envy her apparent better general financial condition. You do not wish to accord her equal treatment. A Communist to his brother, "Fine weather." The other, "Yes, but the rich have it, too." [Laughter.]

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield. The gentleman is to offer an amendment, I understand.

Mr. McCORMACK. I appreciate the gentleman's courtesy, for I entertain for him the highest feeling of consideration and respect, but I wanted to make the observation that I think my friend does not want to leave the impression that even if other sections do not help New England today that we would not be big enough to help them if they had a similar problem tomorrow.

Mr. GIFFORD. Certainly not, and they know we would. They know how much we love them. Why cannot they love us also?

Mr. RANKIN. We do. Mr. GIFFORD. I desire to discuss this hurricane damage a little further that I may bring home to you some realiza-

tion of the damage wrought. In one instance a colony of 15 or 20 acres covered with small summer homes was entirely demolished. If it had happened 2 weeks previous, when occupied by its summer visitors, the loss of life would have been appalling. The tidal wave came suddenly, and one house buffeting against another, left nothing but kindling wood over the entire acreage. The W. P. A. could come in and clear the streets, and the \$19,000,000 appropriated by the State would take care of the roads and bridges destroyed. But how about the private individuals who lose the larger portion of the \$330,000,000? I wish to call attention to that phase of the situation this afternoon. Losses having a public nature will be taken care of by governments, but what have we done for the private individual? Our present Vice President, Mr. GARNER, took the floor of this House during the Hoover administration and complained about what we had done for the banks, insurance companies, and railroads. "But what have you done for the private individual?" he asked. I have not forgotten. Well, we thought we had made some provisions to attain that objective.

A meeting of boards of selectmen was immediately called. and of the bankers, representatives of the Red Cross, and the agents of Disaster Loan Corporation. I want to pay the highest tribute possible for man to pay to the Red Cross and perhaps contrast its activities with those of the Government. The Red Cross representatives were at first amazed at the hesitancy of those needing assistance to ask therefor. Never before had they met such a condition. Truly the New England spirit of independence was well and truly exemplified.

The people of New England do not enjoy asking for assistance. But gradually they did come in; and in my congressional district, I am told, the Red Cross finally expended more funds for relief and rehabilitation than in any other particular section of New England. I followed up its work. I was amazed at the demonstrated efficiency of that great organization. The aim was to rehabilitate the unfortunate ones to the very condition they had been in prior to the disaster. If injured, they would succor them even for years to come. They assured us that there would be no lack of funds for such purposes. A wonderful work swiftly accomplished. Not a single case of dissatisfaction with the work or the decisions of the Red Cross has come to me.

Must we so much depend upon the Red Cross to take care of unfortunate individuals in such emergencies? The Disaster Loan Corporation was supposed to take up the matter of rehabilitation after the Red Cross had done its work. Just before I came to Washington I visited the office of the register of deeds and found that only one mortgage had been recorded from that county running to the Disaster Loan Corporation. I found the conditions recited in that mortgage of such interest that I shall at some time later place them in the RECORD. You will wish to read them.

I cannot blame the officials of the Corporation. They did their duty, but their authority to make loans was greatly restricted by the instructions and conditions imposed upon

I want to call attention to a case recommended to the Corporation by the local committee and his own banker. The loan was accepted, but the personal and unusual information demanded was much resented. He was unaccustomed to such searching and seemingly unnecessary examinations. He was not to be trusted to receive the lump sum, but was to be carefully watched as to every transaction involving the use of the loan. When the mortgage is given he must mortgage real estate, buildings, personal property, tools, and equipment "now owned or hereafter acquired." How could he honestly carry on his business under such conditions? This was the case of a highly honorable citizen, vouched for by the Disaster Loan Corporation's own committee and known to everyone in that vicinity as wholly reliable and trustworthy. Such supervision will not be tolerated by our people, and no great amount of money was loaned by the Corporation.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. GIFFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. The gentleman knows that the Disaster Loan Corporation was formed and organized after the great flood in the Ohio Valley of 1937. What the gentleman is stating now is exactly the experience we had. The Disaster Loan Corporation failed absolutely to do what the Congress intended it to do.

Mr. GIFFORD. Exactly. At that time we gave it \$20,000,000, as I recall it. It loaned some \$6,000,000 of that. I was on the committee which set up the Disaster Loan Corporation. I stated to the gentlemen representing that Corporation during the disaster that if they do not lose a lot of money it will be real proof that they have not done their job. We need have little worry that these corporations, controlled by the R. F. C., will lose much money. We have to issue orders from the Congress, as we did when one billion eight hundred million was actually given Mr. Hopkins by the R. F. C.

Mr. MICHENER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. MICHENER. At the time the bill creating the Disaster Loan Corporation was up for consideration the gentleman from Kentucky, Mr. Vinson, in response to a question, stated that the loans were to be made to people who could not give security and he doubted whether they ever would be paid back, and that the real purpose was to get the money into the hands of those who needed it.

Mr. GIFFORD. Yes; we felt that instead of Hopkins giving it away we would lend it and try to get something back, as the prime purpose would be to furnish real relief without the bankers' viewpoint and the attorneys' lengthy and guarded conditions in the mortgage. I have no criticism of the agents of this Corporation. They desired to cooperate and it may yet be a little early to complain too much. I expect later on to receive information as to the number of applications made. the number granted and the sum involved in these loans to New England.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN].

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, as usual, I think the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gifford] is unduly exercised. For my part, I expect to support the amendment to be offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Mc-CORMACK].

Mr. GIFFORD. Will the gentleman yield? He referred to me.

Mr. RANKIN. I cannot yield.

Mr. GIFFORD. Then I object. Mr. RANKIN. I only have 5 minutes. The gentleman from Massachusetts had 15 minutes.

GOVERNOR AIKEN READS A DEFICIT AS A SURPLUS

Mr. Chairman, we are trying to do something for the people of New England, but we have the opposition of the Governor of Vermont, Governor Aiken. We have not got his "consent"

From reading the morning papers, Mr. Chairman, one is led to place a new appraisal upon the value of the judgment of the distinguished chief executive of the State of Vermont, Governor Aiken. If you do not believe he is a "Daniel come to judgment," just listen to this news dispatch of yesterday from Montpelier, Vt. By the way, the headlines say that the legislature was "bewildered" at this revelation on the part of the Governor. The news dispatch reads as follows:

MONTPELIER, VT., January 18, 1939.—The Vermont Legislature to-day received Gov. George D. Alken's special message and amendment to the biennial budget, revealing a mistake of \$1,239,444, and trans-forming an estimated surplus of \$653,212 for the next 2 fiscal years into a deficit of more than \$586,000.

In other words, the Governor of Vermont seems to be unable to distinguish between a surplus and a deficit.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Pennsylvania IMr. RICH! has been asking, "Where are we going to get the money to meet the Government's obligations?" Now we know.

Governor Aiken, of Vermont, who cannot tell a deficit from a surplus, is a candidate for President on the Republican ticket. He has the unqualified support of the Power Trust and other utilities from one end of this country to the other. If, when, and provided he is elected, and after he has been here sometime and they have milled around here in the House and the Senate for a few days, he can come in with a message and read the deficit as a surplus. That will show that the country is again prosperous. He can even read the national debt as an asset. The idea that a national debt is a national blessing originated in New England, at any rate.

Then they can proceed as they did back in the twenties, during the Harding-Coolidge regime, to reduce and pay back the income taxes of the big interests. That will start a boom on the New York Stock Exchange, and, indeed, we will then have real Republican prosperity, such as we had from 1928

to 1932. [Laughter.]

You know, when the Republicans came into power in 1921, they pretended to reduce the national debt. They did not tell you about all the money they gave back to the big incometax payers, they did not tell you how they reduced the taxes of those interests, and they did not tell you about giving those same people rebates. The money they used to reduce the national debt was accumulated how? By simply canceling contracts the Democratic administration had made for war materials before the war closed, and also selling war materials and turning the money derived therefrom back into the Treasury and claiming credit for reducing the national debt to that extent.

They never did balance the Budget with revenues. What they did was to take the taxes off the people who got rich during the war, who made fortunes out of the blood and tears of the suffering men, women, and children of the world. They had a real deficit from the time they came into power until they went out of power.

They have been searching all these years to find a candidate for President, one of those gentlemen who could perpetrate political, economic, or financial necromancy to such an extent that he could balance the Budget without taxing the people who have the money. Lo, they have found him. An ideal candidate for President on the Republican ticket. Governor Aiken of Vermont, who cannot tell a deficit from a surplus.

All he would have to do would be to come up here before a Republican House, if there were one, and a Republican Senate, if that should ever happen again, and instead of having a national debt of \$38,000,000,000 he could read that as a national asset. He could read the deficit as a surplus and show that prosperity had returned. Then demands would begin coming in for us to give that money back to the overburdened rich, as they did during the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover regime.

When Mr. Hoover was inaugurated the first thing they did was to raise the tariff, which was destroying American industry and American agriculture, and give back income taxes that were collected the year before and that at a time when bread lines were beginning to stretch down the streets of our cities.

So Governor Aiken, with his ability to change a deficit into a surplus with one stroke of his imagination, would make them an ideal candidate.

No, Mr. Chairman, this fight that is going on in New England is all camouflage. It is not being waged to help the people of New England but to try to embarrass the national administration; and it is only hurting the people of New England.

We propose to treat the people of New England just as we do the people of every other section of the country. [Applause.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Alexander].

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Chairman, I wish to use my time in expressing disapproval of the request for a \$3,500,000 appropriation for this new Census Building. I believe most of us were sent down here with the desire on the part of our constituents to reduce taxes, to cut out centralization of power here in Washington, and to cut out Government spend-

ing. Here is a wonderful opportunity and a practical place to begin that program, which is demanded by our constituents all over the United States.

I have before me the reports for May and November of the National Association of Building Owners and Managers showing the vacancies in office buildings in the larger cities throughout all the States of the Union. In these office buildings there is a total vacancy of 18 percent, or, expressed in square-feet area, there is a vacancy of 35,651,623 square feet.

The appropriation for this new building calls for the construction of a building having an area of 417,000 square feet for the use of the Census Bureau. Why not go out into the States and rent this space? I know the building owners and managers throughout the country would be willing and glad to give their vacant space at very reasonable rates in an effort to meet their running and operating expenses, their taxes, and the fixed charges on their properties, which have been standing vacant for the past 7 or 8 years.

I have before me a list of the 12 cities in which the Federal Reserve banks are located. I know you are all interested, because these cities are located throughout your districts. In Atlanta there is a vacancy of 368,870 square feet, or 14.56 percent of their total office-building area. In Boston there is a vacancy of 1,276,872 square feet, or 25.96 percent. I could go on with the other 10 cities and show similar percentages of vacancy, but my time will not permit. In my own city of Minneapolis there is a vacancy of 926,980 square feet, or 25.40 percent of the total square-foot area available in that city.

I also have here a list of the cities in which are located Federal land banks, cities such as Baltimore, St. Paul, Spokane, and Omaha. In these cities the percentage of vacancy runs about the same as that which I have indicated for the Federal Reserve bank cities.

I also have here a list of the cities in which there are Federal home-loan banks, and this list shows proportionately the same amount of vacancies as in the cities I have already mentioned.

It seems to me, if we really want to do something for our constituents who send us here to conserve the funds of our Government and to cut their taxes, this is a mighty fine and a very practical place to start. Let us divide up this Census business and send it back to the States, where it belongs. IApplause. I You are going to have to take the census out in the States anyway. Let us cut up into its component parts this census operation for which the request for space here in Washington is made and send it out into the cities I have mentioned, where the space is available. Why build more when we have over 35,000,000 square feet of building area vacant in this country today?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Most of the buildings constructed for governmental purposes cost from \$10,000,000 to \$20,000,000. This appropriation calls for the expenditure of only \$3,500,000. Does the gentleman understand this is to be just a temporary structure, erected to take care of the census of 1940?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I do not understand so, because the report of the committee states the building is to be constructed of brick and concrete, I believe, which it seems to me would constitute a permanent building.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Is it the gentleman's understanding that \$3,500,000 will be the total cost of this building?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I am not familiar with that but understand good buildings here cost from ten to twenty millions.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. It is rather a small amount. It will probably only be a start on the final expense involved.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Chairman, the lists to which I referred previously in my remarks are as follows:

Federal Reserve hank cities

City	Vacancy	Percent of va- cancy to total available area in each city
Atlanta_Boston_Chicago. Chicago. Cleveland_Dallas_ Kansas City_Minneapolis_ New York City_Philadelphia_Richmond (4 build ings only). St. Louis_San Francisco.	368,870 square feet	20, 48

Fodoral	Inno	1-hank	nitino

City	Vacancy	Percent of va cancy to total available area in each city
Springfield, Mass Baltimore	8,970 square feet	6. 31 12. 43
Louisville New Orleans St. Louis	77,315 square feet	16. 49
St. Paul	251,055 square feet	17. 03 6. 56 8. 34
Berkeley Omaha Spokane	Not listed 165,226 square feet 134,476 square feet	8. 11 18. 80

Federal home loan hank cities

City	Vacancy	Percent of va- cancy to total available area in each city
Boston New York Pittsburgh. Winston-Salem Cincinnati. Indianapolis Chicago Des Moines Little Rock Topeka Portland Los Angeles	288,927. Shown in above report	14. 56 6. 37 13. 02 6. 15 13. 72 3. 71 13. 44 17. 63

Total buildings, 2,352 reporting all cities in United States,
Total square feet area, 196,335,243.
Total square feet vacancy, 35,651,623.
Percent of vacancy to whole, approximately, 18.
Figures as of Nov. 1, 1938. Last National Building Owners and Managers' Association report.

This vacancy has existed for the past several years. Shall we go on and build more buildings, creating greater public debt and more taxes, to say nothing of the excessive vacancy condition in present buildings in every city, or shall we call a halt by voting down this three and one-half million dollar appropriation for another building? [Applause.]

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and for other purposes, namely: LEGISLATIVE

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

For payment to the widow of Allard H. Gasque, late a Repre-

sentative from the State of South Carolina, \$10,000.

For payment to the widow of Robert L. Bacon, sentative from the State of New York, \$10,000. Bacon, late a Repre-

For payment to the widow of John J. Boylan, late a Representative from the State of New York, \$10,000.

For payment to the widow of Stephen W. Gambrill, late a Representative from the State of Maryland, \$10,000.

For payment to the widow of Ben Cravens, late a Representative from the State of Arkansas, \$10,000.

The five foregoing sums to be disbursed by the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives.

# DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

#### FOREST SERVICE

National forest protection and management: For an additional amount for national forest protection and management, including the same purposes and objects specified under this head in the Agricultural Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1939, \$500,000, to remain available until June 30, 1940, and to be expended only for the protection and management of the White Mountain National Forest, N. H. and Maine, including the salvaging of wind-damaged timber and restoration of experimental areas therein.

New England hurricane damage: For rehabilitation and reestab-

lishment of forest-protection improvements, reduction of forestfire hazards, and prevention of forest fires on State, county, municipal, and private forest lands in the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut that were damaged by the hurricane of September 1938, in-cluding the employment of persons and means in the District of cluding the employment of persons and means in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, printing and binding, and the purchase, exchange, operation, and maintenance of passenger-carrying vehicles, fiscal year 1939, to remain available until June 30, 1940, \$3,000,000: Provided, That section 3709, Revised Statutes (41 U. S. C. 5), shall not apply in the case of any expenditure hereunder where the aggregate amount involved does not exceed \$300: Provided further, That the amount allocated for expenditure in any State of the amount herein appropriated shall be available when the State to which allocation has been made shall have made or shall make available a like sum from the State funds for the purposes contained herein. purposes contained herein.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment. The clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. McCormack: On page 3, line 13, strike out "\$3,000,000" and insert in place thereof "\$5,000,000".

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of this amendment is to restore to the bill the amount which was recommended to the Congress by the President, namely, \$5,000,000.

We have heard the various speeches made in connection with the devastating results of the hurricane and flood in New England. It is unnecessary for me to review in detail what has already been said. However, for whatever value any expressions of mine may be worth, I assure my colleagues that the damage to that section of New England visited by the hurricane was terrible. Fortunately, I come from a district that sustained no hurricane damage and, fortunately, I come from a district that has no flood-control problem, but I sympathize keenly with the people who live in the districts that were affected by the hurricane, and the people of other sections of the country who have been affected in the past, and who have the fear of being affected in the future by the visitation of floods. As a matter of fact, without any flood problem in my district, I introduced the 100 percent Federal Contribution Act, providing full contribution by the Federal Government. I always felt, even before the passage of the 1936 and 1938 Flood Control Acts, that the flood problems that confronted the various sections of our country, and the people of those sections, constituted not merely a State problem, but constituted a challenge to the Federal Government. I had to take a position for a time in opposition to the Governor of my own State in waging the fight that we did in the passage of the legislation last year.

In the next few days I expect to make some remarks on the flood-control situation as it now exists in New England because the position of the Federal Government is absolutely correct. On the occasion of the remarks I expect to make I shall state for the record the reasons I feel that way about it.

Coming now to the pending amendment, I have helped other sections of the country when they had their problems. I consider the problems, and particularly the emergency problems, of all other sections of the country as being my problems. I hope the day shall never come when I will develop a state of mind where I will look at the problems of other sections of the country from the limited, geographical

confines of New England. I try to look at things from a broad, national angle.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. Briefly; yes.

Mr. KNUTSON. In the 22 years I have been a Member of this body, I believe this is the first time New England has ever come in and asked for Government help.

Mr. McCORMACK. I thank the gentleman. In my 10 years as a member of this body, this is the first time in my

recollection we have asked help.

Mr. KNUTSON. New England has helped the West with its grasshopper problem, and the South with its boll-weevil problem, and helped every other part of the country, and has never asked for anything, and I believe we should give them the \$5,000,000 without a dissenting voice.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield.

Mr. DONDERO. Is the gentleman seeking, by his amend-

ment, to eliminate the matching provision?

Mr. McCORMACK. No; my amendment does not affect the matching provision and I do not intend to offer an amendment to change the proviso recommended by the Committee on Appropriations, although the committee should not have put it in. My amendment seeks only to increase the \$3,000,000, which is the amount recommended by the committee, to \$5,000,000, which is the amount recommended by the President.

The committee is an agent of the House. The committee has done its work, and anything I may say is not to be construed as a criticism of the committee; but you and I and other Members of the House constitute the principal. The House is the principal and, frequently, as in this case, we are justified, upon hearing the evidence, in saying to an agent of the House, which is the committee, "You have recommended well, but we feel that we should improve upon your The recommendation of \$3,000,000 recommendations." shows the need. The President has said \$5,000,000 is needed and that that is the minimum. The Department asked for over \$8,000,000.

My time is about up. I hope that my colleagues on both sides of the aisle will vote for this amendment and thereby give to New England the minimum consideration it is entitled to. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 10 minutes. My district was one of those terribly affected and is one of the districts that was hurt most by the hurricane.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentlewoman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent to proceed for 10 minutes. Is there

objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman from Massachusetts yield?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I yield.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in 25 minutes. I shall ask for only 5 minutes of the 25 minutes, and in this connection I may say that practically all of the time yesterday afternoon was consumed in debating this item.

Although the time was supposed to be divided equally, the gentlemen on the other side had 2 hours and 16 minutes and this matter was thoroughly discussed during that time. We have been very liberal in the matter of debate and I hope the Members will permit the matter to be concluded in the time I suggested.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, may I suggest that the gentleman from Virginia make the time 30 minutes, with the understanding that outside of the gentleman from Virginia and the gentleman from Massachusetts, Members will be recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I amend my request and ask unanimous consent that the time be limited

to 30 minutes and I should like to have the last 5 minutes of the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Also, Mr. Chairman, to include therein certain statements from certain supplemental agencies regarding the flood and hurricane.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentlewoman will have to make that request in the House. The Committee has no power to

grant it.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I shall support this amendment. On January 3, the opening day of Congress, I introduced a bill which authorized an \$8,870,000 outright grant for the fire hazard. It contains other provisions that I shall not go into detail about, as they cannot be considered at this time. I shall support with great pleasure the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack]. I received a telegram yesterday when I asked a ruling from the attorney general regarding the ability of Massachusetts, under its constitution, to match any Federal appropriation. The amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts requires, as does the provision in the bill before us, that the States match the Federal money. The attorney general, Paul E. Dever, replied as follows:

Nothing in State constitution prohibits Commonwealth appropriating money to match Federal contribution for removal of timber which is a fire hazard of sufficient magnitude to affect public safety.

With the added two and one-half millions by the Federal Government, we believe this amount is very small to take care of the needs in respect to the fire hazard. I quote now from a disinterested person regarding the extent of the hurricane. Mr. Charles F. Brooks, at the Blue Hills Meteorological Observatory, which appeared in the Geographical Review of January 1939:

The total economic loss is estimated at \$250,000,000. the loss of life has been greater in a few other hurricanes, the damage to property in this storm was the greatest that ever occurred in a single storm anywhere in all the world.

Further text of Mr. Brooks' statement follows:

HURRICANES INTO NEW ENGLAND-METEOROLOGY OF THE STORM OF SEPTEMBER 21, 1938

(Charles F. Brooks, Blue Hills Meteorological Observatory)

The hurricane of September last was a whirling, circular storm with very destructive winds spread over a diameter of 200 miles. At its center was the usual calm eye, some 40 miles in breadth. This vortex rushed northward to Long Island and New England This vortex rushed northward to Long Island and New England with the speed of an express train, augmenting wind velocities to extremes of about 120 miles an hour on the east of the path of the center. The wind drove the sea water with such force that, when added to the rise in sea level due to the low pressure and thrown against the coast, the sea rose 10 to 15 feet above the expected level, in itself high water, the time being high tide. Towering surges on this combined astronomical tide and storm wave threw the sea to such heights that demolition was general along the exposed coast and hundreds of persons were engulfed and drowned. Flying spray incrusted windows and salt killed vegetation 20 miles inland, and traces were found even 50 miles from the raging sea. Inland, the rivers, already flooded by 4 days of tropical rains, added to the destruction. from the raging sea. Inland, the rivers, a of tropical rains, added to the destruction.

of tropical rains, added to the destruction.

The gale, roaring in great gusts over the countryside, broke off or uprooted millions of trees, damaged or destroyed thousands of buildings, and, directly or indirectly, downed nearly 20,000 miles of electric-power and telephone lines. Many people were killed or injured by falling trees, chimneys, or flying debris. The damage was most extensive on the tops and sides of hills. There were also lanes of destruction where particularly vicious gusts, attended perhaps by eddies, had plowed through the woods, breaking off trees or uprooting them from the sodden ground. More than 5,000,000,000 board-feet of timber were thrown down, leaf pulp turned white houses green, and leaves that were not blown to pieces were "scorched" by the beating, desiccating gale.

There were some 600 lives lost. The American Red Cross places the deaths at 488, with 100 additional missing, and 1,754 more or less injured. The Works Progress Administration survey places the loss of human life at 682. The Red Cross also finds that 93,122 families suffered more or less serious property losses; that 6,933

summer dwellings, 1,991 other dwellings, and 2,605 boats were destroyed; also 2,369 barns and 7,438 other buildings. The total economic loss is estimated at \$250,000,000 to \$330,000,000. Although the loss of life has been greater in a few other hurricanes, the damage to property in this storm was the greatest that ever occurred in a single storm anywhere in the world.

Such things had happened before—in 1815 and 1635—and had been vividly recorded in newspapers, meteorological records, and town chronicles, and in Sidney Perley's Historic Storms of New England. In fact, Perley describes 10 storms of hurricane intensity in 2½ centuries and Tannehill lists 8 more, and there have been 4 more in the last 50 years, which makes 5 or 10 New England hurricanes to a century and 1 that is especially fierce and widespread in each century and a half.

At this point I would like to insert in the Record a letter I received from Mr. J. H. Rich, assistant professor of forestry of the Massachusetts State College:

> THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, Massachusetts State College, Amherst, January 6, 1939.

Hon. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C. Dear Mrs. Rogers: In my opinion timber salvage in Massachusetts will be a dismal failure unless your bill to guarantee 100-percent payment for delivered logs is passed. This will conform to my original plan, which has become so warped and twisted that it is hardly recognizable.

However, to change the general principle of the plan of purchasing logs at concentration areas would destroy all hopes of salvage and the resultant protection of local forest industries and their dependent communities. Machinery is already in motion. Your bill, if passed, will give it the proper impetus, and literally thousands of independent operators will soon be at work.

of independent operators will soon be at work.

Timber salvage is the best kind of fire-hazard reduction. As soon as logs are removed, the woods become accessible in case of fire and can be protected. In this way timber salvage becomes self-liquidating fire-hazard reduction.

I do not believe the 100-percent payment excessive because the logs are purchased on a strict grade basis, culls on which the operators have always lost money are left in the woods, and the concentration of raw material in large units permits lower cost and higher-quality manufacture. Massachusetts has for many years imported about 85 percent of its lumber consumption. Higher-quality manufacture which is bound to follow should recapture some of our markets. some of our markets.

I believe that the logs now in storage will sell for 100 percent of their cost plus a reasonable overhead. Even were such a price not quite obtainable, the additional expense is justified by the resultant

fire-hazard reduction.

Your efforts in this problem will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

J. H. RICH, Assistant Professor of Forestry.

P. S.—Unless logs are salvaged, forest fires are very likely to destroy the water-holding capacity of our hillsides and add considerably to the problem of flood control.

The following expert advice has been sent to me; and as it it presents a phase of the picture, I am placing it in the RECORD at this point:

1. When the Forest Service was precipitated into the hurricanedisaster work in New England by order of the President, the State conservation agencies were called into consultation in Boston and conservation agencies were called into consultation in Boston and a definite plan of hazard elimination developed and agreed upon. State projects involving the use of available W. P. A. facilities were submitted and acted upon immediately. These resulted in 15,000 to 17,000 men being employed on hazard-elimination work, a totally inadequate number, but the maximum that could be utilized in areas accessible to the sources of supply of labor. All of the C. C. camps administered by the Forest Service, State agencies, and the Park Service were turned over to the coordinating agency and their efforts directed toward hazard elimination.

2. Realizing the necessity for proper supervision and direction, the Forest Service drew upon its resources of experienced personnel, established an office in Boston to assume direct responsibility for the operations, and employed field technicians through the W. P. A. to exercise technical direction over the hazard-elimination opera-

tions and to inventory the extent of the damage, the hazard, and the requirements to meet the catastrophe.

3. As a result of the action taken, an integrated program of hazard elimination has been developed in cooperation with the State agencies, and something over 20,000 men have expended their efforts in an attempt to reduce the hazard to normal. This program is the resulted allowing accounts to the contract of the contract gram has required planning, organization work on a tremendous scale, and constant supervision. It could have been accomplished in no other way than through the detail of experienced Forest Service personnel to the job. It can be carried on in no other way. The State agencies were totally unprepared to cope with a disaster of such proportions.

4. The hurricane damage in New England was not confined to ruined forests. There was a tremendous loss of property of all kinds

and the States were overwhelmed in their attempt to repair the effects of wind and flood. Towns utilized all possible labor in clearing away debris, in repairing sewer and water systems. The burden

of men and money fell heavily on towns and States.

5. The fire-hazard-reduction work being directed by the Forest Service covers some 600 towns in the stricken area. In nearly of these towns committees have been organized and have been occupied with aiding in the fire-hazard reduction, giving of their

time and money freely.

6. In Mr. Tinker's memorandum to you dated December 22, he

wrote as follows:

wrote as follows:

"The fire-hazard-reduction work has proceeded under severe limitations. Unfortunately, W. P. A. has not been able to furnish us anything like the required number of men. The estimated force required was 39,000, whereas at the peak in late November only 18,000 men were obtained. Fire-hazard conditions in New England, as they will exist next spring, cannot be exaggerated. To anyone who has been in the disaster area, the thought of the possibilities of a disaster even greater than the hurricane is appalling. The timber salvage work this winter will appreciably reduce the fire hazard but in spite of this, under the limitations that now exist in elimination work, the situation next spring will represent a very real menace to the public safety.

"If the above-enumerated measures are not taken and fires are "If the above-enumerated measures are not taken and fires are not adequately handled during the coming spring fire season, I predict there will be loss of life and property throughout the path of this hurricane equal and even beyond that done by the storm itself. I feel a tremendous responsibility in all these undertakings and feel that all influential and thinking people should be properly apprised of the exact situation and then prepare to prevent these things from happening."

The Forest Service estimates that there is a gross area affected by the hurricane of about 14,000,000 acres in the New England States needing protection, with about 150,000 acres of blown-down timber needing protection, with about 150,000 acres of blown-down timber where intensive fire hazard reduction work over a period of almost 2 years will be needed to reduce the hazard to normal. There are about 1,200 miles of roads to be opened and about 950 miles of telephone lines and five lookout towers to be constructed. To make possible quick action for fire suppression it will be necessary to organize, in conjunction with the States, fire-suppression and fire-fighting crews to be ready to act expeditiously. The necessary fire-fighting equipment must be purchased and located at strategic points throughout the area and the organized crews instructed in the use of this equipment. All of this organization is for protective purposes while the work of removing the blown-down timber is being carried on. Our minimum plan calls for about 7,500 temporary employees to carry on fire-hazard reduction. This force includes patrolmen, foremen, straw bosses, and about 5,800 laborers. This force is in addition to the C. C. C. camps and whatever W. P. A. labor can be secured for use in areas accessible to such labor.

Mr. Chairman, I am very grateful, as I know the other Members from New England are, to the Appropriations Committee for their fine hearings, and I feel very sure that if at that time they realized fully the extent of the fire hazard that we would have been given the \$5,000,000. I feel sure that at the time they did not realize that our forests are not like the forests in other sections of the country, forests over which I have flown in past years. There, there are huge forest areas, and they can be protected more easily, because there is but one section to protect. The forests there are centralized. They already are equipped with fire towers, telegraph wires, fire lanes, and so forth. With us, our forests are scattered. In New England most of the farms were built by cutting down the timber and then the homes and other buildings were built and orchards planted. If there should be a fire in any one locality, very likely many people would be burned badly, in fact, burned to death; and when I tell you there are 531 families per square mile in the Massachusetts area you will realize the danger to life if such a catastrophe should occur.

I wonder how many of you have been in a house which caught fire when there was an invalid in the house and where there was no one strong enough to move that invalid. I had that experience. Mercifully, firemen arrived just in time to save her. Next to my own district there is a sanitarium in the midst of timberland. That timber is down. There are hospitals and sanitoria in my own district surrounded by timber. That timber also is down. Everyone knows that down timber and brush constitute a perfectly laid fire. A spark only would set fire to the New England tinder box and there is a tremendous fire hazard.

I must express here my appreciation to the Disaster Loan Corporation and to Senator Charles Henderson, of the R. F. C., who came to New England to open Disaster Loan

offices. While that Corporation did not do all that I asked, it has been enormously helpful, and my own city has the largest Disaster Loan office in the State. It will interest my fellow colleagues from the South that the first man in charge of that office was Mr. Smith Blair, a fine gentleman from Virginia. He went with me and a secretary over a great deal of my devastated area. He worked on Sundays and at night, as did and as do representatives of the Farm Credit Administration and Debt Adjustment Administration. The Northeastern Timber Salvage Administration has done exceptionally fine work. Mr. Silcox and his aides toiled tirelessly. In my own house during the hurricane I lost a chimney and the slates came off the roof like cards off a deck blown by the wind, and the windows blew in. The house shook as in an earthquake. I know what it was, both in the house and outside, as I motored over the roads, with trees coming down right and left.

As I said before, one of the things that makes it so difficult for us is that the hurricane jumped from place to place. The damage is not in a centralized, localized spot. There have been floods and hurricanes in other sections of the United States, but never in our history has there been such a dangerous, far-reaching fire hazard. There is also a precedent for an outright grant; in fact, there are a number of them. You probably all know that millions of dollars have been given to the Dust Bowl for the rehabilitation of private property and the protection of it. Why not give New England the same protection? It faces a fire hazard almost beyond belief. To give you a little of the extent of the timber damage, let me read the statement from the Forestry Division of the United States Government, as follows:

I am pleased to give you the following figures, which are the closest estimates available:

Total volume of blown-down timber\_\_\_\_\_feet\_\_ 2,650,000,000 \_\_\_\_do\_\_\_ 1,640,000,000 e ground) \_\_ \$13,250,000 \$8,000,000

\$19,680,000 Value of salvageable material sawed into lumber\_\_\_\_

Eighty percent of the above is softwoods, chiefly white pine. Twenty percent is hardwood (oak, birch, maple, etc.).

Number of people in peril in case of fire: Average in the sparsely settled country areas, 75 people to the square mile; all New England but Maine, 213 per square mile; Massachusetts, density of 533 per square mile.

There are two precedents to make direct grants on firehazard reduction work—the Civilian Conservation Corps Act and the W. P. A. Act-each of which have provided for preventive work.

As there are 25,000 or 30,000 timber owners in Massachusetts alone, and 70 percent are small owners, having farms of 70 to 100 acres, the greatest burden will fall upon those least able to bear that burden.

Of the \$19,000,000 appropriated by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for hurricane work, the following two allocations were made to the Massachusetts Division of Forestry: \$750,000 allocated for fire-hazard reduction, and so forth, to be used on State forests only; \$123,000 allocated for repair work due to the emergency.

Besides these two allocations to the Masachusetts Division of Forestry, there was the regular appropriation of \$152,856. used for administration costs, and so forth.

The remainder of the \$19,000,000 was distributed through the other State departments. Remember, our roads, our bridges were damaged. Sanitation was in bad condition.

Again to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] I repeat that the State in appropriating \$19,000,000 for flood and hurricane damage gave over \$1,000,000 protection in the State forests. The gentleman from Virginia said yesterday on the floor that that was an infinitesimally small part of the \$19,000,000. I trust that he will feel that \$5,000,000 is an infinitesimally small part for our needs and will grant our request in that respect. If we do not have these five or six million dollars, we will have, according to the experts in the forestry association, and the experts in other governmental

departments, tremendous damage by fire and tremendous loss of life, and I say to the representatives of the other sections of the country that a great loss of purchasing power will hurt their sections tremendously. This is not a matter local to New England. It is a great national calamity.

I earnestly hope, my colleagues from the other sections of the country, that you will aid New England in our hour of need. I must pay tribute to the courage of my own people in my own district and in my own State during that flood and hurricane. I was out on the dikes at night, the dikes which were partially built by the Army engineers, which served to protect the houses from the tremendous rush of water, but which did not prevent the flood, as they were not completed, and the pumps were not installed; and, remember, in the last 2 years my people in the Merrimack Valley have suffered two floods and two freshets besides the devastating hurricane of September.

These people were forced to move from their homes. Not a complaint did I hear. I went about through towns that had no light and no telephonic communications, towns that had no heat, towns that had no radio communication, in order to try to take to the different inhabitants the information as to what might be done by Government agencies. Never one word of complaint did I hear from those people.

I went to one little farmhouse on the top of a hill, and I found that the night before, during the hurricane, a farmer, the husband of a woman there, and her father had cut timber and dragged it aside for 3 miles in order to go for a doctor.

Women in other localities in my district for days cooked their meals over open fires as they did in the early days of New England. There was illness as a result of exposure and overwork in the rain and wind. Orchard growers have lost beautiful orchards which grew the finest apples. Those men will have no income for 10 years, because it requires 10 years for an apple tree to grow before bearing fruit. Farmers lost their cows, due to exposure, for days even after the hurricane. They lost their poultry, but uncomplainingly. Those people are desperate; they are desperate over removing the fire hazard; over moving the logs that must be put into ponds as cut. if they are to be put into sawmills, if they are to be salvaged. They do not have the means. They do not have the facilities to do this. All the time many of these people are faced with meeting payments on mortgages without that with which to meet their bills.

I earnestly hope that the Members will join in supporting this amendment.

I have photographs here which will show that the houses are in the timberland itself and that there is danger of loss of life and injury to all those residing in that area. The huge recreational center in New England will be affected. Hotels will be burned. Hospitals will be razed to the ground and many of the inmates will doubtless be burned. Our need is very great. I ask your support. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Chairman, there has been a great deal of debate on this particular feature of this deficiency appropriation bill. However, I do not want to allow the debate to close without informing the House of the very efficient manner in which the Federal Government, at the time of this disaster, placed all of its agencies at the disposal of the afflicted area. I believe my colleagues from New England, both Republican and Democrat, will agree that immediate response was given by the Federal Government. The Administrator of W. P. A. flew across the country from California to Massachusetts and held a meeting in Boston within a few days after the disaster at which were present the Governors of the various States affected, mayors, selectmen, and town officials. Every means that the Government could place at the disposal of those duly elected officials was marshalled almost overnight. We did receive a great deal of assistance in our cities and towns where huge trees were blown down, tearing gaping holes in the sidewalks and streets. Our utilities were paralyzed and streets and highways were rendered impassable. In record time all the agencies of the Federal

Government were thrown into action and our State, city, and town officials all cooperated to a remarkable extent with the result that within a very short time the vital services were restored to the people, channels of transportation were cleared, and funds were made available to restore damaged property, both public and private. This restoration has in the main been completed in the populous centers. No account of this catastrophe would be complete without a tribute to the valuable and heroic work of the men on W. P. A. and the boys of the C. C. C. during this emergency.

But there remains this fire hazard, caused by the piling up of inflammable brush on the thousands of acres of wooded area of the New England States on both private property and public domain. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Treadway] yesterday exhibited some photographs, which I think were most imposing evidence of the situation

which is typical in every corner of New England.

As the gentleman stated, unless this inflammable debris is removed at once from public and private property, there is a grave danger of a very serious fire hazard menacing the welfare of thousands of people throughout the New England States. It will endanger hospitals and public buildings, towns, and cities in an area which, as you all know, is very heavily populated. Because of these compelling reasons we ask you to restore the amount of this appropriation to \$5,000,000, the amount recommended by the Budget. Mr. Silcox, of the Forestry Division, and his assistants who have been on the scene say that this amount is absolutely necessary to complete the work of clearing up this very serious fire hazard.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. JENKS of New Hampshire. Mr. Chairman, I represent a State that has suffered the greatest down-timber loss of any of the New England States. I believe that of all the New England States the greatest fire hazard exists in New Hampshire, both on private lands and in our National and State forests. For that reason I am especially interested and hopeful that this amendment will pass. I believe the full amount recommended by the Bureau of the Budget, namely, \$5,000,000, should be the amount approved.

It was stated yesterday on the floor of this House that the adoption of this amendment would establish a precedent. The precedent of Federal aid to a stricken area already has been established. It was established in 1906 when the Congress of the United States passed three acts, carrying a total appropriation of \$2,500,000 for the relief of the people of San Francisco, Calif., who were the victims of the devastating earthquake and fire of that year.

It is difficult for the Members of this House to realize the seriousness of the situation that exists as the result of the damage done by the hurricane that swept over New England on September 21, last, the fourth worst disaster that has ever befallen the people of this country. The loss to our people in New England is tremendous, regardless of what amount of money this Government loans or allocates as an outright gift. This bill does not call for money to compensate for the loss of private individuals, but rather to prevent further loss by fire this coming summer.

I have talked with a representative of the Forestry Department, who has just returned from making a survey of this fire hazard, and he has advised me that the damage and the danger of further destruction is beyond comprehension.

The Forestry Bureau has asked for the transfer of 31 camps from the South up into New England, but as yet nothing has been done to comply with this recommendation. In the immediate future I will introduce a bill to move 40 additional camps into New England to eliminate this hazard, but even this will be only a small part of what is required.

I realize that the Committee on Appropriations is anxious to reduce the expenditures of the Government; so am I, but not at the risk of having further appalling damage done by fire this coming summer.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Maine [Mr. Oliver] for 3 minutes.

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Chairman, I arise in support of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack], which provides for an increase in this appropriation from \$3,000,000 to \$5,000,000.

There has been much said here yesterday and today as to the necessity for this appropriation. I think that in some respects the direct issue that is before us has been somewhat misunderstood. This appropriation has been recommended and is supported by the entire New England delegation, because the funds are absolutely necessary if the fire hazard which has been occasioned by the New England hurricane is to be materially reduced. Even the increased amount of money will not adequately do the job. I wish to place the most emphasis possible upon the fact that it is the terrible menace of a potential forest conflagration such as this country has never experienced which we are trying to picture to you here today, and in that connection I wish to use the words of that very fine and estimable Chief of the Forest Service of this Government, Mr. Silcox. On page 43 of the hearings on this bill, he said:

The extent of the damage is hardly comprehensible. It is unbelievable unless you see the area personally.

And then, again, on page 47 of the reported hearings, Mr. Silcox said:

But I am stating to this committee that the situation up there is one that invites public disaster. Fires may easily start, and this is a heavily populated country. It will affect towns and hospitals and camping grounds, etc. And if a fire gets in there under a high wind, it will be as bad as was the hurricane itself and as bad as some of our western fires, as in Minnesota, for instance.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Silcox has made extensive trips over this afflicted area and that is his experienced estimate of the situation. Mr. Tinker, his assistant, who is directly in charge in the New England area in connection with this fire menace told this committee, as is quoted on page 49 of the hearings:

Mr. Cannon raised a very good question in connection with that tuberculosis sanitarium situation. They have around 300 or 400 acres. They can clean it up. And that will be all right. But that is within an area of inflammable material of about 10 miles wide and 20 miles long. I suppose there are four or five hundred owners in there. But a fire there might jump 2 miles. Those people are just in a terrible predicament. I would not want any of my family living in that area.

These brief notations, Mr. Chairman, from men who have been actually on the ground floor and who know what the condition is should be enough to convince the members of this committee that this increased appropriation is necessary to remove the possibility of the ravaging results of a disastrous forest conflagration.

There is another point in support of this increased appropriation that has not been touched upon to any great extent, however. That is the matter of protection for the Federal Government's equity in the White Mountain National Forest Park. Without doubt many of the members of this committee and of this House have visited this beautiful recreational area-this area which is heavily wooded and forestedthis area which is in the midst of this particularly devastated section of the country. In the White Mountain National Park taxpayers of this Nation have invested tremendous sums of money, and these millions of dollars we are protecting insofar as is possible at this time with an appropriation of \$500,000 for the reduction of the fire hazard within the White Mountain area itself. But we insist that in order to protect adequately this tremendous investment of the citizens of this country in this park we must remove the menace of spreading forest fires which may be occasioned by the fallen timber and the slash which now exists as a result of this windstorm in the adjoining sections outside of the park area itself. Certainly the tremendous Federal investment in the White Mountains deserves your serious consideration and your favorable action here this afternoon in providing sufficient funds to clear the surrounding thousands of acres which now constitute a potential fire threat of the greatest magnitude to this Government property.

I hope that by your action in supporting this amendment for an increase of this appropriation to \$5,000,000 you will

demonstrate your willingness not only to remove the fire hazard from the areas affected in and of themselves, but that you will also in doing so protect the tremendous Federal Government investment in the White Mountain National Park. It seems to me that such action is good business and for the best interests of all concerned, namely, the entire citizenry of this Nation.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY] is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I realize that I was given ample opportunity to discuss this subject yesterday, and I would not ask for even this brief period except to call the attention of the House to two features. First, I referred yesterday in my remarks to the possibility of a constitutional prohibition against matching dollar for dollar. I have been reliably informed by the officials of Massachusetts that this now is not a danger in the minds of the officials of the State. So far as I am concerned, therefore-and I think I am speaking for my colleagues, both from Massachusetts and other States-we approve the report of the Committee on Appropriations calling for matching dollar for dollar.

The other point that I wish to raise is that whatever sum Congress sees fit to appropriate for this work will largelypractically all of it-go into labor. It is not as though you were paying a dollar to anybody for profit. The amendment offered by my colleague the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack] involves nothing having to do with any payment of money to any individual. The money will be used for labor in that area. Certainly no better assurance can be given by the Federal Government to show its appreciation of the opportunity to use ample labor during these winter months than to help clean up this terrible fire hazard that is certainly hanging over all of New England.

As has been said, we have been generous to other sections of the country. We are now asking only that New England, and all the States of New England, have just a little, fair share of the Federal money that is distributed.

I am heartily in favor of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack], and I hope it will be adopted by the House unanimously.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. SHANLEY] for 3 minutes.

Mr. SHANLEY. Mr. Chairman, I am absolutely for this amendment, because just before I came down here I went through the wooded sections in the vicinity of my own city. I could not walk more than 50 feet without having to climb over huge trees that once grew on West Rock, East and Pin Rocks. I know that many in this Chamber have been in New Haven, the city where Yale University is located, and that they can realize that the rocks and hills around that city must be strewn with trees.

As one who went through this hurricane at the shore and saw the devastation that hit us for the first time in a hundred years, it is impossible for me to picture to you the destruction and fire hazard there was and is in my own home city of New Haven, an industrial center of 170,000. The forests are literally strewn with trees. Unless these are taken out, unless this fire hazard is removed, it will cost us more than we can ever possibly hope to pay.

I may say in passing that I think our Governors will accept this without question. I certainly think this help is abso-

May I also say that when other cities, other States, and other districts were celebrating their tercentenaries, or even their sesquicentennials, they asked the Federal Government for contributions. The State of Connecticut celebrated her tercentenary in 1930. We asked for and received \$10,000, but, as a matter of fact, not a cent of it was used; we used none of the money given by this Congress. We ran our own show. Now we need help. For one of the first times in the history of our State and of the other States of New England we are in the position where we must have assistance. This small sum that we ask be given to us in New England is

vitally needed, and we who come from New England would not ask for it unless it were absolutely necessary. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia IMr. Woodrum] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. It is a rather unusual thing to see the committee that has been as generous as the Committee on Appropriations has been in this particular case with our brethren from New England, now being somewhat criticized by some of our friends and taken to task. Let us hesitate before we vote and before we go on record on this, because that is where we shall probably have to go-let us see just what we are doing, what we are spending.

There was a great disaster in the Mississippi Valley. The Mississippi Valley flood sufferers had W. P. A. labor, they had the Red Cross, and they had disaster loans. The sufferers of the tragedy from the New England hurricane have had all of that assistance plus C. C. C. assistance.

Mr. Chairman, if this bill is passed, it will be the first time the Congress has set the precedent of taking Federal money and expending it upon private land. This precedent the Committee on Appropriations was willing to violate. Not only that, but we have brought it in here when you gentlemen knew it was subject to a point of order. Personally, I do not feel very good about the matter. I feel the committee has been generous to a point of deserving criticism for its generosity.

Mr. Chairman, what does this amendment do, if agreed to by the committee and then adopted on a record vote in the House? What does it do? Instead of having \$5,000,000 to clear up these private lands you will have \$10,000,000 to do it, because this amendment calls for a matching of the The Bureau of the Budget estimated it would take \$5,000,000 to do this and at a time when there was no evidence of the States doing anything except through the \$1,000,000 which the State of Massachusetts has provided. The Bureau of the Budget estimated \$5,000,000. The committee recommends \$3,000,000, to be matched by State funds, making \$6,000,000, or \$1,000,000 more than requested by the Budget. This amendment would give you \$10,000,000 to do the job and sets a precedent that never has been set in this country. No disaster in this country has had anything for property damage or destruction except a loan from the Government, yet we are sending the Forest Service on to private lands to clean them up because there is a fire hazard.

I hope the Committee will support us. We have been generous, just, and fair to this great section of our country. There have been no politics in this matter except what some of these gentlemen who have spoken tried to lug in by inference. In the committee there were no politics. I hope the Committee will back the Appropriations Committee in this matter and vote down the amendment, and permit the amount to stand which we have provided.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. McCormack) there were-ayes 68, noes 83.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### BUREAU OF ENTOMOLOGY AND PLANT QUARANTINE

Control of incipient and emergency outbreaks of insect pests and plant diseases: For carrying out the purposes and provisions of, and for expenditures authorized under, Public Resolution No. 91, Seventy-fifth Congress, entitled "Joint resolution to amend the joint resolution entitled 'Joint resolution making funds available for the control of incipient or emergency outbreaks of insect pests or plant diseases, including grasshoppers, Mormon crickets, and chinch bugs," approved April 6, 1937," approved May 9, 1938 (52 Stat. 344, 1126), fiscal year 1939, to remain available until December 31, 1939, \$2,000,000. ber 31, 1939, \$2,000,000.

Mr. HOBBS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Hobes: On page 3, line 24, after the colon, strike out the word "for" and insert "for the eradication of white fringed beetles for."

Page 4, line 8, strike "\$2,000,000" and insert "\$2,300,000."

Mr. HOBBS. Mr. Chairman, this amendment would add to the pests which are to be eradicated the white fringed beetle, and would provide the sum of \$300,000 and add that to the sum of the appropriation for this eradication.

We are told by the experts in the Bureau of Entomology of the Department of Agriculture that the white fringed beetle is more dangerous to all plant life which it attacks than all the other six well-known pests. It is more dangerous, therefore, than the boll weevil and the pink bollworm are to cotton and, in fact, more dangerous than all the other six pests put together.

I am not informed accurately as to whether or not any part of this appropriation may be or is intended to be used for the eradication of these pests; therefore, I would ask the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee whether or not he has any information which he could give us at this time on the subject?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I may say to the gentleman, my information is that the fund can be used for the eradication of the white fringed beetle. I have no objection to the gentleman putting that in if he wishes to do so; but, of course, I shall object to increasing the amount because it is not necessary.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman yield? If the activities of this eradication work are to be materially extended, the committee has already cut the Budget estimate by \$1,300,000.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. It is not to be extended. It was testified in the hearings that the funds to be appropriated would be used for the eradication of the white-fringed beetle, as well as other pests. That is part of the program, and the insertion of this language would not extend the program. They are going to use it for that purpose so far as our records show, anyway.

Mr. KNUTSON. How much money have they unexpended? Has the gentleman any information on that?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. They have \$700,000 unexpended this year. We are giving them \$2,000,000 more. Mr. O'CONNOR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOBBS. I yield to the gentleman from Montana.

Mr. O'CONNOR. On page 39 of the report it appears that \$299.514 have been considered in the eradication of the beetle to which the gentleman refers.

Mr. HOBBS. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I think the bill covers the gentleman's amendment.

Mr. HOBBS. I hope it does.

Mr. Chairman, in view of the chairman's assurance, I ask unanimous consent to withdraw that part of my amendment which seeks to increase the amount of the appropriation by

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Hobbs]?

There was no objection.

The amendment as modified was agreed to.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. O'CONNOR: Page 4, line 8, strike out "\$2,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$3,300,000."

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, this matter is so important to us in the West and in the northwestern territory that I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, the history of the amendment I am offering goes back first to a recommendation of the Bureau of Entomology for an appropriation in the sum of \$6,170,000. After quite a thorough investigation the Bureau of the Budget recommended the sum of \$3,300,000. There is a balance of \$700,000 in the fund now within the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Entomology to expend for this purpose, and this will make a total of \$4,000,000 to be expended for the purpose, if my amendment is agreed to.

I wish to call your attention, Mr. Chairman, to the fact that there is an acreage all told of 51,000,000 acres that will have to be treated. A large percentage of these 51,000,000 acres is Government owned. In doing this work we shall be assisting not only our farmers but the United States Government.

A few of my colleagues in the House wanted me to ask in this amendment for the full amount recommended by the Bureau of Entomology, which knows more about the needs of the situation than any Member of Congress. I have read the evidence offered before the subcommittee, and it is without dispute that it would require in the neighborhood of \$6,000,000 to do this job well and successfully. I call your attention to the explicit language of Dr. Strong, here in Washington, who is at the head of this Bureau:

I am telling you what it will take to actually do the job and do it right. I do not know how we would start with \$3,300,000 to do the job the way it ought to be done.

Mr. Chairman, the man who said that is a man who knows the situation.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman vield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska. Mr. McLAUGHLIN. In the conference I had with the gentleman from Montana I was perfectly willing to agree that the gentleman's amendment should call for only \$3,300,-000. The gentleman has stated that Representatives coming from other States which are affected by this grasshopper plague felt the gentleman should ask for \$6,000,000 in his amendment.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN. To support the \$6,000,000 estimate, and particularly to support the gentleman's amendment, as I have now agreed to do, I wish to read a telegram I have received from Mr. Howard Wahlgren, president of the Nebraska Crop Growers' Association. It reads as follows:

Believe Bureau of Budget's \$3,300,000 recommendation for insect control wholly inadequate. Think six million minimum impera-tive. Midwest chinchbug invasion also indicated this year. HOWARD WAHLGREN

President, Nebraska Crop Growers' Association.

In other words, the \$3,300,000 the gentleman is asking is the minimum that can possibly be used to do the job.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Exactly; I thank the gentleman.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. O'CONNOR. I have only a short time. I will yield to the gentleman in a few minutes.

There are 24 States that are usually infested by grasshoppers. Eleven of these States are infested not only by the grasshoppers but by Mormon crickets. I saw something that was supposed to be a Mormon cricket exhibited out here. If that is a Mormon cricket, the fellow who got that sample got it right out of the egg. It did not have a chance to grow.

Think of the vast territory with which we have to deal. If you will read the report of the hearings, you will find it points out that over \$6,000,000 of damage was done in three or four counties in eastern Montana when the grasshoppers from the Dakotas lifted themselves into the heavens and alighted in our fields in Montana. It is also shown in this record that every dollar expended means a saving of \$79 to the stock growers, the wheat growers, and the grain growers of these 24 States. Are we going to economize by depriving these people of the very thing that might help to enable them to fight one of the greatest menaces we have in the West?

If we can raise a crop in the West, our relief roll will be decreased. If we do not raise a crop, we will have to come here and ask help from this committee, headed by our distinguished friend, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Woon-RUM], one of the finest men in the House and one of the ablest and most influential, and he will help us. We can further call on the Republican side of the House, which includes the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich], although they are the watchdogs of the United States Treasury on that side, and we can also appeal for help to our friend, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. KNUTSON] and also to the minority leader, our good friend, Joe Martin, and many other good and worthy Republicans. Those gentlemen over there will help out. However, we do not want to be coming here every year on our knees, asking Congress for help. We want a chance to fight the thing we have nothing to do with creating. God Almighty created these things for some purpose, although I do not know what.

Now, help us by helping yourselves, and, in the language of my distinguished new friend, the affable gentleman from the State of Florida, PAT CANNON, vote against the grasshoppers and against these crickets by voting for my

amendment

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield to the gentleman from Wash-

Mr. HILL. Is not time an essential element in this problem?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes; it is very important.

Mr. HILL. If we get the money now it will do more good than if we spent \$20,000,000 or \$30,000,000 later in the year. Mr. O'CONNOR. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield to the gentleman from Minne-

Mr. KNUTSON. The Bureau of Entomology asked for \$6,000,000?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Six million one hundred and seventy thousand dollars.

Mr. KNUTSON. The committee has reduced this sum to \$2,000,000?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Right. Mr. KNUTSON. The gentleman now offers an amendment to increase the sum by \$1,300,000?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Correct; the amount the Budget recommended.

Mr. KNUTSON. And this with the \$700,000 now available still leaves the amount 331/3 percent less than the sum the Bureau of Entomology stated is necessary?

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is right.

Mr. KNUTSON. You cannot eradicate grasshoppers piecemeal. All the money that has been spent by the Government in this work in years gone by will be absolutely wasted unless we continue the work to a point where we have the grasshoppers whipped.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is right; and not only that, but this is a national problem.

Mr. KNUTSON. Absolutely. Mr. O'CONNOR. When we are affected out there, you are likewise affected in the East.

Mr. KNUTSON. And it involves the food supply of the American people.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is right.

Mr. THORKELSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield to my colleague the gentleman from Montana.

Mr. THORKELSON. I want to ask the gentleman from Montana if this is not a yearly occurrence.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Almost; yes.

Mr. THORKELSON. And it will require actually about \$6,000,000 to take care of it properly.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is right.

Mr. THORKELSON. And it is a matter that is affecting the Nation's food supply.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes.

Mr. THORKELSON. And it is a pest that should be destroyed now.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is right.

Mr. COFFEE of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman vield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska. Mr. COFFEE of Nebraska. Is it not a fact that this grasshopper infestation started in the drought-stricken area and began in a few States, but is now gradually covering one-half of the States of the Union?

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is right.

Mr. COFFEE of Nebraska. And unless we can check this invasion of grasshoppers and Mormon crickets and similar pests, every State in the Union will become involved.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. COFFEE of Nebraska. In fact, 2 years ago, just to show the devastation that was wrought in Nebraska alone, there was \$11,500,000 worth of crops destroyed.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is right. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this paragraph and all amendments thereto close in 25 minutes, and I would like to have the last 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is one of the most important, in my opinion, that has been offered on the floor of this House. We can all appreciate the destruction caused by fire; we can all appreciate the destruction caused by water, because those two forces are very spectacular, but the destruction caused by grasshoppers, if you please, in my State, has been greater than that caused by either of the two forces I have just mentioned.

For several years there has been waged in my State of New Mexico, as well as in many other agricultural and livestock States, an incessant and unrelenting battle against the grasshopper and other destructive pests. Our State and hundreds of individual citizens have cooperated with the Federal Government in this warfare against needless destruction, with the result that much progress has been made and thousands of farmers and stockmen have been given new courage and confidence in the hope that the battle will continue until the grasshopper scourge has become a thing of the past; that their crops and livestock feed will not be destroyed and their meager earnings and assets will not be wiped out in future years.

I doubt if anyone who has not seen an invasion of countless millions of grasshoppers under way can realize the extent of the destruction that is wrought. In my State of New Mexico last year and for several years previous these pests have laid waste to lands over an area of more than 5,000 square miles, have destroyed every vestige of living green growth, stripped crops and grass as cleanly from the earth as though a fire had swept through. As a result thousands of our farmers have been forced on the relief rolls; men and women who have battled against drought and all other forms of adversity but have not given up the fight until the grasshopper army destroyed virtually all they possessed.

The Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine has given valuable assistance in the past; it is desirous of continuing its campaign against these destructive pests; and I believe we should appropriate the modest amount necessary. The citizens are willing again to give their services voluntarily, but there must be sufficient funds provided for the proper Federal agency to do its share, because this is not purely a State proposition. The menace spread from State to State and throughout the Nation. The march of these destructive pests extends over hundreds of miles and as they travel they deposit their eggs in the earth, which, if they are not destroyed, mean that the scourge will be repeated year after year.

In my opinion, it is far better economy to increase this appropriation by a million dollars, and thus prevent the recurrence of this destruction, than to pare down and stint the

appropriation and then spend hundreds of millions caring for the farmers whose crops have been destroyed, and to swell further the already too-large relief rolls of the Nation.

Is it not consistent with the policy of this Congress in its program for rehabilitation of the farmer to provide sufficient funds to insure him against destruction of his crops? The farmer, the very backbone of our national economic structure, should not be forced to work long hours for months, then be confronted overnight with the destruction of all that he has accomplished. Most certainly that is not conducive to the kind of morale that makes good American citizens and contributes to a return and maintenance of this country's economic welfare and prosperity.

I was hopeful the gentleman from Montana would offer his amendment as I had expected he would, and, in fact, as he had told me he intended to, providing for the full amount of \$6,000,000. The Bureau of Entomology, if you please, is the technical bureau of this Government qualified to pass upon the particular subject we are considering here today. That Bureau recommended somewhat in excess of \$6,000,000 in order to do this job properly. If you do such a job in part, you do not do it at all, in my opinion or in the opinion of those well qualified to pass upon this subject.

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEMPSEY. I shall be pleased to yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. HOPE. I should like to ask the gentleman if it is not true that the recommendations of the Bureau of Entomology are based partly also upon recommendations which were made by officials of 24 States in which there is grasshopper infestation and in which they outlined the needs of their re-

spective States? Mr. DEMPSEY. The gentleman is correct. I have a telegram from our agricultural college and I have the following letter from the Governor of our State, the Honorable John E. Miles:

STATE OF NEW MEXICO. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Santa Fe, January 17, 1939.

Hon. J. J. DEMPSEY,

Hon. J. J. Dempsey,

Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

MY Dear Congressman: Recalling the experience that we had last year with the grasshopper situation in some of our counties, and feeling that we will have a similar experience this year, I am wondering if it would be possible to pass a bill in Congress appropriating a certain amount to be used for emergencies of this kind.

I am going to ask that the legislature here set aside a small sum to be used for this purpose, as our financial condition will not permit us to appropriate enough money to conduct the kind of a

permit us to appropriate enough money to conduct the kind of a war that is necessary to destroy the grasshopper menace.

Anything you can do along this line will be appreciated by all

concerned.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN E. MILES, Governor.

We have cooperated with the Federal Government in attempting to eliminate this pest, but I am afraid if the committee's recommendation carries here today it will mean that the farmers in certain of our Western States will be forced, unwillingly and by circumstances beyond their control on relief. Instead of coming here asking for \$3,300,000 as we are today, and as the Director of the Budget recommended to this Congress, we are going to have to spend, maybe, \$100,000,000 or \$200,000,000 in taking care of people who could take care of themselves if the Federal Government would give them this assistance to which, I think, they are entitled.

Mr. COFFEE of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEMPSEY. I will be pleased to yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. COFFEE of Nebraska. Will the gentleman give the members of the Committee a list of the States that are threatened at the present time with grasshoppers, or are already infested, and where the officials of those States have already indicated that grasshopper control methods are necessary?

Mr. DEMPSEY. The list includes the States of Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. DEMPSEY. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. KNUTSON. I do not believe it is stating the situation too strongly to say that the grasshopper and other insect pests constitute a greater danger to the Republic than any enemy abroad against whom we are preparing to spend \$1,600,000,000.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I quite agree with the gentleman and, frankly, this is a matter affecting the entire Nation, if you please. There is nothing about it that is partisan and there is nothing about it that involves politics. Every farmer in the list of States I have read to you is affected whether he be Democrat, Republican, Communist, Socialist, or what-not.

Mr. KNUTSON. And this involves the welfare of the American people.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Positively; and I trust the Committee will vote to support the amendment offered by the gentleman from Montana. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. HULL. Mr. Chairman, I am heartily in favor of this amendment. In fact, I have sent to the desk an amendment increasing this appropriation from \$2,000,000 to \$3,300,000, the figures represented in the amendment of the gentleman from Montana [Mr. O'CONNOR]. I consider not alone the opinion of the Department of Entomology on this subject, but as one of those who have lived in a section of the country that has suffered devastation twice in the last 5 years by the grasshopper infestations, I think I can speak from the experience of myself and others there on the matter of the need of eradicating this pest. We need \$6,000,000, beyond a doubt. This amendment calls for only \$3,300,000, and that, with the amount on hand, would give us approximately \$4,000,000 to combat the plague.

The grasshopper destruction in Wisconsin was something almost unknown until recent years. Twenty years ago I do not suppose there was a farmer in the State who ever had any serious experience with the plague of grasshoppers, but in 1935, following the drought of 1934, thousands of acres of alfalfa, clover, corn, grain, and grass in general were destroyed by the visitation of that year. It is easy to say that the loss to the farmers of the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota ran from twenty-five to thirty million dollars, and perhaps \$40,000,000, just because of the plague in 1935. We had again had a visit from the pests in 1937, following the drought of 1936, and again the devastation was just as

We cannot say what may happen this year. It depends much upon the weather in April and May as to whether or not we will have another devastating experience, but if we do have it, because we are without this protection, we shall have more millions of losses to the farmers.

The farmers out in that northwest section are now very hard beset. Farm mortgage foreclosures have become so numerous that communities are being changed, transformed, by people leaving their farms following foreclosure proceedings, and going to cities to look for employment. Unless we can protect the farmers still on their farms from the losses which follow such calamities as grasshopper devastation, we shall have more foreclosures and a more important relief problem, and as has been mentioned, we will have more and more farmers moving into the cities for employment, or for work on the W. P. A., or to go upon direct relief.

It seems to me there are other places in which we can economize rather than by cutting down the funds needed for farmers of this Nation for the protection of the food supply of the Nation, for the protection of their crops, and for the protection of that income which will enable them to remain on the farm. I appeal to everyone here to vote for this increase in amount by voting for this amendment. Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULL. Yes.

Mr. BURDICK. Would the Government not be helping itself to properly provide protection and for the extermination of these insects, inasmuch as it has the crops insured and would lose money if they are destroyed?

Mr. HULL. In many instances, yes.

Mr. HAWKS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULL. Yes.

Mr. HAWKS. And would not the farmers of our State rather have that type of protection than they would the benefits from the Triple A?

Mr. HULL. Most of them would. In fact, losses suffered by grasshopper invasions in Wisconsin in recent years exceed by far the amount received from the Triple A.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wis-

consin has expired.

Mr. MURDOCK of Utah. Mr. Chairman, coming from the State which probably had the first experience with Mormon crickets, my purpose in rising at this time is to ask unanimous consent that I may, in an extension of my remarks, include the reason these crickets got their name-that is, Mormon crickets.

The CHAIRMAN. Permission to include extraneous matter must be had in the House, not in the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. MURDOCK of Utah. Very well; I shall ask that permission when we get into the House.

Mr. Chairman, I rise at this time in support of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Montana [Mr. O'CONNOR]. Coming from the State of Utah, I can speak from first-hand experience not only for myself but for the people of my State, dating clear back to 1848, of the destructive and devastating habits of crickets and grasshoppers. When we speak of grasshoppers or crickets or other insects as being capable of destroying millions of dollars in crops, people without experience usually smile. This is usually the reaction of Members of the House without this experience when they are confronted with proposed legislation appropriating large sums of money for the extermination and destruction of crickets, grasshoppers, and other insect pests. I am happy that many sections of the United States are free from this type of crop destruction, but I wish that every Member coming from such a fortunate section could come out to my State and witness just one invasion of Mormon crickets.

It might be of interest to the Members here today, Mr. Chairman, to have me relate to them the story of the first invasion of what are now called Mormon crickets in the State of Utah. The Mormon pioneers, after having been persecuted and driven from pillar to post, from one State to another, for many years, finally determined that their only hope, in order to be able to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience and according to the tenets and teachings of their own faith and religion, was to go to a land so desolate that no other people would want it. It was because of their devotion to and faith in their religion and God that they left their homes in the beautiful city of Nauvoo, Ill., on the banks of the Mississippi River, suffered the hardships and privations of crossing the plains and mountains of western America by ox team and hand cart. and established their homes in a land which had been condemned by the few who knew it as the Great American Desert. They were willing to suffer all of these privations. hardships, and make whatever sacrifices were necessary in order to establish their homes where they would be unmolested and able to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. Little did they dream of another menace in the form of insects. They arrived in Salt Lake Valley on July 24, 1847. After preparing temporary homes. they immediately began to construct ditches and canals for the diversion of waters from the mountain streams flowing into the Great Salt Lake for the irrigation of crops which they began to plant. This was the first irrigation known to the North American Continent. Hundreds and hundreds of acres of winter wheat were put into cultivation. These

early pioneers realized that with the meager provisions they brought with them, their lives depended upon planting and raising crops at the earliest possible time.

When the spring of 1848 came and their winter wheat began to sprout and grow, and other crops planted by them began turning what was a formidable desert into beautiful fields and gardens, they were all happy, contented, and industriously applied themselves to the irrigation and cultivation of their first crop. Their happiness and contentment. however, were soon dispelled and in their place came fear and horror of famine and starvation. They were thousands of miles from nowhere; their only communication with the outside world was by means of ox team. This fear and horror came in the month of May when myriads of destructive crickets rolled in black legions down the mountain sides. and attacked the fields of growing grain. The tender crops fell an easy prey to their fierce voracity. The ground over which they had passed looked as if scorched by fire. Thoroughly alarmed, the community-men, women, and childrenmarshaled themselves to fight the ravenous foe. Some went through the fields, killing the crickets, but crushing much of the tender grain. Some dug ditches around the farms, turned water into the trenches, and drove and drowned therein the black devourers. Others beat them back with clubs and brooms, or burned them in fires. Still the crickets prevailed. Despite all that could be done by the settlers, their hope of a harvest was fast vanishing, a harvest upon which life itself seemed to depend.

They were rescued, as they believed, by a miracle—a greater miracle than is said to have saved Rome, when the cackling of geese roused the slumbering city in time to beat back the invading Gauls. In the midst of the work of destruction, when it seemed as if nothing could stay it, great flocks of gulls appeared, filling the air with their white wings and plaintive cries. They settled down upon the half-ruined fields. At first it looked as if they had come but to help the crickets destroy. But their real purpose was soon apparent. They came to prey upon the destroyers. All day long they gorged themselves, disgorged, and feasted again, the white gulls upon the black crickets, like hosts of heaven and hell contending, until the pests were vanquished and the people were saved. The birds then returned to their habitat, the Lake islands, leaving the grateful settlers to shed tears of joy over their timely deliverance. A season of scarcity followed, but no fatal famine; and before the worst came, the glad people celebrated, with a public feast, their first harvest

The gull is still to be seen in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake. The wanton killing of these birds was made punishable by law. Rome had her sacred geese; Utah would have her sacred gulls, forever to be held in honor as the heavensent messengers that saved the pioneers.

These great old pioneers, being grateful for their deliverance, regardless of the source, and knowing that these sea gulls had saved them probably from famine and starvation.

became forever grateful and indebted to them.

Years later, after the pioneering stage in Utah had passed, a monument was erected to the sea gulls by the Mormon people, which monument can be seen now by all visitors to Utah who take time to go to the temple grounds in Salt Lake City. It is my information that this is the only monument in existence built out of respect, honor, and gratitude to a bird or birds.

From this story comes the name of Mormon cricket, which is referred to in this legislation.

I have related it quite in detail, in an effort to impress my colleagues here today with the tremendous, devastating, and destructive force of these insect pests, and hope that whenever you read the name "Mormon cricket" in legislation such as this that in case you are tempted to smile, you reflect on this story of early pioneer life in Utah, and I am sure that, when you do, you cannot help but join the representatives of the Middle West and the West in their plea for relief from such devastation and destruction.

It will probably be pointed out by the gentleman from Virginia in charge of this legislation that the Bureau of Entomology failed to spend \$700,000 which was appropriated last year. I am informed, and I think the record substantiates this information, that the reason for not spending it is that it came too late. Instead of this, therefore, being an argument against an increased appropriation, it should be an argument in support of it. It certainly indicates that this Bureau of the Government is spending whatever money comes to them wisely and when it can be used most efficiently. The record is replete with testimony justifying the additional amount called for by the amendment of the gentleman from Montana, which would raise the appropriation to the amount approved by the Bureau of the Budget. If an insufficient amount is appropriated, it will be too late, a month or so hence, to do much good. It is simply a matter now of spending a sufficient amount to preserve 50 or 60 times that amount in crop values.

I urgently request, Mr. Chairman, support of this amendment. Thank you.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the amendment, which I ask the Clerk to read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Case of South Dakota to the pending amendment: On page 4, line 8, strike out "\$3,300,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$5,417,000."

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is to restore the amount asked by the Bureau of Entomology. The \$5,417,000 is the amount, plus \$700,000 carryover, that would make the amount requested by the Bureau, I am offering this amendment at the suggestion of many Members, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Hope], the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. CUMMINGS], and others who have felt we should ask for what the Bureau, which is in charge of this work, thinks is necessary to handle this situation.

I realize that the bill provides \$2,000,000 and that there is a carry-over of \$700,000 which makes a total of \$2,700,000 available which is the total amount appropriated last year. But I call attention to the fact that last year there also was a carry-over so that there was actually obligated and spent \$2,823,000. Of that amount, \$299,514 was spent for handling the fight against the white fringed beetle, with which the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Hobbs] was concerned. So that \$300,000 last year was spent on the white fringed beetle. That was a big increase from \$56,000 for beetles in the previous year. If the beetle is increasing at that rate, then the whole appropriation should be correspondingly increased.

It might appear from the discussion on the floor today that the West is primarily interested in this fight. But the testimony of Dr. Strong in the hearings indicated that there are 24 States in which grasshopper infestations will be serious this year. There are 11 States in which Mormon cricket infestations will be serious. This concerns all of us. The hoppers move.

Another point which should be brought out is the large contribution made by the farmers themselves and the local people in handling this matter. Dr. Strong testified before the committee that \$1,320,853 was provided locally, plus the farmers' labor of handling and distributing the bait, a total estimated to be equivalent to what was spent by the Federal Government.

The reason we need more this year than we needed last year is that the job was not completely done last time. Unless the Federal bureau cleans up the idle and open land the hoppers breed there and fly onto the farmers' fields that have been cleaned up. As has been pointed out, if we can get this money into the hands of the bureau so that at the beginning of the season they can make a comprehensive plan really to clean up on the grasshoppers, then we hope that next year we will not have to come and ask for grasshopper appropriations. If this could be set up now, then we could get our money's worth for what we have spent.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I am glad to yield to my new colleague from South Dakota. Mr. MUNDT. May I suggest another reason why the Government has greater responsibility this year?

Mr. CASE of South Dakotta. I shall be glad to have the gentleman offer his suggestion.

Mr. MUNDT. I have from the Crop Insurance Corporation the figures covering crop insurance on wheat, by which they are obligated, in case there is a loss in this territory, which seems inevitable unless adequate grasshopper control takes place. They are obligated at the present time, according to estimates received this morning, as follows: In Wyoming, 139,000 bushels; South Dakota, 3,732,000; in Montana, 6,709,000 bushels; North Dakota, 4,659,000 bushels; in Colorado, 1,077,000 bushels; North Dakota, 4,659,000 bushels; Kansas, 8,148,000 bushels; Iowa, 876,000 bushels; or a total of 32,263,000 bushels of liabilities that the Crop Insurance Corporation must pay if the grasshoppers eat up these crops. It seems to me it is not only good insurance but good economy to favor this amendment.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I thank the gentleman for his contribution. That brings out a point that has not been brought out fully, which is, that in this way the Government can underwrite its own insurance. It is self-protection. It is definitely better to spend this money to prevent crop destruction than to spend it for relief of suffering that comes from loss of crops.

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I yield.

Mr. HOPE. Is it not true that the grasshopper campaign has been largely ineffective in past years because this appropriation has been inadequate and also because it has come too late to do any good?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Yes. The gentleman is correct.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. All time on this amendment has expired.

The question is on the amendment to the amendment.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Case of South Dakota) there were—ayes 65, noes 92.

So the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question recurs on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Montana [Mr. O'CONNOR].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. O'Connor) there were—ayes 74, noes 96.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, I ask for tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chair appointed as tellers Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Johnson of West Virginia.

The Committee again divided; and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 77, noes 105.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

# DEPARTMENT OF LABOR WAGE AND HOUR DIVISION

Administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act, Department of Labor—Salaries and expenses: For an additional amount for all authorized and necessary expenses of the Wage and Hour Division in performing the duties imposed upon it by the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, including personal services and rent in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, contract stenographic reporting services, travel expenses, including not to exceed \$2,500 for expenses of attendance at meetings concerned with the work of the Wage and Hour Division when incurred on the written authority of the Secretary of Labor, maintenance, repair, and operation of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles, printing and binding, law books, books of reference, periodicals, manuscripts and special reports, newspapers and press clippings, supplies, office equipment, advertising, postage, telephone and telegraph service, reimbursement to State, Federal, and local agencies and their employees for services rendered, fiscal year 1939, \$850,000: Provided, That the Secretary of Labor may allot or transfer, with the approval of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, funds from this appropriation to any bureau or office of the Department of Labor to enable such agency to perform services for the Wage and Hour Division.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against the proviso beginning in line 3, page 5, and including the rest of the section on the ground that it is legislation on an appropriation bill that imposes additional duties upon the Bureau of the Budget.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Virginia desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. No.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order. The Clerk read as follows:

#### CHILDREN'S BUREAU

Salaries and expenses, child-labor provisions, Fair Labor Standards Act, Children's Bureau: For an additional amount for all authorized and necessary expenses of the Children's Bureau in performing the duties imposed upon it by the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, including personal services and rent in the District of Columbia and elsewhere; traveling expenses; printing and binding; supplies; equipment, newspapers, books of reference, periodicals, and press clippings; and reimbursement to State and local agencies and their employees for services rendered, as authorized by continuity of such art feed by continuity. local agencies and their employees for services rendered, as authorized by section 11 of said act, fiscal year 1939, \$79,000: Provided, That this appropriation shall be available for expenses of attendance of cooperating officials and consultants at conferences concerned with the work of the Children's Bureau under the Fair Labor Standards Act when called by the Children's Bureau with the written approval of the Secretary of Labor, and shall be available also in an amount not to exceed \$1,000 for expenses of attendance at meetings concerned with the work of the Children's Bureau under said act when incurred on the written authority of Bureau under said act when incurred on the written authority of the Secretary of Labor.

## TREASURY DEPARTMENT

### PROCUREMENT DIVISION, PUBLIC BUILDINGS BRANCH

Bureau of the Census Building, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.: For the acquisition of the necessary land and the construction of a building for the Bureau of the Census of the Department of Commerce under the provisions of the Public Buildings Act approved May 25, 1926 (44 Stat. 630), as amended, including the extension of steam and water mains, removal or diversion of such sewers and utilities as may be necessary, and for administrative expenses in connection therewith, \$3,500,000.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against the paragraph just read on the ground it is not authorized by law.

The CHAIRMAN. To which paragraph does the gentleman refer?

Mr. TABER. I refer to the paragraph just read, entitled "Treasury Department-Procurement Division, Public Buildings Branch."

Mr. Chairman, I call attention to the fact that the paragraph recites that it depends for authority upon an act approved May 25, 1926, which authorized the construction of public buildings within the District of Columbia.

The funds that have been spent out of the appropriations within the District of Columbia and the limit of cost already fixed thereunder, total \$106,643,416, while the authorization provided in that act for buildings within the District of Columbia is \$50,000,000. The authorization has already been exceeded by \$56,643,416.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] desire to be heard?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I do not. I think the authority cited in the paragraph to which the point of order is directed is ample authority for the legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. What does the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Woodrum] say about the increase over the authorization in the original law, referred to by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER]?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I do not know one way or the other, whether the gentleman's statement is accurate or inaccurate. The general statute authorizes the acquisition of land and the erection of buildings in the District of Columbia for governmental purposes.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I have before me the statute in question.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to hear from the gentleman in reference to that portion which applies to the

Mr. TABER. On page 633 it is provided-

That such amount as is necessary, not to exceed \$50,000,000 of the total amount authorized to be expended under the provisions of this act, shall be available for projects in the District of Columbia.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Is the gentleman quoting verbatim from the act?

Mr. TABER. Absolutely.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Does not the citation to which the gentleman calls attention refer to developments in the so-called Triangle? This is not in the Triangle.

Mr. TABER. No. It is the entire authorization.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. The general statute itself, as cited in the act, reading it hurriedly, does contain a limitation, but that limitation would seem to apply to certain specifically authorized buildings. In other words, the limitation does not apply to the general authorization for the acquisition of land and the erection of public buildings in the District of Columbia for governmental purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to hear from the gentleman whether or not there is in that general law a limitation of cost and does this amount exceed that limit as

specified in the act?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. As I said, reading the matter hurriedly, the limit of cost does not appear to fit this particular case.

Mr. MICHENER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. MICHENER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] is reading from the statute which shows a limitation. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] says there is no such limitation in the general law. What is he reading

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I am reading from the general law.

Mr. MICHENER. Which print? Is it the Code or is it the statute?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. This is the statute.

Mr. MICHENER. I think the gentleman understands the purpose of my question. The statute controls. If there is a difference between the statute and the Code, the statute controls. The gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber] states he is reading from the statute.

Mr. TABER. Absolutely.

Mr. MICHENER. And the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] is reading from the Code. If there is a difference, then the statute controls over the Code.

The CHAIRMAN. There is this further question about which the Chair would like information. Assuming that the statute provides for a limit of \$50,000,000, has this been exceeded or not?

Mr. TABER. I have the items covering buildings that have been built in the District of Columbia, which total the figure I gave. I may have left out some items, but I have all the items here.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did the gentleman get his fig-

Mr. TABER. From the Procurement Division.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the gentleman that information in documentary form?

Mr. TABER. I have it just as it came over the telephone this afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] desire to be heard further?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Only to reiterate that in the general law the sum of \$50,000,000 appears to be earmarked for certain buildings. In addition to that, it would appear that general authority is given for the acquisition of land and the erection of public buildings for the Government in the District of Columbia if and when Congress appropriates the money.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman please read that portion of the statute which earmarks the \$50,000,000 for construction within the District?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I shall read from the Code of the Laws of the United States of America, section 341, title XL, under the heading "Acquisition of sites for and construction of public buildings," appearing on page 1793:

To enable the Secretary of the Treasury to provide suitable accommodations in the District of Columbia for the executive departments, and independent establishments of the Government not under any executive department, and for courthouses, post offices, immigration stations, customhouses, marine hospitals—

And so forth. When it gets down to the money designation, it states:

Provided further, That aside from land that may be acquired for a site for a building for the Supreme Court of the United States, and for enlarging the site of the Government Printing Office, or erecting a storage warehouse or warehouses, the sum of \$50,000,000, hereinafter authorized for projects in the District of Columbia, shall be used exclusively for the purpose of acquiring, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, south of Pennsylvania Avenue and west of Maryland Avenue—

And so forth. In other words, does not the limitation apply to the projects "hereinafter authorized"?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has been following the remarks of the gentleman from Virginia, but would like to see what the gentleman from New York has to say with respect to whether or not the limitation of \$50,000,000 applies to those buildings that are not included in this census location.

Mr. TABER. It does not apply to buildings such as the Supreme Court Building, the Government Printing Office, and the warehouses, and they are the only ones to which the \$50,000,000 limitation does not apply. The words "not exceeding" are further along in the particular statute from which the gentleman from Virginia has been reading, as I recall. I do not have the book in front of me at the moment, but that is the way I recall it. The gentleman was reading another part of the statute. There are three or four pages of the statute in the book I had.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman believe section 345 of title 40 of the Code places any limitation on section 341, which is the general authorization section of the statute?

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, it could not unless it specifically repealed that limitation.

The CHAIRMAN. The particular question in the mind of the Chair is that the gentleman from Virginia cites a general law that sustains his point, yet the gentleman from New York cites another provision, and the Chair is not fully convinced at the present time that such provision imposes a special limitation. The language in section 345 to which the Chair has reference states:

Provided, That such amount as is necessary, not to exceed \$50,-000,000, of the total amount authorized to be expended under the provisions of this chapter—

Not "this section" but "this chapter"—

shall be available for projects in the District of Columbia.

That is the particular language cited by the gentleman from New York. It is subsequent to the language cited by the gentleman from Virginia. Does the latter language put a limitation on the first authorization? If it does, the point of order is well taken, provided that amount has been exceeded, and the Chair does not know whether or not it has been exceeded.

What has the gentleman from Virginia to say on this point? Does the gentleman have any information in that regard?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, in order that we may consider the matter a little more deliberately, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order will then be pending, and we shall all have an opportunity to look into the matter. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Virginia that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Doxey, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 2868) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the majority leader had expressed to me the intention of asking unanimous

consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Monday next, so, on his behalf, I make that request.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia, acting at the request of the majority leader, asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

Mr. MICHENER. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, may I ask if it is the purpose to continue with this bill when the House convenes on Monday?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I may say to the gentleman that is the purpose, as far as I know.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, has anyone on the majority side announced what the program will be for the first part of next week?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. There has been some discussion of that. However, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN] is here now, and I shall refer the gentleman's inquiry to him.

Mr. RAYBURN. There will not be anything the first 3 days of the week except speeches, as far as we know now. I am certain that is true. There will probably be no legislation taken up next week, with the exception of the pending bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. Dirksen asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the Record.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record by including therein an address delivered by our colleague the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Patrick].

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHAEFER of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include therein a short editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend in the Record my remarks made in Committee this afternoon and include therein various governmental information regarding hurricane and flood damage in Massachusetts and all New England.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. Shanley, Mr. Healey, and Mr. O'Connor asked and were given permission to revise and extend their own remarks in the Record.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include therein an article written by my colleague the gentleman from New York [Mr. Barton], which appeared in Collier's magazine under date of January 1, entitled "After Roosevelt, What?"

Mr. THOMAS F. FORD. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, how long is the article?

Mr. HALLECK. It is not very long. It will take up a couple of pages in the RECORD.

Mr. THOMAS F. FORD. It will take more than that.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, I object.

## ADJOURNMENT

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 44 minutes p. m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, January 23, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### COMMITTEE HEARINGS

## COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 a.m. Tuesday, January 24, 1939. Business to be considered: Hearing on H. R. 2531—transportation bill. Commissioner Splawn, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, is expected to be the first witness.

#### COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Public hearings will begin Wednesday morning, February 1, 1939, at 10 a.m., on social-security legislation, in the Ways and Means Committee room of the New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

## EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

299. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a request for the continuation of section 10 of the Gold Reserve Act of 1934, as amended, until January 15, 1941 (H. Doc. No. 118); to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures and ordered to be printed.

300. A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a report of the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938 (H. Doc. No. 115); to the Committee on Agriculture and ordered to be printed.

301. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the Secretary of War to pay certain expenses incident to the training, attendance, and participation of the equestrian modern pentathlon teams in the Twelfth Olympic Games; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

302. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the Secretary of War to convey certain lands owned by the United States for other lands needed in connection with the expansion of West Point Military Reservation; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

303. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated December 28, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on a preliminary examination and survey of inland waterway from Norfolk, Va., to Beaufort Inlet, N. C., with a view to the protection of lands in the vicinity of the lock at Great Bridge against flooding by storm tides, authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937 (H. Doc. No. 117); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

304. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated December 28, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on a preliminary examination and survey of Erie Harbor, Pa., Beach No. 2, authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937 (H. Doc. No. 116); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

# REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII,

Mr. DOUGHTON: Committee on Ways and Means. H. R. 2762. A bill to consolidate and codify the internal-revenue laws of the United States; without amendment (Rept. No. 6). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

## CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 318) granting an increase of pension to Emily Semple Wood; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 319) granting a pension to William Turner; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 326) granting an increase of pension to Mary W. Osterhaus; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 675) granting a pension to Tandy Clark; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

A bill (H. R. 684) granting a pension to Mary E. Brummett; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

A bill (H. R. 1715) to place Harold Staats, formerly captain, Officers' Reserve Corps, on the emergency officers' retired list; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (H. R. 2217) for the relief of Samuel J. Swain; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

## PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DEMPSEY:

H.R. 2953. A bill authorizing States owning lands or interests therein acquired from the United States to include the same in certain agreements for the conservation of oil and gas resources; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee:

H. R. 2954. A bill to limit the use of the frank by former Members of the House and Senate, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 2955. A bill to provide for the establishment and operation of an experiment station for the study of pests and diseases affecting dark-fired tobacco; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. COFFEE of Nebraska:

H.R. 2956. A bill relating to duty on hams and other pork products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DEROUEN:

H. R. 2957. A bill relative to the disposition of public lands of the United States situated in the State of Oklahoma between the Cimarron base line and the north boundary of the State of Texas; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H.R. 2958. A bill to extend the public-land laws of the United States to certain lands, consisting of islands, situated in the Red River in Oklahoma; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H. R. 2959. A bill to add certain lands of the Front Royal Quartermaster Depot Military Reservation, Va., to the Shenandoah National Park, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H. R. 2960. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell or otherwise dispose of surplus animals inhabiting the national parks and national monuments, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H. R. 2961. A bill to provide for the establishment of the Green Mountain National Park in the State of Vermont, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H.R. 2962. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to accept donations of land, interests in land, buildings, or other property for the extension of national parks, national monuments, battlefield sites, national military parks, and other areas administered by the National Park Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 2963. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to locate, establish, construct, equip, and operate a hospital for the insane of Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Territories.

H.R. 2964. A bill providing for waiver of prosecution by indictment in certain criminal proceedings in the courts of the Territory of Alaska; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DWORSHAK:

H. R. 2965. A bill to amend section 78 of chapter 231, Thirty-sixth United States Statutes at Large (36 Stat. L., sec. 1109), relating to one judicial district to be known as the district of Idaho, and dividing it into four divisions, to be known as the northern, central, southern, and eastern divisions, defining the territory embraced in said divisions, fixing the terms of district court for said divisions, requiring the clerk of the court to maintain an office in charge of himself or deputy at Coeur d'Alene City, Idaho; Moscow, Idaho; Boise City, Idaho; and Pocatello, Idaho; and to authorize the United States District Court for the District of Idaho, by rule or order, to make such changes in the description or names of counties in said divisions as the Legislature of Idaho may hereafter make; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAVENNER:

H. R. 2966. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to establish a retirement system for employees of carriers subject to the Interstate Commerce Act, and for other purposes,' approved August 20, 1935," approved June 24, 1937; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 2967. A bill to grant to the State of California a retrocession of jurisdiction over certain rights-of-way granted to the State of California over a certain road about to be constructed in the Presidio of San Francisco Military Reservation; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2968. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for control and regulation of public-utility holding companies, and for other purposes," approved August 26, 1935; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MAY:

H.R. 2969. A bill to provide for the common defense by acquiring stocks of strategic and critical raw materials, concentrates, and alloys essential to the needs of industry for the manufacture of supplies for the armed forces and the civilian population in time of a national emergency, and to encourage, as far as possible, the further development of strategic and critical mineral resources in the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2970. A bill to repeal and reenact section 83 of the Judicial Code, as amended, relating to Federal court districts in the State of Kentucky; to the Committee on the

Judiciary.

By Mr. STEFAN:

H. R. 2971. A bill for the relief of certain Indians of the Winnebago Agency; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. SUTPHIN:

H. R. 2972. A bill to provide honorable discharge status for any veteran who was discharged from the military or naval forces of the United States because of minority or misrepresentation of age, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SUMNERS of Texas:

H. R. 2973. A bill to provide for the administration of the United States courts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. VOORHIS of California:

H. R. 2974. A bill to amend title VI of the Social Security Act to provide for the prevention of the spread of disease in the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 2975. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to provide for aid to States for care of transients; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FISH:

H. R. 2976. A bill to extend provisions of an act entitled "An act placing certain noncommissioned officers in the first grade," approved March 3, 1927; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. VAN ZANDT:

H. R. 2977. A bill to provide that the widow, and orphans, of any deceased World War veteran who was suffering with a compensable, service-connected disability shall be entitled to pension unless her annual income exceeds \$1,000, or

\$2,500, if she has minor children, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 2978. A bill to amend the World War Adjusted Compensation Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2979. A bill to authorize the erection of a United States Veterans' Administration general medical-surgical hospital and domiciliary facility for the central Pennsylvania area; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 2980. A bill to amend the National Housing Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. CELLER:

H.R. 2981. A bill amending the Judicial Code in relation to the civil liability of radio broadcasters concerning suits in defamation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SUMNERS of Texas:

H. R. 2982. A bill to extend the jurisdiction of the United States District Court, Territory of Hawaii, over the Midway Islands, Wake Island, Johnston Island, Sand Island, Kingman Reef, Kure Island, Baker Island, Howland Island, Jarvis Island, Canton Island, and Enderbury Island, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SHAFER of Michigan:

H. R. 2983. A bill to provide uniforms and limit subsistence costs to employees of the Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2984. A bill to provide for the fixing of working hours and for promotion procedure in the Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GREEN:

H.R. 2985. A bill to provide for the construction of a marine hospital at Jacksonville, Fla.; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana:

H. R. 2986. A bill to amend Public, No. 2, March 20, 1933; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. REED of Illinois:

H. R. 2987. A bill providing for the transfusion of blood by members and former members of the Military Establishment, and by employees of the United States Government; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SCHWERT:

H. R. 2988. A bill to provide for the necessary medical treatment for the service-connected disabilities of World War veterans while abroad, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. BROOKS:

H. R. 2989. A bill to prevent the retroactive effect and collection of any Federal tax upon the employees of the several States and the political subdivisions thereof; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mrs. NORTON:

H.R. 2990. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to establish a Civilian Conservation Corps, and for other purposes," approved June 28, 1937, as amended; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. HAVENNER:

H. R. 2991. A bill to authorize the establishment of a submarine base adjacent to, and mostly a part of, the Navy reservation at Yerba Buena Island in San Francisco Bay, Calif., in connection with the building of "Treasure Island"; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WALTER:

H. R. 2992. A bill to provide for the refund of certain interest paid by veterans on loans secured by adjusted-service certificates, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SPARKMAN:

H. R. 2993. A bill to amend the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933 (Public, No. 17, 73d Cong.; U. S. C. 1934 edition, title 16, sec. 8311), providing that a portion of the taxes to be paid by the Tennessee Valley Authority on its gross sales of power in the States of Tennessee and Alabama shall be paid to certain counties in the States of Tennessee and Alabama; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FISH:

H. J. Res. 125. Joint resolution authorizing the erection of an equestrian statue of Gen. Robert E. Lee in the Arlington National Cemetery; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. STEARNS of New Hampshire:

H. J. Res. 126. Joint resolution to provide for the purchase and sale of timber in the New England hurricane-stricken area; to the Committee on Appropriations.

## MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Iowa, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their Resolution No. 3, dated January 9, 1939, with reference to interest rate of 3½ percent; to the Committee on Agriculture.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALLEN of Illinois:

H. R. 2994. A bill granting a pension to Lucy Ellen Long; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ANDREWS:

H. R. 2995. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary N. Washburn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 2996. A bill for the relief of Frank E. Holly; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 2997. A bill granting a pension to Christine M, Hartley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BROWN of Ohio:

H.R. 2998. A bill for the relief of Charles H. Parr; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CALDWELL:

H. R. 2999. A bill granting a pension to Nancy Triplet; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CHANDLER:

H. R. 3000. A bill for the relief of Dorothy Elizabeth Sisson, a minor; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CHAPMAN:

H. R. 3001. A bill granting an increase of pension to George Bunch; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FLANNAGAN:

H.R. 3002. A bill for the relief of Campbell S. Colley; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3003. A bill granting a pension to Alma C. Hallead; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FRIES:

H. R. 3004. A bill for the relief of Dimitreos Bizos; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. HAVENNER:

H. R. 3005. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Thomas H. Jackson; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 3006. A bill to authorize the award of a decoration for distinguished service, namely, the Congressional Medal of Honor, to Capt. Raphael Lobez; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 3007. A bill for the relief of the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HULL:

H. R. 3008. A bill for the relief of Alexander W. Grinsel; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 3009. A bill for the relief of Theo. J. Thompson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana:

H. R. 3010. A bill for the relief of Raymond Nelson Hickman; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 3011. A bill granting an increase of pension to Virgil O. Adams; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 3012. A bill granting a pension to James William Westerfield; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 3013. A bill to set aside the action of general court martial provided under the authority of Special Order No. 233, dated at Manila, P. I., September 22, 1902, insofar as it pertained to cause No. 16, against Pvt. William F. Boyer, Company B, Twenty-sixth Regiment United States Infantry; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KEE:

H. R. 3014. A bill for the relief of William Luther Amonette, Jr.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

. By Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY:

H.R. 3015. A bill for the relief of Isidore Ferzig; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LECOMPTE:

H. R. 3016. A bill granting a pension to William Chadwick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3017. A bill granting a pension to John Chadwick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PIERCE of New York:

H. R. 3018. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eunice Dow; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SECREST:

H. R. 3019. A bill granting an increase of pension to Harry L. Dye; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SWEENEY:

H. R. 3020. A bill for the relief of Albert Aloysius Needles; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia:

H. R. 3021. A bill for the relief of the dependents of Herbert Mell Lowe; to the Committee on Claims

# PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

383. By Mr. ANDREWS: Resolution adopted by the members of the Niagara Falls (N. Y.) Fire Department Benefit Club, protesting against any legislation to collect retroactive taxes from employees of the various States, their instrumentalities, etc.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

384. By Mr. ANGELL: Petition of certain citizens of Portland, Oreg., protesting against the lifting of the so-called Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

385. Also, petition of certain citizens of The Dalles, Oreg., having reference to the general policy of neutrality to be pursued by the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

386. Also, petition of certain citizens of Portland, Oreg., having reference to the general policy of neutrality to be pursued by the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

387. By Mr. BARRY: Resolution of the World War Veterans of Census Local, New York, favoring Government pensions for World War veterans equal to that paid Spanish-American War veterans; to the Committee on Pensions.

388. By Mr. DARROW: Petition of 25 residents of Philadelphia, favoring adherence to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the acts of August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

389. By Mr. GEYER of California: Resolution of the Workers' Alliance, Local G-219, of San Pedro, Calif. (Helen Musso, secretary), requesting that the matter of building a marine hospital in San Pedro, Calif., be brought before the Seventy-sixth Congress; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

390. By Mr. HAWKS: Petition of 90 members of Holy Name Society of St. John's Church, Rubicon, Wis., protesting against any change in the neutrality policy of our country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

391. Also, petition of 56 members of St. John's Parish, Rubicon, Wis., protesting against any change in the neutrality policy of our country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

392. By LUTHER A. JOHNSON: Letter and petition of F. R. Ender, of Penelope, Tex., and others, urging the passage of legislation to prohibit speculation and gambling in farm products; to the Committee on Agriculture.

393. Also, resolution of the House of Representatives of the Legislature of the State of Texas, condemning the present discrimination in freight rates to the people of Texas and the Southwest and requesting the abolition thereof; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

394. By Mr. KEAN: Petition of Mrs. E. Prudence Jamouneau and signed by 70 women citizens of Irvington, Millburn, Maplewood, and Newark, N. J., residents of the Twelfth Congressional District, asking the President and Congress to take every practical means to bring to an end traffic in war materials in the war between China and Japan; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

395. By Mr. KEOGH: Petition of St. Joan of Arc's Holy Name Society, Jackson Heights, New York City, concerning the Neutrality Acts of 1935 and 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

396. Also, petition of the Amalgamation of Patriotic Societies, Philadelphia, Pa., concerning the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

397. By Mr. VORYS of Ohio: Petition of W. L. Snyder and 29 others, respectfully petitioning the Seventy-sixth Congress to enact the improved General Welfare Act, thus relieving the suffering of our needy citizens over 60 years of age and providing prosperity for America and security for all at 60; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

398. Also, petition of Mr. Van Oss and 39 others of Columbus, Ohio, petitioning Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and also to retain on our statute books the corollary principle of the same act and to extend the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

399. Also, petition of Dr. Robert J. McGuinnes and 16 others, of Columbus, Ohio, petitioning Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and also to retain on our statute books the corollary principle of the same act and to extend the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

400. By Mr. KEOGH: Petition of Brooklyn Heights Americanization Committee, Brooklyn, N. Y., concerning the Dies committee: to the Committee on Rules.

401. Also, petition of the Merchants Association of New York, concerning the Patman bill (H. R. 1); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

402. By Mr. KINZER: Petition of 32 citizens of Lancaster, Pa., protesting against any change in our neutrality laws; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

403. By Mr. KRAMER: Resolution of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles, relating to the national forest and certain revenues pertinent thereto; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

404. Also, resolution of the American Farm Bureau, relating to opposition of the Patman bill, etc.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

405. By Mr. LANDIS: Petition of certain citizens of Morgan County, Ind., urging the enactment of the general welfare bill (H. R. 11); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

406. By Mr. LEAVY: Petition of the Odessa Commercial Club, of Odessa, Wash., signed by President Reiman and Secretary Galle of that organization, protesting against any extension of the western and southern boundaries of Mount Olympus National Park by Executive order and urging further that no expansion be permitted to occur in any direction which might include mineralized regions; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

407. By Mr. LEWIS of Ohio: Petitions of citizens, members of St. Aloysius Church, of East Liverpool, Ohio, and of citizens of Kensington, Summitville, Salem, Lisbon, and Bellaire, Ohio, favoring a policy of strict neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

408. Also, petition of certain citizens of Bellaire, Shadyside, and Martins Ferry, Ohio, favoring a chain-store tax bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

- 409. By Mr. MONKIEWICZ: Petitions of certain citizens of Hartford, Middletown, New Canaan, New Britain, and Waterford, Conn., requesting adherence to the general policy of neutrality now in force in the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.
- 410. By Mr. O'NEAL: Petition of sundry citizens of Louisville, Ky., favoring consideration in behalf of bills to restore to Congress the power given them by the Constitution of the United States of America to coin and regulate the value of money, as recommended in the Townsend recovery plan; to the Committee on Ways and Means.
- 411. By Mr. REED of Illinois: Resolution of John W. Bolinger, commander, Kane County Council, the American Legion, Aurora, Ill., requesting the appropriation of \$150,000 for the continuance of the work of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Appropriations.
- 412. By Mr. RODGERS of Pennsylvania: Petition of certain citizens of Erie, Pa., favoring the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and the act of May 1, 1937, etc.; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.
- 413. By Mr. SCHAEFER of Illinois: Petition of Aloys Holdener, of East St. Louis, Ill., and 27 others, parishioners of St. Philip's Parish, East St. Louis, requesting that Congress adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and the act of May 1, 1937, and protesting against lifting the embargo on arms to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.
- 414. Also, petition of Cypril P. Voellinger, Belleville, Ill., and 23 others, calling on Congress to maintain the present provisions of the Neutrality Act of May 1938 and urging Congress to oppose any movement to repeal or modify said act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.
- 415. By Mr. SMITH of Ohio: Petition of Mrs. M. J. Jacoby and others, petitioning the Congress to adhere to the Neutrality Act as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and to further adhere to the principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.
- 416. By Mr. SUTPHIN: Petition of the New Jersey State Grange, requesting that the Federal tax on gasoline be repealed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.
- 417. By Mr. TALLE: Memorial of the State of Iowa, petitioning the Congress to pass a law making a  $3\frac{1}{2}$ -percent interest rate permanent to the farmer borrowers of the Federal land bank and the land bank commissioner, etc.; to the Committee on Agriculture.
- 418. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Henry H. Houston 2d Post No. 3, Germantown, Pa., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to Hon. MARTIN DIES' committee; to the Committee on Rules.
- 419. Also, petition of the American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington Branch, Washington, D. C., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Works Progress Administration; to the Committee on Appropriations.
- 420. Also, petition of the General Welfare Federation of America, Washington, D. C., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the General Welfare Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.
- 421. Also, petition of the Civitan Club, Gadsden, Ala., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to deportation of all criminal unnaturalized persons; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.
- 422. Also, petition of the Producers' Council, New York, N. Y., petitioning the passing of legislation to extend the operation of title I of the National Housing Act beyond July 1, 1939; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.
- 423. Also, petition of the Ray Current Events Club, Inc., Flushing, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Presidential term of 6 years; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

## SENATE

# Monday, January 23, 1939

(Legislative day of Tuesday, January 17, 1939)

The Senate met in executive session at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

#### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Barkley, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Friday, January 20, 1939, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

#### CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, at this point I suggest the absence of a quorum, and ask for a roll call.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Donaney	King	Reed
Andrews	Downey	La Follette	Reynolds
Ashurst	Ellender	Lee	Russell
Austin	Frazier	Lewis	Schwartz
Bailey	George	Lodge	Schwellenbach
Bankhead	Gerry	Logan	Sheppard
Barbour	Gibson	Lucas	Shipstead
Barkley	Gillette	Lundeen	Smathers
Bilbo	Glass	McCarran	Smith
Bone	Green	McKellar	Stewart
Borah	Guffey	McNary	Taft
Bridges	Gurney	Maloney	Thomas, Okla.
Bulow	Hale	Mead	Thomas, Utah
Burke	Harrison	Miller	Tobey
Byrd	Hatch	Minton	Townsend
Byrnes	Hayden	Murray	Truman
Capper	Herring	Neely	Tydings
Caraway	Hill	Norris	Vandenberg
Clark, Idaho	Holman	Nye	Van Nuys
Clark, Mo.	Holt	O'Mahoney	Wagner
Connally	Hughes	Pepper	Wheeler
Danaher	Johnson, Calif.	Pittman	White
Danialica	Johnson, Colo.	Radcliffe	Wiley

Mr. LEWIS. I announce that the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Overton] is absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. Brown] and the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez] are detained on important public business.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Walsh] is absent attending a conference of Governors of the New England States on the flood-control problem.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety-two Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF—REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS—VIEWS OF MINORITY

As in legislative session,

Under authority of the order of the Senate of the 20th instant, Mr. Adams, from the Committee on Appropriations, to which was referred the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, reported it on January 21, 1939, with amendments, and submitted a report (No. 4) thereon.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, out of order, I ask unanimous consent—

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair understands from the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Barkley] that at the end of the executive session he hopes to have the Senate resume legislative session for the purpose of the presentation of petitions, the introduction of bills and resolutions, and to have a message read from the President, otherwise the Chair would submit the message of the President at this time. If Senators desire to go into legislative session to introduce resolutions and bills, and so forth, the Chair, of course, will entertain such a motion.

Mr. McKELLAR. No.

Mr. McNARY. I would object to going into legislative session. I think we should clean up the Executive Calendar.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, let me make a statement. On last Friday unanimous consent was given the Committee on Appropriations to make a report on the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939. I do not know whether or not the majority report has been printed, but I desire to file minority views; and, inasmuch as the majority report is now in the Printing Office, I desire to ask unanimous consent that the minority views may be printed at once.

Mr. McNARY. I think that consent was given by the Senate on Friday, although, of course, it may be renewed today.

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask unanimous consent, on behalf of the minority, to have printed the views of the minority.

Mr. BARKLEY. I think it would be assumed that the consent given the committee to make a report would carry with it the right to file minority views as well as the majority report.

Mr. KING. There is no doubt of that.

Mr. McKELLAR. If that be so, that is all I desire.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under the general rules, the committee report is one thing and the minority views another.

Mr. BARKLEY. In view of the desire to have these documents printed together, I think that there might be an exception made, and if necessary, that the Senator from Tennessee might be permitted to file the minority views.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection, as in legislative session, to the Senator from Tennessee filing the views of the minority?

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I do not desire to object, of course, but I desire to ask if the hearings have been printed

Mr. McKELLAR. They have been. Mr. BORAH. And are they available? Mr. McKELLAR. Yes; they are available.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Tennessee? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

(Mr. McKellar, as a member of the Committee on Appropriations, submitted the views of the minority of that committee to accompany the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, which were ordered to be printed as pt. 2 of Rept. No. 4.)

NOMINATION OF HARRY L. HOPKINS TO BE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination of Harry L. Hopkins to be Secretary of Commerce? [Putting the question.]

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I rise not for the purpose of delivering a speech or making any unnecessary remarks, but because I am sure there are some Senators who desire to address the Senate on the subject of the pending nomination; and, therefore, I did not want the Vice President to proceed too rapidly.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is the duty of the Chair to put the question that is pending before the Senate if no Senator seems to care to address the Senate.

Mr. McNARY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

answered of	dien names.	
Adams	Clark, Idaho	Harrison
Andrews	Clark, Mo.	Hatch
Ashurst	Connally	Hayden
Austin	Danaher	Herring
Bailey	Davis	Hill
Bankhead	Donahey	Holman
Barbour	Downey	Holt
Barkley	Ellender	Hughes
Bilbo	Frazier	Johnson,
Bone	George	Johnson,
Borah	Gerry	King
Bridges	Gibson	La Follett
Bulow	Gillette	Lee
Burke	Glass	Lewis
Byrd	Green	Lodge
Byrnes	Guffey	Logan
Capper	Gurney	Lucas
Caraway	Hale	Lundeen

arrison	
atch	
layden	
erring	
[11]	
olman	
folt	
lughes	
ohnson, Cali	
ohnson, Colo	).
ling	
a Follette	
ee	
ewis	
odge	
ogan	17 1 4

McCarran

McKellar

McNary Maloney Mead

Miller

Minton Murray

Neely Norris

Pepper

Pittman Radcliffe

Reynolds Russell

Reed

Nye O'Mahoney Schwartz Schwellenbach Smith Tobey Townsend Van Nuvs Stewart Wagner Sheppard Shipstead Truman Tydings Wheeler White Taft Shipstead Smathers Thomas, Okla. Thomas, Utah Vandenherg Wiley

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Ninety-two Senators having answered to their names, there is a quorum present.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I do not intend to consume any of the time of the Senate with reference to the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Hopkins. However, I do wish to insert in the RECORD a statement made before the committee by Mr. William Averell Harriman, chairman of the Business Advisory Council of the Department of Commerce.

Mr. Harriman appeared before the committee asking the privilege of making a statement endorsing Mr. Hopkins for the office of Secretary of Commerce and recommending the confirmation by the Senate of his appointment. He did not act officially in behalf of the council, but stated that because of his position as chairman of the council he desired to make the statement which I ask to insert in the RECORD. I ask also to have his statement followed by a list of the membership of the Business Advisory Council. These gentlemen belong to both political parties. The character of the membership will be some indication to the Senate of the kind of man Mr. Harriman is and should be of interest in connection with the statement he made in favor of the confirmation of Mr. Hopkins' nomination.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the matter referred to by the Senator from South Carolina will be printed in the RECORD.

The statement of Mr. Harriman is as follows:

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM AVERELL HARRIMAN, CHAIRMAN OF THE BUSI-NESS ADVISORY COUNCIL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, NEW YORK CITY

The CHAIRMAN. Give us your name. Mr. HARRIMAN. William Averell Harriman.

Mr. HARRIMAN. William Averell Harriman.
The Chairman. Your address?
Mr. Harriman. 59 Wall Street.
The Chairman. Your occupation?
Mr. Harriman. I am a partner of Brown Bros., Harriman & Co.,
private bankers, and chairman of the board of the Union Pacific Railroad Co.

The CHAIRMAN. You wish to make a statement? Proceed.

Mr. Harriman. In addition to those activities I am at the present time chairman of the Business Advisory Council for the Depart-ment of Commerce, and as such I am very much interested in this appointment.

I have asked you for the privilege of appearing before you gentlemen to endorse Mr. Hopkins for this position, and to express my faith in him in this position, and my belief in his ability, and my expectation that he will fill the position with competence and

I have known Mr. Hopkins since the spring of 1933. I came to the conclusion that he was well equipped to handle this position prior to my discussing the policies that he intends to pursue in that position.

I noticed in the newspapers that there were rumors about the possibility of his appointment. I gave the matter very serious consideration, and came to the decision that I have stated prior to discussing them with him.

It has been my privilege to spend hours with him since his appointment, and it is my conviction that he has a real grasp of the problems. He has appeared before you very modestly and said that he does not know much about these problems, but from my dis-cussion I have had with him I believe he does understand the

His experience in dealing with the unemployment situation has brought him in contact with a great many businesses, and he has been here studying in his own way the things that have caused unemployment. I find that he has a grasp of them. And when he makes up him mind what he wants to do it is my belief that he will move in directions that are sound and in the interest of the stimulation of business.

The Chairman. Let us get what you mean by that. What do you mean by that. What do you mean by the directions that are sound? Let us get some idea of your meaning.

Mr. Harriman. Mr. Hopkins' views or my views?

The Chairman. No; you said that you believed that he would move in directions that are sound. You have some ground for that statement. I should like to know what you think are sound directions. directions.

Mr. HARRIMAN. I will be glad to generalize on that question. think one of the difficulties of the present situation has been the lack of understanding of objectives between business and government. In connection with that the council is on record to the President a year ago indicating the directions in which the Council felt that the administration and business could move for the advantage of the country. The council has been advising the Secretary of Commerce since the spring of 1933. It has expressed its independent point of view on many occasions to the Secretary and to the President. The President has released some of those reports, and they are a matter of record. Now, those generally indicate that there are some fronts in which a closer understanding of objective and method between government and business would be helpful for the economy, and I believe Mr. Hopkins has a grasp of those problems. What he is going to do I do not know, because in my talks with him I suppose most of the time he was asking me

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I ask that the clerk read the list of the membership of the Business Advisory Council, which I send to the desk. It will consume but a minute.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the

clerk will read as requested.

The Legislative Clerk read as follows:

BUSINESS ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

W. A. Harriman, chairman, Charles A. Cannon, vice chairman. Clarence Francis, vice chairman. De Lancey Kountze, vice chairman. Prentiss L. Coonley, assistant to the chairman. Walter White, assistant to the chairman. E. Willard Jensen, executive secretary.

MEMBERS

F. B. Adams, chairman of the executive committee, Air Reduction Co., 60 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.
William L. Batt, president, S. K. F. Industries, Inc., Front Street
and Erie Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
John D. Biggers, president, Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Co., Toledo,

Ohio.

James F. Brownlee, president, Frankfort Distilleries, Inc., Louisville, Ky.
Charles A. Cannon, president, Cannon Mills Co., Kannapolis, N. C.

W. Dale Clark, president, The Omaha National Bank, Omaha, Nebr

William L. Clayton, chairman of board, Anderson, Clayton & Co., Cotton Exchange Building, Houston, Tex.
W. Howard Cox, president, The Union Central Life Insurance Co., Cincinnati, Ohio.
William H. Danforth, chairman of the board, Ralston Purina Co.,

St. Louis, Mo.

R. R. Deupree, president, the Procter & Gamble Co., Cincinnati,

William C. Dickman, president, American Locomotive Co., 30

Church Street, New York, N. Y.

Gano Dunn, president, J. G. White Engineering Corporation, 80

Broad Street, New York, N. Y.

Robert G. Elbert, 599 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

W. Y. Elliott, department of government, Harvard University,

Cambridge, Mass.

John H. Fahey, Chairman, Federal Home Loan Bank Board, First
Street and Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.

T. Austin Finch, president, Thomasville, Chair Co., Thomasville,

N. C.

Robert V. Fleming, president, the Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.
James F. Fogarty, president, the North American Co., 60 Broadway,
New York, N. Y.
M. B. Folson, treasurer, Eastman Kodak Co., 343 State Street,

Rochester, N. Y.

Rochester, N. Y.
Clarence Francis, president, General Foods Corporation, 250 Park
Avenue, New York, N. Y.
H. B. Friele, vice president, the Nakat Packing Corporation,
Dexter Horton Building, Seattle, Wash.
A. P. Greensfelder, president, Fruin-Colnon Contracting Co.,
Merchants-Laclede Building, St. Louis, Mo.
Rolland J. Hamilton, president, American Radiator Co., 40 West
Fortieth Street, New York, N. Y.
Henry I. Harriman, division of metropolitan planning New England Power Building, 441 Stuart Street, Boston, Mass.
W. A. Harriman (chairman of the council), chairman of the
board, Union Pacific Railroad Co., New York, N. Y.
Henry H. Heimann, executive manager, National Association of
Credit Men, 1 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Charles R. Hook, president, the American Rolling Mill Co., Middle-

Charles R. Hook, president, the American Rolling Mill Co., Middletown Ohio.

William A. Julian, the Treasurer of the United States, Washing-

ton, D. C.
H. P. Kendall, president, the Kendall Co., 140 Federal Street, Boston, Mass.

Fred I. Kent, treasurer, National Industrial Conference Board, 100 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

De Lancey Kountze, chairman of the board, Devoe & Reynolds Co., Inc., 1 West Forty-seventh Street, New York, N. Y.

Morris E. Leeds, president, Leeds & Northrup Co., 4901 Stenton Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

C. K. Leith, department of geology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Paul W. Litchfield, president, the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., 1144 East Market Street, Akron, Ohio.

Earl M. McGowin, vice president, W. T. Smith Lumber Co., Inc., Chapman, Ala

George H. Mead, president, Mead Corporation, Dayton, Ohio. George H. Mead, president, Mead Corporation, Dayton, Ohlo.
D. M. Nelson, vice president, Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago, Ill.
J. C. Nichols, president, J. C. Nichols Investment Co., 310 Ward
Parkway, County Club Plaza, Kansas City, Mo.
George A. Sloan, 60 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
E. T. Stannard, president, Kennecott Copper Corporation, 120
Broadway, New York, N. Y.
E. R. Stettinius, Jr., chairman, United States Steel Corporation,
71 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
E. D. Douglas Stewart vice president, Quaker Oats Co., 141 West

71 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
R. Douglas Stewart, vice president, Quaker Oats Co., 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
Gerard Swope, president, General Electric Co., 570 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Walter C. Teagle, chairman of the board, Standard Oil Co.
(N. J.), 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.
J. T. Trippe, president, Pan American Airways System, Chrysler Building, New York, N. Y.
Thomas J. Watson, president, International Business Machines Corporation, 590 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Sidney J. Weinberg, partner, Goldman, Sachs & Co., 30 Pine Street, New York, N. Y.
Samuel P. Wetherill, president, Wetherill Engineering Co., Inc., 1402 Morris Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
W. H. Wheeler, Jr., vice president, Pitney-Bowes Postage Meter Co., Stamford, Conn.

Co., Stamford, Conn.

A. D. Whiteside, president Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 290 Broadway,

ew York, N. Y. H. Hyer Whiting, 1201 Hobart Building, San Francisco, Calif. S. Clay Williams, chairman of the board, R. J. Reynolds Tobacco

Co., Winston-Salem, N. C.
R. W. Woodruff, president, the Coca-Cola Co., 101 West Tenth Street, Wilmington, Del.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I desire to make an inquiry of the Senator from South Carolina. Because of the confusion in the Chamber, I was unable to hear all that was said. I am sure the Senator is not suggesting, merely because Mr. Harriman appeared as a personal witness before the committee, that that carries with it the implication that the entire advisory council is joining Mr. Harriman in recommending the confirmation of Mr. Hopkins' nomination.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, the Senator from Michigan states that he did not hear all that I said. If he had been able to hear it, he would have heard me say that Mr. Harriman did not say he was speaking in behalf of the council as a result of any action taken by them. He said that he was speaking because, as chairman of the Business Advisory Council, he was interested in this question. I had the list of the membership read because the membership which has just been read elected Mr. Harriman as its chairman.

Mr. VANDENBERG. This the membership created by Mr. Roper while he was Secretary?

Mr. BYRNES. Originally the council was created by the Secretary. According to my information, members have been added by the council. I may say to the Senator from Michigan also that I happen to know that on the day Mr. Harriman appeared three members of the council came to Washington voluntarily for the purpose of testifying. I know that one of them, Gen. Robert G. Elbert, of the council, asked about making a statement. Mr. Donald Comer also desired to make a statement. They were advised by friends that the committee did not think it necessary to go into any exhaustive hearing along that line.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Is this the same group which threatened two or three times during the past year or two to resign because of its dissatisfaction with the general trend of affairs?

Mr. BYRNES. I never heard of the group doing that. If they were a group who wanted to resign because of general dissatisfaction, I cannot understand why they did not resign. If they expressed that view and thereafter did not resign, I think they must have concluded that they had been misinformed by the Senator from Michigan or some other person and changed their minds after they had learned the facts and desired to continue in office.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Or else they lost their nerve; one or

Mr. BYRNES. If the Senator from Michigan wants to say that some of the gentlemen whose names have been read lost their nerve, he may say it. I think they have just as much courage as has the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I ask the Senator from South Carolina whether he will state for the Record how this committee of whom he speaks is really made up, by whom appointed, and from what sources it comes.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I understand that the Business Advisory Council was originally formed at the suggestion of the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Roper. Thereafter its members were appointed on the suggestion of this group of businessmen, who have themselves selected members to serve representing the various industries of the country.

Mr. LEWIS. What is it they do? What office are they assumed to perform?

Mr. BYRNES. They come to Washington once a month and present to the Department of Commerce and to the President their views about the business of the country, and express their aims and hopes with reference to the relationship between business and Government.

Mr. LEWIS. May I assume that if they had had objection to Mr. Hopkins they could have expressed it to the President; that it was within their power so to do?

Mr. BYRNES. Of course, Mr. President. On the contrary, there can be no question that the members of this council feel that the appointment is in the interest of good relations between business and Government, and will be productive of good.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, I wish to speak briefly upon the pending question. I had not intended to discuss the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Hopkins until the debate of last week, but I think it is desirable that during the course of the discussion someone make the statement which I intend to make.

I intend to vote for the confirmation of Harry Hopkins' nomination without making any apologies for the fact that I intend to vote in that way, without making any apologies for anything Harry Hopkins has ever done. I think Harry Hopkins is an honest, capable administrator. I think he has done a marvelous job as Administrator of the Works Progress Administration.

It has been interesting, in going through the RECORD, to see that one by one speeches have been made in opposition to Mr. Hopkins which started out with the statement that the speaker appreciated the fact that no votes would be changed by the speech which was about to be made. I do not know just why those speeches were made if those who were speaking realized that they were not going to get any results from their speeches. I am inclined to believe that most of the speeches which have been made with reference to Mr. Hopkins, in opposition to him, have not been directed at Mr. Hopkins, but have been directed at the President of the United States and are part of the effort which is being carried on, and has been carried on for these last 2 years, to attempt to break down the confidence which the American people have in the President of the United States and the confidence which they have in the Government of the United States.

I wish to say to those who are so free in their criticism, who are so free in their efforts to destroy this confidence, that they are doing precisely the same thing in this country that was successfully done in some of the countries of Europe, and which resulted in breaking down the democracies in various parts of the world. With world conditions as they are, with conditions in this country as they are, this is no time to let personal peeve or partisan politics destroy the confidence of the American people in their Government.

It has been rather amusing to me to see some of the Republican Members of this body rise and attempt to drape themselves around with a mantle of purity and, in discussing the Works Progress Administration, complain because of some politics. One thing can be said—and the Republican Members of this body should appreciate that factthat while the Works Progress Administration was carrying on the biggest job which has ever been handled in this country, spending more money than ever has been spent by any man in this country, it has not been possible to point a finger of suspicion at Mr. Hopkins' administration so far as honesty is concerned.

If it were not tragic it would be amusing to think of members of the Republican Party, some of whom were here during the days of Mr. Harding, Mr. Daugherty, and Mr. Fall, one of whom sat in the Cabinet during that period of time with those gentlemen, during the greatest saturnalia of corruption this Nation has ever seen, having the temerity to come and attempt to maintain that there is some purity in the position they take. I cannot believe that 6 short years of being out of office has made the Republican Party pure. It has made many of the members of that party very hungry, because they have not been on the pay roll; but it has not been able to purge from the minds of the American people the memory of the corruption which was rife during the 1920's.

As I have said, Harry Hopkins was placed in charge of the biggest and most difficult problem any man has ever had under his control in this Nation. We have here a report from the so-called Sheppard committee, and I have read it all. The remarkable thing is that, with all of the Members of this body in constant contact with Mr. Hopkins and all of them desirous of having this or that to do with the efforts of the Works Progress Administration, there was so little politics in relief as was disclosed by the Sheppard committee report.

I might say that when I speak in behalf of Harry Hopkins I speak in behalf of a man with whom I had probably the most disagreeable fight I have ever had in my life. I was amused the other day at the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Holt] assuming, as he did, that those of us who happened to support the administration were able to get projects or appointments. He calls us administration "yes" men; he can call me that if he cares to, but he cannot impute to me a motive and imply that I am an administration supporter merely in order to get some projects for my State or secure some appointment.

There are different ideas about these things. It happens to be my idea that when I go out to the people of my State and pledge myself in a campaign to a program of support of the President of the United States, it is a solemn pledge, and I do not think I have any right to come here and break the word which I gave to the people of the State. I think it is an honorable thing to carry out my word, and I am rather surprised that those who do not agree with that point of view feel free to attack those of us who do entertain that opinion and attempt to impugn our honesty and our motives.

As I have stated, I was amused at what the Senator from West Virginia said in his remarks last week, because, so far as I am concerned, I have never been able to get any appointments from the Works Progress Administration. I think that fully 90 percent of the administrative staff of the Works Progress Administration in my State belongs to the Republican Party, and I am constantly receiving resolutions from Democratic clubs protesting against that situation. That is the kind of politics we have in the Works Progress Administration in my State; and that is the State about which I know.

The Senator from West Virginia states that those of us who support the administration can get projects through which should not be undertaken. During my 4 years here I have had put through two projects which were contrary to the rules of the Works Progress Administration. They were for two country schools, which I visited and inspected. The schools which were being used and occupied were fire traps, and the lives of several hundred pupils were endangered every day. That is the only time that Harry Hopkins veered to the slightest extent from the rules and regulations which were laid down.

A number of years ago a great lawyer in this country said that we should not forget that every son of man travels an unbeaten path, a road beset with dangers and temptations which no other traveler knew, and that his footsteps should only be judged in the light of the strength he had, the burden he had carried, and every motive, open and secret, that impelled him here and there.

To a greater extent than any other man engaged in our Government Harry Hopkins traveled an unbeaten path. The money which was appropriated for the Works Progress Administration was appropriated by the Congress, and there is not a Member of this body, though there were objections here and there to some parts of the appropriations, who did not approve some sort of an appropriation for work relief in this country.

The burden Mr. Hopkins carried was made heavier by the fact that this body itself insisted on having the right of confirmation of State directors of the Works Progress Administration. The Members of this body, by and large, during the last 5 years have done everything they could to try to have something to do with the administration of the Works Progress Administration in their own States.

In the light of everything that has happened, considering the employment of millions upon millions of people and the expenditures of billions of dollars, I think it remarkable that even this bitter partisan opposition has not been able to point to one thing which was dishonest or corrupt. I think that not only should the nomination of Harry Hopkins be confirmed, but I think there is due to him and due to his administration some measure of apology from those who are now making use of this opportunity in an attempt to smear the President of the United States.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination of Harry L. Hopkins to be Secretary of Commerce?

Mr. McNARY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

ach
ach
ach
ach
100,6
kla.
tah
Secret.
7
100
t

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Ninety-two Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, because of the fact that I served as a member of the Sheppard committee, and am also a member of the Commerce Committee, which considered the pending nomination, I feel it appropriate that I should express myself at least briefly concerning the pending nomination.

It seems to me that an effort was made in committee, and has been made here upon the floor, to give importance to the fact that there was not more in the way of political offenses found by the committee than is catalogued in the committee report. I think it should be noted in this connection that the Sheppard committee was appointed in June; that it held its first meeting, if my recollection is correct, on the 17th of June; that no member of the committee had previous experience in work of this character; that its staff was as inexperienced as the committee membership itself; that the investigators were hurriedly gathered together without great knowledge on the part of the committee as to their particular qualifications for this character of work; that the committee was limited by the terms of the resolution to

investigations in those States in which a senatorial election was held, and that the committee acted only upon specific charges filed before it for which there seemed to be some measure of substantiation either in the letters or in the affidavits submitted. In the face of these facts I think it is most astonishing that the committee found what the record discloses, and that it is not significant and not important what the committee did not find.

I wish to emphasize in the next place, Mr. President, that the Sheppard committee was not seeking evil in the W. P. A. I think the Senate will be ready to accept my assurance that at least the majority members of the committee would have been most pleased if they had found nothing which they felt under obligation to report to the Senate with respect to W. P. A. and its activities. I think that majority would have been glad if the facts before them justified the committee in exonerating, not only Mr. Hopkins but the entire organization, of political activity of any sort or character.

I desire to emphasize next, Mr. President, that the committee investigators were not head hunters. I am warranted in the statement—and the chairman of the Sheppard committee can correct me if I am in error—that every investigator sent out was informed and cautioned that he must proceed in his task without prejudice, without bias; that he was expected to search only for the truth and to report the truth as he saw the truth to the committee.

Mr. President, these were the general circumstances, and that is the spirit in which the Sheppard committee undertook its investigations.

The discussion before the Senate has ranged somewhat widely. Reference has been made to various States. But because there has been an effort, so it seems to me, to convey the impression that the offenses found by the Sheppard committee were the acts of local politicians, that the conduct to be censured was that of subordinate officers of the W. P. A. only, and in particular because I think there has been more of a disposition to challenge the findings of the committee with respect to the activities in the State of Kentucky than elsewhere, I want in what I shall say to limit myself largely to the State of Kentucky.

I can refer to but three or four matters, and to those only most generally. First, I direct the attention of the Senate to the Stokes' charges, so-called. The Stokes' charges appeared in two editions of a group of newspapers throughout the country. The first was of June 6 and the second was of June 13. The principal importance, so it seems to me, of the Stokes' charges is not in the detailed specifications found in them, but is rather in the fact that a respectable newspaper investigator and reporter, after personal investigation upon the ground, believed conditions existed which justified him in publishing throughout the country the charges which were carried in the press of the Nation.

The publication of these charges brought knowledge to the W. P. A. of intolerable conditions in the State of Kentucky, or at least it brought knowledge to them that responsible persons believed these conditions to exist in that State.

What did Mr. Hopkins do with respect to the Stokes' charges? Within 2 weeks after their publication he had taken notice of them; he had sent investigators into the State of Kentucky; these investigators had undertaken that investigation and completed their study of conditions; they had made their reports to Mr. Hopkins; Mr. Hopkins had studied those reports and he had prepared that lengthy broadside which appeared in the press on June 30. Mr. Hopkins moved with celerity; he moved promptly; he did as thorough a job of whitewashing as has ever come to my No one was punished as the result of those charges of Mr. Stokes. No one was disciplined as the result of those charges and the findings of the investigators with respect to them. No one was discharged. On the contrary, the full implication of the announcement of Mr. Hopkins was that the W. P. A. could go full speed ahead in their political activities, not alone in that State of Kentucky but throughout the Nation. The committee of the Senate, after

its own investigation, with Mr. Hopkins conclusions before it, sustained these charges in their majority and in their substance.

The Stokes' charges were not the first knowledge of political activity brought to the attention of the W. P. A. As early as March 3 the State administrator of Kentucky had notice that requests for lists of certified workers were coming into headquarters from political organizations in that State. On March 3 he wrote a letter saying that these requests were not to be responded to by his subordinates, but were to be submitted to him in the head office of the W. P. A. in the State.

Finally there came a particular request from the headquarters of one of the candidates for the United States Senate in Kentucky. What did the State administrator do with respect to that request? He met it, and through his subordinates he authorized a canvass that was to be carried on in the first relief district of the State. That canvass was thorough and systematic. It was conducted by means of lists which were prepared in W. P. A. offices, by W. P. A. employees, during W. P. A. working hours, and on paper furnished by the political headquarters of one of the

The lists went from the district supervisor in that particular district down through 9 area timekeepers into the hands of 340 project timekeepers and the canvass was made. The canvass was of something like 18,000 certified W. P. A. workers in 32 counties of the State of Kentucky. The canvass covered more than one-quarter of all the certified W. P. A. workers in the State of Kentucky. It not only covered those workers but it made inquiries as to their families. When the canvass was completed there was in W. P. A. headquarters detailed information concerning over 17,000 W. P. A. workers in that district and information concerning their families.

The blanks asking for various items of information were brought into headquarters, and there the information upon them was transferred to typewritten sheets. Then those typewritten sheets in 32 counties of this first district in the State of Kentucky were turned over to the local political organizations of this candidate in the entire 32 counties of the district.

It was suggested that this canvass was conducted so that information might be carried to W. P. A. workers as to their voting rights, how they might register, and information of similar nature. However, the fact remains that the information was turned over to the headquarters of only one political candidate, and then the original lists were destroyed and no other political candidate had opportunity to see the records. The information included, when completed, a detailed canvass with respect to some 35,000 or 40,000 voters in that district and it was made available to the organization of a single senatorial candidate. W. P. A. was in politics in this district. The activity was not of local politicians, not of subordinate officials, but of the highest administrative officials of W. P. A. in the district.

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. WHITE. I have only a limited time, and I hope the Senator will not press a question.

Let us take the second district in the State of Kentucky. In that district a canvass, somewhat similar to the canvass carried on in the district to which I have just alluded, was ordered by the district area engineer, and the information sought was similar to that sought in the other district of Kentucky. In this particular area, among other requests for information on the forms, there was a space for "remarks." That item was not used in the first district to which I have alluded. What was to be inserted under the heading "re-

Under "remarks" was to be stated whether or not, in the opinion of the person checking, the person checked, the relief worker, was favorable to the W. P. A. program and to one of the candidates for the United States Senate in that State. Such was the information called for by the blanks circulated in the second district in the State of Kentucky. When the data were received they were analyzed, and then the original data were destroyed and were not made generally available.

In the third district in Kentucky, mimeographed forms were used, as elsewhere. For what purpose were the mimeographed forms used? The forms were used to elicit information of a definite political character. The information was all gathered and made available for political purposes, and to political ends.

Mr. President, I do not accept the theory that because a nomination is to a Cabinet office it must be accepted as a matter of course. The Constitution does not so suggest. The office concerns not the President alone, but our commercial and industrial life. The same obligation rests upon the Senate as in the case of other nominations. I do not propose to approve the further surrender to the Executive of the constitutional rights of this body and the abandonment of its solemn obligations with respect to appointments.

The record of W. P. A. political activities, and of Mr. Hopkins' part therein, confronts the Senate. Some urge that the admitted offenses were committed by his subordinates, and that he should not be held accountable. Others have pleaded in the debate in a sort of confession in avoidance, that the fault is not his, because in all that he did, in all that he permitted, he but yielded to the demands of higher authority. These are but the excuses of sophistry and subtlety. Mr. Hopkins' name is before the Senate. We must pass upon him, and we are not privileged to consider others at this time; others who may also be responsible.

Mr. President, has there been pernicious political activity by Mr. Hopkins and the W. P. A.? I think the record demonstrates it beyond peradventure. The admissions of Mr. Hopkins and the record before us furnish an affirmative answer, and no other answer can be found.

Have those who have been guilty of these offenses been punished in any respect? They have not. With the record known to Mr. Hopkins, his failure to discipline and remove the offenders, those who have breached their trust to the distressed of America, is as great an offense as the political activities of which there is so general disapprobation.

The vote we are about to cast is of approval or of disapproval. It has never been made clear to me, Mr. President, how I can condemn a deed and exalt the doer thereof. I cannot condemn the political activities of Mr. Hopkins, and the activities for which he must stand chargeable, and vote to reward him with higher political honors.

At almost the first meeting of the Sheppard committee the chairman, with the authority of the committee, announced the objectives of the Senate resolution to be maintenance of the integrity of the elective processes; preservation of democracy at its most vital point, the ballot box, and free exercise of the voting franchise; and, to that end, the prevention of an improper use of money, or of any coercion or intimidation by any person, group, or agency outside or inside the Government. Did the committee statement accurately reflect the objective of the Senate during the last session of Congress? Does that sentiment find sanction in the conscience of the Senate today? By our votes today we may serve the purpose announced, or we may prove our disloyalty to it.

Mr. President, we boast of our right of free speech and our free press; we take pride in our right of assembly; we glory in our freedom of conscience and of worship, but these are no more secure than is the freedom of the ballot. The freedom of the ballot is in direct jeopardy if those, hungry and without shelter, who, in poverty and distress, face a forbidding future, must accept political servitude as the price of public relief in their misfortunes.

Mr. President, I feel constrained to vote against the confirmation of the nomination of Harry L. Hopkins.

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, I had not intended to say anything about the confirmation of Mr. Hopkins' nomination. However, my recollection was refreshed by listening to the

speech of my friend the junior Senator from Maine [Mr. WHITE]. I was just a little astonished that the Senator from Maine should be so outraged at the puny charges which have been laid at the door of Mr. Hopkins. I was surprised that he could work himself into such a frenzy about "pernicious political activity" and about the free exercise of the franchise and the coercion of voters on W. P. A. and refer to servitude as the price of their misfortune. That surprised me because, Mr. President, in 1936 I was on the Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures, which was similar to the committee of which the Senator from Maine was a member during the last campaign. The committee of which I was a member, as one of its duties in that campaign, found it necessary to investigate some of the things that were going on in Maine. The Senator who has just spoken, the junior Senator from Maine [Mr. WHITE], was a candidate for reelection in 1936 in Maine.

There is a statute in that State which provides that a pauper may not vote, and the attorney general of the great State of Maine, from which the eminent Senator who has just spoken comes, had construed that statute to mean that a man on W. P. A. was a pauper and could not vote in Maine; the Republican organization in Maine was using that statute and that construction of the statute by the attorney general of the State of Maine to prevent poor, unfortunate people on W. P. A. in the State of Maine from casting their votes, thus pauperizing all those who were on W. P. A. because they wanted to vote. They were going to apply the screws of that statute to the poor, unfortunate people who were on W. P. A. in Maine, and the Senator from Maine never had a word to say about it.

The committee listened for a voice coming from the woods in Maine that we would recognize as the soft and dulcet tones of the Senator from Maine protesting that his State should say that a pauper should not vote; but we listened in vain for such a voice. The Senator from Maine never said a word. Quite to the contrary, he was ready to accept the votes that would come to him in 1936 by applying the pauper statute of Maine and saying to the paupers in Maine, as well as those on W. P. A., "You cannot vote."

Here is what the report filed by the election committee in 1936 said:

Of major importance in this connection was the revelation that election officials were threatening persons on the relief rolls that they would not be permitted to vote in the election because, under an interpretation of the law in Maine, they would be regarded as paupers and disfranchised. After examining the law on the subject Mr. Walter Myers, counsel for the committee, prepared a memorandum reviewing the pauper laws in Maine, and expressing doubt as to whether anyone receiving relief, even though it should come from the State treasurer of Maine, would be disqualified as a voter. This information was sent to State officials by the committee, and they later clarified the situation by a new interpretation of the law.

But until the Campaign Expenditures Committee came along and investigated that matter and called it to the attention of the country they were applying in Maine the pauper statute to W. P. A. workers; they were not going to let them vote; and the Senator from Maine had nothing to say about that. "Pernicious political activity." What more pernicious political activity can Senators think of than for a State to attempt to enforce such a dastardly law as that; a law that would disfranchise poor people simply because they did not have a job and the Government was going to give them an opportunity to work? "Political activity." The Senator from Maine is outraged because of what was done in Kentucky; but he never said a word about Maine in 1936.

I think I heard the Senator say that he was surprised not at what the committee of which he was a member this year found but at the things that it did not find; that he was surprised not at the things they found but at the things that they did not have time to go into. One of the things that would have been interesting, I think, to the Senate if the committee had gone into it would have been the hook-up in Maine between the Townsend clubs and the Republican Party. That movement did not start merely in 1938; it started also

in 1936, because the report of the Campaign Expenditures Committee in 1936 pointed out:

In addition to questionable bookkeeping practices, the investigators found that some money had been received from persons interested politically in the Townsend movement. One individual stated that the Republican State committee had reimbursed him in excess of \$250 for funds he had used to defray expenses of a group sent to the Townsend convention in Cleveland, and that this money was used to defray said expenses to Cleveland, and also to organize Townsend clubs. Canceled checks were found by investigators showing that the amount of reimbursement probably exceeded \$500.

This year, of course, as everybody knows, the Townsend clubs backed the Republican candidates for Congress in the State of Maine. Oh, of course, that was not "playing politics with misery"; there was no "pernicious political activity" there; there was no "pernicious political activity" in paying the expenses of a Townsendite to the Townsend convention at Cleveland; oh, no; that would not be "pernicious political activity"; that would not be "playing politics with misery." That is just politics the way they play it up in Maine.

Mr. President, as I said a while ago, in 1933 all these Townsend clubs were supporting the Republican congressional ticket in Maine, and the Republican candidates were all for the Townsend plan. The Senator from Maine might have looked into that, but he did not find time to do it.

Now, of course, we are going to have the Passamaquoddy project before us, and the Senator from Maine is for Passamaquoddy. I hope that Passamaquoddy fails, for we ought not to have two big spending programs going on in Maine—Passamaquoddy by the Democrats and the Townsend plan by the Republicans.

Mr. President, I wanted to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that the testimony of the Senator from Maine ought not to be weighed too heavily in the balance against Mr. Hopkins. In looking back over the record of 1936, I cannot feel very much outraged at what happened in Kentucky when I remember what happened in Maine. I bring this matter to the attention of the Senate in order that Senators may have a proper perspective in which to view the alarm that has been sounded by the junior Senator from Maine.

So, Mr. President, it seems to me that what we have witnessed here in the last few days, from the other side of the Chamber in opposition to Mr. Hopkins, is just what the Senator from Washington [Mr. Schwellenbach] said a while ago. We find a bunch of professional mourners, mourning for the W. P. A. I was in China a few years ago, and I remember seeing a procession moving down the streets of Canton. It was a funeral procession. In front were some boys who were scattering papers; then along came some other men carrying some sort of thing with some tinkling bells and tinkling glass upon it; then behind them came a man dressed in a white robe, with anguish written on his face such I have never seen; the anguish and sorrow of the dear Master pictured upon the cross was nothing compared to the anguish and sorrow depicted on the countenance of this man. He was a professional mourner for the Chinese who came along behind the coffin. That is what we have witnessed across the Chamber today—professional mourners for the W. P. A. workers. They are very much concerned lest we destroy their right to the franchise; oh, they are very much concerned about that; but in 1936 and in 1934 they were concerned about destroying the character of people who were given jobs on W. P. A. It was then said: "People must not have jobs on W. P. A.; that would destroy their character." Now they want to protect their franchise.

Mr. President, I shall vote for Mr. Hopkins for the same reasons assigned by the Senator from Washington, because I think he is one of the finest administrators who have been produced by this administration or any other administration within a generation. I shall cast my vote for the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Hopkins not because Mr. Hopkins has not made mistakes, but, if you please, sir, because he has made so few mistakes. What Senator here has said that Mr. Hopkins deliberately put politics into the W. P. A.? Senators speaking against confirming the nomination of Mr.

Hopkins have only pointed to the fact that, notwithstanding Mr. Hopkins was against politics in W. P. A., politics crept into W. P. A. In the 3,000 counties of the United States he administered this law. He had millions of workers under him, and he spent billions of dollars. Is it at all strange that somebody might break in and play a little politics in such a vast organization as that? The only thing that stands out in my mind is that there was so little of it.

Mr. Hopkins lays no claim to being 100-percent perfect. What Senator claims to be 100 percent perfect? Mr. Hopkins does not claim that he did not make any mistakes. He made some mistakes. Anybody administering such a pro-

gram would have made mistakes.

So, Mr. President, I shall vote for the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Hopkins, not because I am a part of the present administration, not because I am known as an administration Senator, but because I believe in the splendid record that has been made by Mr. Hopkins, and his fine integrity and ability.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, for the first time, I think, in my senatorial career I shall, with the permission of the

Senate, decline to vote on this nominee.

I believe, in the first place, that nothing Mr. Hopkins did or said was done or said without the sanction of the appointing power. I do not care to vote for Mr. Hopkins, because I do not want the impression to prevail anywhere that I approve anything that Mr. Hopkins has done or that Mr. Hopkins has said; nor do I approve the system under which he has acted. I voted against the lump-sum appropriation of \$4,800,000,000, to begin with, because I thought any Senator who supposed it was not to be used for political purposes was simple. It was to be used largely for those purposes, and was used largely for those purposes. On the other hand, I subscribe to the view that the President of the United States should have the widest possible latitude in selecting his advisers; and if he wants men of the Hopkins type to advise him, I think he ought to be allowed to select them, because in no event could Mr. Hopkins give the President any worse advice than persons who surround him who are not subject to confirmation by the Senate.

Moreover, I do not think Mr. Hopkins is being "kicked upstairs." I do not think he can do one whit of the wrong as Secretary of Commerce that he is alleged to have done as Director of the W. P. A., because of all the departments of the Government, that of Commerce is the most innocuous.

But, as I have said, I do not care to have anybody think that if I were to vote for Mr. Hopkins—and should I vote, I would vote for him—I approve anything he has done or said. I do not want to have to go into that explanation to thousands of people who may wonder that I should vote for a man of Mr. Hopkins' character. I never would have appointed him. I do not approve, as I have said, of anything he has done, or, as I recall, anything that he has said; but I think he has done it all, and said most of it, in the confident belief that it would be sanctioned, if it had not been directed, by the appointing power.

So, with the assent of the Senate, I shall refrain from voting at all.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, the frantic efforts that a few have made to tarnish the name, asperse the motives, and sully the reputation of Harry Hopkins have been as fruitses as the performance of the mountains, which, after long and excruciating labor, with the aid of a great earthquake, finally brought forth a mean, miserable, microscopic mouse. [Laughter.]

But the mountains did at last bring forth something. The enemies of Harry Hopkins have brought forth nothing. The failure of the attack is not surprising, because—

Against the head which innocence secures, Insidious malice aims her darts in vain, Turn'd backwards by the powerful breath of Heaven.

A more honorable, efficient, faithful public servant than Harry Hopkins has never been subjected to senatorial investigation, dissection, or disposition. During one of the most critical periods in American history he has had charge of a program of rehabilitation so vast and so far reaching in both its immediate and remote consequences that its mere contemplation staggers the mind and bewilders the imagination. He has successfully borne the heavy responsibility of directing the activities of an army of underprivileged human beings more numerous than the combined hosts that followed Xerxes and Caesar and Napoleon and Alexander the Great.

In comparison with the fabulous sums of public money which Harry Hopkins has, with stainless hands and heart as "chaste as the icicle that hangs on Dian's temple," spent to mitigate the misery of the unemployed, all the wealth that Croesus ever accumulated, and all the gold that Midas ever gained, shrink to the insignificant intrinsic value of the two mites which the poor widow threw into the treasury of the Lord.

Since George Washington was President, no other governmental official has, in the brief period of less than 4 years, ever rendered greater service to the people than Harry Hopkins has given them since he became the Administrator of Works Progress in 1935.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NEELY. I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire. Mr. BRIDGES. I merely want to ask the Senator if he meant to pass by President Roosevelt when he said Mr. Hopkins had rendered more service than any other man since George Washington was President.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, I meant to include even the Senator from New Hampshire, and that is as far as it is possible for human exaggeration to go. [Laughter.]

Mr. President, compared with the accomplishments of the Works Progress Administration under Harry Hopkins, the labors of Hercules become as trivial as a schoolboy's chores in the twilight of a winter day.

As a result of plans which were formulated in Harry Hopkins' busy brain and executed in accordance with his commands, the Works Progress Administration has, among countless other things, supplied employment to more than 6,000,000 of the needy of the Nation.

In addition to rescuing these millions from the curse of enforced idleness and the slough of despond, it has given billions of dollars worth of service and permanent improvements to the people. It has constructed enough modern highways to reach twice around the world; it has improved a hundred and fifty-nine thousand miles of roads and streets-enough to girdle the globe six times and more; it has constructed a hundred and thirty airplane landing fields and improved a hundred and thirty-six more; it has laid 4,000 miles of water lines and 6,000 miles of storm and sanitary sewers; it has planted more than a billion trees to prevent soil erosion and floods and to provide building material for generations yet unborn; it has built, modernized, or improved 20,000 schoolhouses and more than 30,000 other public buildings; it has bound 20,000-000 library books; made 95,000,000 pieces of clothing for the poor; and supplied more than a hundred and twenty-nine million lunches to the needy school children of the Nation.

The Works Progress Administration, under the direction of Harry Hopkins, has enriched every State; it has benefited every county; it has improved every city; it has blessed millions who, through no fault of their own, were poverty-stricken and distressed.

Regardless of slanders that may be written about Mr. Hopkins with poisoned pens, and false charges that may be made against him by venomous tongues—in spite of all the abuse that may be heaped upon him by those who burn their incense upon the altar of hate and worship at the shrine of revenge—millions of deserving Americans will, to the end of their days, say to this great man: "We were jobless and you employed us; we were homeless and you sheltered us; we were naked and you clothed us; we were hungry and you fed us. But for your service we should have been sent to the poorhouse to live in desolation and die in despair."

But at least one critic inquires: "How do we know that Mr. Hopkins is qualified to discharge the duties of the Secretary of Commerce?" In view of Mr. Hopkins' resplendent record of achievements, the response to this inquiry is as self-

evident as the answer to the question: "Can a woman talk, or a bird fly, or a fish swim?"

Anyone who can provide useful employment for more than 6,000,000 working men and women for whom the captains of private industry find it impossible to supply jobs can, in a satisfactory manner, perform the duties of any office under the Constitution or laws of the United States.

There is scarcely a community in the land in which some perfectly constructed road or street or schoolhouse or library or other public facility does not testify to the fact that Harry Hopkins is one of the most capable executives this country has ever known.

But two criticisms have been voiced in the Senate concerning Mr. Hopkins or the Works Progress Administration under his control, which must be answered. The first of these was pronounced by the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. Reed]. After quoting from the report of the Sheppard committee concerning the solicitation of Works Progress Administration employees in a certain State to contribute to a campaign fund, about which Mr. Hopkins knew absolutely nothing, the Senator from Kansas said:

Mr. President, I have been in public life a long time \* \* \*. But, in all my experience and in all my reading of the history of this country, never have I found an instance or instances where political practices were so sordid, where all considerations of fairness and decency were so disregarded as in the cases reported by this committee.

I do not charge Mr. Hopkins with ordering these things; I do not even charge that he was cognizant of all these things. I do charge, however, that these things have produced a condition that represents the lowest level of political management this Nation has ever known.

My brief acquaintance with the junior Senator from Kansas impels me to believe that he would not intentionally distort a truth or misrepresent a fact. Therefore I am forced to the conclusion that the Senator was a stranger to Washington during the time that Harry Daugherty, Jess Smith, and Gaston B. Means so administered the affairs of the Attorney General's office that Daugherty was indicted and tried again and again for his alleged high crimes and misdemeanors. And in spite of the failure of the jury to convict him, those who were here during the Daugherty regime are almost unanimously of the opinion that he should have been found guilty.

Apparently the Senator is not familiar with the fact that Albert B. Fall—Mr. Harding's Secretary of the Interior—for a bribe of a hundred thousand dollars helped to defraud the Government of its naval oil reserves, and for his crime was sent to the penitentiary.

Somebody has torn from the Senator's history the sordid chapter which records the fact that Thomas W. Miller, Alien Property Custodian under both Mr. Harding and Mr. Coolidge, was convicted of a high crime which he committed in office and was sent to the penitentiary.

The Senator's history must have failed to reveal the fact that a Republican Congressman from Kentucky, whose name was on Mr. Harding's ticket, was, while in office, convicted of a felony and sent to the penitentiary.

The Senator has forgotten that within the last 15 years the Republican Governor of Illinois was required by the supreme court of his State to account for a million dollars of misappropriated funds.

The Senator has forgotten that the Republican Governor of Indiana, who was elected on Mr. Harding's ticket, was convicted of a felony and sent to the penitentiary, and that Charles R. Forbes, the Director of the Veterans' Bureau under both Mr. Harding and Mr. Coolidge, was sent to the penitentiary for frauds perpetrated against the Government and the veterans of the World War.

In the light of this record of unprecedented criminal conduct on the part of Republican Cabinet officers, Republican Governors, and other high Republican officials, and in view of the fact that no one has been able to show that Harry Hopkins has ever committed a single offense or condoned a single violation of the law, let us hope that the junior Senator from Kansas will change his mind and vote for the confirmation of the nominee.

The only other serious criticism of Mr. Hopkins, which to my knowledge has emanated from a responsible source, is that of the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Bridges], who, when Democratic personages or policies are under consideration, is like the hero of the following story:

"At the beginning of the World War the owner of a store said in an advertisement, 'I hate Germany; I hate Austria; I hate Turkey. I am a hundred percent patriotic.'

"This merchant's competitor on the opposite side of the street, not to be outdone by his rival in the matter of patriotism, promptly issued an advertisement, in which he said, 'I hate not only Germany and Austria and Turkey; I hate everybody. I am 1,000 percent patriotic.'" [Laughter.]

So is my friend from New Hampshire—if it be patriotic to dislike Democrats in their official capacities.

The Senator from New Hampshire says:

Looking into Mr. Hopkins' background, according to the testimony before the committee, he fails to remember whether or not he was a Socialist, enrolled as a member of the Socialist Party.

A lapse of memory about an important matter like this is, of course, deplorable. But even if we admit that this grave charge is true, the friends of Mr. Hopkins will still find comfort in the fact that the nominee's memory is at least as good as that of the junior Senator from Kansas and much better than that of Herbert Hoover, who was once the Secretary of Commerce.

According to the record, in 1928 Mr. Hoover could not remember who had performed his marriage ceremony, how many political parties he had joined in a decade, or the name of the country of which he had been a resident for a period of 14 years. Indeed, his recollection and knowledge of his political affiliations were so utterly hopeless that in the State of Michigan in 1920 he became a candidate for the Presidential nomination as both a Republican and a Democrat at the same time.

In view of all which the Senator from New Hampshire, who would probably not admit that any prominent Republican could be guilty of any offense of omission or commission, or suffer from any infirmity touching his politics, should generously forgive Mr. Hopkins for having forgotten the exact nature of his registration on two occasions and join the majority in voting for the confirmation of the nominee.

Mr. President, the attacks that have been made upon Mr. Hopkins are about what every page of history—ancient, medieval, and modern—teaches us a good man of great accomplishment should expect.

Socrates, of whom Plato said: "He was the wisest, the justest, and the best of all the men whom I have ever known," was, for endeavoring to improve the morals and multiply the virtues of the materialistic Athenians, compelled to drink enough hemlock to put himself to sleep till the Judgment Day.

Columbus, as a reward for discovering the Western Hemisphere and giving to Spain a new world that was greater than the old, was bound with chains, cast into a dungeon, and permitted to die in want.

Abraham Lincoln, to whom the Nation will forever owe a debt of gratitude for his heroic service in abolishing slavery and preserving the Union, was when at the pinnacle of his usefulness and success murdered in cold blood.

Jesus of Nazareth brought redemption to all the world and salvation to all mankind. In return for His service and His sacrifice He was scourged by scoundrels; a crown of thorns was pressed down upon His brow; He was crucified between thieves and died in such horrible agony that the mere thought of His awful anguish will curdle the blood of the righteous till the end of time.

Therefore, in spite of the humiliation of being a target for unjustifiable abuse, Harry Hopkins should find comfort in the fact that his enemies in slandering him and persecuting him are placing him in company with the greatest immortals the world has ever known.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. NEELY. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. Does the Senator mean to imply to this body, in bringing up Christopher Columbus and Abraham

Lincoln and Christ, that he would put Harry Hopkins in the same category; in the same class?

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, no one but the Senator from New Hampshire would ask that question. The Senator knows that no one who venerates everything that is holy would, in the matter of merit, be guilty of the unpardonable sacrilege of comparing any human being with the sinless Saviour. I referred to His crucifixion simply as an outstanding illustration of the world's ingratitude to a benefactor.

So far as Columbus and Lincoln are concerned, I do neither of them an injustice, nor do I pay the nominee an extravagant compliment when I assert that he has earned a place in the hall of fame with the great Italian discoverer and the great American emancipator.

Columbus gave his all to the world. Lincoln sublimely served the cause of freedom. Harry Hopkins has served the cause of humanity with a zeal comparable to that with which Paul of Tarsus preached the gospel to the gentiles, Father Damien nursed the lepers, and St. Francis of Assisi devoted his life to the service of the poor.

How appropriate it would be for the Senator from New Hampshire and a few other critics of the nominee to emulate a certain classical example and, in the presence of Harry Hopkins, remain as speechless and silent as Dante when he—

O'ershadowed by the wings of awe, Stood with Beatrice beneath the flaming lion's breast, And saw the seventh crystal And the stair of gold.

Senators, let us honor ourselves and our country today by confirming Harry Hopkins' nomination as Secretary of Commerce by an overwhelming majority. This is the kind of confirmation he deserves. Because as a result of his unparalleled achievements in behalf of the unemployed, if he should, at this hour, be unexpectedly and unfortunately summoned to that mysterious country from which no traveler returns, the last resting place of his ashes would become a pilgrim's shrine, and millions of the grateful poor, whom he has blessed, would raise to his memory a marble shaft as high as Washington's Monument and on it they would lovingly inscribe these words:

Nor wreek, nor change, nor winter's blight, Nor Time's remorseless doom, Shall dim one ray of glory's light That glids his sacred tomb.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I have listened with a great deal of interest for the past few moments to what has been said by my very good friend the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Neely].

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Lewis in the chair). The Chair asks the indulgence of the Senator from North Carolina so that the Chair may make a request of those occupying the galleries.

The Chair will say to those who now occupy the Senate galleries that it is necessary that they preserve quiet, because when they indulge in conversation their voices come down into the Senate Chamber, and Members of the Senate find it impossible to hear their fellow Members who are addressing the body.

The Chair also respectfully requests that Senators maintain as much quiet as they consistently can.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Presiding Officer.

As I was about to say, I listened with a great deal of interest for the past few moments—that is to say, since I reentered the Senate Chamber—to all that was said by my personal friend and colleague the Senator from West Virginia, whom I admire, and I want to state unhesitatingly that I am in thorough accord with all that I heard him say here; and knowing him as I do know him, and as I have pleasantly known him during the years that I have been in the United States Senate, I am perfectly willing, in addition, to state unhesitatingly that I am in accord with all that he said prior to my entering this Chamber. [Laughter.] That shows how much confidence I have in Matthew Neely.

The Senator from West Virginia was talking about Harry Hopkins, who has been nominated by our beloved President to be a member of his Cabinet, as Secretary of Commerce. I have this to say, Mr. President, that I think the President of the United States has a perfect right to surround himself by advisers in whom he has confidence, to surround himself by men whom he sees fit to select.

Mr. BRIDGES. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I shall be delighted to yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair must respectfully say to Senators that they should address the Chair before taking part in debate in the Senate.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President-

Mr. REYNOLDS. If the Senator will pardon me a moment. Mr. President, it is my understanding that I shall have only 30 minutes at this time in which to address the Senate. Am I correct in that understanding?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Then I shall have to ask my good friend the Senator from New Hampshire to bear with me for just a moment, and I shall be glad to yield to him at the expiration of my address. [Laughter.]

Mr. President, I recognize that I shall be wasting the time of the Senate by addressing myself to the subject of the confirmation of Mr. Hopkins' nomination, for we all know that his nomination is going to be confirmed. We all know that there will be in the Senate only about 23 votes cast against him. So why should I presume to impose upon the time of the Senate or those honoring us with their presence here today, and who fill the galleries, by talking to the subject of the confirmation of Mr. Hopkins' nomination, when we know that his nomination is going to be confirmed?

Before proceeding to that which is closest to my heart, I wish to take this opportunity to state to the Members of this body that it will be my very great pleasure to cast a vote for

Mr. Hopkins.

Mr. President, I wish now to bring to the attention of this honorable body a subject that should be of more interest to it at this time than the question of the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Hopkins. The subject which I am about to approach is one that should appeal to every legislator in the Congress of the United States, because it has to do with the ten to twelve million people who today are out of employment in the United States of America.

Mr. President, only a few days ago it was my privilege and opportunity to address this honorable body in relation to the influx of refugees, in regard to the influx of aliens from all parts of the world who are coming here daily for the purpose of and who are usurping jobs, positions, that rightfully belong to the millions of people in America who are out of jobs, jobs that rightfully belong to the God-fearing men and women who today are and who tonight will be walking the streets of America in search of honest employment. I am happy to have made the delightful observation during the present session that there are more Members of this body now interested in that subject than there were to be found interested in it at the last session of the Seventyfifth Congress.

Mr. President, in my last address to this body, in reference to this important subject, I brought to the attention of the Members of the Senate a clipping from one of the New York newspapers describing examinations which were being taken by 500 lawyers, doctors, dentists, and nurses; refugees, aliens from across the seas, who wanted to practice their respective professions in the United States. The Members of this body who did me the honor to listen were appalled when they learned from that article that some of the doctors from Germany, Italy, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Hungary, who sought to practice their profession here, found that they could not pass the examination required by the board of control of the city of New York, and those Senators who listened to my address were appalled to learn that some of those aliens who have come here to practice their profession had the audacity, the gall, to say that they would not abide by any ruling of the board of control of the State of New York, that they would not abide by the requirements relative to examination, and if they were not permitted to practice by comity, they would take the question to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, will the Senator

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I should like to make an inquiry of the Senator who has spoken many times upon the question of immigration and aliens. How can the Senator blame people who live in other countries for their desire to come to the United States when we have in the United States two cities of the beauty and with the climate of the little gem city of the mountains, Asheville, N. C., and the city of Seattle out in my State of Washington? I should like to have the Senator from North Carolina explain to me how it is that he always finds it so difficult to appreciate why people want to come to this country, because he knows as well as does everyone else, that these two places in this country, Asheville, N. C., and Seattle, Wash., act as magnets which attract to the United States the people of other countries.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I take this opportunity, this exceptional opportunity, to thank my distinguished friend from the great State of Washington for his contribution at this time. I appreciate what my friend has said about the little gem city of the mountains, Asheville, N. C., my home city, the most beautiful city on the face of the earth, and one of the most beautiful spots in North Carolina. The Senator is a representative of that State which has provided for the inspiration of the world the city of Seattle, the gateway to the great Northwest, the gem city of the western frontier. In order that he may be provided with information as to the amount of respect that the people of North Carolina have for his Commonwealth, in order that he may know that the people of his city of Seattle have provided inspiration for the people of North Carolina, I shall now take time to read an editorial from one of the daily newspapers of North Carolina, published at Wilmington, N. C., by my distinguished friend, the Honorable R. B. Page, in which he calls the attention of the people of North Carolina to the city of Seattle.

> [From the Wilmington Star of January 13, 1939] SEATTLE AS A PORT

An excerpt from a report by the War Department, dealing with the port of Seattle is of interest here in that it shows what Seattle has done in its climb to supremacy in the Pacific trade: "Facilities for handling traffic include 166 piers and wharves, 16 of which are operated as oil bunkering and 2 as coal bunkering

facilities. Excellent dry and cold-storage warehouses are available and space is provided for the storage of bulk freight in the open. The port has drydock facilities which can accommodate vessels up to 927 feet in length and marine railways with lifting capacities up to 700 tons. Twenty-nine plants have facilities for repairing either engines or hulls of vessels. There are six grain elevators at the port, four of which are operated as public elevators. Towboats, lighters, derrick barges, tank barges, and car floats provide sufficient floating equipment for transporting freight within the port area, and equipment is available for use in wrecking and salvage work. ment is available for use in wrecking and salvage work.

ment is available for use in wrecking and salvage work.

"The port of Seattle district, which is coextensive with King County, is a separate municipal corporation which was established in 1911 and is under the jurisdiction of the Port of Seattle Commission. This commission has been active in promoting the interests of port, and many of the facilities for handling traffic are owned and operated by it, including eight public terminals in the outer harbor and one in the inner harbor, the public grain elevator at the Hanford Street terminal, and dry and cold-storage facilities at Spokane Street terminal, Bell Street terminal, and at pier No. 40, Smith Cove. The facilities owned and operated by the port commission are among the most modern and best-equipped terminals at the port and handle a great deal of traffic.

port and handle a great deal of traffic.

"During the period of 1927-36 the water-borne commerce of Seattle averaged 7,860,679 short tons annually. Imports, with an average movement of 370,855 tons, consisted chiefly of logs coal and coke, paper and manufactures, and cement and gypsum, while exports averaged 527,911 tons and consisted principally of grain and flour, lumber and lumber products, canned and dried fruits and vegetables, and logs and poles. Coastwise receipts moved in an average volume of 3,865,202 tons, the principal commodities in this trade being petroleum and petroleum products, logs and poles, sand and gravel, and fish and marine products. Coastwise shipments average 1,425,776 tons and were mainly shipments of lumber, logs and piles, grain, flour and feed, petroleum and its products, fish and marine products, and fruit and vegetables. Intraport and local traffic averaged 1,670,935 tons per year. During the calendar year 1937 the total water-borne commerce at Seattle amounted to

7,642,900 short tons.

It will be noted from this excerpt that here is a municipal corporation, largely instrumental in transforming Seattle from a fronporation, largely instrumental in transforming occurrent tier village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest tier village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village into a modern metropolis and one of the world's greatest village in the world's greatest village in the world will be a modern metropolis and one of th seaports. Wilmington was a port of entry when Seattle was a wilderness, but on the west coast the folks have a way of getting together and accomplishing things that might appeal to Wil-

Mr. President, I attribute much of the development of the great city of Seattle to my colleagues in the United States Senate; to the fact that once upon a time, not so many years ago, the able Senator who at this moment presides over the Senate resided in the State of Washington, and the people of the great Commonwealth of Washington exercised the splendid judgment of sending him to the Capital of their country as their Representative in the Halls of Congress. At the same time I shall not let pass the opportunity to congratulate the people of the State of Illinois for sending him from the great Commonwealth to the Senate of the United States. I refer, my colleagues, to your friend, to my friend, and the friend of the American people, the Honorable James Hamilton Lewis, beloved by all who live within the confines of the greatest nation upon the face of the earth.

I attribute the phenomenal growth of Seattle likewise to the continued fine representation which the State of Washington has sent to the Halls of the American Congress. I speak particularly of my colleagues, Lewis B. Schwellen-BACH and HOMER T. BONE.

I believe I have evidenced my appreciation of the action of the Senator from Washington in calling attention to my beloved home, the little gem city of the mountains, one of the most beautiful cities of North Carolina, a city located within the confines of the greatest political subdivision in all the world, the State of North Carolina.

Mr. President, I wish to speak further today in regard to the all-important subject of restricting immigration and mandatory deportation of alien criminals and alien undesirables.

As will be recalled, a moment ago I spoke about the 500 professional men and women, doctors, lawyers, dentists, and nurses, who have come in from the four corners of the earth, aliens usurping the business of the millions of boys and girls, men and women, who today are walking the streets in search of honest employment. However, I have something else to bring to the attention of the Senate today, something in which Senators will be interested, something which I clipped from a newspaper several days ago. It pertains to the smuggling business in America.

I was dumbfounded when, on January 19, I observed the following in the columns of the Washington Herald, with a New York headline:

ARREST BARES SMUGGLING OF ALIEN HOSTS INTO UNITED STATES

ARREST BARES SMUGGLING OF ALIEN HOSTS INTO UNITED STATES

New York, January 18 (C. T. P. S.).—An international alien smuggling ring, geared to bring more than 10,000 aliens a year into the United States via the Canadian border and widely patronized by Jewish refugees, was disclosed today through the arraignment of its Canadian director in Brooklyn Federal court.

Arrested at Rouses Point, N. Y., Friday night and held incommunicado since then at Ellis Island, Spyros Cyrcos, 38, of Montreal, boasted to Assistant United States Attorney James G. Scileppi that he had conducted at least 25,000 aliens across the border within the last 2 years.

border within the last 2 years.

If that statement be true—and I have no doubt that it is—it reveals a shameful state of affairs in the United States of America. It is shameful that we should permit thousands upon thousands of aliens annually to enter the United States illegally, and to remain here in violation of our law, particularly in view of the fact that we have millions upon millions of boys and girls, men and women, in this country, for whom we have been endeavoring to find employment for the past 5 years. As yet, we have been unsuccessful in having industry absorb those millions upon millions of boys and girls, men and women.

I am happy indeed to learn that our legislators in Washington are now more deeply interested than ever before in

this momentous question. In reference to retaining the barriers in the form of regulations, in order that those who desire to come to America may not become public charges, I wish to bring to the attention of the Senate the fact that a number of years ago a ruling was made to the effect that no alien should be provided a visa and be permitted to come to this country unless our consular agents were convinced that he would not become a public charge, unless the consular agents were convinced that if the alien were permitted to come to American shores he would not at a later date of necessity be supported by the American taxpayers.

In that connection I wish to say that those regulations were carried out to the satisfaction of those who sought admission to our gates until 2 years ago when the refugees of the world attempted to crash our gates. I mentioned some instances a moment ago when refugees who are members of professions from across the seas said they would not abide by the rules and regulations of the New York licensing board, but that they would take the cases up to the Supreme Court

of the United States.

I now bring to the attention of the Senate the fact that we are at this hour faced with the situation of aliens in various countries of the world exerting pressure on our State Department to instruct American consuls that they should be more liberal in reviewing the applications of the thousands upon thousands of aliens who would bring about the admission of themselves into this country for the purpose of competing with American labor.

Mr. President, when last fall, in November and December, I was in central, eastern, and continental Europe I made it a point to visit our Embassies, Legations, and consulates; I made it a point to talk to the American representatives; I made it a point to go into those quarters of our consulates and Embassies where aliens who were making applications for visas and admission to the United States necessarily had to go. I was permitted an opportunity of making observation of the character of the people who were demanding entrance to the United States. I learned on that trip last fall that the State Department of the United States had attempted to put a different interpretation than that which had formerly been put upon the law. As a result thereof, in order to deal with the situation as I should like to do in behalf of the from ten to twelve million God-fearing, unfortunate men and women in this country who are out of employment, I directed a communication to the State Department and requested them to provide me with the information which I sought in reference to certain instructions which had been issued to our consular agents abroad. As the result, at this hour I call the attention of the Senate to what I am about to read, because I wanted from them an

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, January 19, 1939.

My Dear Senator Reynolds: I have received your letter of January 16, 1939, requesting a copy of the instruction dated January 5, 1937, sent to all diplomatic and consular officers discussing the public charge excluding provision of section 3 of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917.

While the Department does not distribute its instructions to the

general public, I am glad to comply with your request and take pleasure in sending to you herewith a copy of the instruction under reference.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. MESSERSMITH, Assistant Secretary.

Mr. President, please listen to this "visa instruction," dated January 5, 1937. That is when the rush began on the part of the aliens of the world to enter the United States of America.

VISA INSTRUCTION

Consular administration of the public charge and other provisions of the immigration laws.

It is addressed:

To American diplomatic and consular officers:

Sirs: There have been an increasing number of complaints re-ceived by the Department and some recent public criticism that the visa work of the consuls is not being carried on in a fair and impartial manner.

Who is making the complaints? The complaints are being made by the hundreds of thousands of aliens who are practically demanding admission to the United States of America. Ten years prior to the date of the instructions we never had any complaint from aliens about the way we administered our laws and in carrying out the immigration regulations of the United States of America, but these complaints come only when the rush begins to enter the United States so that more Americans may be thrown out of work.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a

question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am glad to yield to my friend from Washington.

Mr. BONE. Has the Senator from North Carolina any figures available indicating the number of aliens who have entered the United States illegally in recent years?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I can only answer that by providing the Senator with an estimate of my personal opinion as to the number of aliens who are in the United States today illegally and who have remained here illegally over a term of years. In providing that answer I wish to say that, in my opinion, there are today in the United States of America between 5,000,000 and 7,000,000 aliens who entered here illegally or who have remained within the confines of the United States illegally. No Member of this body, no man in the United States, can properly prove that I am wrong, because I cannot prove that I am right.
[Laughter.] To explain that remark, so that I may not be misunderstood, I say now I cannot prove that those who disagree with my assertion that there are from 5,000,000 to 7,000,000 aliens in the United States today illegally and who maintain that there are only two, three, or four million aliens illegally in the United States are wrong, and they cannot prove that I am wrong. Why? Because, I am ashamed to state, ours is the only nation in the world not possessed or provided with an alien registration act. Until the Congress shall pass a bill which I have introduced calling for the registration and fingerprinting of aliens, we will never know how many aliens there are in America.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President— Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield now to my distinguished colleague from the Lone Star State of Texas.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I am very much interested in the discussion of the Senator from North Carolina. Let me ask him if there are so many aliens here—and I do not dispute it-why do not the authorities deport them? If they are here illegally, why do not the Government agencies which are charged with the duty of sending them back to wherever they came from take action?

Mr. REYNOLDS. That is what I have been trying to find out for the past 5 years. Mr. President, upon the floor of the Senate I have fought for days and days and hours and hours when an effort was made to pass a bill which, in my opinion, would let down the floodgates of immigration. The Senator from Illinois [Mr. Lewis], who at the moment presides so ably and in such a distinguished manner over the Senate, will recall that at the last session we discussed upon the floor of the Senate more than 2.300 cases known as hardship cases. and I could not understand, for the life of me, why the aliens in those cases were not deported and why even now they are being held here from day to day and week to week and month to month and year to year.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair regrets that he has to tell the able Senator from North Carolina that his time has about expired, as he has only a half minute

Mr. REYNOLDS. Then, Mr. President, I should like to ask unanimous consent to be permitted to finish the reading of the document I had started to read, if there is no objec-

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A unanimous-consent request can be made by the Senator and the Senate can act upon it. The Senator from North Carolina tenders a request that he have unanimous consent to conclude the reading of the document to which he refers. Is there objection? Chair hears none.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Chair and the Senate for

their courtesy.

Now, Mr. President, I am going to read without comment, for I know how vitally interested my colleagues are in this subject; I know that they all, on this side as well as on the other side, are interested in providing work for Americans and in keeping out of this country those who would usurp American jobs. So, in view of the courtesy extended to me and the fine consideration I find here always, I shall read without comment.

Sies: There have been an increasing number of complaints received by the Department and some recent public criticism that the visa work of the consuls is not being carried on in a fair and impartial manner, particularly that the public-charge provisions are not being properly administered and that the consuls are acting under the mistaken idea that they are responsible for keeping the issuance of visas to a minimum.

The immigration policy as expressed by Congress in the Immigration Act of 1924 permits the issuance of immigration visas, within the limits of the quotas, to aliens reasonably able to meet the

the limits of the quotas, to aliens reasonably able to meet the requirements of the law.

The officers' responsibility is to reach a correct decision in each case, based upon a fair evaluation of the evidence, viewed with practical common sense, in order that the decisions reached shall not be subject to just criticism. As administrative officers, the consuls are charged with the duty of developing the essential facts, favorable as well as unfavorable to the alien, and of applying to the facts the correct standard of the law. To do their work properly, they should maintain at all times an impartial, detached. perly, they should maintain at all times an impartial, detached,

judicial attitude.

The applicant should be courteously received and given helpful The applicant should be courteously received and given helpful advice and proper assistance in presenting the facts in his case. Care should be taken to avoid cause for the complaint which has been made in specific cases that persons applying for visas have been discourteously received by members of the consular staff; that they have not been permitted to present their documents or discuss their cases; that after complying with certain requirements they have been met with demands for additional documents of which they could have been advised in the first instance; and that they have been put to needless inconvenience and expense in obtaining unnecessary documentary evidence. Consular letters have failed to refer to and discuss important evidence, giving the impression that such evidence has been ignored in reaching the decision, and that the decision has not been taken upon the basis of all the evidence presented. all the evidence presented.

all the evidence presented.

It is important for a consular officer to understand that the public-charge provisions of the law exclude persons "likely" to become a public charge; that is, persons in whose cases facts exist making it "probable" that they will become public charges. The law does not exclude persons who may "possibly" become public charges. Section 23 of the act of 1924, in placing the burden of proof upon an alien to show that he is not subject to exclusion, only requires him to bring forward evidence from which it may reasonably be concluded that he is not "likely" to become a public charge. He is not required to show a guaranty of support to obviate a "possibility" that he may become a public charge. An understanding of this distinction is of the greatest importance to the correct administration of the public-charge clause. Unless each case is decided upon the basis of the "probabilities," improper administration results, and applicants reasonably able to qualify under the law are unjustly refused visas to which they are entitled. Such action affords ground for just criticism of the officers and the Department. and the Department.

Visa refusals of persons whose assurance of support is furnished by distant relatives in the United States have caused considerable adverse comment because consular officers have considered that the adverse comment because consular officers have considered that the expression of willingness by a person to support a less near relative is insufficient to establish that he is not likely to become a public charge unless a case is made out by a showing of past material contribution to his support or the existence of very unusual circumstances. Letters have contained statements to the effect that visas have been refused because the relationship between the persons is not sufficiently close to imply the existence of a legal or moral obligation on the part of the affiant toward the applicant. The mere fact that a person promising support is not closely related to the applicant, or that he is not under a legal or moral obligation toward him is not sufficient to warrant the rejection of the evidence of support as inadequate. The relative, in furnishing the evidence of support as inadequate. The relative, in furnishing the evidence, has in effect said that in spite of the absence of any direct obligation on his part to support his less near relative, he nevertheless desires voluntarily to undertake such an obligation, and if he offers reasonable explanation of his desire to do so and is

financially able, the evidence is to be accepted.

The conditions in certain parts of the world have led relatives in the United States to feel keenly the difficult lot of their kin abroad and have inspired them with anxiety for the well-being of their relatives and with a desire to provide for them. A statement by a financially responsible person in the United States that he is impelled by this motive to assist a relative, even though he may not

LXXXIV-

previously have seen him or have had occasion previously to contribute to his support, in the absence of adequate reason for doubting its sincerity, may well be sufficient to establish by a preponderance of the evidence that it is not "likely" that the alien will become a public charge. To reject such evidence as insufficient upon a hypothesis as, for instance, that disagreement might arise between the alien and his relative, or that the relative while inclined to assist the applicant for an initial period may not continue the support, would be to base the decision upon the "possibilities" in the case rather than upon the "probabilities" and would constitute a failure to give the evidence due weight.

The consul should look behind the formal evidence to seek the essential facts. He may, to the extent deemed necessary, properly ask to have the facts established by appropriate evidence, a statement of plans made for the alien, and the reasons for assuming the alien's support.

alien's support.

You are requested to bring this instruction to the immediate attention of all the officers at your office engaged in visa work and to direct them to follow the principles set forth herein to insure that the immigration laws shall be fairly and reasonably administered at your office in a manner to avoid just cause for complaint. At the same time the Department desires to impress upon the principal officers that they are primarily responsible for the proper performance of the visa work at their respective offices and that they should recognize its importance and closely supervise it. Very truly yours,

For the Acting Secretary of State.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. President, I regret that I find it necessary to consume any of the time of the Senate. I know that it is presumptuous on my part, as a new Member, to participate in this debate; but some of the charges which have been made have been so broad and general in character and scope as to apply either directly or indirectly to the great State which I have the honor in part to represent in this body.

Mr. President, I desire to say to you that the W. P. A., so far as its being a political issue is concerned, never entered our senatorial campaign. I wish to say for my State that only 11 complaints were lodged with the Sheppard committee pertaining to the activities of W. P. A.; but, upon investigation, every one of the charges was dismissed. In one congressional district, however, in the State of New York, the issue was raised, and all of the charges that have been aired in this debate, common to the general political charges made against W. P. A. all over the Nation, were brought to the attention of the public, and finally to the attention of a Federal grand jury. These charges were presented to the official instrumentality of government created at the very beginning of the Republic to delve into matters of this character and to aid in the preservation of law and order. Charges against the N. Y. A., the Adult Education Agency, the sewing project, all were investigated and dismissed by the Federal grand jury.

Some Members of the Senate may desire to know something about the character of the grand jury and the character of the proceedings. Let me say to you, Mr. President, that the charges were made by an opposition candidate for Member of Congress. The grand jury was organized, and selected as its chairman an outstanding Republican leader in our section of the State. Every member of the grand jury save one, I am informed, was identified with the Republican Party. presiding judge himself over a long period of years antedating my entry into politics, over a quarter of a centry ago, was an outstanding leader of the Republican Party.

Every opportunity was given to every witness, and a thorough and searching examination was made by the jury of all the communications, instructions, orders and letters germane to the subject of the investigation. The grand jury made this presentment, which I shall read to you only in part.

Quoting the grand jury's presentment, I read:

We wish to report that the investigation conducted by us has been full, complete, and exhaustive.

Now, the only Democrat who participated in the investigation was the United States district attorney; and the grand jury make this comment with regard to his conduct:

The United States district attorney, at the very beginning of the proceeding, offered to subpena and produce any witnesses that we thought might be material, and thereafter, by subpena, did produce every such witness and many others.

And the grand jury goes on in its presentment as follows:

It has been charged that the W. P. A. workers were forced to contribute to the Democratic Party; that W. P. A. superintendents had distributed pledge cards among the workers; that certain W. P. A. employees were "singled out for special attention after they had refused to contribute"; that certain employees "who, after pledging only \$1 or \$2, were directed to report at Democratic headquarters." \* \* \* headquarters.

Witnesses were produced by J. Francis Harter, who testified in regard to alleged irregularities involving the adult-education pro-

gram, a W. P. A.-sponsored project.

After a thorough investigation \* \* \* of the charges affecting the adult education program, we have determined-

Said the grand jury-

that they are unworthy of attention.

Certain other witnesses testified in regard to irregularities in connection with the sewing project, so-called.

After investigation by the grand jury, it was determined that the charges affecting the sewing project were not substantiated.

Then the grand jury goes on as follows:

It has been testified to, in the course of our deliberations, that on the 5th day of May 1938, Harry L. Hopkins, Administrator of the Works Progress Administration, addressed a communication to all project workers, foremen, supervisors, and the administrative staff of the W. P. A. Among other things, he wrote:

And I quote from the letter:

Moreover, no W. P. A. worker is required-

Said Hopkins-

to contribute to any political party or any campaign fund, in order to hold his job

And Harry Hopkins said further in that communication, which, I understand, was directed to every W. P. A. administrator in this country:

No supervisor or administrative person may attempt to influence the vote of any worker or solicit contributions to campaign funds from the people who work under him. Anyone who uses his position with the W. P. A. in any way to influence the votes of others by threat or intimidation will be dismissed. No one will lose his W. P. A. job because of his vote \* \* \*

And everybody knows that Harry Hopkins said that-

or his failure to contribute to any campaign fund. This has always been an absolute rule of the W. P. A.

That is the end of the quotation from the letter addressed to W. P. A. directors by Harry L. Hopkins, and in part contained in this presentment of the Federal grand jury.

The grand jury then goes on to state:

The letter was placed in the pay envelope of all the men and workers on W. P. A. It was a letter even stupid people could understand. It was a letter superintendents, skilled workers, and laborers could understand. It was a letter written to protect the skilled workers and laborers.

Those letters, I understand, were sent out broadcast throughout the United States, wherever a W. P. A. project was in course of construction.

Then this grand jury, Senators, made up, with but one exception, of affiliates of the Republican Party, investigating thoroughly, completely, and exhaustively the activities of Harry L. Hopkins and the political charges made by a Republican candidate, summed up their presentment with this

We have commended Harry L. Hopkins, Lester W. Herzog-

The State directorand Guy W. Rice-

The regional director. And they go on to say:

Obviously, as Mr. Hopkins has said, "Only by continuing to do a good job for the public can we expect continued public approval." Part of the good job is a nonpartisan administration of the W. P. A. We recommend an increased devotion to such nonpartisan admin-

Mr. President, I shall vote to confirm the nomination of Harry Hopkins because, by and large, in a new field, pioneering a new endeavor, he did a fine job. I am not impressed with the charges which have been presented here this afternoon, and I wish to sum them up by saying they were political.

I shall vote for the confirmation of Harry Hopkins' nomination because this body had an opportunity by its own action to write its own rule, and it failed at the time to do so, and contents itself at this time with finding fault with a man who adhered to every rule we laid down for his conduct, and even went further than that, and, in my judgment, enforced a nonpartisan rule to which few can take exception.

I think Harry Hopkins did a fine job; and the vote he will receive this afternoon will, in my judgment, evidence the high regard in which he is held by this body and by the country.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, during the course of my remarks last Thursday, and in response to questions of the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY]. I stated that I differed with the findings of the Senate Committee on Campaign Expenses on one point. I have been making a consistent study of this problem for 4 years. I have great respect for the committee, and I am satisfied that when it continues this investigation, it will find the facts as they have presented themselves to me.

I believe that Mr. Hopkins has had full opportunity to acquaint himself with the administrative problems of work relief in Pennsylvania, and that he knows full well what they are. I do not believe he could justifiably claim to be ignorant of them. I say now, as I said last Thursday, that I should not care to indict his intelligence in that way.

I have had considerable correspondence with Mr. Hopkins, which shows that for a long period of time I have been calling his attention to voter coercion and the mismanagement of public funds in Pennsylvania. I have consistently sought cooperation from him in trying to remedy these conditions. Just as consistently, he refused to give me the help I had a right to expect.

For the information of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] and others who may be interested, I ask to have printed in the RECORD the following correspondence: My letter to Mr. Hopkins of March 19, 1936; my statement to the Senate Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate on April 2, 1936; my letter to Mr. Hopkins of September 30, 1936; my letter to Senator Augustine Lonergan of September 30, 1936; my letter to Mr. Hopkins of December 29, 1936; letter of Mr. Hopkins to me of January 18, 1937; my letter to Mr. Hopkins of January 19, 1937; my letter to Mr. Hopkins of May 26, 1937; my letter to Mr. Hopkins of July 2, 1937; and letter of Mr. Hopkins to me of July 14, 1937.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARCH 19, 1936.

Mr. Harry Hopkins,
Administrator, the Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Hopkins: I have read your statement carried by the Associated Press in which you say: "No employee of the Works Progress Administration, either administrative or engaged on a project, is required to make any contribution to any political party. No Works Progress Administration employee's job will be in jeopardy because of the failure of said employee to make such contribution. No employee of the Works Progress Administration shall at any time solicit contributions for any political party, and evidence of such solicitation will be cause for immediate discharge. The guestion of whether or not to contribute to any political party.

evidence of such solicitation will be cause for immediate discharge. The question of whether or not to contribute to any political party is a matter entirely for the voluntary decision of said employee. No person shall be employed or discharged by the Works Progress Administration on the ground of his support or nonsupport of any candidate of any political organization."

I believe this to be a step in the right direction. However, it is only one of a number of decisive actions which, in my judgment, should be taken if relief is to be kept out of politics in the future. Unfortunately, conditions have been allowed to develop to such an extent and the difficulty of control of the national organization of the W. P. A. from Washington is so great that no mere statement of policy such as you have made, sincere and thoroughgoing as it doubtless is, can solve this problem.

My approach to this question has been governed very largely by

My approach to this question has been governed very largely by the definite statements made by those in authority that they desired relief kept out of politics. On April 28, 1935, President Roosevelt said: "The most effective means of preventing such evils in this work-relief program will be the eternal vigilance of the American people themselves. I call upon my fellow citizens everywhere to cooperate with me in making this most efficient and the cleanest example of public enterprise the world has ever seen.

It is time to provide a smashing answer for those cynics who say that a democracy cannot be honest and efficient. If you will help, this can be done. I therefore hope you will watch the work in every corner of this Nation. Feel free to criticize. Tell me of instances where work can be done better or where improper practices prevail. Neither you nor I want criticism in a purely fault-finding or partisan spirit, but I am jealous of the right of every citizen to call to the attention of his or her Government examples of how the public money can be more effectively spent for the of how the public money can be more effectively spent for the benefit of the American people." This statement, coupled with your own as quoted above, indicates a desire for honest, efficient administration which is to be admired.

However, statements of this sort are not sufficient to insure the deciral country.

However, statements of this sort are not sufficient to insure the desired results. Evidence of waste, partisan use of W. P. A. funds, and needless red tape is found on every hand. Without solicitation of any kind, letters have come to me from all over the country revealing a state of affairs which in many instances is positively vicious. I can cite example after example of wicked practice, such as is found in the case of a Republican W. P. A. supervisor with a wife and seven children dependent upon him, replaced by a Demonstruct with but two persons dependent upon him, for no reasons. crat with but two persons dependent upon him, for no reason other than partisan issues. These are not isolated cases. Situations of this kind prevail all over the country. You have doubtless read the account given by Mr. Johnson, formerly State supervisor of the W. P. A. in Pennsylvania, in the last issue of the Saturday Evening Post. Certainly conditions as reported by Mr. Johnson in the State of Pennsylvania cannot be corrected simply by dictating an office memo.

I have asked for a full and complete investigation of the Works Progress Administration for the following reasons:

1. Taxpayers are justified in asking a businesslike statement in detail of the various uses for which the billions of dollars already

appropriated are being spent.

2. No such detailed statement showing the names, number, or salaries of employees has been made available to the newspapers or public generally, although this is public business and should be treated as such.

3. Evidence already in hand points indisputably to the fact that relief money, in many instances, is being spent for partisan and political appointments contrary to the purpose for which work-relief appropriations were made. Without an investigation no person can estimate the extent of this evil. Those who administer

son can estimate the extent of this evil. Those who administer these funds have repeatedly declared that they desire to keep relief out of politics. They should welcome this investigation, for it will help them to accomplish the efficient administration of their task. Taxpayers have the right to know how their money is being spent, and the only way this can be determined is through an investigation.

4. Attempts on the part of the work-relief administrative authorities to investigate their own organization problems have not solved them and could not solve them. The extension of work-relief administrative authority is so vast, so much money and so many people are involved, that taxpayers are warranted in asking for a senatorial investigation, as in the case of all other matters pertaining to the public welfare. Charges of abuses will multiply until an impartial investigation is made. This would be particularly unfortunate during a national-election year.

pertaining to the public wenter. Charges of abuses will multiply until an impartial investigation is made. This would be particularly unfortunate during a national-election year.

5. There is no necessity to give undue publicity to the ordinary routine of work-relief administration. The names and salaries of workers in the lower brackets need not be made public. However, all information whatsoever pertaining to the administration of work-relief funds should be made available to a Senate investigating committee. Publicity should be given only through the ordinary channels in regular committee hearings.

6. The work-relief budget for the coming year, asking for an additional \$1,500,000,000, has just been placed before Congress. Taxpayers are justified in knowing how previous appropriations have been spent before authority is delegated to make new expenditures without congressional counsel or appropriate legislation. I favor work-relief appropriations. I have voted for them consistently. I favor additional appropriations. However, I believe the people of this country are justified in asking how much money has been spent in the past, how it has been spent, and how it may be spent in the future to the greatest advantage of the Nation. Information, acceptable to all concerned, can be obtained only through an impartial investigation under present circumstances. circumstance

The Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Depart-

The Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, to which my resolution was referred and of which I am a member, reported favorably on the resolution today. This committee, if authorized to make such an investigation, would be expected to report its findings to the Senate as soon as possible, together with its recommendations, if any, for necessary legislation. In view of your statement to the press, which points in the right direction, would it not be helpful to set up nonpartisan citizens' committees in every State, county, city, and governmental unit where W. P. A. workers are employed who would have power to pass on work-relief administrative appointments in order to assure that they are nonpartisan in character? Such committees could also serve as a clearing house for troubles and complaints assure that they are nonpartisan in character? Such committees could also serve as a clearing house for troubles and complaints which cannot secure satisfactory settlement through the ordinary channels of W. P. A. administrative authority. I believe that a plan such as this, coupled with other suggestions which I have in mind, would do much to make practical your expressed desire to keep relief out of politics.

Sincerely,

STATEMENT OF SENATOR JAMES J. DAVIS TO THE SENATE COMMITTEE TO AUDIT AND CONTROL THE CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE SENATE, APRIL 2, 1936

When I first asked for an investigation of the Works Progress Administration I had but one thought in mind. I desired to get the names and salaries of W. P. A. workers in the upper brackets, whose income was \$100 a month or above. These would be primarily those who were doing administrative work. In order to get this information which I had asked for and which had not been obtained, I suggested an appropriation of \$5,000.

I realized, of course, that other Senate investigations were costing all the way from \$50,000 to \$100,000. But when I asked for \$5,000 I had only in mind the expense which might attach to securing the list of names for which I had asked.

Since this first suggestion was made so many new developments have come to my attention that I now see that this investigation will cost far more than that. In the first place, the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments has asked that an investigation of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration be

vestigation of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration be added to the investigation of the Works Progress Administration. This was not my request, but I agreed to it.

This was not my request, but I agreed to it.

When word went out over the country that there was prospect of an investigation letters came to me from all over the country telling of conditions in the W. P. A. which, if thoroughly examined, would mean an investigation of the Works Progress Administration in every State in the Union. Such an investigation, if once begun, would have to be completed. It would cost all the way from \$100,000 to \$250,000. At least \$50,000 would be necessary with which to begin. I wish to say emphatically that I desire to have no part in an investigation which is abortive. If a thoroughgoing investigation is to be made, I want to be sure that it is actually what it purports to be. The purpose of such an investigation should not be either to smear anyone or to whitewash anyone, but actually to discover conditions as they are so that information may be made available for the proper regulation of work-relief activities in the future.

We were plunged into work-relief activities in a hurry. The

work-relief activities in the future.

We were plunged into work-relief activities in a hurry. The administrative set-up was formed to meet an emergency. We now see that what was said to be an emergency represents a condition which promises to be with us for some time. Work relief is now with us on more or less permanent basis. In view of these facts, we cannot afford to treat abuses as though they will disappear of their own accord in the near future. We do not know how long work relief will be necessary. We do know that at the present time more money is being spent in this way than in any other governmental agency. With the expenditure of so much money there comes an inevitable responsibility to safeguard the administration comes an inevitable responsibility to safeguard the administration of these funds no matter in whose hands they are entrusted.

If work relief lasts for years to come we cannot begin too soon

If work relief lasts for years to come we cannot begin too soon to examine ways and means to discover how the taxpayers who foot this bill can get the most for their money. Obviously, we have come to the time when work relief can no longer be continued on an emergency or experimental basis.

The Audit Committee will have to determine whether a thoroughgoing investigation is desired or something less searching. In the beginning I asked for \$5,000 in order that the names and salaries of administrative officers in the upper brackets, above \$100 a month, might be secured and an investigation begun in the State of Pennsylvania as was suggested by Senator Lewis, chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

I am prepared to proceed with a thoroughgoing investigation if it is authorized by the Senate, but again I wish to make clear my belief that such an investigation will cost upward of \$100,000 and I do not wish to begin an investigation and then later on be compelled to abandon it for lack of necessary funds. If a full and complete investigation of the W. P. A. and F. E. R. A. is to be made, I wish to be sure that it is conducted on a scale commensurate with its importance to American taxpayers. If only \$5,000 is to be appropriated, I should like to have distinctly understood that this amount will be used only for the limited purpose for which it was asked.

Mr. HARRY HOPKINS, Administrator, Works Progress Administration

My Dear Mr. Hopkins: Pennsylvania is afiame today with rumors and gossip regarding the waste and partisanship of relief administration. Regardless of the outcome of the election, such talk is exceedingly harmful to the thousands of defenseless men, women, and children who are dependent on Government aid. They have and children who are dependent on Government aid. They have been needlessly humiliated. They have been brought to the attention of the public in the worst possible way because of the secrecy in which the administration of funds for their aid has been maintained leading to charges of politics in relief. It is now currently charged that no man on a relief or work-relief roll dare vote against the present administration. It is charged that the W. P. A. has developed into the most gigantic political machine this country has ever known. It is charged that only 63 cents out of every work-relief dollar gets to the man on the work-relief job. The public does not know the truth of these matters, because by your refusal to cooperate with those who asked repeatedly for an impartial investigation of the W. P. A. you acted as though you were the work-relief czar and in effect said, "The public be damned."

Today I am writing Senator Augustine Lonergan, chairman of the Senate Committee on Campaign Expenses, urging that the com-mittee obtain from you a full list of the names, addresses, and salaries of all administrative officers, political appointees, and foremen on the W. P. A. in Pennsylvania.

on the W. P. A. in Pennsylvania.

I addressed a series of requests to you asking for information as to the administrative personnel of the W. P. A. in Pennsylvania. I made clear that I did not wish the names of those subsisting on relief in the lower brackets. To date I have not received the information requested, although a fractional part of one list came to my office. I was informed that the clerical labor involved in the compilation of the information for which I select occasioned the delay. pilation of the information for which I asked occasioned the delay.

Would it be possible for you to imagine yourself on a work-

relief roll?

Put yourself just for a moment in the place of a helpless victim of this depression. Once perhaps you were making \$5,000 a year and all seemed well and secure with you. Then came financial losses, unemployment, and dire distress for yourself and your family.

The only way to get bread under such circumstances for yourself

and dependents would be the prospect of a work-relief job, which would pay you as a white-collar worker \$93.50 a month. But under the ruling so long in effect under which millions of American citzens came upon home-relief rolls, you could apply for that job only after you had declared yourself destitute—in effect, a pauper—for this was for years the ruling of the Works Progress Administration. Administration.

pauper—for this was for years the ruling of the Works Progress Administration.

First, you would go on home relief rolls, and finally, in many instances, synthetic work would be arranged for you on a work relief roll. For months you would read in the newspapers that every person on relief is expected to vote for the New Deal. You would gradually be led to believe this to be the unwritten law of the administration. You would come to know that when you signed up on relief you had signed away your electoral rights in the eyes of the public, no matter how earnestly you might assure yourself silently to the contrary. In the eyes of your fellows you would be one of the many millions who had sold his vote to the New Deal for starvation wages.

Then you would see the red-white-and-blue signs stuck up on your job to let the public know that the Works Progress Administration is advertising itself. Your W. P. A. associates would furnish you with information as to how you might expect a promotion if you were willing to change your political registration. As the campaign came on you would be asked to wear campaign buttons, badges, and insignia put out by the Democratic National Committee. If you refused to wear this insignia or to subscribe to "We the People," someone might question your right to eat at public expense.

All the time you would be hating the relentless machine which gradually sought to undermine your character, deny your individuality and demand that you become another "tree man" for

gradually sought to undermine your character, deny your individuality, and demand that you become another "yes man" for the New Deal. This, Mr. Hopkins, is what the Works Progress Administration under your leadership means for thousands of men

and women in this country.

By your refusal to cooperate with those who wanted to take the stigma off of the Works Progress Administration you helped to build the public mind against the man on relief.

build the public mind against the man on relief.

Again I wish to request that you cooperate with those who are trying to take politics out of relief. I hope that you will give to the Senate Committee on Campaign Expenses the full list of names, addresses, and salaries of administrative officials, political appointees, and foremen in the State of Pennsylvania, so that the public may be informed, as it has a right to be, concerning the conduct of governmental business. Is it too much to ask that this information be made ready within 15 days, so that voters may have sufficient time to become acquainted with the facts?

If the charges made against the W. P. A. are false, it should bring you satisfaction to prove them so, for the reelection of the President now seems partially contingent on this issue. If the charges made are true, the repression of this information will work a lasting damage to the American people, for which they will have a right to hold you fully accountable under the law.

I hope that the public may have the facts within 15 days.

Sincerely.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1936.

Hon. Augustine Lonergan,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Lonergan: I wish to thank you for the opportunity
you gave me to appear before the Senate Committee on Campaign
Expenses in executive session. Your evident desire to uphold our
electoral laws and secure fair play for all heartens me. I wish you
and the committee every success in your work to maintain just and fair electoral conditions.

fair electoral conditions.

Perhaps you will understand how very much I dislike continually to be raising the question of relief in its political aspects. Conditions have forced these matters to my attention for many months and I have made every effort to have this issue taken out of the realm of gossip and rumor into the impartial light of a legally constituted committee. During the last session of Congress I asked repeatedly that a full and complete investigation of the W. P. A. should be made and the question of politics in relief be settled by a Senate committee so that it would not be kicked around as a political football in the campaign, as is now the case. My recent appearance before your committee was the first time that I have been permitted to present this problem to any committee having

authority to act upon it. I now hope that that constructive action will be taken immediately, as the public is entitled to all the facts

relating to this issue.

relating to this issue.

Those who administer the W. P. A. have consistently stated that there is no politics in relief. Mr. Hopkins time and again made this statement and to my knowledge has never retracted it. He was content to issue orders forbidding such action to be posted on W. P. A. bulletin boards and to prevent the public from learning the results of investigations of the W. P. A. made by his own subordinates. I wrote to Mr. Hopkins a number of letters, beginning in February, asking for a list of the names, addresses, and salaries of all political appointees, administrative heads, and foremen of the W. P. A. in Pennsylvania. His assistants replied to my letters but it was many weeks before I received a very small portion of the list for which I had asked. To date my request is still unanswered. The clerical labor involved in preparing the list was advanced as a reason for delay.

reason for delay.

In the face of the tremendous amount of rumor which is going

reason for delay.

In the face of the tremendous amount of rumor which is going the rounds regarding the political aspects of the W. P. A., it must appear obvious that the administration has now more to gain from a respectful hearing of the evidence in these matters than by a continuation of a policy of repression.

I voted for the various relief and work-relief measures and I expect to be asked to vote on kindred measures in the next session of Congress, irrespective of the outcome of the November election. Relief and work relief will be continued. Right-thinking men will insist that it be carried on in a nonpartisan way and that those who receive this aid will not be compelled to stultify themselves by abandoning their individual electoral rights.

I have been censured for voting for relief measures and giving aid to programs out of which has been developed a gigantic political machine now being used to throttle the electorate and to oppose all who differ with it. Today I realize that nothing will so surely deprive needy people of the relief to which they are justly entitled as the waste and partisanship which now attends its administration. I have hoped to stand for the rights of the victims of this depression during this administration, and in the next should there be a change. In event of a Republican victory at the polls this year, I wish to be free to continue to uphold the rights of the needy unemployed.

In the last analysis the only justification of voting appropriations for relief is the distress of defenseless men, women, and children. No one should starve in the midst of plenty. Those who seek to make political capital and create fat jobs for themselves out of human misery deserve to have the full light of publictly directed upon them. They cannot stand before the reproach of public opinion. I would not wish to believe that the President would be willing at this time to attempt to shield these for the sake of political advantage.

political advantage.

political advantage.

I suggest that you ask Mr. Hopkins to provide your committee with the names, addresses, and salaries of all administrative employees on the W. P. A. in Pennsylvania; all foremen, and all political appointees, particularly in western Pennsylvania and Allegheny County, so that this information may be made public. I am not asking for publicity to be given to the names and addresses of unfortunate men and women who in their distress have been driven upon relief rolls and who are now subsisting at an income level which Americans generally have been taught to regard as starvation wages. tion wages

Knowing that you are consistent within yourself and have a long and honorable record of public service and that you desire good government to prevail, I am making this request of you and your committee. I have tried to obtain this information from Mr. Hopkins, but without success. As a result, the issue has been thrown into the heat of a political campaign. I believe that Mr. Hopkins will recognize the right of your committee to subpena data from his office, if necessary, and that he will give you the cooperation he has refused me. In event that Mr. Hopkins withholds this information from the public, I suggest that you ask the President for it.

holds this information from the public, I suggest that you ask the President for it.

I need not inform you that the request which I have made to Mr. Hopkins is entirely in keeping with the traditional rights of taxpayers who call for reports on public business and the obligations which bind those who hold public office. The administrative work of the W. P. A. is public business and its personnel should be held just as strictly accountable to taxpayers as regularly elected officials. If this is not true, we must then conclude that the W. P. A. represents a usurpation of public authority entirely inconsistent with the American plan of government. What mayor of any American city could refuse to publish the names, addresses, and salarles of those on the public pay roll?

Rumor has it that there are more bosses, foremen, administrative officials on the W. P. A. in Allegheny County than are required to service any one of the largest industrial firms in the State of Pennsylvania. If this be true, taxpayers have a right to know the facts.

the facts.

I need not repeat what I said before your committee as to my lifelong position regarding political coercion. I can conceive of nothing more despicable than for any powerful organization, be it industry or government, to attempt to destroy the individual political rights of those on its pay rolls. During a long experience in Pennsylvania I have from time to time heard charges of voter coercion. I dare say that there is a measure of truth in these statements, although as a millworker I had no personal knowledge of such conditions. No one has ever attempted to deprive me of my electoral right. Observation of steel workers and coal miners leads me to believe that they are so independent in action that at-

tempts to force their vote would bring just the opposite action on their part. There were charges of voter coercion in 1932. A survey of industrial centers, South Pittsburgh, Farrell, and other districts populated with workers will show that these people voted as they pleased at that time. I believe they will vote as they think best

I enclose copies of two letters I have received, reserving the names of those who signed them for your committee, lest their public use bring undeserved trouble to those who have volunteered this startling information. The letters will give your committee but a slight idea of the charges which are now current regarding politics in work relief in the State of Pennsylvania.

Again, I wish to express my appreciation of the courtesy extended to me by your committee. It is my firm belief that if all who have had to do with the conduct of this great public responsibility had fulfilled this trust with an eye single to the welfare of the people as with you, there would not now be incessant demand for an investigation of these charges.

Most cordially yours,

DECEMBER 29, 1936.

Mr. Harry Hopkins, Administrator, Works Progress Administration,

Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Hopkins: Now that the campaign is over I am continuing my request initiated almost a year ago that the names, addresses, salaries, and positions of the entire administrative personnel of the W. P. A. throughout the country be made available to all authorized representatives of public opinion and taxpayers. As United States Senator from Pennsylvania I ask especially for this information regarding this State.

This request was made early last spring, but your office did not This request was made early last spring, but your office did not make the data available. I continued time and again to make this request long before the campaign got under way. Not heeding it, you made it a campaign issue, but publicly stated that my sole interest in the matter was political. The campaign is over, but I am still asking for this information, and, representing the constituents of my State, I shall continue to ask for it until the ordinary routine of justice and fair play in the handling of public money in your office is achieved. office is achieved.

I have made it thoroughly clear that I am not asking for the names and addresses of every one on relief, but only those of the administrative personnel. This information should be made public administrative personnel. This information should be made public just as in the case of your salary and mine and others on governmental pay rolls. We now witness the circumstance of the publication of the administrative personnel salaries of private business concerns through the Federal Trade Commission, Bureau of Internal Revenue, Social Security Commission, etc., while the same sort of information is denied the authorized representatives of the public by your office. I know this to be true in Pennsylvania.

If you choose to ignore this request as you have done in the past, I shall have no other recourse than to introduce a resolution in the Senate again asking for this data. I should much prefer to have the information directly from you. Your cooperation in this respect would show that you desire to rid this issue of politics.

Sincerely yours.

Sincerely yours.

Work Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., January 18, 1937.

Washington, D. C., January 18, 1937.

Senator James J. Davis,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Davis: This will acknowledge your letter of December 29 in which you request that the names, addresses, salaries, and positions of the entire administrative personnel of the Works Progress Administration in Pennsylvania be made available to all authorized representatives of public opinion and taxpayers.

As I indicated previously on several occasions, I have felt that the public might have and should have a very real interest in the methods of operation of this Administration, the amount spent for administrative expenses of various kinds, including the salary grades and the total amount of salaries in each grade. I can also see a legitimate interest in the public's knowing the salaries of the major officers who are responsible for the formulation and execution of the policies of the administration. I cannot, however, see how it could have a legitimate interest in the individual salaries and addresses of the many hundreds of employees performing minor and addresses of the many hundreds of employees performing minor clerical functions.

This principle seems to me to have been well recognized by Congress, when in 1925 it passed an act directing the Director of the Census to continue to compile the Federal Register and restricting Census to continue to compile the Federal Register and restricting this register to persons occupying supervisory and administrative positions in the executive and judicial departments of the Government. Under this act it has been the practice to publish only the names, addresses, and salaries of those officials who are responsible for formulation of policies of the various bureaus or who supervise major portions of the work. This position has, I believe, been concurred in for many years by the heads of the various executive departments who have, according to my understanding, refused to give out information of the type which you request.

I am perfectly willing to make available to the public the names and salaries of the major officers of this administration in Pennsylvania or any other State. I am not willing to make public names, salaries, or addresses of the clerical employees since I firmly believe, as stated above, that the public can have no legitimate interest in this information and its publication would only

subject these employees, who are receiving only small compensa-tion, to the gossip of neighbors and the pressure of commercial and political salesmen.

Sincerely yours, HARRY L. HOPKINS.

Administrator. JANUARY 19, 1937.

Hon. HARRY HOPKINS,

Works Progress Administrator, Washington, D. C.
MY DEAR MR. HOPKINS: Your letter of January 18 in response to
my letter to you of December 29 is at hand.

my letter to you of December 29 is at hand.

Your reply in which you say, "I cannot, however, see how it could have a legitimate interest in the individual salaries and addresses of the many hundreds of employees performing minor clerical functions" led me to examine the file of letters I have written you during the last year. In each of these letters, if you will trouble yourself to examine them, you will find that I have at no time asked for a list of W. P. A. "performing minor clerical functions."

I have insistantly asked for a list of which is the property of the

I have insistently asked for the names, addresses, positions, and salaries of all administrative officials, which includes investigators, foremen, project supervisors, managers, and assistants, etc. These people may not be paid salaries of more than \$93.50 a month, but they exert political influence, and that, Mr. Hopkins, is what we are talking about.

are talking about.

I am not asking you for a list of actors, architects, draftsmen, artists, sculptors, teachers of art, librarians, musicians, teachers of music, playground workers, writers, editors, bookkeepers, accountants, auditors, statistical editors, enumerators, stenographers, typists, blacksmiths, bricklayers, stonemasons, carpenters, cement finishers, electricians, painters, plasterers, etc.

Let me again state that I wish the names, addresses, salaries, and positions of W. P. A. and F. E. R. A. and other relief organizations you have had in charge during the last 4 years, all administrative personnel which includes Administrators, State administrators, project supervisors, foremen, managers, inspectors, investigators, and their assistants. These people possess political power, and it is the use made of their political authority which is now called in question. question.

You say that you are "perfectly willing to make available to the public the names and salaries of the major officers of this administration in Pennsylvania or any other State." In keeping with the policy which you say you have adopted, I wish to ask you to make public the names and salaries of all administrative officials, for all of them have to do with the formulation of the political policy

of your administration.

I am asking you, and let me repeat it, for the names, addresses, salaries, and positions of all the administrative personnel of the W. P. A. and F. E. R. A., and other relief organizations which you have had in charge during the last 4 years, to include the names of administrators, assistant administrators, State supervisors, project

administrators, assistant administrators, State supervisors, project supervisors, investigators, foremen, managers, and the assistants of all these, together with all others whom the taxpayers will wish questioned when they are called to give an account of the money spent during the last 4 years at your direction.

Formerly you have protested that the clerical work necessary to compile these lists would prove a tax upon your staff. In order to avoid any too great burden upon you, permit me to suggest that lists be compiled first in the State of Pennsylvania and that reputable newspapers he allowed through their representatives to have table newspapers be allowed through their representatives to have access to the files so that they may compile the lists which otherwise might prove too difficult a task for you and your associates. After the State of Pennsylvania has thus been covered, the findings may suggest the possibility of the worth of further proceedings in

may suggest the possibility of the worth of further proceedings in other States. My mail would indicate this, but I am willing to wait, pending what is found out in Pennsylvania.

You say, "I am perfectly willing to make available to the public the names and salaries of the major officers of this administration in Pennsylvania or any other State." I believe, Mr. Hopkins, this is a step in the right direction, but it is only a step. In keeping with this policy I wish to ask that you follow it through in a thoroughgoing way. I ask you to give authority for representative news agencies of the taxpayers to ascertain immediately the names and salaries of all administrative personnel as above indicated, for all of them have had to do with the formulation of the political policy of your administration, and it is the politics of your administration, Mr. Hopkins, about which we are concerned, and not any reference such as you have made to compilations of official lists in the Federal Register back in 1935. Register back in 1935.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES J. DAVIS, United States Senate.

MAY 26, 1937.

Mr. HARRY HOPKINS,

Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hopkins: This will acknowledge your letter of May 24 relative to my request for data concerning the names, salaries, and positions of administrative personnel of W. P. A. The list of the names, addresses, and salaries of the State administrator, deput administrator, State director of finance and statistics, State director of women's and professional projects, State director of operations, and district directors of W. P. A. districts in

Pennsylvania is only a small part of the data that should be made

available upon request to representatives of the public.

In view of the tremendous importance of our Federal relief program I wish to review in some detail the correspondence which

gram I wish to review in some detail the correspondence which you and I have had on this subject.

On March 19, 1936, I wrote you as follows: "I have read your statement carried by the Associated Press in which you say: 'No employee of the Works Progress Administration, either administrative or engaged on a project, is required to make any contribution to any political party. No Works Progress Administration employee's job will be in jeopardy because of the failure of said

trative or engaged on a project, is required to make any contribution to any political party. No Works Progress Administration employee's job will be in jeopardy because of the failure of said employee to make such contribution. No employee of the Works Progress Administration shall at any time solicit contributions for any political party, and evidence of such solicitation will be cause for immediate discharge. The question of whether or not to contribute to any political party is a matter entirely for the voluntary decision of said employee. No person shall be employed or discharged by the Works Progress Administration on the ground of his support or nonsupport of any candidate of any political organization.'

"I believe this to be a step in the right direction. However, it is only one of a number of decisive actions which, in my judgment, should be taken if relief is to be kept out of politics in the future. Unfortunately, conditions have been allowed to develop to such an extent and the difficulty of control of the national organization of the W. P. A. from Washington is so great that no mere statement of policy such as you have made, sincere and thoroughgoing as it doubtless is, can solve this problem.

"My approach to this question has been governed very largely by the definite statements made by those in authority that they desired relief kept out of politics. On April 28, 1935, President Roosevelt said: "The most effective means of preventing such evils in this work-relief program will be the eternal vigilance of the American people themselves. I call upon my fellow citizens everywhere to cooperate with me in making this the most efficient and the cleanest example of public enterprise the world has ever seen. It is time to provide a smashing answer for those cynics who say that a democracy cannot be honest and efficient. If you will help, this can be done. I, therefore, hope you will watch the work in every corner of this Nation. Feel free to criticize. Tell me of instances where work can be done better

which is to be admired."

However, statements of this sort are not sufficient to insure the desired results. Evidence of waste, partisan use of W. P. A. funds, and needless red tape is found on every hand. Without solicitation of any kind, letters have come to me from all over the country revealing a state of affairs which, in many instances, is positively vicious. I can cite example after example of wicked practice, such as is found in the case of a Republican W. P. A. supervisor, with a wife and seven children dependent upon him, replaced by a Democrat, with but two persons dependent upon him, for no reason other than partisan issues. These are not isolated cases. Situations of this kind prevail all over the country. You have doubtless read the account given by Mr. Johnson, formerly State supervisor of the W. P. A. in Pennsylvania, in the last issue of the Saturday Evening Post. Certainly conditions as reported by Mr. Johnson in the State of Pennsylvania cannot be corrected simply by dictating an office memo.

You will observe, therefore, Mr. Hopkins, that as early as March

You will observe, therefore, Mr. Hopkins, that as early as March 1936 I had expressed a deep interest in the work-relief administration problem. However, in the heat of the campaign, September 30, you stated in the newspapers, "Senator Davis thinks of nothing except in terms of politics and never did in his life \* \* The only time he shows any interest in the unemployed is near election." The facts do not bear out this statement. I wish to assure you that my continued interest in the property of the results.

\* \* \* The only time he shows any interest in the unemployed is near election." The facts do not bear out this statement. I wish to assure you that my continued interest in this problem is not political, and I would question the advisability of impugning the motives of men in public life who differ with you.

On May 7, 1937, work-relief problems had developed to such a state that Hugh S. Johnson in his column said: "Harry Hopkins is reported to have said that a cut of \$500,000,000 in relief appropriations will fire 400,000 relief workers. That figures out \$1,200 per worker on relief. \* \* \* This would indicate that relief living is at least as fat as that of one-third of our employed population. \* \* \* The error in this is that the whole \$1,200 does not go to the relief worker. Only about \$720, as an average, goes to him. Accurate figures are not available, but it is generous to say that only about 58 percent of the billions spent on relief trickles down to those on relief. \* \* \* Mr. Hopkins says the total overhead is only 4.7 percent and adds that 10 percent is considered good administration in business management. It all depends on what you call overhead. Mr. Hopkins' boys roll their own as far as accounting is concerned. It would be interesting to see an independent audit of the seven billions or so dollars that they have broadcast. \* \* \* It is one of the most grotesquely fantastical and tragic pieces of administration in the history of the human race."

This was the statement of General Johnson a great friend of human race.

This was the statement of General Johnson, a great friend of the President, who speaks out of the realistic experience he had

with the W. P. A. while in charge of it in New York City. Would you say that his statement was made for political purposes?

I note in the table of statistics you have sent me May 24, 1937, that of the total expenditures of W. P. A. in the State of Pennsylvania cumulative through March 31, 1937, you state that only 2.9 percent has been spent for administration. But, according to General Johnson, the average cost of administration has been 4.7 percent. How do you explain this discrepancy? Does it cost less to administer work relief in Pennsylvania than elsewhere? Will you kindly give me this information together with your explain the state of the s you kindly give me this information together with your explanation?

On January 19, 1937, I wrote you as follows:
"Your letter of January 18, the first I have had from you, in response to my letter of December 29, is at hand.

response to my letter of December 29, is at hand.

"In reply to my request that the public be informed as to the names, addresses, positions, and salaries of the administrative personnel of the W. P. A., you say: I cannot see how it could have a legitimate interest in the individual salaries and addresses of the many hundreds of employees performing minor clerical functions, which, permit me to say, Mr. Hopkins, is quite beside the point. Your remark has led me to examine the file of letters I have written you during the last year. In each of these letters, if you will trouble yourself to examine them, it will be evident that at no time have I asked for a list of W. P. A. workers 'performing minor clerical functions.' Inasmuch as you have signed your name to the above statement, the public should now learn that you are dodging facts. This should interest the taxpayers, as they are now taking under consideration the possibility of the organization now taking under consideration the possibility of the organization of a new department of the President's Cabinet to be known as the Department of Social Welfare, in connection with which your name is sometimes mentioned.

"I have insistently asked for the names, addresses, positions, and salaries of all administrative officials, which includes administrators, assistant administrators. State supervisors, project supervisors, investigators, foremen, managers, and the assistants of all of these. Perhaps I have failed to list them all, but this will do well enough for a beginning. These people may not be paid salaries of more than \$93.50 a month but they exert political influence, and that, Mr. Hopkins, is what we are talking about.

"I am not asking you for a list of actors, architects, draftsmen, artists, sculptors, teachers of art, librarians, musicians, teachers of music, playground workers, editors, bookkeepers, accountants, auditors, statistical editors, enumerators, stenographers, typists, blacksmiths, bricklayers, stonemasons, carpenters, cement finishers, elec-'I have insistently asked for the names, address

smiths, bricklayers, stonemasons, carpenters, cement finishers, elec-

smiths, bricklayers, stonemasons, carpenters, cement finishers, electricians, painters, plasterers, etc.

"I am asking you, and let me repeat it, for the names, addresses, salaries, and positions of all the administrative personnel of the W. P. A. and F. E. R. A. and other relief organizations which you have had in charge during the last 4 years, to include the names of administrators, assistant administrators, foremen, managers, and the assistants of all these, together with all others whom the tax-payer will wish questioned when they are called to give an account of the money spent during the last 4 years at your direction."

This request still stands unanswered, and I maintain that this is information to which the taxpayers are entitled and that it should be made available, upon request, to representatives of the public.

Sincerely yours,

Sincerely yours,

JAMES J. DAVIS.

JULY 2, 1937.

Mr. HARRY HOPKINS,
Administrator, Works Progress Administration,

Washington, D. C. Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hopkins: I understand that at your request the Senate provision that the names, addresses, salaries, and positions of all administrative personnel in the W. P. A., F. E. R. A., and all relief organizations which you have headed up, receiving more than \$1,000 a year heretofore or at the present time was taken from the appropriation bill when it went to conference. I understand that you stated that if this provision were omitted you would see to it that I received this data for the State of Pennsylvania. I request that you make this data available as soon as possible. I should like to have it within the next 30 days if you can provide it within that time. you can provide it within that time.

Most cordially yours,

JAMES J. DAVIS.

JULY 14, 1937.

Hon. James J. Davis,

United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

My Dran Semator Davis: In accordance with your request of
July 2, 1937, I am enclosing herewith a list showing the names,
positions, salaries, and location of all administrative employees
of the Works Progress Administration and the National Youth
Administration in Pennsylvania receiving \$1,000 a year or more.

There are no employees of the Federal Emergency Relief Ad
ministration now in Pennsylvania

ministration now in Pennsylvania.

These lists were made up from pay rolls for the period June 16 through June 30.

Sincerely,

HARRY L. HOPKINS, Administrator.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, this correspondence shows that I spent nearly 18 months in correspondence with Mr. Hopkins before he would consent to release to me the names, number, addresses, and salaries of the administrative employees of W. P. A. in Pennsylvania. Finally, after the election of 1936 had passed, and after 18 months of futile requests, I received a partial although imperfect response to my petition for this information. Much of this correspondance was carried in the Congressional Record and in the press. I was alone in asking for the information. Certainly Mr. Hopkins knew that I wanted the information. He knew why I wanted it because I had consistently charged that there was politics in W. P. A. in Pennsylvania, and yet he would not cooperate with me to stop it.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, Mr. Harry L. Hopkins, who has been nominated by the President to be Secretary of Commerce, comes from my State of New York. I will not intrude myself for too long a time into this discussion, when we should be coming to a vote, because those who have spoken for Mr. Hopkins have already stated his achievements and

paid tribute to his high character.

Of course, as a matter of traditional policy in the Senate, the issue as to the confirmation of one nominated for a position in the Cabinet is much narrower than in the case of the ordinary nomination sent to the Senate. The Senate has always recognized that the President, as the Chief Executive of the country, is entitled to have in his own family those in whom he has confidence and whose advice he desires during his administration. Unless there has been something asserted and established affecting the moral character of the individual appointed, the Senate has readily confirmed, and rarely in all its history has there been a mere partisan issue raised in the case of a nomination of this character.

As I recall, there has been only one case since the Civil War in which the Senate has rejected a Cabinet nomination, and that was the case of Mr. Warren, during the Coolidge administration. It was established beyond question that Mr. Warren had been a lobbyist for the so-called Sugar Trust. The Senate felt that his appointment to the high office of Attorney General did not deserve confirmation.

I am not relying in my vote, however, merely upon that sound policy which has always been observed by the Senate. I am voting for the confirmation of Mr. Hopkins because I know that in so doing I represent the sentiment of my State, and also because of the high character of Mr. Hopkins, and because of his unusual success in one of the most difficult tasks that has ever devolved upon any individual.

During the debate no one has referred to the rise of Mr. Hopkins to his present place. He has held many positions of honor and of great responsibility. He has discharged the duties of all of them with extraordinary success, and always, of course, with unquestioned integrity.

In 1912, after his graduation from college, Mr. Hopkins became connected with the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, which is the largest nonsectarian private charity organization in the whole United States. In the course of that employment he conducted an investigation of slum conditions, and his report, though made way back in 1912, is still one which will enlighten many of us on the great problem of slum clearance in this country. Although he was quite a young man at the time, he was highly complimented for his work in that regard.

Mr. Hopkins' work attracted the attention of the then mayor of New York, Maj. John Purroy Mitchel, one of our eminent mayors, now deceased, and he persuaded Mr. Hopkins to become the executive secretary of the New York City Board of Public Welfare. I am somewhat more familiar with that work because, as a member of the State Senate in the State of New York at that time, I had occasion to be in touch with his work in that particular department. That duty he discharged with great distinction and with marked

Mr. Hopkins applied for leave to go to the front during the World War, but he was rejected because of the condition of his eyesight. He insisted upon making some contribution, however, and was placed in charge of the work of the Gulf

division of the American Red Cross. He did his work there so well, Mr. President, that he attracted the attention of those interested in that particular enterprise and was later made the head of the entire southern division.

I need not tell the Senate the kind of work which is involved in the Red Cross, particularly during wartime. Mr. Hopkins handled large sums of money, and performed all the other services required, with great distinction and absolute integrity.

After the war, Mr. Hopkins was appointed a director of the New York Tuberculosis Association, and in that field of endeavor he also worked with great success, being responsible for building up that organization into a great force for research in preventive medicine.

In 1931, when New York State was confronted with the problem of feeding the unemployed and taking care of and sheltering the destitute, Mr. Hopkins was selected as working director of the temporary emergency relief administration of the State. In 1932 Mr. Hopkins became chairman of the temporary emergency relief administration by appointment of then Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt.

During all this time, in his service in the State of New York, when under his direction there was distributed \$140,-000,000 to alleviate the needs of the poor and the destitute and unemployed, there was never the breath of suspicion of misappropriation of any funds. On the contrary, the business people of New York, as well as those who were interested in this problem from the social standpoint, all praised him very highly.

If I may remind the Senate, during the last part of the Hoover administration, several Senators were exceedingly apprehensive of what was going on in the country. We saw countless people out in different sections of the country who lacked shelter, food, and clothing. The first major relief bill to take over and to expand upon the efforts of the R. F. C. was introduced by myself, the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], and the late Senator from Colorado, Mr. Costigan, whose recent death profoundly shocked us all. The Senator who is now gracing the chair will remember the occasion very well, because he participated in that movement also. Hearings were conducted, and the most tragic situations were disclosed. The city of Chicago, in particular, was so badly hit that neither the State nor the municipality could cope with it, and yet the Federal Government refused to move in the way of doing anything to alleviate the situation. The Senator from Illinois came before our committee and stated the plight of his particular State.

In 1933 the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. La Follette], Senator Costigan, and myself constituted ourselves a committee to improvise legislation for the setting up of some independent Federal machinery for bringing relief to the States. We sent for Mr. Hopkins. Not one of us had ever met him before. We had only heard about his successful work in the State of New York. He sat down and aided us in the drafting of the legislation which Congress later enacted, and thereafter the President asked Mr. Hopkins to head that particular activity called the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Later he headed the C. W. A. and W. P. A. programs.

Without going over the entire record—because it has been so well done by others who preceded me—I will say that Mr. Hopkins undertook this tremendous task, and until the end of the last session I had heard no criticism of his work. Year after year, when the appropriations came up for consideration, Senators on the other side, as well as Senators on the Democratic side of the Chamber, rose and spoke approvingly of Mr. Hopkins, and there was no suggestion that political influence was in any way involved in the administration of his office.

I think I have a right to say that from the very beginning, by my votes as well as my public utterances, I have been insisting upon freeing relief administration from any kind of political influence. I knew Mr. Hopkins would not utilize relief for political purposes, but no head of an undertaking of that kind, involving the expenditure of \$9,000,000,000, can be expected to go to every corner of the United States and watch every little subordinate to see whether he is attempting to persuade somebody employed under W. P. A. to vote one way or the other.

I voted for the proposed Hatch amendment. I voted against requiring the submission to the Senate of the names of the directors in each State, because, frankly, I feared that this would bring political considerations to bear.

If I may say so, Mr. President, I have consistently followed that course in my own State. I had nothing to do with the appointment of the administrators in my State. I did not know who they were to be until after their appointment. All have rendered admirable service. Colonel Somervell has been directing W. P. A. in New York City—the most difficult relief task in the country—to the complete satisfaction of all and entirely free from any suggestion of politics. I know that W. P. A. employment has there been based solely upon the need of the individual, and that has been true throughout my State.

Indeed, no suggestion was made by the Sheppard committee that there was any politics involved in the administration of W. P. A. in the State of New York. The number of heads of families employed at one time on W. P. A. work by reason of the unemployment situation has reached 300,000. In all this time, several million men being employed on W. P. A. off and on, only one complaint has been made which came to the Sheppard committee, was investigated by the Sheppard committee, was found to be absolutely unfounded, and was dismissed.

Mr. President, I went through a rather strenuous campaign. I had a very alert and able opponent against me. All but four newspapers in the State were against me. I do not complain about that. They felt that my opponent should be elected. But what I mean to say is that my opposition was very alert. So was my colleague's opposition. As a matter of fact his opponent was a gentleman of distinction in New York who had been one of the administrators of relief in the city of New York. And I may say, Senators, that during the entire campaign, and it was a vigorous campaign covering over 2 months, not a suggestion came from our opposition that the W. P. A. was used in the slightest way to influence a single vote. At the time we had about 250,000 men employed under W. P. A.

If I had been the administrator I would not have made the political speeches which Mr. Hopkins made. I would have refrained absolutely from any kind of political activity even as an individual. He frankly admits that if he had to do it over again he would not make such addresses. I do not suppose all of us would want to have search made into all our indiscretions.

Let us look at the accomplishments of Mr. Hopkins as the head of the W. P. A. The administrative expenses, about which we hear so much, are down to 2.3 percent. On the total outlay of administrative expenses, the percentage is only 3 percent, whereas Congress, in the legislation it enacted, authorized him to expend as high as 5 percent of the fund for administrative expenses.

What has the W. P. A. accomplished? It has built 12,000 new public buildings, and repaired, improved, or enlarged 36,000. It has constructed 46,000 miles of highways, roads, and streets and 157,000 miles of highways were improved or repaired. The W. P. A. built airports, laid sewers, developed vast park and play areas, and carried on conservation, public health education, and cultural projects. It has many more accomplishments to its credit. I shall not delay the Senate by reading them all. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record as a part of my remarks the record, which I have before me, of actual accomplishments of W. P. A. throughout the country, so far as complete data are available.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the matter referred to may be printed in the RECORD.

The matter is as follows:

Table 7.—Physical accomplishments on Works Progress Administration projects

THROUGH OCT. 1, 1937
CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITIES
[Preliminary—subject to revision]

		Number or amount				
Туре	Unit of measurement	New con- struc- tion	Addi- tions	Improve- ments		
Public buildings—total	Number	12, 212	1, 363	36, 510		
Educational buildings—total	Number	1,824	672	19, 316		
Schools Libraries Libraries	Number	1,771 53	647 25	18, 802 514		
Recreational buildings—total	Number	3,777	238	2, 664		
Auditoriums Stadia, grandstands, etc Gymnasiums Other (pavilions, bathhouses, etc.).	Number Number Number Number	184 752 376 2, 465	52 39 86 61	206 257 238 1, 963		
Institutional buildings-total	Number	284	61	2, 484		
Hospitals Penal institutions Other	Number Number	86 80 118	33 14 14	968 261 1, 255		
Courthouses, offices, and other ad- ministrative buildings.	Number	615	116	2, 545		
Dormitories. Fire houses Garages Aircraft hangars Warehouses Armories Other buildings and small structures	Number Number Number Number Number Number Number	384 129 793 73 630 132 3,571	14 17 61 3 34 2 145	983 1, 156 463 75 812 211 5, 801		
(bus and streetcar shelters, etc.).  Demolition of buildings	Number			6, 938		

		Number or amount			
Туре	Unit of measurement	New con- struction	Improve- ments		
Highways, roads, streets, and related facilities:	Miles	46, 650	150 00		
Highways, roads, and streets—total. Rural primary roads— total.	Miles	7, 873	158, 69 17, 95		
PavedUnpaved	Miles	2, 353 5, 520	2, 16 15, 79		
Rural secondary roads—total.	Miles	31, 255	123, 03		
PavedUnpaved	Miles	2, 044 29, 211	1, 98 121, 04		
Urban-total	Miles	6, 568	16, 64		
PavedUnpaved	Miles	3, 944 2, 624	4, 99 11, 65		
Other (parks, cemeteries, etc.)—total.	Miles	954	1,05		
PavedUnpaved	Miles	253 701	21: 84:		
Road shoulders (not includ- ed above).	Miles	2, 935	20, 78		
Bridges—total	Number Length in feet	19, 229 636, 422	18, 03, 692, 73		
Wood	Number Length in feet Number	13, 778 424, 770 1, 418	11, 396 322, 802 4, 998		
Steel	Length in feet   Number   Length in feet	84, 928 4, 033 126, 724	308, 579 1, 64 61, 350		
Culverts	Number	200, 719 5, 365, 685	42, 68 1, 059, 940		
Grade-crossing elimination	Number of crossing eliminations.	24 E 158	9 000		
Sidewalks and paths—total	Miles	5, 156	3, 208		
PavedUnpaved	Miles	4, 033 1, 123	2, 280 928		
Curbs	Miles	4, 480 1, 592 637	1, 077 325 369		

Table 7.—Physical accomplishments on Works Progress Administration projects—Continued

		Number or amount			
Туре	Unit of measurement	New con- struction	Improve- ments		
Highways, roads, streets, and related facilities—Con.		Pari sore	THOMES IN		
Curbs—Continued.	to the supplied of the	S million	S IN COLUMN		
Lights for roads and streets.	Number   Miles of road equipped	8, 433 203	34, 832		
Roadside drainage	Linear feet of ditch	70, 804, 426	34, 832 1, 223 180, 866, 215 1, 184, 219		
Roadside landscaping	Linear feet of pipe Miles	4, 629, 895	1, 184, 219		
Street signs	[Linearfeet of line painted_ Number of signs made_	12, 723, 969 825, 078 363, 848			
	Number of signs erected_	363, 848			
Removal of car and railroad track.	Miles of single-line track		4.52		
Airports and airway equip- ment (excluding build- ings):	of support contents	ave imulias	Dr. Alle		
Landing fields	Number	130 13, 574	136 19, 756		
Runways	Length in feet	1,099,510	382, 731		
Air beacons	Number	8, 357	2		
ing buildings):	ar .		SHAD VED		
Athletic fields	Number   Acres	1, 534 8, 297	1, 360 10, 296		
Additions to athletic fields	Number	11 69			
Parks	Number	881	3, 210		
Additions to parks	Acres   Number	26, 707 92	191, 433		
	Acres	1, 107	104		
Fairgrounds	Acres	1,059	4, 902		
Playgrounds—total	Number	1, 303	3, 792		
SchoolOther	Number	751 552	3, 087 705		
Curlmunian mode	Number	433	143		
Swimming pools	Surface area in square feet.	6, 950, 463 324	2, 757, 462		
Wading pools	Surface area in square feet.	977, 827	152, 100		
Golf courses	Number of holes	1 224	186		
	Acres	1, 384 8, 637	2, 436 17, 463 1, 174		
Tennis courts	Number	3, 535 569	1, 174		
Horseshoe courts	Number	716 731	56 159		
Ice-skating rinks	Surface area in square feet.	34, 011, 344	10, 373, 290		
Ski jumpsSki trails	Number Miles	29 28	31		
Outdoor theaters	Number	48	10		
Band shells	Number	88	25		
drainage systems:	(Miles	4, 295	1, 459		
Water mains, aqueducts, and distribution lines.	Number of consumer	123, 028	165, 103		
Storage tanks, reservoirs,	Connections.	1, 272	329		
and cisterns. Storage dams	Gallons capacity   Number	559, 016, 724 3, 504	4, 069, 469, 438 298		
Wells Treatment plants (excl. cess-	Number	1, 632	1, 437		
pools and septic tanks):	Cites of the Office Section 11 To 11 No.				
Sewage Water	Number	243 60	151		
Garbage incinerators Pumping stations	Number	25 252	24 103		
	[Miles	6, 300	1,963		
Storm and sanitary sewers	Number of service con- nections.	152, 681	27, 349		
Manholes and catch basins	Number	156, 323	88, 912 12, 776		
Cesspools	Number	865, 955 37, 938	21		
Septic tanks	Number of mines	3, 883 7, 777	57		
arme soming	Number of openings  Linear feet of ditch	30, 476, 208	16, 942, 536		
Mosquito control	Acres drained	1,097,001	16, 942, 536 534, 365		
Drainage (other than road-	Linear feet of ditch	6, 144, 148	34, 377, 346		
side and mosquito eradi- cation).  Flood and erosion control—	Acres drained	3, 583 7, 777 67, 327 30, 476, 208 1, 097, 001 1, 218, 757 6, 144, 148 3, 698, 679 2, 043, 552	34, 377, 346 504, 789 6, 471, 548		
navigation aids—irriga- tion:	(Number	99	139		
Docks, wharves, and piers	Feet of usable water		122, 924		
	Area in square feet	40, 243 1, 491, 776	7, 011, 447		
Jetties and breakwaters	Number Length in feet	1, 161 92, 638	6,020		
The same and the s	Cubic vards placed	193, 657	73, 397		
Bulkheads Canals and channels	Linear feet	266, 935 53	106, 966 166		
River bank improvements	Miles		940		

TABLE 7.—Physical accomplishments on Works Progress Administra-

		Number o	or amount
Туре	Unit of measurement	New con- struction	Improve- ments
Flood and eroston control— navigation aids, etc.—Con.		official and	er=1, lening
Dredging (other than chan- nels).  Dams (other than storage or	Cubic yards of material dredged.	9, 901, 740	
Dams (other than storage or power). Riprap (other than river	Number Square yards surfaced	17, 083 4, 103, 678	154 494, 954
bank). Retaining walls and revet-	(Number	10, 601	2, 738
ments. Levees and embankments	Linear feet	2, 231, 556 932, 813 9, 990, 075	334, 731 1, 980, 022 7, 724, 338
Irrigation	Acres. Miles of flume or canal.	120, 572 266	1, 767, 714 2, 553
utilities:	[Number	21	44
Powerhouses	Kilowatt capacity	17, 171 110 277	153, 497 51 142
Power distribution lines	Number of consumer connections.	6, 562	2, 061
Telephone and telegraph lines.	Miles	905	672
Police and fire-alarm signals.	Number of boxes and signals. Linear feet of line strung.	4226F63KB0F	1300000000
Grounds improvements: Landscaping around public buildings.	(Number of buildings		9, 025 22, 434
Miscellaneous landscaping Lighting airports, parking	Acres	276	3, 962
lots, athletic fields, etc.  Fountains and ornamental pools.	Acres lighted	6, 103	2, 436
Fencing Cemetery improvements	MilesAcres	5, 426	6, 804 3, 427
Miscellaneous: Car and railroad track Boats and ships	Number	362	230 690
Paving (other than roads, walks, or runways).	Number Square yards hard sur- face.	3, 230, 943	761, 897
walks, or runways). Tunnels:	Square yards other sur- face.	3, 758, 054	1, 615, 822
Vehicular	Number   Length in feet	1,001	971
Pedestrian	Number   Length in feet    Number	10, 750 135	2, 053 24
Other	Length in feet	84, 580 139	10, 227 81
Fish hatcheries	Annual fingerling capac- ity.	17/10/17/10/04/10/15	241, 947, 918
Monuments and historic markers.	Number	394	93
Gas lines (distribution and transmission).	Linear feet   Number of consumer   connections.	410, 256 1, 402	211, 409 5, 359
Oil and other pipe lines	Linear feet	43, 485	10, 188

Table 8.—Physical accomplishments on projects
Through Oct. 1, 1937

NONCONSTRUCTION ACTIVITIES
[Preliminary—subject to revision]

Type	Unit of measurement	Number or amount
Conservation (not elsewhere classified):		(A) 100 (B)
Reforestation	[Acres	32, 854
	(Number of trees planted	13, 453, 639
Firebreaks	Miles	1, 227
Fire and forest trails	Miles	2, 125
	Number of nurseries	625
Plant and tree nurseries	Number of plants or trees planted.	12, 559, 623
m	(Number of trees trimmed	1, 263, 984
Tree surgery	Number of trees removed	257, 094
Bird and game sanctuaries	Number of sanctuaries estab- lished.	819
Noxious plant eradication	Acres	6, 370, 862
Spray treatments, disease, and in-	[Acres sprayed	548, 164
sect-pest eradication (except mos-	Gallons of spray used	11, 755, 718
quito control).	Tons of poisoned food used	12, 284
Rodent destruction	Number	24, 688, 109
Planting oysters	Acres of bed prepared	59, 013
	(Bushels planted	2, 633, 143
Food and fuel distributed:	Service Company	
Milk	Number of quarts	82, 397, 320
Foodstuffs (not elsewhere classified)	Number of pounds	711, 310, 838
Wood	Number of cords	571, 413

TABLE 8 .- Physical accomplishments on projects-Continued

Туре	Unit of measurement	Number or amount
Work in libraries:	Ultrationals	
New branch libraries	Number established	3, 535
New traveling libraries.  Reading rooms in existing libraries.	Number established	1, 164 4, 502
Cataloging for existing libraries	Number of volumes cataloged_	20, 015, 595
Renovation of books—total	Number	33, 649, 219
Public school volumes Public library volumes	Number	11, 857, 464 15, 824, 692
Other volumes	Number	5, 967, 063
Sewing rooms: Articles made—total	Number	121, 710, 287
Garments—total	Number	95, 028, 273
Men's	Number	17, 107, 605
Women's	Number	24, 555, 147 15, 972, 052 21, 518, 995
Boys'	Number	21 518 005
Girls'	Number	15, 874, 474
Other articles	Number	26, 682, 014
Canning and preserving.	Net pounds	36, 303, 817
School lunches served Medical, dental, and nursing assistance:	Number	129, 015, 003
Dental clinics conducted	Number of clinics Number of persons examined	283
The state of the s	Number of persons treated	59, 893
Medical clinics conducted	Number of clinics Number of persons examined	96 186, 255
	[Number of persons treated	186, 255 132, 375 1, 581
Medical and dental clinics assisted	Number of clinics Number of persons examined	1, 545, 512
Medical examinations other than	[Number of persons treated   Number of adults examined	768, 349
at clinics.	Number of children examined_ [Number of group inspections	1, 545, 512 768, 349 275, 760 1, 056, 202
Nursing visits	Number of persons inspected_	213, 450 2, 023, 136
Nursing aid to clinics	Number of home visits made Number of W. P. A. nurses	2, 450, 133
Nursing aid at immunizations	Assisting Number of immunizations	3, 053 638, 972
Art:	Average monthly attendance	55, 231
Civic art centers	Aggregate attendance	2, 525, 432
and sculptured works	Number of originals	51, 475
Etchings, lithographs, wood blocks, etc.	Number of originals    Number of prints	3, 003 24, 216
Posters	Number of originals	25, 484
Arts and crafts	Number of objects	20 609
Index of American Design plates Stage sets, dioramas, and models for visual education. Music:	Number of plates made	7, 011 822
Music classes	Average monthly attendance	140, 321
Musical performances	Average number per month Average monthly attendance	3, 107, 345
Theater:	Section and the section of the second of the second of the section of the second of th	
Theatrical productions	Number	1, 501
Theatrical performances	Number of books and pam-	2, 833 1, 043, 478
Writing	hlets written Number of copies distributed_	401, 928
Historical surveys:	(Number of structures meas-	A Branches
Historical American Building Sur-	ured	2, 302 16, 244
vey.	Number of drawings made	16, 244 17, 480
	Number of photographs made_ Number of vessels surveyed	
Historical American Merchant Marine Survey.	Number of drawings made Number of photographs made.	677 548
	(Number of counties whose	2, 021
	records have been listed. Number of county inventories	50
Historical Records Survey	Number of towns whose rec- ords have been listed.	1,040
	Number of churches whose records have been listed.	40, 453
Federal Archives Survey	Number of agencies whose records were surveyed.	28, 792
	Linear feet of files surveyed	4, 876, 461
Planning surveys conducted Research and statistical studies conducted.	Number	1, 027
	Square miles of mapping survey.	211, 746
Engineering surveys	Miles of line survey Number of permanent mark-	72, 088 91, 430
Maps	Number of maps drawn Number of items indexed or	89, 681
Indexing and cataloging	cataloged.	293, 761, 171
Braille	Number of blind persons em-	21

Table 8 .- Physical accomplishments on projects-Continued

Туре	Unit of measurement	Number or amount
	Number of Braille pages trans-	1, 245, 674
Braille	scribed. Number of Braille maps made.	41, 542
	Number of visits made	4, 020, 548
Housekeeping aids	Number of families aided	663, 513
Assistants in nursery schools	Number provided	957
	(Number of articles con-	3, 312, 786
Museum activities	structed or renovated. Number of articles cataloged	5, 228, 029
	(Number of articles cataloged	0, 220, 020
Education (month of October 1937)-	Number of classes	100, 145
total.	Number of enrollees	1, 144, 689
- wrether a solite out to be	(Number of classes	17, 195
Literacy	Number of enrollees.	192, 481
	Number of classes.	10, 596
Vocational	Number of enrollees	159, 430
Avocational and leisure time	[Number of classes	10, 978
Avocational and leisure time	Number of enrollees	138, 226
Parent and homemaking	Number of classes	10, 019
Tarent and nomemaking	Number of enrollees	136, 379
College level and correspondence	Number of classes	1, 899 29, 609
	[Number of classes	1, 555
Public affairs	Number of enrollees.	27, 249
	(Number of alococe	1.60
Workers'	Number of enrollees	20, 72
General adult	Number of classes.	20, 259
General adult	Number of enrollees	271, 308
Nursery schools	Number of classes	1, 481
Truisery somoons	Number of enrollees	40, 243
Other	Number of classes.	24, 563
please and force property Self-and	Number of enrollees	120, 038
Recreation:	Secretary of March	
Community centers operated	Number	14, 785
Community centers assisted	Number	7, 815
Public participation in recreational activities (week ending Aug. 28,		
1937):	Number of participant hours.	11, 428, 857
Physical recreation Social recreation	Number of participant hours	2, 471, 797
Cultural recreation	Number of participant hours.	2, 285, 304
Therapeutic recreation	Number of participant hours	134, 253
Miscellaneous:	A STATE OF THE STA	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
Archeological excavations	Number of articles found	419, 657
Gardening	Number of gardens	30, 661
	(Acres	7, 972
Shoe repair	Number of pairs	
Furniture repair	Number of articles	879, 288

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, the business people of my State are in favor of this nomination. There has been some suggestion from the other side that business has no confidence in Mr. Hopkins, because he has never had any business experience. As a matter of fact, he has been the administrator of a governmental activity which has had the largest pay roll of any separate entity in the United States. The business people of my State, speaking through Mr. Harriman, have declared emphatically that they have confidence in Mr. Hopkins, and expect that he will make a very efficient Secretary of Commerce. Indeed he has a great opportunity.

Mr. President, in our drive for recovery, we must bring about cooperation among industry, labor, and the Government. I think Mr. Hopkins understands the problems of industry. He understands the problems of the worker. He has had long experience as a Government official, and knows to what extent the Government ought to guide both business and labor in our cooperative activities. For that reason I welcome his appointment as Secretary of Commerce, and I hope that upon confirmation, he will devote himself unsparingly to fostering that cooperation upon which our national well-being so vitally depends.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, I approach this argument in a little different fashion from that in which my predecessors, in speaking upon it, have approached it.

We have before us two records—the record of the Sheppard committee, and the record before the Commerce committee—when considering the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Hopkins.

It does no good, Mr. President, for men from the recesses of their brains to tell us of the record of Mr. Hopkins in other respects, or for Senators from other States, where there was no question about what transpired, to go into their archives and tell us that there was nothing at all disgraceful, nothing at all reprehensible, in those States.

Before coming to an argument in reference to the particular matters which involve Mr. Hopkins—I do not say they involve his integrity or his honesty, but they involve him politically, in dealing politically with those who had no option, and those who had no power to resist—I desire to settle one question, once and for all, in this body.

It has been argued here by many that the selection of members of the Cabinet is a personal matter of the President, and that we ought not to interfere with any selection that he may make. Upon us devolves the responsibility of approving that selection, and upon us rests the obligation of doing our duty in reference to any particular nomination which may be sent in by the President upon that score.

This is not the first time the same question has been before the Senate. In 1925 an epochal contest was here, a contest involving the appointment of an Attorney General. Upon that contest the lines were very nearly equal; and many Senators argued then, just as it is argued now, that the matter was one for the President to determine, and that when he had determined it, it was not for us to have aught to say, or in any degree to interfere.

I dissent from that view. I dissented from it 13 years ago, when the nomination of Charles Beecher Warren was before this body for confirmation. I dissent from it now, and I will dissent from it every time a man is named to a Cabinet office by the President of the United States.

At that time it was argued elaborately by various persons that we ought not to touch the question; that, having been named by the President, he was sacrosanct; and that we ought not, even though the obligation is constitutionally placed upon us, to touch the question at all. At that time an argument was made by a very distinguished brother of ours, in whom I have the utmost confidence. This is what he said:

Mr. President, can it be argued that we ought to close our eyes, seal our lips, fold our hands, and let this nomination go through without a protest, simply because the nomination is made by the President and that we ought to acquiesce; that it is part of his official family? There is no such thing in law as a President's official family. There is no such thing in law as a Cabinet officer. The Attorney General has under his control enforcement officers in every locality under our flag. It is his duty, as a sort of general controlling an army of prosecutors and marshals and investigators and detectives all over the land, to enforce every Federal law that is on the statute books. His power, his influence for the upholding of law, for the stability of our institutions, goes into every State, into every hamlet, into every Federal counts, and even before every Federal commissioner; so that the importance of the office cannot be exaggerated.

We set at rest then by our vote the question whether or not we should act upon a nominee of the President for a Cabinet office. We set it at rest then in a singular fashion, by a vote which was a tie, and in which it was endeavored to bring the then Vice President into the Chamber so that the tie might be unraveled. He could not then be found. However, the situation was such that we settled the question then forever, so far as this argument is concerned. Let me read the vote quickly. I read the names of those who voted "nay" upon that nomination. I am reading, of course, only those who are now here:

Senators Ashurst, Borah, Frazier, George, Harrison, Johnson, King, McKellar, Neely, Norris, Pittman, Sheppard, Shipstead, Walsh, and Wheeler.

All of them voted that the nomination should not be confirmed, and it was not confirmed.

There is another thing in respect to which I dissent from my fellows, and that is concerning the position Mr. Hopkins occupies and concerning the idea that he should be free from any interference by the Senate of the United States in pursuance of its duty. Mr. Hopkins says that he was one of a "team" and that as a member of that "team" he did unhesitatingly and unquestioning everything that might be ordered of him. I dissent from that view, and most emphatically so, for I cannot imagine the kind of individual that will say that he is a member of a "team" and if he is asked to do something at variance with his judgment and his conscience

he will do it notwithstanding his conscience and his judgment. In effect this makes the nominee both conscienceless and without judgment. I have a higher idea of the duty of the individual Senators than that.

I know men who have refused Cabinet appointments because they would not stand in that relation to the appointing power. But Mr. Hopkins says he as a member of that "team" and under any circumstances would be loyal to what the President requested of him. I cannot believe that he means this because he cannot mean that he would do any. thing, no matter what, in his loyalty.

The other day I read an editorial in the Baltimore Sun of January 20 upon that very question. I wish to read to the Senate the editorial. I read it so that it may, if possible, have its influence upon the 3 or 4, 5 or 6, 7 or 8, 9 or 10, 11 or 12 Senators who are going to vote against the confirmation of Mr. Hopkins' nomination. I am not reading it in the expectation that it is going to prevent the confirmation of Mr. Hopkins' nomination because I am sufficient of a realist to understand that I am standing here upon my feet exerting myself in a cause which is already defeated, but I do not care a continental damn whether or not that is so, for I know my cause to be right, and, knowing it to be right, I will fight for it here if mine shall be the only adverse vote upon this floor. The editorial in the Baltimore Sun of January 20 reads:

#### FOR THE RECORD

In his speech discussing the qualifications of Mr. Harry L. Hopkins In his speech discussing the qualifications of Mr. Harry L. Hopkins for the Cabinet post for which Mr. Roosevelt has nominated him, Senator Baner, of North Carolina, made a point which deserves more than passing notice. The Senator had been criticizing Mr. Hopkins' notorious participation, as W. P. A. Administrator, in the various partisan undertakings of the President. He then made this comment:

"Mr. Hopkins stated that his course had largely been dictated by a sense of loyalty to the President and that he considered himself a member of the team, having a part to play. No one can complain of his loyalty, but one having the distribution of large sums of public money for the relief of dependent people ought to have considered the impropriety of attempting to influence people touching a question of national policy far removed from the domain of relief."

That is what I speak of—the impropriety of the actions of Mr. Hopkins. Senators who are defending this gentleman who was nominated for the office of Secretary of Commerce may talk until doomsday, and may say that he did this, that, and the other thing in their States, and that he has been found by the people of the United States to be a very good Administrator, and so on; but no living soul, I maintain, can say with absolute accuracy that there was no impropriety in the actions of Mr. Hopkins in dealing with the W. P. A. He does not say so; but Senators who are advocating the confirmation of his nomination say so for him. He does not say so. He says that if he were to travel the road again he would not do the things that he did. He says that if he had it to do over again he would "fire" the men, for instance, in Pennsylvania who were guilty of the wrongs there. He says these things. Senators who are advocating the confirmation of his nomination say, on the contrary, he has done none of them. He admits them, and he says, in so many, many words, that if he had the road again to travel, if again it were put up to him whether he would permit the things that were done, he would not tolerate them, nor make the political speeches he made. He would see that they were stopped.

I read further from the editorial in the Baltimore Sun:

Loyalty, as everyone knows, is one of the major human virtues. Loyalty, as everyone knows, is one of the major human virtues. But there are loyalties and loyalties. A man appointed to be judge clearly owes no loyalty to the Governor or President who appointed him. He owes loyalty only to the law which he is sworn to interpret and enforce. A private secretary, at the other extreme, owes a special kind of loyalty to his employer—a greater loyalty, perhaps, than a Cabinet member owes to his chief.

Mr. Howking, concention of his obligation to Mr. Rooswelt would

Mr. Hopkins' conception of his obligation to Mr. Roosevelt would have been praiseworthy had he been a mere private secretary. It might have been admissible had he been a Cabinet officer. But his position as relief administrator transcended these. He was entrusted with the spending of billions of dollars in public funds, taken from the people of the country as a whole.

Senators on the other side seem to think the public funds that were used by this man were taken from their particular class and their particular party. Not so: the funds were taken from all the people of this land, and should be administered in behalf of all the people of the land.

He dealt, in a very unusual relationship, with millions of unfortunates. His attitude, his policy, stood between them and destitution.

Who could argue that, under such circumstances, Mr. Hopkins was merely a member of Mr. Roosevelt's "team"? Who could argue that if Mr. Roosevelt hinted at it, it was Mr. Hopkins' right and his

that if Mr. Roosevelt hinted at it, it was Mr. Hopkins' right and his duty to use his special power to influence public opinion with relation to a moot question, such as that of packing the Supreme Court? Who could argue that loyalty demanded that he inject himself into primary elections in order to influence the outcome? To ask these questions is to answer them. When Mr. Hopkins announced that he regarded himself, when W. P. A. Administrator, as a member of the President's team, he announced at the same time that he had no fit conception of the job which was entrusted to him. For that job is one in which the loyalty demanded is not to an individual, even if that individual be the President of the United States. The loyalty demanded of an administrator of public United States. The loyalty demanded of an administrator of public relief is loyalty to an abstract principle, call it even-handed justice, call it impartiality, call it humanity, or what you will.

That expresses better than I could my idea of the loyalty owed by Mr. Hopkins to his appointing power, and I will not admit that a single bit of other loyalty rested upon his shoulders than is described in that editorial.

Now, let us consider the evidence for a moment. As we go through the evidence we find permeating Kentucky and Pennsylvania one thing, namely, the use of the power of the Administrator of the W. P. A. He denies it, it is true; but in the next breath he admits that he did wrong, and he would not do it again if he had it to do over. Just follow, sir, for a moment this testimony:

Page 89:

Senator Johnson of California. Those things which they have held to be reprehensible in the W. P. A., you do not controvert or contradict?

Mr. Hopkins. Well, insofar as we are now discussing the individual cases that the Sheppard committee investigated, I am not raising any questions about the accuracy of those reports.

The Members of the Senate know what the reports are. The reports show conclusively that he was mixing, either himself or through his subordinates, in Pennsylvania and in Kentucky, and he was influencing thus the people who came under him. I read further from the testimony:

Senator Johnson of California (referring to Pennsylvania). Anybody could have had that information.

Mr. Hopkins. Not necessarily, Senator. I have known wrongdoing to have gone on for a year before anybody found out about it. Senator Johnson of California. Absolutely. But you do not want to say that that is the excuse for these things in Pennsylvania,

do you? Mr. Hopkins. No, Senator; not at all.

Senator Johnson of California. I thought you were. Mr. Hopkins. No, Senator; I am not. I certainly do not like so many of the things that have gone on in Pennsylvania.

Yet Senators stand here and split hairs as to what Hopkins did. The whole testimony reeks with just that sort of denial, and it is only that sort of denial that arises in relation to what occurred.

I quote another excerpt from the testimony:

Page 83:

Mr. HOPKINS. I stopped it hundreds of times. Senator Johnson of California. But you did not stop it in Pennsylvania or Kentucky?

Mr. Hopkins. Well, Senator, despite the people I fired throughout the country, I did not stop it. It had happened before I found it out, and then I took the action that I thought was necessary. I do not know whether anybody could stop all these things from happening in the first instance. Because, after all, American politics has a long history and tradition, and most of you know the way the local political organization works in America, and it does way the local political organization works in America, and it does not consider some of the things necessarily bad, that you or I might consider bad—such as selling tickets. I mean to say that that has been done in many places.

Senator Johnson of California. Do not lay the emphasis so much on tickets, though.

Mr. Hopkins. Or getting money or making contributions or telling somebody that, "You have to give 2 percent of your salary."

Senator Johnson of California. Or bitting a lot of truthern for

Senator Johnson of California. Or hitting a lot of truckmen for \$100 apiece?

Mr. HOPKINS. That is right. I think it is reprehensible, and there is not one redeeming feature in it.

And there was not. Talk as you will about New York State. New York State is free from wrong, so our friends

from New York say. They may be right. So other States are free from wrong; but the States that were mentioned were not free from wrong, and that statement rests upon the admission of Hopkins.

I wish I had the power adequately to paint the sewing circle there in Pennsylvania. "With fingers weary and worn, with eyelids heavy and red," there sat those old women in Pennsylvania, sewing, sewing; sewing; and then they were dragooned into taking three, four, or five hundred tickets. The tickets were thrown at them. "Take these tickets! Take these tickets, you, and buy them!" And they reached into their frayed and worn purses, and they dug out a dollar, a dollar and a half, two dollars apiece, and paid for some five-hundred-and-odd tickets that were thus sent to themthey, the worst people on the face of the earth from whom to demand such an outlay! It was shameful; it was disgraceful; and no amount of saying now that "I am sorry I did it, and I would not do it again if I had it to do over again"not a whole roomful of that sort of thing mouthed by everybody here who is for Harry Hopkins and for that sort of thing can cram it down the throats of three or four or five or six of us, and convince us that that is the right or decent thing to do, and his toleration of it cannot be defended.

Thus it goes all along the line. "I am thinking now just of

Thus it goes all along the line. "I am thinking now just of human beings." How I have heard that expression echoed down the corridors of this Chamber! "I am thinking just of human beings, men, women, and children. I am thinking just of these human beings who, through no fault of their own, have had the misfortune to be put upon a W. P. A. roll. I am thinking of them." You may talk to me forever without making any future impression about being for men, women, and children, and the submerged one-third that are "ill-clad, ill-housed, and hungry"; but, Senators, when you came to deal with them in the most precious possession they had, the right to vote, you said to them, "Take these tickets, \$1.50, \$2, if you will, and do as you are told to do on election day."

I tell you, Mr. President, it makes one's blood run cold. Oh, it does not make the blood run cold of some of you over there. It would not touch you if I were to call the roll of those who died because of it. But if the things are true that Hopkins admits to be true-and he does admit it-then it is time for us to put our stamp of disapproval upon it. You cannot condone it and you cannot approve it. You cannot condone it and you cannot approve it, no matter how much eloquence may be wasted in this body, no matter how many people may tell you that those things are things which always were done in politics. It may be that they were. I have not met with that kind of politics. If it were done in my State in my behalf. I would repudiate it so quickly that I would make the man who did it suffer for it; and I will not act in a different way in regard to this great man Hopkins, around whose head we put a halo here today, and around whom we have drawn the mystic circle, and one of us has said in substance he is a greater man than the Saviour Himself. Just think of it. This man has proven himself in this way upon the record that is before the Senate of dealing with these people in the manner I have described.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair may be permitted to inform the Senator from California that he has 5 minutes more under the limitation.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Very well, sir. I am sorry I have but 5 minutes. I wish I had the time that I ought to have occupied at the last session upon this nomination. I do not like to talk long. I do not like to get up here and make a speech of this sort, or a speech of any sort, now. I make it because it is my duty to make it. I make it because it is the way I have thought all my life. I make it because when Republicans were in power I fought nominees of the President of the United States whom I thought to be unfit. I make it because I want to stop this thing with the W. P. A. and with the poor people of the country. I repeat, in the language of the great man I have quoted before, I speak, I think, of human beings alone.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at the end of my remarks an article by Raymond Clapper relative to Mr. Hopkins. There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News of January 16, 1939]

HOPKINS VERSUS HOPKINS (By Raymond Clapper)

Frequently during this administration men connected with it have retired from their New Deal positions only to reappear in the public eye as energetic floggers of the regime with which they had been connected. They find that policies which once seemed pure as the driven snow are, when seen from outside the administration, somewhat smeared with soot. There is no critic more severe and exacting than the New Deal officeholder who has put away his halo and gone back to the world of sin. His is sharper than a Hoover's tooth.

In a sense, Harry Hopkins has outdone them all. Whereas office-holders have stepped out and immediately cocked their blunder-busses at others in the New Deal, Hopkins, not a man to do things by halves, has taken to shooting at himself. Former Relief Administrator Hopkins has become a most penetrating and construc-

tive critic of Relief Administrator Hopkins.

Former Relief Administrator Hopkins disapproves of the political speeches made by Relief Administrator Hopkins last summer. Former Relief Administrator Hopkins thinks that Relief Administrator Hopkins was wrong last summer in not firing Kentucky relief employees who were playing politics. Former Relief Administrator Hopkins thinks the Senate made a mistake last summer when it voted down the Hatch amendment to prohibit political use of relief, whereas Relief Administrator Hopkins, who was expressing his views on various political matters at the time, remained silent when a word from him would have forced the Senate to adopt the Hatch proposal.

No one predicted that this boon would result from taking Hopkins out of W. P. A. Looking at relief from the outside, he is now its most constructive critic, and he is giving the force of his endorsement, which is considerable because of his experience ability, to efforts in Congress to fumigate relief of its political odors. As an ex post facto administrator of relief, Hopkins is setting a standard that his successors can well strive to reach.

Hopkins has thus helped to prepare a receptive atmosphere for the recommendations of the Byrnes committee, which proposes pulling relief and reemployment activities together into a new Department of Public Weifare, placing them on a permanent basis as far out of reach of partisan politics as is possible with this sort of activity. Relief activities would be coordinated and tied in with public works, unemployment compensation, and larger assistance to the aged and incapacitated. The Byrnes committee also will seek to include in the pending temporary relief appropriation bill safeguards against political manipulation of relief.

The House bill omitted any provision for introducing civil service into the relief organization. If a new permanent relief set-up is to be ordered by Congress, the present omission of civil-service provisions in the temporary relief appropriation is of small importance.

small importance.

Roosevelt had, by Executive order, prepared to blanket into civil-service status, existing employees of W. P. A. on February 1. The House objected to freezing political appointees into W. P. A. by this method and vetoed the whole scheme but neglected to provide any substitute in the form of civil-service examinations. Some 35,000 jobs are involved. Those jobs ought to be placed on a nonpolitical career basis.

Also, State relief administrators now have to be confirmed by the Senate, which makes senatorial patronage out of those jobs and makes them as political as the old postmasterships. Senators insisted upon the right of confirmation, fearing that otherwise the relief administrators might become hostile political forces. Those administrators, too, ought to be nonpolitical career men.

Anyway, former Relief Administrator Hopkins shows by what a simple process objective and constructive criticism can be obtained. Take a New Dealer off his job and start him talking. It would be really getting somewhere if Roosevelt, after leaving the White House, became a newspaper columnist and started telling what he thought was wrong with the New Deal. That would be something.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I hesitate to detain the Senate longer in the consideration of this nomination, but I shall occupy the time of the Senate for a few moments, not only because I deem it my duty to do so but because I want to do so.

I hope that in what I shall say I may be free from emotion, and free from any unfairness toward anybody; but we are dealing here, and must continue to deal longer than most of us would desire, with a subject that is intensely human. That subject is the relationship of government to those of its citizens who are unfortunate enough not to be able, by their own efforts or their own opportunities, to enjoy the share of whatever economic prosperity or wealth there is in the Nation, which under other circumstances they would be permitted to enjoy.

We have been engaging here during the past 6 or 7 years in what has come to be popularly known as relief. We started out in the beginning under the delusion that the Federal Government could loan money to the States, and thereby escape its responsibility of administration; and for a while we harbored the delusion that that money loaned to the States would be returned. We soon discovered the fiction of that delusion; and the Government, by gradual steps with which we are all familiar, took over the responsibility of relief and work on a national scale. Mr. Hopkins became the Administrator of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, referred to as the F. E. R. A. Gradually that developed into the C. W. A., the Civil Works Administration, which finally evolved into the W. P. A., the Works Progress Administration.

During the entire time during which Mr. Hopkins has been the Administrator of F. E. R. A., and C. W. A., and W. P. A., there have been expended \$9,357,076,000. During that time between 225,000 and 250,000 separate projects have been prosecuted and completed under the W. P. A. and the C. W. A. under the administration of Mr. Hopkins. During the life of the Works Progress Administration 6,780,000 different persons have worked throughout the United States on projects that were conducted under the supervision of

the W. P. A. and Mr. Hopkins.

I ask any Senator here who opposes this nomination, or who opposes the program of the W. P. A., to point to a single one of these 250,000 projects in connection with which there has been discovered a dollar's worth of graft under the administration of Harry Hopkins. These projects have consisted of the erection of schoolhouses all over this Nation. They have consisted of the construction of playgrounds and parks and highways. They have consisted of the rejuvenation and revival of historic sites of one kind and another all over the Nation in order to perpetuate in the minds of coming generations the deeds of heroism of those who have gone before. They have consisted of all kinds of worthy projects.

I have seen some of these projects. Driving through the mountains of Kentucky I have stopped in the middle of the road to observe a three-room or four-room modern brick and stone schoolhouse standing hard by a one-room log cabin, the sort of schoolhouse in which our people in those sections have been educated from generation to generation. I have seen hundreds of more commodious buildings all over the country.

In all the debate over the character of Harry Hopkins as a person and over the character of his administration as a public officer I have heard no reference made to these evidences of permanent improvement, to the enrichment of our social and economic lives in not only every county but in almost every village and hamlet and throughout every countryside over this Nation, in connection with no one of which has anybody charged, nor can anyone prove, that a dollar of graft went to anyone in charge of these projects or this

program, or to anyone who worked upon them.

Since the 4th of March 1933, 6,780,000 men have been employed under the jurisdiction of Mr. Hopkins, and the newspapers of the Nation which have been unfriendly to this administration, and which have sought to find something which could be the basis of a charge of misconduct, have gone out with spyglasses and with magnifying instruments of all kinds to find a peg on which to hang a hat indicating corruption or incompetence. Then, in an unfortunate statement made by Mr. Hopkins in the spring of 1938, he said that if he were still a citizen of Iowa-having once been a citizen of that State-he would vote for the opponent of our friend and colleague, the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE]. I said at the time Mr. Hopkins made that statement, and I now say, that it was an indiscreet statement, that it was a mistake for him to have made it, it was an improper statement for him to have made. Aside from the merits of any contest in which the Senator from Iowa, for whom all of us have the highest respect and esteem, was a candidate, the statement was an indiscretion, it was improper, whether it was deliberate or casual, as at the time I thought it to have been. The Senator from Iowa, however, believed it was deliberate. Whether it was deliberate or casual, it ought not to have been made. I venture the suggestion that if it had not been made the Sheppard committee never would have been authorized by an amendment to go into the activities of the W. P. A. The Sheppard committee having already been appointed to investigate campaign expenditures in the various senatorial races. the statement that was made by Mr. Hopkins created such a furor on the floor of the Senate that it resulted in the amendment of the resolution under which the Sheppard committee was appointed, involving an investigation of the activities of the W. P. A. in senatorial contests.

As the result of the activities of the Sheppard committee, a report has been brought here in which the committee criticizes the activities of certain subordinate officers of the W. P. A. in three States-Tennessee, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky. In its report the Sheppard committee was just enough and fair enough to say that although they discovered some activities in Kentucky that were reprehensible, I had no knowledge of them, and was in no way responsible for them. The Sheppard committee could have made no other sort of report, because if they had had all of their investigators in Kentucky, and if they had remained there until now, and should stay there another year, they could not have produced and could not now produce any evidence that could have fastened upon me either knowledge of or responsibility for the things which they criticized in the State of

Reference has been made in the report of the committee and in the debate on the floor of the Senate to the report made by a very lovable and estimable newspaper reporter who represented the Scripps-Howard press of an investigation he made in the State of Kentucky. I refer to Mr. Thomas L. Stokes. I know Mr. Stokes. We all know him. He is an estimable man, and I think wanted to be fair. I do not think the fact that that particular chain of newspapers was hoping for my defeat and in their paper in the State of Kentucky opposed me vigorously day by day in their news columns and their editorials had any effect on

the kind of report Mr. Stokes made to his paper.

At that time there were 60,000 people on the rolls of the W. P. A. in Kentucky, and after spending weeks in the State, Mr. Stokes found that 22 people had been guilty of conduct which he thought was subject to criticism, and he wrote about them in his papers. Those cases were immediately referred to Mr. Hopkins, and he did what every department of this Government will do under such circumstances; he sent his investigators to the particular localities involved to interview the people concerned and to investigate the charges which had been made in these newspaper articles. The same course had been pursued by the Post Office Department and is pursued day by day and year by year whenever charges are made against a postal employee. The same practice is followed by every other department when charges are made against its personnel. It sends its investigating force to look into the charges and make a

By inference and by implication Mr. Hopkins is criticized here because he pursued that policy, because he sent his own investigators instead of going into some other department and getting theirs to investigate these cases. The result of his investigation was that, out of 22, 2 of the charges were sustained, and 20 of them were declared not sustained. I do not know what evidence the committee has in addition to that which was gathered by Mr. Hopkins' investigators. It is not very important. The committee says that Mr. Hopkins was wrong, that 18 of the charges were sustained instead

of 2.

Not only these newspapers, which were, I suppose, interested in the result in Kentucky, not on account of my importance, but because in the position I occupy temporarily I was a sort of symbol in the State of Kentucky of the New Deal fight, but other newspaper writers here in Washington have undertaken to create the impression that if it had not been for corruption and intimidation and coercion and reprehensible conduct of someone in connection with W. P. A.,

I would have not been returned to the Senate of the United States.

Mr. President, so far as the people of Kentucky are concerned, I do not have to defend my record on the floor of the Senate. The first office I ever held was that of prosecuting attorney, to which I was elected when I was 26 years of age. At the end of 4 years in that office I was elected a judge without opposition.

Before my 4-year term had expired I had been elected to Congress to represent a great district of that State in the House of Representatives. And although I had a fight in my first campaign, for 14 years I was returned without oppo-

sition to the House of Representatives.

In 1926 I was nominated, without opposition, for United States Senator from the State of Kentucky. At the end of a 6-year term I was renominated, carrying 112 counties out of 120, and was reelected in 1932.

In 1938 I was confronted with the opposition of the chief executive of my State, a popular and colorful young man who had been able to build up a political organization which was the strongest and the most nearly invulnerable that ever existed in the State of Kentucky. In my campaign for renomination I had to fight that organization, with all those on the State pay roll who were openly assessed from 2 to 5 percent of their salaries in order to raise a campaign fund, and the Sheppard committee reports that the portion of that fund collected from men and women who were employed and paid wholly or in part out of the Federal Treasury, amounted to \$70,000. That included men who were working on the highways, where the Federal Government was helping to pay the expense. That included old-age pension agents in every county, who drew half their salary out of the Federal Treasury. That included the personnel of the unemployment service, every dollar of whose salary was paid out of Washington, not a dollar of which was contributed by the State of Kentucky.

I do not wish to rehash the primary campaign in Kentucky; but in view of the unfair and in some cases deliberate misrepresentations of those who have tried to paint my nomination and election with the infamy of imputed wrong, I have a right to speak. As I said here the other day when interrupting another Senator, for 30 years I have been holding public office because I have been chosen by the people of my State and my communities. I never bought a vote nor authorized a man or woman to buy a vote in my behalf. I never put up a dollar in all my life to buy a vote. I do not believe in it. All my life I have stood for fair and honorable elections in Kentucky and offended and made enemies of some of my own party associates when I fought for a direct primary in order that the people might vote their choice, instead of having their choices manipulated in political conventions. And whatever the outside world thinks, knowing, as I think I do, what the people of Kentucky think, regardless of what the people anywhere else may think, I do not propose either for unfriendly newspapers or for unfriendly colleagues of my own here, if there are any, to smear that record that I have made over a period of 30 years in order to find a pretense for voting against Harry Hopkins for Secretary of Commerce.

About all the compensation we get here in this body is perhaps the delusion that we are rendering a public service and the reputation that we are able to build up in the performance of that service. There are no financial rewards that we can honorably take here that could not be infinitely multiplied on the outside by the exercise of only half of our energy or our care or our diligence in the performance of some private duty.

Mr. President, what are the facts? The statement has been made here in this debate that because the pay rolls of the W. P. A. were increased in 1938 we are automatically to conclude that the increase was due to politics. Who made that increase possible? Not Harry Hopkins. Not Franklin D. Roosevelt, who is the ultimate target of all this denunciation-and you need not doubt that for a moment. Harry Hopkins did not make possible the increase in the W. P. A. pay roll in 1938. Franklin D. Roosevelt did not make it possible. The Congress of the United States bears the responsibility for that, for they increased the amount that might be expended for W. P. A. labor over that of 1937 because, whatever you call it, whether it was a recession or whether it was a depression, as described by those whose minds dwell in venom-whether it was a depression or a recession-it began in the latter part of 1937; and the number of those unemployed began to increase in the latter part of 1937, and that condition continued over into 1938. As a result of the increased unemployment of this Nation the House of Representatives and the Senate increased the amount of money appropriated for public works in the Nation, and if Mr. Hopkins had not expended that money by the employment of more men and women he would have been subject to and would have received the just condemnation of the Congress of the United States and the country.

So it is not true that because of the increase in the W. P. A. rolls in 1938, politics is to be inferred. But if politics is to be inferred, then I say that in every State in the Union the increase of employees was determined by the need for work on the W. P. A. and in connection with other programs of the States of this Nation by reason of unemployment.

I have before me, Mr. President, tabulated figures for both 1937 and 1938 concerning the number of those on the W. P. A. rolls in every State in the Union, and I ask unanimous consent that they may be printed in the Record here as part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate has heard the request of the Senator from Kentucky. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The figures are as follows:

Employment on Works Progress Administration operated projects for the year 1937

Region and State	By States and by months for week ending—											
	Jan, 30	Feb. 27	Mar. 27	Apr. 24	May 29	June 26	July 31	Aug. 28	Sept. 25	Oct. 30	Nov. 20	Dec. 25
Region I: Connecticut	18, 847 7, 290 92, 459 7, 736 187, 666 74, 999 10, 088 3, 769	18, 376 7, 572 91, 389 7, 875 183, 326 78, 469 10, 619 4, 003	18, 300 7, 543 90, 779 7, 386 180, 296 80, 591 11, 377 3, 976	17, 775 6, 307 89, 557 7, 092 175, 944 79, 012 11, 112 3, 980	17, 746 5, 376 88, 849 6, 610 179, 644 72, 071 11, 932 3, 384	17, 364 3, 048 79, 583 5, 926 177, 204 66, 939 11, 414 2, 907	15, 549 2, 283 59, 779 5, 283 144, 382 60, 131 9, 283 2, 182	13, 343 2, 187 60, 748 4, 509 138, 007 57, 053 8, 969 1, 889	13, 387 2, 429 61, 322 4, 477 140, 870 54, 179 8, 887 1, 919	13, 894 2, 617 61, 332 4, 767 139, 852 52, 117 9, 160 2, 140	14, 371 3, 483 62, 727 5, 133 135, 705 53, 002 9, 796 2, 467	16, 890 4, 441 70, 728 5, 707 137, 724 52, 446 13, 150 3, 401
Total	402, 854	401, 629	400, 248	390, 779	385, 612	364, 385	298, 872	286, 705	287, 470	285, 879	286, 684	304, 487
Region II: Delaware District of Columbia Maryland New Jersey Pennsylvania West Virginia	2, 119 6, 754 12, 815 74, 038 223, 458 39, 205	2, 142 6, 517 13, 730 73, 976 219, 072 37, 498	2, 101 6, 601 12, 740 74, 537 215, 288 37, 381	2, 033 6, 691 12, 190 74, 629 203, 953 36, 531	2, 026 6, 720 11, 727 73, 481 195, 122 36, 001	1, 931 6, 523 10, 760 67, 396 179, 738 32, 059	1, 826 5, 904 9, 361 61, 374 157, 184 28, 759	1, 666 5, 590 9, 064 55, 734 152, 582 27, 450	1, 664 5, 477 8, 517 56, 600 148, 297 26, 958	1, 686 5, 625 8, 874 58, 299 157, 414 27, 045	1, 796 5, 764 8, 801 56, 946 157, 971 27, 902	1, 985 5, 956 9, 883 57, 948 158, 982 28, 806
Total	358, 389	352, 935	348, 648	336, 027	325, 077	298, 407	264, 408	252, 086	247, 513	258, 943	259, 180	263, 560

Employment on Works Progress Administration operated projects for the year 1937—Continued

of the Turnsymm of North					By States	nd by mon	ths for week	ending—				
Region and State	Jan. 30	Feb. 27	Mar. 27	Apr. 24	May 29	June 26	July 31	Aug. 28	Sept. 25	Oct. 30	Nov. 20	Dec. 25
Region III:	er en a ch	v () sale ()	(Helena)	A SHAN	H	la facilità		110 - 1 113			in all	A. Silin
Alabama	28, 035	27, 699	27,070	25, 927	27, 394	20, 668	21, 357	18, 498	18, 280	20, 681	22, 075	24, 896
Arkansas	24, 817	32, 260	25, 989	26, 684	27,070	23, 653	19, 911	19, 942	17, 987	18, 758	19, 418	21, 057
Florida	22, 424	23, 641	24, 086	23, 816	25, 548	25, 356	23, 852	23, 486	22, 956	22, 917	23, 194	24, 140
Georgia	32, 845	32, 334	29, 458	29, 496	28, 774	23, 761	22,778	22, 207	20, 676	21, 421	21, 904	25, 755
Louisiana Mississippi North Carolina South Carolina Tennessee	32, 631	36, 098	30, 758	32, 374	30, 779	26, 145	22, 889	21, 919	22, 182	21, 699	22, 578	24, 360
Mississippi	23, 732	22, 132	21, 990	23, 021	22, 429	17, 892	16, 902	15, 935	15, 905	16, 954	18, 040	20, 191
North Carolina	27, 346	26, 751	25, 127	24, 826	24, 495	22, 670	19, 673	19, 135	18, 829	18, 842	20, 045	22, 366
South Carolina	23, 898	22, 650	22, 331	21, 924	20, 914	19, 572	17, 303	16, 637	15, 190	15, 366	17, 359	19, 080
Tennessee	30, 589	30, 058	28, 375	26, 636	25, 989	23, 342	20, 767	19, 183	18, 644	18, 709	20, 453	21, 327
Texas Virginia	74, 918	76, 018	77, 711	79, 242	77, 618	68, 213	59, 296	52, 100	43, 184	41, 726	44, 860	55, 200
Virginia	22, 829	23, 344	23, 036	22, 666	19, 913	19, 284	17, 546	16, 557	16, 377	16, 418	16, 987	18, 204
Total	344, 064	352, 985	335, 931	336, 612	330, 923	290, 556	262, 274	245, 596	230, 210	233, 491	246, 913	276, 576
Region IV: Illinois Indiana	fris marks	MINISTRAL PROPERTY.	at False	ilai bron	6811				A SAMET	Red WA	ISE BITWY	ma koji s
Illinois	153, 558	150, 266	148, 075	150, 017	146, 456	132, 188	112, 231	107, 810	104, 470	103, 612	106, 926	108, 413
Indiana	62, 268	64, 303	65, 773	63, 081	58, 486	54, 143	45, 227	42, 261	40,968	41, 756	42, 686	45, 441
lows	24, 494	25, 498 37, 925	24, 344	22, 902	21, 161	19, 642	17, 244	16,083	16, 323	16, 541	16, 957	18, 425
Kansas Kentucky Michigan Minnesota	39, 636	37, 925	36, 355	37, 699	35, 552	30, 704	25, 464	24, 169	24, 650	25, 438	25, 864	26, 953
Kentucky	47, 139	49, 662	47, 482	47, 766	47, 301	41, 321	37, 590	36, 518	35, 285	36, 570	37, 458	39, 652
Michigan.	65, 894	65, 550	61, 798	58, 546	54, 212	50, 514	44, 915	43, 763	42, 472	42, 294	42, 824	46, 756
Minnesota	44, 477	46, 774	46, 802	43, 154	39, 775	37, 999	35, 167	31, 417	31, 295	33, 043	35, 482	36, 717
Missouri	81, 328	83, 510	79, 503	77, 972	72, 095	64, 656	56, 814	49, 886	48, 953	48, 616	48, 453	51, 539
Nebraska North Dakota	21, 758	24, 003	22, 321	21, 639	21, 619	19,058	16, 207	16, 685	16, 431	17, 544	18, 855	19, 916
North Dakota	17, 316	17, 552	16, 444	15, 154	12, 124	11, 943	10, 109	8, 292	9, 113	10, 480	11,719	12, 865
Ohio	131, 225	128, 101	124, 177	119, 734	115, 989	99,000	88, 032	83, 860	84, 207	85, 088	87, 827	91, 694
Ohio South Dakota	19, 049	19, 327	19, 487	16, 999	14, 210	13, 764	9, 476	9, 016	11, 297	12, 935	14, 799	16, 054
Wisconsin	48, 781	51, 542	50, 793	47, 025	43, 949	42, 063	36, 655	34, 917	33, 215	34, 366	34, 826	38, 855
Total	756, 923	764, 013	743, 354	721, 688	682, 929	616, 959	535, 131	504, 677	498, 679	508, 283	524, 676	553, 280
Region V:	niz de sini	(a) anomin	al inglis	We self							THE PARTY	
Arizona	7, 514	7, 925	8, 255	8, 721	8, 485	7,682	6, 590	6, 387	6, 391	6, 483	6, 519	7, 038
Colifornia	105, 264	103, 976	105, 235	106, 504	108, 417	98, 605	80, 476	73, 185	68, 709	66, 237	68, 531	73, 340
Colorado	23, 339	24, 603	25, 550	24, 730	20, 701	19, 837	18, 379	15, 499	15, 257	15, 593	17, 037	19, 053
Idaho	7, 252	7,858	7, 761	7, 156	5, 425	4,700	4, 293	4, 024	4, 146	4, 286	5, 509	7, 62
Montana	12,004	11,889	11, 548	12,069	10, 274	9, 387	8,070	9, 310	10, 813	11, 983	12, 339	13, 54
Nevada New Mexico Oregon Utah	2, 128 7, 799	2, 467	2,082	1, 964	1,993	1, 441	1, 237	1,051	1,038	1, 355	1, 488	1, 78
New Mexico	7,799	8, 245	8, 834	8, 319	8, 506	8, 244	6, 789	6, 455	6, 405	6, 113	5, 938	6, 39
Oregon	15, 446	15, 994	15, 846	14, 413	14, 370	13, 206	12, 400	9, 824	9,067	9, 699	10,868	12, 130
Utah	8, 211	8, 119	8, 654	8, 106	7, 622 29, 183	7, 511	6, 608	6, 257	6, 434	6, 164	6, 400	7, 388
Washington Wyoming	33, 120 2, 924	30, 082 2, 942	31, 189	32, 390 2, 772	2, 413	25, 508 2, 365	21, 420	20, 085	19, 560	21, 351	24, 457	31, 74
Harris St. Control of the Land of the Control of th	2, 924	2, 942	2, 931	2,112	2, 110	2,000	2, 026	1, 736	1,731	1,694	1, 935	2, 62
Total	225, 001	224, 100	227, 885	227, 144	217, 389	198, 486	168, 288	153, 813	149, 551	150, 958	161, 021	182, 669
Oklahoma	46, 680	45, 798	54, 777	54, 416	53, 538	48, 651	41,766	37, 575	37, 194	37, 197	38, 704	46, 17
United States total	2, 133, 911	2, 141, 460	2, 110, 843	2, 066, 666	1, 995, 468	1, 817, 480	1, 570, 739	1, 480, 452	1, 450, 617	1, 474, 751	1, 517, 178	1, 626, 74
Alaska	4 140	4 100	9 057	3, 744	9 001	13	2, 172	13	13	13	13	
Hawaii		4, 102	3, 957		3, 801	3, 658	STATE BASE	2, 242	2, 244	2, 527	2, 549	2, 51
Grand total	2, 138, 059	2, 145, 562	2, 114, 800	2, 070, 410	1, 999, 269	1, 821, 151	1, 572, 924	1, 482, 707	1, 452, 874	1, 477, 291	1, 519, 740	1, 629, 26

# Employment on Works Progress Administration operated projects for the year 1938

gloss to resident the similar	By States and by months for week ending—												
Region and State	Jan. 29	Feb. 26	Mar. 26	Apr. 30	May 28	June 25	July 30	Aug. 27	Sept. 24	Oct. 29	Nov. 26	Dec. 24	
Region I: Connecticut	20, 247 7, 670 80, 930 7, 323 138, 750	20, 879 7, 943 84, 960 7, 309 143, 797	21, 310 7, 314 97, 708 8, 285 151, 788	22, 268 7, 897 107, 047 8, 449 159, 217	23, 551 8, 008 105, 433 8, 366 164, 727	25, 497 8, 338 110, 167 8, 761 170, 082	27, 623 8, 827 119, 823 8, 928 173, 300	28, 723 9, 304 125, 345 9, 475 172, 245	29, 701 8, 575 125, 533 9, 547 179, 595	31, 581 10, 131 130, 829 13, 607 183, 656	32, 341 10, 806 129, 305 13, 418 184, 085	28, 448 10, 226 126, 057 10, 928 178, 412	
York City)  Rhode Island  Vermont	52, 307 13, 072 4, 603	52, 819 12, 570 4, 941	52, 659 12, 723 5, 101	54, 672 13, 728 5, 090	56, 588 14, 283 4, 983	58, 553 15, 080 5, 030	63, 363 16, 073 5, 496	64, 424 16, 490 5, 832	64, 648 16, 966 5, 964	65, 412 18, 084 9, 992	66, 229 17, 658 9, 242	64, 010 16, 385 7, 992	
Total	324, 902	335, 218	356, 888	378, 368	385, 939	401, 508	423, 433	431, 838	440, 529	463, 292	463, 084	442, 458	
Region II: Delaware District of Columbia. Maryland New Jersey Pennsylvania West Virginia.	2, 457 6, 854 11, 085 70, 946 183, 962 33, 825	2, 578 7, 042 11, 442 71, 973 193, 247 35, 314	2, 996 7, 960 12, 021 78, 935 217, 156 40, 547	3, 282 7, 998 12, 286 91, 161 227, 635 42, 932	3, 312 8, 215 12, 629 90, 499 244, 836 43, 134	3, 634 8, 626 13, 064 91, 563 253, 684 47, 786	3, 783 12, 311 14, 972 99, 325 273, 897 50, 906	3, 748 12, 242 14, 786 102, 023 267, 989 51, 667	3, 519 12, 589 15, 650 105, 177 272, 565 52, 752	4, 038 13, 072 16, 423 107, 261 287, 635 53, 044	4, 023 12, 698 15, 619 108, 112 286, 602 53, 117	3, 788 12, 453 15, 323 101, 002 259, 097 49, 953	
Total	309, 129	321, 596	359, 615	385, 294	402, 625	418, 357	455, 194	452, 455	462, 252	481, 473	480, 171	441, 616	
Region III: Alabama Arkansas Florida Georgia Louisiana Mississippi North Carolina South Carolina Tennessee Texas Virginia	28, 038 32, 518 27, 986 23, 809 26, 101 27, 176 26, 155	30, 857 30, 576 28, 372 33, 912 30, 320 26, 131 28, 804 27, 173 28, 413 70, 963 21, 590	36, 185 33, 351 31, 241 38, 833 31, 120 29, 719 31, 145 30, 115 30, 990 76, 330 22, 716	40, 159 35, 787 33, 006 42, 963 31, 607 31, 616 33, 768 32, 429 32, 139 80, 937 23, 101	43, 169 36, 042 35, 303 45, 359 31, 682 33, 425 35, 330 34, 044 32, 735 81, 087 23, 389	45, 697 37, 595 36, 369 48, 022 33, 391 35, 704 37, 371 34, 941 35, 366 81, 494 24, 080	46, 896 40, 303 39, 218 51, 431 38, 517 36, 637 42, 058 37, 593 39, 679 86, 103 25, 154	55, 620 47, 722 50, 326 55, 822 44, 023 42, 573 45, 945 41, 714 45, 189 90, 828 26, 359	60, 564 47, 756 52, 105 58, 147 48, 274 39, 932 48, 260 46, 114 46, 242 91, 679 27, 237	63, 468 54, 695 55, 016 71, 093 52, 330 54, 112 52, 077 56, 844 48, 767 106, 753 27, 794	64, 305 54, 702 53, 287 70, 788 54, 649 49, 279 55, 143 50, 718 55, 558 112, 067 28, 744	61, 089 48, 951 51, 192 59, 540 52, 198 47, 380 54, 918 41, 069 54, 768 107, 288 23, 253	
Total	333, 322	357, 111	391, 745	417, 512	431, 565	450, 030	483, 589	546, 121	566, 310	642, 949	649, 240	606, 649	

Employment on Works Progress Administration operated projects for the year 1938-Continued

		By States and by months for week ending→												
Region and State	Jan. 29	Feb. 26	Mar. 26	Apr. 30	May 28	June 25	July 30	Aug. 27	Sept. 24	Oct. 29	Nov. 26	Dec. 24		
Region IV: Illinois Indiana Lowa Kansas Kentucky Michigan Minnesota Missouri Nebraska North Dakota Ohio South Dakota Wisconsin	41, 612 64, 749 42, 938 60, 888 23, 247	149, 276 64, 991 26, 376 34, 109 43, 800 86, 356 48, 561 65, 123 27, 227 14, 786 150, 030 17, 474 52, 352	194, 687 84, 468 30, 594 35, 612 48, 285 120, 156 57, 696 85, 215 28, 202 14, 870 196, 168 17, 402 64, 390	206, 355 93, 087 33, 490 36, 232 55, 986 146, 704 60, 776 92, 350 28, 951 13, 439 230, 637 15, 279 71, 206	217, 367 92, 869 33, 522 35, 918 60, 389 175, 790 62, 104 97, 159 28, 055 13, 124 238, 609 15, 374 71, 755	223, 980 94, 308 33, 907 34, 518 63, 588 185, 109 61, 861 101, 996 28, 825 13, 294 249, 318 15, 759 72, 849	241, 270 99, 572 33, 753 35, 062 69, 558 192, 749 64, 912 112, 834 28, 426 13, 783 267, 224 10, 689 78, 399	246, 678 99, 781 33, 804 36, 391 71, 646 203, 446 65, 582 112, 508 28, 535 12, 933 269, 348 12, 518 80, 482	252, 381 98, 209 33, 858 37, 334 70, 736 191, 115 67, 653 110, 543 30, 276 14, 391 282, 523 15, 118 83, 283	257, 108 101, 374 33, 816 38, 037 70, 999 165, 264 29, 812 16, 885 285, 442 17, 073 85, 921	252, 373 98, 575 33, 206 38, 144 69, 431 154, 108 68, 844 111, 022 30, 050 16, 223 274, 712 17, 524 85, 297	242, 455 88, 203 31, 183 35, 833 65, 927 145, 386 66, 177 108, 266 277, 353 14, 618 262, 714 15, 485 78, 466		
Total	663, 662	780, 461	977, 745	1, 084, 492	1, 143, 035	1, 179, 312	1, 248, 329	1, 274, 652	1, 287, 420	1, 286, 667	1, 249, 509	1, 182, 052		
Region V: Arizona California, total	7, 911 79, 980	7, 642 86, 526	8, 554 91, 649	9, 493 94, 688	9, 661 94, 999	10, 084 94, 683	11, 295 107, 693	11, 778 110, 053	12, 282 112, 235	12, 112 119, 064	10, 862 121, 910	10, 339 111, 900		
Northern	40, 515 39, 465	46, 948 39, 578	50, 317 41, 332	49, 877 44, 811	50, 478 44, 521	50, 626 44, 057	57, 242 50, 451	59, 839 50, 214	60, 821 51, 414	64, 089 54, 975	66, 302 55, 608	61, 866 50, 034		
Colorado Idaho Montana Nevada New Mexico Oregon Utah Washington Wyoming	23, 484 10, 488 16, 265 2, 268 7, 231 15, 176 8, 407 39, 153 3, 482	25, 517 10, 840 16, 414 2, 240 8, 001 16, 157 9, 084 38, 963 3, 823	27, 171 11, 426 18, 144 2, 657 9, 858 16, 355 10, 386 45, 556 4, 592	28, 359 10, 991 19, 489 2, 378 10, 022 16, 913 10, 736 45, 362 4, 586	28, 083 9, 600 19, 572 2, 195 10, 043 16, 764 10, 347 44, 401 4, 270	28, 340 8, 651 21, 317 2, 191 10, 686 16, 072 10, 241 44, 632 4, 273	31, 786 9, 026 22, 207 2, 262 12, 754 16, 472 12, 473 51, 546 4, 267	32, 189 9, 295 22, 342 2, 402 13, 905 16, 943 12, 966 51, 054 4, 275	32, 313 9, 624 22, 497 2, 465 13, 493 16, 847 12, 904 50, 953 4, 314	31, 271 9, 550 21, 668 2, 557 13, 398 18, 268 12, 887 51, 458 4, 368	31, 596 11, 218 21, 014 2, 512 12, 704 18, 393 12, 976 53, 474 4, 096	28, 532 10, 631 19, 005 2, 536 11, 226 18, 358 12, 789 47, 937 4, 100		
TotalOklahoma	213, 845 53, 291	225, 207 54, 128	246, 358 59, 996	253, 017 62, 651	249, 935 65, 603	251, 170 65, 191	281, 781 71, 183	287, 202 71, 491	289, 927 70, 376	296, 601 71, 074	300, 755 69, 520	277, 353 67, 904		
United States, total	1, 898, 151 2, 463	2, 073, 721 2, 498	2, 392, 347 2, 509	2, 581, 334 2, 030	2, 678, 702 1, 686	2, 765, 568 1, 557	2, 963, 411 3, 421	3, 063, 759 3, 195	3, 116, 814 3, 108	3, 242, 056 3, 218	3, 212, 279 3, 285	3, 018, 029 3, 148		
Grand total		2, 076, 219	2, 394, 856	2, 583, 364	2, 680, 388	2, 767, 125	2, 966, 832	3, 066, 954	3, 119, 922	3, 245, 274	3, 215, 564	3, 021, 177		

Mr. BARKLEY. I will go over the figures for all the States. The Sheppard committee singled out Tennessee, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania, three States, in which the W. P. A. was subject to criticism. I have made a tabulation of the percentage of increase in all the States and by regions, as decided by the W. P. A.

In the State of Connecticut the increase was 40 percent. In the State of Maine the increase was 33 percent. In Massachusetts it was 58 percent; in New Hampshire, 50 percent. In New York City it was 30 percent. In New York State, outside the city, it was 25 percent. In Rhode Island it was 20 percent. In Vermont it was 70 percent. In the whole region in which these States are located, region No. 1, the increase was 33 percent.

Region No. 2: In Delaware the increase was 55 percent. In the District of Columbia, where nobody was running for office, and where no politics possibly could have entered into it, the increase was 80 percent. In Maryland it was 38 percent. In New Jersey it was 42 percent. In Pennsylvania it was 40 percent. In West Virginia it was 50 percent. In that entire region, region No. 2, the increase was about 38 percent.

The third region: Alabama had an increase of 105 percent. Arkansas had an increase of 80 percent; Florida, 75 percent; Georgia, 84 percent; Louisiana, 85 percent; Mississippi, 100 percent; North Carolina, 110 percent; South Carolina, 60 percent; Tennessee, 110 percent; Texas, 65 percent; Virginia, 40 percent. The total increase in 1938 in the region known as the third region, in which these States are located, was an average of 80 percent.

The fourth region: Illinois had an increase of 80 percent. Indiana had an increase of 55 percent. Iowa had 45 percent. Kansas had about 20-percent increase. Kentucky had 55 percent. In the State of Michigan, from January to December, there was an increase of 115 percent. If there was a State in the Union in which the administration was interested in the election of a Governor at least—there being no senatorial race and Governor Murphy being a candidate for reelection—it was the State of Michigan. I believe it would

not be drawing on my imagination to say that the President and Mr. Hopkins, if they had any choice in Michigan, were in favor of Gov. Frank Murphy.

I know that all of us Democrats hoped for his reelection as Governor. And yet from August 1938 to November 1938, more than 50,000 people were taken off the rolls of the W. P. A. in the State of Michigan.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I cannot yield. I am sorry. I have only 30 minutes, and I have not much time left.

In Minnesota the increase was 55 percent; in Missouri the increase was 75 percent; in Ohio it was 130 percent; in Wisconsin it was 75 percent; in Arizona it was 33½ percent; in California, 40 percent; in Colorado, 19 percent; and so forth.

I ask unanimous consent to include this tabulation in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate having heard the request, and there being no objection, it may be printed. The tabulation is as follows:

REGION 1		
Connecticut: January December	\$20, 247 28, 488	
THE REPORT OF THE PARTY OF THE	8, 241=	3%
MarchNovember	21, 310 32, 341	
	11,031=	50%
Maine: January December	7, 670 10, 226	
	2,556=	33%
March November	7,314 10,806	
	3,492=	50%

Massachusetts: January			Maryland: January	\$11,085	
December	126, 057		December	15, 323	
	45, 127=	58%	and Francis state treated to make the	4, 238=	389
March November	97, 708 130, 829		March October	12, 021 16, 423	
	33, 121=	33%	新 · 新州 · 法没口信证   与是   [15]	4,402=	35
New Hampshire:			New Jersey: January		
January December	7,323 10,928		December	70, 946 101, 002	
	3,605=	50%		30, 056—	42
March November			MarchOctober	78, 835 107, 261	
En one of the second of the se	5,322=	62%	ter property and the contract colors	28, 426-	36
New York City: January	138, 750		Pennsylvania: January	183, 962	
December			December	259, 097	
题性。 (2000 ) 1990   1990 ] TO	39,662=	30%	Si y High Carrier Sasan Sasyar	75, 135=	40
March November			MarchOctober	217, 156 287, 635	maniotik eniladi j
	32,301=	20%		70, 479=	35
New York State:	55 m (s) (s) (s) (d) (d) (d)		West Virginia:		
January December			January	33, 825 49, 953	
	12,000=	25%	[2] [[2] [2] [2] [2] [2] [2] [2] [2] [2]	16, 128—	50
March November		H X 1	MarchOctober	35, 344 53, 044	
	14,000=	25%	Euro e ( not em se) que 200 a (unhano e ) du 200 de ( 222)	17, 700	50
Rhode Island: January		00 100	Total, region 2:	WOUTSLOOK S	
December			December	309, 129 441, 615	
	3,313=	20%	sunth the states to which the REP &	132, 486⇒	42
March November	12, 723 17, 658		March October	359, 615 481, 473	
and uto the re	4,935=	40%	-and an analysis as region 3	121, 858=	38
Vermont:	T STALES BAR		Alabama:	CECH ALE	
December	4,603 7,992		January	29,317 61,089	War.
Automative to the old of the beautiful fundamental and provided the country of th	3,389=	70%	tinent a wis 70 percent, In the whole I	31, 772=	105
MarchNovember	5, 101 9, 992		MarchOctober		
	4 001	95%	to material of the second of the material and the second of the second o	63, 468 27, 283=	75
Total, region 1:	TE DE SYNCE DES	anaous?	Arkansas:	21,200	
January December	324, 902 442, 458		Arkansas: January	27, 162 48, 951	
	117, 556=	33 %	The No. 21 has a second of the party of Tally	The state of the s	80
Delaware:	1103		March	33, 351	
January December	2,457 3,788		October	54, 695	ourati
and their visit in the second	1,381=	55%	Florida:	21, 344	65
MarchNovember	- 2,996 - 4,023		January	28, 372 51, 192	
Visit Transfer Control	1,027=	33%	namer deletil sik grand stati den met-	22, 820=	75
District of Columbia:		sargur.	March	31, 242	181
January December	6, 854 12, 453		October	55, 016	Segur
2/5 ( - 05/5 )	5, 699=	80%	Georgia:	23, 774—	70
March October	7,960 13,072	SAZA.	January December	32, 518 59, 540	
AMOR SON THE	5, 112=	65%	A set with the car is an experience to the contract of the con	27, 022=	84

# CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

Georgia—Continued.			Illinois:		
MarchOctober	\$38, 833 71, 093		January December	\$132, 424 242, 458	
	32, 260=	82%		110, 034=	80%
Louisiana: January	27, 986		MarchOctober	194, 687 257, 108	
December	52, 198 24, 212—	85%		162, 421=	80%
March	31, 120	00 70	Indiana: January December	56, 488 88, 202	
October	52, 330 21, 210=	66%		31,714=	55%
M'ssissippi:	21, 210	00 /6	March	84, 468	
January	23, 809 47, 380		October	16, 906	20%
	23, 571=	100%	Iowa:		20 /0
March October	29,719 54,112		January December	21, 288 31, 181	
ac I a e delle a e de le e	24, 323=	80%		9, 893=	45%
North Carolina:		15	MarchOctober	30, 594 38, 037	e perei
January	26, 101 54, 918			7,443=	40%
	28, 817=	110%	Kansas: January	30, 461	
MarchOctober	31, 145 52, 077		December	35, 837	
	20, 932—	67%	-	5,376=	18%
South Carolina:			March October	35, 612 38, 037	100
January December	26, 155 41, 069			2, 425—	10%
	14, 914=	6%	Kentucky: January	41, 612	
MarchOctober	30, 115 56, 844		December	65, 927	1
-	26, 729 =	85%		24, 315= 48, 285	55%
Tennessee:			March JulyOctober	69, 558 70, 999	
January December	26, 155 54, 768		0.0000	21, 273=	45%
	28, 613 =	110%	as the same of the same of the	22, 714=	46%
March October	30, 990 48, 767		Michigan: ====================================	64, 749	bD.
	17, 777=	60%	December	80, 631=	1150
Texas:	64, 928		March	120, 156	115%
December	107, 288		November	154, 108	
	42, 360 =	65%		33, 952=	35%
March October	76, 330 106, 750		August November	203, 446 154, 108	
Charles 48 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	36, 420 =	45%		50, 662	ecrease 25%
Virginia: January	20, 137		Minnesota: January	42, 938	
December	28, 253		December	23, 238=	55%
	8, 116=	40%	March	57, 696	00 70
March October	22, 716 27, 794		November	68, 844	
	5, 078=	25%	Missouri:	11, 148=	20%
Total, region 3: January	333, 322		January	60, 888 108, 264	
December	606, 646			47, 376=	75%
	273, 324=	80%	March	85, 215	
March October	391, 745 642, 949		November	116, 384	00.00
The street of the second section of the second	251, 204=	62%		31, 169=	38%

REGION 4—continued		
Nebraska: January December	\$23, 247 27, 351	
	4, 104=	2%
March November	28, 202 30, 050	
	1, 848	5%
North Dakota: January December	14, 167 14, 618	
The second second	451=	5%
Ohio: January December	114, 305 262, 315	
(Anti-) (800 a)	148, 010=	130%
March	196, 168	
November	274, 712	
	78, 544=	40%
South Dakota: January December	16, 457 15, 483	
	1, 174=	= loss
Wisconsin: January December	44, 238 78, 460	
_		75%
MarchNovember	64, 390 85, 296	
		32%
Total, region 4:		
January December	663, 662 1, 182, 052	
	518, 390=	85%
Arizona:	2020	
January December	7, 911 10, 339	
Top Carrie	2, 428=	= 33 1/3 %
MarchOctober	8, 554 12, 112	
	3, 558=	= 40%
California:	0,000	10 /0
January	79, 980 111, 900	
	31, 920=	= 40%
MarchOctober	91,649 119,064	
bu +whole	27, 415=	= 30%
Colorado: January	00 404	
December	23, 484 28, 532	HCHOIA
	5, 048=	= 19%
MarchOctober	27, 171 31, 271	
to the state of th	4, 100=	= 20%
Idaho: January December	10, 488 10, 631	nanoger :
	143	
March	11, 426 9, 550	
de trade e ma de		Decrease

Montana: January	\$16, 265	
December	19,005	
Wish Co-many	3,740=	20%
March	18, 144	
October	21, 668	
	3,524=	18%
Nevada:	2, 268	
January December	2, 536	
	268	
New Mexico:	Teller	
January December	7, 231 11, 226	
1001 (AUXILIA	3,995=	30%
March	9, 858	
October	13, 398	
and the second second	3,540=	3%
Oregon:	15 170	
January December	15, 176 18, 358	
worth on an	3, 182=	2%
MarchOctober	16, 365 18, 393	
200 - 200 as	2, 028=	12%
Utah:		
January December	8, 407 12, 789	
and the state of t	4, 382=	50%
March	10, 386	
October	12, 887	
	2, 501=	20%
Washington:		
January December	39, 143 47, 937	
HIT HIS DO	8, 794=	20%
March	45, 556	
October	51, 458	
- 170 111	5, 902=	15%
Wyoming:	3, 482	
December	4, 100	
	618—	8%
MarchOctober	4, 592 4, 368	
But (30)	224 D	ecrease
Total, region 5:		
January December	213, 845 277, 353	
	63, 508=	30%
		_ 70

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I have given these figures—and they are official figures—in order to refute the suggestion that in any State, or in the Nation as a whole, Harry Hopkins, Franklin D. Roosevelt, or anybody connected with the W. P. A., was trying to increase the rolls in order to affect the result of an election. If anybody is responsible or blamable for the increase in the W. P. A. rolls, it is the Congress of the United States.

On the day of the primary in Kentucky there were 69,000 on the rolls. From 40 to 50 percent of them were Republicans, and are now Republicans. They have not been fired. They could not vote in the Democratic primaries. Taking a conservative figure of 40 percent, and subtracting that figure from 69,000, we have left 41,735. One-third of those who were left

were not registered, and therefore they could not vote in the primary election. That left 27,000. One-third of those who were registered did not vote, and when we deduct that number from the figure we have, the number left is 18,525.

I have no way of knowing how many of those left voted for me. I assume a majority of them would have done so as a matter of course, because they were working on a program which I as a Senator had helped to bring about. However, I never electioneered with a single one of them. I never visited any of them. I did not go into the W. P. A. headquarters of the State in Kentucky, nor in any region, nor in any county.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair informs the Senator that his time has expired, unless he requests an extension.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not want to ask for an extension. However, if there is no objection, I should like to have the 5 minutes which was taken out of my time by yielding a moment ago.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Kentucky may have 5 minutes additional.

Mr. REED. I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Kentucky may continue for 5 minutes.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I am sorry, but I follow the old democratic principle of special privileges to none. Although I know the occasion is a very important one for my distinguished friend, I shall have to object to any extension at this time.

Mr. BARKLEY. Let me conclude with one sentence: The majority which I received in the primary was 72,000. If I had not received a single vote from W. P. A. workers in Kentucky, my majority would have been at least 60,000; so, though I am grateful for the W. P. A. votes I received as for all the votes that I received, the result was not determined by that vote.

Mr. President, I thank the Senate for the patient attention it has given me. I am sorry I have not a little more time. However, I am content to leave the verdict with the Senate.

I now suggest the absence of a quorum in order that Senators who are absent may be called to the Chamber before this vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point of no quorum being made, the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Frazier	Lee	Reynolds
		Lewis	Russell
Andrews	George		
Ashurst	Gerry	Lodge	Schwartz
Austin	Gibson	Logan	Schwellenbach
Bankhead	Gillette	Lucas	Sheppard
Barbour	Glass	Lundeen	Shipstead
Barkley	Green	McCarran	Smathers
Bilbo	Guffey	McKellar	Smith
Bone	Gurney	McNary	Stewart
Borah	Hale	Maloney	Taft
Bridges	Harrison	Mead	Thomas, Okla.
Bulow	Hatch	Miller	Thomas, Utah
Byrnes	Hayden	Minton	Tobey
Capper	Herring	Murray	Townsend
Caraway	Hill	Neely	Truman
Clark, Idaho	Holman	Norris	Tydings
Clark, Mo.	Holt	Nye	Vandenberg
Connally	Hughes	O'Mahoney	Van Nuys
Danaher	Johnson, Calif.	Pepper	Wagner
Davis	Johnson, Colo.	Pittman	White
Downey	King	Radcliffe	Wiley
Ellender	La Follette	Reed	

Mr. LEWIS. I beg again to announce the absence of certain Senators, and the reasons therefor, as given by me on a previous roll call.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-seven Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination of Harry L. Hopkins, of New York, to be Secretary of Commerce?

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I ask to be excused from voting.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Maryland is excused from voting.

Mr. LEWIS. I am authorized to announce that the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Overton], who is absent because of illness, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Brown], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez], and the Senator from Montana [Mr. Wheeler], who are absent on important public business, if present and voting, would vote "yea."

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Walsh] is detained in the State of Massachusetts attending a conference of New England Governors on the New England flood-control program. I am advised that if present and voting he would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 58, nays 27, as follows:

	YE.	AS-58	
Adams Andrews Ashurst Bankhead Barkley Bilbo Bone Bulow Byrnes Caraway Clark, Idaho Clark, Mo. Connally	Frazier Gillette Green Guffey Harrison Hatch Hayden Herring Hill Hughes Johnson, Colo. La Follette Lee	Lucas Lundeen McCarran McKellar Maloney Mead Miller Minton Murray Neely Norris Nye O'Mahoney	Radcliffe Reynolds Russell Schwartz Schwellenbach Smethers Smith Stewart Thomas, Okla. Thomas, Utah Truman Wagner
Downey Ellender	Lewis Logan	Pepper Pittman	
Talkinia - Syn #		YS—27	
Austin Barbour Borah Bridges Capper Danaher Davis	George Gerry Gibson Gurney Hale Holman Holt	Johnson, Calif. King Lodge McNary Reed Shipstead Taft	Tobey Townsend Vandenberg Van Nuys White Wiley
	NOT VO	OTING—11	Lauren Mad
Bailey Brown Burke	Byrd Chavez Donahey	Glass Overton Tydings	Walsh Wheeler

So the nomination of Harry L. Hopkins, of New York, to be Secretary of Commerce was confirmed.

## EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

## ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask that the remainder of the nominations on the calendar be called, and in that connection I wish to say to the Senate that as soon as that is done it is expected to resume legislative session and make House Joint Resolution 83, the relief appropriation measure, the unfinished business, and then recess until tomorrow.

# EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of sundry postmasters, which were ordered to be placed on the Executive Calendar.

# POSTMASTERS

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will state the nominations remaining on the calendar.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of postmasters.

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask unanimous consent that the nominations of postmasters be confirmed en bloc.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination of postmasters are confirmed en bloc.

## IN THE ARMY

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations for appointment in the Army.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I ask unanimous consent that the Army nominations be confirmed en bloc.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Army nominations are confirmed en bloc.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

# HEALTH OF THE NATION (H. DOC. NO. 120)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read:

# To the Congress of the United States:

In my annual message to the Congress I referred to problems of health security. I take occasion now to bring this subject specifically to your attention in transmitting the report and recommendations on national health prepared by the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities.

The health of the people is a public concern; ill health is a major cause of suffering, economic loss, and dependency; good health is essential to the security and progress of the Nation.

Health needs were studied by the Committee on Economic Security which I appointed in 1934, and certain basic steps were taken by the Congress in the Social Security Act. It was recognized at that time that a comprehensive health program was required as an essential link in our national defenses against individual and social insecurity. Further study, however, seemed necessary at that time to determine ways and means of providing this protection most effectively.

In August 1935, after the passage of the Social Security Act, I appointed the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities. Early in 1938 this committee forwarded to me reports prepared by their technical experts. They had reviewed unmet health needs, pointing to the desirability of a national health program, and they submitted the outlines of such a program. These reports were impressive. I therefore suggested that a conference be held to bring the findings before representatives of the general public and of the medical, public health, and allied professions.

More than 200 men and women, representing many walks of life and many parts of our country, came together in Washington last July to consider the technical committee's findings and recommendations and to offer further proposals. There was agreement on two basic points: The existence of serious unmet needs for medical service; and our failure to make full application of the growing powers of medical science to prevent or control disease and disability.

I have been concerned by the evidence of inequalities that exist among the States as to personnel and facilities for health services. There are equally serious inequalities of resources, medical facilities, and services in different sections and among different economic groups. These inequalities create handicaps for the parts of our country and the groups of our people which most sorely need the benefits of modern medical science.

The objective of a national health program is to make available in all parts of our country and for all groups of our people the scientific knowledge and skill at our command to prevent and care for sickness and disability; to safeguard mothers, infants, and children; and to offset through social insurance the loss of earnings among workers who are temporarily or permanently disabled.

The committee does not propose a great expansion of Federal health services. It recommends that plans be worked out and administered by States and localities with the assistance of Federal grants-in-aid. The aim is a flexible program. The committee points out that while the eventual costs of the proposed program would be considerable, they

represent a sound investment which can be expected to wipe out, in the long run, certain costs now borne in the form of relief.

We have reason to derive great satisfaction from the increase in the average length of life in our country and from the improvement in the average levels of health and wellbeing. Yet these improvements in the averages are cold comfort to the millions of our people whose security in health and survival is still as limited as was that of the Nation as a whole 50 years ago.

The average level of health or the average cost of sickness has little meaning for those who now must meet personal catastrophes. To know that a stream is 4 feet deep on the average is of little help to those who drown in the places where it is 10 feet deep. The recommendations of the committee offer a program to bridge that stream by reducing the risks of needless suffering and death, and of costs and dependency, that now overwhelm millions of individual families and sap the resources of the Nation.

I recommend the report of the Interdepartmental Committee for careful study by the Congress. The essence of the program recommended by the Committee is Federal-State cooperation. Federal legislation necessarily precedes, for it indicates the assistance which may be made available to the States in a cooperative program for the Nation's health.

Franklin D. Roosevelt.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 23, 1939.

Mr. WAGNER. I ask that the President's message with the Interdepartmental Committee report which accompanies it be printed as a document and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### RESEARCH-A NATIONAL RESOURCE

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying report, referred to the Committee on Education and Labor:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress, a report entitled "Research—A National Resource," compiled by the National Resources Committee.

This report deals with the relation of the Federal Government to research. Subsequent reports in this field will cover research by colleges, universities and foundations, by business organizations, by the industrial laboratories, and by the State and municipal governments.

The dependence of civilization on science is universally recognized, but the extent of the activities of private and public agencies carrying on scientific inquiry is not generally known. It is unlikely that large numbers of our people have any adequate realization of the services which are being rendered by the executive agencies of the Federal Government through scientific researches in medicine, agriculture, economics, public administration, and the other natural and social sciences.

This report indicates the new emphasis in recent years on activities in the social science fields and stresses the need for effective coordination of all agencies engaged in research in order to achieve the solution of many of our more difficult problems.

I commend the report to the consideration of the Congress.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 23, 1939.

## FOREIGN SERVICE RETIREMENT AND DISABILITY FUND

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying report, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

# To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith a report by the Secretary of State showing all receipts and disbursements on account of refunds,

allowances, and annulties for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, in connection with the Foreign Service retirement and disability system, as required by section 26 (a) of an act for the grading and classification of clerks in the Foreign Service of the United States of America, and providing compensation therefor, approved February 23, 1931.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 23, 1939.

[Enclosure: Report concerning retirement and disability fund, Foreign Service.]

CLAIMS FOR DAMAGES TO PRIVATELY OWNED PROPERTY (S. DOC. NO. 9)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the President of the United States, transmitting estimates of appropriations to pay claims for damages to privately owned property, amounting to \$33,665.29 (considered and adjusted pursuant to law), which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE (S. DOC. NO. 10)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the President of the United States, transmitting an estimate of appropriation for payment of claims allowed by the General Accounting Office, in the sum of \$1,122,354.01, under appropriations the balances of which have been carried to the surplus fund under the provisions of law, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

JUDGMENTS RENDERED BY THE COURT OF CLAIMS (S. DOC. NO. 11)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the President of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, an estimate of appropriation to pay certain judgments rendered by the Court of Claims, amounting to \$131,236.89, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

JUDGMENTS RENDERED AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT BY DISTRICT COURTS (S. DOC. NO. 12)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the President of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, records of judgments rendered against the Government by United States district courts, amounting to \$27,918.62, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE (S. DOC. NO. 13)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the President of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a schedule of claims allowed by the General Accounting Office, amounting to \$7,467.45, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

CLAIMS FOR DAMAGES DUE TO MILITARY OPERATIONS (S. DOC. NO. 14)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the President of the United States, transmitting an estimate of appropriation to pay a claim for damages due to military operations, amounting to \$785 (considered and adjusted under the provisions of law), which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

CLAIMS FOR DAMAGES INCIDENT TO OPERATIONS OF NAVAL VESSELS (S. DOC. NO. 15)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the President of the United States, transmitting estimates of appropriations to pay claims for damages from collision or damages incident to the operation of vessels of the Navy, amounting to \$9,474.92 (considered and adjusted under the provisions of law), which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

DAMAGE CLAIMS CAUSED BY EMPLOYEES OF BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (S. DOC. NO. 16)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the President of the United States, transmitting an estimate of appropriation for damages to any person or damages to or loss of privately owned property caused by employees of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, amounting to \$215.47 (considered and adjusted under the provisions of law), which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE (S. DOC. NO. 17)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the President of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a claim allowed by the General Accounting Office, amounting to \$1,327.44, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

DAMAGE CLAIMS UNDER RIVER AND HARBOR WORK (S. DOC. NO. 18)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the President of the United States, transmitting estimates of appropriations to pay claims for damages amounting to \$1,047.22, adjusted under the provisions of the River and Harbor Act of June 5, 1920, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

DAMAGE CLAIMS ON ACCOUNT OF OPERATIONS OF COAST GUARD VESSELS (S. DOC. NO. 19)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the President of the United States, transmitting an estimate of appropriation to pay claims for damages on account of operations of vessels of the Coast Guard, amounting to \$549.58 (considered and adjusted under the provisions of law), which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR LEGISLATIVE ESTABLISHMENT (S. DOC. NO. 20)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the President of the United States, transmitting deficiency and supplemental estimates of appropriations for the legislative establishment, Senate, amounting to \$265,-000, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed. OPERATIONS UNDER SOIL CONSERVATION AND DOMESTIC ALLOTMENT

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on operations under the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended, for the fiscal year

ended June 30, 1937, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION FACILITY PROPERTY, TUSKEGEE, ALA.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to exchange certain property located at Veterans' Administration facility, Tuskegee, Ala., for property of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Finance.

## PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Iowa, favoring the enactment of legislation making the 3½-percent interest rate permanent to farmers borrowing from the Federal Land Bank and the Land Bank Commissioner and extending all principal payments of Land Bank Commissioner loans over a period of 34 years, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See concurrent resolution printed in full when presented today by Mr. GILLETTE, p. 633.)

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the board of directors of the Producers' Council, of New York City, favoring the enactment of legislation to extend the operation of title 1 of the National Housing Act, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the executive board of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, Detroit, Mich., favoring the reappointment of Donald Wakefield Smith as a member of the National Labor Relations Board, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the executive board of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, Detroit, Mich., favoring retention of the National Labor Relations Act, and protesting against any alteration or amendment of that Act, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the executive board of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, Detroit, Mich., favoring an appropriation of \$5,225,000 to be expended by the National Labor Relations Board during the coming fiscal year in effectuating the purposes of the National Labor Relations Act, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also laid before the Senate a petition of several citizens of the State of Maryland, praying for retention of the principle of the present neutrality law and extension of the law to include civil as well as international conflicts, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the South Jersey Port Commission, an agency of the State of New Jersey, at Camden, N. J., favoring the enactment of legislation exempting vessels of less than 200 registered tons from the requirements of Draft Convention No. 53, concerning the minimum requirement of professional capacity for masters and officers on board merchant ships, adopted by the International Labor Conference at Geneva and ratified by the United States as a treaty June 13, 1938, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Ray Current Events Club, Inc., of New York City, favoring a constitutional amendment making the Presidential term 6 years without a reelection, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also laid before the Senate the petition of the Philadelphia Joint Board Waist and Dressmakers' Union, I. L. G. W. U., of Philadelphia, Pa., favoring an appropriation of \$875,000,000 for the Works Progress Administration, as proposed by the President, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also laid before the Senate a petition signed by W. P. A. workers, and Workers Alliance members, of Corcoran, Calif., praying for an appropriation by Congress sufficient to continue the Works Progress Administration and provide necessary work for the unemployed, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by Local No. 6, Rural Electrification Administration Union, Washington, D. C., and Local No. 5, Workers Alliance of Utah, of Sandy, Utah, favoring an appropriation of \$1,000,000,000, so as to continue the W. P. A. to the end of the present fiscal year with its existing quota of workers, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also laid before the Senate the petition of sundry members of President Local No. 80, United Federal Workers of America, of Alexandria, Va., praying for an appropriation of \$1,000,000,000 for the W. P. A., to provide work for the unemployed until the end of the present fiscal year, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. TYDINGS presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Baltimore, Md., remonstrating against the shipment of arms and munitions to Japan, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. REED presented a petition of 75 citizens of Ford and Edwards Counties, Kans., praying that the Spanish arms embargo be not lifted, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of 59 citizens of Hutchinson, Kans., praying for the retention of the existing embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of 20 citizens of Parsons, Kans., praying for retention of the principle of the present neutrality law and extension of the law to include civil as well as international conflicts, and also praying for an investigation of leftist groups sponsoring propaganda favoring the lifting of the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of 73 citizens of Barton, Kingman, Rice, McPherson, and Russell Counties, Kans., praying for retention of the principle of the present neutrality law and extension of the law to include civil as well as international conflicts, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented petitions of 39 citizens of Osborne, 52 citizens of Marion, 57 citizens of Atwood, and 158 citizens of Bourbon and Sumner Counties, all in the State of Kansas, praying that the United States stop the shipment of such goods and munitions as may be used by the military forces of Japan in their present Chinese operations, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. MALONEY presented a telegram in the nature of a petition from Local No. 320, Bridgeport Brass Workers Union, of Bridgeport, Conn., praying for an appropriation of \$875,000,000 for the Works Progress Administration, as proposed by the President, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of Mrs. Patrick McNally and 34 other citizens of New Haven, Conn., praying for the preservation of peace, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Bridgeport (Conn.) Council of Catholic Men, protesting against lifting the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the legislative committee, Catholic Daughters of America for the State of Connecticut, at Bridgeport, Conn., protesting against lifting the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented the petitions of Michael J. Riley, John L. Robinson, Joseph P. Mulcunry, and 21 other citizens, and Anthony Castaldi and 118 other citizens, all of Waterbury, Conn., praying for retention of the principle of the present neutrality law and extension of the law to include civil as well as international conflicts, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate the petition of the Greek American Educational Society, Philomathia, of New Britain, Conn., praying that the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain be lifted, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented telegrams and letters in the nature of petitions from Arthur J. Rinaud and 37 other citizens and George Varriale and 5 other citizens of New Britain; Court Reina Christina, No. 51, Catholic Daughters of America, of Bridgeport; Elizabeth A. Martin and 23 other citizens of Derby; P. H. Regan and 107 other citizens of Naugatuck; James C. Sullivan and 4 other citizens, and Rev. William F. Odell, pastor, and members of St. Mary's Parish, of New London; Rev. Lawrence W. Doucette, director of the Study Clubs of Moosup, South Covehtry, Danielson, Norwichtown, Colchester, Stafford Springs, Willimantic, Jewett City, Taftville, North Grosvernor Dale, Versailles, Norwich, Pomfret, Plainfield, Putnam, Wauregan, and Montville; Carl

Storek, of Norwich; the Hartford Council of Catholic Women, by Elizabeth F. Bagley, secretary, of Hartford; Richard Walling and 42 other citizens, and Harold E. Nagle and 125 other citizens, of Stamford; Mrs. E. Connell and James Connelly, of Stratford; Lorene G. Doyle and 35 other citizens, of Fairfield; Windhorst Society of St. Mary's Parish, by Frank Rewinkel, president, of Meriden; Thomas A. Foley and 4 other citizens, Mr. and Mrs. George L. Sills and 122 other citizens, and the Waterbury Council of Catholic Women, by Kathryn W. Hayes, president, of Waterbury; and the Catholic Daughters of America, by Mary Hughes Schread, chairman of State legislative committee, all in the State of Connecticut, praying that the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain be not lifted, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. GILLETTE presented the following concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Iowa, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency:

#### House Concurrent Resolution 3

Whereas the welfare of the great Commonwealth of Iowa de-

Whereas the welfare of the great Commonwealth of Iowa depends upon the stabilization of agriculture; and Whereas long-term loans and low interest rates help materially to stabilize the agricultural industry; and Whereas the emergency farm-loan interest rate of 3½ percent, made possible by special action of the National Congress to the farmer borrowers having Federal land-bank loans, expires July 1, 1940, and the emergency farm-loan interest rate of 4 percent, made possible by a special act of the National Congress to the farmer borrowers having Land Bank Commissioner loans, expires July 1, 1940; and

Whereas the Land Bank Commissioner loans provide for principal payments of 5 percent or 10 percent per annum in addition to the interest payments; and
Whereas thousands of farmers in the State of Iowa have Federal land-bank and/or Land Bank Commissioner loans, and because eral land-bank and/or Land Bank Commissioner loans, and because of the fact that the interest rates are not definitely fixed at a low rate and because of the fact that principal payments of at least 5 percent or 10 percent per annum are required on Land Bank Commissioner loans, there is much uncertainty and indefiniteness in the plans of such farmer borrowers; and Whereas it appears to be possible to extend lower interest rates to the farmers without an excessive burden to the taxpayer and with almost no administrative costs and that interest rates on Government loans to other industries is considerably less than that fixed for the farmer of the Middle West; and Whereas it is our opinion that low interest rates and small principal payments accorded to the farmers of Iowa through the Federal land-bank system would contribute much to the stabilization of agriculture: Therefore, be it

Resolved by the house (the senate concurring), That the Legislature of Iowa, duly assembled in Des Moines, Iowa, respectfully petitions the Members of the National Congress to use every possible effort to secure the passage of a law making 3½-percent interest rate permanent to the farmer borrowers of the Federal land-bank and the Land Bank Commissioner and that this legislature urges the Members of the National Congress to secure the lature urges the Members of the National Congress to secure the passage of a law extending all principal payments on Land Bank Commissioner loans over a period of 34 years as provided for Federal land-bank loans, and that the said be made permanent and that a copy of this resolution be sent to each United States Senator and Representative from the State of Iowa, to the Speaker of the National House of Representatives, to the President of the United States Senate, and to the President of the United States

PHOSPHATE RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES (S. DOC. NO. 21) Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I send to the desk, to be filed on behalf of the Joint Committee on Phosphate Resources appointed at the last session, the report of that committee.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, the Senator from Florida has just made a report on behalf of the joint committee appointed at the last session of Congress to investigate the phosphate question. I should like to ask the Chair what was done with that report?

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be printed as a Senate

document.

Mr. NORRIS. How many copies will be printed?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is informed that the usual number of copies is about 1,100.

Mr. NORRIS. It will be printed in pamphlet form, as Senate documents are usually printed?

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 92) to au-

thorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents for certain lands to certain settlers in the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, Nev., reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 5) thereon.

AUTHORIZATIONS FOR HEARINGS, FUNERAL EXPENSES, ETC.

Mr. BYRNES. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, I report back favorably, without amendment, a number of resolutions, and ask unanimous consent for their consideration at this time.

There being no objection, the resolutions were considered by unanimous consent, and severally agreed to, as follows:

ASSISTANT CLERK, COMMITTEE ON INTEROCEANIC CANALS

Senate Resolution 14, submitted by Mr. CLARK of Missouri, on January 4, 1939, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Interoceanic Canals hereby is authorized to employ during the Seventy-sixth Congress an assistant clerk to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate at the rate of \$2,000 per annum.

## ASSISTANT CLERK, COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS

Senate Resolution 18, submitted by Mr. Logan on January 4, 1939, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Claims hereby is authorized to employ an assistant clerk to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at the rate of \$1,800 per annum and \$1,800 addi-tional so long as the position is held by the first incumbent appointed under this authority.

ASSISTANT CLERK, COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

Senate Resolution 30, submitted by Mr. Connally on January 5, 1939, as follows:

Resolved, That Resolution No. 111, Seventy-third Congress, agreed to January 19, 1934, and continued by subsequent resolutions through the Seventy-fifth Congress, authorizing the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds to employ an assistant clerk to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at the rate of \$2,000 per annum, hereby is continued in full force and effect until the end of the Seventy-sixth Congress.

## TANT CLERK, COMMITTEE ON ENROLLED BILLS

Senate Resolution 33, submitted by Mrs. Caraway on January 5, 1939, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Enrolled Bills hereby is authorized to employ for the remainder of the present session an assistant clerk to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at the rate of \$1,800 per annum.

## SSISTANT CLERK, COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Senate Resolution 46, submitted by Mr. ASHURST on January 9, 1939, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary hereby is authorlzed to employ an assistant clerk to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at the rate of \$960 per annum until the end of the Seventy-sixth Congress.

## ASSISTANT CLERK, COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

Senate Resolution 47, submitted by Mr. Russell on January 9, 1939, as follows:

Resolved, That Resolution No. 57, Seventy-fifth Congress, agreed to February 10, 1937, and continued by subsequent resolutions through the Seventy-fifth Congress, authorizing the Committee on Immigration to employ an assistant clerk to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at the rate of \$2,400 per annum, hereby is continued in full force and effect until the end of the Seventy-sixth Congress.

## FUNERAL EXPENSES OF THE LATE SENATOR COPELAND

Senate Resolution 48, submitted by Mr. WAGNER on January 9, 1939, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate the actual and necessary expenses incurred by the committee appointed by the Vice President in arranging for and attending the funeral of Hon. Royal S. Copeland, late a Senator from the State of New York, upon vouchers to be approved by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

# HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

Senate Resolution 50, submitted by Mr. Bailey on January 10, 1939, as follows:

Resolved. That the Committee on Commerce, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate, and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICES AND POST ROADS

Senate Resolution 51, submitted by Mr. McKellar on January 10, 1939, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words; to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

## HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

Senate Resolution 55, submitted by Mr. Walsh on January 12, 1939, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Naval Affairs, or any sub-committee thereof, hereby is authorized, during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate.

# HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

Senate Resolution 56, submitted by Mr. Lewis on January 12, 1939, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

## ELIZABETH PINKETT

Senate Resolution 59, submitted by Mr. RADCLIFFE on January 16, 1939, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate to Elizabeth Pinkett, widow of James F. Pinkett, late a laborer in the office of the Secretary of the Senate, a sum equal to 6 months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

## HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

Senate Resolution 65, submitted by Mr. Smith on January 19, 1939, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, or any subcommittee thereof, is hereby authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any sessions or recesses of the Senate.

# HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION Senate Resolution 66 submitted by Mr Bankhead on Janu-

Senate Resolution 66, submitted by Mr. Bankhead on January 19, 1939, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not to exceed 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be before said committee, the expenses thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate.

## HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY

Senate Resolution 67, submitted by Mr. Barkley on January 19, 1939, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Library, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized during the Seventy-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths,

and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate.

# HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

Senate Resolution 68, submitted by Mr. Connally on January 19, 1939, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized, during the Seventh-sixth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, to report such hearings as may be had on any subject before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during any session or recess of the Senate.

## ASSISTANT CLERK, COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

Mr. BYRNES. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, I report back favorably, with an amendment, Senate Resolution 29, submitted by the Senator from Utah [Mr. Thomas] on January 5, 1939, authorizing the employment of an assistant clerk by the Committee on Education and Labor, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

The amendment was, on page 1, line 5, after the words "per annum", to strike out "and an assistant clerk to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at the rate of \$1,800 per annum."

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution, as amended, was agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Education and Labor hereby is authorized to employ, beginning January 3, 1939, for the duration of the Seventy-sixth Congress, an assistant clerk, to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at the rate of \$2,000 per annum.

# JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

Mr. BYRNES. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, I report back favorably, without amendment, Senate Joint Resolution 38, providing additional funds for the expenses of the Special Joint Congressional Committee Investigating the Tennessee Valley Authority, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

Mr. KING. I ask that the joint resolution go over. I should like to inquire into it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be placed on the calendar.

## BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

## By Mr. O'MAHONEY:

S. 878. A bill to amend the act of August 26, 1937; and S. 879. A bill to encourage the employment of local capital in the mining of oil and gas on the public domain; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. MILLER:

S. 880. A bill for the relief of W. B. Martin; to the Committee on Claims.

## By Mr. SCHWELLENBACH:

S. 881. A bill for the relief of Dr. Hugh G. Nicholson; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 882. A bill to authorize the Postmaster General to contract for certain powerboat service in Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

## By Mr. TRUMAN:

S. 883. A bill for the relief of Joseph J. McMahon; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

## By Mr. LOGAN:

S. 884. A bill for the relief of disbursing officers and other officers and employees of the United States for disallowances and charges on account of airplane travel; and

S. 885. A bill to authorize and direct the Comptroller General of the United States to allow credit for all outstanding disallowances and suspensions in the accounts of the disbursing officers or agents of the Government for payments made to certain employees appointed by the United States Employees' Compensation Commission; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CAPPER:

S. 886. A bill granting a pension to Charles G. Hostutler (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

S. 887. A bill for the relief of Richard L. Byrd; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 888. A bill to amend the Federal Credit Union Act (June 26, 1934, ch. 750-1, 48 Stat. 1216, sec. 1759), in order to facilitate the organization of rural credit unions; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. SHIPSTEAD:

S. 889. A bill authorizing a per capita payment of \$15 each to the members of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians from the proceeds of the sale of timber and lumber on the Red Lake Reservation; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. BARBOUR:

S. 890. A bill to prohibit discrimination on account of maximum age in employment directly and indirectly under the United States; to the Committee on Civil Service.

By Mr. REYNOLDS:

S. 891. A bill for the relief of J. C. Grice; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ASHURST:

S. 892. A bill to change the designation of the Petrified Forest National Monument, in the State of Arizona, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. BYRD:

S. 893. A bill relating to buildings to be erected for use by the District of Columbia for inspection stations of motor vehicles, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

S. 894. A bill to create a World War Memorial Commission to prepare plans and estimates for the erection of suitable memorials, monuments, or buildings at ports or cities in the United States from which American forces embarked for World War service in foreign countries and to which American forces returned after such service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RUSSELL:

S. 895. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to standardize the amount to be contributed by the United States for oldage assistance; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. SCHWARTZ:

S. 896. A bill to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the admission of Wyoming into the Union as the first State guaranteeing equal suffrage to women; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 897. A bill to correct the military record of Walter Ballhaus; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KING:

S. 898. A bill for the relief of Robert D. Ashton; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

S. 899. A bill to promote the efficiency of the Air Corps; S. 900. A bill to authorize the loan of aircraft and aeronautical equipment to civilian aviation schools; and

S. 901. A bill to authorize appropriations for construction and rehabilitation at military posts in the Panama Canal Department, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PITTMAN:

S. 902. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act authorizing the temporary detail of United States employees, possessing special qualifications, to governments of American Republics and the Philippines, and for other purposes," ap-

proved May 25, 1938; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 903. A bill to authorize the Chief of Engineers of the Army to enter into agreements with local governments adjacent to the District of Columbia for the use of water for purposes of fire fighting only; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 904. A bill to constitute the master-at-arms force and the guards (watchmen) force at the United States Naval Academy the "United States Naval Academy Police," to fix their compensation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. MALONEY:

S. 905. A bill for the relief of Harry G. Franklin;

S. 906. A bill authorizing the appointment and retirement of Lucius Hudson Holt as a colonel, United States Army; and

S. 907. A bill to authorize the award of the Purple Heart decoration to Maj. Charles H. Sprague; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 908. A bill granting an increase in pension to Martha J. Griffin; and

S. 909. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth D. Dunavent; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WAGNER:

S. 910. A bill to extend the time within which the powers relating to the stabilization fund and alteration of the weight of the dollar may be exercised; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. TOBEY:

S. 911. A bill for the relief of Roscoe C. Prescott; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 912. A bill for the relief of Joseph Kenney; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

(Mr. Tobey also introduced Senate bill 913, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. RUSSELL:

S. J. Res. 48. Joint resolution to amend the Public Works Administration Extension Act of 1937 with respect to grants or loans for certain school projects; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. TOBEY:

S. J. Res. 49. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11 of each year General Pulaski's Memorial Day for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SALVAGE OF TIMBER IN NEW ENGLAND—REDUCTION OF FIRE HAZARD

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, I introduce a bill for appropriate reference, and ask to have it printed in full in the RECORD. I also ask to have printed in the RECORD a statement prepared by me regarding the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the bill of the Senator from New Hampshire will be received, printed in the Record and properly referred, and the statement will be

printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 913) authorizing an appropriation for full payment of the approved schedules of prices for salvaged timber products purchased or to be purchased by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, Northeastern Timber Salvage Administration, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A bill authorizing an appropriation for full payment of the approved schedules of prices for salvaged timber products purchased or to be purchased by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, Northeastern Timber Salvage Administration, and for other purposes

Whereas the hurricane of September 1938 left great areas in the New England States devastated and the forests in those areas a tangled mass of fallen timber, causing financial loss to more than 20,000 farm owners whose subsistence depended on their timber;

Whereas, in order to prevent suffering and give aid in restoration of financial stability to these farm owners, it became necessary for

the Federal Government to put into effect a program of work to reduce fire hazard and a timber-salvage operation to recover some part of the destroyed wealth of these States; and

Whereas the fire hazard now existing threatens a disaster to life and property which can be lessened by accelerating the salvage operation; and

Whereas the powers hitherto granted by the Congress to the executive branch of the Government are inadequate to meet the urgent needs of this stricken area: Therefore

\*\*Be it enacted, etc. That there is hereby authorized to be appro-

needs of this stricken area: Therefore

Be it enacted, etc., That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$5,000,000, to be immediately available and to continue available until expended, which shall be used for paying the difference between the approved schedules of prices for salvaged timber products purchased or to be purchased from the owners thereof by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, Northeastern Timber Salvage Administration, and the amounts paid from funds loaned by the Disaster Loan Corporation to the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, Northeastern Timber Salvage Administration, and for necessary administrative expenses (including printing and binding) in connection with the timber-salvaging operations conducted by the Northeastern Timber Salvage Administration. tration.

SEC. 2. That there is hereby appropriated the sum of \$4,000,000, to be immediately available and to continue available until expended, for paying the owners thereof at the rate of \$2.50 per thousand board feet for logs heretofore or hereafter delivered to and accepted by the Northeastern Timber Salvage Administration, which payment shall be in addition to that provided for in section 1 of

The statement presented by Mr. Tobey is as follows:

I have introduced this bill after making a careful study of the timber disaster which affects New England and part of New York, feeling that prompt action by the Government is imperative, not only from the standpoint of fair treatment to the timber owners for losses they have already sustained, but more particularly with the view to taking definite action to aid in the necessary campaign to reduce the fire hazard which is now existing in this area and which is increasing with the passage of each week.

The United States Forest Service has reported that without adequate aid from the Federal Government to reduce the fire hazard it is well within the bounds of reason that such a serious holocaust might occur during the coming fire season as to far exceed the hurricane of September in resulting loss of life and property. Furthermore, says the report, a fire would cause irreparable damage to the forests of the future in elimination of the remaining live timber on extensive areas. I have introduced this bill after making a careful study of the

Irreparable damage to the forests of the future in elimination of the remaining live timber on extensive areas.

I have talked with officials in the Forest Service and have been advised that if such a devastation should occur it would take 50 years after replanting for pine to become of merchantable age, 60 years for spruce, and approximately 100 years for northern hardwoods.

In the office of Mr. Silver I have

hardwoods.

In the office of Mr. Silcox I have seen pictures of severe forest fires over large areas in other parts of the country and appreciate the seriousness of our New England situation.

At the present time the Federal Government is paying the timber owner 90 percent of the schedule of prices for timber delivered to the ponds or to the sawmills. The great practical difficulty has been lack of sufficient inducement to warrant the timber owner to accept the Federal proposal and operate the lumber for delivery to the places designated by the Government. This bill seeks to furnish that inducement.

Section I provides for the payment of 100 percent of the delivered value of the timber, purchase to be made at the point of delivery. Under that plan alone the timber owner would still stand to lose on his investment, for, according to estimates of the United States Forest Service, made after a survey of the tangled conditions of our timberlands as of last October, it would cost the timber owner approximately \$2 per thousand feet more to cut the timber and transport it to the point of delivery than it would under normal circumstances.

to cut the timber and transport it to the point of delivery than it would under normal circumstances.

Unless one has seen the condition of our timberlands with his own eyes it is impossible for him to visualize the picture. In the few hours of the hurricane at least half of the timber in New Hampshire became an ugly mass of crisscrossed waste, a mass of broken, twisted, and splintered wood, carrying with it the life savings of thousands of families and the wealth that was to have put children through college or provide funds for many of our older people in their last years.

Due to increased demand for trucks and labor as a result of the down-timber conditions, it has been estimated that this additional cost has now risen from \$2 to \$2.50.

Therefore, under section 2 of this bill, I have provided that the Federal Government pay the timber owner a bonus of two dollars and a half for each thousand board feet of logs which he brings to the designated point of delivery.

and a half for each thousand board feet of logs which he brings to the designated point of delivery.

The Forest Service has estimated that from one billion to one and six-tenths billion feet can be salvaged up to the end of June, the deadline of the period during which the timber is salvageable. Based upon these figures, the appropriation called for is \$4,000,000. I believe that this twofold plan would be an inducement sufficient to effect the acceptance by the timber owner of the Federal purchase plan, and will thereby greatly reduce the fire hazard.

The Forest Service has estimated that there are from two and a half to four billion feet of merchantable timber down, as of its report of January 14. It reports that as of January 14, 450,000,000

to 500,000,000 feet of timber had been contracted for delivery and that the logs actually received on that date totaled 30,000,000 to 32,000,000 feet.

It can well be seen from these figures that unless the Federal Government takes further action immediately for fire-risk reduction the hazard will increase and will threaten the loss of hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of property as well as loss of human

The Federal investment of the \$4,000,000 to provide for such payment of \$2.50 per 1,000 board-feet is a small one when we consider the potential future loss by fire of hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of property, which will result if this fire hazard is not materially reduced.

I urge that this bill be given immediate consideration by the committee and that the Congress act with the least possible delay in

#### CLAIM OF MEMPHIS, TENN.-AMENDMENT

Mr. McKELLAR submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 671) for the relief of the city of Memphis, Tenn., which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Claims and ordered to be printed.

### FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS-AMENDMENT

Mr. WHEELER submitted an amendment proposing to increase the appropriation for the control of incipient and emergency outbreaks of insect pests and plant diseases from \$2,000,000 to \$5,300,000, intended to be proposed by him to House bill 2868, the first deficiency appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

#### ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATION FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF-AMENDMENT

Mr. O'MAHONEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed, as follows:

On page 2, line 15, after the figures "1939", to insert a colon and "Provided jurther, That not later than 30 days following the approval of this joint resolution the Works Progress Administration shall determine and fix the number of hours per month of workers employed upon works-progress projects that the monthly security wage for workers shall not be lower in any area than that paid to workers in that same occupation in areas of the same general type within the same security wage region regardless of variations in county population."

# NATIONAL REPRESENTATION FOR THE DISTRICT—ADDRESS BY SENATOR CAPPER

[Mr. NyE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address on the subject of national representation for the District of Columbia, delivered by Senator CAPPER at a meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at Washington, D. C., January 19, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### ARMAMENT PROGRAM AND FOREIGN RELATIONS-ADDRESS BY SENATOR TAFT

[Mr. Bridges asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a radio address delivered by Senator TAFT on the American Forum of the Air on Sunday, January 22, 1939, on the subject Armament and Our Foreign Policy, which appears in the Appendix.]

## FOREIGN RELATIONS-ADDRESS BY ALFRED M. LANDON

[Mr. CAPPER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address on the subject of foreign relations, delivered by Hon. Alfred M. Landon on January 21, 1939, at Topeka, Kans., before the Kansas Press Association, which appears in the Appendix.]

## NEUTRALITY-ARTICLE BY CHARLES A. BEARD

[Mr. NyE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article by Charles A. Beard on the subject of neutrality, published in the New Republic for January 18, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

## SCRAP IRON

[Mr. Schwellenbach asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an editorial from the Washington Sunday Star of January 22, 1939, under the headline "Scrap Iron," which appears in the Appendix.]

### INVESTIGATION OF SILVER PROGRAM

[Mr. Townsend asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record excerpts from additional letters received by him with reference to Senate Joint Resolution 1, providing for the appointment of a special joint committee to investigate the silver program, which appear in the Appendix.]

THE WRIGHT AIRPLANE-EDITORIAL FROM MIAMI HERALD

[Mr. Reynolds asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an editorial from the Miami Herald of January 6, 1939, relative to the Wright airplane, which appears in the Appendix.]

MUNICIPALLY OWNED POWER SYSTEM IN TACOMA, WASH.

[Mr. Bone asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an article published in the Tacoma, Wash., Sunday Ledger on January 1, 1939, with reference to the Tacoma municipally owned power system, which appears in the Appendix.]

FOREIGN POLICY OF UNITED STATES-EDITORIAL FROM LIBERTY

[Mr. Lundeen asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record part of an editorial from Liberty for January 28, 1939, entitled "Shall We Be Forced Into War by Reckless Officials?" which appears in the Appendix.]

### RELIEF-ARTICLE BY DR. GEORGE GALLUP

[Mr. Holt asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an article by Dr. George Gallup on the subject of relief, published in the Washington Post of Sunday, January 22, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

GOLD: A BUSINESS RESTORATIVE-EDITORIAL FROM BALTIMORE SUN

[Mr. Bridges asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an editorial from the Baltimore Sun of January 18, 1939, entitled "Gold: A Business Restorative," which appears in the Appendix.]

ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATION FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House Joint Resolution 83.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Kentucky.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations, with amendments.

## RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 17 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Tuesday, January 24, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

## NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 23 (legislative day of January 17), 1939

## INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

Thomas R. Amlie, of Wisconsin, to be an Interstate Commerce Commissioner for a term expiring December 31, 1945, vice Balthasar H. Meyer, term expired.

## PROMOTIONS IN THE COAST GUARD

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Coast Guard of the United States, to rank as such from May 27, 1938:

John Montrello
Gilbert F. Schumacher
Charles Tighe
Fred L. Westbrook
Richard Baxter
Oscar D. Weed, Jr.
Ralph D. Dean
Joseph R. Scullion
William J. Conley, Jr.

Richard L. Mellen Glenn L. Rollins Ernest A. Cascini Frank V. Helmer Robert F. Shunk Donald W. Weller Justus P. White William J. Lawrence

#### CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 23 (legislative day of January 17), 1939

SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

Harry L. Hopkins to be Secretary of Commerce.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE REGULAR ARMY

Brig. Gen. Henry Harley Arnold to be Chief of the Air Corps with the rank of major general.

Col. Walter Glenn Kilner (lieutenant colonel) to be Assistant to the Chief of the Air Corps with the rank of brigadier general.

TO BE MAJOR GENERALS

William Henry Wilson Robert McCandlass Beck, Jr.

TO BE BRIGADIER GENERALS

Edmund Leo Daley Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright Adna Romanza Chaffee Daniel Isom Sultan Maxwell Murray William Edgar Shedd, Jr.

APPOINTMENTS TO TEMPORARY RANK IN THE AIR CORPS, REGULAR ARMY

TO BE WING COMMANDERS WITH THE RANK OF BRIGADIER GENERAL

Walter Hale Frank Herbert Arthur Dargue

APPOINTMENTS IN THE NATIONAL GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES

Ralph Emerson Truman to be major general. William Leslie Hornor to be brigadier general, Adjutant

General's Department.

TO BE BRIGADIER GENERALS

Ralph Maxwell Immell Walter Braxton Pyron Alexander Edward Anderson Richard Eugene Mittelstaedt Diller Slyder Myers Edward Clark Rose Leonard Fish Wing

REAPPOINTMENTS IN THE OFFICERS' RESERVE CORPS OF THE ARMY

TO BE BRIGADIER GENERALS, INACTIVE RESERVE

Brig. Gen. John Ross Delafield. Brig. Gen. Samuel McRoberts.

POSTMASTERS

ARKANSAS

Deedy Newsome, Arkinda. Ocie E. Mathis, Hackett.

NEW MEXICO

Robert F. Fisher, Cuba. James C. Wyman, Loving.

NORTH CAROLINA

Jethro M. Rollins, Bostic. Eli H. Ange, Jamesville. Virginia D. Martin, Parkton. Derr L. Hines, Stony Point. Maude F. Cheatham, Youngsville.

VERMONT

Bert G. Peck, East Middlebury.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1939

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. John Compton Ball, pastor of the Metropolitan Baptist Church, Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

Unto Thee, O Lord, do we lift our souls for the activities of a new day, and with joy in our hearts and praises on our lips we acknowledge Thy holiness, wisdom, power, and

loving kindness. We thank Thee for life and the blessings bestowed upon us as a nation, and pray that we may stand firm for the privileges given us by the sacrifices of our forefathers.

To this end, endue our President with divine wisdom. Give to our beloved Speaker of this House of Representatives the guidance of Thy Holy Spirit in his leadership and decisions. May every Member be motivated not by the fear of men but by faith in God; for, conscious of the needs of our constituents and the great national problems that confront us, we feel unequal to the task unless we possess wisdom from on high. So we plead for Thy continued guidance this day and every day; and as the physical sunshine floods the land with light, so may our hearts be illuminated and warmed by the sunshine of Thy divine presence and love. In the name of Jesus, our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday, January 20, 1939, was read and approved.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE MATTERS PERTAINING TO REPLACEMENT AND CONSERVATION OF WILDLIFE

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of House Resolution 28.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

## House Resolution 28

Resolved, That the Special Committee to Investigate All Matters Pertaining to the Replacement and Conservation of Wildlife is authorized to continue the investigation begun under authority of House Resolution 237 of the Seventy-third Congress, continued under authority of House Resolution 44 of the Seventy-fourth Congress and House Resolution 11 of the Seventy-fifth Congress, and for such purposes said committee shall have the same power and authority as that conferred upon it by said House Resolution 237 of the Seventy-third Congress, and shall report to the House as soon as practicable, but not later than January 3, 1941, the results of its investigations, together with its recommendations, for necessary legislation. Any unexpended balance of the total amount authorized for the use of the said special committee under House Resolution 97 of the Seventy-fifth Congress is hereby continued available until said date.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, will the gentleman from Virginia tell us how much unexpended money is in the Treasury available to the committee?

Mr. ROBERTSON. I could not tell the gentleman the exact amount, but enough to finish the work of the committee for the full calendar year of 1939. This appropriation was made available to us in 1937 and we worked during 1937 and 1938 and we will have enough to work throughout 1939 out of the one appropriation.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. What does the gentleman propose to do for the year 1940?

Mr. ROBERTSON. We will ask for enough money to continue the work of the committee during that time, and I may say to the gentleman there has never been a special investigating committee of the House that has operated for as little money or has saved the Government more money than this Committee on Conservation of Wildlife Resources.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Will the gentleman tell us in a few words what his committee has accomplished and what he hopes to accomplish?

Mr. ROBERTSON. We have coordinated the conservation activities of the emergency agencies; we have coordinated the regular departments with these emergency agencies; and we have directed the tremendous expenditures of the C. C. camps into very constructive channels in preserving a great natural resource, the wildlife of the country, in building dams and reservoirs to check the run-off and to restore water levels. We have cooperated with the Soil Conservation Service, and only on the 10th of this month were we able to get an amendment to the regulation paying soil-improvement benefits to

farmers to cover the planting of annuals and perennials, legumes, and shrubs for the improvement of the habitat of wildlife. There are literally millions of acres of waste or arid lands serving no purpose, not suited for agriculture. We can build that land up or encourage the farmers to do so through cooperative agreements, instruction in farm management, and by distributing free Korean lespedeza, for instance, a soil builder, and a soil holder, and a wonderful food supply for birds of all kinds. The past work of our committee and plans for the future were summarized in a 29-page report submitted to the House on January 3.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. It strikes me the committee has quite a program and the gentleman might well consider having this committee made a standing committee of the House. Has the committee given any consideration to that?

Mr. ROBERTSON. There has been a big demand for that to be done, but we have not asked for it, for two reasons. In the first place, a standing committee would be more expensive to the Congress. In the second place, under the plan under which the Democrats work, a member of an exclusive committee cannot be a member of any minor committee, and this would exclude from membership on this committee those with technical knowledge of what is to be done because they all have major committee assignments.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman has made out a very good case and I have no objection.

Mr. MAPES. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I notice this resolution was introduced on January 3 and referred to the Committee on Rules. May I ask the gentleman from Virginia if he has made any request of the chairman of the committee to report the resolution?

Mr. ROBERTSON. I have, and he said last week he would be very glad to report it, but he had not had the members assigned to his committee. The chairman is now out of the city on important business, I understand, and will not be back until the last of the week. I am sure he would have no objection, because he is in thorough sympathy with the resolution. We have a large volume of work to be handled all the time, and there should be no break in the committee's activities.

Mr. MAPES. Has the gentleman from Virginia spoken to the chairman of the Committee on Rules about calling it up in this way?

Mr. ROBERTSON. No, because he is out of the city; but I am sure I can say that he would have no objection, as we have handled it previously in this way. In 1935 we handled it by unanimous consent.

Mr. MAPES. Of course, I realize the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Sabath], the chairman of the committee, is able to take care of himself, but let me say to the gentleman from Virginia, first, as he knows, I am very much in favor of the work which he has been doing as chairman of this committee, but let me say further that there are several resolutions of this nature pending before the Committee on Rules, and it seems to me there is some question about the form of the resolution and some other questions which ought to be considered by the Committee on Rules,

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, the resolution is in the exact language of previous resolutions, and on one previous occasion we handled the resolution in this manner by unanimous consent.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Michigan yield?

Mr. MAPES. Yes.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Speaker, I am very much in favor of the continuance of this committee, but I shall object to its present consideration because it is subject to a point of order. The resolution should not be brought in in the form in which it is presented. I object.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. COLE of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record, and to in-

clude therein several brief addresses delivered at the dedicatory exercises of a Federal building in Maryland.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. On Friday last I offered for the RECORD, by asking unanimous consent, an article written by one of our colleagues the gentleman from New York [Mr. Barton]. That unanimous-consent request was refused through the objection of a gentleman on the majority side. What I would like to know is whether or not we are still operating under the rules which I have understood to prevail, to the effect that articles by Members themselves are not objected to when they are offered for the RECORD.

Mr. COLE of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I am sure the gentleman does not expect me to answer that question.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. I think it is incumbent upon me to respond to my good friend and colleague from Indiana [Mr. Halleck] because I objected to his offering the article in question on Friday last. It is not my intention, nor is it the intention, as far as I know, of anyone on the majority side, to object to the inclusion of remarks of Members themselves if made by a Member, whether of the majority or the minority party, over the radio, or to the inclusion of brief editorials; but it seems to me that the Joint Committee on Printing ought to consider whether we are going to be permitted to put whole books into the RECORD. This particular article would have taken up so many pages in the RECORD that I objected to it, and I shall continue to object to anything like that, whether it comes from my own side or the Republican side.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. But the gentleman thoroughly well knows that articles that go far beyond what the gentleman from Indiana offered, so far as the number of pages is concerned, have been permitted to be placed in the RECORD, and the gentleman has been silent, so far as I know, when they were offered.

Mr. BUCK. Oh, the gentleman knows that I have not been here during the sessions when everything has been offered. I appreciate the position of the minority leader in this matter, but it strikes me that he and the majority leader and the Committee on Printing ought to get together and adopt some definite policy as to what is going to go into the RECORD.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. That could not be done, and the majority leader has admitted it. Consequently we take the attitude that if gentlemen on that side object to our requests, we will object to their requests.

The regular order was demanded.

The SPEAKER. The regular order has been demanded. Is there objection?

Mr. HALLECK. I object.

## ACTING CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House, which was read:

January 23, 1939.

The Honorable WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Sir: Desiring to be temporarily absent from my office, I hereby designate Mr. H. Newlin Megill, an official in my office, to sign any and all papers for me which he would be authorized to sign by virtue of this designation and of clause 4, rule III of the House. Respectfully yours,

SOUTH TRIMBLE Clerk of the House of Representatives.

## NATIONAL RESOURCE (H. DOC. NO. 122)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress a report entitled "Research-a National Resource," compiled by the National Resources Committee.

This report deals with the relation of the Federal Government to research. Subsequent reports in this field will cover research by colleges, universities and foundations, by business organizations, by the industrial laboratories, and by the State and municipal governments.

The dependence of civilization on science is universally recognized, but the extent of the activities of private and public agencies carrying on scientific inquiry is not generally known. It is unlikely that large numbers of our people have any adequate realization of the services which are being rendered by the executive agencies of the Federal Government through scientific researches in medicine, agriculture, economics, public administration, and the other natural and social sciences.

This report indicates the new emphasis in recent years on activities in the social-science fields and stresses the need for effective coordination of all agencies engaged in research in order to achieve the solution of many of our more difficult problems

I commend the report to the consideration of the Con-

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 23, 1939.

## FOREIGN SERVICE RETIREMENT (H. DOC. NO. 121)

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith a report by the Secretary of State showing all receipts and disbursements on account of refunds, allowances, and annuities for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, in connection with the Foreign Service retirement and disability system as required by section 26 (a) of an act for the grading and classification of clerks in the Foreign Service of the United States of America, and providing compensation therefor, approved February 23, 1931.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 23, 1939.

# PUBLIC HEALTH (H. DOC. NO. 120)

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

In my annual message to the Congress I referred to problems of health security. I take occasion now to bring this subject specifically to your attention in transmitting the report and recommendations on national health prepared by the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities.

The health of the people is a public concern, ill health is a major cause of suffering, economic loss, and dependency; good health is essential to the security and progress of the Nation.

Health needs were studied by the Committee on Economic Security which I appointed in 1934, and certain basic steps were taken by the Congress in the Social Security Act. It was recognized at that time that a comprehensive health program was required as an essential link in our national defenses against individual and social insecurity. Further study, however, seemed necessary at that time to determine ways and means of providing this protection most effectively.

In August 1935, after the passage of the Social Security Act, I appointed the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities. Early in 1938, this committee forwarded to me reports prepared by their technical experts. They had reviewed unmet health needs, pointing to the desirability of a national health program, and they submitted the outlines of such a program. These reports were impressive. I therefore suggested that a conference be held to bring the findings before representatives of the general

public and of the medical, public health, and allied profes-

More than 200 men and women, representing many walks of life and many parts of our country, came together in Washington last July to consider the technical committee's findings and recommendations and to offer further proposals. There was agreement on two basic points: The existence of serious unmet needs for medical service; and our failure to make full application of the growing powers of medical science to prevent or control disease and disability.

I have been concerned by the evidence of inequalities that exist among the States as to personnel and facilities for health services. There are equally serious inequalities of resources, medical facilities, and services in different sections and among different economic groups. These inequalities create handicaps for the parts of our country and the groups of our people which most sorely need the benefits of modern medical science.

The objective of a national health program is to make available in all parts of our country and for all groups of our people the scientific knowledge and skill at our command to prevent and care for sickness and disability; to safeguard mothers, infants, and children; and to offset through social insurance the loss of earnings among workers who are temporarily or permanently disabled.

The committee does not propose a great expansion of Federal health services. It recommends that plans be worked out and administered by States and localities, with the assistance of Federal grants-in-aid. The aim is a flexible program. The committee points out that while the eventual costs of the proposed program would be considerable they represent a sound investment which can be expected to wipe out, in the long run, certain costs now borne in the form of

We have reason to derive great satisfaction from the increase in the average length of life in our country and from the improvement in the average levels of health and wellbeing. Yet these improvements in the averages are cold comfort to the millions of our people whose security in health and survival is still as limited as was that of the Nation as a whole 50 years ago.

The average level of health or the average cost of sickness has little meaning for those who now must meet personal catastrophes. To know that a stream is 4 feet deep on the average is of little help to those who drown in the places where it is 10 feet deep. The recommendations of the committee offer a program to bridge that stream by reducing the risks of needless suffering and death, and of costs and dependency, that now overwhelm millions of individual families and sap the resources of the Nation.

I recommend the report of the Interdepartmental Committee for careful study by the Congress. The essence of the program recommended by the committee is Federal-State cooperation. Federal legislation necessarily precedes, for it indicates the assistance which may be made available to the States in a cooperative program for the Nation's

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 23, 1939.

## APPOINTMENTS TO COMMITTEES

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following privileged resolution, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

# House Resolution 64

Resolved. That the following Members be, and they are hereby, elected members of the standing committees of the House of Representatives, as follows:

Representatives, as follows:
Accounts: James Wolfenden, Pennsylvania; Leo E. Allen, Illinois; Lewis D. Thill, Wisconsin; Fred C. Gartner, Pennsylvania.
Agriculture: Clifford R. Hope, Kansas; J. Roland Kinzer, Pennsylvania; Fred C. Gilchrist, Iowa; August H. Andresen, Minnesota; Clare E. Hoffman, Michigan; Bert Lord, New York; William Lemke, North Dakota; Ralph O. Brewster, Maine; Anton J. Johnson, Illinois; Reid F. Murray, Wisconsin; Samuel W. King, Hawaii.
Banking and Currency: Jesse P. Wolcott, Michigan; Charles L. Gifford, Massachusetts; Robert Luce, Massachusetts; Fred L. Crawford, Michigan; Ralph A. Gamble, New York; Richard M. Simpson.

ford, Michigan; Ralph A. Gamble, New York; Richard M. Simpson,

Pennsylvania; Noble J. Johnson, Indiana; Robert W. Kean, New Jersey; Jessie Sumner, Illinois; William J. Miller, Connecticut.
Census: J. Roland Kinzer, Pennsylvania; Frederick C. Smith, Ohio; Robert A. Grant, Indiana; Charles Hawks, Jr., Wisconsin; William H. Wheat, Illinois; Carl T. Curtis, Nebraska; Leland M.

Ford, California.

Civil Service: Edith Nourse Rogers, Massachusetts; Charles A.

Halleck, Indiana; Edward H. Rees, Kansas; Albert L. Vreeland,
New Jersey; L. L. Marshall, Ohio; J. Francis Harter, New York;

Claims: J. Parnell Thomas, New Jersey; Lewis K. Rockefeller, New York; Thomas D. Winter, Kansas; Frank B. Keefe, Wisconsin; Ivor D. Fenton, Pennsylvania; Leonard W. Hall, New York.

Cotnage, Weights, and Measures: Chauncey W. Reed, Illinois; August H. Andresen, Minnesota; Robert Luce, Massachusetts; E. Harold Cluett, New York; Leonard W. Hall, New York; Fred C. Gartner, Pennsylvania; Frederick C. Smith, Ohio.

Disposition of Executive Papers: Bertrand W. Gearhart, Cali-

District of Columbia: Everett M. Dirksen, Illinois; George J. Bates, Massachusetts; Paul W. Shafer, Michigan; Leland M. Ford, California; Stephen Bolles, Wisconsin; Albert L. Vreeland, New Jer-

sey; James Seccombe, Ohio.

Education: George A. Dondero, Michigan; Frank C. Osmers, Jr.,
New Jersey; Robert A. Grant, Indiana; Joshua L. Johns, Wisconsin; Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota; John C. Kunkel, Pennsyl-

Enrolled Bills: Charles A. Eaton, New Jersey; John G. Alexander, Minnesota; Ivor D. Fenton, Pennsylvania.

Expenditures in the Executive Department: Charles L. Gifford, Massachusetts; Clare E. Hoffman, Michigan; D. Lane Powers, New Jersey; Stephen Bolles, Wisconsin; Cliff Clevenger, Ohio; John C. Kunkel, Pennsylvania; Henry O. Talle, Iowa.

Flood Control: Harry L. Englebright, California; Charles R. Clason, Massachusetts; Earl R. Lewis, Ohio; Harve Tibbott, Pennsylvania; Carl T. Curtis, Nebraska; Thomas R. Ball, Connecticut; H. Carl Andersen Minnesota

H. Carl Andersen, Minnesota.
Foreign Affairs: Hamilton Fish, New York; Charles A. New Jersey; George Holden Tinkham, Massachusetts; Edith Nourse Rogers, Massachusetts; Bruce Barton, New York; Robert B. Chiper-field, Illinois; Robert J. Corbett, Pennsylvania; John M. Vorys, Ohio; Foster Stearns, New Hampshire; Andrew C. Schiffler, West Virginia.

Immigration and Naturalization: J. Will Taylor, Tennessee; Noah M. Mason, Illinois; Edward H. Rees, Kansas; Lewis K. Rockefeller, New York; Cliff Clevenger, Ohio; John Z. Anderson, California; Henry O. Talle, Iowa; Samuel W. King, Hawaii.

Henry O. Talle, Iowa; Samuel W. King, Hawaii.

Indian Affairs: Fred C. Gilchrist, Iowa; Usher L. Burdick, North Dakota; Fred J. Douglas, New York; John C. Schafer, Wisconsin; Frederick C. Smith, Ohio; Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota; Fred Bradley, Michigan; Carl T. Curtis, Nebraska.

Insular Affairs: Richard J. Welch, California; W. Sterling Cole, New York; Fred L. Crawford, Michigan; Frank C. Osmers, Jr., New Jersey; William H. Wheat, Illinois; Karl M. LeCompte, Iowa; Charles Hawks, Jr., Wisconsin; Samuel W. King, Hawaii.

Invalid Pensions: Ralph O. Brewster, Maine; John C. Schafer, Wisconsin; Robert F. Jones, Ohio; Stephen Bolles, Wisconsin; Robert A. Grant, Indiana; H. Carl Andersen, Minnesota; John C. Kunkel, Pennsylvania.

Irrigation and Reclamation: Dewey Short, Missouri; Charles Hawks, Jr., Wisconsin; Thomas D. Winter, Kansas; Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota; Henry C. Dworshak, Idaho; J. Thorkelson, Montana; Frank O. Horton, Wyoming.

Frank O. Horton, Wyoming.

Judiciary: U. S. Guyer, Kansas; Clarence E. Hancock, New York; Earl C. Michener, Michigan; John M. Robsion, Kentucky; Chauncey W. Reed, Illinois; John W. Gwynne, Iowa; Louis E. Graham, Pennsylvania; Wallace E. Pierce, New York; B. J. Monkiewicz, Connecticut; Raymond S. Springer, Indiana.

Labor: Richard J. Welch, California; Fred A. Hartley, Jr., New Jersey; Clyde H. Smith, Maine; Bruce Barton, New York; Gerald W. Lendis, Indiana; Chester H. Gross, Pennsylvania; George H. Heinke.

Landis, Indiana; Chester H. Gross, Pennsylvania; George H. Heinke, Nebraska.

Nebraska.

Library: Allen T. Treadway, Massachusetts; Bert Lord, New York.

Memorials: Frank Crowther, New York.

Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Richard J. Welch, California;

Francis D. Culkin, New York; George N. Seger, New Jersey; James
C. Oliver, Maine; Joseph J. O'Brien, New York; Harry Sandager,
Rhode Island; Frank B. Keefe, Wisconsin; Samuel W. King, Hawait.

Military Affairs: Walter G. Andrews, New York; Dewey Short, Missouri; Leslie C. Arends, Illinois; Charles R. Clason, Massachusetts;
Albert G. Rutherford, Pennsylvania; J. Parnell Thomas, New Jersey;
Paul W. Shafer, Michigan; Thomas E. Martin, Iowa; Charles H.
Elston, Ohio; Forest A. Harness, Indiana; Samuel W. King, Hawaii.

Mines and Mining: Harry L. Englebright, California; John M.
Robsion, Kentucky; Fred Bradley, Michigan; Gerald W. Landis,
Indiana; Earl R. Lewis, Ohio; Ivor D. Fenton, Pennsylvania; Thomas
D. Winter, Kansas.

D. Winter, Kansas.

Naval Affairs: Melvin J. Maas, Minnesota; Ralph E. Church, Illinois; James W. Mott, Oregon; W. Sterling Cole, New York; George J. Bates, Massachusetts; William E. Hess, Ohio; George P. Darrow, Pennsylvania; Arthur B. Jenks, New Hampshire; Thomas M. Eaton,

California; Walter S. Jeffries, New Jersey; Samuel W. King, Hawaii.
Patents: Fred A. Hartley, Jr., New Jersey; Leslie C. Arends, Illinois; Ralph E. Church, Illinois; Charles A. Wolverton, New Jersey; Robert Luce, Massachusetts; James E. Van Zandt, Pennsylvania;

L. L. Marshall, Ohio.

Pensions: Fred J. Douglas, New York; Charles L. Gerlach, Pennsylvania; Harry N. Routzohn, Ohio; Henry C. Dworshak, Idaho; J. Francis Harter, New York; John G. Alexander, Minnesota;

Post Office and Post Roads: Fred A. Hartley, Jr., New Jersey; E. Harold Cluett, New York; Noah M. Mason, Illinois; Charles F. Risk, Rhode Island; William W. Blackney, Michigan; Ben F. Jensen, Iowa; Albert E. Austin, Connecticut; James Seccombe, Ohio; George W. Gillie, Indiana; John McDowell, Pennsylvania.

Printing: Robert F. Rich, Pennsylvania.

Public Buildings and Grounds: Pehr G. Holmes, Massachusetts; Clyde H. Smith, Maine; Albert G. Rutherford, Pennsylvania; John C. Schafer, Wisconsin; John Z. Anderson, California; Thomas R. Ball, Connecticut; Fred Bradley, Michigan.

Public Lands: Harry L. Englebright, California; James W. Wadsworth, New York; James W. Mott, Oregon; Fred J. Douglas, New York; J. Thorkelson, Montana; Frank O. Horton, Wyoming; Henry C. Dworshak, Idaho;

C. Dworshak, Idaho;

C. Dworshak, Idaho;

Revision of the Laws: Earl C. Michener, Michigan; John M. Robsion, Kentucky; Harry N. Routzohn, Ohio; Lewis D. Thill, Wisconsin.
Rivers and Harbors: George N. Seger, New Jersey; Albert E. Carter, California; Francis D. Culkin, New York; George A. Dondero, Michigan; William A. Pittenger, Minnesota; Robert L. Rodgers, Pennsylvania; Homer D. Angell, Oregon; George S. Williams, Delaware; George H. Bender, Ohio; Harry W. Griswold, Wisconsin; Samuel W. King, Hawaii.

Roads: Jesse P. Wolcott, Michigan; James W. Mott, Oregon; Cassius C. Dowell, Iowa; Robert F. Jones, Ohio; Frank O. Horton, Wyoming; Leland M. Ford, California; H. Carl Andersen, Minnesota.

sota.

Territories: Cassius C. Dowell, Iowa; Lewis K. Rockefeller, New York; Usher L. Burdick, North Dakota; Robert F. Jones, Ohio; J. Thorkelson, Montana; George H. Heinke, Nebraska; Joshua L. Johns, Wisconsin; Fred C. Gartner, Pennsylvania; Samuel W. King, Hawaii.

War Claims: Clare E. Hoffman, Michigan; Clyde H. Smith, Maine; Harve Tibbott, Pennsylvania; Chester H. Gross, Pennsyl-vania; Joshua L. Johns, Wisconsin; Joseph J. O'Brien, New York;

World War Veterans: Edith Nourse Rogers, Massachusetts; Albert J. Engel, Michigan; James C. Oliver, Maine; James E. Van Zandt, Pennsylvania; Charles L. Gerlach, Pennsylvania; John G. Alexander, Minnesota; Harry N. Routzohn, Ohio; Leonard W. Hall, New

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to was laid on the table.

NAVAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE—LEAVE TO SIT DURING SESSIONS OF THE HOUSE

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Naval Affairs be permitted to sit during the sessions of the House while that committee is considering H. R. 2880.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. Do I understand the gentleman is going to begin hearings on the naval construction bill?

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. Yes; on Wednesday next.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. When is it the gentle-man's purpose to bring that bill to the House?

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. I am hoping that we may be able to finish the work by at least this day one week.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. And will that give ample opportunity for everyone to be heard by the committee?

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. I am sure that ample opportunity will be accorded everyone.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that, after the completion of the special orders on tomorrow, Tuesday, I may address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein a speech made on Saturday, January 21, over the network of the National Broadcasting Co.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I shall have to object to that.

Mr. HILL. These are my own remarks.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. It was the gentleman's own remarks that were objected to on Friday by one of the Members on your side also.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL-FISCAL YEAR 1939

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 2868) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 2868, with Mr. Doxey in the Chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. When the Committee rose on Friday

last, there was pending a point of order.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, at the time the Committee rose on Friday there was pending before the Chair a point of order made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER], that the item for the erection of the Census Building was subject to a point of order because it exceeded the authorization.

The act of May 25, 1926, section 5, alluded to by the gentleman, placed a limitation of \$50,000,000 on certain types of buildings that might be erected in the District of Columbia, including the acquisition of land. That act was amended by the act of January 13, 1928, Forty-fifth Statutes at Large. page 52, increasing the authorization by \$25,000,000. That amount was all for land. It was further amended by the act of March 31, 1930, Forty-sixth Statutes, page 136, by increasing prior authorizations an additional \$115,000,000, making a total authorization of \$190,000,000, \$40,000,000 being for land and \$150,000,000 for buildings.

Chargeable to these authorizations, buildings have been authorized in the amount of \$142,773,092,08, and appropriations of \$28,680,000 have been made under the authorizations for land acquisitions. This leaves a balance to the credit of the authorization for buildings of \$7,226,908, and under the land authorization of \$40,000,000, a difference to the credit of the authorization of \$11,320,000.

Mr. Chairman, I have personally verified these figures from the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department. Therefore there is authorization for the item set out in the deficiency bill of \$3,300,000 for the Census Building.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] desire to be heard?

Mr. TABER. I do, Mr. Chairman.

The act of January 13, 1928, was limited entirely to the acquisition of land. The total authorization which is available in both brackets-that is, for buildings and sites-is \$165,000,000. When you consider that authorization, of course, you have to omit from the additions those purchases which were made prior to the original act. The total authorizations for the purpose of constructing these buildings is \$165,000,000.

Turning to the figures that I have obtained from the Procurement Division, the expenditures for those purposes and the appropriations, with the limits of cost fixed, run a total of \$175,341,358.22. With that picture I still submit that the authorizations heretofore made have already been exceeded and that this appropriation is not authorized by the statutes that have been referred to, or by any other, so far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the gentleman from New York concluded his statement?

Mr. TABER. I have, insofar as that primary statement is concerned. It seems to me it is up to the person proposing to sustain a proposed law against which a point of order has been made to submit the details indicating what their position is, so that we may go into that question just as far as we can verify the whole situation.

I have before me and am prepared to cite the different acts making appropriations, as far as I am relying on them. I have before me the Budget estimates out of which certain allotments were made. I think the whole matter can be very easily straightened out if it were presented in that way. It would appear clearly that the authorization for the construction of this building has already been exceeded.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Virginia desire to reply to the gentleman from New York?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Merely to say, Mr. Chairman, that I have just cited to the Chair and to Committee the fact that we have not only examined the statutes, but I have a statement over the signature of the Director of the Procurement Division which shows the facts just as I indicated them, that there has been a total authorization of \$150,000,000 for buildings alone and a total authorization of \$40,000,000 for land purchases. I have investigated the acts, the clerk of the committee has investigated them, and I have a statement as to the accuracy of the facts over the signature of the Director of the Procurement Division. I think that disproves his case.

So, Mr. Chairman, the burden is upon the gentleman from New York to show that his facts in support of his point of order are accurate and not upon me to disprove them.

Under the ordinary rules of procedure the burden of proof to sustain a point of order is upon the party by whom it is made.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is ready to rule, unless the gentleman from New York desires to reply to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I repeat, it has always been the rule in considering points of order that the burden is entirely upon the party who seeks to bring his legislation within the authorization—to make his case.

I have before me, which I call to the attention of the Chair, a list of buildings and costs, and I have my adding-machine lists showing what the various items total, if the Chair would like to have it. I can go down the line and cover each item if the Chair requires that I cover it.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is not requiring anything. The Chair is merely affording an opportunity to have all the facts presented.

Mr. TABER. But, Mr. Chairman, I submit the burden is upon the party seeking to sustain the authorization.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair does not require it, but the gentleman may proceed, if he so desires.

Mr. TABER. I desire to call the attention of the Chair to the following buildings that have been constructed, the date of that authorization, and the amount of their cost:

Name of building	Appropriation act and in some cases part of the appropriation	Cost	
Agriculture: Economics Building Administration Building Power plant South Building Archives. Central heating plant Commerce Government Printing Office (first annex) Internal Revenue (original building) Interstate Commerce Commission Justice Labor	July 3, 1926  July 3, 1930 July 3, 1930 July 3, 1926 do. Mar. 4, 1931 July 3, 1926 do. July 3, 1930 do. July 3, 1930 do.	\$325,000,00 2,000,000,00 85,000,00 13,879,131,00 8,578,000,00 4,516,893,00 17,500,000,00 1,245,492,00 10,000,000,00 4,500,000,00 15,877,880,000,00	
Interstate Commerce Commission—Labor wing (auditorium, etc.).  Liberty Loan Post Office Department Public Health.	July 3, 1926 July 3, 1930	5, 288, 973. 31 308, 510. 21 11, 730, 543. 00 908, 250. 00	

Name of building	Appropriation act and in some cases part of the appropriation	Cost
Supreme Court	Feb. 28, 1927 July 3, 1930 Dec. 22, 1927 Aug 12, 1935 do do June 25, 1938	\$1, 768, 735.00 50, 000.00 525, 000.00 6, 325, 000.00 7, 700, 000.00 4, 700, 000.00 10, 815, 000.00 14, 250, 000.00
Total		147, 627, 387. 52

1 Land only.

The following were erected by P. W. A. allotments:

Name of building	Date of allot- ment	Amount
Internal Revenue extension.  Procurement Division extension.  Apex.  Archives (stacks and some interior extension).  Interior.  Miscellaneous items (War Department site, reservation D; Zoo Park, Treasury Building, work, etc.)	Jan. 11, 1934 Dec. 14, 1933 Nov. 9, 1935 Sept. 27, 1934 Nov. 17, 1934	\$2, 102, 000. 00 1, 675, 281. 00 5, 679, 193. 00 3, 610, 000. 00 13, 588, 421. 00 2, 460, 075. 72
Total		29, 114, 970 72

Every one of these expenditures was chargeable to the \$165,000,000 authorization. The expenditures for the purchase of land were for land acquired before the authorization for the purchase of land was increased, or before the \$25,-000,000 was set up for that purpose. The total of all these items I have enumerated is \$176,000,000, or \$11,000,000 more than the authorization for building construction.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. The gentleman has read a number of items that come under the head of Public Works Administration construction. In that connection, Mr. Chairman, I should like to read a paragraph from the letter I have from the Director of the Procurement Division.

In the first place, may I say, these items are not properly chargeable to this authorization. The Director of Procurement writes:

The foregoing does not take into account expenditures aggregating \$27,272,933,72, itemized on the third page of exhibit 2, for buildings and other improvements constructed in the District of Columbia under allotments by the Public Works Administration. These allotments were pursuant to Title 2 of the National Industrial Recovery Act (48 Stat. 201), as extended by section 12 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 (49 Stat. 119), and section 201 of the Public Works Administration Extension Act of 1937 (50 Stat. 357). Under section 202 of the National Industrial Recovery Act the Administrator was directed to prepare the program of Public Works, which included: "(a) Construction, repair, and improvement of \* \* \* public buildings \* \* \*; and under section 203 (a) the President was authorized and empowered, through the Administrator or through such other agencies as he might designate, to construct any public-works project included in that program, and the last sentence of the section made its provisions expressly applicable to public works in the District of Columbia. This legislation contained no reference to the Public Buildings Act of May 25, 1926, supra, and did not otherwise limit the amount expendable under the program for projects in the District of Columbia. It has not been considered that expenditures under this program are chargeable to the total amount authorized for appropriation for projects in the District of Columbia under the Public Buildings Act, and the amendatory legislation relative thereto.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to be heard on that particular subject.

These allotments were made out of funds appropriated to the President and were allotted for the purpose of constructing certain authorized projects. I cannot see why this operation does not operate as a satisfaction of the authorization. If it is going to be held that every time an appropriation bill is brought in here it must specify the statutory basis for its authority, we are going to be in very serious

trouble because not 1 out of 20 items gives any such citation. There is not any question but that statutory authority existed and the appropriation was made. The authority was delegated to the President to allot it and he alloted money for the construction of these authorized projects. The authorization was satisfied as a result of those allotments.

Mr. LANHAM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. LANHAM. Was not a part of the original expenditure for the erection of the Department of Commerce Building for the purpose of housing the Bureau of the Census, and was not the building enlarged on that account; therefore, has not that part of the appropriation which might have been applied to the Bureau of the Census already been used in preparing suitable quarters for the Bureau in the present Department of Commerce Building?

Mr. TABER. I think that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is ready to rule.

When this point of order was raised on Friday last, the Chair was in some doubt as to whether the appropriation in the pending paragraph was authorized under existing law. The citation to the act of May 25, 1926, contained in the paragraph, seemed to place a limitation upon the amount of money that could be appropriated for the construction of buildings within the District of Columbia. Since last Friday the Chair has had an opportunity of looking into the laws authorizing construction within the District of Columbia. The Chair has found that the act of May 25, 1926, has been amended on two specific occasions-first by the act of January 13, 1928 (45 Stat. 52), and, second, by the act of March 31, 1930 (46 Stat. 136). These amendatory acts have increased the authorization for the District of Columbia to \$150,000,000 for the construction of buildings and \$40,000,-000 for the acquisition of lands for such buildings.

The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Woodrum] has submitted for the inspection of the Chair a letter addressed to him over the signature of the Director of Procurement of the Treasury Department. The Chair finds in that com-munication—and of course the Chair must rely upon the statement of an officer of the Government over his signature-that of the \$150,000,000 authorized by construction in the District of Columbia \$142,773,092.08 has already been authorized, thus leaving of the original authorization a sum of \$7,226,908 for future appropriations. Of the \$40,000,000 authorized for the acquisition of land there remains unallocated and unappropriated the sum of \$11,320,000. It is manifest, therefore, that under the acts heretofore referred to by the Chair there is sufficient authorization within the limit of cost set in those acts for an appropriation of \$3,500,-000 for the construction of a Census Building. The Chair desires also to point out that the Director of Procurement in his letter to Mr. Woodrum specifically states that the erection of the new Census Building is within the area defined in the authorization acts.

The question has also been raised as to whether the construction of public buildings in the District of Columbia under allotments by the Public Works Administration should be chargeable against a limitation of \$150,000,000 set by the Public Buildings Act of 1926, as amended. The Chair has examined carefully title 2 of the National Industrial Recovery Act, section 12 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, and section 201 of the Public Works Administration Extension Act of 1937. These acts contained no reference to the Public Buildings Act of May 25, 1926, as amended, and did not otherwise limit the amount expendable for projects in the District of Columbia as authorized by the Public Buildings Act. It seems to the Chair, therefore, that the moneys used under the Public Works Administration for the construction of buildings in the District of Columbia should not be chargeable to the total amount authorized for projects in the District of Columbia under the Public Buildings Act, as amended. The Chair is fortified in this opinion by the fact that the Director of Procurement of the Treasury Department has placed a like construction upon this proposition,

For these reasons the Chair is of the opinion that the appropriation herein provided is within the authorization set by Congress and, therefore, conforms with the rules of the House. The Chair, therefore, overrules the point of order.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to return to the consideration of page 3 of the bill, line 3, to an item making appropriation for the New England hurricane damage and that it may be in order to make a point of order against this unauthorized expenditure.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Dirksen: Page 6, line 6, strike out from line 6 to line 16, inclusive.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, the point of this amendment is to strike out the entire section of the bill which provides \$3,500,000 for the acquisition of land and the erection of the new building for the Census Bureau in the Department of Commerce.

On Thursday last I acquainted the House with the amount of space being rented by the Federal Government both in and outside the District of Columbia and also gave some totals as to the number of buildings that have been erected, to indicate the extent to which governmental functions have increased. I recognize the fact that there are some functions of the Government that cannot be moved out of the Nation's Capital. Certainly, no one would pretend that you could take the Department of State, the Department of Labor, or the Department of the Interior and move them to other sections of the country, because their functions must be coordinated with other functions that are being carried on here. Conversely, however, there are some functions that can be moved from the District of Columbia. It occurs to me that the taking of the census and the tabulating of the results is one of such functions.

This can very well be done at this time without prejudicing the work of the Census Bureau or any acquisitions that have been made under the proposal in this bill. If you will examine page 21 of the hearings you will find that Admiral Peoples testified that thus far no land has been acquired for this purpose. Secondly, if you will examine the hearings on page 24 you will find that 200,000 square feet of space is now available with which to carry on the preliminary work. Since those who are conducting this work have testified before the committee that it is a progressive build-up of personnel, I think it is a fair inference from the hearings that space is now available for the work that must be done for awhile, at least. Consequently we can give some attention to the proposal to move this whole function to some other section of the country by deferring action on a new building at this time.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield briefly.
Mr. COLMER. As I understand, the purpose of the gentleman's amendment, as stated, is to cut out this entire section of the bill?

Mr. DIRKSEN. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. COLMER. I notice on reading the amendment that is cuts out lines 6 to 11. I thought I might just call the attention of the gentleman to that fact.

Mr. DIRKSEN. No; the amendment covers from line 6 to line 16.

Mr. COLMER. I believe if the gentleman will observe his amendment he will find it covers to line 11.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that if that mistake appears in the amendment the amendment may be changed to read "line 16" instead of "line 11."

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair may say that the amendment covers lines 6 to 16.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I thought it was line 16, and I think it was properly phrased in the first instance.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. COX. Is the gentleman taking the position that the country has already been overtaxed to construct monumental buildings here in the District of Columbia, and that this is an opportune time to indicate dissatisfaction with a continuation of that policy?

Mr. DIRKSEN. In part I take that position. I take this position predicated on two premises. In the first place, I do not believe there is an immediate necessity for erecting this building. Secondly, if it must be built-and those in possession of expert opinion and authority and who have the figures insist that it must be built—let us build it somewhere else and decentralize this function and have it carried on away from the District of Columbia.

Further in the testimony you will find that while they state it is not economically feasible to place these functions anywhere but in Washington, D. C., yet you cannot read the record of the hearings without coming to the conclusion, from the statements of those who testified from the Department of Commerce itself, that this function may very well be moved to some other section of the country. When the time comes to erect such a building, let us place it somewhere else than Washington, D. C., and start progressively on curing the congestion and the traffic hazards that have grown up as a result of implementing the Federal personnel here until today it amounts to approximately 120,000 persons.

The center of population is today located somewhere near the Illinois-Indiana line, some seven or eight hundred miles from here. We could very well send this function out there, because it is principally a case of providing 2 weeks' work for enumerators and then going into a building with a battery of

tabulating machines and tabulating the result.

On the basis of what appears in the hearings we might very well strike out this provision at this time, because it is not immediately necessary. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this paragraph and all amendments thereto close in 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me we should stop appropriating large sums of money for the purpose of erecting great buildings in the District of Columbia; buildings which are permanent in character and which we will have immediate agitation to fill. The requirements of this Bureau, according to the story of its own representatives, are taken care of until the 1st of next January. This means they now have space in the Department of Commerce Building to take care of 2,500 of their employees, as appears on page 17 of the hearings, and they need additional space only for a period of approximately 20 months, as appears directly on the same page of the hearings. Why should we construct a building calculated to house 7,500 employees to satisfy a demand for 20 months' use in 10 years? When that great Department of Commerce Building was erected it was understood it would house the census activities and would take care of that situation. With what temporary space we can obtain both here in Washington and elsewhere there is plenty of space available to take care of this situation. We have no business going ahead at this time with terrific expenditures in Washington.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee. Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. Does not the gentleman en-

vision a day in the not distant future when a great many of these useless buildings or commissions will be demobilized?

Mr. TABER. It is the only salvation for America. [Applause.1

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, the hearings before the committee showed that the Government is now renting in the District of Columbia 120 different buildings to house the present activities of the Government, and whatever may be said about useless bureaus and the multiplying of Government agencies and what not, I recall that one of my first committee assignments when I came to Congress 16 years ago was to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds and at that time the Government was paying an annual rental bill of more than \$25,000,000 in the District of Columbia and outside of the District of Columbia. The Government has never, under any administration, pursued the policy that an ordinarily conservative and prudent businessman would pursue of trying to house his own activities with a view to economizing in space and coordinating such activities. This the Government has never done. There may be more bureaus now-I do not deny this—probably we all entertain the hope that many of them may be liquidated sometime or other, but if our fondest hopes were realized in that direction, we badly need space of this type in the District of Columbia.

This is not to be a monumental building, I may say to my good friend from Georgia. This is to be a warehouse-utilitarian type of building, costing \$9 a square foot and built for use and service.

It is perfectly ridiculous to talk about conducting this census or tabulating it at any other place than in the District of Columbia.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman vield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Not just now, as I only have 5 minutes.

With the advent of social security and railroad retirement. there will be greater need for record space than ever before, and while the census field work is done out in the country at large, the tabulation and the records from which compiled must be done in the District of Columbia at the Nation's Capital.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes; just briefly.

Mr. O'CONNOR. There is no emergency about the construction of this building, is there?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. We think there is an emergency.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Does not the gentleman really feel that it would be better to spend this \$3,500,000 by adding it to the amount that the House passed the other evening here, namely, \$725,000,000, which I voted to increase to \$875,000,000, to take care of the poor and the unemployed people of this country, rather than to use this sum for the construction of a building for which there is no immediate necessity?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. In the first place, there is immediate necessity for it; and in the second place, the gentleman from Virginia thinks we made ample provision for the poor and the needy people, if you can get the money to such people; but aside from that, if you do not construct this building at a cost of \$3,500,000, we shall have to have someone else construct the building and pay them not less than \$400,000 a year for it. We are paying 95 cents a square foot for space in rented buildings in the District of Columbia right now.

Mr. DOWELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Not just now, if the gentle-

man will permit me.

The evidence shows that this building will liquidate itself on the basis of rent in 10 years, and it is badly needed for governmental activities.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. Does not the gentleman realize that these public buildings we put up all cost more to operate and take care of than the rent we have been paying?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. No; in addition to the cost of 95 cents a square foot, we pay for the heating and the janitor service. The added expense runs the cost to around \$1.50 a square foot for renting space in the District of Columbia. Any ordinarily prudent businessman would construct his own office space rather than do this.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. GIFFORD. And the building would also be counted as an asset and its availability to extinguish the public debt could be claimed, could it not?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. It would be an asset, un-

doubtedly.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Dirksen) there were—ayes 99, noes 107.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chair appointed as tellers Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia and Mr. DIRKSEN.

The Committee again divided; and the tellers reportedayes 124, noes 117.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk concluded the reading of the bill.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise and report the bill back to the House with the amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill, as amended,

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Doxey, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee had had under consideration the bill H. R. 2858, the first deficiency appropriation bill, 1939, and had directed him to report the same back to the House with two amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill, as amended, do pass.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the bill and amendments to final passage.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I demand a separate vote on the Dirksen amendment striking out the provision for the construction of a building for the Bureau of the Census

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded upon the other amendment? If not, the question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the other amendment.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Clerk again report the amendment.

There was no objection, and the Clerk again reported the amendment, as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Dirksen: Page 6, line 6, strike out lines 6 to 16, inclusive.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken; and the Chair announced himself in doubt.

The House divided; and there were-ayes 106, noes 136. Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I demand the yeas and nays. The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 170, nays 192, not voting 70, as follows:

> [Roll No. 4] YEAS-170

Andresen, A. H. Arnold Blackney Alexander Allen, Ill. Ashbrook Boehne Bolles Andrews Andersen, H. Carl Anderson, Calif. Angell Ball Beam Bolton

Bradley, Mich. Brewster Brown, Ohio Buckler, Minn. Burdick Carlson Case, S. Dak. Chiperfield Church Clevenger Cluett Cole, N. Y. Colmer Corbett Cox Crawford Crowther Culkin Curtis Dirksen Dondero Dowell Dworshak Eaton, Calif. Eaton, N. J. Elliott Engel Englebright Fenton Fish Ford, Leland M. Fulmer Gamble Gearhart Gehrmann

Gifford

Gilchrist Gillie Lanham Gore Graham LeCompte Lemke Lewis, Ohio Grant Ind Ludlow Gross Guyer, Kans. McDowell McKeough Gwynne Hall McLaughlin Halleck McLean Hancock McLeod Harness Harter, N. Y. McMillan, John L Maas Hawks Heinke Mapes Marshall Hinshaw Martin, Mass. Hoffman Mason Massingale Hope Horton Hull Michener Miller Jacobsen Monkiewicz Jarrett Mott Mundt Jeffries Jenkins, Ohio Jenks, N. H. Murray O'Connor Osmers Jensen Parsons Johnson, Ill Peterson, Ga. Pittenger Johnson, Ind. Jones, Ohio Plumley Kean Keefe Poage Polk Powers Reece, Tenn. Reed, Ill. Kelly Kinzer Kleberg Knutson Kunkel Rees, Kans Lambertson Robsion, Ky. NAYS-192

Landis

Rockefeller Rodgers, Pa. Rogers, Mass Routzohn Rutherford Schafer, Wis. Schiffler Schulte Shafer, Mich. Simpson Smith, Ohio Springer Stearns, N. H. Stefan Sumper III Sumners, Tex. Taber Talle Taylor, Tenn. Thill Thomas, N. J. Thorkelson Tibbott Treadway Turner Van Zandt Vorys, Ohio West Wheat White, Ohio Wigglesworth Williams, Del. Winter Wolcott Woodruff, Mich. Youngdahl

Allen, La. Dingell Allen, Pa. Disney Doughton Anderson, Mo. Barden Barnes Bates, Ky. Doxey Drewry Beckworth Duncan Dunn Bland Durham Eberharter Edmiston Boland Boren Boykin Ellis Faddis Fay Ferguson Brooks Brown, Ga Fernandez Fitzpatrick Flaherty Buck Bulwinkle Burch Burgin Flannagan Byrne, N. Y. Byrns, Tenn. Folger Ford, Miss. Byron Caldwell Ford, Thomas F. Fries Garrett Gathings Geyer, Calif. Gibbs Goldsborough Cannon, Fla. Cannon, Mo. Cartwright Casey, Mas Chandler Chapman Gossett Grant, Ala. Claypool Cochran Coffee, Nebr. Coffee, Wash. Cole, Md. Collins Green Gregory Griffith Hare Harrington Harter, Ohio Connery Cooper Costello Crosser Havenner Healey Hennings Crowe Hill Hobbs Cummings Hook Houston D'Alesandro Daly Darden Hunter Delaney DeRouen Dickstein

Jones, Tex. Kee Keller Kerr Kilday Kitchens Kocialkowski Kramer Larrabee Lesinski Lewis, Colo. McAndrews McCormack McGehee Shanley McMillan, Thos. S.Shannon Magnuson Mahon Maloney Mansfield Marcantonio Martin, Colo. Martin, Ill. Mills, Ark. Mills, La. Mitchell Monroney Mouton Murdock, Ariz. Murdock IItah Nelson Norrell O'Neal Owen Pace Patman Patrick Patton Pearson Peterson, Fla. Pierce, Oreg. Rabaut Jarman Ramspeck
Johnson, Luther A. Randolph
Johnson, Lyndon Rankin
Johnson, W. Va. Rayburn

Richards Robertson Robinson, Utah Rogers, Okla. Romjue Ryan Sacks Satterfield Schaefer, III. Schuetz Schwert Scrugham Secrest Sheppard Sirovich Smith, Conn. Smith, Va. Smith, Wash. Smith, W. Va. Snyder South Sparkman Spence Starnes, Ala. Steagall Sutphin Sweeney Tarver Taylor, Colo. Tenerowicz Terry Thomas, Tex. Thomason Tolan Vincent, Ky. Vinson, Ga. Voorhis, Calif. Wallgren Walter Warren Weaver Whelchel Whittington Williams, Mo. Woodrum, Va.

NOT VOTING-70

Austin Barry Barton Bates, Mass. Bender Bradley, Pa Buckley, N. Y. Carter Celler Clark Cooley Curley

Evans

Holmes Darrow Dempsey Ditter Izac Johnson, Okla Douglas Elston Kennedy, Martin May Kennedy, Michael Merritt Kennedy, Md. Flannery Keogh Gartner Kirwan Lea Leavy Gavagan Hartley Lord Hendricks McArdle McGranery

McReynolds Maciejewski Martin, Iowa Myers Nichols O'Brien O'Leary Oliver O'Toole Pfeifer Pierce, N. Y.

Risk

Sabath

Wolfenden, Pa.

Wolverton, N. J. Wood

Sandager Somers, N.Y. Welch Sullivan White, Idaho So the amendment was not agreed to.

Smith, Ill. Smith, Maine

Seger

The Clerk announced the following pairs: On this vote:

Mr. Ditter (for) with Mr. Gavagan (against).
Mr. Wadsworth (for) with Mr. Sullivan (against).
Mr. Rich (for) with Mr. Dempsey (against).
Mr. Wolfenden of Pennsylvania (for) with Mr. McArdle (against).
Mr. Douglas (for) with Mr. Cooley (against).
Mr. Elston (for) with Mr. Sabath (against).
Mr. Risk (for) with Mr. Cullen (against).
Mr. Pierce of New York (for) with Mr. Bradley of Pennsylvania against).

Tinkham

Vreeland Wadsworth

Mr. Pierce of New York (for) with Mr. Bradley of Pennsylv (against).
Mr. Smith of Maine (for) with Mr. O'Toole (against).
Mr. Seger (for) with Mr. McGranery (against).
Mr. Seccombe (for) with Mr. Keogh (against).
Mr. Lord (for) with Mr. Kennedy of Maryland (against).
Mr. Sandager (for) with Mr. Hart (against).
Mr. Carter (for) with Mr. McReynolds (against).
Mr. Gartner (for) with Mr. Barry (against).
Mr. Oliver (for) with Mr. Flannery (against).
Mr. Hartles (for) with Mr. Celler (against).
Mr. Bates of Massachusetts (for) with Mr. Kirwan (against).
Mr. Holmes (for) with Mr. Merritt (against).
Mr. O'Brien (for) with Mr. Evans (against).
Mr. O'Brien (for) with Mr. Somers of New York (against).
Mr. Yreeland (for) with Mr. Pfeifer (against).

Mr. Hartley (107) with Mr. Somers of New York (against).
Mr. Vreeland (for) with Mr. Pfeifer (against).
Mr. Barton (for) with Mr. Michael J. Kennedy (against).
Mr. Darrow (for) with Mr. Martin J. Kennedy (against).
Mr. Martin of Iowa (for) with Mr. Buckley of New York (against).
Mr. Bender (for) with Mr. Curley (against).

## General pairs:

Mr. May with Mr. Tinkham.

Mr. Johnson of Oklahoma with Mr. Wolverton of New Jersey.
Mr. Lea with Mr. Welch.
Mr. Wood with Mr. Leavy.
Mr. Clark with Mr. Maciejewski.
Mr. Nichols with Mr. Smith of Illinois.

Mr. Hendricks with Mr. White of Idaho. Mr. Creal with Mr. Izac.

Mr. Grant of Alabama changed his vote from "aye" to

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded. The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the amended bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time. and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill. The bill was passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONSOLIDATING AND CODIFYING INTERNAL-REVENUE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 2762) to consolidate and codify the internal-revenue laws of the United

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I think it is such an important matter that it is proper for the chairman of the committee or some Member on the majority side to offer the House a suitable explanation of the reason for the passage of this act at this time.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, the bill under consideration, H. R. 2762, consolidates and codifies the internalrevenue laws of the United States, and would enact into absolute law instead of prima facie evidence of law all of the internal-revenue laws that are now in force.

This bill has the unanimous approval of the Committee on Ways and Means. Its preparation is the work of the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, with which work the House is familiar, in cooperation with the Treasury Department and the Department of Justice. The staff has been working on this since about 1930, in cooperation with the officials of the Treasury Department and of the Department of Justice.

There is no objection to it. In fact, its passage is commended by the Department of Justice. I have a letter, contained in the report, from the Department of Justice recommending the enactment of this code into law. It does not change existing law in any particular. It brings into consolidated form, into one compact volume, about 150 separate acts of Congress, beginning with the Revised Statutes, enacted in 1874. There are so many laws contained in so many volumes of the Statutes at Large that it is very confusing and it is difficult even for lawyers to determine what the law actually is, and the ordinary taxpayer cannot do it at all.

This bill makes no change whatever in existing law, but consolidates and codifies the existing law, and brings it all into one volume so that it is immediately and conveniently available.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. TREADWAY. I understood the chairman to say this was prepared in cooperation with the Department. Printed in the volume as it first came to the Ways and Means Committee was transmitted a letter from the Department of Justice, but there was no reference to the Treasury Department as cooperating and approving this codification, as far as any written evidence is concerned. I understood at the time that the chairman of the committee had had verbal cooperation and approval of the Treasury Department, but I think it would be well for the chairman to make a statement in connection with that matter.

Another thing I would like to bring out is that when the Congress adopts this resolution and it becomes law, then there is no reference to past laws, but it is the law to date in connection with internal-revenue operations of the Government is it not?

Mr. DOUGHTON. It would have the force of statutory law. It would not be prima facie evidence thereof but the law itself.

As far as the Treasury Department is concerned-Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman

vield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to my colleague from Ohio.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. As I understand it, this joint committee of the House and Senate has been operating on taxation for years, and this committee has had this in mind for several years. That is true, is it not?

Mr. DOUGHTON. That is correct.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. And they have been working on it not for the purpose of changing any law whatever-

Mr. DOUGHTON. No.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. But to correlate the laws and bring them together in a compact form so that those who use this portion of the law-and there are millions of people in the country who do use it-may have these laws properly indexed and condensed into one volume.

I should like to ask the gentleman this question: It has been the purpose of this committee to honestly correlate these laws without any intention of making any change in the law whatsoever?

Mr. DOUGHTON. That is correct.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. I think the information which the gentleman has from these experts, and that has been corroborated by the Department of Justice, is that there has been no change in the law whatever. All it does is bring them together. It differs from some codifications. codifications made by the Congress and other legislative bodies implies a complete study of all laws, in an effort to take out the deadwood and inconsistencies, and resolve the inconsistencies into some form, and thereby enact a new law. In this case I understand this commission has religiously stayed away from any attempt to make any change whatso-ever, but have stuck absolutely to the law. Take laws upon which the statute of limitations has run, or laws that in their own language indicate that they are now of no standing. Some of the Members on this side, particularly the new Members, are especially interested in knowing whether or not should they vote for this they will be voting for any change of law. I think the gentleman has stated emphatically that there is no change of any kind in the law.

Mr. DOUGHTON. I can assure the House of that fact. Moreover, in order to safeguard and assure the correctness of this draft, and to safeguard against any mistakes, the Treasury Department has checked and rechecked through about 25 or 30 attorneys in that Department the work of the staff in order that this may be as accurate as it is humanly possible to make it.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield. Mr. WOLCOTT. I understand this is the embodiment of all existing tax laws.

Mr. DOUGHTON. That is correct.

Mr. WOLCOTT. In what manner has the committee eliminated the deadwood? Does not this bill provide for the repeal of some of this deadwood? The gentleman from Ohio stated that experts in the Department of the Treasury have gotten together and eliminated a lot of deadwood and laws that the statute of limitations has run against. To my knowledge the statute of limitations never runs against an act of Congress, and I wonder whether by this act the committee have recommended to Congress that certain acts be repealed? And I want to suggest to the gentleman from North Carolina that I am a little concerned about what check has been made by the congressional committee to see that this is an embodiment of all existing tax laws.

Mr. DOUGHTON. If the gentleman will permit, the members of the committee, of course, could not make the check with the thoroughness that the staff could make it; but the committee has agreed that it is willing to be governed by and responsible for the work of the staff of the joint committee. A similar code was completed during the last session of Congress. In order, however, that there might be no risk or doubt, we agreed to let it go over and let the Treasury Department check against the work of the staff. We have done everything possible to safeguard the integrity of the tax laws.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I may say to the gentleman from North Carolina that I have been the ranking minority member of the committee which presumably has jurisdiction over the revision of the laws and the codification of the laws. This committee presumably has a staff to do just this thing. We have found that it is of much greater help to the courts and to attorneys practicing before those courts to authoribe a House or a Senate document with changes in existing laws in the codifications set up in block-letter type and in italics. This is the first time I have ever had my attention called to the reenactment of all existing tax laws.

I do not think we should be in too much of a hurry about this. This is one of the most important subjects with which businessmen, bankers, and professional men, have to deal. I think we should proceed very cautiously. Although I am usually willing to take the word of the gentleman from North Carolina, because I know that he is very conscientious about this-and the same applies to other members of the Ways and Means Committee-I do not think this bill should be passed under unanimous consent. Apparently copies of this bill are not available, at least we did not know that the bill was going to be called up today. I think the Members should have an opportunity at least to look this over, and in the quiet and privacy of their offices to make sure that no provisions of law in which they might be peculiarly interested are omitted from the codification. I am inclined, therefore, to object to the request, not because I do not have confidence in the committee to do this but because I think that the bill is of the utmost importance to the Nation and should not be passed under a unanimous-consent request.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOLCOTT. I yield.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. My use of the words "statute of limitations" was rather unfortunate. I meant by that the expiration of statutes which by their own language had a limited time of application. I meant it only by way of

As I understand it, there has been no change of any kind in any law at all. If a law was found in connection with tax matters which law in its own language indicated that it terminated at a certain date, then that law has been repealed, it has not been brought into this codification.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I am inclined to think that there is a possibility that the Treasury Department and the Department of Justice in their zeal to make a workable law have perhaps eliminated from this codification certain socalled unworkable provisions which have been a constant embarrassment to the Justice Department and the Treasury Department. I want to satisfy this House, and I think the gentleman from North Carolina wants to satisfy this House, that this is not done under the classification of "dead wood."

Mr. DOUGHTON. There is not here involved any question of the zeal of the Treasury Department or the Department of Justice. The lead has been taken by the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. The Treasury Department and the Department of Justice have at the instance and request of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation cooperated with this committee. They have not taken the lead, they have not pushed it, they are not insisting on it now, they have not urged it upon us.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I want to make my position clear. I am not against the bill, because I do not know what is in it. I think the attitude of the majority of the Members of Congress is that they do not know whether they are for it or against it because they do not know what is in it. Here we are dealing with a very basic law upon which this Government operates and under which it collects from \$6,000,000,000 to \$10,000,000,000 of revenue. I submit such a bill should not pass by unanimous consent.

I do not think I can conscientiously let this bill go through by unanimous consent without giving it more consideration, and for this reason, Mr. Speaker, I object.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HOBBS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Hobbs]?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I hope the gentleman will withhold this request for a minute, because one of our Members on this side did not have the opportunity to extend his own remarks and until his request is granted I must object to other Members getting similar permission.

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman submit his request

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include the remarks of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Barton], as published in Colliers.

The SPEAKER. The Chair would like to understand the request. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN] ask unanimous consent that the remarks of the gentleman from New York [Mr. BARTON] be extended to include an article contained in a magazine?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and to include a statement of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Barton], as published in

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN]?

Mr. BULWINKLE. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, may I ask the gentleman from Massachusetts if he has received permission of the copyright owner to insert these remarks?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I have not received anybody's permission.

Mr. BULWINKLE. It is a copyrighted article.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I will take a chance that the gentleman from New York [Mr. BARTON] will not object.

Mr. THOMAS F. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I object. Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, then I object to the request of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HORBS !.

## PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday next, after the disposition of matters on the Speaker's table and at the conclusion of the regular orders in order for that day, I may be permitted to address the House for 20 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday next the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Miller] may be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes at the conclusion of the special orders heretofore entered.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mrs. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, at the conclusion of the special orders for today I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 20 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. Norton]?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Under a special order of the House heretofore entered, the gentleman from Montana [Mr. Thorkelson] is recognized for 30 minutes.

#### THE GOLD RESERVE ACT

Mr. THORKELSON. Mr. Speaker, before I begin my subject I should like to make a few remarks with reference to the message I heard a while ago that came from the White House. I refer not so much to the message but to the specter behind the message. I see the shadow standing behind us guiding the destinies of our people. This appeal to people who lack the necessities of life and those who lack medical care is a bid for public sympathy. What for? To destroy our business structure which has made the country great and prosperous.

It is an appeal to force this Congress, through the power to public sympathy, to consent to the destruction of our business structure. I refer particularly to the medical profession itself. I have practiced medicine for a long time and 60 percent of my work and the work of other medical men has been done for nothing. I want the people to know that, and I want the people also to know that the medical profession is one that devotes its entire career to the alleviation of human suffering and to helping people. For such work they have not asked any Federal aid.

The Federal Government, in order to gain strength itself by such public appeals to the people, to the masses, makes the statement it is going to give the people something for nothing. It uses that as a club for power to destroy the medical profession, as it has done other businesses, such as the public utilities and many other business structures in this country.

Mr. Speaker, I want the Members of this Congress to know that no one occupies a more enviable position than the President himself. He cannot lose, because he appeals to the masses in order to get their support. He asks their support ogive him power, and after he gets their support, if anything goes wrong, he is not to blame; he washes his hands of the whole thing, because it was the will of the masses or a mandate from the people. If, however, he is successful, he receives all the credit, and again he wins. So it is heads I win, tails you lose. And Congress sits here and takes it all while he wins. You ought to have a goat up there to look at every day. That is symbolical of your position. Sometimes it is too much for me.

This is the twelfth legislative day, and Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the courtesy of all Members in this House.

As a new man in the greatest legislative body in the world, and I may say the most prolific legislative body in the world, I, of course, need advice.

My work has been confined to making a living in business. I have been captain and owner of ocean-going ships, doctor of medicine and a surgeon, pilot of aircraft, and a business-

man. I am not familiar with legislation as such, but I am familiar with constitutional law, and the rights of the people. Mr. Speaker, I realize, as one of the people, that if this body remove the people's rights one by one by law, when the last is removed, the people become slaves to legal despotism, and a legal despotism deprives the people of their rights just as successfully as the popular despotisms of today. You get a despotism by legislating yourself out of your rights, and that is what we are doing in this body.

Mr. Speaker, in a republican form of government such as ours, the Government should confine itself within the powers delegated to it by the people, as set forth in the Constitution of the United States. Such powers are purely administrative, regulatory, and protective.

All rights to conduct business are reserved by the people to themselves, and the people are those engaged in industry, commerce, business, labor, agriculture, and all earning enterprises. To expect that is only just and right, for this group has paid the total Government and our Nation's expenditures from its earliest beginning to date.

In other words, the Government does not earn money. It spends the money earned by the people who support it. The people have uncomplainingly fought many wars and attempted invasions, but are in despair when they must protect themselves against invasion by the government of their own creation. It is hard enough to fight attempted destruction from without, but hope is lost when the attack is launched from within, and by the very government in which the people place their hope and trust.

Being interested in recovery, I am not different from others, although my opinions may differ in the procedure for its return.

I take the view that currency is the blood which circulates in the arteries of business, and gold is the heart. The flow of currency when interrupted may cause temporary illness to business, from which it may recover, but the removal of gold-secured currency strikes a blow at the very heart of the business structure from which it will not recover until standardized gold currency is restored.

The majority of the Seventy-third Congress that voted for the Gold Reserve Act drove a dagrer in the heart of business, and the Seventy-sixth Congress should remove it so as to aid recovery in our business structure.

I shall now quote verbatim four sections of the Gold Reserve Act, in which I will attempt to show that the act is unconstitutional; that it is destructive to industry, commerce, business, labor, agriculture, and all earning groups; and that it destroys public confidence in the Government and undermines the fundamental principles in which we believe.

I quote House Resolution 1491, title 1, section 2 (b):

During time of war, or during any other period of national emergency declared by the President, the President may, through any agency that he may designate, or otherwise, investigate, regulate, or prohibit, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, by means of licenses or otherwise, any transactions in foreign exchange, transfers of credit between or payments by banking institutions as defined by the President, and export, hoarding, melting, or earmarking of gold or silver coin or bullion or currency, by any person within the United States or any place subject to the jurisdiction thereof; and the President may require any person engaged in any transaction referred to in this subdivision to furnish, under oath, complete information relative thereto, including the production of any books of account, contracts, letters, or other papers in connection therewith in the custody or control of such person, either before or after such transaction is completed. Whoever willfully violates any of the provisions of this subdivision or of any license, order, rule, or regulation issued thereunder shall upon conviction be fined not more than \$10,000 or, if a natural person, may be imprisoned for not more than 10 years, or both; and any officer, director, or agent of any corporation who knowingly participates in such violation may be punished by a like fine, imprisonment, or both. As used in this subdivision, the term "person" means an individual, partnership, association, or corporation.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THORKELSON. I yield to the gentleman from Idaho.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Has not the effect of the legislation the gentleman has just cited been to effectually demonetize gold? Has not gold been as effectually demonetized as silver in our monetary system?

Mr. THORKELSON. I shall come to that point shortly. That is all explained in the statement I shall make.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. That is a fact, is it not? Mr. THORKELSON. Yes; that is absolutely a fact.

This paragraph, which is part of the Gold Reserve Act, was passed by the majority of the Seventy-third Congress and bestows nearly absolute power on the President over public liberties. It opens the gate to persecution; it lifts the curtain of inquisition, and, as I view the dim past, I shudder.

The words "during time of war" are used as a smoke screen for a favorable reception of the real intent of the act, which is for the President to have power "to declare an emergency." We have had an emergency for 6 years for the money changers in the temple, and this noble gentry directly or indirectly control over thirteen and a half billions of gold and gold certificates.

Our great mass of workers have labored for the money changers too long. I am now tired of it, and I believe it is time for Congress to declare an emergency for our own people, so that they may benefit in being secured by the wealth they have earned and which rightfully belongs to them.

Six years of emergency without a war is open to suspicion, and my suspicion is that something is wrong.

In this act the President may declare an emergency when he pleases. After such declaration he may investigate, prosecute, and persecute anyone to his heart's content, and end up by fining him \$10,000 and sentencing him to 10 years in prison. For what? For having in his possession gold or silver, a property which belongs to the people by right and is so declared in the Constitution of the United States. Gold is property no different from any other property, and as such it belongs to the people, the creators of such wealth.

This absolute power is not left entirely to the President, because the Secretary of the Treasury, if you please, becomes an inquisitor also. I quote section 3 (n):

Whenever in the judgment of the Secretary of the Treasury such action is necessary to protect the currency system of the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, may require any or all individuals, partnerships, associations, and corporations to pay and deliver to the Treasurer of the United States any or all gold coin, gold bullion, and gold certificates owned by such individuals, partnerships, associations, and corporations. Upon receipt of such gold coin, gold bullion, or gold certificates, the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay therefor an equivalent amount of any other form of coin or currency coined or issued under the laws of the United States.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. THORKELSON. I yield to the gentleman from Mas-

Mr. GIFFORD. May I inject there the statement that under the New Deal and the progressiveness of the dollar, formerly if you had a bottle of whisky worth \$5 you were arrested for carrying the whisky but you would not be arrested for carrying gold, whereas today you are arrested if you carry gold but you can carry the whisky. This is the new method of property confiscation.

Mr. THORKELSON. The gentleman is correct.

The Secretary of the Treasury shall pay all costs of the transportation of such gold bullion, gold certificates, coin, or currency, including the cost of insurance, protection, and such other incidental costs as may be reasonably necessary.

This simply means that for gold and valuable currency they hand you phoney money, but they pay transportation and they insure it so they will not lose it. They are liberal

Any individual, partnership, association, or corporation failing to comply with any requirement of the Secretary of the Treasury made under this subsection shall be subject to a penalty equal to twice the value of the gold or gold certificates in respect of which such failure occurred, and such penalty may be collected by the Secretary of the Treasury by suit or otherwise.

I quote again:

Whenever in the judgment of the Secretary of the Treasury action is necessary to protect the currency system.

It is astonishing that such rot, deception, and senseless words were allowed to be written into this act, and for no other reason than to betray our people. The sole purpose is for our people to trade good money for inflated or valueless currency; a most damnable fraud to be perpetrated on an unsuspecting and trusting Nation. May God open their eyes before it is too late.

In this paragraph Congress abdicated and delegated congressional power and prerogatives to the royal family. The majority of the Seventy-third Congress crowned a king, and the Supreme Court of the United States blessed the ceremony. I want Congress to understand what has been done to the great mass of American people-our people.

No doubt other emergency legislation will come up in this Congress, and it is my desire to warn my colleagues that the first duty of Congress is to determine absolutely and conclusively that all measures presented come well within the legislative power delegated to Congress by the people in the Constitution and are not dictated by personal opinions of Members of Congress or of any employee of the Government. I want you to bear that in mind. That is something this Congress has not adhered to in the history of any session. It is no use for us to blame it on anyone and say the President is guilty or someone else is guilty. Congress is responsible to the people, because all legislative power is vested in Congress. We must know that legislation is constitutional before it is passed up to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court should pass only on the mistakes of Congress, and we must know ourselves that legislation comes well within the Constitution of the United States.

Section 4 states:

Section 4 states:

In order to provide for the safer and more effective operation of the national banking system and the Federal Reserve System, to preserve for the people the full benefits of the currency provided for by the Congress through the national banking system and the Federal Reserve System, and to relieve interstate commerce of the burdens and obstructions resulting from the receipt on an unsound or unsafe basis of deposits subject to withdrawal by check, during such emergency period as the President of the United States by proclamation may prescribe, no member bank of the Federal Reserve System shall transact any banking business except to such extent and subject to such regulations, limitations, and restrictions as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President. Any individual, partnership, corporation, or association, or any director, officer, or employee thereof, violating any of the provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or, if a natural person, may, in addition to such fine, be imprisoned for a term not exceeding 10 years. Each day that any such violation continues shall be deemed a separate offense. separate offense.

It is my desire to call the attention of my colleagues to the words in the section, "provided for by Congress," which in a subtle manner intimate that the President and the Secretary of the Treasury accepted the administration of this power because Congress requested them to do so; and Congress is betrayed by its master, or shall I say masters?

Public Resolution No. 10-House Joint Resolution No. 192-

Whereas the holding of or dealing in gold affect the public interest, and are therefore subject to proper regulation and restriction;

Whereas the existing emergency has disclosed that provisions of obligations which purport to give the obligee a right to require payment in gold or a particular kind of coin or currency of the United States, or in an amount of money of the United States measured thereby, obstruct the power of the Congress to regulate the value of the money of the United States, and are inconsistent with the declared policy of the Congress to require a call times. with the declared policy of the Congress to maintain at all times the equal power of every dollar, coined or issued by the United States, in the markets and in the payment of debts.

The premise set forth in this first paragraph that-

\* \* \* the holding of or dealing in gold affect the public interest, and therefore subject to proper regulation \* \* \*

is correct, but "restriction" is the stranglehold of the despot. To say that the right to receive payment in gold, gold coin, or gold secured currency would obstruct the power of Congress to regulate the value of money is an unmitigated falsehood, because the contrary is true. Gold is the only metal that lends itself to regulation, because it can be assayed, it can be weighed, and it has a standard international value.

To say that the use of gold money or gold-secured currency is "inconsistent with the declared policy of Congress to maintain at all times the equal power of every dollar" is to my mind a most extraordinary reasoning. For Congress to maintain that it can at all times control the purchasing power of every dollar is, to say the least, an unwarrantable assumption. No person or nation can control the purchasing power of money, for it is dependent upon constant fluctuation of prices, and for Congress to presume that it can regulate and control the equal purchasing power of every dollar in all the markets of the world makes Congress an international laughingstock. I now quote the conclusion of the resolution:

Resolved, etc., That (a) every provision contained in or made with respect to any obligation which purports to give the obligee a right to require payment in gold or a particular kind of coin or currency, or in an amount in money of the United States measured thereby, is declared to be against public policy; and no such provision shall be contained in or made with respect to any obligation hereafter incurred. Every obligation heretofore or hereafter incurred, whether or not any such provision is contained therein or made with respect thereto, shall be discharged upon payment, dollar for dollar, in any coin or currency which at the time of payment is legal tender for public or private debts. Any such provision contained in any law authorizing obligations to be issued by or under authority of the United States is hereby repealed, but the repeal of any such provision shall not invalidate any other provision or authority contained in such law. or authority contained in such law.

The assumption of the Senate and the House of Representatives that "obligations" which require "payment in gold" or "in money measured thereby" is against public policy, is open to the most severe criticism, and, in my opinion, places the Congress of the United States in a very embarrassing position with its own people. Congress will realize this when our workingmen and small-business people become aware of the fact that foreign governments and foreign investments are payable in gold, both as to interest and principal, while we, the people of the United States, who have worked and earned this wealth, are denied ownership or security by the property we have accumulated. I am surprised that the majority in the Seventy-third Congress was so lax in the protection of their own and their people's rights.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed for 10 additional

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SIROVICH). The gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. Norton] has been granted permission to address the House for 20 minutes immediately following the remarks of the gentleman from Montana. Has the gentlewoman from New Jersey any objection to the request of the gentleman from Idaho?

Mrs. NORTON. I have no objection, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Idaho?

There was no objection.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. THORKELSON. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. GIFFORD. The remarks of the gentleman have been extraordinarily interesting. I have placed remarks in the RECORD along the same line. May I ask the gentleman if he understands that, although any kind of money, of no matter what substance, that has the stamp of the Government on it shall be received as legal tender, some \$8,000,000,-000 worth of gold certificates have actually been issued to the Federal Reserve? What are these gold certificates worth, in the gentleman's estimation? Why were these gold certificates given to the Federal Reserve, although the private individual is deprived of them?

Mr. THORKELSON. Gold certificates held by interests outside the Treasury and by the governors of the Federal Reserve banks amount to approximately \$11,500,000,000. They are a lien against the gold and are used in international transactions. The money used in international transactions is based upon a dollar with a gold content of 15.521 grains, but we are not permitted to use such a dollar in the United States. Our dollar is not secured by gold or silver. The money held by the governors of the Federal Reserve banks and other interests is held by the money ring or by the money changers in the temple, that the President said he drove out.

Mr. GIFFORD. If and when that gold is released by the Treasury, is the Federal Reserve going to get it all?

Mr. THORKELSON. The gold reserve in the Treasury should balance the money in circulation, as was done in

In 1921 we had an inflation of nearly 36 percent, and a dollar at that time was worth 64 cents in purchasing power: and Governor Strong, of the Federal Reserve Bank, when he took charge, withdrew \$100,000,000 per month until he had withdrawn \$1,800,000,000 from circulation and the gold in circulation at that time was about \$4,393,000,000 and the money in circulation balanced the gold in the Treasury and so established a balance between the gold in the Treasury and the money in circulation. After he did that, the dollar was worth 100 cents in gold and 100 cents in purchasing value or power. We had then, as we have always had, a stabilized and secured dollar, a sound dollar, based upon gold, and recognized by international standards as such.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman vield?

Mr. THORKELSON. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Returning to the question of the gentleman from Massachusetts, is it not a fact that the gold certificates held by the Federal Reserve Board are simply a coverage for the lendings of the Federal Reserve banks of

currency at interest, a coverage of 40 percent?

Mr. THORKELSON. The gold certificates held by the Federal Reserve banks, of course, are held by them as a lien against the gold. They own the gold that is in the Treasury of the United States, or that gold is owned by the international money ring and the people who live over in Europe and other places because those people hold the gold certificates, or they hold United States securities. We must bear in mind that every government outside of the United States holding United States securities—it does not matter what sort of securities they are—or even if such government acquire money we are using here today, such money when it goes outside the boundaries of the United States becomes a gold dollar, if you please, and its value is 15.521 grains of gold nine-tenths fine according to our valuation. It does not matter what kind of money it may be if it is in the hands of foreign governments, but we are denied that right, and that is what I object to.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. THORKELSON. I would like to finish this statement, if I may.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Is the gentleman in accord with the recommendations made to the public today by the American Mining Congress with reference to our gold policy to be followed in the future as against what the gentleman is protesting against now?

Mr. THORKELSON. The American Mining Congress does not bring it out clearly. I am in accord with some of its viewpoints. In the first place, we see in the papers that the United States buys gold or that the Treasury Department buys so much gold, but we do not buy gold. Gold buys our securities and the reason gold buys our securities is because foreigners in buying our securities receive a gold-bearing interest on such securities and that interest is denied to the American people. So naturally investing in American bonds becomes a very valuable investment to people who live without the United States, but we are denied the right to share in such interest or profit from our investment. We get rubber money, watered money, and if any private corporation in the United States did the same thing that the Government has done to the American people today, the Gov-ernment itself would put them in the penitentiary for the rest of their lives. They are supercriminals, if you please.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Then the gentleman disagrees with the American Mining Congress when it recommends a continuation of the purchase of this gold at \$35 an ounce?

Mr. THORKELSON. Well, it does not matter, because when the gold was reduced from 25.8, or 40 percent, to 15.21 grains of gold, the money was cheapened in that proportion so that it became \$35 per ounce.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I understand that; but we are issuing tax-exempt, interest-bearing bonds to someone in payment of this gold. Does the gentleman think we should continue that even if it is reduced to 15.21?

Mr. THORKELSON. No.

I venture to say that when the American people realize the true state of affairs, many of those who were responsible for the passage of the Gold Reserve Act and other unsound legislation, will not be returned to Congress.

The people should, and I believe they will, insist that Congress repeal this act, when they realize that wages, salaries, and all earnings will, until it is repealed, be paid in inflated currency; and that insurance and other investments are not secured by gold as they were before 1933, but are instead payable only in the same inflated currency.

"Congress has the right to coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, and fix the standards of weights and measures." The power to coin money is not questioned. To regulate the value means exactly that and nothing else. Gold is an international standardized metal with a fixed value, and therefore is the security upon which all money and currency is based. The grain content in each piece of money regulates the value of each coin, and the number of grains regulates the value to each other and to that of foreign coin. Gold, of course, is used because it is permanent metal. It can be melted, refined, and weighed; and each grain represents a fixed value, which regulates the value of all money. When gold is removed as the standard security for money, nothing is left but inflated, valueless currency; and that is what we are using today.

Quoting from the Congressional Record of March 25, 1937, page 3524:

Our domestic dollars are neither based upon nor redeemable in gold; hence the value of such dollars has little, if any, relation to the value of the foreign dollar. \* \* \* Today we are on neither a gold nor a silver standard. As stated, the dollar is a managed money unit. We now have a commodity dollar. The value of the dollar in terms of commodities and services changes from day to

This is the opinion of a great Democratic Senator, and it also sets forth the administration's policy. The administration is attempting to establish a dollar based, not upon gold for stability, but upon the ability of a committee to regulate and control prices of all commodities; and I might say here, the most impossible and unsound plan that anyone could conceive, and absolutely beyond the power of anyone to

In order that you may have a clearer understanding of such policy, I quote Congressional Record, March 25, 1937, page 3525:

The administration has the definite objective of raising commodity prices to such an extent that those who have borrowed money will, on the average, be able to repay that money in the same kind of dollar which they borrowed.

Let me be frank in saying that the United States seeks the kind of dollar which a generation hence will have the same purchasing and debt-paying power as the dollar value we hope to attain in the near future.

The revaluation of the dollar in terms of American commodi-

The revaluation of the dollar in terms of American commodities is an end from which the Government and the people of the United States cannot be diverted. We wish to make this per-

fectly clear: We are interested in American commodity prices.

When we have restored the price level we shall seek to establish and maintain a dollar which will not change its purchasing and debt-paying power during the succeeding generation. I said that in my message to the American delegation in London last July. And I say it now once more.

This is the outline of the administration's monetary policy stated by the President himself, and it is to establish the purchasing power but not the value of currency. This was true in Germany, and no doubt some of you recollect seeing postage stamps for 50,000,000 marks.

I shall now quote from the argument by the Attorney General of the United States before the Supreme Court, when he assisted in giving the Nation's gold to the money changers in the temple and deprived our own people of the right to own and share in the property which was rightfully theirs, and as is set forth in the Constitution of the United States:

It is my belief that the word "regulate" as used in the Constitution has never been completely and carefully analyzed in all of its implications. \* \* And, moreover, the word "regulate" implies a continuing power, and is the same term that is used with reference to commerce and connotes the power of adjustment. It implies the power of melting the power of adjustment. plies the power of making the condition accord more fully with reality and with justice. (Congressional Record, March 25, 1937,

The Attorney General has certainly leaned backward in his interpretation of the word "regulate," and he evidently forgot that the word referred to money and not to the regulation of abstract value. He is also right when he says "'regulate' implies a continued power," but it is not as used in relation to commerce, and it is not in accord with justice. It is a question of the value of gold and the regulation of it. The reason the word "fix" is used in relation to weights and measures is because weights and measures cannot be melted, assayed, valued, or regulated at so much per grain, but are instead the standards of just what the Constitution implies-"weights and measures."

In justice to the Attorney General as to his uncertainty of the constitutionality of this act. I quote from his own words:

I do not assume to suggest what the future may develop with egard to this aspect of the constitutional question. I do not know. regard to this aspect of the constitutional question.

These things will follow in due course.

So, according to Attorney General Cummings himself, the constitutionality of the act hangs in the air, like many other experiments of the New Deal. The greatest power of all is the control of money, and it was recognized as such by Alexander Hamilton. In credit to him, it must be said that he was willing for the American people at least to own gold and to be secured by gold and gold securities. As a Republican, no one can fail to give him credit for this democratic principle. The New Deal managers have, however, outdone Alexander Hamilton by depriving the people of their right to own and be secured by gold, and have established imperialistic control over money instead of the Hamiltonian democratic common ownership thereof. [Applause.]

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that following the remarks of the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. Norton], I may be permitted to address the House for 35 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SIROVICH). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California? There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. Norton] is recognized for 20 minutes.

#### THE CASE OF HARRY BRIDGES

Mrs. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to present to the House the facts concerning charges that have been discussed in the press and elsewhere with regard to the action of the Secretary of Labor in the Bridges case. Because I have been frequently asked by many Members of the House and others for information as to the attitude of the Secretary of Labor, in justice to her and because I wish to satisfy myself and those Members who believe in fair play, I decided to ask the Secretary to supply me with the facts in the case so that we may be able to judge the case on its merits stripped of all emotional appeal. To that end I shall read to you my letter to the Secretary and her reply to me:

JANUARY 18, 1939.

The SECRETARY OF LABOR,

Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Perkins: As a result of the recent charges made by the Dies committee with respect to the administration of the immigration laws, and particularly with reference to the case of Harry Bridges, many Members of the House have asked me, in my capacity as chairman of the Labor Committee, if there is any basis

for these charges.

As you know, communism, fascism, and nazi-ism are extremely repugnant to me personally and to the political ideals for which I have stood in my public life. I am, therefore, deeply concerned that charges should be brought that the Department of which you are the head is lax in deporting aliens who carry on propaganda hostile to our democratic institutions.

Since I am regretfully aware that you have had no opportunity to present your own report of the official history of the Bridges case to Congress, I should appreciate a statement from you as to the facts in this case and the application of the law to them. Sincerely yours,

Mrs. MARY T. NORTON.

The reply of the Secretary I received this morning and reads as follows:

> DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY, Washington, January 21, 1939.

Hon. MARY T. NORTON,

Chairman, Committee on Labor,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.
DEAR MRS. NORTON: I am grateful to you for your letter of January 18 drawing my attention to the comments of Congressman Dies' ary 18 drawing my attention to the comments of Congressman Dirs' committee on the Bridges case, as I have always welcomed any opportunity given me to give an account of my administration of the immigration laws or any other statutes, the administration of which has been given by Congress to the Secretary of Labor. I assure you that communism or any other system of political thought which has as its object the destruction of our historic liberties and the form of government of a constitutional democracy

is as objectionable to me as it is to you.

I, of course, cannot agree to any charges that I have been guilty of neglect of duty in enforcing any statute of the United States. It must be remembered, however, that the Secretary of Labor has been given no roving commission by Congress to deport all aliens whose activities happen to be unpopular with many people. The function of the Department in enforcing the immigration statutes function of the Department in enforcing the immigration statutes is a quasi-judicial process of administrative law based on specific requirements placed in the law by Congress. It is of importance, therefore, that in carrying out this process the Department should proceed with absolute adherence to the Constitution and with punctilious regard to the rights of individuals and for those safeguards of procedure established by the courts under the due-process clause and embodied in the regulations.

According to the records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service Bridges was legally admitted to this country in 1920. It

Service, Bridges was legally admitted to this country in 1920. It was not until the longshoremen's strike in 1934 that any complaint was made as to his status in the United States. During the strike

the Department received letters calling attention to the fact that Bridges was an alien and asking that he be deported.

The various immigration acts do not forbid an alien to organize workers, lead strikes, induce fellow stevedores not to unload ships, or engage in other trade-union activities. Nor can such actions be regarded as attempts to overthrow the Government. Consequently, none of these letters contained anything relevant to the immigration laws except an occasional one which alleged that Bridges was tion laws except an occasional one which alleged that Bridges was a Communist. These charges were carefully investigated at that time, and in 1935 the San Francisco office of the Service reported that there was no evidence to show that Bridges was connected with the Communist Party or with any other radical organization, and that an investigation by the criminal-prevention detail of the San Francisco police force had reach the same result.

It was not until the fall of 1937, when the Seattle office submitted some affidavits signed by persons who alleged that they had seen Bridges participating in Communist Party activities, that any concrete charges were filed in this Department. An investigation was then undertaken which resulted in more affidavits being filed and a warrant was issued and the case set down for hearing in San Francisco in accordance with the regulations of the Immigration

Francisco in accordance with the regulations of the Immigration Service, which provides the alien with an opportunity to be heard and to be represented by counsel before any deportation order is issued, in accordance with the standards of due process prescribed

by the courts.

A few days before the hearing date the circuit court of appeals for the fifth circuit, in reversing a deportation order against one Joseph Strecker, an acknowledged member of the Communist Party, held that membership in the Communist Party was not a ground for deportation. Since this was the only charge contained in the for deportation. Since this was the only charge contained in the Bridges warrant which had support in the affidavits, I was told by the Solicitor of this Department that unless this decision was reversed by the Supreme Court that the charges brought against Bridges, even if proved, had no legal significance whatsoever. The officials of the Department of Justice concurred in this view, and on advice of the Solicitor and the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization I postponed pending hearings in all alleged alien Communist cases until the conflict of decisions in the circuit courts resulting from the Strecker opinion was cleared up by the Supreme resulting from the Strecker opinion was cleared up by the Supreme Court.

This action was in accord with the usual Government legal practice of avoiding unnecessary expense and multiple litigation in the lower courts when a test case is pending in the higher courts. The warrants in cases in this category have not been canceled and further action has been deferred only until the decision of the United States Supreme Court is handed down.

There is no specific reference in the immigration laws to Com-

munists or the Communist Party. The Immigration Act of 1918, as amended by the act of 1920 (41 Stat. 1008, U. S. Code, title 8, sec. 137), upon which the warrant in the Bridges case was predicated provides for the deportation of aliens "who are members of,

or affiliated with any organization \* \* that believes in, advises, advocates, or teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States." In cases where Communist Party members have been deported, it has been the administrative practice of the Immigration Service to show the Communist Party was an organization thus described by introducing Communist literature indicating the political doctrines of the party. This was the procedure in the Strecker proceedings, which began in 1933, long before any complaints about Bridges had ever been received. The Solicitor has advised me that the documentary evidence offered on this point in the Strecker case was substantially as strong as the documentary evidence upon which the Government had relied in other cases for the past 15 years.

The Dies committee report has contended that the record in The Dies committee report has contended that the record in this case was defective in the matter of proof with respect to the nature of the Communist Party. It is not necessary to debate this point, however, since the Supreme Court has apparently taken another view. Under the jurisdictional rules of the Supreme Court, the Government in its petition for certiorari had to show that the Strecker decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit had created a genuine conflict of decisions among the circuit courts of appeal. The respondent, in opposing this petition, argued that the case was distinguishable from decisions in other circuits because of a significant difference in the evidence presented. Consequently, the Supreme Court's action in granting the writ of certiorari indicated that the Court was of the opinion that the decision in the fifth circuit represented a different construction of the law and that the Strecker sented a different construction of the law and that the Strecker case was not distinguishable from other Communist Party cases. This case will be argued next month when the Government will ask that the decision of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals be reversed. It is hoped the decision of the highest court will clarify the law so that the Labor Department can feel sure of its legal ground in dealing with cases under the 1918 act.

That the 1918 act as amended is susceptible of varying interpre-

tations is borne out by a report submitted to the House of Representatives a few years ago by the Committee on Immigration when Congressman Dies was acting chairman. In this report it was stated that under the present immigration laws "alien Com-munists are not excludable or deportable as such." (See Report No. 153, House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, to accompany H. R. 12044, 72d Cong. 1st sess., dated May 17, 1932.) Inasmuch as Congress took no action upon the bill reported by the committee at that time, the law today is the same as it was

The report of the Dies investigating committee has censured the Department for postponing the Bridges hearing until the Strecker case was decided on the ground that the latter case does not have case was decided on the ground that the latter case does not have any important bearing on the Bridges proceedings. As a matter of fact, the only difference between the two is that Strecker has admitted his membership in the Communist Party, whereas Bridges under oath has denied that he was ever a member of that party. Yet this report makes the contention that there were other grounds for deportation in the Bridges case, namely, "that he himself advocated the overthrow of the Government by force and violence and that he had likewise advocated sabotage." The report does not cite any evidence to support this; and as a matter of fact.

does not cite any evidence to support this; and, as a matter of fact,

there is no such evidence.

is possible that the committee had in mind the same extracts from two or three affidavits which Congressman Dres drew to my attention in an open letter given to the press on August 30, 1938. These consisted of certain uncorroborated remarks attributed These quotations consisted of a derogatory statement with respect to battleships, contemptuous remarks with regard to the President, threatening and intemperate remarks with respect to members of rival union factions. All of them fell far short of amounting to advocacy of the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence.

After this presentation of its version of the Bridges case, the Dies committee went on to say that it believed there were scores of Fascist, Nazi, and Communist aliens "who could be and should be deported if the Labor Department would proceed against them in accordance with the laws of the land." It makes the broad charge that "the laxity with which the Department of Labor deals with alien agitators would be unbelievable if we did not have before us the most convincing proof. \* \* \* It is further believed that the failure of the Labor Department to carry out the laws with respect to deportation is a contributing factor to the widespread activities and propaganda carried on by un-American elements in the United States.

Only one other case is cited in support of this thesis. This involved an alien named Joseph Kolwaski, who was once deported to Russia because of his communistic activities and later returned to the United States. The charge is made "that he is deportable under the statute, but that the Labor Department has failed to deport him". It is a well-known fact that deportation can prever be

the statute, but that the Labor Department has failed to deport him." It is a well-known fact that deportation can never be effectuated in any case unless the country of the alien's nationality issues him a passport. Thus far, both the Soviet and the Polish Governments have refused passports to this alien.

Not a single instance is cited of the committee having discovered that any Nazi or Fascist alien is remaining in this country in violation of the immigration laws, although the committee makes the claim that it had before it "the most convincing proof." In other words, the Department of Labor is condemned for serious failure

to carry out the immigration laws with respect to aliens carrying on un-American propaganda on the strength of two cases, in one of which the Department had pressed to the fullest extent of its legal authority, and the other of which action had been merely postponed pending decision on a legal question upon which even the highest Federal courts and committees of Congress have

differed.

I am as desirous as any Member of Congress to preserve our American institutions and to defend them from damage by aliens. I have not found anything in the Dies report, however, which convinces me that I should have ignored the most recent holding of the courts, overruled the legal advisers provided me by law, and not postponed a deportation hearing in the face of my knowledge that even if the evidence at the hearing should sustain the charges, deportation itself could not be effected until the conflict of decisions among the circuit courts had been ultimately resolved by the

Sincerely yours,

FRANCES PERKINS.

The Secretary of Labor issued a warrant for the arrest of Strecker and a hearing was then held before an examining inspector. On the basis of the findings the Secretary ordered him deported. He appealed this to the courts. The Government won its case in the Federal district court and Strecker then appealed to the Fifth Circuit Court. This court then reversed the decision and upheld Strecker. The Government then appealed this decision to the Supreme Court. This case is expected to come up next month. The circuit court reversed the decision on the grounds that Strecker's admitted membership in the Communist Party was not grounds for deportation.

Strecker admitted being a Communist while Bridges denies membership in the Communist Party. Surely no one would or could believe that the Secretary of Labor has any sympathy with the Communist Party if they know the true facts in the Strecker case—that the basis for her attempted deportation of him was that he was a member of the Com-

munist Party.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SIROVICH). The time of the gentlewoman from New Jersey has expired.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentlewoman from New Jersey be extended for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mrs. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I will say to the House that I have said about all that I care to say, and also that I took the floor today merely through a sense of trying to get the true facts of a case about which there seems to be so much misinformation.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield? Mrs. NORTON. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Does the gentlewoman happen to know

when Mr. Bridges came to this country?

Mrs. NORTON. I do not, except as the Secretary of Labor tells me in this letter. According to the records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service Mr. Bridges was regularly admitted to this country in 1920.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Has he been here ever since?

Mrs. NORTON. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Has he made any attempt to become an American citizen?

Mrs. NORTON. That I do not know, but that question is not involved in the deportation charges. There is nothing in either the immigration or naturalization laws to compel a resident alien to become a citizen.

Mr. O'CONNOR. We have heard so many rumors about Mr. Bridges being a Communist and all that, and also reflection upon the fact that he had not become an American citizen, that I was wondering about the fact.

Mrs. NORTON. According to the letter from the Secretary it was not until the longshoremen's strike in 1934 that any complaint was made about his status in the United States. During that strike the Department received letters calling attention to the fact that Bridges is an alien, and asking that he be deported. Apparently for those 14 years there has been no question about whether or not he was an alien.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Outside of his activities in connection with strikes, and in connection with communism, what has been the man's habits in the United States as to being a good American citizen?

Mrs. NORTON. That I know nothing at all about. My only information is with regard to his status under the

immigration laws.

Mrs. O'DAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. NORTON. Yes.

Mrs. O'DAY. My information from the Department of Labor is that he entered legally and that his papers were regular and in order.

Mrs. NORTON. I thank the lady from New York, and my

understanding is that that is correct.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. NORTON. Yes. Mr. HOFFMAN. Is it not a fact that under the leadership of Bridges, by force, vessels entitled to sail from the westcoast ports and to enter those ports have been prevented from departing or entering?

Mrs. NORTON. I do not think that charge has ever been

proved, has it?

Mr. HOFFMAN. The gentlewoman does not know anything about the west-coast strike?

Mrs. NORTON. Excepting what I have read, just as the gentleman has read it in the press and in articles. I have the same kind of information about it as the gentleman has.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Is it the gentlewoman's opinion that vessels have not been prevented from departing and

Mrs. NORTON. I have no direct knowledge on that subject whatsoever. Of course, I have read that the striking longshoremen did not load or unload any cargoes, but that has nothing to do with the immigration laws, which is the point at issue here.

Mr. HOFFMAN. No information?

Mrs. NORTON. Because I have no special information regarding the facts of record, I prefer to express no opinion. I never pass judgment without knowing the facts.

Mr. HOFFMAN. The gentlewoman means seeing it herself?

Mrs. NORTON. Seeing or having evidence that is corroborative, to prove it.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Then the dispatches in the press do not

mean anything to the gentlewoman?

Mrs. NORTON. They mean something, but, after all, you read one newspaper which gives one account of a case, and then you read another newspaper containing an entirely different version of the same subject—the gentleman will admit it is rather difficult to arrive at the real facts. I may say that is the reason I wrote to the Secretary of Labor about getting the facts that have been recorded in this case, because I think we have had a great deal of misinformation. As the gentleman knows, and as every Member of this House knows, there is not a Member on the floor who is more opposed to communism, and everything that communism means, than I am. I would do anything within my power to stamp it out. From my contacts with the Secretary of Labor, as chairman of the Labor Committee, I am forced to the conclusion that she is personally as much opposed to communism as I am. I hold no brief for Mr. Bridges, and my opinion of him is not concerned in my desire to learn the truth with regard to the application of the immigration laws to his case. If the evidence in his case proves that he is deportable I would do everything possible to have him expelled from this country.

Mr. HOFFMAN. May I ask this question: If under his leadership it is true that vessels-

Mrs. NORTON. But is it true? What have you to prove that it is true?

Mr. HOFFMAN. But may I ask the question?
Mrs. NORTON. You are asking the question.
Mr. HOFFMAN. But I did not finish it. If under his leadership it is true that by force vessels have been prevented from sailing after the authorities had cleared them

and vessels had been prevented from unloading at the docks, would the lady consider that a defiance of United States authorities?

Mrs. NORTON. Absolutely; I would.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Will the gentlewoman yield? Mrs. NORTON. I yield.

Mr. O'CONNOR. You are not going to believe that anybody is a Communist simply because somebody else says he is a Communist?

Mrs. NORTON. Absolutely not.
Mr. O'CONNOR. Does not the lady realize that during the war when two people had an argument the worst thing one could call the other was to call him "pro-German"? Now when something comes up, instead of calling a man "pro-German." he is called "a Communist." Is not that about correct?

Mrs. NORTON. It seems to be, I am sorry to say.

I recall exactly what the gentleman speaks of during the war. I do think that we throw labels around far too carelessly. It is a serious matter to say that a man is a Communist or any of the other "isms"-and I rank them all in about the same class-and not have some reason for saying it or some proof of the charge. That is the only reason I have asked for time today, in an effort to clarify this whole question in my own mind and, if possible, to give you the information I think you are all very anxious to have.

Thank you so much. I think my time has expired.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. Speaker, will the lady from New Jersey yield?

Mrs. NORTON. I yield if I have the time.

Mr. CARLSON. If I understood the reading of this letter correctly, there was a statement to the effect that at the present time we have no legislation which forbids aliens organizing and inciting riots and leading organized strikes in this country.

Mrs. NORTON. I think that is correct. Mr. CARLSON. It seems to me if that is true, the lady heads the very important Committee on Labor and she should bring before this House legislation dealing with that subject, because certainly the time must have arrived to take care of that situation.

Mrs. NORTON. I would be glad to get the benefit of the gentleman's knowledge on the subject. Thank you so much. Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. NORTON. If my time has not expired, I yield.

Mr. GROSS. I understood by the letter which the lady read that we could not deport an alien unless the country to which we were going to send him was willing to accept him?

Mrs. NORTON. That is correct.

Mr. GROSS. What are we supposed to do with himsink him, or shoot him, or what?

Mrs. NORTON. I do not know. I have simply quoted you the law. You understand this is not my own opinion. I have quoted you the law on this matter and the reasons which the Secretary gave. I am presenting her side of the case to my colleagues because she cannot appear before the House. And if I know anything about the majority of my colleagues, it is that they want to be fair. I do not think she should be blamed for the failure of a foreign government, over which she has no control, to issue passports.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentlewoman from New Jersey has again expired.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therewith a speech that I made.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I trust the gentleman will withhold that request, due to the situation, because otherwise I will have to object.

Mr. PATMAN. It is simply a unanimous-consent request to include my own remarks.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Unless the gentleman will withhold that, I will have to object to it, due to the situation which I think the gentleman is aware of.

Mr. PATMAN. I will be glad to do that. I will withdraw the request, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana?

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I do not understand the situation. If I am not to be allowed to extend my own remarks, I do not see why anyone else should be allowed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas has already withdrawn his request. Does the gentleman wish to renew it?

Mr. PATMAN. No; I do not renew it, under the circumstances. I just wanted to understand the situation.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, do I have permission or

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I will object to it, and that will settle it.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I just want to revise and extend my own remarks on a question I asked one of the Members.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Until we get this matter straightened out we had better hew strictly to the line. Mr. O'CONNOR. What is the question you want straightened out?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Regular order, Mr. Speaker, The SPEAKER pro tempore. Objection is heard.

Under special order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. Leland M. Ford] is recognized for 35 minutes.

#### MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE PERSONS

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to speak on the Tolan resolution, introduced January 19, providing for the Speaker of the House to appoint a special investigating committee of five members to inquire into the interstate migration of destitute citizens to study, survey, and investigate the social and economic needs and the movement of indigent persons across State lines, obtaining all facts possible in relation thereto, which would not be of public interest but which would aid the House in enacting remedial legislation.

This was concurred in by my other good friend and colleague, Congressman Gearhart, also from California.

I have come here from the Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County-this is the same as county commissioners in some of the Eastern States-where 5 supervisors handle all the 54 departments of government, including, of course, the budget; and due to that experience I believe I have some information that should be helpful and informative to this committee when formed, chiefly to indicate what is happening to some of these western communities with particular reference to their finances, and to try to show the seriousness of the matter and the necessity for speedy action.

This is a matter that certainly is a nonpartisan one and one in which both sides of this House, Republicans and Democrats, should be interested, and one upon which both these great parties can meet upon the common ground of the safety and welfare of this country above everything else.

It is the matter of the great expenditure of money and its relationship to taxes and the ability of the taxpayer to pay the bill. Our taxpayers are interested not only in the amount of Federal tax that they are called on to pay but the State, county, city, and district taxes that go to make up the total tax, for, after all, they have to pay all the tax whatever it may be.

Any of us who have served in government know that there is only one common, general source from which to obtain any amount of money that is spent, no matter for what purpose it is spent, and that is from our people by taxation.

We who have had the responsibility of general government recently further know that there is a limit to the ability of taxpayers to keep on paying and that in many places there have been serious threats of taxpayers' strikes, and that in Cook County, Ill., a taxpayers' strike did actually take place, with many detrimental results.

We further know that there is such a thing as the equalization of taxes for communities, and this should extend to the States. Therefore, I think it is fair and proper to say that the matter of indigent migration is one in which equalization of the relief load taxes can and should be equalized. This migration of indigents has thrown a disproportionate tax load on many States which they can no longer continue to bear and pay.

As an instance of what is actually happening in California I would like those of you, who do not know, to know that the treasurer and tax collector of Los Angeles County has just advised me that right now there are 275,000 pieces of property in Los Angeles County upon which the taxpayers cannot pay their taxes, and these properties have now become delinquent.

We have a moratorium provision, I may say for those of you who do not know, permitting the payment of taxes on delinquent property in 10 equal annual installments.

Many thousands of these properties have been delinquent over 5 years and have been sold to the State under our California law. How many other counties have similar conditions to face now or will have them later on? What is causing this situation?

I do not think there is any question but that this indigent migration has been one of the greatest factors in the increased tax load of many communities. This has been very well covered in the Monthly Labor Review by the United States Department of Labor, August 1938, volume 47, page 2, beginning on page 240 under Refugee Labor Migration to California, 1937.

I am not going to try to cover that here now but give this as a reference for informative information for the committee and others who should be interested.

I think part of the answer, at least, is contained in the wire from Roger Jessup, chairman of the Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County, which is here quoted:

All Los Angeles County watches with anxious interest the efforts now being made to halt flow of indigents here. Federal policies responsible for this influx must be changed to avoid eventual disaster. The influx of these indigents since earliest years of depression has brought on critical economic situation and tax strike is threatened as result of excessive charity burden it has imposed. Two years ago this county's charity budget was \$25,000,000, last year it was \$35,000,000, and this year it is up to \$42,000,000. More than 56,000 persons in this county alone now receive aged aid at annual cost of \$20,000,000. More than \$5,000,000 of county tax funds exclusive of cost of administration and hospitalization being spent this year to care for unemployables. Over \$950,000 this year goes to care for indigent aliens, most of whom have become permanent charges. Total county, State, and Federal aid in this county this year totals \$70,000,000. No more indigents can be handled without lowering subsistence budgets. Influx from other regions largely responsible for this situation. We look to you to save this beautiful county from becoming Nation's poor farm.

I may add that in 1928 the relief bill was \$10,000,000, but that bill has grown to \$43,000,000 in 10 years—from \$10,-000,000 to \$43,000,000 for charity relief alone.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include and to have printed as part of my remarks a chart showing the county of Los Angeles financial program for 1937-38, a chart which was sent out with every tax bill in Los Angeles County.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker—and I shall not—I wonder if the gentleman can explain how this chart will appear in the Record, whether it will be a photographic copy or by a graph?

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. I do not know how it is usual to handle such illustrations, whether by photostatic copy inserted in the RECORD or not, but I think it should be reproduced in some way.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The matter referred to follows:

#### EXHIBIT 1

County of Los Angeles financial program for 1937-38
WHERE THE MONEY COMES FROM

Aid from State and United States, 26 percent Taxes, 59 percent Miscellaneous revenue, 7 percent Surplus, 8 percent	
Total	57, 715, 325
HOW THE MONEY IS SPENT	and the last
Charities, 60 percent: Relief, 40 percent	23, 393, 912 8, 446, 816 3, 148, 316
and this train have for animal to be	34, 989, 044
Services to public, 24 percent	13, 445, 134 5, 745, 632 978, 103 2, 557, 412
Total	57, 715, 325

#### GENERAL COUNTY INCOME

The county of Los Angeles estimates that it will receive the following money to finance general county expenditures during the fiscal year 1937-38:

fiscal year 1937-38:	
General taxes levied on real and secured persons property at \$1.41 per \$100 assessed valuation	_ \$32, 480, 916
Taxes on unsecured personal property, securities, an solvent credits	_ 1, 593, 915
Subventions from the State and Federal Government for aid of children and blind and aged persons	_ 13, 536, 430
Other aid to be received from the State and Federa Governments	_ 1,109,000
Fees, licenses, interest on deposits, and other miscel laneous receipts	
Surplus carried over from previous year, collections of delinquent taxes, and accounts receivable	of

General county-tax rates and assessed valuations, 1928-37

Total estimated revenue\_\_\_\_\_

Year Year	Rate	Valuation
1928 1029 1930 1931 1932 1933 1934 1935 1936	\$0.72 .88 .88 .88 .88 .1.20 1.20 1.19 1.27 1.41	\$3, 168, 361, 425 3, 296, 558, 010 3, 181, 324, 420 3, 122, 441, 965 2, 513, 695, 765 2, 153, 864, 830 2, 083, 573, 720 2, 346, 332, 065 2, 358, 947, 245 2, 437, 882, 086

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. I am not going to quote you many statistics, but am going to quote some figures taken from this graphic statement issued with every tax bill in Los Angeles County, giving an accounting as to how much and where we received the money to run government and what happened to that money, or, in other words, how it was spent. This statement was sent out so that taxpayers could see what was going on in order that they might become "charity relief cost conscious" and to get their reaction. We got their reaction. Most people do not realize the relative cost of the relief program to government nor its restrictive and limiting effect upon the necessary functions of government.

The total shown here, which is the total budget of that county, is \$57,715,000. Sixty percent of this total went to charity relief—in round figures, \$35,000,000. This was startling information not only to many officials but to our people as a whole to find that the item of charity relief had become larger, bigger, greater than the combined total of the other 53 departments of government. This graph showed that out of a tax levy of \$34,000,000, against it for payment was \$35,000,000 for the one item of charity relief alone.

The only way that government was carried on was due to the fact that there was a four and one-half million dollar surplus, \$4,000,000 that we collected in miscellaneous revenue, and that the State government and the United States Government had given \$14,600,000 to the county. In other words, it shows that if it were not for this aid received from the Federal Government the county government could not have been carried on at all under the prevailing conditions. The county tax rate has jumped from 72 cents to \$1.52. This does not include the city rates, which, when included, show for Los Angeles city \$5.44, and in many of the outlying cities a rate much higher. In other words, from 5 to 61/2 percent. Out of last year's county rate of \$1.41, 73 cents went for charity relief alone and 68 cents for all the other 53 departments of government. It appears, then, that government has become incidental to charity relief, whereas, in my opinion, charity relief should be incidental to government.

We have just gone through some very trying times caused by excessive mortgages on homes and real estate, with the Federal Government trying to correct these conditions. With this tax rate of from five to seven dollars per hundred, most people do not stop to think that it has the effect of placing an involuntary mortgage on all property in the county to about 50 percent of its real value, and in which case the owner of the property upon which this mortgage is placed does not actually receive any money. This occurs when the assessor makes his valuation of the property, which in many cases is about 50 percent of its real value. Take, for instance, a man with a \$10,000 home; if a suggestion was made that a \$5,000 mortgage or trust deed be placed on his home at the rate of 5 to 7 percent per annum for which he would not receive the money, he would immediately become very much discouraged and very much frightened as to his future ability to pay it. That is exactly what we are doing when we place a tax rate of that amount on the property. While the principal may not become due, there is that tax burden equivalent to the payment of interest at the rate of from 5 to 7 percent.

I draw your attention again to the fact that the item of charity relief there is costing more than the other 53 combined departments of government. The effect of this relationship upon the other departments has been to restrict, curtail, and cut out certain necessary functions of government, as demonstrated in our forestry department, our floodcontrol department, and our road department.

We did not have the personnel, fire-fighting equipment, properly maintained fire trails, nor firebreaks, as was demonstrated in our fire some 8 weeks ago which burned over 23,000 acres and destroyed some 500 homes.

The flood-control department has reached its legal limit under the law as to rate of taxation. Last year \$1,250,000, and this year \$550,000, had to be taken out of the road department budget in order to continue flood-control work necessary to protect life and property.

We were unable to place any new construction for roads in our road department budget and, in addition to this, could not rebuild 19 bridges, costing from \$250,000 to \$600,000 each, that were lost in last March floods, nor take care of the approaches to these bridges.

The reason we could not take care of this was we did not have the money and could not make additional levies on the already over tax-burdened real estate and personal property of that county, as the people could not pay it, which fact is demonstrated by the further fact that there are now 275,000 pieces of property that cannot pay their taxes in this county and have therefore become delinquent. This is the record over the last 4 or 5 years, and it is getting worse.

The question might be asked why the budget was not reduced. The answer is that it was reduced and the budget of every one of the 53 departments was cut down to the danger point and some cut even below that due to necessity. This is further proven by the fact that county government was carried on for only 68 cents, exclusive of charity relief. Wherever it was possible to cut, cuts were made, but 70

percent of this budget has now become mandatory, with only 30 percent discretionary.

It should be seen from the above where the costs are. It may be informative to know, that in 1928-29, 82 percent of this charity relief budget was discretionary, with only 18 percent mandatory. The positions have been exactly reversed, with 82 percent now mandatory and 18 percent discretionary. I might state that when I use the word "mandatory" I mean that those are the things upon which there is no choice, but they are set out by law and have the effect of being commands. We must do these things whether we want to or not.

It might be interesting to know that last year the liberalization of aged aid alone cost that county between twelve and fourteen million dollars and that there are now more than 56,000 persons in this one county alone receiving that aid.

Further, in the fiscal year 1930-31 the aged aid case load was 16,226. This case load rose in 7 years to 430,500 for the fiscal year 1937-38, or an increase of 2,550 percent in 7 years. This was brought about by the enactment of Federal legislation. In order for California to receive benefits thereunder it had to change its legislation to conform with that of the Federal Government. These changes were as follows:

Cutting the required age from 70 years to 65 years. Changing the residence requirement from 15 years to 5

This let down the bars to many thousands. In order to take care of the new load with proper registration, we had to put on 107 additional personnel, and this personnel was making appointments in August to meet these people as late as March of the following year, all to draw aged aid relief of \$35 per month.

It is interesting to know that a memorandum was prepared by Los Angeles County for Mr. Harry L. Hopkins as of his request of July 7, 1937, and things have become worse since

The relative cost per capita was 92 cents in 1925, and in 1936 this had risen to \$44.62. When this same figure is reduced to relief cost per taxpayer, leaving out those who are on relief, it is found that they have risen to \$87.51. When the additional figure for supplying medical and institutional relief to resident and nonresident indigents is included, this adds an additional \$8.98, bringing the total cost per capita to \$94.28 for the year 1936, and conditions are now worse. same statement shows (par. 5, p. 2) that the California State Department of Agriculture reported 2,460,614 persons entered the State of California by automobile in the 12month period ending April 30, 1937, with the destination of 74 percent of these persons given as southern California. A substantial proportion of these people volunteered that they were in need of manual employment and that over 75 percent were from so-called drought States. During this same period—April 1937—there were 101,510 on charity relief made up of aged, 43,000, which figure you will note has now jumped to over 56,000; blind; orphan children; indigent; general hospital; tubercular sanatorium; poor farm; and convalescents.

The question may arise as to why the county should take care of these people under the limitations of the State law. We do not take care of them directly, but here is exactly what happens. They have arrived, out of employment and in most instances destitute and hungry, and in this condition—say the wage scale is \$3.50 per day—they will work for less and if enough of them continue to come they will work for still less. They then fill the positions in many capacities of those people who are residents, thus throwing the residents who are qualified for relief directly on to the relief rolls, which in turn throws an immediate burden upon the taxpayer, breaks the wage scale, and lowers the American standard of living.

Business and industry are restricted by reason of being unable to sell to these people of a lower standard of living, and by reason of less volume, pay rolls are lowered in number, which in turn causes more unemployment. It creates a very vicious circle in which every person in California is interested—the taxpayer, the businessman, the laborer, and last but not least, all those who are entitled to receive benefits must watch the resources used to pay for these benefits melt away.

I give you this information hoping it will disclose the picture of conditions not only in Los Angeles County but similar conditions prevailing in Kern, San Joaquin, and many other counties, and I hope this may be publicized because many of these things are not known to people who have not actually handled budgets, and I believe it is the duty of every governmental official to give his people the facts.

California is a State which, on account of natural conditions, should and can sustain itself and its people, but most of the cause of all this financial difficulty is the great indigent migration of people from other States. This State can carry its own load but it cannot carry the load of the other 47 States in addition to its own. I, therefore, believe there is plenty of room for the equalization of this tax load.

People have come to this State on account of its climatic conditions and the fertility of the State itself, and in-addition to that to receive aged-aid benefits and charity benefits, but the Federal Government is not bearing its rightful proportion of these costs. It is self evident that the number of people on relief in that State is out of proportion to the population.

It is true, that the Federal Government does make grants to the various States for the purpose of relief and for the further purpose of helping these States financially to care for their people. This should have the effect of reducing the State tax load in these States, and, in my opinion, it does, but here is a fact that must be considered: That in those States which are receiving this Federal aid to take care of their relief load, when great numbers of those receiving relief migrate to other States, it has the effect of further reducing their taxes, but when the States to which these people migrate do not get the funds which were supposed to go to these indigents, such States automatically have their tax load increased, and this is what is happening to California and to many other States.

It is the opinion of people of the State of California that this relief money should follow that migration.

We are prepared in California, through our records, to tell where every migrant comes from, and we believe that the Federal Government should recognize the inequality of having the State of California take care of other States' loads without additional funds with which to do it.

It is my belief that if the tax load becomes so heavy in this or any other State that it becomes uneconomical to carry on any business, to own homes or own property; that there is nothing but failure ahead; and in order to protect against a situation of this kind is one of the reasons I am making this talk.

Some States might take the view that they are accomplishing something for themselves by sending this load on to California, through this migration of people on relief, but these States must remember that when the resources of California are gone, these same people will have become accustomed to relief, and they will then go back to the States which can carry them, either to the Southern States, where climatic conditions are attractive and where it does not cost so much to live, or to those Northern States which have great capital; and these people know which these great States are, and they will go there knowing that they have the money to carry them. This should be given consideration by every State.

The statement will probably be made that California is advertising for these people. This statement is not true, because if one will take the trouble to read the advertisements that are carried by California it will be found therein that the specific request is made not to come to California looking either for a job or for relief. California does advertise, and I maintain that it must continue to do so, for industry to come, and for those people who have the means to sustain themselves. We must do this out of self-defense,

for while we have so many jobless people it would be foolhardy, in my opinion, to discontinue bringing in those industries which bring employment to our people.

Mr. CRAWFORD and Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona rose.

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. My time is limited, and what I am about to say I think will answer some of the questions that may be in your minds.

To show that conditions are getting no better, out of this year's budget of some sixty-eight millions, forty-three millions are set aside for relief.

I want it understood right here and now that I do not want anyone to draw from my statements the inference that I am against necessary relief. I am not; and I have just as much kindness in my heart and just as much charity in my heart, and so has the State of California, in the consideration of this matter as anyone in this room; but regardless of that, that State is finding it impossible to carry the whole load. We can and will carry our own.

I want it further understood, too, that I cast no aspersions of any kind upon those people who are on relief and who have migrated, for I believe them to be, in many instances, very fine people who have found themselves in this unfortunate condition over which they have had no control. But I would like to draw to the attention of those who are already on relief, particularly in California, that if this migration continues it will eventually take that aid that they are now getting away from them, after all resources are used up.

To those people who are disabled and to those who find themselves in unfortunate circumstances and are willing to work, my heart goes out, but to those who have become professionals, in this matter of relief, and who are living off those who are on relief, I say it is high time that we close the doors. I mean by this last group, those pressure groups who constantly appear before legislative bodies with a selfish purpose in mind demanding higher and higher relief costs, such as the Workers' Alliance has done in Los Angeles County, and those other pressure groups who advocate higher costs without regard to the ability of the people to pay. The danger is that many legislative bodies will have a false conception of the real conditions by reason of the numbers of these people who appear before them, and that these legislative bodies will lose their idea of relationship between the number of these people compared to the number of people who are actually paying the bill, for, after all, the taxpayer, who is in the majority and is paying the bill, is too busy to come before these bodies to give his side of the picture.

Roughly speaking, I believe it is true that about 14 percent of our people are on relief, and that the 86 percent who are not are paying the bills. It is high time, too, that we give this 86 percent some consideration, for certainly we cannot go ahead and wreck the 86 percent no matter how kindly we might feel toward the remaining 14 percent. We must not forget that, after all, this 86 percent can and does sustain the Government and the 14 percent, by paying the bills, and the 14 percent cannot sustain either the Government or the 86 percent. We must also watch that this 86 percent should not be lessened and the 14 percent be increased, because somewhere along the line there certainly is a danger point in this balance, and after that danger point is reached and passed our whole governmental and business structure will eventually fall.

We must not teach our people not to work nor that they should look for relief instead of looking for work.

We must teach them to become self-sustaining.

#### REMEDIES

It is not sufficient to talk only about these things, but remedies must be looked for.

First. This resolution by Mr. Tolan should be supported, the investigating committee appointed, and the investigation made.

Second. The suggestion is that the Federal Government should provide relief for marginal people in their home States in order to prevent much of this migration.

Third. The Federal Government should disseminate information at the sources of this migration that there will be no relief available to nonresidents of California or States where these same conditions apply.

Fourth. The Federal Government should encourage and aid the return to their homes of the idle thousands now in California and in other States who have neither lost their legal residence in their respective communities nor achieved legal residence in California or other States.

Fifth. The Federal Government should recognize the inequality of having California or other States pay for these people who have come into their respective States from the outside and should transfer the money that is granted for relief to the States to which these people have moved.

Sixth. It should equalize and make uniform the benefits of aid to the aged so as not to make those States which are paying aged aid benefits pay all migrants from those States which are not.

Seventh. It should be driven home to people who are contemplating migrating that it would be far easier to find work in communities where they are known and where jobs are to be found than it would be in a strange place; that in that community where they are known they would have the additional help of those who know them in finding positions.

I hope that the things mentioned herein will be given careful consideration by you gentlemen from the respective States. because eventually you are going to have to reckon with this situation; and while this situation in California and some other States may now be more acute than that in your own, remember, when the resources of these States are gone these migrants will go to the places where there are still resources left and where they can be taken care of. I ask your full consideration of this and hope you will realize the importance of this matter to the welfare of all our people. [Applause.]

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. I yield.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I ask the question in all seriousness: Does the gentleman believe that these transients have gone to California more from the standpoint of climate than they have in order to secure these old-age benefits which have been pointed out, being led very, very largely by propaganda which has come out of California, not from State authorities but from those who have advocated great payments to the aged? Which has been the drawing card, the climate or the expected monetary benefits?

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. The matter will have to be segregated by periods. During the present period, in the last 4 or 5 years, due to the high rates paid by the State of California these people have been flocking to it.

This can be proved by inquiries that are coming into that State asking for the amount of aid we pay. In prior years it may have been true that they went there on account of climatic conditions, but now I think it is a combination of both.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Let us assume you had a \$10,000 home in this county at the present time. I mean a home that would sell to a willing buyer for \$10,000. What is your assessed valuation and what is the annual taxes on that home?

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. The valuation would be from \$4,000 to \$5,000 on a \$10,000 home and the taxes would be about \$200.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I may say to the gentleman we have cities back in the Northern States in which the taxes are double that rate at the present time and we have not that influx of people.

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. That is probably due to your climatic conditions. I have interviewed some of these people, and I want to cite one specific instance. I asked a man why he came, and he said, "We will not freeze in this coun-He said further, "I do not have to buy coal, and if I have not an overcoat my people will not freeze to death." He said, "I think I have a right to come here under those circumstances." If you have a home with a valuation of

\$5,000, with a \$200 tax, you are getting taxed pretty stiffly. Regardless of the tax rate and valuation in your State or mine, that does not say that the taxes in my county are too high or those in the gentleman's county are too high.

Mr. CRAWFORD. It does not; but the taxpayer enters

into the matter.

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. That is right.

Mr. CRAWFORD. In the county where the tax is now \$500 per year instead of \$200 per year the taxpayer is no more able to pay the \$500 plus than the man in California with a tax of \$200.

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. Is the gentleman giving me a hypothetical case?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I am giving the gentleman an actual case. I could produce the tax receipts to show this. I have spoken on the floor about this matter time and time again.

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. I happen to know something about taxes, having been on the tax board of my county for a number of years. It all depends on your method of taxation. If your assessor puts a \$10,000 valuation on that property, that is one thing; but if he puts the same valuation on that we do-50 percent of its actual valuation-then you get a different figure. It all depends on the respective rates. In other words, we have to put them on a comparable basis,

Mr. CRAWFORD. I appreciate that.

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. In our county the assessor puts on a 40 to 50 percent assessed valuation and the \$200 is predicated on that assessed valuation. If our assessor assessed on a 100 percent basis, then the tax would be \$455.

[Here the gavel fell.]

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN]?

There was no objection.

(Mr. Hoffman asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, the President's program of preparedness is not the only "getting ready" that is being done by this administration.

Some may have thought that the appointment of Frank Murphy as head of the Department of Justice was merely his reward for his aid to Lewis, the C. I. O., and the Communists during the Michigan sit-down strikes, but as the President called him back from the Philippines to become Governor of Michigan, so now he is placing him in a position where he can aid in controlling patronage for the 1940 campaign.

Nor was Murphy slow in delivering the goods. Toward a successful campaign in 1940 control of the W. P. A. posts in Michigan would be a great aid.

Let me quote here what the Michigan Times, published at Grand Rapids, had to say on this subject. I quote:

### JOB NO. 1 FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

If former Gov. Frank Murphy is confirmed by the Senate to the post of Attorney General of the United States, job No. 1 on his docket should be an investigation by Attorney General Murphy into the conduct of Lame Duck Murphy in connection with the affairs of the Works Progress Administration in Michigan.

He won't have to go far for the evidence; he can consult his own conscience, that conscience which in his public speeches he refers

conscience—that conscience which in his public speeches he refers to so frequently and with such warm approval.

No public figure in our time has basked in his own self-approval to quite the same extent as has Frank Murphy. About every third sentence in his stump speeches concerns his purity of motive, his purity on his own admission being such that he must look down with a contraction of the contraction of t with some contempt on a well-known soap, which is only 99+1/100

with some contempt of a war and a second percent pure.

Well, let's see how this one-man purity league operates.

He was defeated at the polls last fall by an electorate that had become more than a trific allergic to conversation unaccompanied by action. On December 31 he left office, his right wrist somewhat have the property of the back, and departed for Washing-

by action. On December 31 he left office, his right wrist somewhat lame from patting himself on the back, and departed for Washington. Immediately things began to happen.

You see, if Michigan is to be carried by the Democratic new dealers in 1940, control of the W. P. A. key posts in Michigan is a vitally necessary factor, according to the ideas of Mr. Murphy. The worth of the continual assertions of the new dealers that "no political coercion of W. P. A. employees would be tolerated" is revealed by Mr. Murphy's next step, which was to "promote" the

capable and honest Louis M. Nims, State W. P. A. administrator, to post in Chicago and appoint Col. Abner Larned, of Detroit, to succeed Nims.

succeed Nims.

The idea was that by "promoting" Nims and getting him out of the State, in a few months he could be dropped with less outcry and his place filled by a more complaisant and politically minded new dealer. Nims saw this move coming, refused the promotion to the Chicago post, and accepted a position as deputy State highway commissioner under Murray Van Wagoner.

Then the program continued. It was necessary to provide a job for Charles Weber, former treasurer of the Kent County Democratic Committee, former secretary of the State administrative board, and

for Charles Weber, former treasurer of the Kent County Democratic Committee, former secretary of the State administrative board, and (most important of all) manager of Murphy's 1936 campaign in Kent County. So the next move was to discharge on a week's notice Albert D. MacRae, west Michigan regional director of the W. P. A., and give his job to Weber.

For 3½ years MacRae had headed the W. P. A. in 21 western Michigan counties, and in that time the honesty and integrity of his character and the excellence of his technical training had produced results so obvious that the western Michigan district was frequently cited by national officials as a model of what W. P. A. should be. He brought to his job, a job that involved the spending of millions of dollars of the public funds, a wealth of experience as an engineer, a building contractor, and a highway constructor. No hint of scandal was ever breathed against his handling of his office; he refused to play politics with human misery, and no W. P. A. employee ever received from him any "orders" as to how he should vote.

Literally hundreds of schools, hospitals, and public buildings,

Literally hundreds of schools, hospitals, and public buildings, mile after mile of highways, sewer systems, and waterworks projects were erected under his direction. In 3½ years Louis M. Nims, as State administrator, and Albert D. MacRae, as regional director, made only one mistake, and that mistake was fatal.

made only one mistake, and that mistake was fatal.

It was a mistake that was easy for honest men to make.

That mistake was this: They accepted at face value the protestations of the new dealers that W. P. A. was not to engage in political activity. They refused to "turn on the heat" even when such a New Deal darling as Frank Murphy was fighting for reelection. As a result, they're out.

This then, translated into actual action, is all that Mr. Attorney General's fervent apostrophes to purity in government really mean. It means that an able engineer, doing an engineer's job and doing it well, must be removed to make room for a former instructor in junior high school who has, as far as the record shows, never spent a day directing any construction project anywhere. Mr. Weber will now direct the work of thousands of men and the expenditure of millions of dollars, and his qualifications for this post? He was of millions of dollars, and his qualifications for this post? He was Frank ("Purity-in-Government") Murphy's Kent County campaign manager in 1936!

As they sing in Gilbert and Sullivan's "Patience," "Why, what a particularly pure young man this pure young man must be!" You

can take the witness now, Mr. Attorney General.

Some may have thought that kicking Harry Hopkins upstairs and out of W. P. A. was to place him beyond the reach of those who have exposed his use of Federal funds for political purposes. That may have been one purpose, but we should not forget that the 1940 census will soon be in the making; that the appointment of thousands of census enumerators will fall under the jurisdiction of Hopkins as Secretary of Commerce.

Having shown in the W. P. A. his exceptional ability for the distribution of Federal relief funds where they would do the most good politically and having been caught distributing money appropriated for food, clothing, and shelter for the purpose of purchasing votes in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and other States, Hopkins can be more useful in this new field.

Oh, yes, the President advocates preparedness. Just as he induced Democratic Congressmen and Senators during the first years of his administration to give him a blank check for billions of dollars, much of which his subordinates used in an effort to defeat the very men who trusted him, who voted him the money, so now he is again preparing in advance for the political campaign of 1940, with control of the National Democratic Convention as his immediate objective.

It is more than passing strange that those Democrats against whom the powers and the money of the Federal Government will be used cannot see the handwriting on the wall, or lack the courage to check him in his effort to destroy them as well as our form of government.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. MURDOCK]?

There was no objection.

Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, the address we have just heard of the gentleman from California has been particularly interesting to me, for I find that my State of Arizona, of which I am the sole Representative in this body, has very similar problems and is harassed by the same difficulties, if not to the same degree, as is the Golden State on the Pacific coast. It is true that we have some of the same economic inducements in Arizona, and, in addition, we have other inducements which give us a slightly different phase of the problem than that which the gentleman from California has explained to us. It is about this different phase that I wish to speak briefly.

Since 1849 and the memorable gold-rush days California has been the land of promise, not only to the people of the whole United States but to the people of other lands as well. It has been regarded as a new land of untold economic possibilities. It is not surprising that the gold rush has continued and has gradually lost itself in the sunshine rush of recent years; but when it comes to furnishing sunshine for health purposes Arizona vies with her neighbors in that regard. We are glad to tell the world of this fact, but we do not wish to overadvertise our climate in this respect, for we in Arizona much prefer that the rest of the country shall know that Arizona is as good a place for the well to come and live long as for the sick to come and get well. It is the latter class, however, in all parts of the country, who are better and more widely informed than is the former class.

In view of the fact that Arizona, in its remarkable topography, affords a range of temperature and climate such as is found from the Equator to the North Pole, with sunshine everywhere, makes it ideal as a natural sanitarium for those afflicted with sinus trouble, arthritis, asthma, or tuberculosis. It is equally favorable for those who wish to avoid contracting such physical ailments. Of late years eastern doctors are quite likely to say to certain of their patients, whether the patients be wealthy or poor, "Go to Arizona." Just as California has been for a long time "the land of promise" so has Arizona for a shorter time been known as "the land of health."

Most of the transient and indigent folk who enter California do so through Arizona; probably more than 60 percent enter over Highways 60, 66, 70, and 80; or, if they go by rail, over the Santa Fe and the Southern Pacific Railroads. Not all of those who enter Arizona on the east pass entirely through the State, for many of them stop in our southern valleys as migratory farm laborers. The easiest way to get to California from any part of the county lying to the east is through southern Arizona, which accounts for so many entering California from Arizona and explains in part why so many stop in Arizona.

In the House Record for Saturday, August 21, 1937, I had something to say in the last Congress about Arizona being "Uncle Sam's sun parlor," and at that time I pointed out that the United States Government, as well as various churches and fraternal organizations, recognized the merits of our curative climate by establishing hospitals, sanitariums, and such institutions in our land of sunshine. We welcome all such efforts, and we want physically distressed citizens from all parts of the country to come to the health-giving climate of our southwestern community. At the same time, it should be known we are struggling under a heavy burden which is thrown upon us. Especially is this true with regard to the indigent sick.

Hundreds of families are flocking into Arizona with one or both parents suffering from tuberculosis, and they feel that if they can only reach the desert, no matter how poor they may be, the cure will be quick and inevitable. Many pathetic cases have come to my personal attention.

The health authorities of Maricopa and Pima Counties and the State health authorities have explained to me the distressing situation. The local authorities cannot take care of these poor folk, nor even protect their children who may be afflicted unless some Government protection is offered them.

A recent school survey shows an alarming amount of tuberculosis among school children in Arizona. I am positive that these afflicted children were born in other States and brought the tuberculosis with them to Arizona. The superintendent of the largest school system in Arizona urged me to work with him to provide open-air schools where tubercular children may be given physical care at the same time their minds are being developed. But that same school system has been growing by leaps and bounds, so that the rich community is unable to house its school children adequately, and is now very much overcrowded and lacks even ordinary housing facilities. The community cannot possibly furnish open-air schools for its tubercular children.

However, it is not for the tubercular school children alone that I make this plea, but for parents and children of the many, many transients who struggle to the "land of sunshine," live under most deplorable conditions, with the hope that the healing rays of the sun will check this dread disease. I do not know what proportional part good food, clean, and comfortable surroundings, together with pure air and sunshine, have to do in curing tuberculosis, but I do think it is too much to expect a starving family to get well on sunshine and climate alone. In Arizona there is a minimum resident requirement necessary before indigents may receive local government aid. That is a very cruel but necessary local provision. Certainly the General Government ought to do something to help take care of these transient sick.

If an investigation is to be made of this whole relief problem, Arizona will be more interested in proportion to wealth and the load which she is carrying than any other Southwestern State. I do feel that this is an urgent matter, and I do hope that Congress can view the situation as a national problem worthy of immediate attention.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. Cartwright asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record by printing in the Record two speeches I made in the House of Representatives.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

#### CORRECTION

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Speaker, on page 19 of the semimonthly Congressional Record Index No. II I am credited with having introduced H. R. 2335, a bill for the relief of Dent Allcroft & Co. The author of this bill, I understand was Mr. Crowther. I ask unanimous consent that the Congressional Record Index may be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Connery]?

There was no objection.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday next, after the disposition of business on the Speaker's table and at the conclusion of special orders heretofore entered, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 30 minutes on the subject of national defense.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Van Zandt]?

There was no objection.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. MITCHELL, for 10 days, on account of illness in family.

### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 51 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, January 24, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### COMMITTEE HEARINGS

#### COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 a. m. Tuesday, January 24, 1939. Business to be considered: Hearing on H. R. 2531—transportation bill. Commissioner Splawn, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, is expected to be the first witness.

#### COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Military Affairs in room 1310, New House Office Building, at 10:30 a.m., January 24, 1939, for the consideration of the President's message on national defense.

# COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Public hearings will begin Wednesday morning, February 1, 1939, at 10 a.m., on social-security legislation, in the Ways and Means Committee room of the New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

305. A communication from the President of the United States transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation.

States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, to remain available until June 30, 1940, for the Children's Bureau, Department of Labor (H. Doc. No. 123); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

306. A letter from the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to exchange certain property located at Veterans' Administration facility, Tuskegee, Ala., for certain property of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

307. A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a report prepared by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration on operations during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1937; to the Committee on Agriculture.

308. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated December 28, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on survey of Orowoc Creek, N. Y., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937 (H. Doc. No. 126); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

309. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated December 28, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on reexamination of Merrimack River, N. H. and Mass., requested by resolution of the Committee on Flood Control, House of Representatives, adopted March 27, 1936; to the Committee on Flood Control.

310. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated January 3, 1939, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Eli Cove, an arm of Stoney Creek, Anne Arundel County, Md., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

311. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated December 28, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on a survey of Greenwich Harbor, Conn., authorized by the River and Harbor Act, approved August 26, 1937 (H. Doc. No. 125); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

312. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated December 30, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on reexamination of Tacoma Harbor, Wash., with a view to modifying existing project for Wapato Waterway, requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted March 2, 1937 (H. Doc. No. 124); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

313. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of a naval supply depot, Oakland, Calif.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

#### CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 1101) granting a pension to Daniel W. Perkins; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

A bill (H. R. 1131) granting a pension to Helen H. Sly; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

A bill (H. R. 1286) granting a pension to James P. Stone; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

A bill (H. R. 2219) for the relief of Ame La Fernais; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (H. R. 2220) for the relief of Henry Werre; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (H. R. 2680) for the relief of James Moffitt; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (H. R. 2859) for the relief of Harry J. Thiessen; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (H. R. 2904) for the relief of Peter Koutsaymanes; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

A bill (H. R. 2927) granting an increase of pension to America E. Dye; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 2937) granting a pension to Alfred Arrowood; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BOREN:

H. R. 3022. A bill to amend paragraph 761 of the Tariff Act of 1930 to increase duty on cashew nuts; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CALDWELL:

H. R. 3023. A bill to authorize a preliminary examination and survey of St. Marks River, Fla.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 3024. A bill to provide for the conservation of herring in the waters of Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 3025. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act to reserve lands to the Territory of Alaska for educational uses, and for other purposes," approved March 4, 1915 (38 Stat. 1214–1215); to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H. R. 3026. A bill authorizing the Legislature of Alaska to alter, amend, or repeal certain laws of Alaska imposing taxes for carrying on business and trade, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Territories.

By Mr. RANKIN:

H. R. 3027. A bill for the erection of a public building at Iuka, Tishomingo County, Miss.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SMITH of Washington:

H. R. 3028. A bill to provide for the construction of a post office and Federal building at Olympia, Wash.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. STARNES of Alabama:

H. R. 3029. A bill to provide for the prompt deportation of aliens engaging in espionage or sabotage, alien criminals, and other undesirable aliens; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 3030. A bill to provide for the deportation of aliens subsisting on relief under certain circumstances; to the Committee and Indiana.

mittee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 3031. A bill to provide for the deportation of aliens inimical to the public interest; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 3032. A bill to protect American labor and stimulate the employment of American citizens on American jobs; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 3033. A bill to further reduce immigration, to authorize the exclusion of any alien whose entry into the United States is inimical to the public interest, to prohibit the separation of families through the entry of aliens leaving dependents abroad, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee:

H. R. 3034. A bill to set up a research section in the Bureau of Patents; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey:

H.R. 3035. A bill to fix the maximum rate of interest on loans secured by veterans' life-insurance policies; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. PIERCE of Oregon:

H. R. 3036. A bill to change the name of Pickwick Landing Dam to Rankin Dam; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LEMKE:

H.R. 3037. A bill prohibiting deficiency judgments in realestate foreclosures by the Farm Credit Administration, the Federal land bank commissioner, and the Federal land banks, and prohibiting an increased rate of interest after maturity; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 3038. A bill providing for Congress to coin and issue money and regulate the value thereof by establishing the Bank of the United States, owned, operated, and controlled by the Government of the United States; setting forth the scope and manner of the Bank's operations; creating a Board of Control and defining the powers and duties of the Board and other persons charged with the Bank's management; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. GEYER of California:

H. R. 3039. A bill to provide for the construction of a post-office building in Wilmington, Calif.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

H. R. 3040. A bill to provide for the acquisition of drydock facilities for the United States Maritime Commission at Los Angeles Harbor, in the city and county of Los Angeles, and to authorize the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. CARLSON:

H.R. 3041. A bill to amend section 202 (c) of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SCHWERT:

H.R. 3042. A bill to provide eligibility for compensation for service-connected disability unless due to willful misconduct, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 3043. A bill to provide that any World War veteran suffering from paralysis, paresis, or blindness, or who is helpless or bedridden, or who is totally disabled may be awarded compensation, if otherwise entitled, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. COLLINS:

H. R. 3044. A bill granting a pension to widows and dependent children of World War veterans; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 3045. A bill to provide for the location and construction of a through multiple national highway system; to the Committee on Roads.

H. R. 3046. A bill to increase the number of National Guard aviation units; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LAMBERTSON:

H. R. 3047. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear and determine the claims of the Prairie Band or Tribe of Pottawatomie Indians of Kansas and Wisconsin against the United States; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 3048. A bill to relinquish concurrent jurisdiction to the State of Kansas to prosecute Indians or others for offenses committed on Indian reservations; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. GILCHRIST:

H. R. 3049. A bill to provide an exemption of family-sized farms from the \$10,000 limitation of soil-conservation payments, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky:

H. R. 3050. A bill to amend the act authorizing the Attorney General to compromise suits on certain contracts of insurance; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. KELLER:

H. R. 3051. A bill for the relief of certain workers performing emergency work at Cairo, Ill., in the Ohio River flood of 1937; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WELCH:

H. R. 3052. A bill to amend the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, section 301 (b), paragraph (3); to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. HUNTER:

H. R. 3053. A bill to legalize a bridge across the Ottawa River at Summit Street in the city of Toledo, State of Ohio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H. R. 3054. A bill to provide for promotion procedure within the executive classified civil service; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H. R. 3055. A bill to provide for the retirement of certain employees in neuropsychiatric hospitals of the Government, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H. R. 3056. A bill to reclassify the salaries of the foreman and requisition fillers and packers in the Division of Equipment and Supplies of the Post Office Department; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 3057. A bill to amend the Classification Act of 1923, as amended; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. HOPE:

H. R. 3058. A bill to provide annuities for certain widows of employees and retired employees of the United States and the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. VOORHIS of California:

H.R. 3059. A bill to amend subdivision (a) of section 75 of the National Bankruptcy Act of 1898, as amended (U.S.C., Annotated, title 11, sec. 203a); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H. R. 3060. A bill to provide an 8-hour day and a workweek of not in excess of 6 calendar days for employees in homes, hospitals, and combined facilities of the Veterans' Administration; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. CALDWELL:

H. R. 3061. A bill to extend the time within which to file an application for a quitclaim deed to certain property in Pensacola, Fla.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. DEMPSEY:

H.R. 3062. A bill to encourage the employment of local capital in the mining of oil and gas on the public domain; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H.R. 3063. A bill to amend the act of August 26, 1937; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H. R. 3064. A bill authorizing Federal participation in the commemoration and observance of the four hundredth anni-

versary of the explorations of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. THOMASON:

H. R. 3065. A bill to amend Public Law No. 370, Seventy-fourth Congress, approved August 27, 1935 (49 Stat. 906); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. JONES of Texas:

H. R. 3066. A bill to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1921, approved August 15, 1921, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia:

H.R. 3067. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of a naval supply depot, Oakland, Calif., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. RANKIN:

H. J. Res. 127. Joint resolution authorizing and directing the Federal Trade Commission to make an investigation with respect to alleged efforts of privately owned public utilities unfairly to control public opinion concerning municipal or public ownership of electrical generating or distributing facilities; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GREEN:

H. J. Res. 128. Joint resolution authorizing the issuance of a special postage stamp in honor of Stephen Foster; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. ROBERTSON:

H. Res. 65. Resolution authorizing the Special Committee on Wildlife Conservation, appointed under authority of House Resolution 237, Seventy-third Congress, continued under authority of House Resolution 44, Seventy-fourth Congress, and House Resolution 11, Seventy-fifth Congress, to continue its investigations during the Seventy-sixth Congress; to the Committee on Rules.

H. Res. 66. Resolution to provide funds for the committee authorized by House Resolution 65; to the Committee on

Accounts.

#### MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their resolution adopted January 13, 1939, with reference to maintenance of county roads; to the Committee on Roads.

# PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ASHBROOK:

H.R. 3068. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lois E. Garrett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BOLAND:

H. R. 3069. A bill for the relief of Katharine W. Murray trust: to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BROWN of Ohio:

H.R. 3070. A bill granting an increase of pension to Martha J. Evans; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CARLSON:

H. R. 3071. A bill for the relief of Dr. Alfred O'Donnell and others; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CELLER:

H. R. 3072. A bill granting a pension to Charles J. Rague; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CHAPMAN:

H.R. 3073. A bill for the relief of John Larison; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CLAYPOOL:

H.R. 3074. A bill for the relief of Edgar Green; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CLUETT:

H. R. 3075. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary I. Pingrey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. COLE of Maryland:

H. R. 3076. A bill granting a pension to Howard E. Tolson; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 3077. A bill for the relief of Adam Casper; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DALY:

H. R. 3078. A bill for the relief of A. D. Cummins & Co., Inc.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DEMPSEY:

H.R. 3079. A bill granting compensation to Reuben R. Hunter; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DOWELL:

H. R. 3080. A bill granting an increase of pension to Adaline Loftus; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. EBERHARTER:

H.R. 3081. A bill for the relief of Margaret B. Nonnenberg; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FISH:

H. R. 3082. A bill for the relief of Frank Gedney; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FULMER:

H. R. 3033. A bill for the relief of Addie T. Caughman and Grace Roberts; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GEYER of California:

H.R. 3084. A bill for the relief of Violet Dewey; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HESS:

H.R. 3085. A bill for the relief of the Bruckmann Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3086. A bill for the relief of Joseph Lawrence Rusche; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. KEOGH:

H. R. 3087. A bill for the relief of Gdynia America Line, Inc., of New York City, N. Y.; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 3088. A bill for the relief of Pauline B. Raphael; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LUDLOW:

H. R. 3089. A bill for the relief of Margaret Dunn; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. McGEHEE:

 $H.\ R.\ 3090.\ A$  bill for the relief of C. R. Henderson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MANSFIELD:

H. R. 3091. A bill for the relief of Col. Ernest Graves; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona:

H. R. 3092. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lorenzo D. Walters; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. By Mrs. O'DAY:

H. R. 3093. A bill for the relief of Felix Kusman; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 3094. A bill for the relief of Luise Ehrenfeld; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 3095. A bill for the relief of Mirko Markovich; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. O'TOOLE:

H. R. 3096. A bill for the relief of Yankiel Owsianka, alias Jack Singer; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. SHANLEY:

H. R. 3097. A bill for the relief of Lulu M. Peiper; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3098. A bill for the relief of James E. Breslin; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 3099. A bill to place Edwin H. Brainard on the retired list of the Marine Corps; to the Committee on Naval Affairs

H.R. 3100. A bill for the relief of Capt. Francis H. A. McKeon: to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 3101. A bill for the relief of David W. Morgan; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SPRINGER:

H.R. 3102. A bill granting a pension to Sarah J. Wilder; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3103. A bill granting an increase of pension to Louise Essenmacher; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH of West Virginia:

H. R. 3104. A bill for the relief of Kyle Blair; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee:

H.R. 3105. A bill for the relief of C. C. Tulloch; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3106. A bill for the relief of Harry Waller; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3107. A bill for the relief of Gordon W. Lovin; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 3108. A bill for the relief of R. E. Rule; to the Committee on Civil Service.

By Mr. THOMASON:

H.R. 3109. A bill for the relief of Helen Louise Giles; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WELCH:

H. R. 3110. A bill for the relief of the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

424. By Mr. ANGELL: Petition of certain citizens of Portland, Oreg., protesting against the lifting of the so-called Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

425. By Mr. BALL: Petition of certain citizens of Middletown, Conn., favoring our adherence to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and in the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

426. By Mr. CHIPERFIELD: Petition of certain citizens of St. Augustine, Ill., urging the amending of the Neutrality Act to include civil conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

427. By Mr. COFFEE of Washington: Resolution of Grays Harbor Council, Washington Commonwealth Federation, Aberdeen, Wash., urging that the Dies committee has accepted evidence of rumor and opinion without a basis of fact; asserting that the committee has used investigators who are known stooges and strikebreakers; stating that the committee has used its facilities to interfere with the election of progressive men to public office; and therefore opposing appropriations for the continuation of such committee; to the Committee on Rules.

428. Also, resolution of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, Hollywood, Calif., charging that the Dies committee investigating un-American activities allowed perjured witnesses to fill its records with false testimony and permitted the committee hearings to be used to damage New Deal candidates in political campaigns; asserting that no opportunity was afforded those against whom charges were promiscuously hurled to appear before said committee and testify regarding same; therefore urging that Congress refuse a further grant of money for said committee's continuation; to the Committee on Rules.

429. By Mr. CROWTHER: Petition of certain citizens of Schenectady, N. Y., urging adherence to the present neutrality law; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

430. Also, petition of certain citizens of Gloversville, N. Y., urging retention on the statute books of the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

431. Also, petition of certain citizens of Gloversville and Johnstown, N. Y., urging that the embargo against Loyalist Spain be lifted; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

432. By Mr. DALY: Petition of Rev. George T. Montague and 3,740 other citizens of the Fourth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, protesting against the lifting of the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

433. Also, petition of Rev. E. F. Cunnie and several hundred other citizens of the Fourth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, protesting against lifting the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

434. By Mr. HARTER of New York: Resolution of the Knights of Columbus, Buffalo Council, No. 184, Buffalo, N. Y., urging that they go on record opposing any change in existing legislation which would in any way lessen the obligation of our Government to observe strict neutrality with regard to the civil conflict now raging in Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

435. Also, resolution of the Holy Name Society, St. Francis de Sales parish, Buffalo, N. Y., and the Polish Priests' Association, Diocese of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y., urging that their secretary petition the Congress, for as long as we shall adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

436. Also, petition of the Buffalo Teachers' Union, Local No. 377, American Federation of Teachers, Buffalo, N. Y., protesting against taxation which will jeopardize the pension funds of civil service or educational employees and against increased burdens on the States and municipalities through Federal taxation of State and municipal revenues and non-reciprocal taxation of State and municipal bonds; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

437. Also, petition of the members of the Holy Name Union of the diocese of Buffalo, N. Y.; to the Committee on Foreign

Affairs.

438. By Mr. HAWKS: Petition of 86 residents of Cross Plains, Wis., protesting against any change in the neutrality policy of this country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

439. By Mr. HOUSTON: Petition of certain citizens of Newton, Kans., and vicinity, urging that for as long as we shall adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

440. By Mr. JOHNS: Petition of Richard Finnel and 20 other citizens of Denmark and Maribel, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality contained in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

441. Also, petition of J. M. Steingraeber and 152 other residents of Kewaunee, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

442. Also, petition of Rev. L. M. Schorn and 19 other residents of Wausaukee, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality contained in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle set forth in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

443. Also, petition of George Zettel, Maplewood, Wis., and 107 other citizens of Maplewood, Forestville, and Sawyer, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle set forth in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

444. Also, petition of Cyril Virlee, of Brussels, Wis., and 53 other residents of Brussels, Forestville, and Sawyer, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further

and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

445. Also, petition of Francis Murphy and 49 other citizens of Manitowoc, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

446. Also, petition of T. C. Berceau and 53 other residents of Green Bay, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

447. Also, petition of B. H. Pennings and 322 other residents of West De Pere, Green Bay, and De Pere, Wis., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

448. Also, petition of Father John O'Donovan and 289 other residents of Appleton, Wis., respectfully petitioning the President and Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary act to include civil as well as international conflicts; also urging that Congress launch an investigation of those leftist groups which are sponsoring propaganda favoring the lifting of the embargo on arms to "red" Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

449. Also, petition of Harry Blick and 21 other citizens of Appleton, Wis., respectfully petitioning the President and Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statue books the further and corollary act to include civil as well as international conflicts, also urging that Congress launch an investigation of those leftist groups which are sponsoring favoring the lifting of the embargo on arms to "red" Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

450. Also, petition of Glenfred Demro and 28 other residents of Goodman, Wis., respectfully petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

451. Also, petition of Robert Baumgart and 35 other residents of Maribel and Denmark, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

452. Also, petition of Rev. W. Koutnik and 22 other citizens of Reedsville, Wis., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as contained in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

453. Also, petition of Dr. F. A. Komoroske and 19 other residents of Algoma, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statue books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil

as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

454. Also, petition of August C. Engels and family, and 43 other signers on cards, petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

455. By Mr. KEAN: Petition of Wilbert V. Kinney and sundry other citizens of the Twelfth Congressional District of New Jersey, urging consideration of the subject of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

456. By Mr. KINZER: Petition of the Lions Club of Marietta, Pa., setting forth a declaration of policy on the subject

of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

457. Also, petition of 34 citizens of the State Teachers College, West Chester, Pa., setting forth a declaration of policy on the subject of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

458. By Mr. LANDIS: Petition of the members of the American Association of University Women of Bloomington, Ind., expressing their views on the present neutrality law; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

459. By Mr. LESINSKI: Resolution of the City Council of the City of Wyandotte, Mich., requesting the Federal Works Progress Administration Administrator to rescind the lay-off order and continue mothers and women on present projects; also to reemploy on Works Progress Administration projects all persons previously employed on projects whose unemployment insurance has run out; to the Committee on Appro-

460. Also, resolution of the mayor and Common Council of the City of Lincoln Park, Mich., requesting the Works Progress Administration to rescind the lay-off order and continue mothers and women on present projects; also to reemploy on Works Progress Administration projects all persons previously employed whose unemployment insurance has run out; to the Committee on Appropriations.

461. Also, resolution of the Polish Activities League, Detroit, Mich., opposing the lifting of the embargo on arms to Spain, opposing aid and comfort to combatants, and recommending an investigation of such conditions; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

462. Also, resolution of the Detroit Municipal Employees Club, Inc., Detroit, Mich., protesting against any proposal for retroactive taxation of municipal employees' salaries and taxation of State and municipal bonds; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

463. Also, resolution of the Council of the City of Highland Park, Mich., opposing taxing of municipal securities and revenues of States and municipalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

464. Also, resolution of the Common Council of the City of Ann Arbor, Mich., opposing Federal taxation of municipal revenues, bonds, and incomes of municipal employees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

465. By Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts: Petition of Durant H. Macomber and 30 residents of Taunton, Mass., urging passage of the General Welfare Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

466. By Mr. PFEIFER: Petition of the Brooklyn Heights Americanization Committee, Brooklyn, N. Y., urging continuation of the Dies investigating committee; to the Committee on Rules.

467. By Mr. PLUMLEY: Memorial of the Vermont League of Women Voters, through their president, Irene Cheney, of Randolph, stating their interest in providing discrimination in the application of embargoes if there is intended revision of the Neutrality Act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

468. Also, petition of 20 citizens of Montpelier, Vt., and the SS. Donation and Rogatian Parish, Randolph, Vt., urging that so long as the Neutrality Act of August 31, 1935, is adhered to, the further corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, be retained on the statute books; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

469. Also, memorial of 30 citizens of Rutland, Vt., petitioning enactment by the Seventy-sixth Congress of the General Welfare Act (House bill 2); to the Committee on

Ways and Means.

470. By Mr. REED of Illinois: Petition of William F. Korst, Joliet, Ill., and 49 interested persons, recommending the adherence to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of May 1, 1935; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

471. By Mr. SANDAGER: Petition of the City Council of Providence, urging retention as a part of the national deficiency appropriation bill, such provisions as will continue the reimbursement for nonlabor items to municipalities carrying on the Works Progress Administration projects on the basis of \$7 per man per month; to the Committee on Appropriations.

472. By Mr. SCHIFFLER: Petition of Reverend Francis J. Flanagan Council, No. 1907, Knights of Columbus, Moundsville, W. Va., and 64 members, urging the United States Senators and Representatives to vote to retain the act of May 1, 1937, extending our neutrality to civil as well as international conflicts, and to keep the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

473. Also, petition of the Ohio County Teachers' Association, Wheeling, W. Va., urging the passage of a bill to prevent the retroactive application of any Federal tax upon the employees of the States and their instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

474. By Mr. TENEROWICZ: Resolution of the Knights of Columbus of New Haven, Conn., urging that the Government of the United States adhere strictly to its present policy of absolute neutrality with respect to the war in Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

475. Also, petitions of Marie Tocco and other citizens of Detroit, Mich., urging the Congress to adhere strictly to the general policy of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign

476. By Mr. TERRY: Memorial of the Senate of the State of Arkansas (the House of Representatives of the State of Arkansas concurring therein), urging that the Congress of the United States of America, acting through the United States Department of Agriculture, establish, or cause to be established, a soil-erosion experimental station in Arkansas adequate to serve the needs of the farmers in the Harsville soil area; to the Committee on Agriculture.

477. By Mr. VAN ZANDT: Resolution of American Legion Post No. 516, Hollidaysburg, Pa., approving the resolution of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

478. Also, resolution of the Twenty-first Bicounty Council of the American Legion, condemning un-American propaganda and activities; to the Committee on Rules.

479. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Walter J. O'Brien. Bronx, New York, petitioning with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

480. Also, petition of the South Jersey Port Commission, Camden, N. J., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to commercial fishing boats; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

481. Also, petition of the American Legion, Herman Schumacher Post, No. 921, Dolgeville, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

482. Also, petition of the Allied Patriotic Societies, Inc., New York, petitioning consideration of their resolution adopted January 11, 1939, with reference to the deportation of illegally entered criminals; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

483. Also, petition of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, Detroit, Mich., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the National Labor Relations Act; to the Committee on Labor.

484. Also, petition of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, Detroit, Mich., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the National Labor Relations Act; to the Committee on Appropriations.

485. Also, petition of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, Detroit, Mich., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the National Labor Relations Act; to the Committee on Labor.

486. Also, petition of the Missouri State Society, Sons of the American Revolution, St. Louis, Mo., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

487. Also, petition of Al Kojetinsky, of St. Louis, Mo., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to rehabilitation project in southeast Missouri; to the Committee on Appropriations.

488. Also, petition of the Holy Name Society of St. Anthony Parish, Milwaukee, Wis., petitioning consideration of their petition with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

489. Also, petition of National Lawyers Guild, New York, petitioning consideration of their resolution dated January 18, 1939, with reference to Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

490. Also, petition of the Mining and Metallurgical Society of America, New York, petitioning consideration of their bulletin No. 248, dated January 1939, with reference to taxation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

# SENATE

# TUESDAY, JANUARY 24, 1939

(Legislative day of Tuesday, January 17, 1939)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Monday, January 23, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

# MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

# MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 2868) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the

# THE LATE SENATOR EDWARD P. COSTIGAN

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, before the Senate begins the consideration of the relief joint resolution, I desire to make a brief statement on a matter which is rather close to me.

My friend and former colleague, ex-Senator Edward P. Costigan, of Colorado, passed away at his home in Denver on Tuesday, January 17, 1939.

Senator Costigan served in the United States Senate from March 4, 1931, until ill health forced his retirement from active duties in March 1936. The record of his life and his achievements is written large in the history of his State and the Nation, so that no recital of them is necessary; but I do wish to express a few words of personal appreciation of his character and services and my regret at his passing.

Senator Costigan was one of the most courteous, considerate, and best-liked Senators who ever sat in this body. He was a gentleman in the best and truest meaning of the term. He was gifted with an unusually fine mind, which had been cultivated and developed by a lifetime of study and thought.

He devoted the major efforts of his life to the advocacy and support of measures for the promotion of the public welfare. He always held close to his heart the interests of the less fortunate and the underprivileged. He never hesitated or faltered in his course because of fear of consequences.

The illness and death of Senator Costigan was a severe

loss to his friends, his State, and his country. He will be remembered and mourned by an army of devoted friends and admirers throughout the land.

I submit as a part of my remarks an editorial from the Washington News very appropriately but briefly commenting upon the life and public services of Senator Costigan. I ask to have it printed in the RECORD at this point.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the editorial will be printed in the RECORD.

The editorial is as follows:

#### COSTIGAN OF COLORADO

Edward P. Costigan literally wore himself out in the service of the American people. His whole career was a battle for the general welfare, fought with those finest of weapons—intelligence and courage.

There was nothing of the opportunist in him. He supported causes because he believed them to be right, even when he knew

them to be unpopular.

them to be unpopular.

As a lawyer he defended the coal-mine strikers of Ludlow when that meant the enmity of the most powerful influences in Colorado. He followed Theodore Roosevelt into the Progressive Party and labored against hopeless odds to keep that party alive after the defeat of 1912. He enlisted to promote Woodrow Wilson's tariff ideals and remained a minority member of the Tariff Commission through the Harding-Coolidge administrations to resist the sabotage of those ideals. He was elected to the Senate 2 years before the New Deal, but the liberal policies which he supported and in large measure inspired represented the convictions of a lifetime. of a lifetime.

of a lifetime.

We felt it as a great tragedy when Senator Costigan's health broke under the strain of ceaseless, selfless work and he found it impossible to be a candidate for reelection in 1936. He was not one who could be content in idleness. Years of inaction when there was so much needing to be done, so many disadvantaged people needing help, could have brought him little but unhappiness. We think of his death as a merciful release to rest well earned by one of the most gallant men we have known in public life. public life.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, the Senator from Colorado has asked that a newspaper clipping be printed as a part of his remarks. Does it include the poem which was read at Senator Costigan's funeral?

Mr. ADAMS. It does not.

Mr. NORRIS. Will the Senator permit me to have the poem inserted in the RECORD following his remarks?

Mr. ADAMS. It will be a pleasure to me if the Senator from Nebraska will do it now. I have concluded what I had to say.

Mr. NORRIS. I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD at this point a clipping from the Rocky Mountain News, which includes a poem on life in general written by Senator Costigan himself and read at his funeral. I received the poem from the ex-Governor of Colorado, Hon. William E. Sweet.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The article and poem are as follows:

[From the Rocky Mountain News of January 20, 1939] Costigan's Own Poem on Life Read at Funeral.—Verses Written Just Before Death Commend "Bold Existence"

A poem written a few months ago by former Senator Edward P. Costigan as symbolic of his life was read at his funeral yesterday by the Very Rev. Paul Roberts, dean of St. John's Cathedral.

Political and personal friends, many of whom could not get into the crowded Costigan home at 1642 Detroit Street, where the services were held, stood in silence while the dean recited A Lightning-Shattered Pine. The poem read:

red Pine. The poem read:

Let aspen crowds salaam the storm;
I was the pine, my monarch form,
Crag spurning, backward frowned the cloud,
Till lightnings wrapped me in their shroud.
Rich is their need who own no fears,
Upon the mountain top of years.
I lie; my monster limbs divide
And, blasted, waste, but save their pride.
My downfall is old prophecy
For which no fellow mourning be,

And unto all who dare so high
"So live," I say, "so living die."
My parents saw my footsteps stray—
And cried to me that early day,
"Child, where the sky and cliff depart
The lightnings yet will steal your heart."
I heard them but laughed down their dread,
The mysic nulsed the menace field. The music pulsed, the menace fled
And ever since my dreams apart
Were lightnings that should steal my heart.
And many aeons have I danced When the red steeds have by me glanced, And many acons thrilled to hear The agonizing hills in fear! The agonizing hills in fear!
Then thousand tempests have implored
To run me on their gleaming sword,
A million thunder peals have caught
And messaged back their anthem thought.
Till now I am indeed a part
Of lightnings that have claimed my heart,
As you may be who with me share
The climbing steen and soul to deep The climbing steep and soul to dare The climbing steep and soul to dare.
The brush that weeps around my trunk
Thinks in decay my being sunk.
Thinks me withdrawn as they withdrew
The parent forests e'er I grew.
Of simple mind! My stolen heart
Of lightnings now the deathless part
May flush the winds and torch the cloud
And wrap my equals in its shroud.
So, while my trunk shall pass away
To pitchy black or ashen gray,
Flame charioted, I, heart of pine,
Will search the earth for hearts like mine.
Senetor Costigan's wife Mrs. Mabel Costigan

Although Senator Costigan's wife, Mrs. Mabel Costigan, had requested that flowers be omitted, many out-of-town friends sent bouquets and sprays.

#### LEGISLATORS PRESENT

The services followed the regular Episcopalian ceremony. There was no music. Dean Roberts read Alfred Tennyson's Crossing the

Bar, a favorite poem of the former Senator.

A recess voted by the thirty-second general assembly resulted in the attendance of many legislators at the funeral. Mrs. Costigan was presented with copies of resolutions voted by both the senate and the house in connection with the death of her husband.

Mine workers and other representatives of labor movements championed by Senator Costigan attended in large numbers. There was a delegation of workers and officials of the fuel company for which the Senator was general counsel. Mail carriers in antiform attended the services. uniform attended the services.

#### GRAVE SERVICES SIMPLE

A long procession of cars slowly made its way to Fairmount Cemetery where the body of Senator Costigan was placed in a

At the cemetery, as at the home, the service was one of quiet simplicity. There were no addresses. Dean Roberts gave a short prayer as the body was lowered into the grave.

#### MR. JUSTICE FRANKFURTER'S CREED

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, as the Senate met this morning following a recess, and therefore the proceedings were not opened with prayer, in lieu of the prayer which would otherwise have been offered, I wish to read to the Senate a short editorial, written by James E. Lawrence, editor of the Lincoln (Nebr.) Daily Star. The title is "Frankfurter's Creed," and the editorial reads as follows:

### FRANKFURTER'S CREED

"Civil liberties mean liberties for those we like and those we don't like or even detest."—From the testimony given by newly appointed Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter in testifying before a committee of the United States Senate inquiring into his qualifications to serve as a member of the highest American Court of justice.

In those words may be found the solid foundation of human liberty, the arch stone of democratic ideals, and the simple, practical formula of Christian citizenship, and Christian government.

tical formula of Christian citizenship, and Christian government. What would its general acceptance mean to a world of men, women, and children today—a world which struggles for food and shelter—a world which now or at some time hungers or has hungered for peace and security—and a world which yearns or has yearned for the glorious estate of freedom, and for the precious blessings of liberty?

In place of stark fear, of dread apprehension of human servitude because liberties have been destroyed, of scorching bitterness and consuming hates which threaten to consume the people of the world themselves—its general acceptance would mean peace for troubled minds of human beings, peace for troubled nations, and justice for the humblest as well as justice for the powerful. Its general acceptance would end agony and usher in a revival of human hopes. Its general acceptance would restore to the distorted, suffering minds of men and women confidence in the inherent goodness of the glorified creatures who comprise mankind.

A Jew said it—a Jew who was born in Vienna—who came to this country because deep in his soul he believed in a country which had espoused the ideals to which he himself gave voice—a Jew, who had just been elevated to the Supreme Court by Pressing a group of the Separator who a Jew, who had just been elevated to the Supreme Court by President Roosevelt. He sat there facing a group of the Senators who will pass upon the question of his confirmation. In the hearing he had been challenged because he was a Jew, and because it happened that he was born in Vienna. And this was his answer, an answer given in a low voice, barely reaching those nearby, an answer not intended as a reply to those who had challenged his appointment but on the contrary as a simple profession of faith and of devotion to the principle of civil liberties. There is an enduring majesty in his words. There is comfort and hope in those words. There is in them something of sublime wisdom which no friend of democratic government, and no believer in democratic ideals, can afford to ignore.

democratic ideals, can afford to ignore.

Tolerance is the word upon which those who are the most intolerant of all rely. Civil liberties mean liberties for those we like, and also for those we do not like, or may detest. Tolerance calls for a respect for the opinions and the actions of those we like and also for the opinions and the actions of those we do not like or may detest. Tolerance means trying to understand those who may differ with us, not only trying to understand those who may differ with us to the control of the understand those who may determ the control of the understand those who may determ the control of the understand those who may determ the control of the understand the respective what may detest. Tolerance means trying to understand those who may differ with us; not only trying to understand but respecting what they may say, according them the full privilege to freely speak their conscience, and not only according them that privilege but insisting it is one of their inalienable rights. Tolerance calls for kindliness, for gentleness, and for fairness. Tolerance calls for patience, for intelligence, for generosity, and for a love of humanity

And what has the world today? It has the members of a race hated and despised, tracked down like rats, forbidden to leave their homes except under cover of darkness, stripped of their belongings, denied an asylum, and shot down. Such persecution begets greatness and wisdom. Out of the persecution of a race which has known persecution throughout its existence, from one of that race, comes a better appreciation of the full meaning of civil liberties

than can be had from any other source.

The world tries for tolerance and practices intolerance. There is in that the old Biblical admonition of St. Luke: "If a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone?"

Will those who talk in the name of civil liberties deny to others, others they may like, others they may not like, or others they may detest, civil liberties?

#### JOINT COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair appoints the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Lucas] a member of the Joint Committee on Government Organization, under Public Resolution No. 4, Seventy-fifth Congress, vice Hon. Fred H. Brown, former Senator from New Hampshire, whose term has expired.

#### ALIENS EMPLOYED UNDER THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, in response to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938, data and information concerning aliens employed under the Department of the Interior and the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

# REPORT ON AFFAIRS OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Annual Report of the Office of Education upon the affairs of Howard University, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying paper and report, was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

#### DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE PAPERS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate eight letters from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, lists of papers on or from the files of the Navy, Post Office, Commerce, and Labor Departments, the Farm Credit Administration, Federal Trade Commission, and Works Progress Administration, which have no permanent value or historical interest and asking for action looking toward their disposition, which, with the accompanying papers, were referred to a Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

The VICE PRESIDENT appointed Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. GIBSON members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

#### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the California Cattlemen's Association at San Francisco, Calif., favoring the repeal of the Soil Conservation Act, and protesting against the imposition of a processing tax on livestock or livestock products for any purpose whatsoever, which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also laid before the Senate a petition of sundry citizens of the United States, praying for a \$1,000,000,000 appropriation for the W. P. A. for the purpose of providing work for the unemployed until the end of the present fiscal year, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by a membership meeting of the New York City Branch of the Railway Mail Association, favoring an appropriation of \$875,-000,000 for the Works Progress Administration, as proposed by the President, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CAPPER presented petitions of sundry citizens of Wichita, Kans., praying for the enactment of the so-called improved General Welfare Act, granting assistance to persons over 60 years of age, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. LODGE presented a petition of sundry citizens of the State of Massachusetts, praying for the retention of the principle of the present neutrality law and extension of the law to include civil as well as international conflicts, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. OVERTON presented a resolution adopted by the Louisiana Farm Council, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the Louisiana Farm Council recognizes that the chief Whereas the Louisiana Farm Council recognizes that the chief problems concerning functions of the United States with reference to rural life are: (1) Utilization of our basic natural resources (agricultural land), (2) means of providing gainful employment for American farmers and farm laborers, (3) recognize the importance of a sound agricultural program for the purpose of creating buying power within the United States in order that business may thrive and particularly that interstate trade may increase; therefore we beg to offer the suggestion that the value of domestic sugar has been underestimated in the handling of this great problem; and Whereas we are not ungrateful for the work which has been done by the United States Department of Agriculture in developing new varieties of sugarcane for domestic growers which are well adapted to southern climatical conditions and resistance to disease and insects; and

whereas we appreciate the efforts of the A. A. A. in attempting to secure parity values for all crops; and
Whereas the Louislana sugar business is an old and established industry and all of the State and Federal workers have failed to find a substitute for it; and

industry and all of the State and Federal workers have failed to find a substitute for it; and

Whereas capital of some \$40,000,000 or \$50,000,000 now invested in mills has no value except in the the manufacture of sugar, and capital of no small sum invested in farm machinery is not suitable for use in the growing of other crops, and all of this equipment would be sacrificed if sugar is not supported. We wish to call attention to the fact that in the continental United States at the present time there is an overproduction of all major farm crops except sugar, and that if the sugar crop is not allowed its rightful place in the United States, lands now planted to sugar would ultimately compete with the overburdened cotton, rice, corn, dairy, beef cattle, and hog crops; and

Whereas if a reasonable expansion in sugarcane for sugar is allowed to take place from year to year, every acre planted to cane for sugar could be made to relieve the pressure on the overproduced great farm commodities, particularly cotton, river rice, and truck; and

Whereas we further wish to point out that the Louisiana sugar

Whereas we further wish to point out that the Louisiana sugar industry at present supports many farmers and farm laborers as is shown by statistics. In 1935, 94.59 percent of the cane farms for sugar averaged 11.903 acres per farm. For every 7.4 acres one farm worker is required. For every 15.3 acres one extra part-time worker is required; and

Whereas we recognize that the United States Department of Agriculture, through its Sugar Division, is instructed to carry out an act of Congress, however, we wish to point out that a reduction in the acreage of sugarcane for sugar in 1939 must result in decreased earning power per farm; hence, decreased employment for labor and decreased trade both intrastate and interstate; and, further, that a great portion of our natural resource (land) is still lying idle, accumulating taxes as a detriment to the owner, the community, and the Nation. We recognize that if a stable policy could be held out as encouragement to the investment in machinery and implements, all of this land would go into the production of the now underproduced great commodity—sugar. The development of this land in the production of sugar would give gainful employment to thousands of public wards now on the relief rolls, not only in this State but in those other States from which we buy our goods: Therefore be it

Resolved, That it is our belief that the domestic sugar crop under prevailing laws is being turned into a liability instead of a great asset and that if it were allowed to gradually expand there would be no unemployment in the Sugar Belt and that many men now unemployed from other sections would move into the belt and that employment would be increased in the manufacturing and that employment would be increased in the manufacturing centers where we buy our goods. That under the present broad authority granted the Secretary of Agriculture by the present Sugar Act, he allow a fair profit to the cane grower and processor alike, and that the law be amended to permit of a normal expansion in continental sugar production; be it further Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be mailed to the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States, to the Sugar Section of the United States Department of Agriculture, to Senator John H. Overton, to Senator Allen J. Ellender, and to all of Louisiana's Congressmen.

Congressmen.

# PRELIMINARY REPORT OF JOINT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE T. V. A. (S. DOC. NO. 22)

Mr. DONAHEY, from the Joint Committee to Investigate the Tennessee Valley Authority, pursuant to Public Resolution 83. Seventy-fifth Congress, submitted a preliminary report, which was ordered to be printed.

#### BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

#### By Mr. LOGAN:

S. 914. A bill for the relief of B. H. Hall; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 915. A bill to provide for the more expeditious settlement of disputes with the United States, and for other pur-

S. 916. A bill to establish a United States Court of Appeals for Administration, to receive, decide, and expedite appeals from Federal commissions, administrative authorities, and tribunals, in which the United States is a party or has an interest, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 917. A bill authorizing the Library of Congress to acquire by purchase, or otherwise, the whole, or any part, of the papers of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Thomas Pinckney, including therewith a group of documents relating to the Constitutional Convention of 1787, now in the possession of Harry Stone, of New York City; to the Committee on the Library.

S. 918. A bill for the relief of Fred Barnett; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

#### By Mr. MURRAY:

S. 919. A bill for the relief of William Boyer; and

S. 920. A bill for the relief of Mary Mihelich; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 921. A bill granting a pension to Daisy Saunders; and

S. 922. A bill granting a pension to Carrie Knowlton Morrow; to the Committee on Pensions.

#### By Mr. OVERTON:

S. 923. A bill granting an increase of pension to Jennie Stubbs; to the Committee on Pensions.

S. 924. A bill for the relief of the estate of Edgar Newman; to the Committee on Claims.

# By Mr. TOWNSEND:

S. 925. A bill to amend section 545 of the act entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes," approved October 3, 1913 (38 Stat. 114, 152, 159); to the Committee on Finance.

#### By Mr. BARKLEY:

S. 926. A bill for the relief of Sidney Farley; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

# By Mr. McNARY:

S. 927. A bill to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of Suncrest Orchards, Inc.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 928. A bill for the relief of George R. Sharp; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 929. A bill to add certain lands to the Siuslaw National Forest in the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

S. 930. A bill granting an increase of pension to Esther Ann Hill Morgan;

S. 931. A bill granting a pension to Martha J. Poole; and S. 932. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eliza Wray; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HALE:

S. 933. A bill for the relief of Lester M. Newcomb; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 934. A bill granting a pension to Jessamine L. Benson;

S. 935. A bill granting a pension to Elsie Blanchard;

S. 936. A bill granting a pension to Mary L. Bryant;

S. 937. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary

S. 938. A bill granting a pension to Nellie Fredericks;

S. 939. A bill granting a pension to Ila May Grindell;

S. 940. A bill granting an increase of pension to Susie D. Hanscome:

S. 941. A bill granting a pension to Lillian M. Johnson:

S. 942. A bill granting a pension to Nellie B. Leighton;

S. 943. A bill granting an increase of pension to Marie Louise Lord:

S. 944. A bill granting a pension to Alice H. Palmer;

S. 945. A bill granting a pension to Alice L. Preston; and

S. 946. A bill granting an increase of pension to Telesphore Thivierge; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. JOHNSON of California:

S. 947. A bill to provide for the exemption of certain vessels of the United States from the requirements of the Officers' Competency Certificates Convention, 1936; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

S. 948. A bill for the relief of Daniel Bohen; and

S. 949. A bill for the relief of Robert Clyde Scott; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 950. A bill to add certain land to the Shasta National Forest, Calif.; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys. S. 951. A bill granting an increase in pension to Minnie

Wetmore Cole: S. 952. A bill granting a pension to Mary Harrington Nib-

lack; and

S. 953. A bill granting an increase in pension to James J. Scanlon; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GILLETTE:

S. 954. A bill for the relief of J. P. Harris; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 955. A bill creating the City of Dubuque Bridge Commission and authorizing said commission and its successors to purchase and/or construct, maintain, and operate a bridge or bridges across the Mississippi River at or near Dubuque, Iowa, and East Dubuque, Ill.; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 956. A bill granting a pension to Mary S. Tuffree; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BONE:

S. 957. A bill for the relief of William David Hayes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 958. A bill to amend sections 811 (b) and 907 (c) of the Social Security Act; and

S. 959. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to provide for matching equally the sums expended by the States for aid to dependent children; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. REYNOLDS:

S. 960. A bill granting a pension to James W. Harper; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WHEELER:

S. 961. A bill for expenditure of funds for cooperation with the public-school board at Wolf Point, Mont., for completing the construction, extension, equipment, and improvement of a public-school building to be available to Indian children of the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Mont.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

S. 962 (by request). A bill to define the status of certain lands purchased for the Choctaw Indians, Mississippi; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. RUSSELL:

S. 963. A bill providing for the refund of taxes collected under Public Law No. 169, Seventy-third Congress, known

as the Bankhead Act; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mrs. CARAWAY:

S. 964. A bill creating the Arkansas-Mississippi Bridge Commission; defining the authority, power, and duties of said commission; and authorizing said commission and its successors and assigns to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Friar Point, Miss., and Helena, Ark., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. WILEY:

S. 965. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act authorizing the Port Authority of Duluth, Minn., and the Harbor Commission of Superior, Wis., to construct a highway bridge across the St. Louis River from Rice's Point in Duluth, Minn., to Superior in Wisconsin," approved June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Commerce.

#### HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H. R. 2868) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATION FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF-AMENDMENT

Mr. DAVIS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the committee amendment beginning on page 2, line 15, of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, which was ordered to lie on the table, to be printed, and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. Davis to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, viz:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the committee amendment, beginning on page 2, line 15, insert the following: "Provided further, That there is hereby appropriated to the Works Progress Administration, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and in addition to any other sum appropriated in this joint resolution, the sum of \$150,000,000, but such sum of \$150,000,000 shall not be paid out of the Treasury unless and until there is filed with the Secretary of the Treasury, by the special committee hereinafter provided for, a certificate certifying that in the opinion of the committee (1) a full and complete investigation has been made, under the supervision of such committee, of the abuses which have occurred at any time in the administration of the Works Progress Administration, (2) there have been removed from the rolls of the Works Progress Administration the names of all persons who are not eligible for, and entitled to, employment by the Works Progress Administration, and (3) the expenditure of such additional sum as is necessary in order to provide adequate work relief and relief: Provided further the supervisor of the supervisor of the supervisor of the supervisor of the works Progress Administration, and (3) the expenditure of such additional sum as is necessary in order to provide adequate work relief and relief: Provided further works and the supervisor of the works Progress administration, and (3) the expenditure of such additional sum as is necessary in order to provide adequate work relief and relief: tion, and (3) the expenditure of such additional sum as is necessary in order to provide adequate work relief and relief: Provided further, That such investigation shall include, but shall not be limited to, an investigation of any alleged instances of (1) pernicious political activity by any person whose compensation, or any part thereof, has been paid from funds appropriated or allocated to the Works Progress Administration, (2) granting employment with such funds to persons who were not eligible for and entitled thereto, (3) refusal, because of any partisan political or any personal reasons, to grant employment with such funds to persons who were eligible for and entitled thereto, and (4) padding of the relief rolls with the names of relatives, personal friends, or political allies of any employee of the Works Progress Administration or any other person: Provided further, That the President is hereby authorized to appoint, with the advice and consent of the Senate, five persons (not more than three of whom shall be members of the same political party), who shall compose the membership of five persons (not more than three of whom shall be members of the same political party), who shall compose the membership of the special committee heretofore referred to and who shall serve without compensation other than reimbursement for necessary traveling expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties as members of such committee: Provided further, That for the purpose of conducting such investigation the special commit-tee is authorized to expend not in excess of \$250,000 of the sum of \$725,000,000 appropriated by this joint resolution, and for the purpose of conducting such investigation may employ and fix the purpose of conducting such investigation may employ and fix the compensation of such persons as it may deem necessary and may accept from States and political subdivisions thereof and from private individuals contributions of funds and uncompensated services: Provided further, That the investigation in each State shall be carried on under the supervision of a board to be composed of five non-partisan residents of such State and the investigation. gation to be carried on in any political subdivision of such State

which the committee may designate as a unit for the purposes of such investigation shall be carried on under the supervision of a board to be composed of five nonpartisan residents of such political subdivision: Provided further, That the members of any such board for any State or political subdivision thereof shall be appointed by the committee from 2 lists of 10 eligible persons, 1 of which shall be submitted to such committee by each of the members of the Senate from such State, but not more than 3 persons shall be selected from the list submitted by any such Senator: Provided further, That no officer or employee of the United States, a State, or a political subdivision of a State shall be appointed to, or serve on, any such board: Provided further, That the members of such boards shall receive no compensation for their services other than reimbursement for traveling expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties as members of such boards: Provided further, That the special committee shall make a report to Congress not later than January 1, 1940, with respect to the investigation herein provided for:".

#### RATIFICATION BY THE SENATE OF FOREIGN-TRADE AGREEMENTS

Mr. O'MAHONEY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 69), which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that foreign-trade agreements entered into under the act entitled "An act to amend the Tariff Act of 1930," approved June 12, 1934, are treaties which under the Constitution can be made only by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; and, there being nothing in such act which provides that such agreements should not be ratified by the Senate as other treaties are ratified, it is the sense of the Senate that such agreements should be made effective only if the Senate has advised and consented to their ratification.

#### STIMULATION OF INDUSTRY IN THE PUBLIC LAND STATES

Mr. O'MAHONEY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 70), which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys:

Resolved, That in order to stimulate private industrial and commercial activity in the public-land States and to increase opportunities for employment through the full utilization of the natural resources of the public domain, the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, be and it is hereby authorized and directed to institute and conduct a thorough study and investigation of what, if any, legislation is desirable and feasible to encourage the use of local capital for these purposes: And be if further

duct a thorough study and investigation of what, if any, legislation is desirable and feasible to encourage the use of local capital for these purposes: And be it further

\*Resolved\*, That for the purposes of this resolution the said committee, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold hearings; to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions and recesses of the Congress until the final report is submitted; to require by subpena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents; to administer such caths; to take such testimony; and to make such expenditures as it deems advisable. The cost of stenographic services to report such hearings shall not be in excess of 25 cents per hundred words. The expenses of the committee, which shall not exceed \$5,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman.

# NATIONAL ECONOMY AND THE BANKING SYSTEM—ARTICLE BY FORMER SENATOR OWEN (S. DOC. NO. 23)

Mr. LOGAN. Mr. President, former Senator from Oklahoma, Hon. Robert L. Owen, who served with distinction in this body for 18 years, and who was chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee for some of that time, has prepared an article entitled "An Exposition of the Principles of Modern Monetary Science in Their Relation to the National Economy and the Banking System of the United States." It is in manuscript form. I believe that it is of sufficient importance to justify my asking unanimous consent of the Senate that it be printed as a Senate document, and I accordingly make that request.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

# PREPAREDNESS FOR DEFENSE—ADDRESSES BY SENATOR PITTMAN AND SENATOR TAFT

[Mr. PITTMAN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record the address on the question Preparedness for Defense, delivered by him in the Forum of the Air on Sunday, January 22, 1939, and also the address delivered by Senator Taff on the same subject on the same occasion, which appear in the Appendix.]

# FOREIGN RELATIONS-ADDRESS BY SENATOR REYNOLDS

[Mr. Reynolds asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a radio address delivered by him at the annual meeting of the Coalition of Patriotic Societies at the Carlton Hotel, Washington, D. C., January 24, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### STATUS OF PUERTO RICO-ADDRESS BY SENATOR BURKE

[Mr. Austin asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address by Senator Burke on the status of Puerto Rico under our present economic program, which appears in the Appendix.]

# THE GOVERNMENT AND BANKING-ADDRESS BY MARRINER S. ECCLES

[Mr. Minton asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address on Government and Banking, delivered by Marriner S. Eccles, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, before the New York Chapter, American Institute of Banking, on December 1, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### PLANS FOR DEFENSE-LETTER FROM MAJ. GEN. WILLIAM C. RIVERS

[Mr. Nyz asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a letter dated January 12, 1939, by William C. Rivers, major general, United States Army (retired), which was printed in the New York Times under the heading "Plans for Defense," which appears in the Appendix.]

#### PROPOSED FARM LEGISLATION-ARTICLE BY A. W. RICKER

[Mr. Murray asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an article on the subject of farm legislation before Congress, by A. W. Ricker, editor, Farmers' Union Herald, published in the Minnesota Leader, St. Paul, Minn., January 21, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

# AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS-STATEMENT BY THE NATIONAL GRANGE

[Mr. Lee asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a statement dated January 22, 1939, on the subject of the current agricultural problems, issued by the National Grange, which appears in the Appendix.]

# EXCERPTS FROM AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

[Mr. Green asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Appendix a statement entitled "Excerpts From an Economic Program for American Democracy," which appears in the Appendix.]

### THIRD PRESIDENTIAL TERM

[Mr. Guffey asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an article by J. J. Perling entitled "The Third Term Legend," which appears in the Appendix.]

# REPORT OF JOINT PREPARATORY COMMITTEE ON PHILIPPINE AFFAIRS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying report (in four volumes), referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs:

# To the Congress of the United States of America:

I transmit herewith for the consideration of the Congress the report of the Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs appointed by President Quezon and myself to recommend a program for the adjustment of Philippine national economy. This report was made public on November 29, 1938. It has my approval and the approval of President Quezon, as indicated in the press announcements, copies of which are attached, made on the date of publication of the report.

#### FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

#### THE WHITE HOUSE, January 24, 1939.

[Enclosures: 1. Report of Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs. 2. Press announcements.]

# ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATION FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.

#### CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. AUSTIN. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Donahey La Follette Adams Revnolds Downey Ellender Lee Lewis Russell Schwartz Andrews Ashurst Austin Bailey Bankhead Lodge Frazier Schwellenbach George Logan Sheppard Shipstead Gerry Gibson Gillette Lucas Lundeen McCarran Smathers Smith Barbour Barkley Glass Stewart McKellar McNary Green Bone Thomas, Okla. Borah Bridges Guffey Maloney Mead Miller Thomas, Utah Gurney Tobey Townsend Hale Bulow Harrison Minton Burke Tydings Vandenberg Hatch Byrd Murray Byrnes Hayden Herring Neely Norris Van Nuys Capper Caraway Clark, Idaho Clark, Mo. Connally Hill Nye O'Mahoney Wagner Holman Holt Walsh Wheeler Overton Hughes Johnson, Calif. Johnson, Colo. Pittman White Radcliffe Danaher Reed

Mr. MINTON. I announce that the Senator from Utah [Mr. King] is absent because of illness. The Senator from Michigan [Mr. Brown], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez], the Senator from Florida [Mr. Pepper], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Truman] are detained from the Senate on important public business.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Ninety-one Senators have answered to their names. There is a quorum present.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, those of us who have been serving on the Appropriations Committee in connection with House Joint Resolution 83, dealing with the appropriation for relief, have been conscious that there has been much misunderstanding throughout the land in reference to the facts. There has been much misrepresentation as to the situation, some innocent and some not innocent. There has been a very extensive propaganda. The issue has been misstated to the people of the United States. I do not say intentionally. The issue that has been apparently presented to the people is as to whether or not there is to be a cut in the relief appropriations. People write me saying, "You should not cut the relief appropriations."

Mr. President, the question is not as to a cut in relief appropriations, but as to the amount which shall be added. This is a joint resolution providing additional appropriations for relief. The appropriations which were made in the last session of Congress were made for an 8-month period. We now have a recommendation from the President that \$875,-000,000 be appropriated.

The House of Representatives, after an extensive hearing, decided that the needs and obligations of the country could be fulfilled by an appropriation of \$725,000,000 in addition to the moneys now available and heretofore appropriated. There had been appropriated for relief during the fiscal year 1939, prior to this joint resolution, \$1,740,000,000. That much has already been appropriated. So the question is whether we shall appropriate a total of \$2,465,000,000 or whether we shall appropriate a total of \$2,615,000,000—a difference of practically 5 percent in the aggregate appropriations for relief in the fiscal year 1939.

The subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations held extensive hearings. They had before them only advocates of the larger sum, and I wish to say that some of us, representing the view that the \$725,000,000 appropriation was adequate, resent the attitude some take that we wish to turn out on the streets in the midst of winter those in need of relief, that we are regardless of the obligations which the Federal Government owes to its citizens.

I desire to say to the Members of the Senate that it is my sincere judgment that those who have supported the lesser amount are more concerned, if possible, in the welfare of those in distress than are those who are advocating the larger amount. Why do I say that? We are told that the recovery program is a great humanitarian movement. We are told that the program which we advocate, involving the lesser amount, means jeopardizing the recovery program in

this country. We are told that it means misery and privation for families.

Mr. President, when we speak of humanitarian projects, some concentrate their gaze upon too narrow an area. Some are thinking only of the 3,000,000 people who are immediately the beneficiaries of the Government's generosity. Some of us are thinking of 130,000,000 people. Some of us think that the greatest humanitarian movement in the history of this world is the American Government and American institutions. Some of us are fearful that unless the tendency to extreme appropriations is turned we will break down the greatest humanitarian movement in the history of this world. And I do not say that idly, or as a mere argument. I say that we have reached the point, or are approaching the point, where we must count the cost. I think no longer can we merely say that "Here is a project good in its purposes, good in its results, and therefore we will undertake it." I think we must begin to count the cost.

No group would suffer as much by the falling of our institutions, by the impairment of the credit of the United States, as would those on relief. They would be the greatest sufferers. Those for whose benefit humanitarian projects have been inaugurated would be the first and the greatest sufferers if the credit of this great Government were impaired and we could no longer go forward and spend for their benefit.

The \$150,000,000 which represents the difference between the two groups of the Committee on Appropriations is but a part of the difference. There is a question of the tendency and of the trend of the mind of Congress. We are told, as I have said, that we are jeopardizing the entire recovery movement. I ask Senators to look back over the record. If they will do so, they will find that the recovery movement, stimulated by this administration, executive and legislative, went forward upon an upgrade. Then there came a recession of the recovery movement. The prime problem of America today is that of unemployment. There are 10,000,000 to 11,000,000 employables in this country in need of employment. If we are to work our way out, we are to do it through private employment, and not through public employment. It is impossible to secure increase in private employment unless we give some encouragement to the man who is to meet the pay roll on Saturday night. We cannot on the one hand strike down industry, say to industry, "You shall never profit," and on the other hand say to industry, "You must absorb 10,000,000 or 11,000,000 unemployed."

Throughout this land, throughout this body, is uneasiness as to the future of this country; and Senators know it. It is not said often on the floor, but it is said in the cloak rooms, it is said in our homes, "Where are we going? How long can this continue?" We have had it said twice before our Committee on Appropriations that the character of appropriations we have been making for relief cannot be continued indefinitely, and those two remarks were made by the two men who urged us most strongly to approve the increased amount.

What is the interest in this? It is in the mental attitude of the people of America; it is in their viewpoint of the Congress of the United States. They want to know what Congress proposes to do. Is Congress interested in establishing sound and safe conditions, or is Congress going to spend and spend and spend until the credit of the Government is at an end? If we can show to the country that Congress is studying the problem of expenditures, that Congress means to be considerate of the taxpayer, that Congress, before it appropriates, will study and will think of the consequences, there will be a wave of encouragement through this land which may do a vast amount of good.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President-

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. ADAMS. Very gladly.

Mr. SMATHERS. In view of the fact that the President of the United States said that it would take \$875,000,000, and in view of the fact, as stated by the Senator this morning, that every witness who appeared before the committee testified that it would take that amount, where does the Senator and where did the committee get the information, and from whom, that \$725,000,000 would do the job?

Mr. ADAMS. I shall be very glad to digress from what I was saying in order that the Senator may have an answer

to his question promptly.

No doubt the President of the United States relied upon the figures he got from Colonel Harrington, of the Works Progress Administration, and he had a right to do so. The President of the United States cannot go about and gather up the figures for himself. We as members of the subcommittee accepted the figures Colonel Harrington gave us, with the addition of figures which the President of the United States sent to us the day after we heard Colonel Harrington.

Colonel Harrington's figures are not correct. He has made a mistake of \$56,000,000, and we are dealing with an issue of \$150,000,000. How does he make that mistake? He tells us that there is money available, now on hand, to pay the expenses of his administration until the 7th of February. Then, when he proceeds to figure what we need to appropriate, he goes back to the 1st of February and duplicates the appropriation. So he figures we are going to spend twice from the 1st to the 7th of February, which involves \$45,000,000. It is a perfectly obvious mistake.

Sixty million dollars of the original appropriation was turned over to certain Federal agencies for the purpose of

employing W. P. A. workers until the 1st of March.

That money was sent over. The period was fixed. Money is already provided so that 90,000 of the workers will be paid up until the 1st of March. There, again, we have a mistake of over \$11,000,000. We find the sum of \$56,000,000 which the good colonel innocently tells us we need, and which we already have.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President-

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. BORAH. Was the colonel's attention called to these alleged mistakes?

Mr. ADAMS. I think not in that exact form. I will say to the Senator from Idaho that the colonel read a statement to the committee, and the members of the committee have taken the colonel's statement and studied the figures since they were presented. The statement was a long one. All the figures were not before us at the time. Some of us do not grasp figures as readily as others. But those figures are now in the record.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. I am glad to yield to the Senator from

Mr. McKELLAR. Colonel Harrington did testify, however, that the 90,000 workers employed by other departments were included in the figures he gave, and he also testified that the \$60,000,000, which was supposed to be used for that purpose, was included in all his calculations about the matter. The Senator will recall that Colonel Harrington so claimed in his

testimony and in his report.

Mr. ADAMS. The Senator from Tennessee is absolutely correct, but he stops short of one fact. The \$60,000,000 was turned over to other Federal agencies. They have taken care of 90,000 people. But the \$60,000,000 was there to take care of the 90,000 people until the 1st of March. So that the difference arises from the fact that we have the period from this time until the 1st of March, during which 90,000 people are already provided for.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, if that is correct, then the joint resolution is certainly incorrect in its terms, because on

page 3 it provides:

Provided further, That the limitation of \$60,000,000 in section 3

The limitation we are now talking about—

on the amount that may be allocated to other Federal departments. establishments, and agencies is hereby increased to \$83,000,000.

The purpose of that language was to increase the projects now being carried on by the other agencies. In other words, the \$60,000,000 allowed the other agencies who are employing 90,000 men is allocated in this very measure, but is not a sum sufficient for the purpose, because, as the Senator will remember, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] offered an amendment to the provision for \$83,000,000 to make it \$93,000,000, so as to take care of the 90,000 who were being employed by other agencies. So the Senator must be mistaken as to his claim that that was not provided for in the joint resolution itself.

Mr. ADAMS. Nothing pains me more than to differ with the distinguished senior Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, we do it in all good nature anyway, because I am much devoted to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. ADAMS. But the senior Senator from Tennessee over-looks one fact. The money has been provided to pay these people up until the 1st of March. The additional sum is added in order that they may be continued in employment from the 1st of March until the 1st of July.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is exactly correct.

Mr. ADAMS. What I am saying is that Colonel Harrington's figures are wrong in not allowing for the fact that 90.000 of these people have had their pay provided for them up until the 1st of March.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. BYRNES. If the Senator would call the attention of the Senator from Tennessee to page 35 of the hearings before the Senate committee he would find that Colonel Harrington presented a statement showing that as of December 31 there were employed under the Works Progress Administration 3,081,000 persons, and that 3,081,000 figure is arrived at only by including 91,000 employed under other Federal Colonel Harrington furnished the break-down. agencies. He said the number on W. P. A. is 2,989,000, and under other Federal agencies 91,000. So the Senator from Colorado is The only way Colonel Harrington arrived at the total figure of 3,081,000 was by including the 91,000 employed by other Federal agencies.

As to the question of the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Borah], I think the Senator from Colorado will agree that we endeavored day after day to get from Colonel Harrington more information as to how he ever arrived at the figure of his balance of cash on hand, and to this good minute I am unconvinced by all his fear. I can take a piece of paper and a pencil and convince any man that he has the money and that he cannot possibly show to the satisfaction of any committee that he is without these funds. It is a mere matter of calculation; the Senator from Idaho and I could settle the matter right here. Colonel Harrington told us that he had \$313,000,000 on January 1. He has 3,000,000 people employed. He cannot spend that money for anything except to pay people or to buy material. He figures the cost at \$61 per month. Sixty times three million is \$180,000,000. When you take \$180,000,000 from the \$313,000,000 you have left \$130,000,000, which carries him from February 1 to February 7, and he has \$85,000,000 left, unless it is going to be spent in some way that is not authorized by law, because the law does not authorize him to spend anything except for the pay of people and payment for material. We interrogated him time and again in an effort to find out how those figures which were presented by him were arrived at. We did not neglect to do that.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. BORAH. The situation has developed in the debate that the differences here are due to a mistake on the part of the colonel.

Mr. ADAMS. I think that is largely true.

Mr. BORAH. In other words, if it were not for this mistake which it is presumed that the colonel has made, there would not be any real difference between those supporting

the \$725,000,000 figure and those supporting the \$875,000,000 figure.

Mr. ADAMS. The difference would be less by \$56,000,000. Mr. BORAH. The mistake of the colonel, then, covers only \$56,000,000?

Mr. ADAMS. That is as far as I have gone. I have

another item also to mention.

Mr. BORAH. That is what I am trying to ascertain. Is there any real difference here except concerning what is supposed to be a mistake of the colonel?

Mr. ADAMS. Yes; I think there are several differences. Mr. BORAH. I mean with reference to the amount to be appropriated?

Mr. ADAMS. No.

Mr. BORAH. That is certainly interesting news.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. ADAMS. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator will recall that Colonel Harrington was examined very carefully about the supposed mistake of \$56,000,000, both as to the amount that it would take to carry him to February 7 and as to the amount allotted other agencies of the Government. But Colonel Harrington maintained all through his testimony, and I believe with absolute accuracy, that he had made no mistake: that there was not a dollar to be had after February 7 unless it was appropriated in the pending joint resolution, and that there had been no mistake of \$56,000,000. Colonel Harrington stated in his testimony that all the money will be gone on February 7 and that an appropriation will have to be made to carry the work from that time on.

Mr. ADAMS. Let me call the Senator's attention to page 33 of the hearings. Senator Byrnes inquired of Colonel

Harrington:

Senator Byrnes. What I think the committee is anxious to know now is when you say that your money will be exhausted February 7, you mean that it will be exhausted, because you have set aside out of available funds an amount sufficient to take care of your actual obligations for material?

Colonel Harrington. Yes, sir.

Senator Byrnes. An amount sufficient to carry your pay roll up

Colonel HARRINGTON, About to the 7th of February,

In other words, several times Colonel Harrington said that he had money to carry his pay roll up to the 7th of February. My own judgment is he has money to carry it beyond that, but I am accepting the colonel's figures for this part of the argument. Then a very extensive minority report was placed upon the desks of Senators yesterday, in which was set forth the amount of money that would have to be spent for February, and the figure is stated at \$183,000,000. The only money that is required to be put up is from February 7 to February 28; \$183,000,000 will pay 3,000,000 persons at \$61 per month for a full month of 30 days. In other words, the payment for a minimum of 7 days, and possibly 9 days, has been doubled up in the figures presented by Colonel Harrington and given in the minority report.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. We will get to that in a few moments. But will not the Senator read or permit me to read the next question of Senator Byrnes on the very subject about which the Senator speaks? Let me read it.

Mr. ADAMS. May I ask the Senator a question before he does that?

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes.

Mr. ADAMS. Does the Senator question the fact that Colonel Harrington said he had money to last him to the 7th of February?

Mr. McKELLAR. Not at all. I am maintaining that. And he will have it on the 1st of July. If the \$875,000,000 is appropriated he will have enough to carry him to the 7th of July. He has to pay his bills after the first of the month. LXXXIV-43

Returning now to the next question, which I think simplifies the matter very much:

Senator Byrnes. And if you pay your pay roll on February 7, then your statement is that you will have no funds left except the funds which have been set aside to meet these contractual obligations that are outstanding; is that correct?

Colonel Harrington. That is correct; yes, sir.

Mr. ADAMS. Let us make clear what that means.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, will the Senator again yield?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. BYRNES. Inasmuch as the Senator quotes me, and quotes a question I asked Colonel Harrington, I will say that that is undoubtedly what the colonel said, and he was just as wrong as he can ever be according to his own figures.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator from South Carolina may

be correct, and Colonel Harrington may be wrong, but Colonel Harrington has made a study of these matters.

Mr. ADAMS. But the colonel thought we had not.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. ADAMS. Just a moment, if the Senator will permit me. I want to follow up the matter read by the Senator from Tennessee.

In answer to the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BYRNES] it was stated that no funds would be left except the funds which have been set aside to meet the contractual obligations which are outstanding. In other words, therewould be money to meet part of the pay roll which had accrued during the week under discussion. On the next page Colonel Harrington is asked how much will be left, and he says he will have \$50,000,000 left after the 7th of February. That is, he says he has left not only the money to the 7th of February, but \$50,000,000 more than that, to meet obligations accrued prior to that time.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. The amount referred to was for materials used in the work, as is fully explained in the hearings and elsewhere.

Mr. ADAMS. Under the law which was enacted, he is limited to \$7 per man per month for materials. Here is an item of \$50,000,000, which is eight times what he could have spent for materials under our limitation.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. BYRNES. That limitation simply means that he may not spend more than \$7 per month per man, and he has 3,000,000 men on the rolls. He could not spend for materials or contract for materials in excess of \$21,000,000 in any month; and if he has \$85,000,000 for materials, it means that he has not paid a cent for materials for December, November, or October, which is simply incredible.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield

once more on this question?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator will be good enough to read to the Senate all of page 34 of the hearings, showing the questions which were asked Colonel Harrington on this point, the facts will be perfectly clear.

Mr. ADAMS. We have two terms which ought not to be confused, namely, "unexpended balances," and "unobligated balances." To give an illustration, a man might have a bank account of \$1,000. He might have a check for \$100 outstanding. On the books of the bank his unexpended balance would be \$1,000. On his own checkbook it would be \$900. In other words, he had obligated \$100 which did not show on the books of the bank.

The unexpended balance represents the amount to the credit of the W. P. A. on the Treasurer's books. The unobligated balance represents the figures as they should be on the W. P. A. books. That is, when the W. P. A. employs people, it charges against its credit with the Treasurer upon its books the amount it will take to pay whatever obliga-

tions it has incurred.

On the 16th of January a statement of the Treasury of the United States was laid on our desks. In that statement the relief appropriations are summarized. On the 31st of December, at a time when Colonel Harrington said he had unexpended \$311,000,000-before the committee he said \$327,000,000, but when he corrected the proof he changed it to \$311,000,000—the Treasury of the United States says that there were unexpended balances of \$716,000,000. Colonel Harrington said that he had unobligated balances on the 31st of December of \$190,000,000.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. ADAMS. Just a moment until I complete this point. The United States Treasury says that on the 31st of December there were unobligated balances of \$482,000,000. That was on the balance sheet laid on our desks on the 16th of January. We all received a summary of the statement. It is headed in this way:

Extracts from Report of the President of the United States to the Congress Showing the Status of Funds and Operations Under the Emergency Relief Acts of 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1938, as of December 31, 1938.

This official statement, on page 94 of the larger volume before us shows unexpended balances of \$716,854,000. On page 97 are shown unobligated appropriation balances of emergency relief funds of \$482,800,000.

Is there any reason why those of us who sit on the committee and who find Colonel Harrington in error to the extent of \$56,000,000 upon the figures before us, should not go back into the official reports and study what the Treasury Department and the President say to us?

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. SMATHERS. I am wondering if I heard correctly when I understood the Senator to say, in response to a question by the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Borah] that the \$150,000,000 cut is not an effort to practice economy but, on the contrary, is the difference between an incorrect figure given by Colonel Harrington and the correct figure.

Mr. ADAMS. The Senator did not hear correctly if he understood me to say that it was not an effort to practice economy, because it is an effort to practice economy. Further, I stated that there was a difference of \$56,000,000 in the basic factual items furnished by Colonel Harrington; in other words, that the difference in the conclusion which we have reached was affected by that obvious error.

Mr. SMATHERS. There is a difference of \$100,000,000. Giving full credit to the mistake alleged to have been made by the colonel, there is still a difference of \$100,000,000. Is that correct?

Mr. ADAMS. If we disregard the statements of the United States Treasury.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. Does the Senator question the fact that Colonel Harrington knows how much money he will have on the 7th of February?

Mr. ADAMS. I will say to the Senator from Kentucky that I am not raising any such question. I am calling the attention of the Senate to the official document submitted to Congress by the President of the United States for the purpose of giving us the information. As between the two, may I ask the Senator whether he would take the word of Colonel Harrington or the word of the President of the United States?

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator cannot involve me in a controversy of that sort. It is entirely possible that the figures can be reconciled, because frequently when we take the bookkeeping records of one department and the actual facts of another department, while there may be an apparent difference on the surface, it can be easily reconciled.

One more question.

Mr. ADAMS. I hope the Senator has the reconciliation. Mr. BARKLEY. I think I have it. However, I do not intend to give it just at the moment.

Mr. ADAMS. Is it a secret? [Laughter.]

Mr. BARKLEY. I want to ask the Senator if I understand correctly that he is attempting-whether successfully or not, we need not quibble over that-to absorb a part of the \$150,000,000 cut by attributing it to mistakes of Colonel Harrington?

Mr. ADAMS. No. We are endeavoring to show that there is more money available than Colonel Harrington told the committee there was available. It is a mere matter of the money available to meet relief. Of course, any man who makes serious mistakes upon vital matters naturally subjects the rest of his testimony to scrutiny.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator mentions the figure of 3,000,000. As a matter of fact, there are 3,081,000 persons on the rolls. Does the Senator, in making his estimate, assume that on the first day of February 80,000 persons will have to be immediately stricken from the rolls? I believe the joint resolution provides that the President may not strike off more than a total of 5 percent during February and March. Five percent of 3,000,000 would be 150,000. Are we to assume that in order to reach the Senator's conclusion on the first day of February 81,000 persons, who constitute more than half of the 5 percent provided for in the joint resolution, must be stricken from the rolls?

Mr. ADAMS. May I give to the Senator some more modern figures? After Colonel Harrington testified before our committee he made a speech in New York, and in that speech Colonel Harrington gave out the report for the week ending January 14, showing that the grand total on the W. P. A. rolls had fallen that week by 39,346, to 3,017,035. The figures include Federal agency projects financed with W. P. A. funds to the extent of 90,000 people. So the figure we are dealing with is not 3,081,000. We are dealing with 3,017,000, less 90,000, whose pay has already been provided for up until the 1st of March, and the rate of decline on the relief rolls in a

week was practically 40,000.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. Certainly.

Mr. BONE. I was not privileged to hear the opening part of the Senator's statement; but are we to assume that there is in the Treasury, in the form of unexpended balances available to the Works Progress Administration, sufficient money to offset the proposed \$150,000,000 cut, so that if this body should approve the \$725,000,000 appropriation there would still be available \$875,000,000 or somewhere near that amount? I would not have asked the question if I had heard the Senator's entire statement.

Mr. ADAMS. I do not have the figures in mind in that way at all. I am endeavoring to point out what I see to be the financial situation. Then I am going to endeavor to try to deal with the number of the unemployed entitled to go on W. P. A. rolls. I am not dealing definitely with the difference between one figure and another.

Mr. BONE. Let me state the problem I have in mind somewhat differently. Suppose we draw a red line and this body should approve an appropriation of \$725,000,000, how much money would be available for W. P. A. for the period ending June 30 next? What would be approximately the total amount available with unexpended balances in the form of a credit against which the W. P. A. can draw?

Mr. ADAMS. The Senator refers to unexpended balances. I am trying to explain that the unexpended balances on the 1st of January, according to the figures of the Treasury, were \$716,000,000 and \$311,000,000, according to Colonel Harrington's figures. Then the unobligated balances which are available for allocation to pay ensuing obligations Colonel Harrington says are \$190,000,000, while the Treasury Department says they are \$482,000,000.

Mr. BONE. Are we to assume, then, from the Treasury figures that there is now available at this time, according to the latest report the Senator quotes, something over \$400,-000,000 available for W. P. A.? I am talking now about the true balance; I do not care what the books of the Treasury may show. I wish to know about the actual number of dollars available to the W. P. A. upon which it can draw for relief purposes.

Mr. ADAMS. I am frank to say to the Senator that I have had some difficulty in deciding for myself as to the two sets of figures. I am unable, with my deficient mathematical capacity, to reconcile the Treasury unobligated balance of \$482,000,000 with Colonel Harrington's unobligated balance of \$190,000,000 at the same time. The Senator from Kentucky intimates that there is a reconciliation. I trust that there is, and I assume that to a certain extent there is.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, in that connection, if I may interrupt the Senator, on the 31st of December the Treasury figures show the obligated balance; but it is entirely possible that there are millions of dollars, perhaps hundreds of millions of dollars, of obligated contracts that have not reached the Treasury from the W. P. A. I do not know how long it takes for an obligation entered into by the W. P. A. to reach the Treasury. They know nothing about it until it gets there. So it is entirely possible that on the 31st day of December there might be \$418,000,000 on the books of the Treasury unobligated or unexpended, and a week later or 2 weeks later, when the obligations come over from W. P. A., they would absorb most of that balance and reduce the amount very materially.

Mr. ADAMS. Of course, I do not pretend to be a master of Federal bookkeeping, but the Federal Government's Treasury Department assumes to set up the unobligated balance. If the Senator were correct, the only figure that they could give us would be the unexpended balance, but they do give us the unobligated balance, and they give other figures showing unliquidated obligations, that is, obligations that are accruing. They seem to know somehow the amount. I take it for granted that the W. P. A. make daily reports to the Treasury Department of their financial operations and their obligations as they incur them.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield to the Senator from South Carolina. Mr. BYRNES. The Senator from Colorado may remind the Senator from Kentucky that there could be no outstanding obligations amounting to several hundred million dollars, because the W. P. A. has no authority under the law to incur any obligations for anything except materials, and such obligations must be limited to \$7 per man per month, which, even with 3,000,000 men on the rolls, would amount to only \$21,000,000 a month. The only way they could have outstanding obligations for several hundred million dollars would be to have paid absolutely nothing during all the months of 1938, which, of course, did not happen.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I wish to read from page 104 of the report of the President of the United States to the Congress in reference to the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act. In a series of explanatory notes to the table, under the head of obligations, this is said:

Obligations consist of actual and accruing liabilities or commitments incurred by project managers or other authorized administrative officers. "Obligations," as used herein, do not necessarily represent in all cases an immediate legal liability; but when a definite step has been taken with a view to incurring a liability on the part of the Government, such as in the case where a requisition for supplies, materials, or equipment has been submitted to the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department, an amount is set up as an obligation in the allotment account affected. In this connection it may be noted that work performed under the work-relief program is performed principally through the employment of labor on force account rather than by contract; and in order that sufficient funds may be reserved in the particular project account to meet pay rolls the Treasury has adopted the practice of charging as an obligation at the beginning of each pay period (usually covering a half month) an amount to cover the pay rolls when presented at the end of the pay period. In like manner anticipated obligations, covering travel expenses and similar items, are charged by the Treasury Department as obligations in advance of the actual receipt of vouchers therefor.

This procedure is necessary in order that the accounts will reflect as nearly as practicable the accruing liability of the Government for each project, and that administrative agencies will not incur obligations in excess of funds available for projects or limitations thereunder.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. ADAMS. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am not sure that the Senator from Colorado gives full faith and credence to it, but he will recall that Colonel Harrington testified as follows on this very

subject—and I am quoting his exact words from page 34 of the record:

There will be no money available after February 7 to employ anyone.

If that is to be believed, then after the date given there will be no money, either hidden or otherwise, with which to employ anyone on W. P. A. projects.

Mr. ADAMS. Will not the Senator go back to page 33, where Colonel Harrington qualified that?

Colonel Harrington was asked by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes]:

Senator BYRNES. And if you pay your pay roll on February 7, then your statement is that you will have no funds left except the funds which have been set aside to meet these contractual obligations that are outstanding; is that correct?

Colonel Harrington. That is correct; yes, sir.

In other words, there is a 2 weeks' pay roll always outstanding, and the 2 weeks' pay rolls amount to \$90,000,000.

Mr. McKELLAR. But, Mr. President, if we are to believe Colonel Harrington, he has testified unequivocally, without the shadow of turning, that there would be no money to employ anyone under W. P. A. after February 7.

Mr. ADAMS. I do not think that is quite a fair interpretation of Colonel Harrington's statement.

Mr. McKELLAR. I do not see how it could be disputed; there it is in the record.

Mr. ADAMS. He may say that there is no money to employ anybody, but he has employed people for a 2-week period and he has the money to meet the pay roll when that 2 weeks has run, which will run not until the 7th, but, at least, until the 14th. In other words, I think the Colonel is wrong, not only as to \$45,000,000 but I think he has left us uneasy to the extent of \$90,000,000.

For these reasons I think that the statement of the finances upon which the conclusions were based was somewhat in error, and I take it for granted that the Senate of the United States does not want to appropriate more money than necessary to meet the needs of those in distress for whose care the Government is fairly obligated.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, that brings me to interrupt the Senator again, if I may. I am asking this question because those who are not on the committee have had very little time to read the record. How many men does the subcommittee figure will have to be discharged from the rolls during the month of February in case the bill as reported by the committee shall pass?

Mr. ADAMS. None.

Mr. BORAH. How many will it be necessary to discharge in March?

Mr. ADAMS. None.

Mr. BORAH. Will it be necessary to discharge any between now and February?

Mr. ADAMS. It will not be.

Mr. BORAH. Would there be any difference in the number if the joint resolution carried \$875,000,000 and should be passed in that form?

Mr. ADAMS. There might be a difference, but what we have done, I will say to the Senator from Idaho, is to put a strong hand on the Administrator and say that prior to the 1st of April he may not reduce the rolls more than 5 percent. Under the original measure, there was no limitation as to the dismissals. We have endeavored to meet the fear that if a lesser amount were appropriated the Administrator would immediately proceed to throw W. P. A. workers out into the cold and utterly disregard the obligations of the Government by making arbitrary, harsh, and unreasonable dismissals from the rolls, and we have said to him, "That you shall not do."

Mr. BORAH. Does not Colonel Harrington claim that if

Mr. BORAH. Does not Colonel Harrington claim that if the joint resolution carrying \$725,000,000 is passed, in order to comply with it he must discharge a certain number of men, say 200,000?

Mr. ADAMS. He cannot do it under the law.

Mr. BORAH. No; the committee is proposing the passage of a measure which would prevent him from doing that.

Mr. ADAMS. Yes.

Mr. BORAH. But why did the committee think it necessary to pass such a law?

Mr. ADAMS. Because we were apprehensive that the colonel might say to us, "You have passed this kind of a law and we are going to show you what the consequences will be; we are going to cut it down to a horizontal limit. You are providing enough money to employ over the period of 434 months an average of 2,400,000 men, and we are cutting the rolls immediately to 2,400,000, and are going to carry that number straight through to the 1st of July."

We felt that under the conditions existing in the Nation, if we carry practically the full load until the wintertime is over, until the time when agricultural activities begin, until we begin to feel the effects of the activities of the Public Works Administration, until we begin to feel some of the benefits of rearmament, until additional moneys are paid out in unemployment insurance and security benefits, we can safely rely on those things to allow a more rapid decline.

I desire to say to the Senator that the minority report, which was rather hastily gotten up, says that we are going to have to reduce the number on the W. P. A. rolls to slightly over a million. As a matter of fact, the \$725,000,000 carried by the joint resolution will permit the employment in June

of over 2,000,000 persons.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, when the subcommittee adopted the 5-percent provision, preventing cutting the rolls by more than 5 percent during the winter months, they understood that Colonel Harrington had already claimed that in order to carry out the joint resolution as it was passed by the House for \$725,000,000, he would have to cut down employment at the rate of 200,000 a month?

Mr. ADAMS. That was an arbitrary stepping-down that Colonel Harrington was working out.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield to me?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. BYRNES. I will say to the Senator from Idaho that I offered the amendment. I did it for the reason that I had understood that such a statement was made. I knew that \$725,000,000 would give to the W. P. A. every dollar necessary to care adequately for the unemployed. I did not want the Administrator to take the position that because the Congress had not given him every dollar he wanted he would arbitrarily make a large cut during the winter, at a time when it should not be made, and therefore provided that any administrative cut prior to April 1 should not be more than 5 percent. It is then provided that for the rest of the year the remainder of the fund may be apportioned by the Administrator in his discretion.

I can hand to the Senator a statement showing how the Administrator may apportion the funds, retaining 3,000,000 persons on the rolls until March 1; then, if he wants to reduce the number by 5 percent, or 150,000, he may do so; and at the end of the fiscal year on June 30 he will have on the rolls 2,000,000 persons. I ask the Senator to permit his mind to go back with me and judge whether or not that is fair.

In January a year ago, when snow was on the ground, when 30,000 persons had been discharged by General Motors, the Chrysler plant was closed down, the textile industry of the Nation was closed down, and the farmers were out of work, we had on the rolls only 1,900,000 persons in the dead of winter, in the worst situation we have had since 1933. All that the Administrator would have to do if he should accept the judgment of the Congress as to appropriating \$725,000,000 would be not to remove a soul from the rolls now, but by June 30 to bring the number on the rolls down to 2,000,000 persons, in which event there would still be on the rolls more than were on them back in January 1938, with people out of work, no farmers at work, and conditions as bad as the Senator and I can recall for some time.

I would not want the Administrator to do anything else. The Senator from Idaho knows that I have gone along with these appropriations at times when the Senator himself has wondered whether we were not exceeding the proper amount,

and when everybody else has had some question about the matter. I had no desire to do anything that would prevent the Government from adequately caring for these persons, but if the Senator will look into the record he will see that Colonel Harrington said that 50 percent of the increase in the past few months was from the agricultural sections of the South. When we come down to April the farmers of the South want those agricultural workers back on the farms. If we are going to keep them in the city at \$26 a week working a few hours, how in the world will we ever be able to get one of them back to the farm? This measure only contemplates that in the middle of the summer, on July 1, we shall have on the rolls 2,000,000 persons, a larger number than were on the rolls in January 1938, and I think the Senator will say that that is fair.

Mr. BORAH. By how many would it be necessary to reduce the rolls between now and the 1st of June?

Mr. BYRNES. We would reduce the rolls very easily in this way—

Mr. BORAH. By how many? By one-third of the present number?

Mr. BYRNES. We will reduce the total to 2,000,000; yes. Mr. BORAH. What does the Senator calculate the present number is?

Mr. BYRNES. It is now 3,000,000. We would reduce it; but the Senator from Idaho knows that we have become progressive in this matter. In January 1938, only 12 months ago, we thought 1,900,000 was a high figure under the terrible conditions then existing. When we appropriated more money, more persons were added. If, instead of \$725,000,000, we should make an appropriation of \$1,500,000,000, more persons would be added, and next year we should have the same fix.

Mr. BORAH. How many persons are now waiting upon applications which have been examined and approved to get on the rolls and are unable to get on them for lack of funds?

Mr. BYRNES. According to the figures furnished to us, there have been designated by State agencies 725,000 persons. There has never been a time in the history of this program when there have not been that many or more, for the reason that being designated by State authority means designated by the welfare agencies of the State. You cannot get a project for your town unless you can show that you have persons on the relief rolls, and if you are the mayor you cannot do so unless you have persons on the rolls. You have to show the number on the relief rolls; but when the welfare agencies certify those persons to W. P. A., they are often turned down because they are incapable of working.

Therefore, when 725,000 persons have been certified by State agents as wanting jobs, it does not mean that those 725,000 persons will ever be given jobs, because they are selected not by W. P. A. but by local officials in the States. When they certify them over to W. P. A., the foreman says, "Why, this man is not a carpenter capable of working. We cannot give him work," and the man stays in the number of 725,000. The W. P. A. cannot employ him. Even if the \$875,000,000 which was requested should be appropriated, that would not mean that the 725,000 would be employed.

Mr. BORAH. No; that is the objection to the whole thing. We are not proposing to take care of hundreds of thousands of persons who are just as much in need of protection as those on the rolls.

Mr. BYRNES. Of course, this is true, because I have had occasion to go into it with the figures. The figures show that the direct relief rolls of the Nation have been greatly reduced during the past 6 months—that means the relief rolls of cities and counties—and they have been put on the rolls certified to W. P. A. That has lessened the burden upon local governments; and, of course, those on direct relief are taken care of by local governments. They are not taken care of by the W. P. A.

Mr. BORAH. The Senator will agree with me, I think, although he has given far more study to the matter than I have, that there are hundreds of thousands of persons who

are in distress who are not being taken care of either by the

local people or by the W. P. A.

Mr. BYRNES. I will agree that that is true. Of course, there is not any question about the contention that by unemployment compensation funds we have not taken care of persons who are entitled to it. We know that we have not done so. Of course, it is a big subject; but, according to the percentage rule, we have not taken care of them to the extent that we should have. Beginning January 1, 23 States have gone into unemployment insurance. They are going to take care of a larger number of persons as a result of 23 States paying unemployment insurance. The other agencies of the Government have been carrying a burden. I agree that there are some persons in the country who have not been taken care of; but if they are certified to the W. P. A. in many instances they will not be given jobs, because they cannot do the work that is required. There is a vast difference in the expenditure, because a thousand dollars a year will give a man a job on W. P. A., while an average of \$400 a year is paid for direct relief by States, counties, and

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. ADAMS. I yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator from South Carolina just stated that the number of 725,000 persons who are on the relief roll, who are not yet employed, in part grows out of the effort of local communities to get rid of that burden. It does not relieve a local community for a man to be put on the relief rolls and then not get a job. He is still out of work, just as much so as if he had not been put on the relief rolls.

Mr. BYRNES. If he is certified to W. P. A. and paid a thousand dollars a year, on the average now the local governments put up 17 percent and the Federal Government puts up the rest; but if he is certified as entitled to relief by the local government, and he does not get a job, the city and State certifying him look after him. You may go into the city of Detroit, for example, and see the amount of money they levy in special taxes, and they do take care of such persons. They do not take care of them with the character of relief furnished by W. P. A.; they do not get jobs, but they do get direct relief. They have been determined by the local government to be entitled to relief, and, once determined as entitled to relief, the local government must help them.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield

further?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. A while ago the Senator from Colorado said that it would not be necessary for Colonel Harrington, of the W. P. A., to remove anyone from the rolls during February and March.

Mr. ADAMS. That is correct.

Mr. BARKLEY. Assuming they do not remove anyone, 3,000,000 employees at \$61 apiece during those 2 months, amounting to \$183,000,000 a month, means that during February and March \$366,000,000 of the \$725,000,000 would be spent.

Mr. ADAMS. Let me call the Senator's attention to the fact that he is making the same error Colonel Harrington made

Mr. BARKLEY. I want to find out first whether he made an error.

Mr. ADAMS. The Senator is talking about the period from the 1st of February. They have money to take care of part of that time, at least until the 7th of February, and of the 3,000,000 men about whom he is talking, the pay of 90,000 is already taken care of.

Mr. BARKLEY. Assuming the Senator to be correct that Colonel Harrington made a mistake, and that sufficient money was allocated, earmarked, and put off to the side to carry these special projects up to the 1st day of March, I do not know whether or not that automatically reduces the amount that is available for others. I do not know enough about this alleged mistake to concede that or to understand it, but if there are 3,000,000 on the roll now at \$61, that

amounts to \$183,000,000 a month, and for 2 months it would be \$366,000,000. That is more than half of the entire \$725,000,000. That would leave \$359,000,000 for April, May, and June, which would be an average of \$119,000,000 for those months.

We have either to take an unusual number of people off the rolls, beginning with the 1st day of April, in order to reduce the number of men to correspond to the amount of money available, or we have to go ahead and spend more than a monthly proportion all during April, and then at some

point later on strike off probably half of them.

Mr. ADAMS. If the Senator will permit me, in the first place, let us get the figures correct. From February 7 to the 1st of March there will not be 3,000,000 people to take care of. There will be, at the maximum, 2,910,000. That is, we have 90,000 to take off. We pay them \$61 a month, so \$133,-000,000 will be required to take care of the relief roll up until the 1st of March. Then from March 1 to March 7 we will be taking care of 3,000,000, which will require \$45,000,000. Then we start at March 7 and run to April 1, and we will have 2,900,000 on the rolls. That would mean a slight reduction and would require \$132,000,000. We would have consumed up until the 1st of April \$310,000,000 and we would have a balance of \$415,000,000.

Then, taking round figures, if we drop the relief rolls in April by 350,000, we can care for them for \$155,000,000. If we drop from then on another 300,000, we can care for them for \$135,000,000. Then if we drop 200,000 in June, we can care for them for \$123,000,000, which makes an aggregate of \$725,000,000 and leaves the lowest point 2,023,000, without any

very drastic reductions.

Let me give another figure, as to reductions which have taken place in previous years. I am among those who believe that the program which has been worked out by the administration is a successful one and is moving forward rather than backward. I have been persuaded that when we appropriate nearly \$1,000,000,000 for the Public Works Administration for the purpose of putting people to work, some people are going to be put to work.

The \$900,000,000 that went to the Public Works Administration has resulted in the letting of contracts by the 1st of January to the extent of one and one-half billion dollars. All Senators know, because of the pressure for projects in their communities, that the whole amount had to be included

in contracts by the 1st of January.

Witnesses before the committee told us that every man put directly to work under the Public Works Administration would result in putting to work three and a half men indirectly. That was the argument for the Public Works Administration, that while we did not directly employ the men on relief because we provided for the work being done by contract, when we spent the money, every man who went on directly would ultimately result, from the chain of economic processes, in putting three and half men to work.

I am one of those who believe that the spending of that vast sum will reduce the army of unemployed who are in need. Then there is unemployment insurance, which we did not previously have. The State of New York paid out \$87,000,000 last year, and other States accordingly. There have been old-age pension lists. In my State we pay down to the age of 60 years. There have been social-security benefits. There has been an upraise in economic conditions.

In 1936, from February to July, 786,000 went off the relief rolls. In 1937, from February to July, 576,000 went off the relief rolls. I am one of those who think that we have a right to consider what happened in those years, and if 786,000 went off the rolls in 1936, and 576,000 went off in 1937, we have a right to anticipate a corresponding or a greater natural reduction, on account of reemployment in private industry, in 1939.

How many does Colonel Harrington figure? He starts with 3,009,000. We all start from the same point. The 750,000 are not included in either computation. We start with 3,000,000 on the first of January, and the question is, How many will have to go off the rolls? The same 750,000,

or whatever it may be, remains in either case. Colonel Harrington computed that the relief rolls would drop only 300,000 in 6 months. I am unwilling to concede that in 6 months, under the conditions which exist, we will have a normal reduction of only 300,000 in the relief rolls.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CLARK of Idaho in the chair). Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. ADAMS. Gladly.

Mr. GILLETTE. The able Senator has directed the attention of the Senate to an astounding discrepancy in the evidence of Colonel Harrington before the subcommittee as to funds he would have available as unobligated balances, and the Treasury statement as of December 31 last, and the statement from the President on the 16th of this month, an astonishing difference of figures of approximately \$200,000,000. The President's statement was laid on our desks on the 16th of January. I note that the committee held meetings up to the 18th. Was there any attempt to elicit from Colonel Harrington an explanation of this discrepancy?

Mr. ADAMS. We asked Colonel Harrington for his figures and we got his figures.

Mr. GILLETTE. If the Senator will permit me, I think every Senator is intensely interested in knowing the amount of funds available at the present time.

Mr. ADAMS. The matter did not come to my attention until I began to study Colonel Harrington's testimony after it was put in print. It is when the hearings are printed that we sit down and go into the evidence in detail, and that is when we go back and take the published statements. The report of the President came to our desks subsequent to Colonel Harrington's testimony.

Mr. GILLETTE. Then there was no opportunity to attempt to reconcile those figures after the difference was discovered to be in the amount I have stated?

Mr. ADAMS. No. The Senator knows that every day these statements are laid on our desks.

Mr. GILLETTE. Yes.

Mr. ADAMS. And there are quite a few days when neither the Senator nor I read them with care.

Mr. GILLETTE. The Senate is now in the position of having no information before it, elicited by the subcommittee, as to what funds are actually unexpended at the present time.

Mr. ADAMS. It seemed to the members of the committee that we ought to have been told with the utmost frankness, fairness, and fullness.

Mr. GILLETTE. I agree with the Senator. I am not criticizing the committee, but I am anxiously seeking information.

Mr. ADAMS. What I am saying definitely, of course, is that by Colonel Harrington's own testimony, conceding that he overlooked a double computation of expense for 7 days, and, in my own judgment, for 14 days, according to his own statement, we have more money, some \$56,000,000 more, than he thought we had.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. If I understand the theory of the text of the bill as reported from the committee, regardless of who is right or wrong in the prospectus, if there is any subsequent failure of funds, the President is invited to identify the emergency, and he is virtually invited to come back and get whatever is necessary to meet the emergency. It seems to me that if anyone cannot accept that much of an economy program he had better quit talking about economy at all.

Mr. ADAMS. Of course, that was in the minds of the majority of the subcommittee and of the full committee, that we were using our best judgment, and we were saying that if we make a mistake, we will be here until the mistake will be made obvious, and certainly the Congress of the United States will not fail in its duty to the needy people. We never have failed, and it is not wise, in the face of present economic, national, financial conditions to guess that

the worst would happen rather than that the best would happen.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. I am glad to yield.

Mr. NEELY. Early in the Senator's address he made some observations concerning the credit of the United States Government.

Mr. ADAMS. I may interject there that the credit of the United States Government is the best credit of any nation, any individual, or any corporation in this world today.

Mr. NEELY. Let me thank the Senator for that comforting statement. May I now inquire of the Senator whether I am correct in concluding from his remarks this morning that he believes the unusual spending program of this administration has in any degree impaired the Government's credit?

Mr. ADAMS. It is obvious, I will say in answer to the Senator's question, that the immediate credit has not been impaired. However, there is another aspect which perhaps we had better look into. We are here representing the people of the United States partly in States, partly nationally. The credit of the United States has been used since we have been here to an extent that we have increased our indebtedness something over \$20,000,000,000. I do not know the exact figures, but that is a rough estimate. I know that across the Appropriations Committee table, since I have been sitting there for 6 years, appropriations have been made of \$55,000,000,000, all of which has to be paid for sooner or later by the workers in the United States. In the end it all comes from the men and women who work, who toil. And I am merely saying that we had better study the matter.

We started on an industrial upgrade. Employment was increasing, and we were very hopeful that we were at the end of the depression. The Senator will remember very well in 1935 when the \$4,800,000,000 relief bill came before us we were told in the committee and we were told on the floor of the Senate that if we voted for the bill, if we put into effect the security wage, the backbone of the depression would be broken and there would be no occasion to come back for additional relief appropriations. I know there were some Senators on the floor who voted for the bill believing that that would be its effect. I tried at that time to strike a little lower scale. I thought Senators who believed in the claim made with respect to the effect of the passage of the bill, were unduly optimistic.

Mr. President, we have now found industrial production disappointing to us. We have found the amount of unemployment a disappointing thing. Some people say to us that there is apprehension because of the growing indebtedness. What is the situation in the banks? There is a lack of demand for loans for industrial purposes today. The banks with greatly accumulating funds are seeking to have some small return and they are eager buyers of Government bonds. There has been a great demand for Government bonds because of their marketability. But what is in my mind is whether or not the increased indebtedness, due to the increased spending, may have led some people to be uneasy and to hesitate to invest. The difference between prosperity and adversity depends on the state of mind of the businessman of the Nation. If the businessman thinks that things are going to get worse, then his only interest is to save what he has. He seeks to put it into Government securities or to put it into the banks. He does not try to invest it to make his money earn a return, but merely to save it. If, on the other hand, he thinks that conditions are going to improve. if he thinks there is a chance to make a profit by investing his money in developing business and industry, then instead of money going into the banks it will go into active investments. What I am interested in is the mental attitude of the people of America and their viewpoint of the Congress of the United States. If they believe that Congress is interested in establishing sound and safe conditions, that Congress is studying the problem of expenditures and that Congress means to be considerate of the taxpayer, the American people

will invest their money in industry and people will be employed in industry and manufacture and in making use of the great natural resources of the land.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. Gladly.

Mr. NEELY. I inquire whether the Senator believes that the Government's credit would be endangered by the appropriation of the sum of \$875,000,000 requested for the Works Progress Administration.

Mr. ADAMS. I will say to the Senator that I am interested, as I have tried to explain to him, in the mental attitude of the people. If the people find that the Congress is careless of their funds and is spending more than is necessary, uneasiness and apprehension is awakened. On the other hand, if the people think that the Congress is being careful and is scrutinizing its expenditures, you have a different turn of mind. My concern is not based solely on the \$150,000,000, I will say to the Senator from West Virginia. It has to do with the effect that the needless appropriation of an excess amount has upon the thinking persons among the American people. I do not mean that \$150,000,000 is not a big amount. Senators will find that it is if they try to raise that amount through taxes.

Mr. NEELY. Is it not true that in spite of the fact that this administration has increased the public debt by approximately \$20,000,000,000, as the Senator has charged, and for reasons which we all understand, the Government's credit is nevertheless better today than it ever has been at any other time in the history of the Nation?

Mr. ADAMS. I just made that statement to the Senator, but I will say further, if I may, that I am not anxious to have the Government go on to see just how long that good credit can last. I do not want to have us experiment to see how close we can get to the edge of the falls before we go over.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, as long as the Government's credit is ceaselessly and persistently increasing, there certainly is no danger of our going over the financial falls. Let me invite the Senator's attention to some facts which I have just verified-

Mr. ADAMS. No; the Senator does not have to verify what he says to me.

Mr. NEELY. I thank the Senator and wholeheartedly return the compliment. The last three issues of short-time Treasury notes aggregate approximately \$300,000,000. What interest or return does the Senator suppose the holders of these securities receive?

Mr. ADAMS. I will say to the Senator that they get practically nothing for them. They are trying to save their money, and they are merely using the Government as the custodian for their money. That is all. Rather than pay the cost of keeping their money elsewhere, they are buying these short-term securities at practically no interest.

Mr. NEELY. The rate of return is about a fiftieth of 1 percent.

Mr. ADAMS. Yes; no return.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, in order that the relative credit of the Government before and after the administration spent \$20,000,000,000 for necessary relief may be shown by the RECORD, I entreat the Senator's indulgence for a few additional moments. On June 30, 1932, the average return on all outstanding Government securities was 3.55 percent. On June 30, 1933—when the administration's spending program was under way-the return on Government securities, because of increased confidence in their value, had declined to 3.35 percent. On December 31, 1938, because of still greater confidence in the value of the Government's securities, the return on Government obligations averaged only 2.58 percent.

Today's Wall Street Journal—the country's greatest financial publication—shows that United States Treasury notes are now selling on the following return basis: The notes designated as "C40," which bear interest at the rate of 11/2 percent and become due December 15, 1940, yesterday sold for 102.24. The return on these notes at this price is 0.01 percent.

The securities designated as "A41," which bear 11/2 percent interest and become due March 15, 1941, sold for 102.25. The return on them at this price is 0.16 percent.

The highest rate of return on any of the Government securities listed under the heading United States Treasury notes is eighty-two one-hundredths of 1 percent. The facts and figures do not indicate that the Government's credit has been impaired or that the people believe it will be impaired by the Roosevelt administration.

Mr. ADAMS. I wish to ask the Senator from West Virginia a question Does the Senator think that the credit of the United States would continue as good as that regardless

of how it may continue to borrow and spend?

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, of course there is a limit beyond which spending cannot safely go. However, as long as spending is necessary to prevent starvation or other great suffering and the credit of the Government continues to improve in direct proportion to the degree in which we appropriate funds to provide for the unemployed, the danger line will not be reached. Indeed, it will not even be approached.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. I merely rise to ask the Senator from Colorado a question in connection with the statement made by the Senator from West Virginia. Of course, we all agree that the credit of the United States is good and not impaired. Do not the figures which the Senator from West Virginia has given rather bear out the very thought the Senator from Colorado was expounding just a moment ago: that is, the unwillingness to invest in private industry and to take chances to make profits generally? Do not the figures sustain the Senator's position?

Mr. ADAMS. That is my theory. I will say to the Senator from New Mexico that I think that such a situation is a dangerous sign. It means that private industry is not borrowing; in other words, that there is no call for money. We have excess reserves piling up in the banks and in the Federal Reserve, beyond what they have ever been. Idle

money is not a sign of good times. Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield once

more?

Mr. ADAMS. I shall be glad to. Mr. NEELY. In response to the observation of the able Senator from New Mexico, as well as the pertinent and always interesting remarks of the eminent Senator from Colorado, let me admit that I would concur in the opinions they have expressed, to the effect that the low return on Government bonds might indicate unwillingness on the part of the people to invest in private enterprise, were it not for the fact that not only Americans but Europeans are buying the securities of private corporations of this country on a return basis comparable to the return on our Government notes and bonds.

The return on investments in the securities of American Telephone & Telegraph Co., General Motors, Eastman Kodak, American Can, and all the other great corporations has steadily declined since March 1933 just as the return on Government bonds has declined. The explanation lies in the fact that under the Roosevelt administration the people once more have absolute confidence in their Government, and are consequently willing to invest or lend their money for the lowest compensation in the history of finance.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield to the Senator from Illinois. Mr. LEWIS. The Senator from Colorado has generously, and in my judgment very wisely, announced to America that the credit of this country concededly exceeds that of any other country in the world. The Senator called attention to the situation of our loans and our indebtedness. Will not the able Senator in that connection add to the confidence of his country by saying that our indebtedness is to ourselves, neither to foreign countries nor to foreign financial institutions, but wholly to American citizens?

Mr. ADAMS. Of course, it is an advantageous thing to

have the indebtedness, when it is paid, paid at home. The

situation indicates just what we have been arguing, that there is a vast accumulation of idle money which cannot find profitable employment elsewhere in this country, and which is taking recourse to Government bonds at a minimum return for the sake of safety rather than return.

Mr. LEWIS. I fear the Senator did not quite comprehend my interrogation, which, no doubt, was due to my ill manner of stating it.

Mr. ADAMS. That never happens.

Mr. LEWIS. I thank the Senator from Colorado for his generous estimate of my abilities. However, let me say that I desire to have an additional expression from the Senator from Colorado as the result of his splendid and complete investigation of the financial status of this country, which owes indebtedness to the extent he has described, and whose credit is strong, as he has also set forth. Will he not add, as aiding the confidence of the American people in their country, that the indebtedness of America, as described by him, is an indebtedness to its own people and not an indebtedness to any foreign nation or to the financial institutions of any foreign country?

Mr. ADAMS. I assume that to be true. However, from the standpoint of the Federal Government as an organization, the same amount of money must be raised by taxation to pay the debts regardless of the parties, individuals, or localities to which it must be paid. Of course, the consequences to the holders of the bonds are quite different.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Of course, there is as yet no question about the credit of the United States. However, the present President of the United States, Mr. Roosevelt, on March 10, 1933, warned us against an accumulated deficit spending up to that point of only \$5,000,000,000 in the following language:

For 3 long years the Federal Government has been on the road toward bankruptcy.

If Mr. Roosevelt was entitled to assert that warning to the country on the basis of a \$5,000,000,000 accumulated deficit in 1933, is not the Senator from Colorado at least entitled to suggest that we should be concerned in the presence of an accumulated deficit of \$24,000,000,000?

Mr. ADAMS. I will say to the Senator that I think I am entitled to make comments, but not based upon what somebody else may have said. I am not founding my conclusions upon what someone may have said, whether he be the President of the United States of anyone else. I have merely made my observations on the financial situation. I am among those who are disturbed.

Let me add another observation. My study of the depression which came in 1929, 1930 and 1931 leads me to the conclusion that the greatest contributing factor was the accumulation of individual and corporate indebtedness. Individuals were buying beyond their ability to pay. Installment purchases were running to a high point throughout the land. Corporations were expanding their business and issuing bonds. Stock was issued, and we had an inflated situation largely of private and corporate indebtedness.

The President of the United States in a recent message has pointed out that the aggregate indebtedness of the people and of the Nation has not increased. The people of the United States owe less money. The corporations owe less money. The banks are sounder, thinks the administration. However, I see a danger. Perhaps our credit would not be impaired by an indebtedness of fifty, sixty, seventy, or one hundred billion dollars. I do not know the point at which it would be impaired. No one knows the point. No one knows the time. However, there is a point at which and a time when credit is impaired.

I do not want to see my country and the Congress of the United States experimenting to find out where that point is. We have credit now. Let us encourage industry. Let us encourage the workman. Let us encourage the farmer. Let us spend every cent that is necessary to take care of the needy. The joint resolution as it comes from the House

provides every nickel that is necessary and ought to be appropriated at this time for relief.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. I merely want to ask the Senator if the committee did not—as I recall, unanimously—undertake to take politics out of relief as far as it could? I was surprised that my distinguished and able friend from Michigan [Mr. Vandenberg] should attempt to inject politics into the question.

Mr. VANDENBERG. When I quote President Roosevelt, if that is politics, make the most of it.

Mr. McKELLAR. I know the Senator is willing to do that. It is politics.

Mr. ADAMS. I shall not discuss politics. I have never done so since I have been in this body.

Mr. President, what I have said largely covers the outline of what I wanted to say. The subcommittee gave careful attention to the situation. We studied the House hearings. It is not the fact, as is suggested in some quarters, that the figures of the subcommittee is based merely upon conjecture and is without any basis. The subcommittee has great regard for the Appropriations Committee of the House. They are a hard-working, studious, intelligent, well-informed group. The House of Representatives, perhaps more easily swayed by pressure from outside than this body, has concurred by a substantial majority, in the figures in the joint resolution as it comes to us from the House.

The Senate subcommittee heard Colonel Harrington. It then studied the records and concluded, not without reason, not without thought, not without study of the statistics, that the appropriation of \$725,000,000 is entirely adequate to meet the obligations all over the country, and that none of the perils or threats or dangers which have been prophesied will follow from keeping the appropriation at this point.

We have included three other provisions in the joint resolution. One prohibits politics in the W. P. A., although that is a trifle at this time; we have limited the number that may be removed from the rolls in order to still the apprehension and the fear lest people be thrown out in the streets in winter; and we have pointed out clearly, though it may not be necessary, to the President and to the people that if the appropriation is not adequate the Congress will be here and will be willing and ready to add such sum of money as may be needed.

It seems to me that there is a lack of real understanding of what the Appropriations Committee has tried to do. Throughout the country charges are being made that the joint resolution as reported represents an effort to starve people, to freeze people. It is an effort to do two things which must go together. One is to care for the needy in the land up to the extent that we should, and the other is not to be regardless of the financial consequences to our country.

Let me add one suggestion which indicates the attitude of the majority of the committee. We have been paying a security wage. That policy was determined by the administration. We are paying \$52.50 on the average to those on relief. We are expending roughly \$2 per month per man for administrative expenses. We have fixed \$7 per month per man as a limit for material costs. I asked Colonel Harring-ton the other day this question, "Colonel, here you have a group of 3,000,000 or 2,900,000 to whom you are paying \$52.50 a month; you have another group to whom you are paying nothing. Do you not think it would be reasonable to scale down a trifle the amount you are paying to one group in order to meet the necessities of the other group?" The colonel takes the position that that should not be done. He draws a sharp line and says that he is going to pay everybody on relief \$52.50 on the average, and if a man does not get on relief he can starve.

As a practical matter, if there should be taken \$1 per man off the money which is being spent for material, we could take care of 50,000 more people, and if \$2 should be taken off the \$7 being spent for material we could take care of 100,000 more people. Is there any reason why the Federal

Government cannot say to the States and to the localities, "You should contribute"? In the last year what has been done in the matter of local contributions? It will be remembered that two sessions ago an effort was made to require the local communities to put up 25 percent. That effort was defeated on the floor of the Senate. It was defeated, why? Because it was said to us that the contributions of the local communities had already reached more than 23 percent, and there was not any occasion for the action then proposed. The local contributions did reach 23 percent. However, in some of the great States and large cities the contribution was much less than that. The greatest State in the Union last year contributed 11 percent, while other States were contributing up to 30 percent. But the local contributions of the local sponsors in the last year declined from 23 percent to 17 percent. If we foot that and ask the local communities to increase their contribution a little for materials, we could very easily meet some of these added obligations.

It seems to me to be a cruel and harsh rule simply to say that to nine people we will give \$52.50 a month, the money only covering the nine, and the tenth man who is in equal need will get nothing unless the Congress appropriates another \$52.50 a month for him; we will not divide it. Yet that is the attitude of the Works Progress Administration. They are unwilling to make any concession. They take the \$61 figure as if it were as sacred as the laws of the Medes and Persians, as if it were the Ark of the Covenant. They fixed it. I wonder if they might not, in a period of distress, be willing to cut a dollar off it or even \$2 and feed another 100,000 people? It seems to me that we have met with a very harsh bureaucratic attitude in this matter. I say to the Senate that, without that consideration, there is money enough in the bill, and, with that consideration, it is more than adequate.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President-

Mr. ADAMS. I yield to the Senator from Washington. Mr. BONE. The figures that were called to my attention at the time the report of the Senate Appropriations Committee was printed indicate that Colonel Harrington, drawing on what he referred to as United States Treasury Department sources for information, as of December 31, 1938, had \$180,000,000 available for W. P. A. That, it seems to me, would be very easily absorbed by operations in the month of January. If the contemplated cut is made, I want to call the attention of the Senator to what might happen in my State. I am assuming that \$180,000,000 are available; but suppose there is available another \$180,000,000; that does not detract from the force and effect of this cut on the total employment in the United States. Take, for instance, my own State. My files are full of letters from mayors and other public officials there indicating a deplorable condition, and I think it is similar to that existing in practically every other State in the Union. The State of Washington is no exception; it is not sui generis; it is like most other Amercan States.

There were, as of December 31, 1938, 53,300 people on our relief rolls, the W. P. A. rolls, in the State. If this cut should be sustained-and I am assuming that it will be cushioned somewhat by the presence of additional money which the Senator has suggested—there will still be presented a rather ghastly picture at the end of June; 35,000 human beings will be stricken from the W. P. A. rolls in my State, leaving a little over 18,000 people on the rolls.

I do not want to burden the RECORD-

Mr. ADAMS. Where does the Senator get those figures? Has the Senator verified them?

Mr. BONE. They are from the report of the mayors who are very much interested in this matter, but, if the Senator desires me to do so, I can give him some other figures.

Mr. ADAMS. I am familiar with the tabulation the mayors presented.

Mr. BONE. I wish to call attention, then, to something a little more specific.

Mr. ADAMS. Before the Senator passes from that, I may say, in connection with the tabulation to which he has referred, that I do not think that the Senator's statement is altogether borne out by the facts. The pending measure does not cut down the amount that is going to be contributed to take care of the 53,000. The question is whether we shall appropriate \$725,000,000 or \$875,000,000. The difference is 17 percent, and yet the mayor of the Senator's city has figured that the proposed reduction would cause a drop in the number on the rolls from 53,000 to 18,000. That is away beyond anything that could naturally happen.

Mr. BONE. That figure results from keeping a larger number of men on the rolls in the months of February and

March.

Mr. ADAMS. The largest cut anybody contemplates is 331/3 percent, and we expect those men to go back to work, and there certainly is going to be work in the State of Washington

Mr. BONE. Let me say to the Senator that in the United States Senate, in 1937 and again in 1938, I made an effort to secure more W. P. A. funds, as the Senator from Colorado knows. Upon at least one occasion I made that fight alone. I was astonished to find W. P. A. officials stating, as it was gently suggested to me by the Senator from Colorado, they had stated in their own statements before the committee that they had ample funds, when I was standing here protesting that they would not have enough money; but my protest was borne out afterward by cold, hard facts.

Now we have the W. P. A. asserting to us that they will not have enough money. I am glad they have gotten around

to a recognition of what they are facing.

Mr. ADAMS. They are accepting the normal bureaucratic viewpoint.

Mr. BONE. I do not care why they say it or do it: I know they are dealing with human misery; and whether we like it or not, we have got to face it.

Mr. ADAMS. And we are appropriating, at the minimum, nearly two and a half billion dollars.

Mr. BONE. Well, we will not be so thin-skinned a little later when we get around to appropriating for the benefit of private shipbuilders over \$100,000,000 for building a battleship which a few years ago cost twenty-six and a half million dollars. I hope no one will rise in this body and suggest that that is the standard of patriotism—that we give the Bethlehem Steel outfit, or someone else, \$110,000,000 or \$115,000,000 for a battleship that we used to build a few years ago for less than \$30,000,000.

But let me call the Senator's attention to a telegram I have from the State administrator of W. P. A. in my State, who is a very able, honest, and intelligent official. He says:

The State department of social security is providing all the way from \$3.40 to \$5.60 per month per person for those persons why have been certified to W. P. A. and who have not been assigned. In addition, where possible, a small amount of surplus commodities and clothing is given.

That is a fine, cheerful picture for the fellow who has been certified but who can find no place in W. P. A. right now and cannot get a job. What is he going to do?

Mr. ADAMS. From \$3 to \$5 is being paid in the State of Washington?

Mr. BONE. Right now, with the funds available. what the State is able to do with the tax budget it has set up.

The telegram continues:

The employment of the W. P. A. in Washington State on December 1 was 53,500, and our employment for the month of January, 43,500. There are at the present time 16,872 people certified as in need and whom we have been unable to assign or whom we have released because of quota reduction. All of the certifications have been made since September 1, 1938. In addition, the State department has made no attempt since the fore part of December to make certifications, since they felt that, in view of the W. P. A. reduced employment, it would serve no purpose. \* \* \* We see no immediate prospect of an increase in private employment. The result of the above is that there now is and will continue to be a great deal of hardship and suffering among people who are in need in the State of Washington unless additional funds are provided to give employment to these people. vided to give employment to these people.

I think I should be a poor representative of my State if I did not bring that condition to the attention of my brethren in the Senate, and make an effort, as a Member of this body, to secure adequate funds to take care of those people who, through no fault of their own, are out of work, and cannot find work. It is no answer to them to say that we cannot afford to appropriate the money. Economic necessity knows no law. They are not going to be thin-skinned in complaining, and I should not blame them. In fact, I should reproach them if they were thin-skinned about complaining.

The point I want again to stress is that I was shocked to find W. P. A. officials coming down here and telling the committee that they had ample funds, and then coming down later and painting a doleful picture about their in-ability to care for people. I had that flung in my teeth twice, and I do not like it. The officials ought to be perfectly candid, and tell us the condition that exists; but they have not always been candid, I suppose because they felt the pressure on them to save as much as possible. On the other hand, I felt in my heart that they would run into this problem when the flood trouble occurred down the Ohio Valley. Anyone with the faintest adumbration of intelligence knew there would be a difficult problem confronting the relief authorities in that connection, and yet we could not even get an additional amount of money here for that purpose. Later, however, we confronted a hideous ghost of hunger and misery and wretchedness, and apparently were unable at that time to do anything about it. We have our opportunity right now to make money available. The difference between the amounts of money suggested here is too small to quarrel or dispute about. I think it is unworthy of us to do it.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I gather from the statement of the Senator from Washington that his State is providing from \$3 to \$5 per individual that the State is caring for, and that the authorities of the State are very much dissatisfied that we are putting up only \$61 per person.

Mr. BONE. That is for some form of direct relief. I merely read the telegram from Mr. Abel, giving the Senator the benefit of that information.

Mr. ADAMS. The Legislature of the State of Washington is in session?

Mr. BONE. It is in session now.

Mr. ADAMS. Would it not be a good idea to telegraph them to make some added appropriation for their people?

Mr. BONE. I will say to the Senator that they are fully advised as to the needs there; but the State of Washington, like every other State in the Union, has had a very serious tax problem confronting it. That is one of the reasons why I supported here the measures that I did support relative to contributions by the local governments for W. P. A., because most of them just could not "take it"; that is all.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator vield?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I should like to ask the Senator from Washington whether he thinks the United States Government has a serious tax problem confronting it.

Mr. BONE. To be sure, it has; of course it has; but these people are not responsible for the condition which has been thrust upon them. They are not the architects of their own misery. We had all the smart boys running business in this country, and they had a free hand for years. If there is anything in the economic system which they set up that would have protected these people, God knows they had years and years in which to entrench the thing to a point where it would not topple over and bring distress to these people.

I am not going to thresh all that old straw over again; but these people were catapulted into this condition. It is not of their creation; and, for one, I am going to do my part as a Senator by voting in this body to provide funds for these people until somehow they can attach themselves again to a private pay roll. I believe that if a man cannot get work, we ought not to expect him to starve in a land capable of producing the wealth that this country can produce. I do not think that is anything but good American doctrine.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, just one comment. In a State legislature within the past few days—it was not in the State of Washington—a resolution was introduced to urge the adoption of the larger amount for this controverted item; and the principal argument made on the floor was that "The thing for us to do is to get all we can from the Federal Government, and that will reduce the amount which the State will have to put up."

Propaganda has gone out from certain sources to the cities and to the States to send in messages and letters and put pressure upon Senators. I speak advisedly, because the mayor of my city received a request to telegraph me and tell me what I should do.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, may I intrude again on the Senator's time?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. BONE. I presume every Member of this body has been made painfully aware, by experience in his own State, of the existence of vast tracts of land which have been taken over for nonpayment of taxes. I do not know what the law is in other States, but in my State a man does not have to pay taxes for 6 years. So, if he is hard up or out of work, he may refrain from paying taxes on his real estate, and the State cannot foreclose for 6 years; but it has lost that revenue in the interim. When the 6-year term is up foreclosure may ensue.

In my own State—and I know that is true in many other States—vast areas of land have been taken over for non-payment of taxes, and that source of tax revenue has been lost to the States. In my State and in many other States resort has been had to sales taxes to supplement waning and vanishing revenues from real-estate taxation. I know that there may have crept into State tax system some things that are reprehensible and that bring down the reproach of decent people; but in the main, by and large, the States have run into rather tough sledding. I know that is true of the Senator's State of Colorado, and it is true of almost every other State, and I have never heard Senators say that their own States were recreant. They realize that a serious tax problem confronts the little home owners in the various States.

God knows we have tried to encourage the little fellow in home owning. We do not want taxes screwed up to the ceiling on homes, but we have tried to encourage the little fellow in owning his home. It makes a better citizen of him; and we should not take his home from him by tax liens that are unbearable. God knows these liens are high enough as they are.

So, when the officials of the States tell us that they are at the end of their tether, I am inclined to believe that, in the main, that is true. I think the public officials of my State are a high-minded, purposeful, honorable body of men, and I know they have run into mighty tough sledding in their tax problems. I spent a good many years as counsel for a taxing body, and I know something of the problems they have to confront.

The Federal Government has the ability to touch sources of revenue that a State cannot touch; and, whether we want to do it or not—

Mr. ADAMS. May I ask what those sources of revenue

Mr. BONE. Oh, we can touch them now.

Mr. ADAMS. What sources of revenue are they?

Mr. BONE. The Federal income tax is a source of revenue.

Mr. ADAMS. The States levy income taxes of their own. Mr. BONE. To be sure; but it is a much simpler problem for us to set up a tax system here and make its proceeds available to aid the government of the country as a whole, than it is for individual States to do so.

Mr. ADAMS. May I call the Senator's attention to the fact that the States tax real estate, while the Federal Government has a very difficult problem in reaching real estate?

Mr. BONE. Then, are we to confront the fact that in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and thirtynine, in the midst of an economic machine that can supply human needs beyond the wildest dreams of 50 or 100 years ago, we have to admit that we are all bogged down by a frightful condition of poverty, and we cannot do anything about it, and we are rapidly drawing to a condition of inability to tax ourselves?

Mr. ADAMS. I have not made that statement. Mr. BONE. No; I know the Senator has not.

Mr. ADAMS. The Senator from Washington said the amount in controversy is relatively small. It seems to me that if it is relatively small, it is as small on one side as it is on the other.

Mr. BONE. But I am not admitting that, because in my own rather awkward and unhappy experience in relief matters, twice I was assured that there were ample funds; and then I went home, as the Senator from Colorado went home and other Senators went home, and met this unending demand for relief from persons who, in my judgment, are clearly entitled to it.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield to me?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I will ask the Senator from Colorado if it is not a fact that the experience we are going through with the W. P. A. has been repeated and repeated and repeated.

The W. P. A. was originally established as an emergency activity. Its officials come up here and ask for an appropriation to carry them through the next fiscal year. Then, without any formula or any prescription by the Congress as to how the money shall be spent, how fast it shall be spent, or for what particular objects it shall be spent, they work out their own formula and spend as they please during the first months of the fiscal year.

Under the Constitution, in the absence of a special session, Congress always meets in January. Then the officials of the W. P. A. and the P. W. A. and these other activities turn up with requests for a huge emergency deficiency appropriation, and they say to everybody, "You cannot quibble about this amount. You cannot discuss it. You cannot question it. We will not even tell you how the money has been expended, by what formula it has been expended, or how much we are actually going to carry over. You have to pass this appropriation because it is now wintertime, and you are dealing with human misery. Unless you give us everything we ask for, unless you sign another blank check to permit us to carry on exactly as we please, you are going to throw thousands of persons off the pay roll in the dead of winter." Is not that the experience we have been having year after year?

Mr. ADAMS. I think so; and it has happened to be my lot to be sent up here as the messenger of the Appropriations

Committee to present that view.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I understand the travail the Senator from Colorado has had. It seems to me that the time has come for Congress to act. I am going to vote for what the Committee on Appropriations has advanced here, but I think Congress ought to make a proper deficiency appropriation of, say, \$250,000,000 or \$300,000,000 or \$350,000,000, and say, "Carry on for the next few months with this. Then come back to Congress for a second deficiency appropriation, if you need it." In the meantime, we will have set up some permanent formula and some permanent machinery for taking the W. P. A. out from under the whims of one man, and will subject it to the will of Congress, as every departmental activity of the Government ought to be.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I should like to have unanimous consent that we proceed to consider committee amend-

ments first.

Mr. McKELLAR. Before consent is granted, will the Senator agree that we shall begin with section 2? While I have no objection to the amendments in section 1, I think consideration of the amendments to section 1 ought to be left to the last, when all the amendments may be considered together with the amendment which I have already submitted to the Senate, but which has not been offered, to increase the appropriation to \$875,000,000.

Mr. ADAMS. I shall be very glad, if it is agreeable, then, that we proceed with committee amendments as proposed. The Senator's amendment would follow anyway, however, because his amendment is not a committee amendment, and it would come before us after the other amendments had been disposed of.

Mr. McKELLAR. There are some committee amendments

which refer to it.

Mr. ADAMS. Will the Senator state just what he proposes?

Mr. McKELLAR. That we begin with the amendments in section 2, and consider the other amendments immediately afterward, fixing the amount.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. May I inquire what the purpose of that suggestion is?

Mr. McKELLAR. The purpose is merely this, that the amendments in section 1 depend on the amount of the appropriation, and I should like to let them go over until that question is settled.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado

Mr. ADAMS. Let us get this procedural matter determined first.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield to me?

Mr. ADAMS. Gladly.

Mr. BYRNES. The amendments of the committee to which the Senator from Tennessee refers really are not dependent on the amount.

Mr. McKELLAR. They are not dependent, but they are so interrelated with it that I thought the whole of section 1 ought to go over.

Mr. ADAMS. Could we have a unanimous-consent agreement to proceed with the committee amendments and then decide, after that is agreed to, as to the order in which they may be taken up?

Mr. McKELLAR. Very well, but I should like to begin with section 2. The main difference between us is as to whether the amount should be \$875,000,000 or \$725,000,000, and we might as well determine that matter first.

Mr. BYRNES. If the Senator from Colorado will yield to the Senator from Tennessee, regardless of the amount, the Senator from Tennessee would not object to the provision of the amendment beginning on line 15, page 2, would he? He did not object in the committee. That is the first amendment, which merely provides that there shall be no reduction of more than 5 percent.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is the very amendment which I should like to have go over until I get some more information about it, and if the Senator will let that go over, the rest of the amendments can be taken up and considered, because I am in favor of all of them. But I want these amendments to go over until after the amount is fixed.

Mr. BARKLEY. If the amount should be increased, would the committee still feel that the 5-percent provision ought to be retained?

Mr. BYRNES. Regardless of the amount, I shall insist on that amendment. It would merely mean that the Congress would say that the number on the rolls should not be reduced more than 5 percent. The Senator from Kentucky would be in favor of that. The next provision is that if an emergency arose the President could submit a deficiency estimate, and the Senator from Kentucky and I would agree about that. The third provision is that there shall be an investigation of the rolls to determine whether or not there are persons on them not in actual need. No one has any objection to that. Those are the only three provisions.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am not so certain about the second provision referred to, that the President could come back for a deficiency appropriation. He could do that, of course, anyway. But heretofore the President has never been invited to do it, and I understood that provision to be inserted in connection with the fixing of the amount at \$725,000,000.

Mr. BYRNES. No.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not know what the result of the vote will be on the amendment of the Senator from Tennessee, but if the amount asked for should be finally adopted, I myself do not see any particular reason for holding out another invitation to the President to come back and ask for some more, which he can do anyway.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, the Senator from Kentucky says it is an invitation, but it is not exactly an invitation. It is a direction, that if the President, in accordance with the power that is vested in him anyway, shall submit a deficiency estimate, he shall at the same time submit the reason constituting the emergency justifying the estimate. That is the difference.

Mr. McKELLAR. I wish to make a suggestion to the Senator, to which I am sure he will agree, that we proceed with the committee amendments, starting with line 17 on page 3, and leave the preceding amendments and the amendment to be offered by me, to remain as they are at present.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I have no objection to the request of the Senator from Tennessee, as a matter of fact.

Mr. McKELLAR. I did not think the Senator would object.

Mr. BYRNES. I did not think the Senator from Tennessee had any objection to the provisions of that amendment.

Mr. McKELLAR. We may want to change it somewhat.

Mr. BYRNES. In the committee he expressed no opposition to it.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is true; but I am quite sure the Senator would not object to allowing this amendment, which is not of great importance, to go over.

Mr. BYRNES. I have no objection.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I am going to object to the request of the Senator from Tennessee unless some reason is shown why we should pass over the amendment beginning on line 15, page 2, until some other amendment is disposed of. It seems to me this is a sound proposition to make in the substantive law.

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator will bear with me, I think he can determine the reason in a moment. This amendment has in it the following provision:

Provided further, That should there arise an emergency which in the opinion of the President would require the submission of an estimate for an additional appropriation, the President in submitting such estimate shall submit a statement as to the facts constituting such emergency.

I doubt whether that ought to go in, if the Senate votes, as I hope it will vote, for the \$875,000,000 appropriation.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, if the Senator from Tennessee will indulge me, I think that provision ought to be in the bill, and I think it ought to be in every appropriation bill. The President would have a right to do it, irrespective of the amount. He has the right to do it, but Congress has the right also to require him to submit a statement in connection with it, and I think that, irrespective of the amount, that provision should be included.

Mr. President, I submit a parliamentary inquiry. As I understand, the Senator from Colorado has asked unanimous consent that committee amendments be considered before other amendments are considered. That requires unanimous consent. If I understand the situation, objection to the request.—

Mr. McKELLAR. I withdraw my objection. Go ahead.
The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the first amendment of the committee.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I had another request I desired to submit. We have certain rules which apply to general appropriation bills. They have been adopted from time to time with the idea of protecting appropriation bills from having attached to them riders containing general legislation.

We have before us now a measure which is not classified, perhaps, as a general appropriation bill, but it seems to me it should receive the same treatment, that it should not be open to amendments embodying legislation of a general character. I therefore ask unanimous consent that in the consideration of the pending bill the rules which apply to general appropriation bills may apply.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I do not contemplate offering any amendment to the appropriation measure now before us, but in view of the fact that it is of a very general nature, I shall feel constrained to object to the request made by the Senator from Colorado.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I was gratified to hear the statement of my distinguished and my very greatly esteemed friend the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Adams], when he said, almost at the beginning of his remarks, that there was no proof whatsoever in the record to sustain the \$725,000,000 appropriation.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, if I made such a statement I was very grievously in error. I certainly did not intend to make such a statement, for the reason that I do not regard that a feet a feet.

that as a fact.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator said that all the witnesses who testified had testified in favor of the \$875,000,000 appropriation.

Mr. ADAMS. Yes; but the evidence which they presented tends to prove that \$725,000,000 is the proper figure.

Mr. McKELLAR. I misunderstood the Senator if he did not say what I have stated, and I am sorry he did not say it. I think he ought to have said it, because all the testimony was in favor of the \$875,000,000, and no witness testified that in his or her opinion there should be a lesser amount than that under the circumstances.

Mr. President, let us see just exactly what our relief situation is, as shown by the evidence. On the last of December 1938 there were 3,081,000 persons on relief. On the 1st of December 3,350,000 were on relief. While that number was on relief on the 1st of December, 750,000 more had been certified and were eligible for relief, but had never been able to connect with the relief rolls. I hope Senators will listen to these figures. A number of orators are on the floor, and it is difficult to speak while they are speaking.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, Senators who are speaking to one another on the floor are not conscious that they are disturbing the Senator who has the floor. I invite the attention of the eminent chairman of the Judiciary Committee [Mr. ASHURST] and the eminent Senator from Virginia [Mr. Glass] that the Senator who is now speaking is disturbed by the conversation going on between them.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, in order to oblige the Senator from Illinois, the Senator from Virginia will go to the cloak-room.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I am glad to yield.

Mr. ASHURST. I do not take any such attitude as my learned friend the Senator from Virginia takes. I stand corrected. I was violating the rules of the Senate. I am sorry I did. I shall not do so again. I was at the moment discussing with the Senator from Virginia the question of the nomination for a judgeship in Tennessee which just came in.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, where is that judgeship located?

Mr. ASHURST. In Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am glad the Senator was discussing it. Mr. ASHURST. In doing so I had no intention of disturbing the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President and Senators, bear with me for a few moments while I state the facts as they appear from the testimony adduced before the committee. On the 1st of December 3,350,000 persons were on relief. On that date there were also 750,000 more persons who had applied for relief and had been declared eligible, but had never been put on the relief roll, making 4,100,000 persons eligible for relief at that time. That figure had come down, and on January 1 there were 3,081,000 on relief. What will happen to those 4,100,000 persons on relief or who have applied for relief and who are eligible for relief if the Senate adheres to the figure of \$725,000,000, and that amount is appropriated, as adopted by the other House and recommended by the Senate Appropriations Committee?

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I shall yield in just a moment. Let me state my case, and then I shall be delighted to yield.

I will tell the Senate what will happen, and this is based on the testimony of Colonel Harrington. I do not agree with the Senator from Colorado in his criticism of Colonel Harrington. It seemed to me that Colonel Harrington was a very careful, prudent, and, I thought, a very truthful and very accurate man. Let us see what would happen according to his testimony. His testimony was that on the 1st of February there would be 3,000,000 persons on relief. Nothing is provided for the 750,000 who have applied and are eligible, but have not been given relief. Nothing is done for the others who have been affected by the reduction from 3,350,000 since the 1st of December. There would be 2,850,000 in March; in April, 2,350,000; in May, 1,650,000. In June, 1,050,000 persons will be on relief if the \$725,000,000 figure is adhered to.

Colonel Harrington testified to these figures. They are perfectly plain. They are so simple that anyone can understand them. It costs \$61 a month for each one on relief. Multiply that figure, and then divide in the manner that the law will direct if the pending measure shall become law, and on June 1 we will have reduced our relief rolls from 4,100,000, including those eligible for relief, but who have never received any, to 1,050,000 persons. In other words, we will reduce the number of our relief workers in this country by 75 percent. That is a long step to take in 6 months. I wish we could take it. Heaven knows I wish we did not have to appropriate one dollar for relief. But we have a situation staring us in the face. Are Senators willing to take three out of every four now on relief or eligible for relief off the relief rolls, as they will be doing when they vote for the \$725,000,000 figure, and reduce the number of those on relief to one in four? That is precisely what the colonel's figures show will be the result. His figures are undenied. They cannot be denied.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. ADAMS. The Senator is aware of the fact that the difference between the \$875,000,000 and the \$725,000,000, which is the amount recommended by the committee, is 17 percent. Yet the Senator would have it appear that there would be a reduction of 300 percent in the rolls. It seems to me the Senator can hardly figure a reduction greater than the percentage which the figures themselves would indicate.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I never talk about percentages. I never did have a good understanding of per-

centages.

Mr. ADAMS. I gather that.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have had to pay interest on money which I have borrowed, and I do not like to do that, and I do not know much about percentages. We are dealing with facts, not with percentages. What are the facts? The facts are that in this country today, whether we like it or not, and heaven knows we all dislike it, about 4,000,000 people are eligible for relief. The committee would cut off three out of four persons on relief by June. Is there any Senator in this body who says that in his judgment we can, without injury, discharge three out of four persons on relief now?

Mr. ADAMS. One Senator says there is no such intention, or nothing of that kind contemplated.

Mr. McKELLAR. It does not make any difference what the Senator contemplates or what his intentions are. We are told that the road to a very celebrated community is paved with good intentions. But what are the facts? The facts are indisputable. They cannot be denied. In the neighborhood of 4,000,000 people are on the W. P. A. rolls or are eligible to go on the W. P. A. rolls, and we cannot take out three of every four by next June. I wish to heaven we could. I wish we could stop this relief business right now. But does any Senator want to stop it right now? I believe there are not very many who would be willing to stop it right now. I should like to vote to do that, but we cannot vote to stop relief now. The majority of the committee agreed to the proposal to continue relief when it was agreed that relief should not be lessened during the winter,

and arranged that it shall go on substantially the same in January, and in February, and in March, while the weather is cold. We do not want to be charged with turning people off the rolls while it is cold, and I do not blame members of the committee for the action they took. But sometimes it is cold in April, and hunger in April is as bad as hunger in February or March.

Mr. President, the facts I have stated are incontrovertible. There is no way in the world for those facts to be disputed. We are going to cut this relief work by three-fourths if we carry out the terms of the measure as it now stands.

What is the reason for cutting off persons from the rolls in April, May, and June? The first reason assigned is that the farming season is on then, and that will take a good many persons off relief. It may take some. Another reason assigned is that a great many persons will be employed on P. W. A. projects, and to some extent that is true. A third reason is that many States will increase the old-age benefits and maternity benefits, and aid to dependent children benefits. I hope the States will pass such laws. But are we going to legislate here on a basis of that kind? we going to cut down W. P. A. rolls on the basis of what the States may do by way of legislation? I think if we do we will be going a long way, Senators. But even if all those things were true, it would not take up the 750,000 persons eligible for relief, but who are not now on the rolls. I say that because we have had experience. In the year 1936 not much more than one-half million persons were taken off the rolls. In 1937 about the same number were taken off. In 1938 the number was just about the same. Why should we think there would be more in the first 6 months of 1939? If we provided \$875,000,000, we would not be taking care of those who would be entitled to relief under this measure.

Mr. President, let us take the 750,000 who are eligible for relief but are not on the rolls. I shall quote the Administrator. I want to say at this point that I have had considerable experience as a legislator, about the same experience that my good friend the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BYRNES] has had. I think he and I came to the House during the same session. For the past 28 years both he and I have been in one House of Congress or the other. I think it is safe to say that we shall get very little relief from the action of State legislatures on the relief question. I think we shall get some relief from agriculture, but it will not come anywhere near taking care of the 750,000 who are now trying to get on the rolls. All four of the classifications which were mentioned by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS] will not bring the number up to 750,000 unless something very unusual happens between now and June.

What could happen to bring the number up to the desired point? If there should be a very unusual employment in private industry, it might be possible. We do not know the possible extent of such employment. No one can say. Why should we undertake to legislate on relief two or three times at this session?

I take the position that the report of the majority and the joint resolution of the majority, as it was brought to us, show that they do not believe \$725,000,000 will be adequate. Why? They are so afraid of it that in the joint resolution itself they go to the trouble of inviting the President of the United States to declare another emergency. The President has declared this an emergency. He has shown the facts, he has presented the figures, and the committee has turned him down.

It is said that Colonel Harrington does not know what he is talking about. If I recollect aright the argument of my distinguished friend from Colorado [Mr. Adams], Colonel Harrington was so inaccurate that he could not be depended upon in this emergency. If we do not take the President's recommendation for this appropriation, how are we going to take it 2 months hence?

This is what the committee says in the joint resolution:

Provided further, That should there arise an emergency which in the opinion of the President would require the submission of an estimate for an additional appropriation, the President in submitting such estimate shall submit a statement as to the facts constituting such emergency. That is precisely what the President has done in this matter. He has presented the facts, and there are no facts to the contrary.

Not a single, solitary witness testified in support of the figure "\$725,000,000." I was present when the testimony was taken. While literally hundreds of witnesses testified, either directly before the committee or by communications sent to the committee, not one witness testified in support of the figure "\$725,000,000." The mayors of almost every city in this country testified that \$725,000,000 was not sufficient. I shall come to their testimony in a moment.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. GLASS. If the Senator is so confident of the accuracy of the testimony of his witnesses, why does he not state that some of them wanted \$1,090,000,000? Why not take that figure?

Mr. McKELLAR. How many testified to that figure?

Mr. GLASS. The mayor of New York testified to that figure. He represented the mayors of the country.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have the testimony before me. My recollection of what Mr. LaGuardia testified is that he was very much in favor of \$875,000,000, and he really believed it ought to be increased to more than \$1,000,000,000.

Mr. GLASS. That is exactly what I say.

Mr. McKELLAR. Surely, then, his testimony could be taken as the testimony of one of those who testified in support of the figure \$875.000.000.

The mayor of Detroit held that it was highly imperative

that \$875,000,000 be appropriated.

I wish to call attention to the situation in Cleveland. I note that the distinguished junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. Taft] is in the Chamber. I want to call his attention to some figures. The Senator does not come from Cleveland. He comes from Cincinnati, but he is interested in Cleveland. What are the facts with respect to Cleveland? In one city in the State of the junior Senator from Ohio, the city of Cleveland, 71,000 men and women are employed on W. P. A., and 16,500 are certified as eligible and cannot receive a cent because the money is not appropriated. I am wondering what the Senators from Ohio will do about aiding their citizens who need relief and who are not now on relief.

What is the situation in St. Louis? I do not see either of the Senators from Missouri present in the Chamber. In St. Louis, 15,741 are on direct relief; 3,886 cases are pending investigation, and 2,000 persons are certified and awaiting assignments, but are unable to obtain them.

Mayor Kelly did not give the figures as to Chicago, but he testified that there ought to be an increase in relief.

In Baltimore, 2,200 persons are certified for relief, but none of them has ever been put on relief.

In Pittsburgh the W. P. A. is laying off men in the face of the existing needs.

In Dallas 6,039 persons now have work, but 1,567 more are awaiting assignments.

In San Francisco the present relief load is greater than that of last year.

In Milwaukee 4,800 persons are certified for W. P. A. employment and are waiting for a chance to work.

In New Orleans 2,735 cases are reported for whom jobs are not available.

Cincinnati, the home town of the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], reports that it is unable to carry the load of relief that it has.

In Newark 25,000 people had been certified, and only about half of them have been assigned.

In Indianapolis 1,273 families could not be assigned work. In Rochester the relief load was climbing steadily, but it was believed that it had not reached its peak.

Louisville reports 6,000 employed and 1,100 awaiting employment on W. P. A.

Portland, Oreg., reports that it is necessary to retain the present quota.

In Atlanta, Ga., 14,763 were employed on W. P. A. and 6,000 were eligible, but were not employed on W. P. A.

In Toledo the outlook for reduction is not encouraging.

In Denver the mayor did not know how they could face the reduction of W. P. A. employment rolls.

Columbus reported that there was no indication at the present writing that would lead to the belief that there would be any material reduction in the number of those who need relief.

St. Paul reports serious difficulty with relief problems.

In Memphis there were 5,700 on the W. P. A. and 2,000 more eligible and certified.

Dayton, Ohio, reports a very serious relief situation.

San Antonio, Tex., expects a serious situation to develop unless the present quotas are maintained.

In Omaha, Nebr., the number actually employed on W. P. A. is 9.375. The number certified but not working is 3.760.

In Grand Rapids more than 500 cases are awaiting assignment.

In Fort Worth a large number of those working have been laid off, and the city's financial situation is alarming.

Oklahoma City reports that the situation is worse than it was last year.

In New Haven it is desired to continue the W. P. A. rolls at the present level.

In Salt Lake City 700 needy heads of families have been deprived of employment because of lack of W. P. A. funds.

In Jacksonville, Fla., in the event of W. P. A. discontinuance, thousands would be without food, shelter, and clothing. Springfield, Mass., reports that without W. P. A. the city would face an almost impossible financial situation.

Des Moines, with a population of 155,000, has 41,000 persons on relief, or about 26 percent of its population.

In Miami, 4,389 were eligible in December and only 2,603 were employed.

In Spokane unemployment is as heavy as, if not heavier than, it was in 1933.

Trenton reports complete financial inability to meet the need.

In South Bend, Ind., the needy are increasing at the rate of

200 a day.

In Flint, Mich., 2,500 are eligible for W. P. A. employment and cannot obtain it.

Elizabeth, N. J., would be unable to get along without the continuance of relief.

In New Bedford the relief load is increasing. In Knoxville it is stated that it is imperative that W. P. A. be continued. In Reading no curtailment is possible if needs are to be met. Youngstown reports any reduction in W. P. A. employment would be disastrous to its community.

In Erie 900 employees have been dismissed in 2 months. Norfolk reports that no reductions are possible.

In Schenectady only 50 percent of the employables are on relief.

Lowell is opposed to any reduction. Similar reports come from Evansville, Duluth, Tampa, Waterbury, Somerville, East St. Louis, Rockford, Sacramento, Kenosha, Wis., Topeka, Atlantic City, Columbia, S. C., Racine, Wis., Fresno, Greensboro, Madison, Cedar Rapids, Macon, Amarillo, Jackson, Miss., Waco, Tex., Hazelton, Hagerstown, Long Beach. A group of Wisconsin cities report 14,000 were certified for W. P. A. jobs but were waiting assignment because the W. P. A. quota for Wisconsin was not large enough.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator from Tennessee yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. My understanding is that the full appropriation for which the Senator contends would only maintain existing rolls. I should judge from the statistics now presented by the Senator that the appropriation for which he contends would be wholly inadequate. Is that the Senator's view?

Mr. McKELLAR. I do not contend that. I contend that nobody can be accurate about it; nobody knows about it; but from the experience we have had during the last 3 or 4 years, as to those on the rolls and those who are eligible but not on the rolls, even assuming that there is going to be some decrease on account of farming operations in the spring, and because of those that go into industry, we know that there

still will be others who will need relief, and that \$875,000,000 will not more than take care of them. So what I propose to do is what the organization headed by Colonel Harrington thinks should be done. I believe that the figures presented by that organization are correct. If they were not correct, why did not somebody on the other side who is interested furnish testimony that they were not correct? If there is something sacred about the figures \$725,000,000, why should we not have had some facts to show that that sum would be sufficient? Heaven knows, I prefer a smaller sum; Heaven knows, I would be willing to take as many off relief as we could take. But here is the proof, here is the experience of years on the part of this branch of our Government, and we cannot afford to go contrary to that experience without proof.

It is true that certain Senators on the committee have fixed the figure of \$725,000,000. How they work it out nobody knows; they have not explained it. As the Senator from Michigan will remember, as he was here during the entire time, the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS] never did explain how it was to be done. It was shown if his figures were accepted, namely \$725,000,000, we would take three-fourths of those who are now on relief, or who were on relief, off relief and have just one-fourth on relief. If that theory could be carried out, what a wonderful thing it would be. If by Congress passing an act reducing this appropriation we could rightfully and properly take off the rolls threefourths of those on relief, what a wonderful thing it would be. Who would not be in favor of it if it could be done? But that figure has nothing to back it except opinion, and that opinion is not very strong, for I call attention to the invitation contained in the joint resolution itself as reported by the committee:

Provided further, That should there arise an emergency which in the opinion of the President would require the submission of an estimate for an additional appropriation, the President in submitting such estimate shall submit a statement as to the facts constituting such emergency.

That is an invitation to the President to do the very thing that the President has already done. He has declared the emergency; he has fixed the amount after the most careful preparation, after the most careful examination by those in charge of this activity, at \$875,000,000. Why, without a fact to sustain it, should the Congress undertake to cut that down?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Is not the clause which the Senator has just read a complete escape clause if the Senator from Colorado should prove to be wrong and the Senator from

Tennessee should prove to be right?

Mr. McKELLAR. Not at all, for this reason: We have got something else to do besides looking after relief matters. Why, after all this preparation and examination, after all these facts and figures, should the President be required to send in another emergency recommendation in March?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Is it not a sufficient reason that upon the authority of the committee, or upon the authority of two-thirds of the committee, Colonel Harrington's figures are challenged as being inaccurate?

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no; I do not think two-thirds of the committee would challenge Colonel Harrington's figures. Mr. VANDENBERG. What was the vote in the committee?

Mr. McKellar. I was surprised that Colonel Harrington's figures were challenged at all. But let us look at the challenge. The challenge applies to just one-third of the amount that was asked. This is a good place to bring that in now.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. BORAH. Was not the figure \$725,000,000 agreed upon by the House long before any question with reference to there being an incorrect figure upon the part of Colonel Harrington arose?

Mr. McKELLAR. That is my information. I never heard of any challenge of Colonel Harrington's figures until this morning.

Mr. BORAH. My understanding is that the challenge to Colonel Harrington's figures arose after the vote of 17 to 7 was taken in the committee.

Mr. McKELLAR. They may have been challenged by someone else, but, so far as I know—and I served on the subcommittee and on the full committee and I think I would have known about it—the challenge to Colonel Harrington's figures for the first time was made today; although he was asked questions which might justify such a challenge, according to my recollection, none was made.

Now let me say a great hullabaloo has been made about Colonel Harrington having made a mistake as to \$56,000,000. The principal part of it, about forty-million-odd dollars, was supposed to be due to the fact that \$60,000,000 allowed other Federal departments and agencies for relief work, which was put in the law last year, should be carried until next July. As Colonel Harrington testifies, it was not, and the very measure reported by the committee shows that it was not, because, as I pointed out this morning, it reads:

Provided further, That the limitation of \$60,000,000-

That is the one that takes in 90,000 on relief under other departments—

That the limitation of \$60,000,000 in section 3 of such act on the amount that may be allocated to other Federal departments, establishments, and agencies is hereby increased to \$83,000,000.

That shows that the Senator from Colorado is absolutely mistaken when he says that the appropriation of last summer was a year's appropriation for administration by other departments.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President-

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, if the Senator from Idaho will pardon me, and the Senator from Tennessee will yield, let me say the Senator from Colorado never said any such thing.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am glad to hear the Senator say that. Mr. ADAMS. The Senator from Colorado said that it was an appropriation for 8 months, and ran until the 1st of March, and that the money had been set aside, and was there now to pay 90,000 people until the 1st of March.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am glad to hear the correction, and, if I made a mistake, I am sorry.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President-

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. MILLER. I should like to call the attention of the Senator to the hearings while we are talking about the alleged mistake on the part of Colonel Harrington. Pages 49 and 50 of the Senate hearings, I believe, afford the key to this controversy as to the alleged mistake. We find that on page 50, speaking about the original appropriation of \$1,425,000,000, the statement is made by Colonel Harrington:

There will be unpaid bills out of the \$1,425,000,000 on February 7-

The question was not asked him what would be the amount of those bills on February 7; but now, going back to page 49—

Mr. ADAMS. May I help the Senator by saying that if he will look at page 34 I think he will find that Colonel Harrington stated there was about \$50,000,000 that would be available at that time.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am going to read from pages 33 and 34 in just a moment, and show how utterly mistaken the Senator from Colorado is. Of course, he is acting in perfect good faith because everyone who knows the Senator from Colorado knows that he always acts in good faith, and I cheerfully agree that that is so, but he has made a mistake about it.

Mr. MILLER. There is no question about the good faith of the Senator from Colorado or any other Senator at all.

Mr. McKELLAR. No, sir.

Mr. MILLER. It is simply a question-

Mr. McKELLAR. Of facts.

Mr. MILLER. I think they misunderstand the Budget report. The key is further pointed out at the bottom of page 49. The Budget report recommends \$875,000,000, but in the break-down of that \$875,000,000 they account for only

\$750,000,000 expended, leaving \$125,000,000 to be carried over into the next fiscal year for which checks will be outstanding. There is the trouble about the whole controversy. I do not think Colonel Harrington is mistaken. I do not believe Senators can read this hearing and reach the conclusion that he is mistaken.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am absolutely sure he is not mistaken. Mr. BORAH. Mr. President-

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me, I should like to advert to the suggestion of the Senator from Arkansas. The Budget to which the Senator refers has a very unusual thing in it. It has two columns; in one the amount to be expended is \$725,000,000, and in the other the amount to be appropriated is \$875,000,000. But in another item there is a total of \$1,740,000,000 to be expended, and \$1,740,000,000 to be appropriated; that is, in the one case, somehow, a mysterious distinction has been drawn between the amount to be appropriated and the amount to be expended.

At the beginning of the fiscal year there are certain obligations incurred during the preceding fiscal year, to be paid by checks drawn afterward, but to be paid out of the money appropriated for the preceding fiscal year. In this situation the question raised is that the colonel said he had enough money to last him until the 7th of February.

Mr. MILLER. That is true.

Mr. ADAMS. Now he asks for money to begin on the 1st of February. He says he needs the money a second time. Mr. MILLER. That is true; and that 7 days will be con-

sumed in the payment of bills that will be due on February 7. He says so.

Mr. McKELLAR. Let me call attention to the fact that under the set-up the colonel has, that identical thing will be true on the 1st day of July.

Mr. MILLER. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. Suppose we do not appropriate another cent after July 1. If we do not appropriate another cent after July 1, what we appropriate will run us to the 7th of July.

Mr. ADAMS. No; the Senator is entirely in error about running until the 7th of July, because without another appropriation the officials cannot run a minute after the 1st of July.

Mr. McKELLAR. It will take money to pay the debts.

Mr. ADAMS. No; they will not be paying debts in the first week in July. They will be paying debts in June.

Mr. MILLER. Suppose we appropriate \$725,000,000 in this joint resolution. Colonel Harrington says the maximum he can expend for relief will be \$625,000,000, meaning that he will have to carry over \$100,000,000 to take care of the obligations that will accrue after July 1, 1939.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, may I interrupt for just one second?

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADAMS. Here is a very obvious error of the Federal fiscal system. In the first part of the fiscal year money comes over to Colonel Harrington just as at the end of the fiscal year it goes over; so if he gets \$725,000,000 he will have \$725,000,000 to spend, and no less than that.

Mr. MILLER. I quite agree with that. He does get a sum of money; but he is figuring that that money will be required to be expended by February 7th.

Mr. ADAMS. No.

Mr. MILLER. You are charging him twice and not giving him credit for it.

Mr. ADAMS. No; that is not the fact. Colonel Harrington says he has money in hand to pay all the bills which will be incurred up until the 7th of February. He will not pay them, of course, on the 7th; but he has the money, and those items are on the books, charged against him. Then he comes here and asks that he be given money a second time to pay the bills incurred between the 1st and the 7th of February.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I think the Senator is wrong. Colonel Harrington does not say that he has the money to pay the bills incurred up until the 7th of February.

Mr. ADAMS. No; he does not say it.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am going to read exactly what Colonel Harrington says; and it will be so plain, in my judgment, that anybody in the world can understand it. I read from page 33 of the hearings:

Estimated status

This is the headline. This is not testimony. This is the headline in the middle of the page:

ESTIMATED STATUS OF W. P. A. FUND AS OF FEBRUARY 7, 1939

Colonel Harrington. That is correct. According to the best estimates I can make at this time, we will be completely out of funds, assuming that we are going to pay our bills, our just bills, by the 7th of February. And there will be no reserves for pay rolls available on that date.

Senator Hale. Your debts will be paid at that time? Colonel Harrington. There will be some bills not paid, for which money will be available.

We can understand that.

Senator Hale. But you will have the money to pay for them? Colonel Harrington. We will have the money to pay for them; yes, sir.

Senator Byrnes, You testified before the House committee, and I suppose it is a correct statement, that you will order material, say, in December and those bills will not come in until January. Is that right?

Colonel Harrington. Yes, sir. Senator Byrnes. Therefore you have to have at this time on hand an amount of money sufficient to take care of these contractual obligations?

Colonel HARRINGTON. That is correct. Senator BYRNES. You have got that? Colonel HARRINGTON. We have that.

Senator Hale. And you have just put that aside?

Colonel Harrington. Yes, sir. Senator Byrnes. Heretofore we have been told that at the end of

Senator Byrnnes. Heretofore we have been told that at the end of the fiscal year, for instance, you have to rely on a reserve to carry on—a reserve to carry pay roll for 10 days or 2 weeks?

Colonel Harrington. Yes, sir.

Senator Byrnnes. What I think the committee is anxious to know now is when you say that your money will be exhausted February 7, you mean that it will be exhausted because you have set aside out of available funds an amount sufficient to take care of your actual obligations for material?

Could anything be clearer or plainer than that question? And Colonel Harrington answered it in the same clear way:

Colonel Harrington. Yes, sir. Senator Byrnes. An amount sufficient to carry your pay roll up to what day?

Colonel Harrington. About to the 7th of February.

Senator Byrnes. And if you pay your pay roll on February 7, then
your statement is that you will have no funds left except the funds
which have been set aside to meet these contractual obligations that are outstanding; is that correct?

that are outstanding; is that correct?

Colonel Harrington. That is correct; yes, sir.
Senator Byrnes. And that amount outstanding you set aside to
take care of outstanding obligations is about how much?
Colonel Harrington. Probably about \$50,000,000, Senator Byrnes.
I will ask to be permitted to submit that figure for the record.
Senator Byrnes. I judge from your statement that you have not
got the exact figure or anything approximating it and you will put
it in the record.
Colonel Harrington. Yes, sir: the figure is \$48,500,000.

Colonel Harrington. Yes, sir; the figure is \$48,500,000.
Senator Adams. Well, do you have what is estimated as your unexpended balances on the 1st of January?
Colonel Harrington. About \$311,000,000 for work projects and

administration including unobligated balances already transferred from the 1937 act.
Senator Typings. That is mostly for material?

Colonel Harrington. That is the unexpended balance, Senator. That is the amount of money that remained in the Treasury as of

Senator Typings. Colonel, this seems like a foolish question-

I do not think the Senator from Maryland can be accused of asking foolish questions.

Colonel, this seems like a foolish question, but in order that I may clear it up, when the 7th of February comes you will have no more money for anything.

Colonel Harrington. That is correct.

Senator Typings. On the other hand, how much of the balances that are obligated, but not yet due, which you have to hold out until you get your bills; how much additional work will that make beyond the 7th of February?

Colonel Harrington. None. Senator Townsend. Less than 2 weeks.

Colonel HARRINGTON. There will be no money available after

February 7 to employ anyone.

Senator Typings. You say now you have about three hundred and some million set aside for contractual obligations which have not yet reached the point where you would pay them?

Colonel Harrington. That was as of the 1st of January.

He corrects the Senator in that statement.

That was as of the 1st of January.

Senator Typings. Now, that amount will probably be constant until you get pretty close to the 1st of February, because as you pay off one others will be coming in.

Colonel Harrington. That amount is necessarily going like that

[indicating down]. Senator Typings. Yes; but to what extent will that make for employment after the money has actually been paid by you on the 7th of February in the communities where it is being spent?

Colonel HARRINGTON. On indirect employment? Senator Typings. On indirect.

Colonel Harrington. The materials have already been produced and in most instances delivered.

Senator Typings. I see. That answers my question.
Senator Adams. Go ahead, Colonel.
Senator Typings. That is exclusive of any sponsor's contribution. Colonel HARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

So it seems to me it is just as plain as the nose on a man's face that it will take a week to close up the accounts, and no persons at all will be employed after the 7th of February if this appropriation is not made. I cannot see how any mistake could occur about it. It is perfectly plain. I cannot understand how the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS] gets the \$56,000,000 he is talking about.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I desire to ask the view which the committee took as to the necessity of this so-called "escape clause." Could not the President do, without the

"escape clause," everything he can do with it?

Mr. McKELLAR. Why, of course; but this is what I think about it. I may be wrong, and, if I am, I hope Senators who disagreed with me on the committee will correct me. way I look at it is that if we should appropriate \$725,000,000, just as the House did, the belief would go out to the country that we were taking off 2,000,000 employees during cold weather, and that proviso was put in for that reason. I am going to get to those figures in just a moment.

Mr. BORAH. I am speaking about the portion of the joint resolution which says that the President may make recommendations and state the reasons for the recommenda-

Mr. McKELLAR. I feel this way about it: The matter was not discussed at the time, as I recall; but I came to the conclusion that that clause was put in in order to salve the

thing over. Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. NORRIS. I wish the Senator from Tennessee would be more explicit, if he can be, in reply to the question of the Senator from Idaho. As I understand the Senator's question, he wants to know the effect of this proviso or "escape clause," as it is called, giving the President authority to make certain other recommendations. What good is it. anyway? No matter which side of the matter we take, he may do all those things. Is not that true?

Mr. McKELLAR. I thought the Senator was such a wonderful lawyer that he was asking me the question in a rhetorical way, not expecting me to answer it. The President has every right this provision would give him to make another recommendation, and the President will make that recom-

mendation.

Mr. BORAH. He has made it.

Mr. McKELLAR. He has made it. He has declared the emergency and asked for \$875,000,000 to meet it.

Mr. NORRIS. Then what is the use of inserting that proviso in the law at all?

Mr. McKELLAR. I do not know. I yield so that the Senator may ask those who inserted the provision.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ELLENDER in the chair). Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. McKellar. I yield.
Mr. Barkley. As I understand that clause—and I am not attempting to interpret it, certainly not for the committee-if the President should decideMr. BORAH. What he has already decided?

Mr. BARKLEY. If he should decide in March what he knows now, and should come to the Congress in March and ask for what he is asking now, he must give the reasons for it.

Mr. McKELLAR. He has given the reasons at this time. Mr. BARKLEY. And the same reasons would apply then that apply now, that he needs the money in order to keep these people at work. He could not give us any more information in March or April than that he has given now. He could not give any more cogent reasons in March or April than he is giving now, so it seems to me that if he finds in March that he knows what he knows now, and comes to the Congress in March and tells us what he is telling us now, there might be a suspicion that the reasons he offers in March might not be as good as they are now.

Mr. BORAH. It seems to me that in all fairness to the committee there was in the minds of the committee a feeling that this \$725,000,000 would not be enough, and there was an invitation, an indication that they would be very glad to hear a further statement in regard to that when a further appropriation was asked. I take it that was the reason the provision was inserted.

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask the Senator from Colorado, in charge of the bill, and who made the majority report, what was the reason for inserting this clause inviting the President to make an estimate and a statement of the facts constituting such emergency in the event more money was

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, let me propound a question. Would the Senator have any objection to asking the President to give us a full statement of the facts when he asks for an additional appropriation?

Mr. McKELLAR. None whatever. Mr. ADAMS. That is all it requires.

Mr. McKELLAR. The President would have a right to do that. He has already done that very thing. I shall read from what the President stated about this emergency, and if he made such a declaration in connection with the pending joint resolution, why would the majority of the committee insert that clause, when the President has done the very thing they are asking him to do in this very joint resolution?

Mr. ADAMS. I think I can satisfy the Senator. Mr. McKELLAR. I am satisfied now, but some others are

not satisfied.

Mr. ADAMS. We heard much discussion about the fact that a great many people would be thrown out on the streets in the wintertime; that is, that it was a hard, barbarous proposal.

Mr. McKELLAR. But we provided for it.

Mr. ADAMS. Just a moment.

Mr. McKELLAR. We provided for it in the first part of the proviso.

Mr. ADAMS. Then, to calm the timid folks, we provided a limit, and stated that Congress has the power to make additional appropriations; and we are suggesting to the President, to the Congress, to the people of the country, that if conditions develop which we do not anticipate, the Congress will be in session and, upon request by the President with a statement of facts, additional appropriations will be made to meet the conditions which may develop.

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no; it does not say that they will be made. That is not in this measure. That is peculiarly conspicuous by its absence.

Mr. ADAMS. The Senator would not expect us to make the promise.

Mr. McKELLAR. Let me read the Senator's language. That thought is conspicuous by its absence:

Provided further, That should there arise an emergency which in the opinion of the President would require the submission of an estimate for an additional appropriation, the President, in sub-mitting such estimate, shall submit a statement as to the facts constituting such emergency.

There is not a word there about agreeing to further appropriations. The President is merely to submit the facts. He has done that very thing.

Mr. ADAMS. The Senator would not expect us to say in the joint resolution that whatever amount the President should ask for "is hereby appropriated"?

Mr. McKELLAR. No; I would not. I have found from experience that is not wise.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, will the Senator from Tennessee permit me to answer the question?

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes.

Mr. BYRNES. As I drafted the language, I desire to answer the question.

Mr. McKELLAR. I shall be very happy if the Senator will, and I hope the Senator from Idaho and the Senator from Nebraska, who asked the question, will pay attention.

Mr. BYRNES. I certainly hope so, because I merely desire to call their attention to the fact that the language which they have discussed as being so unusual is identical with the language carried in existing law, which was supported and voted for by the Senator from Tennessee, the Senator from Kentucky, the Senator from Idaho, and the Senator from Nebraska. I did not see anything unusual in writing into the pending measure the exact language of the existing law.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator read the language? Mr. BYRNES. Yes; I will. The existing law provides:

Except that upon the happening of some extraordinary emergency or unusual circumstance, which could not be anticipated at the time of making such apportionment, the same may be waived or modified by the President, who shall fully set forth the reasons therefor at the time of any such action and communicate the same to Congress in connection with any estimates for additional appropriations to carry out the purposes of this title.

We merely provided the language, and I know the Senators will say it is the identical language, and that there is nothing unusual in asking them to vote into this measure what they voted for when the existing law was before us for action.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. GLASS. I merely desire to state briefly what my understanding of the matter is. This language was inserted because the committee, poring over different estimates and figures, did not regard the President's figures as accurate, but did regard the committee's figures as accurate as embodied in the joint resolution. But should it prove that the committee was wrong and the President was right, the President could come before Congress and get an additional appropriation.

Mr. McKELLAR. I think the Senator from Virginia has stated the facts as I understand them. That was the reason; they doubted that the President was accurate, and they wanted him to be more accurate in the future than he was in the past.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, that is a wholly different reason from the reason for the insertion of the provision in the existing law just read. In the first place, the language in the existing law was never called to the attention of the Senate, was never debated. This comes here now as a controverted question, and I am merely asking why the language was inserted in the joint resolution. The Senator from Virginia has stated it was inserted because the committee believed the President to be inaccurate in his figures, and that he should be given a chance to make them accurate.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, there was no controversy at all about this language. It was adopted unanimously. Neither the Senator from Tennessee nor any other Senator questioned it. The Senator from Idaho is in error in regarding this as a controverted question.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will not the Senator admit that the President has a perfect right to do this very thing without a line in this measure?

Mr. BYRNES. The President certainly has a perfect right, but he had the right last year, when the Senator voted to include the same provision.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, there is no necessary analogy between the situation which resulted in inserting that language in the existing law, and the present situation.

We provided that if the President should discover later an emergency which was not then in sight, he could come in and do these things, but in this case he has already the emergency in his mind, and he has asked for the amount which he feels the emergency requires. He does not have to wait until March or May in order to present the facts which he thinks justify the appropriation for which he asks.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, the Senator is absolutely mistaken. The President did not write this language. The Congress appropriated a certain amount of money to carry on these activities to a certain date, and provided that if that appropriation did not last to that date, the President could submit an estimate for a deficiency, and should accompany that estimate with a statement of the emergency justifying it. In the pending measure the committee recommends the same thing, that the \$725,000,000 is to carry on the work to June 30, and if prior to that time an emergency, in the opinion of the President, justifies his submitting an estimate, he must again accompany it with a statement of the facts constituting the emergency. It is the same thing.

Mr. BARKLEY. I still insist there is a difference in the situations, because the language to which the Senator refers was inserted in order to take care of an emergency which the President might later discover, but did not then foresee.

Mr. BYRNES. And that is the purpose of the provision in the pending joint resolution.

Mr. BARKLEY. The President already foresees the emergency and has asked for the amount of money he thinks is necessary to take care of it.

Mr. BYRNES. The Congress would say by the joint resolution that it appropriates now to take care of the situation until June 30, and if the President later finds that an emergency exists, he can come to Congress and ask for a deficiency.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, the Senate Committee on Appropriations was confronted with the fact that the Committee on Appropriations of the other branch of Congress had differed with the President's conjecture. It was nothing but a conjecture. All of this is conjecture. No one has ever been able to tell us for one moment how many unemployed people there are in the country. The administration will not take a census of them. They do not want to know. They want to magnify the number so that they can get all the money possible out of the Treasury. But the Senate committee was confronted with the fact that the House committee, and the House itself, by a decisive majority, had differed with the President's conjecture, and therefore we did our own conjecturing and our own figuring, and embodied the result in the joint resolution; and that is the reason why this provision is in the measure.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, now, as to the emergency: On behalf of the minority, I submitted a report in which I stated that "if the majority would not take the President's recommendation as to the emergency of the present appropriation, it is exceedingly doubtful whether the majority" would take his recommendation as to any subsequent appropriation.

This is what the President gave as the reason for the emergency:

However, during the period prior to the adoption of this legislation, when employment was increasing, the increase in the number employed on the Works Progress Administration program did not keep pace with the need of employment, because the W. P. A. had funds to employ only part of those who were out of jobs.

Again, the President said:

The critical foreign situation has had an adverse effect upon American business and industrial employment in this country and has been an unexpected deflationary force affecting the prices of commodities entering into world markets, such as certain of our important commercial commodities. This has accentuated relief problems in important areas in the country. In addition, the hurricane devastated large areas in New England last summer, seriously dislocating industry and trade in the northeastern section of the country and adding to the relief burden in that area.

Mr. President, those were some of the views the President expressed as to why he asked for this appropriation of \$875,-000,000. If I read the record correctly, there is not a scintilla of evidence given by any witness who appeared before the committee to prove that \$725,000,000 would do the contemplated work.

Let us now consider for a moment the plan of the majority. Their plan is to have substantially the same number employed on relief in February and March as are employed in

The plan of the majority is to have 3,000,000 persons on the rolls during all of January. There are that many on the rolls now. There will be about 3,000,000 persons on the rolls in February and about 3,000,000 on the rolls in March. In April there will be 2,350,000. In May there will be 1,650,000. In June there will be 1,050,000 W. P. A. workers on relief.

Mr. President, it would be a grand thing if that plan could be carried out. Is there a Senator except the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Adams], who has already spoken, who thinks that we could reduce the number of those on relief and those eligible for relief from 4,100,000 persons in December to 1,050,000 persons in June, a period of 6 months? Does any Senator believe we could cut off three-fourths of the present number from the rolls?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That would be the more abundant life, God knows.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator from Michigan says that would be the more abundant life. It would take an abundant amount of food to feed the 3,000,000 who would be taken off the rolls. The Senator admits that. We all have to admit that. I wish our country would increase in prosperity to such an extent that that reduction could be made in 6 months, but I do not believe the most optimistic of those who want to cut down the relief rolls believe they can be cut down in any such fashion as that. If that be true, then why try to disarrange and break down the plan for activities in this matter? It is impossible to cut down the number of those who need relief. Senators, we are not going to be able to cut down the rolls 75 percent in 6 months. It is impossible to do so. Yet that is the plan of the majority of the committee.

If \$725,000,000 is appropriated, and no more is hereafter appropriated, we are going to have three-fourths of those who are on relief or who are eligible for relief taken off of the rolls before June. I say it would be a wonderful thing, a grand thing to do that. I wish we could do it. But I do not see how it is possible to do it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, how many will still be on the rolls if the full appropriation requested were made?

Mr. McKellar. Under the full appropriation the number would be reduced to 2,700,000. If we could have a reduction of nearly 400,000—381,000 persons—in the next 5 months, we would be doing exceedingly well. Why do I say that? I do not have the exact figures before me, but in 1938, between the same dates, we did not do that well. In 1937 we did not do that well. In 1936 we did not do that well. Nor have we done that well at any time since the program of Federal relief has been undertaken and the W. P. A. has been put into operation. I do not see why we should believe we can so far surpass the record of the past. I think we can improve on it. I think the program proposed will provide a great improvement.

Mr. President, all the matters I have made reference to were taken into consideration by the W. P. A. in making their recommendations. They took into consideration that the farmers would be more busy in April and May than they are now. They took into consideration in preparing these figures that P. W. A. would begin to work by that time. They took into consideration that private industry would take up a good deal of the slack in unemployment. They took into consideration the fact that some States may undertake to pass additional laws dealing with unemployment, laws having to do with old-age pensions.

But the Senate committee has done something to add to the number. How? By a provision in this measure that those over 65 years can go back on the rolls. It is a very wise provision; I voted for it; but it adds to the list of those that have to be appropriated for. So under those circumstances it seems to me we cannot go as far as the committee has gone at this time.

I believe in the honesty and integrity of Colonel Harrington. I believe in his accuracy with respect to figures. I believe he is absolutely correct in his statement of the financial affairs of the W. P. A. I have not seen anything which would lead me to disbelieve them. I think the W. P. A. officials know more about the subject than we do. This is one question out of hundreds with which we have to deal; it is the only question with which they have to deal. They have been working on it all the time. They have been working on it for years. They know more about it than we do. I think we should follow their judgment. Those circumstances have led me to take the position which I have taken about the matter, that we ought to appropriate \$875,000,000. I have prepared an amendment which is now on the desk, and I shall offer it at the proper time.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question before he sits down?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. BORAH. Suppose we pass the joint resolution in which we provide for \$875,000,000. Then outside of those for whom relief is provided by the measure we have the estimated number of 725,000 persons who have made their applications, and have had their applications examined and approved.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes.

Mr. BORAH. But those persons have not thus far been taken care of.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is true.

Mr. BORAH. So if we pass the bill carrying the largest amount, \$875,000,000, we are still leaving outside of any help those seven-hundred-thousand-odd persons, which means, when we consider their dependents, a figure something very much greater.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes.

Mr. BORAH. The condition of some of those 725,000 persons is simply indescribable. I know that. If the \$875,000,000 should prove larger than required for the purposes set forth in the measure, could the remainder not be used as direct relief for those who are in miserable condition?

Mr. McKellar. The bill as reported by the committee does not provide for direct relief. I will say this to the Senator. It is the hope of the W. P. A. that by reason of the slack in those on W. P. A. that will come from increased employment in industry, by the taking up of men and women on the farms, or by reason of any that are taken care of under old-age pension laws passed by the States, or any that are taken care of by general improvements in business conditions, they may work out the general plan of relief with this \$875,000,000. That is the hope, and that is the purpose. But I, like the Senator from Idaho, doubt exceedingly whether \$875,000,000 will accomplish that purpose.

Mr. BORAH. So far as the hope of the administration of the working out of relief to those particular people through the method suggested by the Senator is concerned, the relief

is too long deferred.

Mr. McKELLAR. There is one other matter-

Mr. BORAH. These people need help right now. They need it tonight.

Mr. McKELLAR. Some of them do.

There is one other feature in the joint resolution. I do not know that I can lay my hands on it at the moment. Unfortunately, there are some who from the very beginning have made a habit of being on relief.

Mr. BORAH. So far as taking people off relief who ought to be off relief is concerned, we certainly all agree about that.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is provided for. There was no difference of opinion in the committee with respect to that

Mr. BORAH. Taking them off has been too long deferred, especially during election time, and they ought to be taken off. We can all agree upon that. I should like to ask the able Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes] to draw an amendment which would take care of the situation.

Mr. McKELLAR. It has already been done.

Mr. BORAH. Then let us draw another amendment to provide some way by which the Administrator can take care of those who need work relief, or direct relief, and who will not get it under the provisions of the joint resolution as it is

Mr. McKELLAR. I may say to the Senator that there is a reason for that. If I may explain the reason, I understand that one of the reasons for the 750,000 persons not going on relief is that in certain instances, for example, a plumber is called for from civil life, and a man may not be qualified, and may not get on the rolls for that reason. If an agricultural worker is required, and only an industrial worker is available, the industrial worker cannot get on agricultural relief, and, conversely, the agricultural worker cannot get on industrial relief. That situation accounts in part for the 750.000.

Mr. BORAH. Yes.

Mr. McKELLAR. Like the Senator, I think the matter ought to be taken care of, and ought to be taken care of in the pending legislation.

Mr. BORAH. It should be taken care of in the joint resolution. In the case of women and children, for example, it is not a question of carpenters, plumbers, and so forth. Such cases ought to be taken care of, and they ought to be taken care of by this joint resolution.

Mr. McKELLAR. We cannot do it with \$725,000,000.

Mr. BORAH. There is no reason for providing money for a portion of the people who are in distress, and not providing it for another portion who are equally in distress.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. The Senator from Tennessee has just said that the situation cannot be taken care of with \$725,000,000. Can we do it with \$875,000,000?

Mr. McKELLAR. I think so. I give as authority the Administration itself. It thinks so.

Mr. HATCH. In my State at this time 10,500 persons are receiving work relief. I do not know whether or not the Senator has the figures before him. I am quoting from memory. I am sure the figures are substantially correct.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have the figures somewhere.

Mr. HATCH. In December we had 13,500 on the rolls and 3,000 were dropped. They were not taken into private employment, but the rolls were reduced by 3,000. Even in December there were 6,000 who had been certified as eligible to receive work relief who had no jobs. Adding that number to the 3,000 by which the rolls were reduced, we obtain approximately 9,000 who are now certified and eligible to receive relief and who have no jobs, as against approximately 10,000 who have employment.

If that percentage prevails throughout the country, I do not see how \$875,000,000 will make much difference as compared to \$725,000,000. The situation will not be met.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Administration has plans by which it believes it can work out the problem with \$875,000,000. It cannot work it out with \$725,000,000 and has so stated.

Mr. HATCH. Approximately 4,000,000 have been certified for relief all winter, and only 3,000,000 have been employed.

Mr. McKELLAR. About 3,000,000 have been certified for relief, and approximately 750,000 are not now receiving relief.

Take the case of the Senator's State: As of December 31, there were 11,800 on relief in his State.

Mr. HATCH. The number has been reduced.

Mr. McKELLAR. The number has been considerably reduced. If the joint resolution providing for \$725,000,000 is enacted, the number will be reduced to 4,000 on the 1st of June. That will be the situation in the Senator's State.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri rose.

Mr. McKELLAR. I see the Senator from Missouri on his feet. May I call his attention to the situation in Missouri? Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Before the Senator does that,

will he permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. McKELLAR. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. Certainly.

The Senator says he relies entirely on the estimates of the Administration.

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no; I do not say that I rely entirely on them; but I think they have very great weight, especially

in the absence of any proof to the contrary. Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I should like to ask the Senator a question. Is it not a fact that the Administration came to Congress during the last session, when appropriations were

being made for the current fiscal year, and estimated that a certain sum would be necessary to carry the work through the year?

Mr. McKELLAR. Not through the year, but until March.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Until March. The Administration now comes back with a request for a tremendous and very surprising deficiency appropriation, which, it is said, will be sufficient to carry on the work until the end of the fiscal year. Has the Senator any assurance that if we appropriate \$875,000,000 we shall not be asked to make a second deficiency appropriation?

Mr. McKELLAR. I doubt it. I do not believe so.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. On the basis of the figures of the relief administration itself, is it not true that after the scalingdown process has been completed there will be a greater number on the W. P. A. rolls on the 1st of June than there were on the 1st of January 1938 or the 1st of January 1937?

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no. Under the Administration plan of relief there are now 3,081,000 on relief, and on the 1st of June the number will be 2,700,000.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. When does the Administration propose to let those persons off?

Mr. McKELLAR. The joint resolution provides that perennial relief workers shall not be further certified.

Mr. HATCH. What does the Senator mean by "perennial relief workers"?

Mr. McKELLAR. Those who have been on relief for so many years.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I should like very much to see such a provision enacted. I do not understand that there is any such provision in the joint resolution.

Mr. McKELLAR. There is no such provision in the joint resolution.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. If such a provision were put in the joint resolution, we should still have to rely for its enforcement upon the very persons who have violated that principle in the past.

Mr. McKELLAR. I do not agree with the Senator. I do not believe there has been a violation of law.

I wish to say that in the State of Missouri, as of December 31, there were 109,100 on relief. If the joint resolution goes through, as recommended by the majority, providing \$725,-000,000, the number will be cut to 37,200, or about one-third.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator vield further?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Does the Senator understand that the relief rolls in Missouri will be reduced from 109,100 to 37,200?

Mr. McKELLAR. That is what the statement indicates.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, that is a remarkable statement. I should like to have it further verified and exemplified.

Mr. McKELLAR. Does the Senator wish to look at the statement?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I do not care about that. If that statement is true, relief in the State of Missouri is to be reduced more than two-thirds, which is entirely out of proportion to the amount of the reduction in the appropriation, which is 17 percent.

Mr. McKELLAR. When the Senator begins to talk about percentages, I plead ignorance.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The Senator certainly does not mean to stand on the proposition that because the Congress reduces an appropriation 17 percent below the estimate, the actual relief extended is to be reduced more than two-thirds, which is the figure the Senator has read. If so, I suggest that there is very serious discrimination against Missouri, and I expect to go into that in great detail.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield. Mr. BARKLEY. There is no discrimination against any State. According to the estimate of the W. P. A. under the joint resolution the reduction is limited to 5 percent for the first 2 months, February and March. We start with 3,000,-000 persons on the rolls, and in March the number is reduced to 2,850,000. With the reduced appropriation, the necessity of keeping the fund and the number in February and March practically as they are now makes it necessary to bring about a more precipitate reduction after the 1st of April. Every dollar of the \$725,000,000 is accounted for in the estimates. So the number is first reduced from 3,000,000 to 2.850,000. The next jump is to 2,350,000. The next jump, in May, is to 1,650,000, and by June the number is down to 1,050,000. So, in the 5 months we shall have taken off the rolls practicaly 2,000,000 persons.

The way the figures work out, at \$61 apiece, the entire \$725,000,000 is taken up. In the table which has been prepared, showing the resulting reduction of employment under the W. P. A. in all the States, the proportion is no greater in Missouri than it is anywhere else. There is no discrimina-

tion against any State.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Do I understand the Senator from Kentucky to contend that with an appropriation of \$725,000,000 the relief rolls would be reduced two-thirds?

Mr. McKELLAR. Two-thirds.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. And with an appropriation of \$875,000,000 they would be kept at approximately the same figure?

Mr. BARKLEY. Not the same figure; no.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I should like an explanation of how the Administrator proposes to make the \$150,000,000 go as far as the Senator says it will.

Mr. BARKLEY. With the figure \$875,000,000, the reduction would be gradual. A total reduction by the 1st of July of 300,000 persons is contemplated. With the figure of \$725,-000,000, and the limitation of the reduction to 5 percent for February and March the number would be reduced to 1,050,-000, and there is no way to escape it. The Senator may take the figures himself, add up the number, and multiply by \$61. The number becomes 1,050,000 on the 1st day of July. However, with the larger amount, starting in gradually and not having to make a precipitate reduction at any particular stage in the descent, we wind up on the 1st day of July-

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. With more than we had to start with.

Mr. BARKLEY. No; with 2,700,000. In that connection, will say to the Senator-

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee has the floor and has yielded to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. Something was said a while ago about the number of persons on the rolls on December 31, 1937. On December 31, 1937, the number was 1,629,000, and on January 1 it was 1,900,000. Then began an increase during the months up to December 31, when there were 3,081,000.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator from Tennessee yield for one further question? Then I will not trespass further on his time.

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Does the Senator from Kentucky have any figures as to how many people have been taken back into private employment during the last 6 months? Is any weight given to those figures in the figures which are now being advanced as to the number it is necessary to carry on the rolls during the winter?

Mr. BARKLEY. I will say to the Senator that it is estimated that during the last 12 months almost a million unemployed have been taken back into private employment. It is also estimated that for every five men taken back into private employment only one is taken from W. P. A. rolls. So in any number who are taken back, whether it is a million or two million, the proportion is about four unemployed who are not on W. P. A. rolls to one who is on such rolls. So when a million are taken back into private employment only about two hundred thousand are taken off the rolls of W. P. A.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. So that we have remained in the same situation as the frog in the well that jumped 1 foot and fell back 2 feet in an effort to get out of the well? [Laughter.]

Mr. BARKLEY. No; because that famous frog jumped 1 foot and fell back 2 feet, while in this case we jump 2 feet and fall back only 1.

Mr. GLASS. But that frog went to hell, and that is where we are going. [Laughter.]

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not know that he went to hell, but I know he was in the well and never got out.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator now yield

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield to the Senator from New Mexico. Mr. HATCH. I should like to ask the Senator from Tennessee a question, because I desire to have this matter clear in my mind if I can, and I find a great deal of difficulty in understanding the figures about which the Senator from Missouri has been talking. The conclusion is-and I want to be sure that I am right—that if we appropriate the full amount of \$875,000,000 the rolls will be gradually reduced, beginning now; we will begin to let men off in February and March and throughout the whole period; but under the smaller appropriation of \$725,000,000 there will be no reduction in February and March. Therefore, under the smaller appropriation which the committee has submitted, during the cold months, when, as we have heard, so much distress and suffering is likely to occur, more good will be done than will be done under the larger appropriation.

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no. The Senator does not understand the figures.

Mr. HATCH. I am frank to say I do not understand them. Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Neither does anyone else.

Mr. McKELLAR. Let me give the Senator the figures. There is no difference between the figures as to February and March under the two plans.

Mr. HATCH. Very well; then how can you begin gradually to reduce the rolls in February and not have any difference in the figures? They will remain the same, but they will be reduced. Is that correct? [Laughter.]

Mr. McKELLAR. Not at all; but there is more money in the first proposition than there is in the second; and it will go further. Does the Senator not understand that?

Mr. HATCH. I understand that there is more money in an appropriation of \$875,000,000 than there is in an appropriation of \$725,000,000.

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator understands that, he understands the whole proposition, for that is the whole thing.

Mr. HATCH. But that is not so as to the months of February and March.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, as part of my remarks, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks the views of the minority of the Committee on Appropriations.

There being no objection, the views of the minority of the Committee on Appropriations were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. McKellar, from the Committee on Appropriations, submitted

the following minority views (to accompany H. J. Res. 83):

The minority of the Committee on Appropriations, to whom was referred the joint resolution H. J. Res. 83, the relief bill, disagrees with the majority on the all-important section of the bill

which accepts the \$725,000,000 as passed by the House instead of the \$875,000,000 as recommended by the President and the Bureau of the Budget. The minority believes that the \$875,000,000 figure ought to have been substituted for the \$725,000,000.

#### FACTS VS. GUESSING

The minority submits that the \$725,000,000 is more or less of a guess of the majority because of the very language of an amendment attached thereto. In part, that language is as follows:

"Provided further, That should there arise an emergency which, in the opinion of the President, would require the submission of an estimate for an additional appropriation, the President, in submitting such estimate, shall submit a statement as to the facts constituting such emergency."

Unquestionably, the majority felt that the sum was not sufficient or they would not have submitted this language.

The minority further submits that, if the majority would not take the President's recommendation as to the emergency of the present appropriation, it is exceedingly doubtful whether the ma-

present appropriation, it is exceedingly doubtful whether the majority would accept any further reason of the President as to why an additional amount should be appropriated.

an additional amount should be appropriated.

In his message, the President said:
"However, during the period prior to the adoption of this legislation when employment was increasing, the increase in the number employed on the Works Progress Administration program did not keep pace with the need of employment, because the W. P. A. had funds to employ only part of those who were out of jobs."

Again, the President said:
"The critical foreign situation has had an adverse effect upon

"The critical foreign situation has had an adverse effect upon American business and industrial employment in this country and has been an unexpected deflationary force affecting the prices of has been an unexpected deflationary force affecting the prices of commodities entering into world markets, such as certain of our important commercial commodities. This has accentuated relief problems in important areas in the country. In addition, the hurricane devastated large areas in New England last summer, seriously dislocating industry and trade in the northeastern section of the country and adding to the relief burden in that area."

The President then points out that the relief rolls increased from 2,900,000 at the beginning of July 1938 to a peak of 3,350,000. He then said during the past few weeks the number has been declining, and
"On December 24, 1938, the total had fallen to 3,112,000, and it

'On December 24, 1938, the total had fallen to 3,112,000, and it is expected that the employment during the month of January will approximate 3,000,000."

The foregoing figures include employment provided with funds The foregoing figures include employment provided with funds transferred by the W. P. A. to other Federal agencies, an average of 90,000 persons are thus employed under conditions which are entirely similar to those obtaining in the W. P. A. program.

Under the President's recommendation based on the facts and not upon opinion, he felt that there should have been 3,000,000 workers in February and March and that this number would be diminished in April and May to an average of 2,700,000 in June.

The President also pointed out that the W. P. A. program is at present being conducted at a cost of \$61 per worker per month, of which only \$2 is overhead administrative expense.

which only \$2 is overhead administrative expense.

As before stated, the President's recommendation is based upon fact and experience and upon the recommendations of those who have been working on this problem for years.

### THE PLAN OF THE MAJORITY

Under the plan of the majority, the number on the rolls in February may be 3,000,000, or it may be 2,850,000, and the same is true of March, but after that the number will be reduced so precipitately that there will not be on the rolls more than about 1,050,000 at the end of June. Of course, the Congress can arbitrarily do that if it desires. It could take them all off the rolls on the 7th of February if they refused to appropriate any money, but it seems to us that it is beyond the scope of reason to believe that we ought to reduce the numbers on relief from 3,350,000 in November or December to less than a third of that number at the end of June. To cut relief by two-thirds in 6 months cannot be based upon any facts or figures shown in the record or known to any Senator or Congressman. The best that can be said of it is that it is an arbitrary reduction without regard to questions of that it is an arbitrary reduction without regard to questions of actual need.

The extent to which these reductions are arbitrary can be appreciated by the effect this reduction would have on W. P. A. employment in the States and cities. Of course, we do not know how the employment quotas will be adjusted among the States by the Administrator, but in the following tables we have assumed, for illustrative purposes, the same percentage reduction in each State from December 31 employment to June 30.

The proposal of \$875,000,000 made by the President, the officials of the W. P. A., and the Bureau of the Budget is based upon experience and upon common knowledge; the figures were reached after careful investigation, after considering every phase of the after careful investigation, after considering every phase of the situation, and represented an orderly, well-thought-out program of reduction through fiscal year 1940. The figure of \$725,000,000 submitted by the majority and by a majority of the House of Representatives is based on no experience or previous knowledge, upon no estimates, and it is admitted in the resolution as reported by the Senate committee itself that the majority is doubtful about it because it invites the President to make another recommendation. Organized labor and the mayors of the cities are unanimous in recommending \$875,000,000 as against \$725,000,000.

SEVEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND NOT ON RELIEF

In addition to the numbers now on the W. P. A., Col. F. C. Harrington, the W. P. A. Administrator, says:

"We know there are about 750,000 persons in the United States that are certified and eligible for W. P. A. employment and we are not employing at this time" (p. 39).

In other words, the appropriations that we have already made and this appropriation bave not been able to take care of the certified In other words, the appropriations that we have already made and this appropriation have not been able to take care of the certified and eligible and needy persons who have asked for relief and who have been declared eligible for W. P. A. In addition to the more than 3,000,000 persons now on W. P. A. In other words, even the President's figures do not include this 750,000, but the majority says that you can absolutely disregard this 750,000 and absolutely disregard the 2,000,000 who will have to be dropped under their plan by the end of June. If conditions warrant such a situation on June 30 next, we shall indeed be happy. But who, in the face of our recent experiences with relief, can believe any such thing? The majority says that the number of those needing relief will be reduced in several ways:

1. That a great many will be preparing crops in the spring and

The majority says that the number of those needing relief will be reduced in several ways:

1. That a great many will be preparing crops in the spring and will not be needing relief. (This well-known fact was allowed for in the President's estimate of \$875,000,000.)

2. That a great many others will be employed on P. W. A. projects. (This was also allowed for in the President's estimate.)

3. That many of the States will adopt or increase the benefits in connection with old-age pension and aid to dependent children provisions under the Social Security Act, and that unemployment compensation benefits will go into effect in many States, and that these actions will take up a great deal of the slack. Well, the States may do so. It is possible, of course, but to our minds it is exceedingly doubtful. (The joint resolution itself contains a provision "That no requirement of eligibility for employment under such Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, as amended, shall be effective which prohibits the employment of persons 65 years of age or over or women with dependent children." As a matter of fact, the W. P. A. has already taken action to drop such persons, and the number remaining on the rolls is negligible. As to unemployment compensation, the effects will not be noticeable in the W. P. A. for the next 6 months, because in order to be eligible for such benefits workers must have been employed in private industry during the past 6 months. This could thus affect only new persons coming on to the rolls. A person now on the W. P. A. who would be dropped from the rolls under a \$725,000,000 appropriation obviously would not be eligible for unemployment compensation benefits.) benefits.)

4. That there will be an increase in private employment, and God grant that this may be so, but if there is an unusual increase in all four of these activities it could not justify firing 2,000,000 workers from the W. P. A. which must be done for the \$725,000,000 to be

adequate.

All of these factors were taken into account in the President's recommendation of \$875,000,000. In fact, Colonel Harrington testi-

fied that-

"This recommendation was based on the assumption that the recovery which has occurred since July 1938 will continue at an increased rate. In fact, a further increase of 1,500,000 in private employment between December and June will be necessary to bring about the contemplated reduction of 400,000 in W. P. A. employment of the private of workers during the contemplated reduction of 400,000 in W. P. A. employment of the private of the priv

ployment, if arbitrary discharges of workers during the winter period of most severe need are to be avoided.

"This estimated increase of 1,500,000 workers in private employment includes those who obtain jobs working for private contractors in connection with the Public Works Administration program and also those who find work in the factories as the result of the indirect employment of the Public Works Administration

"On the basis of past experience, that estimate appears to be on

the optimistic side.

"I want to make it perfectly clear that this estimated increase of 1,500,000 workers in private industry will be drawn from the entire group of the 11,500,000 unemployed and that at best W. F. A. group of the 11,500,000 unemployed and that at best W. P. A. workers cannot expect to get more than their proportionate share of these jobs. In December the 3,100,000 persons working on W. P. A. jobs represented 27 percent of an estimated 11,500,000 unemployed at that time. If W. P. A. workers obtain 27 percent of the 1,500,000 jobs, this would mean a reduction of about 400,000 in W. P. A. employment between December 1938 and June 1939" (p. 40, hearings before the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate).

### RELIEF CONDITIONS IN 104 CITIES (P. 119)

In Detroit the mayor claims that it is highly imperative to con-

In Cleveland, 71,000 men and women employed on W. P. A., and 16,500 men and women certified as eligibles but not able to get work on W. P. A.

In St. Louis, 15,741 on direct relief, 3,886 cases pending investigation, and 2,090 people certified awaiting assignment to W. P. A.

In Chicago Mayor Kelly insists that the need is such that W. P. A. quotas must be maintained.

In Philadelphia there is great need for continuing W. P. A. expenditures.
In Baltimore, 2,200 cases have been certified to W. P. A. without

In Pittsburgh the W. P. A. is laying men off in the face of existing need.

In Dallas, 6,039 now have work, but 1,567 more are awaiting assignment.

In San Francisco the present relief load is greater than last year. In Milwaukee, 4,800 workers certified for W. P. A. are awaiting a chance to work.

In New Orleans, 2,735 cases are reported for whom jobs are not

available.

Cincinnati reports that it is necessary to carry the present load.

In Newark, 25,000 persons had been certified, and only about half of them had been assigned.

In Indianapolis there were 1,273 families that could not be as-

signed work.

In Rochester the relief load was climbing steadily, and it was believed that it had not reached its peak.

Louisville reports 6,000 employed on W. P. A., 1,100 awaiting

Portland, Oreg., stated it was necessary to maintain the present

quota. Atlanta, Ga., reports 14,763 persons employed on W. P. A. and

Atlanta, Ga., reports 14,763 persons employed on W. P. A. and 6,000 cases receiving no assistance.

In Toledo the outlook for reductions is not encouraging.

In Denver the mayor did not know how they could face the reduction in W. P. A. employment rolls.

Columbus reported that there was "no indication at the present writing that would lead us to believe that there would be any material reduction in those who need relief."

St. Paul reports serious difficulty with the relief problem.

St. Paul reports serious difficulty with the relief problem. In Oakland, Calif., the situation is more serious than last year. Memphis reports 5,700 persons on W. P. A. and 2,000 more eligible and certified.

Dayton reports a very serious relief situation.

San Antonio expects a serious situation to develop unless W. P. A. quotas are maintained.

In Omaha the number actually employed on W. P. A. is 9,375; the number certified but not working, 3,760.

In Grand Rapids more than 500 cases are awaiting assignment.

In Fort Worth a large number of those working had been laid off, and the city's financial situation is alarming.

Oklahoma City reports that the situation is worse than last year.

New Haven strongly favors continuance of W. P. A. at present

levels.

In Salt Lake City, 700 needy heads of families have been deprived of employment because of lack of W. P. A. funds.

In Jacksonville, in the event of W. P. A. discontinuance, thousands would be without food, shelter, and clothing.

Springfield, Mass., reports that without W. P. A. the city would face an almost impossible financial situation.

Des Moines, with a population of 155,000, has a relief load of 41,000, or about 26 percent.

In Miami, with 4,389 eligible in December, only 2,603 were employed.

In Spokane unemployment is as heavy as, if not heavier than, it

was in 1933.

Trenton reports complete financial inability to meet needs.

In South Bend the needy are increasing at the rate of 200 a day.

In Flint, Mich., 2,500 are eligible for W. P. A. employment but cannot obtain it.

Elizabeth, N. J., would be unable to get along without continuance of W. P. A. relief.

In New Bedford the relief load is increasing.

In Knoxville it is imperative that W. P. A. be continued on the

In Reading no curtailment is possible if needs are to be met. Youngstown reports that any reduction in W. P. A. employment

would be disastrous to the community.

In Erie 900 employees have been dismissed in 2 months.

Norfolk reports that no reductions are possible.

In Schenectady only 50 percent of employables on relief are taken

In Schenectary only a care of by W. P. A. Lowell is opposed to any reduction.

Evansyille reports that what would happen if W. P. A. had to close than a year ago.

In Duluth, W. P. A. rolls are 42 percent higher than a year ago. In Tampa, 9,044 are now on relief with 2,196 eligible for assign-

ment to W. P. A. Waterbury reports a higher relief load than formerly. In Somerville, relief cases are expected to increase during the

present year.
In East St. Louis, 1,935 are certified but unable to get work.

In East St. Louis, 1,935 are certified but unable to get work.

In Rockford the burden is increasing.

In Sacramento the need is greater than ever before.

Topeka requests a 25-percent increase in the W. P. A. quota.

In Kenosha, Wis., 40 percent of the population are receiving relief in some form or another. For the balance of the fiscal year, at least, it is absolutely essential that W. P. A. quotas be maintained.

In Atlantic City the relief load is 34 percent higher than in December 1937.

Columbia S. C. reports that curtailment or abandonment would

Columbia, S. C., reports that curtailment or abandonment would seriously injure the city; relief offices are swamped daily with new applications.

In Racine, Wis., many W. P. A. workers have already been laid off, and the situation is difficult.

In Fresho additional relief is badly needed.

Greensboro reports that the city could not meet needs if W. P. A. were seriously cut.

In Madison applications for relief have tremendously increased. Cedar Rapids believes that W. P. A. should be continued at the present level.

Macon reports urgent necessity for relief to be continued.

Amarillo is in need of increased relief.

Jackson, Miss., believes that need is as great as at any time during the depression.

the depression.

Waco is opposed to any curtailment of the program at the present time as being disastrous.

Hazelton reports that dire distress and extreme hardship will beset the community unless present activities are continued. In Hagerstown, 300 are awaiting assignment to W. P. A. Long Beach reports 3,800 families on relief with a daily average of 50 new applications.

A group of Wisconsin cities reports 14,000 cases certified without jobs.

In Houston, 1,200 persons have not been assigned to W. P. A. John.

jobs.

In Houston, 1,200 persons have not been assigned to W. P. A. jobs, and 1,200 more are temporarily off the W. P. A. rolls.

Tacoma reports that 6,500 men have already been removed from the rolls in Washington, and 7,500 more would be let out if the appropriation is reduced.

In Terre Haute, 100 cases are not yet assigned.

Jackson, Mich., reports 400 cases certified but not given work.

In Lancaster, 1,608 are now awaiting W. P. A. assignment.

In Wheeling it is necessary to maintain W. P. A. quotas.

In Berkeley the relief load is increasing.

In Minneapolis not only maintenance of but an increase in W. P. A. quotas is a mandatory necessity for the city.

Birmingham reports 5,000 families that have not received assignment.

In Seattle the city is desperately in need of finances for relief. Hartford shows a steady gain in relief cases.

In Bridgeport it is imperative that relief be continued at

present levels.

In Fort Wayne it is necessary for the W. P. A. quota to be continued. In Pontiac, 680 cases have been certified to W. P. A. and are

awaiting assignment

In Manchester, with 3,919 people already on W. P. A., 9,000 more have been thrown out of work by the closing of the Amoskeag Co. In Highland Park it is absolutely necessary to have W. P. A. relief.

In Irvington, 464 eligible cases do not have W. P. A. employment. In East Chicago continuance of relief is necessary, as industries are operating at not more than 25 percent of capacity.

In Cicero the W. P. A. quota is not sufficient for those who need

employment.

In Akron, with 19,876 eligibles on the rolls, 2,140 are unemployed.

Mayor Kelly of Chicago says, "I would dislike to predict what will happen if more relief work is not provided."

The Newark, N. J., mayor says, "If House reduction of W. P. A. appropriation to \$725,000,000 is supported by the Senate, it means that every city in the United States will suffer 40-percent cut on W. P. A. program."

W. P. A. program."

Pittsburgh reports that a cut will mean that more than 10,000 workers will be laid off in Allegheny County.

Milwaukee strongly endorses \$875,000,000.

Altoona is earnestly in favor of the \$875,000,000 proposal.

New York City's reduction would be 66,700 and the mayor says, "Now neither I nor any other mayor of any city can possibly absorb that number, gentlemen."

EMPLOYMENT SCHEDULE UNDER DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION OF \$725,000,000 TO THE WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

"Assuming that reductions prior to April 1 are limited to 5 percent of present employment, as provided by amendment in Senate bill.

	Month	Employment at end of each month	Average employment during month	Cost at \$61 per worker
February March April May.		Thousands 3,000 2,850 2,350 1,650 1,050	Thousands 3, 000 2, 925 2, 600 2, 000 1, 350	Millions \$183 176 159 122 82
				725

There was a peak of 3,350,000 on W. P. A. work in November 1938. There were 750,000 awaiting assignment on W. P. A. work but who have never been assigned. That makes 4,100,000 needing W. P. A. work in November 1938. work in November.

Now, under the above figures, if \$725,000,000 only is appropriated, we shall reduce the number on W. P. A. work and those who were eligible for this work in November, a total of 4,100,000, down to 1,050,000 at the end of June.

REDUCTION IN NUMBER OF WORKERS EMPLOYED UNDER DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION OF \$725,000,000 TO THE WORKS PROGRESS ADMINIS-TRATION, BY STATES

"Assuming that relative distribution of need continues on present basis and that reduction prior to April is limited to 5 percent of present employment as provided by amendment in Senate bill.

ito an Multiputer of Electrica.	Employment	Estimated employment la week in June 1939	
State of grand and an arrangement of the state of the sta	Dec. 31, 1938	Number	Reduction from Dec. 31
Total	3, 081, 300	1,050,000	2, 031, 30
Alabama	61, 500	20, 900	40,60
Arizona.	11, 400	3, 900	7,50
Arkansas	49, 900	17,000	32, 90
California	118, 500	40, 400	78, 10
Colorado	31,800	10,800	21,00
Connecticut	28, 900	9,800	19, 10
Delaware	4,000	1,400 4,700	2,60
District of Columbia	13, 800	4, 700	9, 10
Florida	52, 400	17, 80C	34, 60
Georgia	63, 500	21,600	41, 90
daho	11, 100	3, 800	7, 30
Illinois		82, 100 29, 200	158, 90 56, 60
Indiana	85, 800 31, 500	10, 700	20, 80
Kansas.	36, 900	12,600	24, 30
Kentucky	67,000	22, 800	44, 20
Louisiana		18, 100	35, 00
Maine	10,900	3, 700	7, 20
Maryland	19, 500	6,600	12, 90
Massachusetts		43, 600	84, 30
Michigan	145, 500	49,600	95, 90
Minnesota	66, 500	22, 700	43, 80
Mississippi	48, 50C	16, 500	32, 00
Missouri	109, 100	37, 200	71, 90
Montana	20,600	7,000	13, 60
Nebraska	27, 800	9, 500	18, 30
Nevada	2,600	3, 800	1, 70 7, 40
New Hampshire	11, 200 103, 000	35, 100	67, 90
New Mexico		4,000	7,80
New York City	179, 600	61, 200	118, 40
New York; Up-State	66,000	22, 500	43, 50
North Carolina	53, 900	18, 400	35, 50
North Dakota		5, 100	10,00
Ohio	261, 200	89,000	172, 20
Oklahoma	69, 500	23, 700	45, 80
Oregon		6,600	12, 70
Pennsylvania	261, 500	89, 100	172, 40
Rhode Island	16, 400	5, 600	10, 80
South Carolina	43, 600	14,900	28, 70
South Dakota	16,000	5, 500	10, 50
Tennessee	53, 500	18, 200	35, 30
Texas	112, 300	38, 300	74, 00
Utah	14,900	5, 100 2, 800	5, 40
Vermont	8, 200 31, 600	10, 800	20, 80
Virginia			35, 10
Washington	50, 200	18, 200 17, 100	33, 10
Wisconsin	78, 900	26, 900	52, 0
Wyoming		1,600	3, 20
Hawaii.	3, 100	1, 100	
Virgin Islands		500	90

REDUCTION IN NUMBER OF WORKERS EMPLOYED UNDER DEFICIENCY AP-PROPRIATION OF \$725,000,000 TO THE WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRA-TION, BY LARGE CITIES

"Assuming that relative distribution of need continues on present basis and that reduction prior to April is limited to 5 percent of present employment, as provided by amendment in Senate bill.

AND SECURITION OF SECURITION O	Employment	Estimated employment last week in June 1939	
In selected cities	Dec. 31, 1938	Number	Reduction from Dec. 31
Akron, Ohio	15, 200 4, 890 13, 500 29, 800 10, 000 114, 400 72, 200 6, 300 56, 400 12, 500 5, 400 15, 700 35, 300 26, 000 17, 400 21, 800 179, 600 22, 800 39, 100 33, 100	6, 300 5, 200 1, 600 4, 600 10, 200 3, 400 21, 600 21, 100 19, 200 4, 300 1, 800 5, 400 5, 900 7, 400 61, 200 8, 100 13, 300 11, 300 11, 300 6, 700	12, 100 10, 000 3, 200 8, 900 19, 600 6, 600 47, 600 37, 200 8, 200 3, 600 10, 300 11, 500 11, 500 114, 400 118, 400 118, 400 118, 400 118, 400 118, 400 12, 800 12, 800

We may later vote large sums to build battleships, airplanes, and provide other armaments. We might well question whether that type of expenditure, even from a national-defense standpoint, is of more value than preserving the underlying strength of the Nation—the strength, health, and morale of its citizens. As the President said in his message to Congress on January 4, 1939:

"Under modern conditions what we mean by 'adequate defense'—a policy subscribed to by all—must be divided into three elements. s. First, we must have armed forces and defenses strong to ward off sudden attack against strategic positions and key facilities essential to ensure sustained resistance and ultimate victory. Secondly, we must have the organization and location of those key facilities so that they may be immediately utilized

and rapidly expanded to meet all needs without danger of serious interruption by enemy attack \* \* \*.

"If these first two essentials are reasonably provided for, we must be able confidently to invoke the third element, the underlying strength of citizenship—the self-confidence, the ability, the imagination, and the devotion that give the staying power to see things through

magnation, and the devotion that give the staying power to see things through.

"A strong and united nation may be destroyed if it is unprepared against sudden attack. But even a nation well armed and well organized from a strictly military standpoint may, after a period of time, meet defeat if it is unnerved by self-distrust, endangered by class prejudice, by dissension between capital and labor, by false economy, and by other unsolved social problems at home."

The minority think that it is guite as important if not more im-

The minority think that it is quite as important, if not more important, to conserve our manpower rather than to build additional airplanes, additional battleships, and to add enormously to our Army at this time.

Army at this time.

The Senate majority disagrees with the House in its reduction for February and March and requires substantially the same amount to be spent in February and March as was expended in January. So far so good. But when it comes to April, May, and June, there is only \$363,000,000 left for those 3 months as against \$362,000,000 for February and March. This amounts to a cut from about 3,000,000 persons to 1,050,000 in 5 months. In other words, for those now obtaining relief, there is a cut of two-thirds in 5 months.

Is it possible this Senate is going to take the view that we can cut off two-thirds of the W. P. A. work in 5 months? Is it sensible? Is it wise? Is it defensible? Is it humane? We say it is not any of these things!

Respectfully submitted.

KENNETH MCKELLAR.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I do not intend at this time to do more than make reference to the subject that has been discussed within the last few minutes. First, as to the amendment pending and the provisions of the amendment to remove from the rolls those who are not actually in need, the Senator from Idaho has referred to the wisdom of some such effort being made. I wish to call to the attention of the Senator from Idaho and the Members of the Senate the result of an investigation made last April by the special committee appointed to investigate unemployment and relief. We sent investigators to five cities, namely, Atlanta, Baltimore, New York, Omaha, and Pittsburgh. We endeavored to select cities in different sections of the country in order to get a cross section. We wanted to ascertain something about those who are on the rolls, how long they had been there.

In the five cities mentioned there were on the Works Progress Administration rolls at the time of the investigation 26,736 workers classified as skilled workers. Of this number, 7,982 were interviewed. Of the number interviewed, 5,049, or 63 percent, when asked the question, stated that they had other employment. Of the total number interviewed, 6,454, or 81 percent, had been on the Works Progress Administration pay rolls constantly since January 1937

Of the 5,049 workers who admitted outside earnings, 4,312, or 85 percent, had such other employment during the same month for which they had already received pay from the Works Progress

A little less than one-fourth (1,036 of 4,312, or 24 percent) were found to be working in outside employment at the same occupations at which they were employed by Works Progress Administration and at lower hourly rate of pay than they were paid by

W. P. A.

Of the 4,312 workers who had outside earnings during the same month of their employment by Works Progress Administration, 2,389 gave the names of their employers. A number of these employers were interviewed, namely, 1,330. In the great majority of cases the amount of the outside earnings was much in excess of the amount stated by the worker himself.

That shows the necessity for an investigation such as is directed by the amendment now pending. If the investigation is made, as the Administrator promises, he will remove a sufficient number who really are not in need as will make it possible to give employment to many who have been certified. It does not follow that because a man has been employed constantly since January 1937 that he is not in need, but it does follow in the vast majority of cases that he should be better able to take care of himself. Coming right home here to the District of Columbia, a carpenter will be employed at an hourly wage of \$1.75 an hour. The security wage is \$73 per month. When he has worked 42 hours he has made his security wage. That is five 8-hour days. He cannot work any more for the remainder of the month; he is laid off; he can go fishing, he can frolic, or he can go to other work. He can, for instance, go to Chevy Chase and when he is asked to build a garage for someone he can receive employment at a lower hourly wage and put some union workman out of business.

He will take a job away from the man who has never been on relief. If such an investigation is made, it will be possible under the \$725,000,000 appropriation to put many on the rolls.

The Director told the subcommittee that in New York State 21 percent had been on the rolls since the beginning of the program. That is what he found by the sampling process. It is not an absolutely correct process, but by taking sample cases of workmen they find out how long they have been on the rolls, and 21 percent have been on the rolls ever since this program was started. If we go into this matter, we will find it possible to make places for many on W. P. A. projects.

Now, about the figures. It will be remembered the Senator asked me a few moments ago why it was that whenever we had a relief bill we had so many sets of figures. I will admit that seems inevitable. One difficulty is that my good friend from Tennessee, whose table is in the minority report, does not figure exactly as the majority of the committee figured. If Senators will look on page 7 of his report, the report from which he has been reading, they will find that he gives what he says, or somebody says, would be done under the appropriation of \$725,000,000.

Mr. McKELLAR. It is what the Administrator says would

Mr. BYRNES. That is what I should like to know. If these figures are from the Administrator, that is exactly what I want to know because I never like to say unkind things about any department official. He is not here to answer for himself, and it is not fair. But if the Administrator presented these figures to the Senator, as he says, then the Senate ought to know exactly what the Administrator has done. Who says that this \$725,000,000 would be allotted in this way? The Administrator? How would he allot it? He says he will allot \$183,000,000 for the month of February. The Senator from Colorado has heretofore explained that the Administrator has said-and no one will question that the Administrator has said—he has sufficient money to pay all his expenses up to February 7. I know he has more, but he says he has sufficient to keep going up to that date. Then, if he has enough up to that date, what excuse has he for sending to the Senate a table saying that the \$725,000,000, which the other House provided and which is the amount recommended by the committee, would be apportioned so as to spend \$183,000,000 for 3,000,000 workers for the whole month of February? He has already got, he says, enough for the first 7 days and that leaves only 21 days; that is, 3 weeks. I will state what it would cost, not as the Administrator would have it figured, but as the committee would figure it.

From February 7 to March 1 is 3 weeks, and that is the time we have to provide for. How many persons are there? Three million. How much will it cost? Sixty-one dollars per man per month. For 3 weeks this amounts to \$137,-250,000.

From March 1 to April 1, reduce it by the 5 percent allowed in the joint resolution, and we have 2,850,000 persons. At \$61 a month it amounts to \$173,850,000.

From April 1 to May 1 we have 2,500,000 persons. At \$61 a month it amounts to \$152,500,000.

From May 1 to June 1 we have 2,300,000 persons at \$61 per man per month which amounts to \$140,300,000.

From June 1 to July 1 we have 2,000,000 men. At \$61 a month it is \$122,000,000, making a total of \$726,900,000.

That makes up the total of \$726,900,000 without ever reducing the number of men on the roll below the figure of 2,000,000.

How does Colonel Harrington arrive at this result? If you look at the figures, I will tell you the difference. The Senator from Tennessee has not called attention to it. He said they were not his figures; but what has happened is that the Administrator sent this statement up here:

He says the employment at the end of each month will be 3,000,000. He charges up 3,000,000 for the whole 28 days of February.

Then the next month he says the employment will be 2,850,000. He says there will be an average employment of 2,925,000. Instead of calculating 2,850,000 at \$61 a month, he calculates 2,925,000 at \$61 a month. Consequently, he uses up nearly \$179,000,000. He puts in an average every month. He submitted innumerable statements to the Appropriations Committee, and never before this occasion has such a statement been submitted to us.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. BYRNES. Yes.

Mr. BARKLEY. It is perfectly obvious how the Administrator arrives at that figure. He starts out on March 1 with 3,000,000 men, and on the 15th with 2,925,000 men, and on the 31st with 2,850,000 men; so the average would be the number on the 15th.

Mr. BYRNES. That is what I have said. Never before has the Administrator averaged them; but when he wants to present a figure to reduce the total number under the \$725,000,000 down to 1,000,000 persons, he puts in an average. Why should he do it? If he followed that plan, he would do what he has no right to do. I certainly will never have the same opinion of him if he does it. He can do it the way the committee suggests—reduce them on the 1st of the month instead of at the end of the month—and he will never get below 2,000,000 men. He will never have occasion to do it. But, Mr. President, I know that whenever a man becomes interested and wants to make out a bad case, he will show a terrible case.

No such figures were submitted to the House. When did it occur to the Administrator that he would have to reduce the figures to this amount? Not until the last 48 hours. No man can explain his telling us, in House and Senate, that he had enough money to pay all of his expenses to February 7 and then coming in here and saying, "Yes; but if you do not give me more than \$725,000,000 I shall not have a cent to February 7, and I shall have to include all that in my figure."

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. BYRNES. Yes; I yield.

Mr. SMATHERS. I cannot understand why some member of the committee did not ask the colonel himself to explain this discrepancy when I understand he was before the committee four or five times. Will the Senator from South Carolina enlighten me on that subject?

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, as to this figure there was no discrepancy. It was apparent. Here is a statement submitted now in a minority report, and I see it for the first time, saying that persons are going to be counted who have already been accounted for. No member of the committee would ever dream that when the Administrator said he had money to February 7, he was then asking for money to carry him from February 1. We naturally assumed in our figures that he meant just what he said time and again. He has money to carry him up to February 7, according to his own statement; according to our belief, additional money; but that is a more controversial matter. There is no controversy about his having this money. It is a difference of \$45,000,000, and it makes all the difference in the world in the number of persons who are to be taken care of.

As to the other statement, I will say to the Senator that I do not know about others, but when a gentleman appears before the committee with a statement as to balances I ask him questions endeavoring to find out his statement as to what he has on hand. I did that in this instance, time and again, as the testimony which has been read here today shows, in an honest effort to find out the unexpended balances and the available funds. It may be that I am wrong, but I have

never gotten anywhere by engaging in arguments with witnesses before the committee. I helped the colonel to present his views on the unexpended balance; but let me tell you about that.

The colonel said there were \$313,000,000 available January 1. It is simple mathematics to say, if that is the fact—and it is—and we have 3,000,000 men, and have to calculate their cost at \$60 a month, not more than \$180,000,000 can be spent out of the \$313,000,000 up to February 1. Then he has to go from February 1 to February 7, and that is going to cost \$45,000,000, and when we take those figures, according to any calculation at all, he has \$133,000,000 less \$45,000,000.

In order to explain the matter it is suggested that he has outstanding bills. I have said time and again, and say now, that the W. P. A. has no authority to contract obligations for anything except to pay men on the rolls and to pay material costs. The number of men on the rolls is fixed, and under the law the material costs may not exceed \$7 a month per man, which is \$21,000,000 if we have 3,000,000 men.

That involves no criticism of the integrity of Colonel Harrington. I have been on the Appropriations Committee in the House and Senate for years and years, and he would not be the first man who appeared before us who has made a mistake. He will not be the last man who will make mistakes in presenting figures. Time and again we have found out upon investigation that the witnesses were wrong; but I do find one thing, that when they are wrong they generally are wrong on the side of safety for the department. Whether it be the Army, the Navy, or any other department, when it comes to figures they are always cautious enough to look after the department. But there is no question about this \$45,000,000 when a man has the money to February 7.

Something was asked about the unemployed. Let me call attention to that matter.

I have the statistics issued this afternoon by the Labor Department, with the latest figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics as to the employed. We have no statistics about the unemployed that are of value. The only statistics of any value are those of the Biggers census. The Biggers census, with its check, was a matter of estimate in many ways.

The Labor Department go at the matter as the National Industrial Conference Board and other organizations have gone at it. They obtain the number of employed from every possible source, and then they take the number of gainfully employed persons according to the last census, that of 1930; they deduct the number of employed that they have from that figure, and that is how they get their figure. This afternoon the Labor Department say that the figure of employed for December is 32,945,000. In January 1938 the number employed, according to them, was 32,177,000. That is, there were approximately 800,000 more employed as of the 15th of January 1939 than there were last January.

The interesting thing here is that 800,000 more persons are employed now than were employed last January. Last January General Motors discharged 30,000 men in one order. Chrysler followed. The other automobile companies and the motor-accessories companies did likewise. We had the most serious situation confronting us that we could recall since 1933. The Senator from Montana [Mr. Murray] and the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Hatch] will remember how we investigated it.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. BYRNES. I do.

Mr. MURRAY. Is the Senator sure we are not going to confront that situation again? In the case of one industry in this country, in Montana, I have just received information that one of the largest mines there has shut down and thrown 975 men out of work out there; and smelters also are shutting down.

It seems to me that a Senator is at a great disadvantage if he does not serve on the committee which handles these bills. When the bills come on the floor, what is said sounds like Greek to most of us. I only know that there are about

10,000,000 or 11,000,000 unemployed men in this country, and that if this appropriation is going to be cut as is proposed in the joint resolution now before the Senate we are going to see again this year the same thing that we had in 1937 and 1938.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I am sure my friend does not mean that if we do not add \$150,000,000 to this appropriation we are going to have the unfortunate condition of January 1938. This administration started a pump-priming program last April. We authorized the expenditure of a billion and a half dollars, and we put an unlimited amount into W. P. A. We made innumerable appropriations for the pump-priming program that we said was absolutely relieving unemployment; and the proof that we are right and that the Senator is wrong is that this afternoon the figures of the number employed show that under the program of this administration unemployment is decreasing instead of increasing.

Mr. HATCH rose.

Mr. BYRNES. There is an increase this month over last month. There is an improvement. Some town, some industry, may be affected, but in the whole picture, the situation has improved. No man can be sure of everything, but of this we can be certain, that if by the spending of Government money unemployment can be stopped, then Congress has done its part to stop it, for between now and June 30 we will spend more money than has ever been spent by the Government in time of peace in the history of this Nation. There is no decrease in public expenditures. The spending will continue less because a billion and a half dollars of P. W. A. money will not get moving until the next 30 days. They cannot build until warmer weather. A thousand contracts over this Nation are about to be started upon and the money spent under them will go out between now and June 30.

Appropriations have been requested to increase armaments, and other measures will come before us asking for money. If spending by Government is going to stop the unemployment, it will not rest on the conscience of the Senator from Montana or the Senator from South Carolina. The good Lord above, as well as the taxpayer here below, will know that we have done our part.

Now I yield to the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. HATCH. The Senator from South Carolina has fully covered the question I was about to ask him when he started, because I wanted to develop the increased program which is to go into effect in the next few months, about which we all know, and for which provision has been made.

Mr. BYRNES. Let me answer the Senator in this way. Under the distribution of this \$725,000,000 which the majority of the committee approves, we would reduce—and the Administrator would have to abide by this—not more than 5 percent from March 1 to April 1. That would bring the number down to 2,850,000. Then we would reduce the number by 350,000, the largest reduction.

Is it not wise to make that reduction? What is the testimony? Colonel Harrington says that 50 percent of the increase from June to December occurred in Southern States, in agricultural sections, hurt because of the drop in cotton prices. When April comes, those people are needed back upon the farm. If we are going to pay \$26 to agricultural workers to work not more than 120 hours a month, how in the world will the farmers of this Nation ever get labor in April, when farm operations are resumed? Today these people are on W. P. A. With warmer weather, when building operations start, when contractors get to work on these P. W. A. contracts throughout the country, they will need workers. Where will they get workers? In many instances they will have to come from W. P. A. employees, and we provide for a reduction of only 325,000 at that time. Is that not enough? The Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], one of the ablest men I have known in my long service here, made the statement before the committee that in his State of Arizona in one county, because they had a very capable director, 2,000 agricultural workers last year were sent back to the farm, 2,000 in one county. If only 100 persons in every agricultural county were sent back to the farm we would have approximately the reduction provided for without a reduction elsewhere.

It is all right when they are on the farms in January and December to give them employment, but when April comes, we cannot go to the farmer who is getting ready to plant his wheat and cotton, and ask him to compete with the W. P. A. paying \$26 in the South and West for 120 hours a month. We have to have some cooperation on the part of the Government to give the farmers of the Nation a chance to compete.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, can the Senator give us any statistics showing what proportion of the 3,000,000 men now on the rolls have moved from the farms into town or, without moving, have obtained employment under the W. P. A.?

Mr. BYRNES. No; I do not recall any such statistics. The only statement made about that was the one to which I have referred, the statement of the director that from June to December—I think those were the months—50 percent of the increase was due to putting agricultural workers upon the rolls.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course, without any authoritative figures, I would suppose that in view of the large industrial unemployment throughout the country, in the larger towns and cities, it would be a small proportion of the entire number of 3,000,000 who would be moving in after the crop season was over and had gotten employment in the W. P. A.

Mr. BYRNES. I think the Senator is wrong and the director is right about that, according to the figures. The figures indicated that there had been a considerable increase in the agricultural States up to November 23, when for some reason there appears a decrease.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator has referred to the rearmament program, which he estimates will result in the employment of a considerable number of people.

Mr. BYRNES. I think a slight increase.

Mr. BARKLEY. That is what I was about to call attention to. The President recommended the expenditure of five hundred and some million dollars over a period of 2 years beginning July 1, \$210,000,000 of which was to be available for expenditure in the fiscal year 1940 and around \$300,000,000 in 1941. So that would not have any appreciable effect on employment in the near future.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I have always thought that that could not be considered as likely to have any appreciable effect on employment. My statement was in answer to the question about the public spending.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, to the extent to which the money is expended, to the extent to which people are employed, it certainly will be calculated to improve conditions.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course, that program of expenditure will not begin until July 1.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. It is proposed to make the appropriations immediately available.

Mr. BARKLEY. The appropriations have not even been brought in. The committees have not reported. No one knows when the money will be available.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. That is part of the general program, as the Senator well understands.

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes; but it is not to take effect immediately. Besides that, the appropriation itself, coming, as it no doubt will, in a general appropriation bill or deficiency bill, after the authorization has been passed, as a matter of law, will be bound to come later on in the session, so that it could not have any effect immediately.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Carolina yield for a further suggestion along that line?

Mr. BYRNES. Certainly.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Already a huge amount has been authorized at the last session of Congress and the session before which may be appropriated at any time.

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes; but the money has to be appropriated first. It has not been.

Mr. BYRNES. It has not been; but certainly, if the Senator from Kentucky is right, it is the first information I have had that it was not our intention to make the appropriations at this session of Congress, and to make the money immediately available.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am not saying it is not to be made immediately available whenever the appropriation is passed, but in the very nature of things the authorization must come in first and pass both Houses and become a law; then the appropriations will follow; and assuming that \$200,000,000 of that money should be available even to cover the last of this year, from the time the appropriation is passed, during the rest of 1939 and all of 1940, including about \$210,000,000, as I recall, the point I am making is that there could not be any appreciable reemployment of people, even between now and July 1, under those circumstances, under the rearmament program.

Mr. BYRNES. I am not going to agree with the Senator from Kentucky that the rearmament program is not going to help the country to some extent in the matter of employment. To the extent that the money is spent, it will help, and that is all. If it is not the purpose to spend it now, then we might as well let it alone until the regular annual supply bill comes in. If it is the intention to spend it now, an additional estimate will be submitted whenever an authorization is passed, and that, of course, is a matter as to which we are uncertain. Only to the extent that the money is made available will it have effect.

Beginning January 1, 23 States started the operation of unemployment-insurance programs. I am not willing to say that before June 30 we will not have some good effect from the appropriations for unemployment insurance. It has helped in other States of the Nation; it is bound to help in all where it is in operation. It is said that many of these people are on W. P. A. and could not be affected by that. According to the statement of the director, each week there are some employees who lose their jobs and who come hunting jobs with W. P. A. To the extent that unemployment insurance is paid to them and they accept it, they cannot take jobs on W. P. A. Unemployment insurance is to be operative in 23 States where it did not operate up to January 1. Therefore, I am not so pessimistic about the condition.

I just know that when we speak about increasing this amount I look back to January 1938, when we had the worst conditions, when industries were closing down, with unemployment insurance in only half the States. We have had another W. P. A. program since that time, we have had a pump-priming program, and people are going back to work. All that we hope, with the appropriation of \$725,000,000, is that from July 1, in the middle of the summer, with no snow on the ground, with no automobile industry shutdown, with the farmers clamoring for workers, we will have on the rolls 2,000,000, and 2,000,000 will be more than we had last January, in the dead of winter, under the most adverse conditions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the first committee amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 2, line 15, after the numerals "1939", it is proposed to insert the following:

Provided further, That prior to April 1 there shall be no administrative reduction of more than 5 percent in the number of employees upon Works Progress projects and that the funds available for the remainder of the fiscal year shall be apportioned in the discretion of the Administrator: Provided further, That should there arise an emergency which in the opinion of the President would require the submission of an estimate for an additional appropriation, the President in submitting such estimate shall submit a statement as to the facts constituting such emergency: Provided further, That the Administrator shall immediately cause to be made an investigation of the rolls of employees on work projects and eliminate from such rolls those not in actual need.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I think really that amendment ought not to be voted on now. I ask that it go over, for the very reason that has already been mentioned, that the vital part of this whole thing is to decide the amount of money to be appropriated. I do not know what the result

will be, but if the larger amount should be appropriated I imagine that the Administrator would work out a gradual process of reduction. He might reduce more than 5 percent or he might reduce less. But I am wondering whether in advance of fixing the amount we ought to say that during the 2 months he could reduce only 5 percent, if the situation should develop so that he could reduce 6 percent. I see no harm in postponing the vote on this amendment until the other amendment to be offered by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKellar] is voted on.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, let me ask the Senator from Kentucky if he would not be willing to have the Administrator reduce the number more than 5 percent?

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes; but the Senator will also admit that if the committee had reported \$875,000,000 as the amount of the appropriation it would not have been necessary to put the language of the amendment in the measure.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I think there may be a misunderstanding there. Regardless of the amount, I am going to ask the Senate to vote on the question of preventing a reduction of more than 5 percent. I believe that Congress should have something to say about a matter of that kind, and Congress can say that there should not be a reduction of more than 5 percent. There was no controversy about that in the committee, and the statement of the Administrator was

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, the Senator says there was no controversy about it in the committee. That amendment was put in the measure after the committee had decided to limit the appropriation to \$725,000,000.

Mr. BYRNES. No: as a matter of fact it was not. Because that was an amendment proposed by the subcommittee, it was voted on first, and the amendment which was offered by the Senator from Tennessee was voted on later.

Mr. BARKLEY. It may not be a vital matter, but it seems to me

Mr. BYRNES. It is not a vital matter, and the Administrator would not object to retaining 2,000,000 people and not reducing the number more than 5 percent.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, if I remember correctly, at the meeting of the committee there was a discussion of this matter, and I asked the question how this provision was consistent with another provision in the joint resolution in the way of an amendment which provided that there should be a "purge," so-called, of the rolls. If that purge should turn out as some of the critics of the W. P. A. think it will, and there should be more than 10 percent who ought to be dropped, the language under consideration will prevent the

dropping of them, will it not?

Mr. BYRNES. The Senator has used the word "purge." It has not been so pleasant to use on the floor of late. [Laughter.] If the director determines to start immediately, my judgment is that the director could not hope to make as thorough an investigation as he should make if the statements I have heard made are true. I should hope that in 3 or 4 months he would be able to reduce the number by at least 5 percent. I would be of the opinion that we could not expect him to make a "purge"-using the Senator's word again-in the States without making a reduction of 5 percent. It would never bother me if he would reduce more than that.

Mr. GREEN. I do not anticipate that any such investigation will result as the critics of the W. P. A. hope it will.

Mr. BYRNES. Then there would be no harm.

Mr. GREEN. There would be no harm. All I am pointing out is the inconsistency in the two amendments offered by the majority of the committee.

Mr. BYRNES. The majority of the committee did not have any idea that the investigation could possibly get under way at so early a date that the Administrator would be at all embarrassed in complying with the direction of the

Mr. GREEN. Yes. There is another phase of that matter which ought to be considered, and that is that any such extensive examination as is provided for will cost an additional sum of money over what the present administration must expend.

Mr. BYRNES. Of course that has been given consideration. We have considered it from time to time. In the various States there are white-collar projects on which people are employed, and it will give to them an opportunity to be used as relief workers in those jobs. I could think of no better investment of public money at this time than to try to remove from the rolls those who are not in need, when there are so many in need who really should be on the rolls.

Mr. GREEN. I quite agree with the objective, but does it not mean also an increased expense, and is that a reason for cutting down the appropriation?

Mr. BYRNES. It means increased expense only in that we must employ people, and if we do not employ them at this very praiseworthy objective they might be employed at

something not so praiseworthy.

Mr. BARKLEY. If the Senator will yield at that point, I will say that I had contemplated moving that the Senate take a recess at a quarter to 5, because I must attend a conference that will take me off the floor at that time. In view of that situation I wonder if we could not let all the amendments go over until tomorrow.

Mr. BYRNES. I have no objection to that.

Mr. BARKLEY. It is my purpose to move an executive session at this time.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, it is understood that if the Senate proceeds to have an executive session at this time and then recess, I shall have the floor when the Senate resumes tomorrow?

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes. The executive session will be very brief

Mr. BYRNES. Very well.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the body of the RECORD a statement of my own. I do not want to delay the Senate by reading it, but it has reference to the W. P. A.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the statement will be printed in the RECORD.

The statement is as follows:

May 28\_

POLITICS OR COINCIDENCE?—STATEMENT OF RUSH D. HOLT

If the W. P. A. pay rolls went up just before one election, it could be called a coincidence but when the W. P. A. pay rolls go up before every election, go down after every election, it just cannot be a coincidence. It is politics.

However, I am willing to present the facts and let the people

draw their own conclusions

I have prepared a number of tables on this subject and a few of them follow.

### NO POLITICS

Number of persons employed on Works Progress Administration operated projects

(Source: Testimony, Col. F. C. Harrington, W. P. A. Administrator)

1936 (ELECTION YEAR)	various arises the sine
Jan. 25	2, 925, 605
Feb. 29	3.035.852
Mar. 28	2, 811, 637
Apr. 25	2 570 315
May 30	2 339 740
June 27	2, 255, 898
July 25	2. 249 357
Aug. 29	2 376 565
Sept. 26	
Oct. 31	2, 581, 208
MOURISHER ET PORTON	la a service de la constante d
Nov. 28	2 482 681
Dec. 26	2 191 409
1937 (NO ELECTION)	
Jan. 30	
Feb. 27	
Mar. 27	
Apr. 24	
May 29	1 000 260
Tuno 26	1 821 151
June 26	1 568 917
Aug. 28	1 470 008
Sept. 25	1 451 119
Oct. 80	1 475 900
Nov. 27	1 510 740
Dec. 25	1 629 271
	1, 020, 211
Jan. 29	1, 900, 625
Feb. 26	2 075 492
Feb. 26	2 394 843
Mar. 26	2 581 897
ADT. 30	2, 001, 001

\_\_\_\_\_ 3, 021, 233

Dec. 24 \_\_

Number of persons employed on Works Progress Administration operated projects—Continued

1938 (ELECTION YEAR)—Continued.	
June 25	2, 767, 044
July 30	2, 966, 832
	3,066,895
Sept. 24	3, 120, 375
Oct. 29	3, 245, 260
NOVEMBER ELECTION	
Nov. 26	3, 216, 400

Federal expenditures on W. P. A. operated projects, April to

Nobelitaer 1999	
April	\$136, 774, 471.66
May	147, 425, 201. 82
June	164, 016, 816. 92
July	160, 719, 253. 78
August	182, 603, 682. 44
September	183, 885, 799. 75
October	191, 355, 351. 26
November	179, 328, 606. 21

How much more was spent in October 1938 (month preceding general election of 1938) than in April? \$54,580,879.60.

How much more was spent in October than September 1938?

\$7,469,551.51.

How much less was spent in November than October 1938? \$12,026,745.05.

Was there a decline in industrial production between April and

was there a decline in industrial production between April and November? No; according to the Federal Reserve Bulletin, there was an increase from an index figure of 77 to 96.

Was there a decline in factory employment between April and November? No; according to the Federal Reserve Bulletin, there was an increase from an index figure of 85 to 88.

Was there a decline in construction between April and November? No; according to the Federal Reserve Bulletin, there was an increase from an index figure of 52 to 82.

increase from an index figure of 52 to 82.

Was there a decline in freight-car loadings between April and November? No; according to the Federal Reserve Bulletin, there was an increase from an index figure of 57 to 68.

Was there a decline in department-store sales between April and November? No; according to the Federal Reserve Bulletin, there was an increase from an index figure of 83 to 84.

Was there a decline in W. P. A. expenditures between April and November? No; there was an increase in W. P. A. expenditures from an index figure of 100 to 139.

Do you think the November election had anything to do with the W. P. A. increase?

	W. P. A. employment	
October	1936	2, 581, 208
October	1937	1, 475, 800
October	1938	3, 245, 260

How many more W. P. A. employees in October 1936 than October 1937? 1,105,408.

How many more W. P. A. employees in October 1938 than October 1937? 1,769,460.

No general election in November 1937.

A general election in November 1936 and November 1938.

Number added in September and October 1936 (before election), 204.643. Number decreased in November and December 1936 (after elec-

tion), 388,799.

Number added in September and October 1938 (before election),

178,365

Number decreased in November and December 1938 (after election), 224,027.

W. P. A. employment as compared to unemployment [Unemployment figures are from the American Federation of Labor, Wo Progress Administration figures are from the Works Progress Administration]

Date	Works Prog- ress Admin- istration employment	Unemployed
April 1936	2, 570, 315 2, 581, 208	9, 818, 975 8, 176, 360
Total	1 10, 893	<sup>2</sup> 642, 615
April 1937 October 1937	2, 070, 151 1, 475, 800	8, 312, 828 7, 706, 206
Total	2 594, 351	2 606, 622
April 1938October 1938	2, 581, 897 3, 245, 260	11, 064, 660 10, 374, 741
Total	1 663, 363	2 689, 919

Is it a coincidence that 1936 and 1938 were election years with a decline in unemployment and the increase in W. P. A. pay rolls? In 1937, not an election year, there was a decrease in W. P. A., and at the same time there was a decrease in unemployment.

1 More.

In 1938, with a decrease of unemployment numbering 83,297 more than in 1937, we find a difference in W. P. A. employment of 1,257,714. No politics? Just a coincidence?

W. P. A. employment as compared to business conditions

(Index for business known as Annalist index, including carloadings, electric-power production, manufacturing, steel and iron production, manufacturing of textiles, shoes, automobiles, lumber, cement, and mining. A combination of all these in order to get an accurate and widespread business index. W. P. A. expenditures taken from Works Progress Administration reports)

or get preference on the comments of the comme	Annalist index	Expenditures for Works Progress Ad- ministration
June July August September October November	74. 4 79. 0 82. 8 85. 2 88. 8 95. 4	\$164, 016, 816 160, 719, 253 182, 603, 682 183, 885, 799 191, 355, 351 179, 328, 606

#### A GLANCE AT WEST VIRGINIA W. P. A. West Virginia W. P. A. pay rolls

Mar. 28, 1936 Mar. 27, 1937	
Mar. 26, 1938	
Senatorial primary held May 1936. No senatorial	
primary held in May 1937 or May 1938.  June 27, 1936	43 457
June 26, 1937	
June 25, 1938	47, 786
Congressional primary held in August 1938. No primary held in August 1933 or August 1937.	
Sept. 26, 1936	42, 579
Sept. 25, 1937	26, 958
Sept. 24, 1938	53, 195
General election held in November 1936 and November 1938. No election held in November 1937.	

#### COMPARISON OF FIGURES SHOWN ABOVE

April 1936 (preceding primary election of May 1936) shows 50.9 percent more W. P. A. employees than April 1937 (an off year). It also shows 15.886 percent more W. P. A. employees than April 1938 (no primary until August of 1938).

July 1938 (preceding primary election of August 1938) shows 51 percent more W. P. A. employees than July 1937 (an off year). It also shows more W. P. A. employees than July 1936.

October 1936 (preceding general election November 1936) shows 58 percent more W. P. A. employees than October 1937 (not an election year).

tion year)

October 1938 (preceding general election November 1938) shows 7 percent more W. P. A. employees than October 1937 (not an 97 percent more election year).

#### SENATORIAL PRIMARY MAY 1936 Expenditures in January, February, March, and

April 1936	\$10, 383, 192, 42
Expenditures in January, February, March, and April 1937.  Difference between election year of 1936 and year of 1937.	7, 994, 889. 18 2, 388, 303. 24
Expenditures in September 1936 Expenditures in October 1936 Expenditures in December 1936 Expenditure increase October over September Expenditure decrease December over October	\$2, 294, 442, 42 2, 765, 142, 63 2, 284, 626, 48 471, 300, 21

General election held in November 1936. No politics! A coincidence!

## EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

## EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ELLENDER in the chair) laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States, submitting sundry nominations and a convention, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

### EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of several postmasters in the State of Colorado, which were ordered to be placed on the Executive Calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will state the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

#### POSTMASTERS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of postmasters,

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask that the nominations of postmasters be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations of postmasters are confirmed en bloc.

That concludes the calendar.

#### RECESS

The Senate resumed legislative session.

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate take a recess

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Wednesday, January 25, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received January 24 (legislative day of January 17), 1939

United States Employees' Compensation Commission

Jewell W. Swofford, of Missouri, to be a member of the
United States Employees' Compensation Commission for a
term of 6 years from March 15, 1939. (Reappointment.)

#### SECRETARY OF ALASKA

Edward L. Bartlett, of Alaska, to be secretary of the Territory of Alaska, vice Edward W. Griffin, deceased.

#### UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGES

Gaston Louis Porterie, of Louisiana, to be United States district judge for the northern district of Louisiana to fill a position created by the act of Congress of May 31, 1938.

William Baxter Lee, of Tennessee, to be United States district judge for the western and middle districts of Tennessee to fill a position created by the act of Congress of May 31, 1938.

#### UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

William S. Boyle, of Nevada, to be United States attorney for the District of Nevada. (He is now serving under a recess appointment.)

### UNITED STATES MARSHAL

J. Leslie Ford, of Delaware, to be United States marshal for the district of Delaware. (He is now serving under a recess appointment.)

### COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE

William H. Burke, of Little River, Kans., to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Kansas in place of Harry D. Baker, resigned.

## PROMOTIONS IN THE COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY

TO BE JUNIOR HYDROGRAPHIC AND GEODETIC ENGINEERS (WITH RELATIVE RANK OF LIEUTENANT, JUNIOR GRADE, IN THE NAVY) BY PROMOTION FROM AIDE

William Clarence Russell, of Massachusetts, vice William M. Gibson, promoted.

Junius Thomas Jarman, of Mississippi, vice Ralph L. Pfau, promoted.

HYDROGRAPHIC AND GEODETIC ENGINEERS (WITH RELATIVE RANK OF LIEUTENANT IN THE NAVY) BY PROMOTION FROM JUNIOR HYDRO-GRAPHIC AND GEODETIC ENGINEER

William Murel Gibson, of Colorado, vice William D. Patterson, promoted.

Ralph Leslie Pfau, of Texas, vice Oliver S. Reading, promoted.

## CONFIMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 24 (legislative day of January 17), 1939

#### POSTMASTERS

LOUISIANA

Georgina C. Kinler, Luling.

### MISSISSIPPI

Daniel F. Smith, Carriere. Maude B. Morris, Mayhew.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Andrew McC. Blair, Rion.

WASHINGTON

Forrest W. Cahill, Kittitas. Kate T. S. Rush, Osborne.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, JANUARY 24, 1939

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O merciful God, our Father, let Thy ear be attentive to the voice of our supplication. We thank Thee for Thyself and for as much of the revelation as we can understand. We pray Thee that Thou wilt make Thyself known by all the tokens which are needful and by all the trials which are helpful and by all the discipline which cleanses. Heavenly Father, may we listen to the inner voice, heed its divine command, and set our ambition on fine achievements for our people. Make manifest unto us the high worth of the entire truth, entire honor, and entire fidelity. Unite us to Thee by those nobler dispositions and spiritual qualities that we may arise above the lower ranges of human life. Breathe Thy holy blessings upon our President, our Speaker, and the Congress assembled, and may the spirit of brotherhood prevail among us. In the blessed name of Jesus. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

### COLUMBIA HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of the act of June 10, 1872 (17 Stat. L. 360), the Chair appoints as members of the board of directors of the Columbia Hospital for Women the following Members of the House: Mrs. Norton and Mr. Robsion of Kentucky.

### COLUMBIA INSTITUTE FOR THE DEAF

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 4863 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, the Chair appoints as directors of the Columbia Institute for the Deaf the following Members of the House: Mr. Bloom and Mr. Kinzer.

### NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR BOYS

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of the act of May 3, 1876 (19 Stat. 52), the Chair appoints as consulting trustee for the National Training School for Boys the gentleman from Oklahoma, Mr. Massingale.

#### THOMAS JEFFERSON MEMORIAL COMMISSION

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of Public Resolution 49, Seventy-third Congress, the Chair appoints the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Lanham] to fill the vacancy on the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission, vice the gentleman from New York [Mr. Boylan].

Mr. PATMAN and Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Texas rise?

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask for recognition under the special order of the House.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from New Jersey rise?

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I desire to present a question of the highest constitutional privilege.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

IMPEACHMENT OF FRANCES PERKINS, SECRETARY OF LABOR; JAMES L. HOUGHTELING; AND GERARD D. REILLY

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, on my own responsibility as a Member of the House of Representatives,

I impeach Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor of the United States; James L. Houghteling, Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Labor; and Gerard D. Reilly, Solicitor of the Department of Labor, as civil officers of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States, and I charge that the aforesaid Frances Perkins, James L. Houghteling, and Gerard D. Reilly, as civil officers of the United States, were and are guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors in office in manner and form as follows, to wit: That they did willfully, unlawfully, and feloniously conspire, confederate, and agree together from on or about September 1, 1937, to and including this date, to commit offenses against the United States and to defraud the United States by failing, neglecting, and refusing to enforce the immigration laws of the United States, including to wit section 137, title 8, United States Code, and section 156, title 8, United States Code, against Alfred Renton Bryant Bridges, alias Harry Renton Bridges, alias Harry Dorgan, alias Canfield, alias Rossi, an alien, who advises, advocates, or teaches and is a member of or affiliated with an organization, association, society, or group that advises, advocates, or teaches the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, or the unlawful damage, injury, or destruction of property, or sabotage; and that the aforesaid Frances Perkins, James L. Houghteling, and Gerard D. Reilly have unlawfully conspired together to release said alien after his arrest on his own recognizance, without requiring a bond of not less than \$500; and that said Frances Perkins, James L. Houghteling, and Gerard D. Reilly and each of them have committed many overt acts to effect the object of said conspiracy, all in violation of the Constitution of the United States in such cases made and provided.

And I further charge that Frances Perkins, James L. Houghteling, and Gerard D. Reilly, as civil officers of the United States, were and are guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors by unlawfully conspiring together to commit offenses against the United States and to defraud the United States by causing the Strecker case to be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and by failing, neglecting, and refusing to enforce section 137, United States Code, against other aliens illegally within the United States contrary to the Constitution of the United States and the statutes of the United States in such cases made and pro-

In support of the foregoing charges and impeachment, I now present a resolution setting forth specifically, facts, circumstances, and allegations with a view to their consideration by a committee of the House and by the House itself to determine their truth or falsity.

Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution and ask that it be considered at this time.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

Mr. YOUNGDAHL. Mr. Speaker-

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Minnesota rise?

Mr. YOUNGDAHL. Mr. Speaker, I believe this matter is of sufficient importance to require a quorum present. I make the point of order of no quorum, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Is not the point of order not in order at this point, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER. The question raised by the gentleman is a constitutional question.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, the question of whether or not there is a quorum present is a constitutional one, and the Speaker has no discretion in the matter.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman make the point of order there is no quorum present?

Mr. YOUNGDAHL. I do, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and fifty-seven Members are present, not a

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House. A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 51

Austin	Evans	Kennedy, Michael	Pfeifer
Barton	Ferguson	McArdle	Rich
Bender	Fries	McMillan, John L.	Risk
Brown, Ohio	Gartner	McReynolds	Sabath
Buckley, N. Y.	Gavagan	Maciejewski	Schaefer, Ill.
Cluett	Gerlach	Marcantonio	Seger
Connery	Gillie	Martin, Ill.	Smith, Maine
Cooley	Hancock	Merritt	Somers, N. Y.
Creal	Hare	Mitchell	Steagall
Curley	Hartley	Monkiewicz	Sullivan
Daly	Hendricks	Norrell	Tinkham
Darrow	Holmes	O'Brien	White, Idaho
Ditter	Jenkins, Ohio	O'Leary	Wolfenden
Douglas	Jensen	Oliver	Wolverton
Eberharter	Johnson, Lyndon	O'Toole	Wood

The SPEAKER. On this roll call 373 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

Further proceedings under the call were dispensed with. Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the resolution be read at this time.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution. The Clerk read as follows:

#### House Resolution 67

Whereas Frances Perkins, of New York, was nominated by the President of the United States, confirmed by the Senate of the United States, duly qualified and commissioned on March 4, 1933, and has since March 4, 1933, without further nominations or confirmations, acted as Secretary of Labor and as a civil officer of the United States.

Whereas James L. Houghteling, of Illinois, was nominated by the President of the United States, confirmed by the Senate of the United States, duly qualified and commissioned on August 4, 1937, as Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Labor, and has since August 4, 1937, without further nominations or confirmations, acted as Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Labor and as a civil officer of the United States.

Whereas Gerard D. Reilly, of Massachusetts, was nominated by the President of the United States, confirmed by the Senate of the United States, duly qualified and commissioned on August 10, 1937, as Solicitor of the Department of Labor, and has since August 10, 1937, without further nominations or confirmations, acted as Solicitor of the Department of Labor and as a civil officer of the United

Whereas it is provided in article XI, section 4, of the Constitution of the United States of America that:

"The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors."

Whereas it is provided in article I, section 2, of the Constitution of the United States of America that:

"The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment."

Whereas it was enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled on February 14, 1903, 32 Stat. 828 (sec. 131, title 8, U. S. Code), that—

"The jurisdiction, supervision, and control over the immigration of aliens into the United States, its waters, territories, and any place subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are vested in the Department of Labor."

Whereas it was enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled on October 16, 1918 (40 Stat. 1012), as amended by the act approved June 5, 1920 (41 Stat. 1008 (sec. 137, title 8, U. S. Code)):

"SEC. 1. That the following aliens shall be excluded from admission into the United States:

"(a) Aliens who are anarchists;

"(b) Aliens who advise, advocate, or teach, or who are members of or affiliated with any organization, association, society, or group, that advises, advocates, or teaches, opposition to all organized government:

government;

"(c) Aliens who believe in, advise, advocate, or teach, or who are members of or affiliated with any organization, association, society, or group, that believes in, advises, advocates, or teaches:

(1) The overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or (2) the duty, necessity or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers (either of specific individuals or of officers generally) of the Government of the United States or any other organized government, because of his or their official character, or (3) the un-

the Government of the United States or any other organized government, because of his or their official character, or (3) the unlawful damage, injury, or destruction of property, or (4) sabotage; "(d) Aliens who write, publish, or cause to be written or published, or who knowingly circulate, distribute, print, or display, or knowingly cause to be circulated, distributed, printed, published, or displayed, or who knowingly have in their possession for the purpose of circulation, distribution, publication, or display, any written or printed matter advising, advocating, or teaching opposition to all organized government, or advising, advocating, or

teaching: (1) The overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or (2) the duty, necessity or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers (either of specific individuals or of officers generally) of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, or (3) the unlawful damage, injury, or destruction of property, or (4) sabotage;

"(e) Aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization, association, society, or group that writes, circulates, distributes, prints, publishes, or displays, or causes to be written, circulated, distributed, printed, published, or displayed, or that has in its possession for the purpose of circulation, distribution, publication, issue, or display, any written or printed matter of the character described in subdivision (d):

"For the pupose of this section: (1) The giving, loaning, or promising of money or anything of value to be used for the advising, advocacy, or teaching of such doctrine; and (2) the giving, loaning, or promising of money or anything of value to any organization, association, society, or group of the character above described shall constitute affiliation therewith; but nothing in this paragraph shall be taken as an exclusive definition of advising advocacy, teaching or affiliation.

above described shall constitute affiliation therewith; but nothing in this paragraph shall be taken as an exclusive definition of advising, advocacy, teaching, or affiliation.

"Sec. 2. That any alien who, at any time after entering the United States, is found to have been at the time of entry, or to have become thereafter, a member of any one of the classes of aliens enumerated in section 1 of this act, shall, upon the warrant of the Secretary of Labor, be taken into custody and deported in the manner provided in the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917. The provisions of this section shall be applicable to the classes of aliens mentioned in this act irrespective of the time of their entry into the United States.

States.

"SEC. 3. That any alien who shall, after he has been excluded and deported or arrested and deported in pursuance of the provisions of this act, thereafter return to or enter the United States or attempt to return to or to enter the United States shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment for a term of not more than 5 years; and shall, upon the termination of such imprisonment, be taken into custody, upon the warrant of the Secretary of Labor, and deported in the manner provided in the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917." 5, 1917."

ary 5, 1917."
Whereas it was enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled on February 5, 1917 (39 Stat. 874; sec. 156, title 8, U. S. Code) that—

"Pending the final disposal of the case of any alien so taken into custody, he may be released under a bond in the penalty of not less than \$500 with security approved by the Secretary of Labor, conditioned that such alien shall be produced when required for a hearing or hearings in regard to the charge upon which he has been taken into custody, and for deportation if he shall be found to be unlawfully within the United States."

Whereas title 18 of section 88 of the United States Code provides:

Whereas title 18 of section 88 of the United States Code provides:

"Conspiring to commit offense against United States (Criminal Code, sec. 37): If two or more persons conspire either to commit any offense against the United States, or to defraud the United States in any manner or for any purpose, and one or more of such parties do any act to effect the object of the conspiracy, each of the parties to such conspiracy shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than 2 years, or both. (R. S., sec. 5440; May 17, 1879, ch. 8, 21 Stat. 4; Mar. 4, 1909, ch. 321, sec. 37, 35 Stat. 1096.)"

That Frances Perkins, as Secretary of Labor; James L. Houghteling, as Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Service; and Gerard D. Reilly, as Solicitor of the Department of Labor, have failed, neglected, and refused to enforce the foregoing and other immigration laws of the United States; and have conspired together to violate the immigration laws of the United States; and have defrauded the United States by coddling and protecting from deportation certain aliens illegally within the United States in violation of the statutes in such cases made and provided.

That the following facts are submitted from the official files of

That the following facts are submitted from the official files of the Department of Labor and other sources for the consideration of the House of Representatives in support of this resolution:

the House of Representatives in support of this resolution:

Alfred Renton Bryant Bridges, alias Harry Renton Bridges, alias Harry Dorgan, alias Canfield, alias Rossi, an alien, a native of Australia and a British subject, was admitted to the United States at the port of San Francisco on April 12, 1920, and thereafter filed two declarations of intention to become a citizen of the United States, which he allowed to expire; that the said Harry Bridges, as usually known, did, in the year 1934, become an active labor leader and agitator in the State of California and on the west coast of the United States, and did then and at all times subsequent thereto believe in, advise, advocate, or teach, or was a member of or affiliated with an organization, association, society, or group, to wit, the Communist Party, that believed in, advised, advocated, or taught the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or all forms of law, or the unlawful damage, injury, or destruction of property, or sabotage; that during the year 1934, and on numerous occasions thereafter, complaints were made to Frances Perkins, as Secretary of Labor, directing her made to Frances Perkins, as Secretary of Labor, directing her attention to the presence of the said alien, Harry Bridges, within the United States and advising her of the subversive activities of said alien within the United States, of his membership in the Communist Party, and of his affiliation with widely known Communists during the maritime strike in San Francisco, Calif., and of the fact

that there was evidence the said alien, Harry Bridges, believed in, advised, advocated, or taught, or was a member of or affiliated with an organization, association, society, or group that believed in, advised, advocated, or taught, the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or the unlawful damage, injury, or destruction of property, or sabotage; and requests were made of Frances Perkins, as Secretary of Labor, to deport from the United States the said Harry Bridges as an alien engaged in illegal and subversive activities; and that said an alien engaged in illegal and subversive activities; and that said Frances Perkins, as Secretary of Labor, did thereafter fail, neglect, and refuse, for a period of approximately 4 years, to issue a warrant of arrest for the said alien, Harry Bridges, and did conspire with James L. Houghteling and Gerard D. Reilly ever since their said appointments as Commissioner and Solicitor to violate the laws the United States and to defraud the United States; and that the said Frances Perkins, James L. Houghteling, and Gerard D. Reilly have committed many overt acts to effect the objects of said

Reilly have committed many overt acts to effect the objects of said conspiracy, as shall be hereinafter shown.

On January 22, 1938, Frances Perkins addressed a letter to Senator Arthur H. Vandenburg, of Michigan, in which she said:

"Since the maritime strike in 1934 the Department has received so many inquiries about Mr. Bridges that about a year ago I asked the Immigration and Naturalization Service to prepare a memorardum containing a complete history of his record."

\* \* \*

randum containing a complete history of his record. \* \*

"This was the status of the case until this fall, when certain persons filed new complaints against him in the Seattle district office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. These complainants were questioned under oath, and their depositions (at plainants were questioned under cath, and their depositions (at that time there were four) were forwarded to the central office with recommendation that a warrant of arrest be issued. This, you will note, was not a recommendation for deportation as under the immigration rules such recommendation can be made only after a hearing at which time the alien is present with his counsel and given a chance to cross-examine the witnesses against him.

"As is the administrative practice of the Department, the matter was then referred to the Solicitor with a view to determining whether these depositions contain sufficient evidence to justify a

whether these depositions contain sufficient evidence to justify a formal hearing on charges that Mr. Bridges was deportable.

'It was the Solicitor's view that, while this evidence, is established, indicated that Mr. Bridges might come within the act of 1918, as amended by the act of 1920, the Department should investigate the case with a view to determining whether these deponents were trustworthy persons and whether any other witnesses. ponents were trustworthy persons and whether any other witnesses were available who might corroborate them. Pursuant to the instructions of the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, the Solicitor then proceeded immediately to the west coast, received some new information, and brought to the attention of the field officers some other aspects of the case which should be examined. Upon his return he also questioned Mr. Bridges, who was then in the East, in the New York office of the Immigration and Naturaliza-tion Service to obtain a deposition from him.

"As a result of this supplemental information several new avenues

of investigation were open, which are still being explored and which have resulted in the discovery of additional witnesses who have submitted depositions. This phase of the investigation has been

nearly completed and may soon culminate in a formal hearing.
"Because of this, I do not feel at liberty to divulge this preliminary testimony at this stage of the case, as the same considerations which prevent testimony taken before a grand jury from being revealed prior to trial apply with equal force in this instance."

That the application for a warrant of arrest of Harry Bridges was made on September 22, 1937, by R. J. Norene, divisional director, and R. P. Bonham, district director, of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, of Seattle, Wash.; and that the application for said warrant of arrest included nine grounds, the ninth ground being "that he (Bridges) believes in, advises, advocates, and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States."

uranization service as a follows:

"Submitted herewith please find application for warrant of arrest, with most unusual supporting evidence, in the matter of Harry Renton Bridges. The testimony of ——, who has been for a long time closely associated with Bridges and intimately affiliated with the Communist Party and active in their plans, acting under

orders of \_\_\_\_\_, is of great importance and compels belief in and the presentation of this application to the Department. \* \* \* "I believe it is proper that I acquaint the central office with the fact that when I interviewed Mr. Bridges sometime ago on another matter he boasted that he had seen the central office file relating matter he boasted that he had seen the central office file relating to himself and also that they had an excellent 'intelligence' organization of their own that kept them well informed of what was going on. Several of the witnesses in behalf of the Government are fearful of their lives, if ahead of the hearing the fact of their having to testify becomes known to the alien or the Communists. There will be no leak at this end and may I not, in order that their lives may not be unduly endangered, adjure the central office and the Department to observe the greatest precautions to safeguard inviolate this record."

This application for a warrant, and the covering letter of September 23, 1937, were not acted upon by the Department of Labor for several months. In the meantime said documents disappeared from the files of the Department of Labor. On February 5, 1938, the office copies of the Seattle district were forwarded by R. P. Bonham to Gerard D. Reilly, Solicitor of the Department of Labor, with the following letter:

"In reply to your urgent telegram I am forwarding herewith by

"In reply to your urgent telegram I am forwarding herewith by air mail our office copy of our original application, setting forth appropriate grounds therefor for the arrest of Harry Renton Bridges, alias, etc., together with my covering letter of September 23, 1937."

On February 8, 1938, Frances Perkins wrote to Harry Bridges, as

"I have your letter of February 3, 1938, stating that you have been informed that the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Labor has under consideration the holding of a hearing to determine whether or not you should be deported, and requesting that if it is decided that a hearing is to be held, you should be furnished with a detailed statement or a bill of particulars of the charges made against you.

"Your information that the Department is investigating charges which have been filed with the Immigration and Naturalization

which have been filed with the Immigration and Naturalization Service with regard to your status is correct. \* \* \* Under the administrative practice, the process which is served in advance of the hearing contains in some detail the specific charges upon which the proceedings are predicated, so that no person need have any

the proceedings are predicated, so that no person need have any fear of being brought into a formal hearing without having been apprised of the nature of the charges.

"With reference to your statement that the demand for hearings was based on trumped-up charges and evidence obtained through pressure upon you, I can only say that if this is true you will be given ample opportunity to bring this out at a hearing before the Department takes any final action. Should the Department proceed with hearings it does not mean that it has adopted the view that the evidence which the complaining witnesses are submitting is

the evidence which the complaining witnesses are submitting is necessarily trustworthy."

On February 9, 1938, Grafton S. Wilcox, managing editor of the New York Herald Tribune, wrote to Gerard D. Reilly, the Solicitor of the Labor Department, from which the following is quoted:

"Coincident with the introduction of the Copeland resolution, a member of the (Commerce) committee today confirmed the statement attributed to Gerard D. Reilly, Solicitor, Labor Department, that the Department was in possession of sufficient information about Harry Bridges, Pacific coast maritime leader for the C. I. O., to make out a prima facie case for his deportation as an alien. The Reilly statement does not appear in the published transcript of the hearings, but occurred 'off the record.' The stenographic report shows that an interval of 'off the record' testimony occurred toward the end of the hearing, while Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, Republican, of Michigan, was examining witnesses."

Mr. Wilcox further says:

Mr. Wilcox lurcher says:

"I also have talked to our bureau in Washington this afternoon concerning the matter, and Mr. Warner, the head of the bureau, said that yesterday Senator Copeland, chairman of the Commerce Committee, when asked about the Herald Tribune story of Tuesday morning, said that you had said 'off the record,' though in the presence of the committee, that you thought Mr. Bridges was deportable."

In a current teletype from one Warner, a bureau chief of the New York Herald Tribune, relating to Reilly's statement before the Commerce Committee of the Senate, is found the following:

the Commerce Committee of the Senate, is found the following:

"In regard to the Bridges' story I would like to say that Senator Copeland yesterday told a group of about eight reporters that the story in the Herald Tribune had been substantially correct, and that Mr. Reilly had told the committee that the Department had 'a case' which should result in the deportation of Bridges \* \* \*. Mr. Reilly today, in a telephone conversation, said that he had told the committee that a 'prima facie case could be made out against Bridges' by that he said he meant only that it was case which was not subject to demurrer and which, if the other side did not produce more credible testimony, should result in conviction and deportation. I asked if this was not an ordinary hazard of trial and he said that in this case there was no documentary proof but only a question of his witnesses against their witnesses.

"On the matter of his going out to the west coast to see if the

"On the matter of his going out to the west coast to see if the four signers of affidavits were trustworthy persons, he did not deny that part of his mission had been that, but did say that he had not said anything to the committee about having found them so. I am willing to admit that I have no corroboration for this other than the very obvious fact that if they had turned out not to be trustworthy persons the matter would doubtless have dropped right there.

"He (Reilly) did not ask for a retraction or anything of the sort in our conversation. I am sending him a copy of this memo-randum. Warner, bureau chief."

On February 11, 1938, Harry Bridges sent the following wire to

Frances Perkins:

"Copeland obvious attempt to prejudice my case requires immediate hearing re my deposition. Because of prejudicial statements emanating from Washington it is important that such hearing be held also in Washington. Please advise time and place of hearing and particulars on charges. (Signed) Harry Bridges."

The foregoing wire was answered on February 12, 1938, by James L. Houghteling, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Service as follows:

Service, as follows:

"Have your request for prompt hearing and agree with you that it is desirable that you be given opportunity to be heard as soon as possible on charges relating to deportation. Unable to advise you today the details of time and place but will notify you when arrangements completed."

Therefore the month of February 1933 Herry Bridges sought an

when arrangements completed."

During the month of February 1938, Harry Bridges sought an opportunity to appear as a witness before the Commerce Committee, of which Senator Royal S. Copeland was chairman, and the following letters were passed between Senator Copeland and Gerard D. Reilly, Solicitor of the Labor Department. On March 1, 1938, Mr. Reilly wrote to Senator Copeland, as follows:

"I appreciate the dilemma which you and Senator Vandenberg pointed out to me in that your committee has no desire to interfere with the quasi judicial process now pending in the Department, and yet wishes to afford to any representative of the labor and management interests involved complete opportunity to be heard on the merits of S. 3078. In view of that I can see no reason for the committee refraining from its normal procedure in hearing any pertinent legislative history with respect to the pending bill."

And on the same day Senator Copeland wrote to Mr. Reilly as

And on the same day Senator Copeland wrote to Mr. Reilly as

follows:

follows:

"You will recall that 10 days ago Senator Vandenbert and I explained to you our situation in regard to Harry Bridges' desire to be heard by our committee. It was our understanding that his deportation hearing would be ordered within a week. In that event it was deemed inadvisable to have him testify with the possibility of exciting public opinion one way or the other. We wish to have your advice. Since the committee meets tomorrow at 10:30 a.m. an early answer is much desired.

"We feel that you should be unembarrassed by public discussion at a time when a judicial attitude should be maintained by everybody."

at a time when a judicial attitude should be maintained by everybody."

Under date of March 5, 1938, there is a letter from Leon R. Fouch, acting district director of the Baltimore district, marked "Confidential," addressed to the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D. C., as follows:

"Referring to central office file No. 55973/217, and to warrant of arrest issued in respect of Alfred Renton Bryant Bridges, alias Harry Renton Bridges, alias Harry Dorgan, alias Canfield, alias Rossi, it is desired to state that the alien, accompanied by his attorney, Mr. Lee Pressman, appeared at this office today, and the warrant of arrest was served on him and endorsed to show such service. In accordance with the authorization contained in the warrant of arrest, the alien was released on his own recognizance with the understanding that he would present himself at San Francisco, Calif., on April 25, 1938, for a hearing.

"Lee Pressman and Aubrey Grossman filed their appearance in writing and the alien submitted a communication setting forth that these two persons were authorized to appear for and represent him in the proceedings, and above communications are attached hereto. The warrant of arrest is returned herewith and has been endorsed to show service and that the hearing is to be commenced in San Francisco, Calif., on April 25, 1938."

On March 7, 1938, there is a letter from James L. Houghteling, commissioner, to Leon R. Fouch, acting district director at Baltimore, Md., acknowledging receipt of Mr. Fouch's letter of March 5, in which he says:

"Many thanks for your satisfactory handling of this matter and prompt."

"Many thanks for your satisfactory handling of this matter and

"Many thanks for your settlement of Harry Bridges shows, enfrom treport."

The original warrant for the arrest of Harry Bridges shows, endorsed on the face thereof, the following:

"Pending further proceedings, the alien may be released from
custody upon his own recognizance."

And on the back of the original of said warrant is the following

endorsement:
"Service on alien at the office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service at Baltimore, Md., at 10:10 a. m., March 5, 1938. Hearing to be commenced in San Francisco, Calif., April 25, 1938. Charles R. Frank, immigrant inspector."

Thereafter, on March 23, 1938. Frances Perkins advised the Attorney General of the United States that formal deportation hearings with regard to Harry Bridges, of San Francisco, would begin in that city on April 25 and very likely be continued in Portland and Seattle and possibly Los Angeles on later dates, and stated therein that: stated therein that:

stated therein that:

"Several persons who have filed affidavits about the case with the Immigration and Naturalization Service have said that they feared for their personal safety if they were compelled to testify fearlessly. In order to assure protection for these people during the pendence of the hearing I would appreciate if you would notify the United States marshals in these cities to assist the local immigration officers to the extent that will seem desirable on days when particular witnesses are to appear."

On March 29, 1938, R. P. Bonham, district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Seattle, wrote a letter to T. B. Shoemaker, Deputy Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization at Washington, D. C., in which Mr. Bonham says:

"Protests have reached me against the holding in San Francisco or elsewhere of public hearings in the Bridges case, and confidential information has also reached me, which appears to be very reliable, to the effect that the same group of Communists that handled the propaganda and intimidation program in the Earl King et al. murder case has been detailed for the same purposes in the Bridges case. I cannot believe that this Service will consider the same purposes in the Bridges case. a hearing open indiscriminately to mass picketing, etc., etc. Such a proceeding would involve communistic demonstrations, in-timidation of witnesses, and prevent any orderly, dignified pro-ceeding. The Service would be bitterly critized for permitting such a disorderly farce. Will you please promptly inform me by air mail on this point?"

As evidence of the existence and virility of the Communist organizations on the existence and virility of the community or the community organizations on the west coast, and of their interest in Harry Bridges and the manner in which they deal with witnesses appearing against them, there is quoted a letter from Arthur J. Phelan. inspector in charge of the Legal Division at San Francisco, under date of April 11, 1938, as follows:

"Supplementing my report of April 8 relative to the case of Harry "Supplementing my report of April 8 relative to the case of Harry Bridges, the informant mentioned in the paragraph beginning at the end of page 15 thereof today refused to give any statement at this time, as he stated that Bridges had already told his 'beef squad' to get in a lot of practice, because after his hearing is over there will be a lot of 'work' for them to do on the witnesses who appear against him; that he expects to beat the case against him, and if he doesn't he will be able to delay his deportation for a couple of years and there will be a great deal of fireworks.

"This informant states that he was once beaten up by the radical

"This informant states that he was once beaten up by the radical element and sent to the hospital; that on another occasion when he appeared as a witness in a Communist deportation case he was taken up to the office of the attorney for the alien by the secretary of the Communist Party and was there manhandled, and that while he was working on W. P. A. the Workers' Alliance succeeded in having him dropped because of his having testified against Communists. His present disposition is to refuse to get involved in the

Mr. Bonham, who has been for many years employed in the Immigration and Naturalization Service and thoroughly versed concerning the dangers incident to witnesses appearing for the Government in the Bridges case, wrote Mr. Houghteling under date of April 14,

"It is my opinion and that of others with whom I have talked that the safest place to have the hearing for our witnesses would be Angel Island; they have a special launch that we could utilize, if necessary, for the safety of our witnesses. We have already arranged tentatively for quarters in Portland in the United States Courthouse Building, where our own officers are located, for the hearing there. Inspector Farrelly has informally advised me that he can secure police aid in protecting our witnesses in San Francisco. As I facetiously remarked in a personal letter to Mr. Shoemaker, if the Department of Justice were handling the case they would probably have no less than 40 men detailed on the matter."

The foregoing exhibits are submitted as evidence that the Government witnesses against Bridges were fearful of their lives, and

ernment witnesses against Bridges were fearful of their lives, and that the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Labor and Frances Perkins were intimidated by the threats of violence of Bridges and his communistic friends on the west coast.

As evidence of the arrogance of Harry Bridges, his impertinence and want of respect for the officials of the Department of Labor, the following excerpts are submitted from the examination of Bridges by Gerard D. Reilly, Solicitor, Department of Labor, in New York City on October 18, 1937:

"Q. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?—A. I

"Q. In the course of your activities with regard to organizing marine workers, have you become acquainted with a group known as the 'top fraction of the Communist Party'?—A. (By Mr. Cohen, Bridges' attorney.) I object to that as immaterial as to whether he knows a group known as the 'top fraction of the Communist Party.' It is not a proper subject of this inquiry.—A. (By Mr. Bridges.) I decline to answer on advice of counsel.

"Q. Did any of the three men (Lawrence Ross, Pop Hanoff, and Walter Lambert) I have mentioned ever give you any advice on a policy which you followed?—A. I have met and discussed labor policies and union affairs with Mme. Perkins, John L. Lewis, Dan McGrady and his assistants, Mayor Rossi, Governor Merriam, John Ryan—you can go on indefinitely.

There were present at this examination of Harry Bridges by Gerard D. Reilly, Sidney E. Cohen, of New York City, counsel for Harry Bridges, and Robert Lomberg, stenographer.

This examination of Bridges was nearly a month after the Bonham application for a warrant of arrest of Bridges, and 2½ months before

said warrant was issued.

After the attempt to examine Bridges by Mr. Reilly in New York City, and with the probability of deportation proceedings imminent against Bridges, many letters and telegrams were received by Frances Perkins, typical of which are the following:

"Maryland's Civil Liberties Committee strongly protests against reported intention of Department of Labor to issue warrant for deportation of Harry Bridges on unsupported charges that he is a radical agitator. We consider this contemplated move wholly an

radical agitator. We consider this contemplated move wholly an unwarranted attack upon constitutional rights of American labor."

The foregoing telegram was from Mauritz Hallgren, chairman, and Elizabeth Gilman, secretary, 513 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Md. On January 28, 1938, this telegram was answered by Gerard D. Reilly, solicitor, Department of Labor, as follows:

"Your committee need have no fear that the Department proposes to deport Mr. Harry Bridges or anyone else on unsupported charges. You may be sure that such procedure would be as repugnant to the Secretary of Labor as it would be to the Civil Libertles Committee of Maryland."

On February 8, 1938, Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, received

On February 8, 1938, Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, received the following wire:

"Wisconsin Workers' Alliance demands that President Bridges of the Timber Workers' Union be admitted to citizenship of this United States at once. We believe that no one should be denied citizenship because of his activities in labor circles.—Thomas Lapean, Secretary."

On February 2, 1938, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, of Bellingham, Wash., sent a resolution to Frances Perkins, attacking the record of Mr. R. P. Bonham, head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of that district, and asking the Secretary of Labor to "thoroughly investigate the conduct of the Immigration Service in said district and take such steps and make such changes in personnel as will secure to all steps and make such changes in personnel as will secure to all legal residents their lawful rights and constitutional guaranties."

The foregoing letters and telegrams are introduced as illustrative

of the pressure brought on the Department of Labor to save Bridges from deportation, and this pressure may also be evidence of the instantaneous reaction of Frances Perkins, James L. Hough-telling, and Gerard D. Reilly when the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, at New Orleans, La., on April 6, 1938, de-cided the much-publicized Strecker case. In this case a decision of Wayne G. Borah, district judge, denying a writ of habeas corpus to said alien, was reversed in an opinion by Circuit Judge Hutcheson

As shall hereinafter be shown:
The decision of the fifth circuit in the Strecker case was based

As shall hereinafter be shown:

The decision of the fifth circuit in the Strecker case was based upon the conclusion of the court that insufficient evidence had been offered by the Government as to the character of the Communist Party; in other words, that the Government had failed to show that the Communist Party was an organization that taught the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. The circuit court, on June 7, 1938, amended its order in the Strecker case to read as follows:

"The judgment of reversal is amended to read 'Reversed, with directions to try the issues de novo as suggested in Ex parte Fierstein (41 Fed. (2d), p. 54)."

It followed, therefore, that at a retrial before the district court an opportunity would have been given to the Government to introduce additional evidence showing the character of the Communist Party. Certain stock exhibits which had been usually offered by the Government in such deportation cases to show the character of the Communist Party, and which for some unknown reason were not offered in evidence before the district court in the Strecker case, were available and had previously been accepted by many Federal courts as proof that the Communist Party was an organization that taught the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

Prior to perfecting the appeal in the Strecker case and on May 11, 1938, James L. Houghteling wrote a confidential letter to R. P. Bonham, district director, at Seattle, Wash, in which he stated:

"From the books which you have heretofore forwarded to Mr. Shoemaker, excerpts have been taken tending to show that the Communist Party believes in the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence."

Nevertheless, Frances Perkins, James L. Houghteling, and Gerard D. Reilly refused this opportunity to submit the usual stock exhibits in the Strecker case, and postponed the Bridges deportation

D. Reilly refused this opportunity to submit the usual stock exhibits in the Strecker case, and postponed the Bridges deportation hearing until an appeal could be perfected to the Supreme Court of the United States on an admittedly defective record in the Strecker case.

Strecker case.

Shortly after the conspirators herein agreed to postpone the Bridges case, James L. Houghteling, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Service, addressed the national executive committee of the American Legion at Indianapolis, Ind. In his statement as reported by the national commander of the American Legion, in his testimony before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Mr. Houghteling said:

American Activities, Mr. Houghteling said:

"Therefore, gentlemen, I am up here to say that any criticism of the Immigration Service since the 1st day of September, when I took office, is a criticism which I have got to answer for. I am responsible and anything you gentlemen have to criticize in the administration of the Immigration and Naturalization Service is on my shoulders. We proposed to have hearings on Harry Bridges. The hearings were set for the 25th of April. Harry Bridges was served with a warrant of arrest in Baltimore on the 5th day of March, and he is now released on his own recognizance and subject to hearing on his own deportability. We were sending two of our to hearing on his own deportability. We were sending two of our men out from the Department and they were being joined by men from the coast who have been conducting preliminary hear-ings, the hearings on Harry Bridges' deportability. The travel orders were issued when we received the findings of the court in the case of Strecker v. Kessler in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans, which held that the membership in the Communist Party, standing alone, was not sufficient to deport. \* \* We have deported 100 aliens in the last 3 or 4 years for membership in the Communist Party. We were not sustained. We immediately took counsel among ourselves as to whether to go ahead and develop our testimony against Bridges in the face of that decision. We counseled with the Department of Justice and with our own legal department, and it was our considered opinion that we would do better to ask the Supreme Court to review that case and to withhold until we got a review which might better define what we must prove to make a good case of deportation against a man who is accused of being a member of the Communist Party, and until the Supreme Court might hand down a clarifying decision to determine what we ought to do to prove it. From some conversation I had in this hall before to prove it. From some conversation I had in this hall before I came up here, I judge that our decision is not being received very favorably by some members of the Legion who have given some study to the problem."

Although Frances Perkins, James L. Houghteling, and Gerard D.

Although Frances Perkins, James L. Houghteling, and Gerard D. Reilly had an opportunity to retry the Strecker case in the United States District Court, and there to offer the usual stock exhibits and to present the strongest possible case to the United States Supreme Court in the event of another reversal by the Circuit Court of Appeals, they chose rather to appeal an admittedruit complete record to the Supreme Court of the United States. To further the objects of their conspiracy, they chose rather to use such pending appeal as an excuse to defer further proceedings against Bridges and other aliens who stood charged with membership in the Communist Party.

As proof of the foregoing averments I cite the full text of a letter written by Chairman Martin Dies, of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities to the Solicitor General, Department of Justice, as shown in volume 3, pages 2075 to 2083 of the hearings of said committee:

of said committee:

OCTOBER 29, 1938.

ROBERT H. JACKSON, Esq., Solicitor General, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. JACKSON: This is to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of October 26, 1938, in which you invite me to assist you in presenting the Strecker case to the Supreme Court.

From my study of the record in this case I think that the Depart ment of Justice certainly needs some assistance. I am confident that you are not acquainted with many important facts in this case, which clearly demonstrate that Mme. Perkins, Secretary of Labor, is endeavoring to use you and the Department of Justice to "pull her chestnuts out of the fire." My reasons for holding this opinion are

(1) That the Department of Justice was induced to appeal this case from the decision of the circuit court of appeals when that court only ordered that it should be remanded for a new trial.

That the Department of Justice, in perfecting its appeal from the fifth circuit, was led to agree to a stipulation of facts ignoring an important finding by Turner W. Battle, Assistant to the Secretary

of Labor, in the deportation warrant of Strecker.

of Labor, in the deportation warrant of Strecker.

(3) That this agreed stipulation of facts restricted the issues before the Supreme Court to a single question, to wit, was membership in the Communist Party in 1932 for a short while sufficient in itself to justify the deportation of Strecker? And the agreed stipulation ignored the evidence in the record which sustained a finding by Turner W. Battle, Assistant to the Secretary of Labor, that Strecker believed in and taught the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States, which allegation was and is, under the act, sufficient in and of itself to justify the deportation of Strecker, if supported by any evidence.

(4) That the records of the Labor Department clearly show that Mme. Frances Perkins misrepresented to our committee the facts and the law upon the basis of which she claims to have deferred further proceedings against Harry Bridges, and misrepresented the effect which the decision in the Strecker case had upon the deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges.

(5) That the Labor Department files reveal a strong bias on the part of Mme. Frances Perkins and the Department of Labor in favor of Harry Bridges, and an effort on their part to protect, rather

than to deport, him.

(6) That as head of the Labor Department, Mme. Frances Perkins is endeavoring to throw the Strecker case in order to save Harry Bridges, a Communist and alien labor leader, in violation of the laws of the United States, the decisions of our Federal courts, and her oath of office.

As proof of the statements heretofore made I submit the follow

ing excerpts from the records of the Department of Labor in the Harry Bridges case from the record on appeal in the Strecker case. In support of my first charge on page 118 of the record on appeal in the case of Joseph George Strecker there appears the following extract from the minutes of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals under date of June 7, 1938:

"The judgment of reversal is amended to read: 'Reversed, with directions to try the issues de novo as suggested in Ex Parte Fierstein (41 Fed. (2d), p. 54)'."

In other words, when the Department of Justice was induced to appeal this case from the decision of the circuit court of appeals it was not a final judgment in favor of Strecker, but was simply an order of the fifth circuit remanding the case to the district court

for a new trial. It is obvious from the decision of Judge Hutche-

for a new trial. It is obvious from the decision of Judge Hutcheson, which appears in the record at page 110, that—
"The evidence, and the only evidence relied on for the finding and order, is that during the Presidential campaign of 1932, when one Foster was running as the white, and one Ford as the colored candidate of the Communist Party of America, for President of the United States, appellant, in November 1932, became a member of the Communist Party and accepted certain literature of the Communist Party for distribution. \* \* \* None of the literature which he was supposed to have circulated in 1932 was introduced, but his book of membership in the Communist Party in ture which he was supposed to have circulated in 1932 was introduced, but his book of membership in the Communist Party in the United States was. Not a word in his membership book advocated, incited, or even suggested that the Government of the United States should be overthrown by force or violence. \* \* The record contained also, offered by the Bureau, extract from a copy of the Communist dated April 1934, 'eighth convention issue, a magazine of the theory and practices of Marxism and Leninism, published monthly by the Communist Party in the United States of America.' Not a single extract from this magazine referred to the Government of the United States of America directly or indirectly."

the Government of the United States of America directly or indirectly."

In other words, the finding against the Government in the Strecker case by the fifth circuit was due to the fact that inadequate evidence was offered as to the character of the Communist Party, and proof was not introduced in evidence that the Communist Party believed in, advised, advocated, or taught the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States.

In view of the foregoing, the letter of Gerard D. Reilly, solicitor of labor, dated April 16, 1938, and addressed to the Attorney General of the United States, is proof that the Department of Labor knew that the usual evidence introduced in deportation cases was omitted at the hearing of Strecker and therefore was not a part of the record in this case, although such proof had been commonly used in other cases involving deportation of persons belonging to the Communist Party.

In Mr. Reilly's letter to the Attorney General of the United States he said:

he said:

he said:

"In the instant case, however, the Government introduced as documentary exhibits both the membership book of the alien which contained some statements of Communist theory and a copy of the April 1934 issue of a periodical entitled "The Communist: A Magazine of the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism.' Selected excerpts from this magazine were also read into the record. While it is true that, since the manifesto of the Communist International and the constitution of the Communist Party of America—apparently the stock exhibits considered by other circuit courts of apparently the stock exhibits considered by other circuit courts of appeal—were not introduced, the argument might be advanced that the articles in this magazine are not necessarily the official teachings of the Communist Party, there is no doubt that the magazine was written or printed matter circulated and published by the party, since the masthead states that it is published monthly by the Communist Party of the United States of America."

In other words, there is positive and absolute proof in Mr. Reilly's letter to the Attorney General of the United States that certain stock exhibits, proving the character of the Communist Party, were

omitted in the proof against Strecker, and that such exhibits had previously been used in other cases.

It follows that when the Department of Justice appealed the It follows that when the Department of Justice appealed the Strecker decision it turned down an opportunity to retry the case and introduce the usual evidence customarily offered to prove the official teachings of the Communist Party. Nevertheless, at the instance and request of the Solicitor of Labor, the aforesaid Gerard D. Reilly, the Department of Justice chose rather to appeal a doubtful case when it might, by a new trial, have presented the complete facts to the court, which would have avoided the necessity of an appeal to the Supreme Court.

In support of the second statement which I have heretofore made, I desire to call your attention to the fact that in September 1938 you filed a petition for a writ of certiorari in the Supreme Court of the United States in which you stated that the quesion presented to the Supreme Court is "whether the court erred in falling to sustain an order of deportation against respondent, an alien who in 1932 became a member of the Communist Party of the United States."

You have stated that the "specification of errors to be urged" in

the Supreme Court are:

the Supreme Court are:

"(1) In holding that an alien who in 1932 became a member of the Communist Party is not by reason of that fact subject to deportation under the act of October 18, 1918, as amended by the act of June 5, 1920 (U. S. C., title 3, sec. 137); (2) in holding that the evidence before the Secretary of Labor concerning the principles of the Communist Party was insufficient to sustain the order of deportation; (3) in remanding the case for a trial de novo in the district court; (4) in falling to affirm the judgment of the district court in the Strecker case."

the Strecker case."

The agreed statement contained in your petition for a writ of certiorari (p. 5) omits the finding of Turner W. Battle, Assistant to the Secretary of Labor, in the deportation warrant that Strecker should be deported "in that he believes in and teaches the overshould be deported "in that he believes in and teaches the over-throw by force and violence of the Government of the United States" (although this point was urged by the United States attor-ney in his petition for rehearing) and includes only the fact that "after his entry he was found (R. 114-115) to have become a mem-ber of one of the classes of aliens enumerated in section 1 of the act, as amended, to wit, an alien who is a member of or affiliated with an organization, association, society, or group that believes in, advises, or teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.'

In other words, in your agreed statement in the petition for a writ of certicrari you have omitted an important finding by the Assistant to the Secretary of Labor in the deportation warrant and

Assistant to the Secretary of Labor in the deportation warrant and apparently sought to narrow the issues on appeal to the question of membership in the Communist Party of the United States.

In doing this you were undoubtedly guided by the statement contained in the letter of Mr. Reilly, heretofore referred to, addressed to the Attorney General of the United States, under date of April 16, 1938, wherein he stated: "That portion of the court's decision relating to the first count in the warrant, namely, that the alien's own statements of his political and economic beliefs did not indicate that he himself believed, taught, or advocated the overthrow of the United States by force and violence is of little significance except to the peculiar facts of the case. It should be pointed out, however, that irrespective of an alien's personal views, the statute makes deportable aliens who are members of organizations that believe, advise, advocate, and teach the overthrow by tions that believe, advise, advocate, and teach the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States, or force and violence of the Government of the United States, or organizations which circulate literature to the same effect. \* \* It is this phase of the opinion which makes the holding an important one and raises the question of a conflict with the rules of decision in other circuit courts of appeal. While it is true, as the appellate court noted, that the statute itself makes no mention of the Communist Party, it has been a settled practice in the Immigration and Naturalization Service for many years to regard that party as an organization coming within the language of the statute, and until this decision the various circuit courts of appeal which have passed on the question have generally found that where membership in the Communist Party was established, that fact alone was sufficient evidence to support a deportation order, at least if there was evidence in the record of the official literature published and circulated by the party. (The necessity for this last published and circulated by the party. (The necessity for this last requirement was stressed in Ex parte Fierstein, 41 Fed. (2d) 53, C. C. A. 9, 1930.)"

C. C. A. 9, 1930.)"

It appears from the foregoing quotation that you were induced by the Solicitor of the Department of Labor to take an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States on a question which he himself admits was not properly presented to the Court, and that you have omitted from urging (as did the United States attorney in his petition for rehearing) the fact that competent and material evidence was introduced showing that Strecker believed in and taught the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

In support of the third statement which I have made, your peti-

the United States.

In support of the third statement which I have made, your petition omits the finding of Turner W. Battle, assistant to the Secretary of Labor, in the deportation warrant, to the effect that Strecker should be deported "in that he believes in and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States," and thus obviously attempts to restrict the Supreme Court to a consideration of the single question, to wit: Was membership in the Communist Party in 1932 in and of itself sufficient to testify the deportation of Strecker?

bership in the Communist Party in 1932 in and of itself sufficient to justify the deportation of Strecker?

Although the record on appeal contains ample evidence to support the finding of Turner W. Battle that Strecker did believe in and teach the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States, you have failed to make this an equal issue before the Supreme Court of the United States are equal issue before the Supreme Court of the United States should hold that Strecker's membership in the Communist Party in 1932 did not in and of itself constitute sufficient ground for his deportation, still, if the Supreme Court should find (assuming that that question was properly presented) that Strecker was one who believed in and taught the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States, then the Supreme Court would have to reverse the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit and sustain Judge Borah in refusing Strecker's application for a writ of habeas corpus, which would automatically result in the deportation of Strecker.

As proof of the statements which I have just made, I quote here-

As proof of the statements which I have just made, I quote herewith excerpts from the testimony of Joseph George Strecker at a hearing conducted at Hot Springs, Ark., on October 25, 1933, before Immigration Inspector Carroll D. Paul, and also from his statement before Acting District Director Walter L. Wolfe on September 16, 1933:

"Q. Are you a member of any organization or society, social, fraternal, or political?—A. I was a member of the Communist Party of America.

"Q. What do you mean you were a member of the Communist Party of America?—A. Well, I haven't paid my dues since February 1932.

ary 1933.

"Q. Have you notified the organization that you were withdrawing

from it?—A. No.

"Q. Have you had a change of heart or mind in the matter, or have you simply failed to pay your dues?-A. Just failed to pay

have you simply failed to pay your dues?—A. Just failed to pay my dues.

"Q. Then you still feel the same as you did at the time of your initiation?—A. Yes.

"Q. Have you ever become a member of any organization without first acquainting yourself with its intents and purposes?—A. No.

"Q. Is this your membership book in the Communist Party of the United States [presenting membership book No. 2844, issued November 15, 1932, to Joe Strecker]?—A. Yes.

"Q. Were you at the time of your initiation into the Communist Party familiar with its intents and purposes?—A. Yes.

"Q. How did you acquire this prior knowledge of communism?—A. From a study of the writings of Marx.

"Q. How long have you studied the writings of Marx?—A. About

Q. Are you in accord with Marx in regard to the social order of

things?—A. Yes.

"Q. Will you tell me what the aims and purposes of the Communist Party of America are?—A. Yes; it proposes to destroy capitalism and establish a government by the people.

"Q. Do you mean a government by the people.
"Q. Do you mean a government similar to that now in existence in Russia?—A. Exactly.

"Q. Do you mean a government similar to that now in existence in Russia?—A. Exactly.

"Q. What means will the Communist Party of America use to attain its purposes?—A. I do not know what will be necessary.

"Q. Will it resort to armed force in the event that should be necessary?—A. That is what they say.

"Q. Who says that?—A. The leaders of communism.

"Q. Do you mean the local leaders, the national leaders, or those in Russia?—A. All of them.

"Q. Do you think that the present form of government in the United States should be destroyed and a communistic or Russian form of government established in the United States?—A. I think that the destruction of capitalism is inevitable and that the sooner it comes the better off we shall all be.

"Q. Would you personally bear arms against the present United

"Q. Would you personally bear arms against the present United States Government?—A. Not at this time.

"Q. Why not at this time?—A. Because communism is not strong

enough now.

enough now.

"Q. Supposing that the majority of the populace of the United States were Communists, and were certain of a victory over capitalism in an armed conflict, would you then personally bear arms against the present Government?—A. Certainly; I would be a fool to get myself killed fighting for capitalism.

"Q. Have you ever been in the military service of any country?—

A. No.

"Q. Have you done any work for the Communist Party since becoming a member?—A. All I have done was to hand out some

'Q. Where did you obtain these papers?—A. From the headquarters in Kansas City.

"Q. What was the nature of this literature?—A. It was something

"Q. What was the nature of this literature?—A. It was something calling upon the people to unite.

"Q. To unite for what?—A. Against capitalism.

"Q. When you speak of capitalism do you mean the present form of government of the United States?—A. It is all the same thing,

"Q. Did you circulate this literature that was sent you?—A. I gave it to some other people to circulate.

"Q. Will you name them?—A. I have forgotten who it was.

"Q. What was your purpose in filing your petition for citizenship in the United States?—A. I thought I would have more protection if I was a citizen of the United States.

"Q. Protection from what?—A. From the law.

"Q. Protection from what?—A. From the law.

"Q. Isn't it a fact that your party leader advised you not to become too active in that you might be subject to deportation from the United States?—A. Something like that.

United States?—A. Something like that.

"Q. Is that the reason you stopped paying your dues?—A. No.

"Q. In the event the Communist Party of America attains sufficient power or proportion to be of service to you, will you pay up your back dues and go along with them?—A. Certainly.

"Q. What is the name and address of your nearest relative in Austria?—A. My wife, Sofia Strecker, Kamionka Strum, Austria.

"Q. Have you any further statement to make?—A. No. "Q. Is it true, as reported to the Government, that you have been distributing communistic literature?—A. A tailor from Little Rock handed me some of this literature and I handed it to somebody else, but I do not know the name of the person or persons to whom I handed it.

"Q. Is it not true that at one time you had a considerable quantity of communistic literature in your home?—A. I have received letters from New York urging me to buy gold bonds of the Communist Government in Russia.

"Q. Have you ever bought any of these bonds?—A. Yes; I have bought 2,200 rubles' worth of the Soviet Union Socialist Republic, for which I paid in American money the sum of \$1,588.

"Q. When did you make this purchase?—A. About 2 months ago. It was represented to me that the United States Government's money would soon be worthless, or at best very cheap, and I thought it wise for my own protection to put my money into bonds of the present Russian Soviet Government. These bonds are paying inter-

est in gold dollars, American money.

"Q. Do you now deny on your oath that you are a Communist at heart?—A. I do not consider myself a Communist because I am not heart?—A. I do not consider myself a Communist because I am not paying dues to the Communist Party. I do not know whether we shall ever have a communistic system in the United States. I have read Marx's books and Marx states that sooner or later there will be a "red" government in every country in the world. I am trying to protect myself and that is why I bought the bonds of the Russian Government. I do not know what is going to happen; I do not know how long I am going to live. If I knew when I was going to die, I would get me about four women and have a hell of a time before I die. If communism comes in this country, I will not be against it because I have to go with the people, and whatever the people want I will have to go along with them \* \*."

In support of my fourth proposition that Mme. Frances Perkins has misrepresented to our committee facts and the law upon the basis of which she claims to have deferred further pro-

ceedings against Harry Bridges, I direct your attention to her letter to me of August 30, 1938, in which she said:

"You are incorrect in saying that the facts in the two cases—the Strecker case and the Bridges case—are dissimilar. As a matter of fact, they are identical except for the fact that Strecker admitted that he was a Communist and that he distributed Communist literature, where Bridges has not so admitted. In other words, the case in regard to Strecker was much stronger."

Such a statement is preposterus. There were never two cases

Such a statement is preposterous. There were never two cases identical; and her contention that the Strecker case is a stronger identical; and her contention that the Strecker case is a stronger case than the one which the Department has against Bridges is not only not sustained by her own records but is contradicted by them. To illustrate: On April 20, 1938, James L. Houghteling, Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Labor, at Washington, D. C., received the following wire from R. P. Bonham, district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service at Seattle, Wash., in which wire Mr. Bonham said to Mr. Houghteling: "Bedio news appointed with contributions Bridges hearing until

said to Mr. Houghteling:

"Radio news announces your continuance Bridges hearing until Supreme Court decides New Orleans case. Hope this is incorrect as difficult protect our witnesses indefinitely. I have examined entire record testimony and the court decisions said case. Service failed introduce adequate proof party teaches violence. We have ample such evidence, both in current official party documents and on part of witnesses. New Orleans case weak and devoid proper proof; therefore, not hurtful or controlling our case. Hope same will not be regarded as precedent or of sufficient consequence postponing pending case. Please wire instructions.

"BONHAM."

"Bonham."

On the confirmation of the above telegram which was forwarded by Mr. Bonham to Mr. Houghteling appears this further statement by Mr. Bonham:

"Drar Mr. Houghteling: The Strecker case is very weak, consisting more of inference than evidence. The court's decision is based, I think, upon the proposition that we can't deport just because an alien is proved to be a member of the Communist Party, but that we must also prove that said organization teaches or prints or displays matter advocating violent overthrow of our Government. Case rests only on the absence of such facts or proof and not upon any fundamental question. The case was remanded for further proceedings. What could that mean except. Government. Case rests only on the absence of such facts or proof and not upon any fundamental question. The case was remanded for further proceedings. What could that mean except for evidence of vicient revolution doctrines of the said organization? An appeal will not cure the situation, in my judgment, but rather complicate it.

"Sincerely,

"R. P. BONHAM."

Mr. Bonham is a veteran in the Immigration and Naturalization

Mr. Bonham is a veteran in the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Labor Department, and has been described in a letter by Mr. Houghteling to Edward W. Cahill, district commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, under date of April 21, 1938, as "keenly devoted to his duty as he sees it." Further, Mr. Bonham, in a letter under date of May 9, 1938, to Mr. Houghteling, said: "I have always been able to introduce these books to prove the charge that the alien belongs to an organization that printed and published, etc., literature advocating the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. The courts have, without exception, dismissed writs challenging this procedure in cases which I have conducted. The witnesses we had assembled for the Bridges hearing had among them some former functionaries of the party who were well informed and who would have testified to the Communist Party of the United States of America being the American section of the Comintern (Communist International) and to the definite commitment to force and violence in bringing about the overthrow of mitment to force and violence in bringing about the overthrow of our Government."

Mme. Frances Perkins' experience and judgment on immigra tion and naturalization matters are of no value, as against the experience and judgment of District Director Bonham, who has devoted many years exclusively to immigration and naturalization matters and has been responsible for the preparation of the case

against Harry Bridges.

against Harry Bridges.

A second illustration of the misrepresentation of Mme. Frances Perkins is found in her letter, as follows: "This Department has recommended that this decision (Strecker) be appealed to the Supreme Court since it was recognized at once, not only by the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization and the Solicitor of this Department but by officials of the Department of Justice with whom they conferred, that unless this holding were reversed by the highest court, that the charges brought against Bridges, even if proved, had no legal significance whatsoever."

This statement of Mme. Frances Perkins is contrary to the statement previously quoted from the letter of the Solicitor of the Department of Labor to the Attorney General of the United States. wherein he said: "Until this decision the various circuit courts of appeals which have passed on the question have generally found

appeals which have passed on the question have generally found that where membership in the Communist Party was established,

that where membership in the Communist Party was established, that fact alone was sufficient evidence to support a deportation order—at least if there was evidence in the record of the official literature published and circulated by the party."

Mme. Frances Perkins' statement, that unless the Strecker case were reversed in the Supreme Court "the charges brought against Bridges, even if proved, had no legal significance whatsoever," is so ridiculous as hardly to require answering. Numerous decisions holding contrary to the Strecker decision have been rendered by the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, which

would have jurisdiction of the Bridges case; and yet, Mme. Frances Perkins, in her letter would represent that a decision of the fifth circuit, in New Orleans, La., unless it was reversed by the Supreme Court of the United States would be authoritative against many decisions holding to the contrary in the ninth circuit. The Department of Justice knows, the Solicitor of the Labor Department knows, and Mme. Frances Perkins ought to know that a circuit court of appeals which has passed upon a subject is bound by its own decisions and not by the decisions of some other circuit. Such a misrepresentation by the Secretary of Labor is inexcusable. inexcusable.

inexcusable.

Furthermore, the records in the Department of Labor contain a teletype copy of a story which was sent by Mr. Beall to the managing editor of the New York Herald Tribune, as follows:

"In regard to the Bridges story I would like to say that Senator Copeland yesterday told a group of about eight reporters that the story in the Herald Tribune had been substantially correct, and that Mr. Reilly had told the committee that the Department had

story in the Herald Tribune had been substantially correct, and that Mr. Reilly had told the committee that the Department had a case which should result in the deportation of Bridges."

The above statement has never been denied by Mr. Reilly, although the statement did not appear on the published transcript of the hearing before the Senators, but occurred "off the record."

In support of my fifth statement, as you probably know, the ordinary allen against whom a complaint has been made is immediately arrested by the Department of Labor, incarcerated, and hearings are conducted, without delay, by inspectors of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, to ascertain whether or not he is an alien who is deportable under the law, while in the case of Harry Bridges, months and years have transpired since the first complaints were filed against him.

As evidence of the favored position occupied by Harry Bridges, although he has been under investigation for many years, the Department of Labor has never as yet had a hearing to develop the facts with respect to him and has refused and ignored repeated requests of individuals, patriotic organizations, and even its own district director to proceed with the Bridges deportation hearings. Furthermore, the Labor Department's files clearly indicate that Harry Bridges is treated very differently from the ordinary alien who is illegally in the United States, as evidenced by a letter from R. P. Bonham, under date of September 23, 1937, to Edward J. Shaughnessy, Assistant Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, in which Mr. Bonham said: "I believe it proper that I acquaint the central office with the fact that when I interviewed Mr. Bridges some time ago on another matter he boasted that he had seen the central office with the fact that when I interviewed Mr. Bridges some time ago on another matter he boasted that he had seen the central office with the fact that when I interviewed Mr. Bridges some time ago on another matter he boasted that I acquaint the central office with the fact that when I interviewed Mr. Bridges some time ago on another matter he boasted that he had seen the central office file relating to himself and also that 'they' had an excellent 'intelligence' organization of their own that kept them well informed of what was going on. Several of the witnesses in behalf of the Government are fearful of their lives if ahead of the hearing the fact of their having to testify becomes known to the allen or Communists. There will be no leak at this end and may I not, in order that their lives may not be unduly endangered, adjure the central office and the Department to observe the greatest precautions to safeguard inviolate this record?" Several

this record?"

As further evidence of the favored position occupied by Harry Bridges with the Department of Labor, in the memorandum of Mr. Houghteling to the Secretary of Labor under the date of April 14, 1938, Mr. Houghteling suggests as one reason for postponing the Bridges hearing the following: "If we go ahead with the hearing scheduled for the 25th and the Supreme Court should later affirm the action of the circuit court of appeals in the Strecker case, the Department might be charged with 'smearing' Harry Bridges unnecessarily."

This fear on the part of the Department of Labor lest it might "smear" this alien Communist, who has been illegally within the United States since 1920, is evidence of more than bias in his

Onted States since 1920, is evidence of more than bias in his favor.

As further evidence of the favored position enjoyed by Harry Bridges and the consideration shown to him by the Department of Labor, it appears from the records of this Department that a Mr. Pressman, apparently the legal adviser of Harry Bridges, requested the Department by letter on April 12, 1938, for a "so-called bill of particulars as to the reasons underlying the institution of proceedings against Mr. Bridges." Commenting on this request, in a memorandum for the Solicitor, dated April 14, 1938, T. B. Shoemaker, Deputy Commissioner, said: "The basic thought is that the Department would be less likely to be criticized from any sources if it adhered strictly to the long-established practice in warrant proceedings and did not depart therefrom for this or any other particular case." In longhand on the margin of this letter, is found the following statement: "I do not entirely agree but matter can be postponed until case is set down for hearing again. G. D. R." (G. D. R. are the initials of Mr. Reilly.)

Further light is thrown on the attitude of prominent officials of the Department of Labor in the letter from Edward W. Cahill, district commissioner of immigration and naturalization at San Francisco, Calif., to James L. Houghteling, Commissioner, wherein the following significant language was used: "Before we bury this

cisco, Calif., to James L. Houghteling, Commissioner, wherein the following significant language was used: "Before we bury this case (Bridges case), may I just present this sequence of facts?" On the same day, April 21, 1938, Mr. Houghteling, writing to Mr. Cahill, said: "Because of the reproof which I was obliged to administer therein to Mr. Bonham's excessive zeal and bad judgment in putting into the record his telegram prejudging the action of the central office, I request that you destroy this copy after reading it; you may, however, show it to Mr. Haff, whom I wish to keep in touch with the developments in this situation. Because Raphael

Bonham is so keenly devoted to his duty as he sees it, I should not want a knowledge of this gentle reprimand to go beyond yourself and Mr. Haff."

and Mr. Haff."

Finally, on February 8, 1938, Mme. Frances Perkins wrote to Harry Bridges a personal letter in which she said: "Should the Department proceed with hearings, it does not mean that it has adopted the view that the evidence which the complaining witnesses have submitted is necessarily trustworthy."

The reasonable presumption from the foregoing is that there was a disposition on the part of some of the higher officials of the Department of Labor, including the Solicitor and Secretary Perkins, to accord special consideration to Harry Bridges.

Finally, although it was recommended by R. P. Bonham, district director, and by R. J. Norene, divisional director, in an application

director, and by R. J. Norene, divisional director, in an application for a warrant for the arrest of Harry Bridges dated on September 22, 1937, that an averment be included in the Harry Bridges war-22, 1937, that an averment be included in the Harry Bridges warrant that he believed in, advised, advocated, and taught the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States, this averment was omitted from the warrant of arrest that was issued by the Department of Labor. This omission by the Department of Labor, in the face of the recommendation of its district and divisional directors, can only be interpreted as an intentional effort to so limit the charges against Harry Bridges that it may be possible for him to escape deportation.

In proof of the sixth averment, I direct your attention to the following chain of events which I have previously established, through documentary evidence: 1. That the Department of Labor following chain of events which I have previously established, through documentary evidence: 1. That the Department of Labor induced the Department of Justice to appeal a case imperfectly presented before the district court, in that certain exhibits were omitted as evidence; when the Department of Labor was only required under the decision of the circuit court to have retried the issues and submitted this additional proof. 2. That this appeal has been perfected, unnecessarily, by the Department of Justice, at the request of the Department of Labor, to delay the deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges; and with the hope that an adverse decision by the Supreme Court in the Strecker case might destroy the pending case against Harry Bridges. 3. That the documentary evidence heretofore submitted shows an overwhelming bias on the part of the Department of Labor in favor of Harry Bridges. 4. Finally, my examination of the petition for a writ of certiorari filed by the Department of Justice in this case convinces me that this petition for a writ of certiorari was prepared in the office of Mme. Perkins by her Solicitor, Mr. Reilly, and that the fine hand of Miss Perkins is revealed not only in the taking of an important issue in that appeal that was taken.

Understand, Mr. Solicitor General, this is not an attack upon you but is an effort to show the deception which has been perpetrated upon the Department of Justice.

you but is an effort to show the deception which has been perpetrated upon the Department of Justice.

In view of the foregoing, if it is still your desire that I should appear before the Supreme Court or that our committee should file a brief therein, I will try if possible to do so, either personally, as suggested by you, or in lieu thereof, endeavor to furnish you with the assistance of eminent counsel, to assist you in the presentation of this case.

I have an abiding faith in the wisdom, courage, and patriotism of the Supreme Court when all of the facts are before them

of the Supreme Court when all of the facts are before them.
Feeling sure that the President of the United States and Attor-

ney General Cummings will likewise appreciate the assistance which you have solicited and which I am tendering in the way of constructive criticism, I am sending a copy of this memorandum to each of them. Very sincerely yours,

MARTIN DIES, Member of Congress.

Martin Dies,

Member of Congress.

In volume 4 of the hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities there will appear the testimony of Capt, John J. Keegan, chief of detectives of the Portland, Oreg., police department, who testified that he had held that position for 4 years and had been a police officer for 27 years; that as said chief of detectives he had had occasion to conduct investigations of alleged un-American and subversive activities in Portland and along the Pacific coast, and that as a result of said investigations—

"We found that Harry Bridges, leader of the longshoremen's union on the Pacific coast, was an alien and a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America, and also that Harold Pritchett was a Canadian subject and also a member of the Communist Party. He is president of the Timbermen and Saw Mill Workers' Union International"; and that these two men have been active in and around the Portland area as well as in other areas on the Pacific coast; and that while "they are working under the guise of labor leaders," they are in reality "both members of the Communist Party"; and that, based upon his investigation and the affidavits which he is in a position to furnish to the committee, he would say that their real purpose "in my belief it is to undermine the Government and overthrow it by force and violence when the the Government and overthrow it by force and violence when the proper time comes.

proper time comes."

This statement by Captain Keegan is based upon investigations that have been conducted by the Portland (Oreg.) detective bureau ever since 1918; and there are 20 witnesses available to testify with reference to the activities of Bridges and Pritchett, as well as other Communist leaders on the west coast; and—

"They will give you definite proof of operations of the whole Communist party on the Pacific coast."

Captain Keegan further testified:

"In my opinion, the Communist movement on the west coast is getting to be a very dangerous, I might say, condition, as far as our Government is concerned."

Captain Keegan further testified that other members of his force could elaborate more fully from personal knowledge on the subject of subversive activities:

"Yes, Detective Walter B. O'Dale, who was in the Intelligence Service during the war and conducted the same kind of investiga-tion, and we have had him on our staff since the war, exclusively on that work."

Captain Keegan further testified that he had in his possession affidavits or documents to substantiate the statements which he had made with reference to the activities of Harry Bridges and Harold

From an affidavit of John L. Leach, Captain Keegan read the

"I further state that in June of 1936 I was a regular and official delegate of the Communist Party to its ninth annual convention, held in Manhattan Opera House, in New York City, \* \* \* and that as such delegate I discussed with my codelegates of California the nomination of Harry Bridges as a member of the central committee of the Communist Party, United States of America; \* \* was successful in seeing his name put in nomination and later elected to said central committee, \* \* the State central committee of California of the Communist Party."

Further quoting from this affidavit, Leach says:

"I was a candidate for the California sixty-seventh assembly district on the ticket of the Communist Party, and that in 1936 I was the Communist Party congressional candidate in the Seventeenth California District." "I further state that in June of 1936 I was a regular and official

Captain Keegan then read into the record of the committee the

Captain Keegan then read into the record of the committee the entire affidavit of John L. Leach.

John E. Ferguson testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, and his testimony will appear in volume 4 of the hearings of that committee, and in substance is as follows:

"That he is a member of the Communist Party; that he joined that party in June or August 1936 in Portland, Oreg.; and that he was called to San Francisco to commence negotiations for a union with which he was connected, and while there attended all top-fraction meetings of the Communist Party, water-front section, in the city of San Francisco; that he joined the Communist Party to save his job; that it was either join the party or be thrown out as the business agent for the Pacific Coast Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders, and Wipers' Association; that he knows Harry Bridges well and has known him since 1935, and that Harry Bridges is a Communist and that he sat in top-fraction meetings with Harry Bridges in the city of San Francisco on dates too numerous to menis a Communist and that he sat in top-fraction meetings with Harry Bridges in the city of San Francisco on dates too numerous to mention, and that the Communist Party on the Pacific coast has been active in trade-union movements during the past few years, 'so active, Mr. Chairman, that through the Communist Party and their program they have been able to rape some of the stanchest trade-unions we have had on the coast.'"

Mr. Ferruson testified further:

Mr. Ferguson testified further:
"That he had attended a meeting in San Francisco with Harry Bridges and others in August 1936 and remembers the date 'because at that particular time the Communist Party defenders were drawn together to arrange for the defense of King, Connor, and Ramsay,' who were charged with the murder of George Alberts at the Encinal Terminal in Alameda. Alberts was the chief engineer of the Point

This witness further testified:

This witness further testified:

"That these Communists met and discussed details for the defense of the three men charged with the murder of George Alberts, and that subsequently four men were convicted of this murder, to wit, Earl King, E. G. Ramsay, Frank Connor, and George White, and that Earl King was a Communist and secretary of the Pacific Coast Marine Firemen, Ollers, Water Tenders, and Wipers' Association; and that he attended a meeting about a week prior to King's arrest, with other Communists, in a restaurant on Market Street in San Francisco, where they discussed the advisability of Earl King. arrest, with other Communists, in a restaurant on Market Street in San Francisco, where they discussed the advisability of Earl King 'scramming,' as they knew that the King-Ramsay-Connor case was about to 'break'; and that at this meeting there were present the witness and also Earl King, Henry Schmidt, and William Schneiderman; and that this meeting was the meeting of the top fraction, 'which puts forth and carries out the program of district organizer No. 2 of the Marine Federation of the Pacific. \* \* \* The fraction organizer was William Sundheim.'"

He further testified that at the meeting that was held in San Francisco, with reference to the King-Ramsay-Connor defense committee, that the nature of the defense from a publicity standpoint

Francisco, with reference to the King-Ramsay-Connor defense committee, that the nature of the defense from a publicity standpoint was "an attempt to ridicule Earl Warren, who was prosecuting attorney, and to bring out to the public that they were not guilty of this alleged murder, but that the shipowners were concentrating all of their efforts on breaking the attempt or forthcoming strike, by having our men put in jail."

Ferguson also testified that they hired a publicity agent for the purpose of painting these men as martyrs to the labor cause and to ridicule the prosecuting attorney and that "they spent \$16,000.

to ridicule the prosecuting attorney, and that "they spent \$16,000 on publicity alone," which was secured "by assessing the members of the various trade-union movements," and that these organiza-

of the various trade-union movements," and that these organizations contributed from their treasuries:

"Oh, yes; we donated on several occasions. The first time, and it is a matter of record in the minutes, we gave \$3,000, 2 days after they had been arrested at one meeting of the Pacific Coast Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders, and Wipers' Association. We also volunteered a \$5 assessment, which had everyone paid it would have amounted to over \$40,000, as we had a membership of the part of \$0.000 at that time."

upward of 8,000 at that time."

Ferguson also testified that the defense of these men was handled "practically entirely through the medium of the Communist Party" and that it is a part of the strategy of the Communist

Party in the trade-union movement to get hold of the funds of different trade unions, and that "they are very successful in getting hold" of these funds.

In further proof of his averments with respect to the slush fund raised by the Communist Party, and the use made of the same to defeat the ends of justice, he offered two pamphlets which were financed and put out by the Communist Party and which were marked as "Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2 Ferguson." One of these pamphlets was entitled "The King-Ramsay-Connor Frame-up, Earl Warren's Murder Case," and the other pamphlet was entitled "Not Guilty, the Ship Murder Frame-up."

Ferguson also testified that he had attended top fraction meetings with Roy Hudson during the seamen's strike of 1937 and that Roy Hudson played "a very important part. He gave orders which Eridges, myself, William Sundheim, and the other Communist members obeyed."

Ferguson further testified that he had attended "at least five In further proof of his averments with respect to the slush fund

members obeyed."

Ferguson further testified that he had attended "at least five Communist meetings with Harry Bridges." And with reference to said meetings he further testified: "I want to state that in top fraction meetings of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders and Wipers' Association no one but a Communist could get through those doors."

Ferguson testified that the attorneys for King, who was a Communist and charged with the murder of George Alberts, were George Anderson and Aubrey Grossman, and that they live in San Francisco and are members of the Communist Party. (The Department of Labor records, with respect to the arrest of Harry Bridges on March 5, 1938, show that Aubrey Grossman is one of his attorneys of record.) neys of record.)

Ferguson further testified that he had sat on numerous occasions

in top-fraction Communist meetings with Aubrey Grossman.

Ferguson then testified how the Communists got control of the Ferguson then testified how the Communists got control of the negotiating committee during the seamen's strike in 1936 and 1937, how at first the coastwise negotiating committee was composed of three conservatives, that is, non-Communists, and of two Communists members, and how the Communists got control of this negotiating committee by putting out propaganda that Ben Drysdale, a conservative member of said committee, "had been seen talking to the shipowners and in his place" there was "elected one of the most prominent Communists on the Pacific coast," which gave control in the negotiating committee to the Communist Party, and through the maneuvers of the Communist Party the strike was prolonged at least 45 days longer than it should have been, and this was done through the propaganda machine that the Communist Party used

at least 45 days longer than it should have been, and this was done through the propaganda machine that the Communist Party used to misconstrue the facts and the issues.

Ferguson further testified that at the same time that his union was on strike the International Longshoremen's Association of the Pacific Coast was also on strike, and that Harry Bridges was on the negotiating committee of that union, representing Pacific coast

longshoremen.

Ferguson read into the record a letter dated February 9, 1937, from Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, congratulating him "as a member of the negotiating committee, on the part which you have played in bringing to a close the maritime strike," which letter was introduced in evidence as "Exhibit No. 3 Ferguson."

Ferguson further testified that-

"Just prior to the beginning of December in 1936, at a meeting "Just prior to the beginning of December in 1936, at a meeting of the top fraction of the Communist Party, which I attended, Harry Bridges, who was present among others, \* \* said: That strike, at all costs, must be prolonged; that that was the party line; and under no consideration was arbitration to be considered in any way, shape, or form.'"

That the foregoing testimony introduced before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities by Captain Keegan and Mr. Ferguson, and much more evidence of equal merit, was in the possession of or available to the said Frances Perkins, James L. Houghteling, and Gerald D. Reilly, for their use in deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges prior to April 1938, when they deferred the Bridges hearing.

deferred the Bridges hearing.

proceedings against Harry Bridges prior to April 1938, when they deferred the Bridges hearing.

That for several months prior to April 1938 Frances Perkins, James L. Houghteling, and Gerard D. Reilly knew of the perjury committed by Harry Bridges in the execution of his first papers in San Francisco in 1928, and of other acts by Harry Bridges, involving moral turpitude, as evidenced by records in the files of the Department of Labor, including a letter dated June 22, 1935, from Thomas V. Donoghue, immigration inspector, to the district director of Immigration and Naturalization Service at San Francisco, Calif.; a letter from Immigration Inspector, M. C. Pommerane, addressed to Divisional Director of Immigration and Naturalization Service at Portland, Oreg., dated November 30, 1937; a letter from Assistant District Director Paul Armstrong to James L. Houghteling, dated March 1, 1938; and a letter from James L. Houghteling to Senator Royal S. Copeland, under date of March 10, 1938.

Whereas it appears from the foregoing that Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor; James L. Houghteling, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Labor; and Gerard D. Reilly, Solicitor, Department of Labor, as civil officers of the United States, were and are guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors in office in manner and form as follows, to wit: That they did willfully, unlawfully, and feloniously conspire, confederate, and agree together, from on or about September 1, 1937, to and including the date of the filing of this resolution, to commit offenses against the United States, and to defraud the United States, by failing, neglecting, and refusing to enforce the immigration laws of the United States, including, to wit, section 137, title 8, United States Code, and section 156, title 8, United States Code,

against Alfred Renton Bryant Bridges, alias Harry Renton Bridges, alias Harry Dorgan, alias Canfield, alias Rossi, an alien, who advises, advocates, or teaches and is a member of or affiliated with an organization, association, society, or group that advises, advocates, or teaches the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, or the unlawful damage, injury, or destruction of property, or sabotage; and that the aforesaid Frances Perkins, James L. Houghteling, and Gerard D. Reilly have unlawfully conspired to defer and to defeat the deportation of the aforesaid alien, and have conspired together to release said alien after his arrest on his own recognizance without requiring a bond of not less than \$500; and that said Frances Perkins, James L. Houghteling, and Gerard D. Reilly, and each of them, have committed many overt acts to effect the object of said conspiracy, as hereinbefore shown, all in violation of the Constitution of the United States and the statutes of the United States in such cases made and provided; and made and provided; and

made and provided; and
Whereas it further appears from the foregoing, that Frances
Perkins, James L. Houghteling, and Gerard D. Reilly, as civil
officers of the United States, were and are guilty of high crimes
and misdemeanors by unlawfully conspiring together to commit
offenses against the United States and to defraud the United
States by causing the Strecker case to be appealed to the Supreme
Court of the United States, and by falling, neglecting, and refusing to enforce section 137, United States Code, against other aliens
illegally within the United States, contrary to the Constitution of
the United States, the statutes of the United States in such cases
made and provided:

the United States, the statutes of the United States in such cases made and provided:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be and is hereby authorized and directed, as a whole or by subcommittee, to investigate the official conduct of Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor; James L. Houghteling, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor; and Gerard D. Reilly, Solicitor, Department of Labor, to determine whether, in its opinion, they have been guilty of any high crimes or misdemeanors which, in the contemplation of the Constitution, requires the interposition of the constitutional powers of the House. Such committee shall report its findings to the House, together with such articles of impeachment as the facts may warrant.

For the purposes of this resolution the committee is authorized and directed to sit and act, during the present session of Congress, at such times and places in the District of Columbia, or elsewhere, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned; to hold hearings; to employ such experts and such clerical, steno-

to hold hearings; to employ such experts and such clerical, steno-graphic and other assistance; and to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents; and to take such testimony and to have such print-ing and binding done; and to make such expenditures not ex-

ceeding \$10,000, as it deems necessary

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey (interrupting the reading of the resolution). Mr. Speaker, in order to save time I would like to submit a unanimous consent request.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the resolution be suspended until page 36 is reached and that the reading of the resolution be resumed from that point.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. I make the further request, Mr. Speaker, that the entire resolution be included in the

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

The Clerk resumed and concluded the reading of the resolution.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the resolution be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary of the House and upon that I desire to say just a word. A great many suggestions have been made as to what should be done with this resolution, but I think this would be the orderly procedure so that the facts may be developed. The resolution will come out of that committee or remain in it according to the testimony adduced.

I therefore move the previous question on my motion to refer, Mr. Speaker.

The previous question was ordered.

The motion was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES-REPORT OF JOINT PREPARATORY COMMITTEE ON PHILIPPINE AFFAIRS

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Insular Affairs:

To the Congress of the United States of America:

I transmit herewith for the consideration of the Congress the report of the Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs appointed by President Quezon and myself to recommend a program for the adjustment of Philippine national economy. This report was made public on November 29, 1938. It has my approval and the approval of President Quezon as indicated in the press announcements, copies of which are attached, made on the date of publication of the report.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 24, 1939.

[Enclosures.]

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for one-half hour at the conclusion of the other special orders for today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and to include therein a letter addressed by me to Colonel Fechner, of the C. C. C.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I am sorry to be obliged to object to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia, but until the statement of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Barton] is printed, I must do so. I want also to call attention to the fact that last night, when I was temporarily absent from the floor, permission was given to one Member of the House to reprint two speeches he made in a previous Congress, and no one, not even the gentleman from California, who has a passion for conservation of the cash of the Treasury, objected. So I object to this request, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 2 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is unwilling to submit that request without the consent of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Patman], who has a special order today. If it is agreeable to the gentleman from Texas the Chair will submit the request.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record on the subject of the Federal judiciary.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I object, Mr. Speaker.

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE HOUSE

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the House Military Affairs Committee may conduct hearings during sessions of the House during the remainder of the week.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

### COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary, if it so desires, may sit during the rest of the week during sessions of the House

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Halleck] may be permitted to extend his remarks in the Record by inserting a statement made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Barton].

Mr. THOMAS F. FORD and Mr. HOOK objected.

The SPEAKER. Under the special order of the House the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Patman] is recognized for 45 minutes.

H. R. 1, FEDERAL TAX ON INTERSTATE CHAIN STORES—\$100,000,000 LOBBY FOR SMEAR CAMPAIGN—WILL KIDNAPING AND MURDER BE RESORTED TO?—DELIBERATE ATTEMPT BEING MADE BY BIG MON-EYED INTERESTS TO INTIMIDATE ALL PUBLIC OFFICIALS—SERKO-WICH & JENCKES, TATTLER TUCKER AND "DR." POKEBERRY POPE EXPOSED

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the Record and in connection therewith to insert certain excerpts and other printed matter and explanations thereof.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. Will the gentleman explain the nature of his proposed extension?

Mr. PATMAN. It will be something that will be material and relevant to the statements that I expect to make. I assure the gentleman there will be no extraneous remarks by outsiders unless they should consist of some excerpt that I think is material. I believe the gentleman has enough confidence in my judgment to trust me in that respect.

Mr. MAPES. I have complete confidence in the gentleman from Texas, but in view of the policy which seems to be adopted here, I ask the gentleman if the excerpts which he proposes to insert contain any clippings from newspapers or magazines?

Mr. PATMAN. I do not contemplate introducing anything like that.

Mr. MAPES. Nothing from newspapers or magazines?

Mr. PATMAN. No; I have nothing like that in mind.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

#### H. R. 1

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, H. R. 1 is a bill known as a bill to tax interstate chain stores. This bill will be insisted upon at this session of Congress. I know that the passage or the defeat of any measure depends upon public sentiment of the people of this Nation. If public sentiment supports a bill, it has a chance of passage and will be passed. If it does not support a bill, that bill does not have a chance. Public sentiment controls this country and its lawmaking body on all major legislation.

I do not concede that the Federal chain-store tax bill is the only major problem before Congress today. But it dovetails into other major problems on which I am working, and it has a great bearing on them. I refer to adequate security for the aged, parity income for farmers, discriminatory freight rates, a fair monetary system, uncontrolled and uninfluenced by those who are selfishly interested.

The American people are honest, fair, and intelligent. If they have the benefit of correct information on both sides of a public question, the majority of them will agree on what should be done, and by direct communication, compel their lawmaking Representatives to carry out their will.

Public sentiment controls this country to such an extent that I do not know of a Member of Congress who is not eager to carry out the wishes of a majority of his constituents.

More than 100 Members of Congress in the House of Representatives have already informed constituents that they will vote for this bill.

### BILL MISREPRESENTED

This bill has been very much misrepresented. In the first place, it has been advertised by those opposing it as a bill to destroy the chain-store systems of this country. That is absolutely untrue. In the first place, it exempts from any tax nine stores. Then the tax on a large number of stores in one State is not unreasonably high, and I assure you that a concern under this bill could operate a comparatively large number of stores in one State without a prohibitive tax being levied against it, though I frankly admit that if the concern attempts to spread out all over the Nation and take all of the privileges and opportunities of the people all over the Nation, eventually, giving the concern time to liquidate, a prohibitive tax will be placed upon the stores outside of the State.

WHY A TAX BILL

The question will be asked if we are trying to restrict them to one State, why we do not introduce a bill to that effect. That was very seriously considered and a bill to that effect was prepared, but the best lawyers of the Nation said there was doubt as to its constitutionality.

There is one safe constitutional approach to this problem, and only one, and that is to use the taxing power of Congress as a vehicle to accomplish a worthy objective, and in doing it we have many precedents. After the War between the States, when the State banks were issuing currency and the Congress of the United States wanted to stop it, why did not the Congress pass a law saying that a State bank could not issue currency? The answer is that it would have been unconstitutional; but the Congress used the taxing power as a vehicle and placed a 10-percent tax on that currency, which resulted in destroying a number of State banks, but it accomplished the very worthy objective of saving the currency system of this Nation. Why do we place a tax upon the ownership and the transfer of machine guns? Is it for the purpose of raising revenue? No; admittedly not for that purpose. It is for the purpose of keeping up with the ownership and the transfer of those machine guns so that the Government can more effectively deal with the criminal class in this country. There are two cases-and I could name a number of others-where the taxing power of Congress is used as a vehicle to accomplish a worthy and desirable purpose. So in approaching this problem from the angle of taxes we are not breaking any precedent. It has been used by both parties, the Republicans and the Democrats, in the past in the Congress of the United States and for the same

ONLY 1 PERCENT OF CHAIN COMPANIES SERIOUSLY AFFECTED

There are about 1,500 chain-store companies in this country. The average number of stores to each company is 35. This bill will levy a tax so small upon 35 stores that no company will have cause to seriously object to it, and they will not object to it. Where do all these objections come from, you ask? They come from the 1 percent of the chain-store companies-1 percent, 15 or 20-that are attempting to gain control of retail distribution in this country. That is where the opposition comes from, and they are the ones that you hear from in these inspired letters, where the chain-store operator has eight forms for the purpose of getting people to write a letter. One of these forms is used and the letter written on stationery furnished gratis by the company, and the manager turns them in to the chain office unsealed. Then they are examined, and if found satisfactory they are sealed up and stamped and sent to the Congressmen in Washington-inspired propaganda from 1 percent of the chain stores that will be affected by the terms of this bill.

ONE COMPANY DOING 10 PERCENT OF FOOD BUSINESS

We have one concern in America that is doing 10 percent of the retail food business. Ten such concerns would do all of the food business in America. The effect of this large purchasing power has been disastrous, not only to the farmer, who has been the principal sufferer, but also to the consumer as well. The Federal Trade Commission has pointed this out to Congress on numerous occasions.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. SIROVICH. Which is the organization that is doing 10 percent of the business?

Mr. PATMAN. It is the Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. that is doing 10 percent of the retail grocery business of America.

If nine other concerns like that one were doing as much, all the food business in America would be under their charge or under their control.

I would not like to yield any further right now. I will yield to any Member before I finish these remarks.

But in regard to the food business, the farmer has been hurt for this reason: They have ganged up on the farmers and they have forced them to sell for very low prices. They brag about this to their city consumers. They say in effect, "We have such buying power that we can make the farmers sell to us for whatever prices we offer. If they do not, we will go out of the market and destroy the market."

Some city consumers like that, but many of the city consumers have vision. They can see what this will lead to. If it destroys the farmers' buying power, the farmers are the best customers of the people who live in the cities, so that the buying power of these farmers being destroyed, the people who live in the cities are also injured by such tactics as that.

#### MIDDLEMEN WERE TO BE ELIMINATED

When chains first came in, the argument was made that the wholesale houses would be eliminated and that traveling men would be eliminated. The wholesalers have not been eliminated. The interstate chains have set up their own wholesale houses. There is no saving there. Not a single distributive expense has been eliminated by the chains. The result was 295,000 traveling men were turned off one year, in 1929. Of course, that upset our employment problem in this country. More have been turned off each year since. If that is in the interest of the country, I have not a word to say, but let us see if it is in the interest of the country. Did it reduce the spread between the producer and the consumer? No.

Take your own United States Government figures and you will discover that the spread the last 10 years during chain domination is greater than it was during the preceding 10 years of competitive business. The spread has become greater, and in 1932, when the chains made from 20 to 30 percent profit on their investment—that hard year that we all know about—the retail dollar was reduced to the farmer to the amount of 33 cents. He had been getting 60 cents out of every retail dollar before chain domination, but in 1932 it was reduced to 33 cents, and it is not much more than that today.

#### WHERE DO CHAIN PROFITS GO?

So in taking these hundreds of thousands of traveling men off the road and in creating a greater unemployment problem, it seems to me it has not helped the producer—we know it has not; it has not helped the consumer. Where does that money go? It goes to a few Wall Street bankers in New York and to a few charming American ladies who go overseas and marry some count for a husband. That is where the money goes. It is taken away from the local communities and placed in the hands of a few people and used by a few people. Much of it goes to foreign countries. It is not placed back into circulation, because they do not need any of the comforts and necessities of life that they are not already buying. So it creates a very serious and damaging problem.

## OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE AT STAKE

The Works Progress Administration has reported that every decade at least 2,000,000 young men and women must leave the farms and go into the cities, that the farms cannot take care of them. What are those 2,000,000 young folks going to do? If you have the chain-store system operating from one end of the country to the other, they have charge of all these local communities. The local print shop is out. The local lawyer is gone. They do not need him. In addition to that, the insurance agents are gone. He cannot go into the grocery business or the drug business. What are those 2,000,000 young people going to do? If you prevent them from having the opportunity of going into business for themselves, what are you going to do with them? That is just the young people. It is a serious question.

#### WHAT ABOUT CONSUMER?

Now, what about the consumer? The consumer is the father or mother of those young people. The consumer is also thinking about what will happen to him when he gets to be 45 or even 40 or 35 years of age. Private industry will not employ him. What can he do? In times gone by he could go into business for himself—into the insurance business or the printing business, or many different kinds of business, but he cannot do it now. So you might just as well make arrangements to either curb the greed of a few people who are trying to get control of retail distribution and all the privileges and opportunities of this Nation, or arrange

to put many of them on some kind of relief roll when they get to be 21 years of age-certainly when they get to be 35, when they cannot get employment in private industry. It is a very serious question.

#### INTERESTED IN PROBLEM NUMBER OF YEARS

Now, I have been interested in this problem of chain stores for a number of years. In fact, 10 years ago I made speeches upon this subject, pointing out some of the things I have pointed out today. The Robinson-Patman bill was proposed. It was not price fixing. It included everybody. It was not anti-chain. We thought that bill would do the work, but we discovered, after we gave the independent merchants a better chance and opportunity in their buying power, which they should have had, the chains could still use the profits they make in a town where they already have a monopoly to squeeze out and destroy the independent merchants in another town until they got control in that town. So the Robinson-Patman Act failed to correct that abuse. Something else had to be done. So in 1938 I proposed this bill for the purpose of placing this tax on interstate chain stores.

#### THE ROBINSON-PATMAN ACT

The Robinson-Patman Act comes up in any discussion involving independent merchants. Let me tell you briefly about that bill. It was offered in June 1935. I introduced it in the House and Senator Joseph T. Robinson, of Arkansas, introduced it in the Senate on the same day, I think, or about the same time.

It became a law on June 19, 1936. After that bill was passed there was much confusion in the country. You remember it. Some of them said: "Why, this changes the practices of 75 years. Why, you have done here in one short act what it took Congress 20 years to do in the Interstate Commerce Act. You have not approached this step by step like it was approached in the Interstate Commerce Act. What is this all about? How does it apply to my concern when it says 'commerce among the States.' What is commerce under the act? What does 'proportionately equal terms' mean in that law? What does 'quantity limits' mean? And what does 'advertising allowances,' 'facilities granted to all alike'-what does that mean? What does the triple damage clause mean? What does the criminal provision mean that provides for a jail sentence and a fine up to \$10,000? What does 'using brokerage as a bribe' mean?'

#### LAW NEEDS CLARIFICATION CONTENDED

All these questions came up, and people wanted that law explained. The Federal Trade Commissioners held conferences every day into the night with groups, explaining that law. Some of them and their employees made speeches to different groups explaining the law. Chambers of commerce secretaries who understood this law were called upon to go out and explain it to people who wanted to abide by it. Senator Robinson was called upon. He said he would go when he could. I was called upon, and about that time it was suggested that a national tour should be made for the purpose of explaining to people all over the country what was meant by this law that had upset the bad practices of the trade for 75 years.

I was approached by a speakers' bureau, so was Senator Robinson. Senator Robinson could not go on a national tour. I talked with him. He advised me to go. He did make some speeches himself when he could conveniently. and he made good speeches. He explained the law as well as it could be explained. Businessmen said his explanation of it was very helpful to them.

## NATIONAL SPEAKING TOUR

I had never been on speaking tours for speakers' bureaus, I did not know about this business of being a Congressman and making speeches and receiving an honorarium in excess of actual expenses. In 1930 James E. Van Zandt, a good friend of mine who is now a Member of this House, from Altoona, Pa., under the auspices of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and I made a trip through the Middle West in support of the bill to pay the veterans. We spoke four or five times a day during Christmas week. That was just a short tour but included many cities. The bill to pay 50 percent of the so-called bonus passed in 60 days after this trip. Then in 1932, 1933, 1934, and 1935 I made two national tours myself in behalf of a bill I was deeply interested in to pay the remainder due the veterans of the World War on their adjusted-service certificates, and which I felt would be helpful to the people of this country. This bill was H. R. 1 in two different Congresses. Those tours were made at my own expense—two of them. It cost me \$10,000 of my own funds to make these two national speaking tours. Part of this money was borrowed and paid back later. I reached every State in the Nation on these two national speaking tours. and the law providing for full payment was enacted in January 1936. But this matter of making speeches for a speakers' bureau was a new thing to me. I did not know anything about it. I knew that oftentimes great speakers would come to our home town-Chautauqua speakers, lyceum speakersbut I never dreamed that the time would ever come when I would be called upon to speak under the auspices of such an organization as that all over the country.

A speakers' bureau—the Thomas Brady Speakers' Bureau in New York-communicated with me. They told me they had many invitations for me to make speeches. I said that I had received lots of invitations myself. They said, "Well, why not let us fix up a national tour?"

I said, "I do not know much about this. I want to look into it."

So I wrote to three able men, three men as great, and able, and as big as there are in the United States today. They are three of the most prominent, public, political men in America today, men in whom I have confidence and the people of this Nation have confidence. I will not read their names because I do not have their permission. I do not believe they would object, but I shall not take that liberty since I have not spoken to them about it. One of them wrote to me and said:

DEAR MR. PATMAN: I have your letter of September 30, concerning Mr. Thomas Brady, of New York.

I have from time to time delivered addresses for Mr. Brady at

different sorts of public gatherings and have found him to be most courteous and reliable in every way. During recent years the depression has cut down very materially

the number as well as the compensation of addresses, but I still deliver an address now and then for Mr. Brady, and I can recommend him as probably as reliable a speakers' bureau as I know anything about.

Hoping your relations with him will be mutually satisfactory,

I am,

Sincerely yours.

### The second one wrote me:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PATMAN: Thomas Brady, who for many years handled speaking engagements for me with entire satisfaction to me and to himself, has advised me of an interview he has had with you. I am sure that if you are interested in a lecture tour you will find no better man to assist you than Thomas Brady. With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours.

### Another one:

My Dear Mr. Patman: Your letter of September 30 received.
Mr. Thomas Brady has, for the past 15 years, been my exclusive manager of my speaking engagements.
Mr. Brady is a gentleman of strict integrity, large ability, and entirely trustworthy; he is fair and militantly honest. He is the most reliable impressario in America today, and he is not interested, directly or indirectly in, or concerned with, promoting or defeating any legislation.
With assurances of high esteem,
Sincerely yours.

Sincerely yours.

After making that investigation I felt that it was all right. So I took the invitations I had and delivered them to this speakers' bureau and said: "Now, you take yours, and instead of my going to Chicago a number of times, and New York a number of times to accept all the many invitations from these places and other places, get them all together, coordinate them so I can make one speech in each place, just make one national tour." That is what was contemplated when it was gotten up. It was then decided that the independent merchants and different organizations in a number of places wanted to sponsor certain meetings. The speakers' bureau permitted them to do so. Then the time came before the

national itinerary was completed when McKesson & Robbins public relations representative said: "We would like to sponsor some of these meetings. We understand many of them will be held in cities where we are vitally interested. We have business representatives there." I was conferred with about it.

I said, "Sure; it is all right with me. I do not care who sponsors the meetings, just so we have only one meeting at a Now, those meetings would have been held regardless of the particular ones who sponsored them, because various invitations from sundry organizations had come in from all these places where the meetings were held.

Here is the way I reasoned the matter. I was to talk about a law that had already been passed. I have as much right to discuss a law at a public meeting as to go into a courthouse and discuss a law. Many Members of Congress are lawyers. They practice law. They have a right to, and nobody criticizes them for it. I did not talk about anything else. The speaking tour was arranged for October, November, and December 1936 and at a number of the meetings McKesson & Robbins' local representatives had charge of the arrangements. In connection with that, Mr. Speaker, I am going to place in the RECORD a copy of the speech I made at these meetings, and this is exactly the same speech, so far as all material points are concerned, that I made all over the country, with the exception of the questions and answers at the end. At the end of every speech on the Robinson-Patman Act I yielded for questions. They asked me questions from the floor, and those questions were different at the various places, and, of course, the answers had to conform. That is the only difference. I will put the speech in the RECORD. I may say further that every speech I made was taken down in shorthand or by stenotype and every word I said on that trip is a matter of record, most of it in print. Every word in every one of these speeches has been read by my opponents.

### COPY OF ROBINSON-PATMAN ACT

I insert herewith a copy of the Robinson-Patman Act. It will be noticed that it is not a price-fixing bill; that there is not a word in it that compels anyone to use a wholesaler or a middleman. There is not a word in it that prevents a seller, whether he is a manufacturer or wholesaler, from selling direct to consumers.

## [Public, No. 692, 74th Cong.]

An act to amend section 2 of the act entitled "An act to supplement fact to amend section 2 of the day of the current section 2 of the curr

Be it enacted, etc., That section 2 of the act entitled "An act

(U. S. C., title 15, sec. 13), and for other purposes

Be it enacted, etc., That section 2 of the act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved October 15, 1914, as amended (U. S. C., title 15, sec. 13), is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 2. (a) That it shall be unlawful for any person engaged in commerce, in the course of such commerce, either directly or indirectly, to discriminate in price between different purchasers of commodities of like grade and quality, where either or any of the purchases involved in such discrimination are in commerce, where such commodities are sold for use, consumption, or resale within the United States or any Territory thereof or the District of Columbia or any insular possession or other place under the jurisdiction of the United States, and where the effect of such discrimination may be substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly in any line of commerce, or to injure, destroy, or prevent competition with any person who either grants or knowingly receives the benefit of such discrimination, or with customers of either of them: Provided, That nothing herein contained shall prevent differentials which make only due allowance for differences in the cost of manufacture, sale, or delivery resulting from the differing methods or quantities in which such commodities are to such purchasers sold or delivered: Provided, however, That the Federal Trade Commission may, after due investigation and hearing to all interested parties, fix and establish quantity limits, and revise the same as it finds necessary, as to particular commodities or classes of commodities, where it finds that available purchasers in greater quantities are so few as to render differentials on account thereof unjustly discriminators. tity limits, and revise the same as it finds necessary, as to particular commodities or classes of commodities, where it finds that available purchasers in greater quantities are so few as to render differentials on account thereof unjustly discriminatory or promotive of monopoly in any line of commerce; and the foregoing shall then not be construed to permit differentials based on differences in quantities greater than those so fixed and established: And provided further, That nothing herein contained shall prevent persons engaged in selling goods, wares, or merchandise in commerce from selecting their own customers in bona fide transactions and not in restraint of trade: And provided further,

That nothing herein contained shall prevent price changes from time to time where in response to changing conditions affecting the market for or the marketability of the goods concerned, such as but not limited to actual or imminent deterioration of perishable goods, obsolescence of seasonal goods, distress sales under court process, or sales in good faith in discontinuance of business

ourt process, or sales in good faith in discontinuance of business in the goods concerned.

"(b) Upon proof being made, and any hearing on a complaint under this section, that there has been discrimination in price or services or facilities furnished, the burden of rebutting the prima facie case thus made by showing justification shall be upon the person charged with a violation of this section, and unless justification shall be affirmatively shown, the Commission is authorized to issue an order terminating the discrimination. Provided however That an order terminating the discrimination: Provided, however, That nothing herein contained shall prevent a seller rebutting the prima facie case thus made by showing that his lower price or the furnish-

ing of services or facilities to any purchaser or purchasers was made in good faith to meet an equally low price of a competitor, or the services or facilities furnished by a competitor.

"(c) That it shall be unlawful for any person engaged in commerce, in the course of such commerce, to pay or grant, or to receive or accept, anything of value as a commission, brokerage, or other compensation, or early ellowance or discount in lieu, thereof orcent compensation, or any allowance or discount in lieu thereof, except for services rendered in connection with the sale or purchase of goods, wares, or merchandise, either to the other party to such transaction or to an agent, representative, or other intermediary therein where such intermediary is acting in fact for or in behalf, or is subject to the direct or indirect control, of any party to such transaction other than the person by whom such compensation is so granted or paid.

"(d) That it shall be unlawful for any person engaged in commerce to pay or contract for the payment of anything of value to or for the benefit of a customer of such person in the course of such commerce as compensation or in consideration for any services or commerce as compensation or in consideration for any services or facilities furnished by or through such customer in connection with the processing, handling, sale, or offering for sale of any products or commodities manufactured, sold, or offered for sale by such per-son, unless such payment or consideration is available on pro-portionally equal terms to all other customers competing in the

distribution of such products or commodities.

"(e) That it shall be unlawful for any person to discriminate in favor of one purchaser against another purchaser or purchaser or commodity bought for resale, with or without processing, by contracting to furnish or furnishing, or by contributing to the furnishing of, any services or facilities connected with the processing to the processing to the processing the bandling selection for sale of such commodity. ing, handling, sale, or offering for sale of such commodity so pur-chased upon terms not accorded to all purchasers on proportionally

equal terms.

"(f) That it shall be unlawful for any person engaged in commerce, in the course of such commerce, knowingly to induce or receive a discrimination in price which is prohibited by this section."

SEC. 2. That nothing herein cointained shall affect rights of action arising, or litigation pending, or orders of the Federal Trade Commission issued and in effect or pending on review, based on Commission issued and in effect or pending on review, based on section 2 of said act of October 15, 1914, prior to the effective date of this amendatory act: Provided, That where, prior to the effective date of this amendatory act, the Federal Trade Commission has issued an order requiring any person to cease and desist from a violation of section 2 of said act of October 15, 1914, and such order is pending on review or is in effect, either as issued or as affirmed or modified by a court of competent jurisdiction, and the Commission shall have reason to believe that such person has committed, used, or carried on, since the effective date of this amendatory act, or is committing using or carrying on, any act, practice, or method in or carried on, since the elective date of this amendatory act, or is committing, using or carrying on, any act, practice, or method in violation of any of the provisions of said section 2 as amended by this act, it may reopen such original proceeding and may issue and serve upon such person its complaint, supplementary to the original complaint, stating its charges in that respect. Thereupon the same proceedings shall be had upon such supplementary complaint as provided in section 11 of said act of October 15, 1914. If upon such hearing the Commission shall be of the opinion that any act, practice, or method charged in said supplementary complaint has practice, or method charged in said supplementary complaint has been committed, used, or carried on since the effective date of this amendatory act, or is being committed, used, or carried on, in violaamendatory act, or is being committed, used, or carried on, in violation of said section 2 as amended by this act, it shall make a report in writing in which it shall state its findings as to the facts and shall issue and serve upon such person its order modifying or amending its original order to include any additional violations of law so found. Thereafter the provisions of section 11 of said act of October 15, 1914, as to review and enforcement of orders of the Commission shall in all things apply to such modified or amended order. If upon review as provided in said section 11 the court shall set aside such modified or amended order, the original order shall not be affected thereby, but it shall be and remain in force and effect as fully and to the same extent as if such supplementary proceedings had not been taken.

Sec. 3. It shall be unlawful for any person engaged in commerce,

SEC. 3. It shall be unlawful for any person engaged in commerce, sec. 3. It shall be unlawful for any person engaged in commerce, in the course of such commerce, to be a party to, or assist in, any transaction of sale, or contract to sell, which discriminates to his knowledge against competitors of the purchaser, in that, any discount, rebate, allowance, or advertising service charge is granted to the purchaser over and above any discount, rebate, allowance, or advertising service charge available at the time of such transaction to said competitors in respect of a sale of goods of like grade, quality, and quantity; to sell, or contract to sell, goods in any part of the United States at prices lower than those exacted by said person elsewhere in the United States for the purpose of destroying compettion, or eliminating a competitor in such part of the United States; or, to sell, or contract to sell, goods at unreasonably low prices for

the purpose of destroying competition or eliminating a competitor.

Any person violating any of the provisions of this section shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both.

Sec. 4. Nothing in this act shall prevent a cooperative association

from returning to its members, producers, or consumers the whole, or any part of, the net earnings or surplus resulting from its trading operations, in proportion to their purchases or sales from, to, or through the association.

Approved, June 19, 1936.

COPY OF ADDRESS MADE ON NATIONAL SPEAKING TOUR IN 1936

The following is a stenographic copy of an address made on the national speaking tour in 1936. The other addresses were not substantially different except the questions and answers at the end. The questions at each meeting were different.

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, as explained by the chairman, I am here to talk to you about the Robinson-Patman law. Never before in the history of this country has such a major controversial law been enacted in such a short length of time. There

troversial law been enacted in such a short length of time. There is a reason for that. Usually it takes years and years to sell the country on a good cause. It happens sometimes that circumstances and conditions will cause this information to spread more quickly than at other times, and the people getting the truth, demanded that legislation be passed.

In 1935, in the early part of the year, the Speaker of the House, the Honorable Joseph Byrns from Tennessee, appointed me chairman of a committee to investigate certain lobbying activities of the American Retail Federation. I told him I would accept with the understanding that the committee be instructed to investigate large-scale buying and selling at the same time. That was agreed upon and I undertook to do what was necessary in the course of the investigation. We discovered in this certain trade practices that were destructive to public and consumers' interests. After these practices were discovered I wanted to introduce a bill which I wanted to become a law that would cure these abuses.

After these practices were discovered I wanted to introduce a bill which I wanted to become a law that would cure these abuses.

Many bills were submitted to me and we took one as a basis, which was submitted by the United States Wholesale Grocers Association. There are two wholesale grocers' associations, the National American Wholesale Grocers Association and the United States Wholesale Grocers Association and the United States Wholesale Grocers Association was because the lawyer who drew that bill, I believed, was the best informed on the subject. His name is H. B. Teagarden. He was for 6 years assistant to the Attorney General of the United States. He had charge of all antitrust matters. He represented the Government when the packers' consent-decree cases were disposed of, and he knew more about these matters than anyone to my knowledge, and for that reason I was glad to have him work with me on the bill.

We didn't take his bill in its entirety. We made changes. I consulted with the Attorney General, with the Federal Trade Commission, with other people that were interested. We drew the very best bill we could.

best bill we could.

I introduced the bill in the House. My good friend Senator Joseph T. Robinson introduced it in the Senate.

Joseph T. Robinson introduced it in the Senate.

Senator Robinson not only introduced the bill but was enthusiastically for it. He succeeded in getting it passed in the Senate very quickly. We were afraid there would be a filibuster there, so we just asked him to get any kind of bill he could get through and we would try to pass the bill we wanted in the House. In that way the bill was started.

This law is far reaching. It is confusing to some, but to people who want to carry out its purposes and intent I don't think it is so confusing. I know that certain problems will come up that will give you trouble. It is that way when any general law is passed. You can't write rules and regulations into law. You must write a general law and then you must fit every particular situation to that law.

If you were to start out in an automobile from New York City to San Francisco, you would pass through cities and States and

to San Francisco, you would pass through cities and States and other jurisdictions having possibly 15,000 different laws. You wouldn't be disturbed on that account. You would not be afraid wouldn't be disturbed on that account. You would not be arraid of being arrested, because you would know you were going to do what was right. I feel that the one who honestly and conscientiously wants to carry out this law in sympathy with its purposes and provisions, I don't think that person is going to have any trouble adjusting his business to this law in a way that he will not be afraid of being brought before the court for any violation

whatsoever.
In 1890 the Sherman law was passed, which was rendered in-

effective.

In 1914 the Clayton Act was passed. Some say it is full of loop-holes and technicalities. Some say it has been ineffective and it hasn't helped business like it should and was intended. That is

This Robinson-Patman bill, however, is an amendment to the Clayton Act. Some lawyers say it is unconstitutional. That is said about any law. I would like to have you name some law that hasn't been called unconstitutional. That is usually urged against

The Interstate Commerce Act was passed more than 40 years ago. When that law was before Congress to stop chiseling on freight rates, they said it was "crackpot" legislation. There were a number who said "it is unconstitutional; it will not work." They said that about that law, and they will say it about this law. They are wrong. In the first place, the Constitution of the United States, article 1, section 3, says that Congress shall have the power to regulate commerce among the States. That is a grant of power. As you know, the Federal Constitution is a grant of power. Congress can only do what is granted. A State constitution is different. A State legislature can do anything that is not prohibited by its State constitution or Federal Constitution.

In this case we have that grant of power and Congress has exer-

In this case we have that grant of power and Congress has exercised that power through the Clayton Act.

The Interstate Commerce Act has stood up. Not one lawyer has come before the Supreme Court of the United States and seriously contended that it is unconstitutional. It is so plainly constitutional that a lawyer could not conscientiously contend that it is not.

The Clayton Act has stood the tests of the courts for 22 years. That is just an amendment to the Clayton Act. I believe this law

Section 26 of the Clayton Act says that if any part of the law is declared unconstitutional it will not affect the other parts. We get the benefit of section 26 of the Clayton Act in the Robinson-Patman Act.

Many people will say it will not be enforced. Let us see. The Interstate Commerce Act has been enforced.

PRINCIPAL PURPOSES OF ROBINSON-PATMAN ACT

One correspondent told me in a letter that it will take half of the people in a country to enforce the law against the other half. In this law there is an incentive for one to help enforce it. The incentive in this law is to protect your own business as you should, incentive in this law is to protect your own business as you should, and in doing that you are going to use a law that grants you protection. This law has been passed because people in Congress believe that it is the duty of the Government to protect the weak against the strong. It is not for big business or against big business. It is not for chains or against chains, except if they should be guilty of practices which this law prohibits. This bill is to treat all alike, both large and small. It is not to give special price benefits or privileges to a few. It is to treat all fairly and equally, and to give equal rights, privileges, and benefits to all alike. It is not intended to subsidize small merchants. The inefficient small merchants will not be protected by this bill. It is not a shelter or an umbrella over them. The small merchant will have to succeed in the best way he can. It is not intended to have to succeed in the best way he can. It is not intended to give him special privileges and benefits. It is intended to give him equal rights and privileges in order that he may have the proper opportunity to succeed. We do not want to reward the small merchant. We do not want to do anything that will retard cleverness and greater efficiency. This law is not for that purpose.

WHAT WORD "COMMERCE" IN ACT MEANS

WHAT WORD "COMMERCE" IN ACT MEANS

Let us take the bill itself. Most of you have copies, as quite a number has been distributed here. Take for instance, this law says it shall be unlawful for any person engaged in commerce. What does the word "commerce" mean? In another section of the Clayton Act, this being a part of the Clayton Act, this word "commerce" is defined as interstate commerce. That is only among the States. A business that is wholly within a State and whose customers, if it is a manufacturer, are wholly within that State and this manufacturer ships only to his customers, and none of it is shipped for resale out of the State, his business is not affected by this bill. However, I believe that 90 to 95 percent of the business will be affected by this law.

Take for instance the retail druggist, and this law will apply to him. There are very few wholesale establishments in America, according to my view, that are intrastate commerce and not affected by this law. Interstate commerce is the only commerce we can deal with.

UNLAWFUL TO DISCRIMINATE IN PRICE

UNLAWFUL TO DISCRIMINATE IN PRICE

This law says it shall be unlawful to discriminate in price be-tween different purchases of commodities of like grade and quality. If you are a manufacturer, you can't discriminate between your customers. The word "brands," one witness before the comcustomers. The word "brands," one witness before the committee insisted that we use, and like words. I opposed this. That would destroy our bill. It makes no difference what the brand is, if it is the same quality you can't discriminate. There can be no discrimination, if the quality is the same or similar, no matter what the brand is. Where such commodities are sold for use, consumption, or resale within the United States, you can't discriminate in price where the effect of such discrimination may be substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly. Substantially, this was in the old law. The next part, however, was not in the old law. It is the meat of this bill. "Or to injure, destroy, or prevent competition with any person who either grants or knowingly receives the benefit of such discrimination, or with the customers of either of them." I don't believe you could write language that would include more. write language that would include more.

Remember, if that discrimination injures a competitor, it is a violation of this law.

DIFFERENTIALS MAY BE GRANTED UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS

The act further states that nothing herein contained shall prevent differentials which make only due allowance for difference in the cost of manufacture, sale, or delivery resulting from the differing methods or quantities in which such commodities are to such

purchases sold or delivered. Down to that section you had to charge the same price regardless of quantity. Where there is a different quantity involved, provided there is a difference in the cost of manufacture, sale, or delivery, you cannot grant a differential more than that. The differences that were discovered were that certain mass buyers, not all of them, some of them, had through intimidation and common racketeering forced manufacturers to give them such a low price that it was way below cost, and these manufacturers had to charge the independents a higher price in order to make up for that loss. In that way they could not continue long. not continue long.

not continue long.

This act is intended to prevent discrimination. There may be a difference in price only if there is a difference in the cost of manufacture, sale, or delivery.

If you are a manufacturer selling from your storeroom and a customer buys a hundred units and another buys a thousand, I presume the cost of the manufacture has been the same; in that case you couldn't discriminate. If there is a different method of sale and delivery and if you can save money, you can give him, if he is a large buyer, the benefit of the savings you have effected that way, but you cannot give him the benefit of any more.

#### QUANTITY LIMITS MAY BE FIXED

There is another provision in the act—that the Federal Trade Commission may, after due investigation after notice to all interested parties, fix and establish quantity limits, and revise the same as it finds necessary, as to particular commodities or classes of commodities, where it finds that available purchasers in greater quantities are so few as to render differentials on account thereof unjustly discriminatory or promotive of monopoly in any line of commerce; and the foregoing shall then not be construed to permit differentials based on differences in quantities greater than those so fixed and established. A good friend of mine in Texarkana, Tex., is responsible for this. He told me for years we should have some kind of law to adopt this policy. This provision was written by reason of his suggestion.

was written by reason of his suggestion.

It comes about this way. More than 40 years ago there was a protest in this country against a few shippers getting a lower freight rate. The people didn't like that. They elected a Congress to prevent favoritism in freight rates.

#### A PRECEDENT FOR QUANTITY-LIMIT PROVISION

Judge Cooley, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, wrote the rule that the carload shall be the quantity limit; that wrote the rule that the carload shall be the quantity limit; that whoever ships a carload shall pay the same per car as on a trainload. The large shippers came in and they wanted to get the rule changed. Judge Cooley heard them and they told him that they could ship a trainload of freight from Chicago to New York going straight through without any stops at a cost which would be about 50 percent less per car, than if they handled each car separately. Judge Cooley said, "I don't take issue with you on that. I presume it is the truth, but if we permit a trainload or a large number to be shipped for a 25-percent or 50-percent reduction, only a few would be able to get the benefit of it. Those few large ones would destroy the smaller dealers. We are not going to permit it to be done."

The Supreme Court has not reversed the decision. It is dictum I will confess, but in a number of cases the Supreme Court has expressed itself on that question and said that it is not right for a few people to be granted such low freight rates that will permit

expressed itself on that question and said that it is not right for a few people to be granted such low freight rates that will permit them to destroy the smaller dealers of the country. It is permissible and it is a duty upon the Federal Trade Commission that if in a certain line of business the Federal Trade Commission believes that a certain few are getting such low prices by reason of the large quantities, although there is a saving in manufacturing cost, to fix a quantity limit, as those few can by use of the great power, destroy the smaller dealers of the country and the Federal Trade Commission has a right to come in and stop it and fix a quantity limit. It depends upon the commodity, but the Federal Trade Commission will have the right to stop that definite monopolistic trend.

### MAY SELECT OWN CUSTOMERS

The act further states that nothing contained herein shall pre-The act further states that nothing contained herein shall prevent persons engaged in selling goods, wares, or merchandise from selecting their own customers in bona fide transactions and not in restraint of trade. That is existing law. I wouldn't deprive any manufacturer of the right to select his customers. This law doesn't deprive him of that right. It recognizes it. The law says you must treat all customers fairly and equally. You do not have a right to cheat them. You must treat them all the same. That a right to cheat them. is what this law is for.

## PRICE CHANGES NOT PREVENTED

Furthermore, that nothing herein contained shall prevent price changes from time to time where in response to changing conditions affecting the market for or the marketability of the goods concerned, such as but not limited to actual or imminent deterioration of perishable goods, obsolescence of seasonal goods, distress sales under court process, or sales in good faith in discontinuance

of business in the goods concerned.

You have a right to change your prices, just so long as you do not use that price change to favor some customer, and for the purpose of discriminating against other customers. You can change your price every 10 minutes, but if the jury should decide that you are doing that as a subterfuge for the purpose of favoring some customer and for the purpose of discriminating against other customers, you would be guilty of violating this law.

#### ADVERTISING ALLOWANCES

These other sections in the act mean this: In regard to advertising allowances, this bill doesn't prevent advertising allowances; it permits advertising allowances, provided all customers are given these same allowances on proportionately equal terms; that is, a manufacturer could advertise a certain product in his own name and say "See your local dealer," or he could list the names of all local dealers. We could grant an advertising allowance to each, so long as he treated them all fairly and equally and would compet them to use the money for that purpose. Under the old rule they were not compelled to use it for that purpose. One firm collected \$6,000,000 one year for advertising and didn't use it, or we don't know, as there is no way to check. There was no accounting required. They could use it for profits. Under this law, if an advertising allowance is granted, it must be used for that purpose and every customer must be treated fairly and equally.

## BROKERAGE CANNOT BE USED AS A BRIBE

It was discovered in this investigation that brokerage was often used as a bribe to bribe the other party to the transaction. That is not decent business. It is not fair business. It is not right. This Robinson-Patman Act will prevent that.

The "co-ops" cannot be the buyers and receive brokerage, too, and they are denied the brokerage under this law. At the same time the other benefits that they receive, I believe, are more than sufficient to offset their losses by reason of the loss of brokerage under this law. under this law.

#### BUYER GUILTY AS THE SELLER

Another provision of this law—and it is a very important one—that it shall be unlawful for any person engaged in commerce knowingly to induce or receive a discrimination in price which is prohibited by this section. That is to make the buyer guilty and place some responsibility upon him. He is just as guilty as a seller, and this law can be used against him, just as it can be used against a seller. Why should one want some special benefit over his competitor anyway? Why shouldn't he be satisfied with an even break? By his cleverness he will get ahead. What better vehicle for success do you need but that no one should induce anyone else to break the law and discriminate against his neighbor, who is his competitor across the street? across the street?

#### BORAH-VAN NUYS SECTION OF ROBINSON-PATMAN ACT

Section 3 of the law is what is known as the Borah-Van Nuys section.

When this bill was in the Senate a motion was made to substitute it for the Robinson-Patman law. It failed but was accepted as an amendment. When the bill came to the House an effort was made there to substitute it for our bill. We successfully resisted the effort. The Robinson-Patman bill passed the House by an overwhelming vote, 290 for and only 16 against it. There was only one "no" heard in the Senate. It shows we must have the right side. We must have the side of justice and right or we would never have obtained such a large majority in both Houses in favor of this legislation.

in favor of this legislation.

would never have obtained such a large majority in both Houses in favor of this legislation.

The Borah-Van Nuys provision was not substituted but was inserted by the conferees as another section. It doesn't add anything to our bill particularly. It is certainly harmless from the Robinson-Patman bill standpoint. It doesn't add to it or detract from it. So, rather than have the bill defeated, we were very glad to accept it; and I don't know but what it will be very helpful. Let me tell you about it. It is not a part of the antitrust law. Section 3 is the criminal provision. It says one who violates this section may be fined up to \$5,000 or may be imprisoned for a year. Therefore, it is necessary that we give some thought to this section. It means that a violator may be indicted by his local grand jury; it means that a violator may be indicted by his local grand jury; it means that a could have all kinds of trouble if he doesn't comply with this section. It says, first, "It shall be unlawful for any person engaged in commerce in the course of such commerce to become a party to or assist in any transaction of sale or contract to sell, which discriminates to his knowledge against competitors of the purchaser, in that, any discount, rebate, allowance, or advertising service charge is granted to the purchaser over and above any discount, rebate, allowance, or advertising service charge available at the time of such transaction to said competitors in respect to the sale of goods of like grade, quality, and quantity." Second, "to sell or contract to sell goods in any part of the United States at prices lower than those exacted by said person elsewhere in the United States, for the purpose of destroying competition or eliminating a competitor in such part of the United States."

Of course, most retailers are not governed by this Interstate Commerce Act. The Congress cannot pass a law that will exactly cover most retailers, because that usually involves a sale purely intrastate. This will apply to concerns that are opera

## DOES NOT HELP OR HARM "CO-OPS

Section 4 says, "Nothing in this act shall prevent a cooperative association from returning to its members, producers, or consumers

the whole, or any part of, the net earnings or surplus resulting from its trading operations, in proportion to their purchases or sales from, to, or through the association." Many people are confused on that point. They think that is granting something to the "co-ops." That is not true. They are left just like they were. It is not taking from or giving to them. It is merely saying that they have a right to distribute their earnings. It means that they are affected by the law just like all other business institutions, and any earnings legally acquired they may distribute under this law. It earnings legally acquired they may distribute under this law. It leaves them where they were. It doesn't help them or harm them insofar as the "co-ops" are concerned.

#### HOW LAW MAY BE ENFORCED

How Law May be enforced

It will be asked, How will you enforce this law? In the first place the United States district attorney may ask that a person be indicted before the grand jury, or the United States district attorney may ask for an injunction before the United States district judge. If that injunction is granted and the injunction is violated, the violator may be punished by imprisonment or fine, or both. If any order is granted either by the Federal Trade Commission or an injunction, these orders may be used in evidence by a private party who has been wronged in his suit against the person who has discriminated against him. So it is necessary that some consideration and thought be given to that section. Not only can you enforce the law in the manner I have indicated but a private person or corporation or firm may employ a lawyer and go into court and ask for an injunction, and if that injunction is granted the offender may be punished. Such a person may employ a lawyer and go into court and show where he has been discriminated against and prove damages; and if the damages amount to \$10,000, the law is that the judge in entering the judgment must give him three times that much or \$30,000 and give him attorneys' fees and costs of suit.

There are plenty of teeth in this law to provide for its enforcement, which I hope will not be necessary to apply. I hope that business will accept it and recognize that it is a good law and

ment, which I hope will not be necessary to apply. I hope that business will accept it and recognize that it is a good law and, recognizing it, will do their very best to see that it is enforced. I believe the manufacturers should be for it. It is helpful to them.

#### MANY MANUFACTURERS FAVORED IT

One manufacturer representative came to see me when the bill was pending. I asked him if he favored the bill. He said, "Personally I would like to see that bill become a law, but I am going to say that it will be a bad law for the purposes of newspapers. The reason is that the manufacturers I represent have such close The reason is that the manufacturers I represent have such close contact with mass buyers. Our manufacturers cannot be in a position of antagonizing those large mass buyers, and I am representing them, and I am going to have to say it will be a bad law; but, personally, I would like to see the law passed, and I believe they would, too."

After this bill had become a law most manufacturers agreed that it is a good law. Not so many helped in the passing of it. In Washington we do not always know who is supporting or opposing a bill out in the States.

opposing a bill out in the States.

### WILL HELP RETAILERS

Let me show you how this act will help the retailers. The retailer will be getting a fair deal. That is all he is entitled to. All businessmen want in this country is an equal opportunity in business. We do not want anyone to have an unfair advantage over us, and we certainly don't want to seek an unfair advantage over anyone. over anvone.

over anyone.

I have four boys I am trying to rear and educate, and those four boys, all they are entitled to is a fair, square deal—just an equal opportunity, that is all I want them to have. If they fail then, I will be sorry they failed, but I cannot blame anyone. I would certainly rather see them fail in business than to see them succeed by unfair and dishonest methods. That broad road of opportunity should be open to them. Then they would have the same chance as your boys and other boys. I believe we should have business that way. I believe that it is the time when the American businessman should say to himself that he is willing to cooperate and work shoulder to shoulder with other competitors, sellers, and manufacturers, to the end that this cheating, chiseling, and underhanded methods will be forever stopped in this country. country.

### LAW IN INTEREST OF PEOPLE

Mr. John Dargavel is the executive secretary of the National Association of Retail Druggists. The National Association of Retail Druggists was very effective in supporting this law, without discounting the efforts and the services of other organizations.

After this law was passed John Dargavel, the executive secretary, said: "Enemies of the act say it is weak. Let them prove it. They say it is full of loopholes. Let them try to get through. Perhaps their necks will be in a noose rather than a loophole."

I think that all dealers should willingly and gladly carry out the purposes and intent of this law, which is not only for the manufacturer and the retailer and other distributors, but in the interests of the public, the American people.

NO CHANGE IN ACT EXPECTED

### NO CHANGE IN ACT EXPECTED

This victory we have gained, I consider is a great victory. before have independent merchants received so much in the form of national law for their benefit. That is my opinion. It is my opinion further that no serious effort will be made at the next session of Congress to change this bill substantially in any respect. If there is an effort made in the direction of weakening the bill, I want to tell you now that such effort will fail. It is not going to succeed. If there is any change made in this law I believe it will be made to strengthen it, if anything, and not to weaken it.

### ONLY FAIR AND HONEST PROFITS SHOULD BE DESIRED

The independent merchants have at least gained the goodwill of the American people. The people have recognized honesty and fairness in business and the people engaged in business should want only to make a fair, honest profit and not engage in chiseling and cheating.

#### FARMERS MUST BE HELPED

I live in the Southland where they produce cotton. Some people who do not reside in the South are wondering "what difference does it make to me whether the farmers get 5 cents or 20 cents a pound for cotton." There is a new school of thought in the minds of the American poeple. That new school of thought is constructive. It is going to help build this country and help prevent its destruction, and that thought is that we are our brother's keeper—just as old as the Bible but it is a new thought as far as business and the public generally are concerned. That new school of thought is that we must live and let live. We must recognize the right of other classes and groups to make an honest living.

other classes and groups to make an honest living.

Thirty million people are dependent upon farming for their living. If they get good prices for their production, they can buy what you manufacture here, and if they can buy, your factory wheels will continue to turn and your wage earners will continue to get good wages.

wheels will continue to turn and your wage earners will continue to get good wages.

In 1932 I was in Lynn, Mass. I told those people—you are walking the streets, you are in the bread lines, your shoe factories are closed. You ask why can't you go back to work. Because the people who need shoes don't have buying power. You must help the farmers all over the Nation to get a good price for their products. When they can buy shoes, you will be called back to work, you will get good wages, and you can buy what they produce. It has resulted that way.

Thirty-six million people are wage earners. If those people get good wages, they can buy what the farmers produce. They can buy the services of the 9,000,000 people dependent upon the professions for their living. They can patronize the 11,000,000 dependent upon transportation and communication for a livelihood. One can help the other.

We want to keep that good constructive thought in the minds of the American people.

of the American people.

#### IS THE CONSUMER ENTITLED TO THE LOWEST POSSIBLE PRICE?

I know that many people make the statement that the consumer is entitled to the lowest possible price. If you carry that statement without qualification to its logical end, it will destroy this country. Do you know the lowest price the consumer is entitled to? It is a price that will give the producer a fair price for what is produced. The man who produced the raw materials is entitled to a fair price.

Thirty-six million people are dependent upon wage earning for a living, including their families. That wage earner is entitled to a fair wage, and if the consumer forces a price that will destroy that wage earner's buying power, he is destroying himself. Furthermore, that consumer should be glad to pay a price that will not only give the farmers or the producer a fair price and the wage earner a fair wage, but a fair profit to those who transport and distribute that produce. They are also entitled to a fair profit. We must adopt that policy of live and let live in this country. We must continue to recognize that fact or we cannot have prosective.

we must continue to recognize that fact or we cannot have prosperity. We must all be prosperous together or there will be no prosperity.

The American people are willing for people engaged in distribution to make a fair profit for the service they are rendering. The American people do not object to that. Any policy that will destroy buying power is destructive.

### ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS NOT OFFICIAL

Now, then, I have been requested to answer some questions regarding this bill. I want you to understand that the answers I give are not official. I want you to know that I have no right to interpret this law. That is for the courts and the Federal Trade Commission. I can tell you my opinion with the understanding that those who construe laws have different opinions. Sometimes the judges have a divided court. That has happened in the Supreme Court many times in recent months. I will just give you my opinion. I suggest that you do not rely upon it, however. You take the facts to your own particular lawyer, but I can tell you what I believe should be done in view of what we had in mind when the law was passed. law was passed.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q. Will the bill raise retail prices? How will it affect the con-

I believe it will have a tendency to lower prices and stabilize

We know prices are going up. You can't have inflation of money and credit without having increased prices. This law will not

cause it.

Q. Will it prevent the larger buyer from buying more?

It will prevent the large buyer from getting the benefit of any saving except where it is justified and he can show that it is justified by reason of the difference in cost of manufacture, sale,

or delivery, one or all of those three.

Q. Will it curtail or does it prevent advertising?

It will not retard or curtail advertising, but it will force one who gives advertising allowances to treat all customers the same—to give them proportionately equal terms. The seller has the right to select his customers and when selected he is charged with the duty

under this law to treat them all fairly and equally.

Q. Does the law discourage quantity buying?

I doubt if there will be the inducement in every case to buy in large quantities as there was before, because the difference in price will only be the difference in cost of manufacture, delivery, or sale.

Q. Is a merchant who accepts an allowance liable under the terms of this bill?

Yes; I have answered that before. Q. Will the benefits be equally beneficial to the merchants and to the public?

Yes.

Q. Do you believe that some will test the legality in the United States Supreme Court, and what do you think the United States Supreme Court will decide?

I believe that the Court will sustain the law, because it has never held unconstitutional the Interstate Commerce Act. It is so plainly constitutional. The Clayton Act has stood the test for 22 years and this is just an amendment to the Clayton Act. I believe this law will be held constitutional, If for any reason a part should be held unconstitutional, it will not affect the other parts of the law. parts of the law.

Q. How are free goods given for the purchase of specified quan-

tities or deals?

Free goods is just another way of giving a lower price. If you use free goods, you must give free goods proportionately to all customers alike.

Q. Is an extension of time for a price discount a violation of

Q. Is an extension of time for a price discount a violation of this law?

If the retailer does not pay his bill in the 10 days specified and if it is extended over such period of time that it grants to the customer a special price or special privilege which would or could be measured in dollars and cents, and would result in giving to him a discrimination by reason of that extension of time, I think it would be a violation. Obviously a few days' time is not going to make any difference as the courts will use common sense in administering the law, and the courts and the Federal Trade Commission are not going to deal in petty trivial matters and a few days failure to pay I don't believe would be sufficient to be construed as a difference in price.

Q. Are temporary deals, generally offered to the trade, permissible and if so must customers be notified and if one is accidentally left out, will that be considered a violation?

You have a right to change prices any time you want to so long as you do not discriminate against your other customers and if you are announcing a sale and you announce it to all your customers, they have a right to get the benefits of it. If one is accidentally left out I don't believe it would be considered seriously unless there was some evidence to show that you intended to deprive him of that opportunity. If he could show that you were using that price change to discriminate, it may be a basis for a damage claim.

O. Where one nurchaser takes multiple and the other single.

using that price change to discriminate, it may be a basis for a damage claim.

Q. Where one purchaser takes multiple and the other single warehouse delivery, with considerable saving in trucking, may the purchaser receive a lower price? May that saving be expressed in a price difference?

I have answered that previously. If there is a difference in cost of manufacture, sale, or delivery, yes, and there would seem to be

of manufacture, sale, or delivery, yes, and there would seem to be in this case.

Q. Customer No. 1 orders from hand to mouth, compelling the manufacturer to fill his orders, while customer No. 2 orders in advance, permitting the manufacturer the use of season labor, etc., may the manufacturer grant customer No. 2 a lower price, or will the manufacturer be compelled to give both the same price?

The manufacturer may grant prices representing the saving as between the customers.

between the customers.
Q. A merchant sells through different methods. Across the counter, mail order, etc. May he make a differential in price?
Yes, only however, if there is a difference in the cost of manu-

Yes, only however, if there is a difference in the cost of manufacturing, sale, or delivery.

Q. If a customer buying a certain quantity is entitled to a demonstrator, how would his competitor buying half that quantity be compensated, as a demonstrator cannot be divided?

He could be allowed the demonstrator for half the period. If the period was 30 days, he would be entitled to the demonstrator for 15 days. You can work it out some way on some fair and reasonable basis, so as not to create a discrimination. I feel sure that can be done.

Q. Suppose a manufacturer offers a dollar a month to great dwarf.

can be done.

Q. Suppose a manufacturer offers a dollar a month to every druggist who will place a sign on the side of his truck and some of his customers have a cash and carry business and don't have these trucks, would that be a discrimination?

No; it will not be a discrimination. Window displays are the same way. Some provision must be made whereby all will receive proportionately equal terms.

On March 4, 1936, we had what was known as the Independence Day Meeting for independent merchants in Washington. That was

On March 2, 1936, we had what was known as the Independence Day Meeting for independent merchants in Washington. That was a most effective meeting. At that meeting 3,000 independents from all over the country were there. We explained this Robinson-Patman law. These men were diplomatic men. They understood it. They used the right methods. They did not try to intimidate or coerce any Member of Congress to vote for it. If you are armed with a just cause, you do not have to intimidate. You can tell the truth. All you have to do is get the truth to the people. These

representatives sold this bill to Members of Congress—both Houses. They helped to sell it all over the Nation.

This bill did not receive much publicity in the papers. That is why these clairvoyants and fortunetellers in Washington said the bill was going to be defeated. They were taking the newspapers' word for it. We used radio and other methods of distributing information and we sold this cause to the people.

This is a good law and I hope it will be generally observed.

#### TYPE OF QUESTIONS ASKED

The questions asked at each place involved the following provisions of the Robinson-Patman Act:

The purpose of the act.
When price discriminations are lawful.
Forms of price discrimination.
What are costs?
Price discrimination to meet competition. Rebuttal of a prima facie case. Who are in competition? Cash discounts and terms of sale. Advertising. Other forms of promotional allowances. Brokerage allowances. Transportation charges. Free goods and special deals. Premiums and consumer give-aways.

Consignment of goods. Proportionally equal terms.

Exemptions as to perishables, obsolescence, etc.

Selections of customers.

Wholesalers and functional discount.
Cooperatives and pool buying and selling.
Application of the act to Government bids.
Import and export sales.
Contracts made prior to the act.

Constitutionality.

Interstate and intrastate commerce.

Means of enforcement and recourse in event of injury.

Federal Trade Commission's authority to establish quantity

The Borah-Van Nuys amendment, or so-called criminal section of the act.

At each place there were some 10 to 25 questions, depending upon the time consumed and other circumstances.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I would not like to yield just yet, as I have my time divided, but I will yield to any Member before I finish.

Mr. Speaker, this concern, McKesson & Robbins, was 103 years old. The people locally associated with the McKesson Co. with whom I came in contact were the highest-type businessmen. They were highly respected leaders in the communitles in which they lived. I did not know the officials at the home office, because I had no contact with them. I had no occasion to have any contact with them.

#### WHO ATTENDED MEETINGS

Locally, wherever they sponsored a meeting, they would almost invariably have present at the meeting the local Member of Congress. The mayor of the city or his representative and other cutstanding local people were usually there, and at every meeting that I addressed on that tour there was one or more Members of this House or Members of the United States Senate present. At practically every such meeting I was introduced by a Member of this House or of the United States Senate. They know what I spoke about and they know every question that was asked. Many of them are here now. No person can even suggest or intimate that there was anything unethical or wrong in regard to making these speeches about a law that had already been passed.

At these meetings we had present the independent merchants, the purchasing agents, salesmen, accountants, executives, and attorneys and in many cases representatives of chain stores, because they were greatly interested in finding out what this law was about.

Mr. Speaker, I did not have occasion to meet the president of that concern in 1936, and the speaking tour was finished in 1936. If he ever attended one of those meetings, I did not know it. In 1937, after this national tour was over, he came to my office to meet me, just like lots of men have. I had never met him before or received any communication from him prior to that time, and I have never at any time, before or since, had any business or transactions with him

or his company, directly or indirectly. Some of the biggest business executives in this Nation have come to my office, and I am glad to see them. I am not going to their office. I am not going into any lobbying headquarters, if they have any; but any time a Mr. Morgan, or a Mr. Mellon, or any other person wants to see me, if he is a man I think has information I should have, I am glad to get that information if he comes to my office. This man came by to see me; no business, just to meet me, he said. That was in 1937, after the tour was over. This was on Inauguration Day and he said he was on his way to a meeting of business executives, who were called to Washington to get up recommendations to be presented to the President of the United States.

Later, he mailed me a copy of a plan which he had for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make loans to small business-not an application for a loan for himself or his company. He requested that I arrange for him to meet my fellow Texan, Mr. Jesse Jones, to present the plan, which I, as a matter of courtesy, was glad to do. Any other Member interested in the small-business man would have done the same thing for him or any other recognized leader in business under the same circumstances.

#### SMEAR CAMPAIGN

After all this business came out about the head of McKesson & Robbins turning out like he did, of course if these interstate chain stores could in some way smear me and try to weaken my influence with the people and Congress, they would certainly take advantage of the opportunity to do that, and I know it. I have been in these fights before. For 10 years I have been in just such fights. I can tell you of a period when many times when I went to the office in the morning the files in my locked cases had been taken out, examined, and left on the floor. My safe had been opened the same as I could open it myself. My telephone wires were tapped both at home and at my office. Detectives were standing at the end of the corridor in which my office was located. They would interrogate people who went in and came out of my office. I have gone through these things before, and I know what it is. If you come out courageously against any big special interest with power and influence, as well as unlimited funds, you might just as well expect to go through what I have gone through for 10 years.

#### DISCLOSURES OF CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE

When I was chairman of a congressional committee in 1935 and 1936 investigating large-scale buying and selling, I discovered from testimony that among the things many of the people who are now opposing me in this fight were guilty of are the following:

- (1) Conspiracy to obtain control of retail distribution in
- (2) Stopped the showing of a picture, Forward America, which was favorable to independent business.
- (3) Attempted through influence to have our committee appoint as our principal investigator a man who, it was later discovered, was employed by chain-store interests under in-
- (4) Organized what they called a "cornstalk brigade," which was composed of key farm leaders whom they paid to go before legislatures and pose as farmers' representatives for the purpose of defeating certain legislation.
- (5) Employed influential men in each State who were close to members of the legislature and the Governor and who could stop legislation they were opposed to.
- (6) They admitted that their attorneys were instructed if they could not succeed in defeating a bill in a State legislature to get some amendment adopted which sounded good, but would cause the law to be declared unconstitutional if
- (7) Employed influential people on contingent basis to defeat legislation. That is, if the bill did not pass a certain session, they received a certain large amount of money. If it did pass they did not receive anything.
- (8) Faked consumer groups were organized to deceive the people, and at some meetings held by certain groups every person attending was on the pay roll of the interstate corporate chains.

- (9) Schools were held to teach their representatives how to deceive the people.
- (10) They had unlimited funds, which were used for bribery, deceit, trickery, and treachery.
- (11) They brought pressure to bear on newspapers that carried their advertising to print nothing about independent business, but boost absentee-owned business.
  - Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman yield?
  - Mr. PATMAN. For a brief question.
- Mr. MAY. If the gentleman will permit me preliminary to my question, may I make the statement that so far as I am concerned I have never doubted, I do not doubt now, and I never will doubt the good faith and the good intentions of the gentleman from Texas in his lecture tours in which he tried to give the public direct information as to the effect of a new statute that had been enacted into law. There are just two matters that the gentleman has raised about which I would like to have information, because my mind is open on this subject.

The first is a preliminary statement with respect to the power of Congress to use the taxing power for desirable purposes. It is my understanding that the constitutional purpose of a tax measure is to raise revenue. That is the idea that I had in mind, and I want the gentleman's views as to whether or not that is the prerogative of the taxing power of Congress.

- Mr. PATMAN. It has been used for many other pur-
- Mr. MAY. I imagine the gentleman has in mind the question of monopolies and the destruction of unfair competition?
  - Mr. PATMAN. That is right.
- Mr. MAY. Those are two of the things that may be effected by legislation of this type.
  - Mr. PATMAN. The gentleman is correct.
- Mr. MAY. May I ask one other question, and then I shall be through? Has the gentleman any facts or figures relating to how this measure may affect the consumers of groceries, in view of the fact that taxes always go into the cost of production?
- Mr. PATMAN. Yes; I have figures on that question and I expect to place them in the RECORD. I doubt that I shall have time to discuss them as I should like to because, of course, questions do take up time and my time is limited. Too, I must yield to every Member who wants to ask me a question. I asked for this time and obtained it nearly a week ago so Members would know in advance and be prepared to ask me any question they desired. However, I am very glad the gentleman brought up this point. I assure the gentleman I shall cover the matter in my extension of remarks or some subsequent speech if I do not cover it in this speech.
- Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?
- Mr. PATMAN. In 2 or 3 minutes. I have my time divided and I will be ready to yield in that time.
- It was said by my opponents concerning this lecture tour, "There is that man PATMAN out making a speech for a chainstore tax bill on the pay roll of a concern which will be helped by such tax bill if passed." The gentleman's paper over in Chicago carried that statement. Was that true? There was not a word of truth in it. The chain-store tax bill was not even introduced until 2 years later, or in 1938, so there was not a word of truth in it and no private concern at any time paid me to make a speech of any kind.

Another newspaper stated, "Why, he was out making speeches for the Miller-Tydings bill, a price-fixing bill." There was not a word of truth in that. I may say that bill is regarded as an enabling act and not a price-fixing bill. Do not be swept off your feet about this argument regarding the Miller-Tydings bill. The law Congress passed is all right. You need not be afraid of that law. I was not out making speeches for it, however.

## COSTER OPPOSED CHAIN TAX BILL

It has been discovered that Coster-Musica, the head of McKesson & Robbins, not only was not favorable to the antichain store tax bill that I introduced in 1938, but he actually

contributed money to organizations that were opposing it; so where does that argument that I was campaigning for a bill in 1936 or 1938 to help Coster come from? There is absolutely nothing to it, nothing in the world; but it shows the extent to which people will go to try to weaken or destroy you if you fight certain interests in this country.

Now I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. I am not addressing my remarks to the economic principles of the gentleman's bill, because I know nothing about them. I do not know whether it is a good or a bad bill, because I have not studied it thoroughly. I am addressing myself to the principle of whether or not anyone who introduces and sponsors legislation should receive financial remuneration for working for and in behalf of that bill. A great metropolitan paper in Chicago carried the statement that the gentleman received \$18,000 in 1 year for going forth with this bill and that the gentleman received a \$4,000 automobile. This paper contended that McKesson & Robbins paid for a full page ad in a retail drug publication announcing a series of speeches by the gentleman. What I should like to know is whether or not the gentleman did receive financial remuneration and what the reason is for the activity of McKesson & Robbins in the gentleman's behalf in order to put this information before the people of the country. I believe the Members of the House are entitled to know that.

Mr. PATMAN. Of course, the gentleman knows I expected to cover that question, as I had told the gentleman in private conversation. However, I do not object to its being asked at this time. I had just as well break the sequence of my

speech and answer it now.

Let us refer to the speakers' bureau. I have here two brochures showing the speakers in that bureau. You find in both these brochures pictures and statements concerning the most prominent men in this Nation. They are people who have been speaking under the auspices of this speakers' bureau for more than a quarter of a century. This speakers' bureau is a reputable and dependable one, so there cannot be anything said about it. My dealings with Mr. Thomas Brady were entirely satisfactory in every way.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. PATMAN. In just a minute. The gentleman from

Mr. PATMAN. In just a minute. The gentleman from Illinois has brought up some questions I want to answer now before I forget all of them.

Mr. COLMER. If the gentleman will permit, I believe it would be enlightening to the membership—and the gentleman should do it in fairness to himself—since it is a matter of record, to state who some of these gentlemen are.

Mr. PATMAN. There are included some of my own colleagues in this body, at least a large percent of the ones who are in demand as speakers. It also includes a large percent of the Members of the United States Senate who are in demand as speakers. It is not a disgrace, it is an honor to be called upon to make such speeches. Suppose you were advocating a particular plan for the benefit of the people and were invited to go to Chicago to make a speech, you would have a large audience of probably thousands of people, and more would hear you over the radio; you would get something in the newspapers about any plan you were proposing. It is news. You get your message over to the people. Oftentimes that is the only way you can get your message over to the people. It is a means of communication. Otherwise nothing would be said about that bill you placed in the hopper.

The gentleman from Illinois has asked questions about certain statements. The gentleman does not charge the statements are true because he does not know. He knows they are rumors put out by my opponents. The reason I say that is because I know they are not true. No speaker makes money-making speeches. I have heard it said that a number of Members make more money through making speeches than they do as Members of the Senate or the House. I do not believe that is true. If you are active as a leader in a national movement you will spend more than you get for speech-making any time in the year. You can-

not be in a national movement and not spend everything you make. I have made no profit out of it and neither has any other Member of this House. You become enthusiastic and eager to get your views across to the people about questions in which you are interested, and you spend everything you can to disseminate that information in every way you can. Your compensation comes from the knowledge that you are rendering a public service and receive recognition for it. I have not made, and neither has any other speaker, any \$18,000 a year. It is a ridiculous sum. It is so ridiculous I do not believe even a member of the President's Cabinet or of any Cabinets in the past—and Cabinet members have in the past been sent out by the same speakers' bureauhas made any such sum of money. During the last decade men in public life much higher than Cabinet members have spoken under the auspices of this same speakers' bureau.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. In just a minute.

I know that when this question came up these chains were so interested in getting something on me-they heard I had a new car that I bought last fall, and they said, "Oh, it is bound to be a \$4,000 car"-and they sent a man in an airplane from New York to Texarkana, my home town, and snooped around there inquiring into my business. They went to the banks and to the finance companies, and what did they find about this \$4,000-car story? They found that I had bought three new automobiles since I have been a Congressman, for 10 long years-cars in the low-priced classand I paid for each one of them on the installment plan just like a lot of other people are doing in this Nation today, and they found that this car that I bought last fall was not a \$4,000 car or a \$2,000 car, but it was a car made by a prominent automobile manufacturer in America who has four letters in his name, and I am paying for it on the installment plan just like many other people, and no one has ever given me any car or any part of a car. That is just a sample of the untruthful statements that are made by unfair opponents.

They went into the insurance companies to inquire about policies I had taken or investments I might have made and everything of that sort. These people, my opponents, can get into anybody's office in America, I believe. They have plenty of money, and money can hire and buy brains and influence. I had nothing to hide, and I did not mind this. They checked me up. I am glad that they did. What did they find? My assets, which are very small, have not increased in 10 years, and my debts, although I never had a past-due debt 1 day in my life that I did not make satisfactory arrangements to extend, they found I owe practically the same amount of money as I owed when I came to Congress more than 10 years ago. That is what these snoopers found out when they

went into my business.

All I know about the page ad referred to by the gentleman is that I read in the newspaper after this matter came up that such an ad was carried. I looked it up and discovered that an ad did appear stating that I was going to make some speeches concerning the Robinson-Patman Act—the President signed the bill and it became a law June 19, 1936, and the date of the ad was November 23, 1936—and the first words in the advertisement gave as the object of the address the following:

To consolidate the sentiment of the retailers, manufacturers, and businessmen generally behind the Robinson-Patman law for the elimination of discrimination between consumers and for the establishment of fair price in business.

The ad further discloses that I commended the McKesson Co., as I commended other firms, although it is not mentioned in the ad, for courageously coming out in favor of the observance and enforcement of the law and not try to find loopholes in it, in view of the fact that the law required them to immediately revise their schedules in a way that the smaller dealers of the country would receive prices three-quarters of a million dollars less each year from that company than they had been receiving before the Robinson-Patman Act passed.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I realize that the gentleman is a great speaker and is well informed. The question that occurs to me and the important question is whether or not your being engaged to make this tour, speaking in behalf of or against any bill in this House, had anything to do with the fact you are a Member of Congress. In other words, were you selected to do this work, in your opinion, and I know the gentleman is well informed, and can inform us whether or not his selection to do this work was connected in any wise with his being a Member of Congress.

Mr. PATMAN. I presume the gentleman means law instead of pending bill. I do not know for sure that it was, because I think a Federal Trade Commissioner would have been in greater demand than I was because a member of the Federal Trade Commission naturally would have a lot more to do with this question. However, I was a sponsor of the act

and knew something about it.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me? Mr. PATMAN. I would be glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. COX. I am glad that the gentleman has found it agreeable to concede the point that in all probability the fact he was the author of the bill and was acquainted with all of its provisions and was tremendously interested-

Mr. PATMAN. That is right.

Mr. COX. That this was the consideration that prompted

this agency in soliciting his services.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, may I have 15 additional minutes? I see my time is slipping away from me in this period I had allotted for questions and I want to yield to everyone who wants to ask me a question.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DINGELL). Is it agreeable to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Cox] for the Chair

to submit that request?

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman is discussing a question that is of great importance to him and of interest to his friends. I think he is entitled to make the statement and that he ought to make it, and to accommodate his needs I very gladly yield the time which has been allotted to me.

Mr. PATMAN. No; do not yield the time, but just let me

have 15 minutes additional.

Mr. COX. I have no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Patman] to proceed for 15 additional minutes?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for another question?

Mr. PATMAN. Let me answer the gentleman's first question.

Mr. O'CONNOR. This one is coupled with the other question. Another thing that interests me is this: Were all of these meetings that the Congressman addressed public meetings that anybody or any person had a right to attend?

Mr. PATMAN. Except where admission was charged. Sometimes admission was charged. Admission was not charged at any of the McKesson meetings. I had nothing to do with the collection of admissions. I had nothing to do with any local arrangements; no speaker does; but sometimes they charge admission, and I did not care and do not care now how they operated it.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Was the public generally admitted if

they desired to pay an entrance fee?

Mr. PATMAN. Absolutely. Everybody was admitted. There was no secret about it. It was advertised. The speech was taken down and news reporters were always present.

Mr. O'CONNOR. One other question, and then I am through. The gentleman spoke about the farmer trade. Do not farmers ordinarily trade wherever they get the goods the cheapest, regardless of whether it is a chain store or not? NO JUST CRITICISMS OF ONE SPEAKING FOR LAW OBSERVANCE AND ENFORCEMENT

Mr. PATMAN. Yes; I think so. Now, let me finish this statement, if you do not mind. I shall put this speech I refer to in the RECORD; and if you want the speech at any

place where I spoke, I think I can get it and put it in the RECORD, at least I will try, although in some cases I will have to contact local reporting services. You will find I was talking of observance and enforcement of a law, and I never heard anybody criticized for talking for law enforcement before in my life.

### CHAIN-STORE SPEAKERS NOT CRITICIZED

I know there are people who are sent out by this same speakers' bureau that speak for the chain stores and they have not been criticized. Why would they criticize only those who happened to turn out a couple of years later against the chain stores?

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. I asked the question whether the gentleman had received \$18,000.

Mr. PATMAN. The answer is "no." Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. The gentleman answered he did not make \$18,000.

Mr. PATMAN. I say it was so ridiculous it did not even need replying to, but the answer is "no."

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Can the gentleman tell me about the interest or the activity of McKesson & Robbins?

Mr. PATMAN. I can tell the gentleman what I believe. This Robinson-Patman law made the manufacturers and wholesalers give the smaller dealers a better price, and under the Robinson-Patman law the McKesson & Robbins Co. came out with an announcement and said, "We are going to observe this law, we hope our competitors do it, and here is our new schedule. This new schedule will give the smaller independent merchants a \$750,000 price-saving each year, and we want this schedule to be carried out. If our competitors do not contest the law, and will observe it as we are, there will be no trouble, so let us all get in together, let us observe the law, and if it is not observed, it should be enforced."

The two tin-can companies the next year reported that they had lost two and a half million dollars each the preceding 6 months because they were compelled to give the smaller can dealers a better price under the Robinson-

Patman Law.

EXAMPLES OF WHAT HAPPENED UNDER ROBINSON-PATMAN ACT

Before the law was effective, June 19, 1936, the Aluminum Co. of America had been selling aluminum powder for \$1 a pound up to 3,000 pounds to the smaller dealers. powder is used to make aluminum paint to paint water tanks. and for other purposes. The large dealers could obtain the same powder for 50 cents a pound. You know that small concerns cannot compete in a case of that kind. Why should that concern charge \$1 a pound for 2,500 pounds, but if a dealer is big enough to take 3,000 pounds he is charged 50 cents? That schedule of prices could not be justified. It was so fixed that a certain few would get the benefit of the low price.

Under this law the schedule of prices had to be changed so that the little man would get a somewhat lower price and

nearer the 50-cent price.

Another situation was in connection with copper piping. To the ordinary dealer it sold for 49 cents a pound. To large buyers that same piping sold for 20 cents a pound. That did not mean they could afford to sell it at that price. It means possibly they wanted to accommodate particular concerns. But it was not justified. It was a price away below cost, and when they sold it for that price they had to make all the independent dealers, who were unorganized and knew nothing about it, come in and pay the 49-cent price in order to make a profit. But they were destroying competition all the time and the public would eventually pay, and pay dearly, the price monopoly usually exacts.

Let us take the chocolate-candy companies. They had been granting undue concessions. This condition has been

adjusted.

Therefore, every concern in America that was observing this law that had biting teeth in it was vitally interested in other concerns observing it, and especially their competitors, and they wanted someone who knew something about the law to impress upon businessmen that if the law is not observed, it could be enforced by a criminal penalty and by a fine, and by triple damages. Certainly there was a reason, a selfish one, doubtless, that they wanted the people to know about this law, and all other big concerns in the same way.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION DOES NOT HAVE SUFFICIENT POWER

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. DOUGHTON. My recollection is that when the Federal Trade Commission was created, one of its chief duties was to see to it that big business did not impose on or put out of business improperly small business. Could the gentleman inform the House as to the activity and success of

the Federal Trade Commission in this respect?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes. Over a period of time they were not doing so much, but since 1933 they have been doing real good work, and I say to my good friend from North Carolina that he cannot read their reports and their recommendations without discovering that the day of independent business is gone and the farmers ruined, if something is not done to curb the interstate chain stores. The Federal Trade Commission has brought the problem to the very steps of this Congress, and what I am saying here today and doing here today is in the direction they have been going since 1933.

Mr. Culkin, Mr. Massingale, and Mr. Thorkelson rose.

Mr. PATMAN. I hope gentlemen will permit me to go on for a few minutes so that I might get through.

Mr. THORKELSON. But I want to ask the gentleman

Mr. PATMAN. Very well, I yield. Mr. THORKELSON. Will the gentleman please state where in the Constitution power is delegated to Congress to tax one particular part of a business at the expense of another business of a similar kind?

Mr. PATMAN. I shall cover that in my extension of remarks or a subsequent speech. I do not have time to do it now. I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr.

Mr. CULKIN. Mr. Speaker, I followed the gentleman on the Miller-Tydings bill, and the Robinson-Patman bill, and I think the bills were of great service to the independent retailers. I am informed now that the Farm Bureau Federation, the Grange, and various other organized farm bodies are in opposition to the gentleman's present bill. Will he discuss that phase of it?

Mr. PATMAN. I shall cover that not now, but in some subsequent speech. I do not think they have had all of the information. If they had the information, I do not think they would have gone against it. I doubt if they

had much discussion.

MILLER-TYDINGS BILL CHANGED TO MEET PRESIDENT'S OBJECTIONS

The gentleman evidently is mistaken about following my leadership on the Miller-Tydings bill. The main fight on the principle of that bill was in the different States. In the campaign to get the law enacted in different States, I had nothing to do with it at all and was not consulted about it. I was not a leader in the movement to pass the Miller-Tydings bill, although I did vote for the enabling act that passed Congress, as I felt like it was all right and still feel that it is all right. The President of the United States criticized this measure and, in effect, vetoed it in advance. After that, however, an amendment was agreed upon and adopted along with the bill that cured the President's objections. Many people seemed to have a lot to say about the President changing his mind and why he changed his mind. I believe the truth is the bill was changed to conform with the President's views or to render the bill sufficiently unobjectionable to justify him in not vetoing it.

The Tydings-Miller bill, contrary to the propaganda that is being put out, was not a price-fixing bill. It is a congressional act that permits citizens of one State to do business with citizens of another State where the State laws are the same and permit the type of business that they desire to engage in. The prices that are fixed in any State are by reason of the State act passed by the legislature of that State and not by reason of any congressional act.

I want now to explain how some of these things get around. I saw once in a newspaper that an agent of a certain department of the Government had indicated that Mr. PATMAN did so and so; that certain books revealed it. I was in that department one day and I stepped in to see a man who should know the truth of it if anybody should. I said to him, "Did you or somebody else in this department furnish this information as alleged?" He said, "No, as we had no right to say it." I then said, "Why did this newspaper publish such a thing?" He said, "We were on the receiving end. One newspaperman would come in and say, 'Have not you heard so and so?' and we would reply 'no,' and then he would say, 'Well, I am telling you now.' Then another newspaperman, possibly with the same paper, would call me up and ask if we had not heard it. And when it was admitted we had heard it although we had heard it from another newspaperman and there was nothing in the records about it they would go ahead and print it with the suggestion that our department had the information." I am not going to make any broadside attack on the newspapers or the radio, because I try to believe they are generally fair. I know there are exceptions, and sometimes there are enthusiastic promoters of news who will do things they should not do.

#### SERKOWICH & JENCKES, LEGISLATIVE CONSULTANTS

The other day you had brought around to you a long circular letter from a new firm of legislative consultants here in Washington. You know that is getting to be great business.

This firm of so-called legislative "consultants" has recently been organized and ready for business. The firm is composed of Heiman Serkowich and V. Jenckes. They are representing, I have been reliably informed, the chain-store interests, which they have a right to do. The junior member of this firm was formerly a Member of Congress. Before her term expired, the interstate chain-store interests persuaded her firm to attempt to file with the Dies Un-American Activities Committee a long statement, which had for its purpose making libelous remarks privileged, so that they could be reproduced in the newspapers without danger.

The long statement consisting of more than a dozen typewritten pages was prepared after the firm of Serkowich & Jenckes had been informed as to what was wanted in the

It was delivered to the clerk of the committee, but I understand the committee refused to accept it because it shows on its face to be full of erroneous statements and that its purpose was foreign to what it was claimed.

Not content with this effort, it is my understanding that a copy of this statement, together with a letter from the junior member of the firm of Serkowich & Jenckes, was sent to each Member of Congress and to members of the press gallery, except one was not sent to me. I have secured one, however, and desire to invite your attention to the preposterous, fantastic, and untruthful statements that it contains. It was franked out by the junior member of the firm as "official business" from a former Member of Congress.

Remember this, that the statement was sworn to by the junior member of the firm Serkowich & Jenckes, and I want to point out to you how this firm of legislative "consultants" so carelessly regard their statements and how reckless they are in their remarks.

One page attached to the letter, under the heading "References and Documentation," refers to chain-store propaganda that has been disseminated over this country for the last 2 or 3 years. It is an attempt to prove a statement by a false statement.

Now, in regard to the letter itself, it is dated December 22, 1938, on the stationery of the junior member of the firm of Serkowich & Jenckes. On page 3 this statement appears:

I also wish to specifically refer to a bill introduced in the Seventy-fifth Congress placing an exorbitant tax upon the distribution of foodstuffs by an American corporation legally authorized to do a

chain-store business in the United States, and rendering a genuine

service to the consumers of foodstuffs.

Representative Parman, of Texas, introduced this bill, which was so openly anticonsumer that both the Federal Trade Commission and the President of the United States, as well as the labor organizations, challenged it.

Remember, this statement was sworn to by the junior member of the firm of Serkowich & Jenckes. The truth is I did not introduce a bill in the Seventy-fifth Congress that was challenged by the President of the United States or by the Federal Trade Commission. The junior member of this firm is very much confused about what actually happened, or possibly it is the senior member of the firm that has the matter confused. Anyway, they must have been referring to what was known as the Miller-Tydings bill, which was challenged by the President of the United States and by the Federal Trade Commission, but I did not introduce the bill, so this statement is certainly untrue.

In the next sentence of the Serkowich & Jenckes statement this appears:

It now appears that the price-fixing drive behind it was \* \* \*.

Certainly she was not referring to any bill that I introduced in the Seventy-fifth Congress, because I did not introduce any price-fixing bill at that session or any other session.

But upon the assumption that I did introduce a pricefixing bill, this firm of legislative consultants, Serkowich & Jenckes, attempt to leave the impression that I was trying to bail out someone who had defrauded his company and stockholders. Since I did not introduce a price-fixing bill, the inference that I was trying to bail out any concern through a price-fixing bill is too farfetched for serious consideration.

Then they said in this statement that I made a national lecture tour, whooping it up for a bill that I had pending that would help a concern that was sponsoring the meetings, which was untrue, and then they said that the Robinson-Patman law would let a wholesaler get a discount, but it would not let anybody get a discount if he sold direct to the consumers, which is untrue, and in addition to that the junior member of that firm swore to these false statements. The one you got was not sworn to, but the one they attempted to file with the committee was sworn to. There was absolutely no truth in it.

The chains are spending plenty of money in this way. This junior member of the firm of Serkowich & Jenckes said that the head of this concern under discussion claimed he had \$18,000,000 of crude drugs in a warehouse in Canada, or was supposed to have, and did not have any of them. Not a dollar's worth.

She said, in effect, if this Patman bill had passed, the price of the drugs would have increased so much that he could have bailed himself out and he would not have had any loss. Is not that logic and reason that if you increase the price of something that you do not have that will cause you to be rich? That was the argument that was used. [Laughter.]

#### ANOTHER FALSE STATEMENT

Commencing on page 7 of the Serkowich & Jenckes statement, it is said:

This bill (referring to the Robinson-Patman bill) was introduced in the House of Representatives by the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas, who declared it would make a carload and a single unit sell at the same price.

There is not a word of truth in that statement, although the chain-store interests have been repeating it from one to another ever since the law was passed.

In fact they have been telling it so much they probably believe it themselves.

This is another untrue statement that the junior member of the firm has sworn was true.

This firm of Serkowich & Jenckes, of course, wants to make money, and the chain stores are spending a lot of money. I will venture to say that the chains have a lobby that has pledged to it \$100,000,000, and I am not exaggerating when I say that. They are going to let some of that money fall into hands of irresponsible people that will do or say anything in the world.

"TALES" BY TATTLER TUCKER

We have a new service here. The name of it is "The National Whirligig." "News Behind the News by Ray Tucker." It is printed and sent all over the country. It is printed in my district. You know, Ray has a way of getting around and finding out things. He has a nose for news. He gets the news, and then he tells it. Some of it is true; some of it is not. I do not jump on columnists generally, because most of them are reliable, but some of them get off the track, just like Ray gets off the track.

A while back he printed an awful article about me. You would think I was one of the worst fellows in the country. My enemies wanted to get that information. They called on him for it. They said, "Ray, you furnish us verification of that. That is the very stuff we need against that man PATMAN."

Well, you know, Ray looked everywhere and he could not find it. He could not find it, because it was not true. It did not even border on the truth. Then, do you know what Ray does? He had the audacity-I will not call it unmitigated gall—to write me a letter admitting that he did not have any proof of it, but that he printed it and it happened 10 years ago, and he said it must have been printed in some newspaper sometime and "won't you please give me the name of the newspaper so I can furnish the information?" [Laughter.]

Now, there is a columnist sending out news from Washington, printing news that he has not any reason to believe is true. Then when called, he begins to look up the truth. I think that National Whirligig, by Ray Tucker, should be changed to Tales by Tattler Tucker. [Laughter.] He has been helping to spread some of this untrue propaganda.

I cannot cover in one speech everything that I should like

to say.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. PATMAN. I hope the gentleman will excuse me. My time is very limited.

Mr. SPRINGER. I just wanted to ask one question.

Mr. PATMAN. Very well.

Mr. SPRINGER. The firm of Serkowich & Jenckes-will the gentleman please tell who they are?

Mr. PATMAN. Serkowich & Jenckes, or whatever it is [laughter]—anyway, he came here as a stock salesman in a secret gold mine; later he became publicity director for the Congresswoman from Indiana. He represented her in her war with the country of Japan and got for her that wonderful publicity, including pictures, about her proposal to chop down the Japanese cherry trees around the Tidal Basin here in Washington. After that he got into the publicity business. and then I understand he went into partnership with this junior member of the firm, Mrs. V. Jenckes, of Indiana, and I understand the name of the firm is Heiman Serkowich & V. Jenckes. That is all I know about them except they have been working for the chain stores.

Mr. SPRINGER. Would the gentleman permit another question?

Mr. PATMAN. If the gentleman will please hurry,

Mr. SPRINGER. I want to ask whether the V. Jenckes, whom the gentleman mentioned, is Virginia Jenckes, who formerly served in this House?

Mr. PATMAN. I think she is from the gentleman's State of Indiana, and I am sure she is the same one. [Laughter.]

Now, I want to tell you about another one of these columnists.

Mr. MASSINGALE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman

Mr. PATMAN. I hope the gentleman will not insist now. I only have a few minutes, and I have something that I really want to say.

### DR. "POKEBERRY" POPE

A while back I saw a news release, Washington Day by Day—Terse commentaries on people and places—Gentle iconoclasm with no favorites played, by Jim Pope.

That shows that he must be a pretty good news commentator; pretty courageous; a man with much intestinal fortitude. He is going to give the low-down on all the Members of Congress. He is going to start tattling, gossiping, and telling tales that nobody has ever heard. He is going to give us the "works." He sent to the newspapers of the country a long statement copying all of this old chain-store propaganda about me that the best newspapers would not print. He sent that around all over the country. Then the chains picked it up and sent it to about a hundred thousand people, professional men, lawyers, doctors, teachers, leaders all over the country-comments from this so-called great Washington columnist. That name, "Jim Pope," did not mean much to me; but I noticed down at the bottom an editor's note which says:

Dr. Pope's opinions are his own. His articles do not necessarily always reflect the editorial policies of this paper.

I said to myself. "Is that the same old unpardoned convict, 'Dr. Pope,' that I caused to quit using the mails to defraud a few years ago?" I looked into it and, sure enough, it was. [Laughter.]

One time there was a pension racket started here. That pension racket was to collect dimes and quarters and nickels from old folks in America. It was collecting six or seven hundred dollars a day. Highway robbery! That is all it was. I stood on the floor of this House and denounced J. E. Pope as the sole perpetrator of that swindle. I was called before a committee and I furnished that committee information which I had collected at my own expense, including copies of indictments that I had obtained from all over this Nation, where he had been swindling people ever since he was

21 years of age.

I sent to Houston, Tex., got a copy of the paper there, which said, "Young man given the limit of the law for defrauding distressed home owners." This was in 1904. That article showed that he had advertised under the name of J. E. Pope. He has stayed with one of these names: J. Pope, J. E. Pope, Jim Pope, Dr. J. E. Pope, James E. Pope-one or the other all of the time. He advertised: "If you are about to lose your home, I will make you a loan"—he used an investment name—"J. E. Pope." He would say, "Give me an abstract and \$15 and I will approve your loan for the amount you are asking." The applicant would comply. He would get the \$15 and then after the lapse of time he would say the title to the property was not good or that there was a defect in the title or the attorney turned it down, so he could not make the loan.

Then he went over to Longview, Tex., and advertised for salesmen, wanted watch salesmen. Unemployed people would come in to see him or write him. He would say: "Pay me \$10.75 for a watch and I will guarantee you \$50 a week." The unemployed person paid him the \$10.75 and never got a watch. They sent him to the penitentiary again on several counts. This was about 1918 or 1919. Copies of the indictments are in the records.

Then he goes to Fort Worth, Tex., about 1923 and becomes a fraudulent stock operator in the oil fields out there. They indicted him twice at Fort Worth. I have copies of his indictments in the records. I faced him with them before that committee and showed where they had brought more than 20 indictments against this man for fraud and racketeering all over this Nation, and I defied him to deny one of them. The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. RAMSPECK] was chairman of the committee. He said, "Dr. Pope, is that true?" He said, "I cannot deny it," and he could not.

Then about 1927 he went to Denver, Colo., and engaged in

fraudulent enterprise out there.

In 1929 he went down to Oklahoma. In Oklahoma they do not have licensed chiropodists. The chiropodist does not have to have a license out there. You can be a chiropodist just by calling yourself one. [Laughter.] Out there they have what is known as pokeberries. You can mash them up and take the juice and use it for writing fluid. I think this man J. E. Pope just took some of that pokeberry juice and wrote "doctor" in front of his name and made himself "Dr. J. E. Pope." So he became a chiropodist, a profession about which he knew nothing.

Then he got into a pension racket, came here to Washington; and I went before the Post Office Department in 1934 and caused him to have to stop using the mails to defraud the old people. He admitted it. Then he started up under another name again, and I went back to the Post Office Department in 1936 and stopped him the second time from using the mails to defraud the old people. Now he shows up as one of these great columnists, "Dr." Pokeberry Pope, who is giving the lowdown on Members of Congress in Washington, and some of the so-called great newspapers are carry-

In the Washington Star, Washington, D. C., January 1, 1939, the following advertisement appeared in the personal classified column:

Ghost writer-successful author, journalist, radio speaker, will advise or edit and revise your story or speech in correct form. Helpful collaboration. Dr. Pope, manuscript editor, 518 Colorado Building, Washington.

Such an advertisement has appeared from time to time. So the self-styled doctor has gone into the "ghost-writing" business, preparing speeches, and engaging in other personal relations activities.

He has spent practically all of his adult life since 1904about 35 years—either in the penitentiary, jail, or under indictments charged with serious offenses, involving fraud and

Yet his column is accepted by many newspapers, the publishers not knowing the type of person who is giving the inside chimney-corner information on high public officials.

WILL KIDNAPING AND MURDER BE RESORTED TO?

It is a dangerous thing for any group to have such a large amount of money to spend for the purpose that it is being spent for. Much of this money will fall into the hands of irresponsible people and I state seriously that it would not surprise me if this method of attack and lobbying, backed by such enormous sums of money, continues that eventually some of the enthusiastic supporters of the opposition will actually resort to kidnaping and murder in order to silence those who oppose them. This is an astounding statement, I know, but I honestly believe it is possible by the way they have been conducting themselves in the past, as shown by congressional investigations, and the way they have started out conducting themselves in this campaign.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Texas has again expired.

Mr. MASSINGALE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas may proceed for 5 additional minutes. I desire to ask him a question.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object. I am very anxious to get some real genuine information on this anti-chain-store bill. If the gentleman is given additional time. I think he should answer some of the questions because of the importance of the chain-store legislation.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, if the House should grant the request I shall ask unanimous consent to vacate the special order giving me 10 minutes today.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia asks unanimous consent that the time heretofore allotted to him by special order of the House may be vacated and yielded to the gentleman from Texas. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 10 additional minutes.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Massingale].

Mr. MASSINGALE. My purpose in interrogating the distinguished gentleman from Texas is this: I am afraid that the gentleman has not done himself justice in the reply that he made to the gentleman from Illinois who asked if he received \$18,000 in money in any one year for making The gentleman from Texas replied that he did not. I realize he has been interrupted many times and has been diverted. However, I hope he does not overlook it, and I am sure he does not intend to do so. In my judgment, I believe the gentleman owes it to himself to state, if he will, how much he did receive from the speakers' bureau so there will be no unfair inferences drawn, or prejudicial inferences drawn, from the gentleman's answer.

Mr. PATMAN. That is a very fair question, and I am glad the gentleman has brought it to my attention, as I

certainly expect to answer every question asked.

When a reputable speakers' bureau arranges for speakers, such as United States Senators and Members of the House, they usually receive from \$100 to \$400, out of which they must pay their expenses. The organization wanting the speaker usually has a certain amount set aside as an honorarium for the guest speaker. The speakers' bureau advises the one invited and informs him he will receive a certain amount if he accepts. The speakers' bureau makes a profit, as it should. The speakers' bureau has no right to contract for the appearance of a Member of Congress. The invitation is submitted to him. If he wants to accept, all right; if not, all right. The acceptance usually depends upon the convenience of the Member and his desire to get his views over to the group that has invited him.

Take a speaker in a national campaign who is working in behalf of some cause he considers of great importance to the people. One time he will go out and make a speech and not receive expenses or any part of his expenses, and another time receive expenses. He will often have to pay his own hotel bills. The next time he goes out he might receive his actual expenses for the trip. The next time he might receive enough to pay his expenses two or three times. When all is said and done, you are in the position that I have been in, that you have not acquired one extra penny from it and should not expect to. Some Members spend all the time they have to spare trying to present what they consider a good cause to the people. Other Members use their spare time in different ways. I have never known of a Member permitting speech making to interfere with his duties as Congressman.

No speaker in a national campaign he is promoting, if he is earnest and sincere in trying to put it over, realizes a penny profit from speeches.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. COX. Nobody in this House, I am sure, questions the gentleman's fine veracity, his great ability, and his fine patriotism. The question propounded by the gentleman from Oklahoma also sought to elicit information as to the total amount the gentleman received.

Mr. PATMAN. In any 1 year from the speaker's bureau?

Mr. COX. Yes.

Mr. PATMAN. During the first year \$5,000, I am sure, will cover it, although I have not checked up. In the other year not that much. When it is all said and done, when you pay your printing bill, when you pay your stationery bill, when you pay your other expenses, including extra office help, you have nothing left and have been out money besides. That is the experience of all of us. That is the penalty for being zealous and determined to win.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I have not very much time.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. This will be very brief.

Mr. PATMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky. Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. It has been stated here that farm organizations have gone on record against the gentleman's chain-store bill. Is it not also true the American Federation of Labor has gone on record against the gentleman's bill? I should like to know why that is.

Mr. PATMAN. I do not know of my own knowledge. I am sure they did not consider all the facts and circumstances.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I should like to know why the American Federation of Labor took that action.

Mr. PATMAN. I hope the gentleman will not ask me to yield any more on that point at this time. I will cover it in a subsequent speech.

With all the snoopers, with all the gossipers, with all the detectives and the legislative "consultants," they have not found anything for which I am deserving of criticism. I am not defending, I am not apologizing, as I have done nothing wrong. I am trying to show what methods certain people will resort to. Let the Wall Street monopolists continue to have the help of certain unfair newspapers, of such legislative "consultants" as Serkowich & Jenckes, and such unpardoned convicts as Dr. "Pokeberry" Pope, and such columnists as "Tattler" Tucker, and they will not succeed as we have the right side, and when the people get the truth, H. R. 1 will become a law.

Some people have gone a long way trying to smear me and they have done it for two good reasons. William Jennings Bryan reached the people through the Speakers' Bureau. The newspapers would not carry what he had to say. The elder La Follette did the same thing. The newspapers would not carry what he had to say. Some of the greatest men on earth have used this vehicle as a means of communication to the people when they could not reach them in any other way.

The reasons why they want to destroy me are two. One is to weaken my efforts and fight against monopolies. I was the one who disclosed that 24 banks, 13 of them in one city, own one-third of the banking resources of the 16,000 banks in the Nation. These 24 banks are heavily interested in business, industry, and manufacturing and they have their eyes on control of retail distribution. The second reason is they want to intimidate every man in public life that they can intimidate. This not only applies to me; it applies to you. It demonstrates what they will do to you if you attempt to cross them and propose legislation against them or make a strong fight for the enactment of legislation that may be detrimental to their business but in the interest of the people.

#### NO PERSONAL INTEREST OR SELFISH INTEREST

The only interest I have in this legislation is to cause the enactment of a law that I believe will be of great benefit to the people of this country. I have no selfish interest whatsoever and have nothing to gain any more than any other citizen would gain. On the other hand, many of those, who are opposing me, are selfishly interested. They have privileges and opportunities that are not only worth millions of dollars but instead, in the years to come, if they can retain them, they are worth billions of dollars. So the point is: Who is more likely to give the people the best and most correct information—one who has nothing to gain except serving the public interest, or one who is selfishly and financially interested?

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. For a brief question.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. I have not reached any conclusion as to whether I will support or oppose the gentleman's bill; but, as a matter of information, when the gentleman was out on this speaking tour, for which he received compensation, was it part of the gentleman's agreement to discuss the chain-store tax legislation?

Mr. PATMAN. I am glad the gentleman asked that question. No; there was no agreement to discuss anything except the observance and enforcement of the Robinson-Patman Act. I did not discuss any chain-store tax bill because that was not proposed until 1938. The speaking tour was in 1936. That is the charge that was made in the newspaper in Chicago, but it was untrue.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Did the gentleman not discuss it in Chicago 2 or 3 months ago?

Mr. PATMAN. Possibly several months ago I did discuss the Federal chain-store tax bill in Chicago.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Well, the gentleman did, did he not?

Mr. PATMAN. I am sure the gentleman must be referring to a debate I had in Chicago before the National Conference of Business Paper Editors. It was October 19, 1938, at the Union League Club, and the organization paid my actual expenses, which were less than \$75. We have been talking about the speaking tour in 1936. That is the tour, as I understand it, that is being discussed. I will include a copy of the speech in the RECORD, delivered on that tour in 1936: and if there are any other speeches you want to see, call them to my attention, and I believe I can secure an exact stenographic copy of every word that was said at each

Mr. CELLER. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. PATMAN. I yield to the gentleman from New York. Mr. CELLER. Relative to the bill the gentleman has introduced, he might be interested in reading very shortly the result of a poll taken by the magazine Fortune.

Mr. PATMAN. Do not get me into that discussion, as I do not have the time.

Mr. CELLER. That shows the change of sentiment against the gentleman's bill and against chain stores.

Mr. PATMAN. I did not yield to the gentleman for that purpose. However, it depends on the way you interpret the poll. I can see in it much encouragement. I only have 2 minutes. The gentleman will not insist on taking that,

Mr. CELLER. I will not; no.

Mr. PATMAN. In conclusion, my opponents would like to smear me or any other Member of Congress who gets up and fights the battles against those people who have special privileges they are not entitled to and who are trying to hog more. If you will not listen to them they will seek to destroy you. They will weaken or destroy every courageous man in the Nation who takes issue with them if they can. I would not have their vicious opposition if I merely introduced the bills but did not make a real effective fight to get them enacted into law. My present opponents would compliment and admire me if I merely dropped this bill in the hopper and made no real effort to cause its enactment.

#### UNEQUAL SITUATION

These large concerns, which are 100 percent organized among themselves and cooperating perfectly, have at their disposal plenty of money, the very best brains, the most influential people, many newspapers, and more power than is possessed by any group in America.

In this fight about all I have is the cause, which I believe is right. If they can destroy me, they know it is in their interest to do so. If they should be successful, they feel that no other person would dare take up the fight within the next generation, or any other fight in opposition to them.

### POLICY I ADOPTED AS A NEW MEMBER

When I came to Congress as a new Member I very quickly realized how insignificant I was and how feeble and weak my efforts would be in this great lawmaking body. I had in mind certain measures of great importance, and decided that although my influence in this body was very limited, I could appeal to a higher source, to the masters of the 531 Members of the House and Senate, the people of the United States. I commenced a campaign to sell the people on my proposals, knowing that if I sold them that Congress would gladly carry out their will and wishes. Such campaigns caused the enactment of the bill to pay the veterans the remainder due on their adjusted-service certificates, the Robinson-Patman Act, and other proposals. I could have introduced all of these bills and made a speech each session and returned to the people, who elected me every 2 years, with a good campaign issue to be reelected on, but nothing would have been accomplished, except I would have had an issue to keep me in Congress. It was my sincere desire to actually accomplish something, and that is the reason I resorted to the method of speaking campaigns to sell the people. If the newspapers will not carry what you say, and if your time over the air is restricted or limited, there is only one other way to arouse the people on a good cause and that is through a speakers' bureau or a campaign tour of some kind. Then when you go to a city to make a speech, a large number of people are interested. It is news and what you say is carried in the newspaper whether the newspapers want to carry it or not. If my method does not meet with the approval of some people-and I am sure it does not because it has been effective-I can only say to them that what I have done in this respect has been with an honest, conscientious desire to be of real service to the plain people of this country. My constituents realize that my ability to serve them depends upon my ability to get the support of sufficient people in other States and districts to accomplish worthy objectives.

Mr. Speaker, I have permitted every Member who desired to ask me any question he desired. I appreciate your patience and the unusual courtesy of permitting me to speak so long by unanimous consent. I love a good fight; and so far as I am concerned, this fight has just commenced. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

The SPEAKER. Under a special order of the House heretofore entered, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gif-FORD] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, and I call the attention of the Chair to the fact that the RECORD will disclose I was granted 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent to revise and extend his remarks. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman temporarily is recognized for 20 minutes. The Chair can verify the RECORD in the meantime.

Mr. GIFFORD. The RECORD will disclose that I was granted 30 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I wish I were a truly great man like the last speaker. Then there would not be an exodus. Every one knows that the topic I shall discuss would not be particularly welcome to the majority side of the House.

I wish I might think that the ethics were such that I could be paid to travel over this Nation of ours and talk on the subject about which I shall speak this afternoon. It is, indeed, a very important matter and perhaps should not excite real controversy when rationally considered.

I have so often spoken on the same subject. The reason I have asked for the time is that so few desire to speak, and, as my Committee on Expenditures will not work, this is my forum to give warning about the expenditures of the Government, and I shall continue to grasp every favorable opportunity. I do not wish to weary the Members, and if other speakers are forthcoming, certainly I shall always be pleased to withdraw or withhold requests for time. There are so many wasteful, futile, and extravagant expenditures by the Government that the subject is now practically inexhaustible.

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman suspend for just a moment? The Chair has verified the statement of the gentleman from Massachusetts and the gentleman will be recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. GIFFORD. I wish to call the Speaker's attention to the fact that the statements I make seem usually to be correct, as they are seldom refuted.

The SPEAKER. The Chair trusts the gentleman from Massachusetts will not take any offense, but the Chair was informed by the Parliamentarian that the record shows the gentleman was allowed to address the House for 20 minutes.

Mr. GIFFORD. I want to say I think so highly of the Speaker that even if he meant offense I could not recog-

The Robinson-Patman Act and the Miller-Tydings bill are controversial and they interest certain classes of people. Of course, those classes of people will try to protect themselves, and I suppose we shall be surrounded by lobbyists, so-called, although most of us are now immune.

However, the most outstanding and the fearful question in the hearts of the people today with relation to our internal affairs is, "How large a debt will the public stand?" "Can we stand?" It is purely a psychological question. I repeat, not "How much can we stand?" but "When will conditions so suddenly confront us that the fateful moment will find us totally unprepared?"

I wish to call your attention to a few quotations in the press this morning. If I speak of items of which you also have seen, then you will be unable to disagree. "In London political changes caused a near panic." "Fear of war jolts the money market." Many securities of ours held by foreigners were quietly and quickly sold yesterday. Last Saturday it was asserted that that day's little slump was only natural, because there had been a jerky condition of the markets going up during the week and naturally "profit taking" selling follows. But suddenly a real slump came yesterday and investors are again fearful. Talk of war may be responsible, but there is an underlying fear greater than that. Even United States bonds have weakened, but that will be not for long. The \$2,000,000,000 stabilization fund will come to the rescue. Banks that are overloaded with such bonds know it is their full duty to buy rather than sell, and to support the Government securities lest a shake-up in the Government finances may adversely affect their whole structure. As the London Observer states, "Carry on, United States, your bucket-shop business in your own securities." We have to do it.

Indeed, the emergency is still with us. Already we hear that we are to be asked to renew the act creating the \$2,000,-000,000 stabilization fund. We may think it to be wise, but we may wish to question its present condition. Will the minority be too greatly criticized if we should insist that proper and sufficient explanation be given of that present condition before we renew this privilege? I rather think if we question it we shall be told that it would be highly dangerous for the country to be given information as to the present condition of this stabilization fund. We are to be asked to renew the privilege of printing \$3,000,000,000 to support the market, lest the banks do not at some time come quickly enough to the rescue. We are going to be asked for a continuation of the privilege of further devaluing the dollar. Already it is a sword of Damocles held over the heads of all investors, causing them constantly to fear that they may wake on the morrow and find they have again been deprived of the face values.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. Gladly.

Mr. CRAWFORD. With reference to the stabilization fund, I have noticed a statement, which I believe comes from the Treasury, to the effect that the Treasury has earned something like \$6,000,000 profit on the stabilization fund during the past year. Has the gentleman been able to find from what source this profit was earned? In other words, was it earned on the basis of lending money or on the basis of operating in the exchange market?

Mr. GIFFORD. You can only assume, and listen to gossip lacking real authority. They tell us that when the French franc goes down, they buy, and I presume that on some favorable morning when the French franc goes up again they

will say they made some money.

Mr. THORKELSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. Gladly. I desire to yield.

Mr. THORKELSON. Are United States bonds liquidated on the London market payable in gold in England?

Mr. GIFFORD. Certainly.

Mr. THORKELSON. Are they payable in gold to people in the United States?

Mr. GIFFORD. Any Englishman who sells anything he holds in this country, of course, has the funds transferred to him in gold.

Mr. THORKELSON. And similar funds are payable to American people in commodity money?

Mr. GIFFORD. To American people in any kind of money, no matter what the substance is, if it has the suitable engraving on the bill or coin.

Mr. CRAWFORD. If the gentleman will yield further, this means that if any foreigner sells a bond or a stock of one of

our industrial concerns, he gets his remittance in the form of actual gold if he wants it?

Mr. GIFFORD. Certainly.

Mr. CRAWFORD. The same as if it were a United States Government bond.

Mr. GIFFORD. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is not what the gentleman said. The gentleman said a bond that was held by England repayable in gold would have to be paid by gold when the bond was due, but he did not say a stock had to be redeemed in gold.

Mr. GIFFORD. Any security sold on this market belonging to a foreigner, when he asks for the money at home we return it in gold if he requests it.

Mr. O'CONNOR. But not in the case of stocks in a corporation.

Mr. GIFFORD. For goods or anything.

Mr. McGRANERY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield.

Mr. McGRANERY. The gentleman does not mean to infer that a citizen of England selling stocks on our American market would immediately have physically transferred to him or at a future time physical gold?

Mr. GIFFORD. Oh, no; the gentleman fully understands

me and we all understand about that.

Mr. McGRANERY. So there is no gold that goes to the English citizen any more than a citizen of our own country. Mr. GIFFORD. He gets his credits, and when the credits are needed to regain balances, gold is transferred to such foreign countries.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will permit, I think this is a very fundamental thing we have up right now, and I think there is a misunderstanding creeping into the discussion. Let us assume that the gentleman here is a Britisher, and he sells \$10,000 worth of A. T. & T. stock on the market this afternoon from London through his brokers in London and New York; tomorrow can he not go to his British bank and draw \$10,000 in gold?

Mr. GIFFORD. Certainly; if he demands it; but as a rule the accounts are kept until there is an unfavorable balance

or gold is desired by their nations.

Mr. CRAWFORD. And his British bank on the settlement of international balances receives gold to replace the gold they cover up as, if, and when.

Mr. GIFFORD. And the gentleman's question leads to this: Why cannot the citizen here get his gold? Is this emergency still here? With \$14,000,000,000 of gold, if you should wish a gold piece and prefer it to another kind of money, why should not you as one of our citizens have it? Would you dare present a bill requesting that that be done?

Mr. McGRANERY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman again

yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. Yes.

Mr. McGRANERY. My good friend has again answered a question which would indicate that a physical transfer of gold to a citizen of England would be his for the asking. Is it not true that the monetary system of England is based on silver and not gold?

Mr. GIFFORD. It is on a managed basis, but the people seem to like to do business based on gold. I think the gentleman knows this. The value of the dollar at 59 cents is based on gold, and, of course, the pound has still reference

to its actual gold value.

Mr. McGRANERY. But sterling is the monetary basis. Mr. GIFFORD. It is a managed-currency system.

Mr. McGRANERY. The gentleman inferred that a sale of stocks here to the credit of an English citizen would result in his being able to go to his English broker and say, "I desire to have that money in gold." Does the gentleman mean that

we transfer gold dollars to British bankers in that way?

Mr. GIFFORD. Oh, the gentleman knows it is a matter
of bookkeeping for a while, but there comes a time when the

Bank of England sends over here and states, "We want \$25,-000,000 or \$50,000,000 of gold." And when the individual demands it over there, of course, he can get it.

Mr. McGRANERY. But is not that something that has

to do with your Import and Export Bank?

Mr. GIFFORD. The gentleman is going far afield. We are talking about the fact that an Englishman can get gold and have gold in his pocket, and the other gentleman wants to know why we cannot have gold in our pockets over here.

Mr. McGRANERY. The point I make, sir, is that the Englishman, as I understand it, cannot get gold from his

broker.

Mr. GIFFORD. We know of no such law in England. We do know, however, that we may not have gold in our possession in this country.

Mr. McGRANERY. But we do know that sterling is the basis of the monetary set-up of England.

Mr. GIFFORD. Oh, yes; we know that.

Mr. McGRANERY. And not gold.

Mr. GIFFORD. But we are talking about why the individual in this country cannot have a little gold.

Mr. THORKELSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman vield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield.

Mr. THORKELSON. We are on a commodity or managed-money basis that is not secured by gold. It is scrip money, and the value of it is based upon the price level or upon ability to keep the prices at such a level that the dollar will have a certain purchasing power, which means that the dollar we are using here is without any value. If I had \$100,000 over in England, that \$100,000 is credited to the gold-credit balance of England. Is not that correct?

Mr. McGRANERY. That is correct, if the gentleman is asking me the question; but it is credited in dollars.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. As a matter of fact, the English Government is off of gold, and their currency is not redeem-

Mr. GIFFORD. When the gentleman says the English Government is entirely off of gold it amuses me. They seem to desire large quantities and are always very fearful when much is withdrawn and deposited in other countries. Of course, indirectly they are tied to gold. It is not yet abandoned. We talk in terms of gold, and so do they.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Their currency is not redeemable

in gold. Will the gentleman say that it is?

Mr. GIFFORD. Oh, no; of course it is not; but they hope, I am sure, that specie payments may at some time be resumed.

Mr. McGRANERY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. Yes.

Mr. McGRANERY. I am sorry to encroach on the gentleman's time.

Mr. GIFFORD. Oh, no; the gentleman seems to know so much more about it than I do that I am glad to yield.

Mr. McGRANERY. Oh, no, I do not; but I would like to know how the American dollar compares with the English pound sterling.

Mr. GIFFORD. I have not the figures today. It varies. Somebody here may know that.

Mr. McGRANERY. Four dollars and seventy-five cents to

Mr. GIFFORD. It used to be \$4.87. I presume it is about \$4.75.

Mr. McGRANERY. To the pound?

Mr. GIFFORD. Yes.

Mr. CRAWFORD. If the gentleman will permit, it has been fluctuating from \$4.63 to \$4.70 for the last several weeks, and that has operated against exports of goods from the United States in favor of British imports. It is going on all the time.

Mr. GIFFORD. Back of it all—and that is fully understood—there is still hope and expectation that the pound and the dollar may eventually be redeemed in gold. I want now to talk about the silver situation. Silver! "Fiscal insanity," it is called. A few of you silver men influenced the President in 1933 to issue a proclamation that domestic silver miners, representing so few, should be recognized. A price of 64.64 cents was put on domestic mined silver, and that we were to buy silver until we got to the point where there would be one-third as many ounces of silver as there were of gold, and we have spent \$1,000,000,000—wasted money—

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman

yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. Oh, I knew the gentleman could not stand it long.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Is it not a fact that the Government and the people of the United States have made 100-percent profit on every ounce of silver that the Government bought? The Government buys it at 64 cents and issues it at \$1.29; and remember, also, silver certificates do not bear interest and circulate without interest.

Mr. GIFFORD. Yes; and we made \$2,000,000,000 in gold overnight by marking something up. You call silver worth \$1.29 for monetary purposes. Think of it! Only a matter of bookkeeping. The world price is about 43 cents, and we were paying 64, and we have purchased of foreigners more than four times as much as we have of domestic producers. Mexico's treatment of us is abominable, but we are the real support of her monetary system through the huge profits paid to her for her silver, to placate a few silver representatives from Idaho and adjacent sections.

Mr. THORKELSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. Yes.

Mr. THORKELSON. We reserved or set aside and made the price of silver 50 cents an ounce, and we imported a considerable amount of silver at 50 cents. We know, of course, that silver can be produced in India for 10 cents an ounce, and we pay 40 cents more than the actual production cost. In buying that silver we credit the nation that sells it to us with the amount that we buy. In paying the credit or in balancing that credit or satisfying it, we pay that in gold for the silver? Is that correct?

Mr. GIFFORD. Certainly, they can call for the gold. Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman

yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. Yes.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. The gentleman from Montana said that they produce silver for 10 cents an ounce in India. I state to the gentleman that the Indian Government imposed an 18½-cents-an-ounce duty on silver to keep silver out of India; and if the gentleman will investigate that at the Department of Commerce, he will see that I am correct.

Mr. GIFFORD. For monetary purposes it is \$1.29, and the world price today is 42 cents. We are paying a subsidy to China and to Japan, and when Japan conquers China we shall get plenty. Half the silver that has been received here has been in silver coin, not bullion, upsetting monetary systems abroad.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. Yes.
Mr. O'CONNOR. Does not the gentleman think that the Government did a wise thing when it wrote up the price of gold under the then existing conditions?

Mr. GIFFORD. The gentleman has heard me say before that it should have been written up; but not 40 percent. Mexico says to us, "Do not talk about expropriating your oil lands. What did you do to us? The value of our investments in the United States was cut 40 percent overnight."

Mr. O'CONNOR. Let me finish the question. Does not the gentleman further think that in view of our present and anticipated national indebtedness, gold will again have to be written up in order to bridge the gap?

Mr. GIFFORD. If you want to continue the race with foreign countries. But where will the race end? We sent Moley over there to try to get them to stabilize, did we not?

Then suddenly someone reached the ear of your Presi-

Mr. O'CONNOR. Let us get back to gold.

Mr. GIFFORD. No; let us get back to that. I am answering your question. There was a gesture to stabilize, because nations had devalued in order to export more, sell more to us; and buy our dollars cheap. And so the President decided, apparently, to devalue also, and devalue more than any other, and give them a real dose of their own medicine.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Now, the gentleman knows the commercial value of gold is only about \$15 per ounce. Everything above that is artificial. We have to do something about this national indebtedness sooner or later. We are going to run out of water some day in this pump priming.

Mr. GIFFORD. Oh, I am so glad you acknowledge that. Mr. O'CONNOR. We have to look conditions in the face. Mr. GIFFORD. The rabbits are all out of the hat.

[Laughter.]

Now, what I am getting at is you have got to either start the printing presses or you have got to rewrite the price of gold, and if you are going to cover it in that manner you have to advance the price of gold.

Mr. GIFFORD. Oh, I am so sorry the gentleman said that. He tells you it is too late to retrace your steps. God

knows I have told you that often enough.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. GIFFORD. I yield to the gentleman from New York. Mr. SIROVICH. I would like to pay tribute to the versatility

of the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts. He is one of the most brilliant men on the Republican side of the House.

Mr. GIFFORD. I am afraid of what flattery from the

gentleman may portend.

Mr. SIROVICH. I would like to ask the gentleman the following question: When our Government was founded in 1789 it was 98 percent agriculturalized and 2 percent industrialized. At the present time our Nation is 70 percent in-

dustrialized and 30 percent agriculturalized.

This phenomenal development in our country is attributable chiefly to the subsidies that have been granted either directly or indirectly to various sections of our Nation. New England, for 130 years, has been the beneficiary of the protective tariff, which siphoned out the wealth of the agricultural interests of our Nation. We have also given subsidies since then to the railroads, to the merchant marine, to banking interests, to farming interests, and it is also necessary to subsidize the natural resources of our country, like silver and gold. I contend that subsidy, either directly or indirectly, is a necessity for us to bring prosperity to all sections of the Nation, including labor, through restrictive immigration, which has been the formula of various administrations in the past.

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield no further. That is entirely be-

side the subject. Poor old New England!

Mr. SIROVICH. I want to call attention to the fact that we have grown through subsidies.

Mr. GIFFORD. Oh, the country has been living through subsidies. Greenbelts! Ninety of them! Subsidies to take care of a few people. Oh, we have been so liberal! So easy to increase subsidies and make everybody happy for a time. She wore a No. 7 shoe, as I recall, and she says, "No. 8 is so comfortable that I wear No. 9's." [Laughter.]

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I came in a little late and I did not hear all the gentleman had said.

Mr. GIFFORD. We are talking about subsidies.

Mr. HOFFMAN. But I understood the gentleman was talking about the national debt.

Mr. GIFFORD. I tried to talk about that.
Mr. HOFFMAN. I want to call the gentleman's attention to the fact that the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Amlie], who was yesterday appointed to the Interstate Commerce Commission, on November 24, 1937, on the floor

of this House said-Record, page 372-in answer to my question—I quote:

The gentleman thinks we can continue to spend beyond our income for 20 years without endangering our financial structure? Mr. Amlie. Yes; I think so.

In view of that statement, is the gentleman still worried? Mr. GIFFORD. Oh, page Mr. Eccles. He has told you we should not worry about the debt. Somehow, all other private bankers are sending us resolutions that the debt must not be further increased. We are within shouting distance of a \$50,000,000,000 debt, apparently without the slightest hope of action on our part to lessen it one iota. Yesterday the President asked us for hundreds of millions for health; hundreds of millions for defense; spending from fright; adding and adding, and not a single, solitary sign of encouragement from anybody on the Democratic side of the House; not a speech, not a promise, not a ray of hope from the majority to a Nation that has hoped for something from you which the businessmen of the country might regard as a return to sanity. No. Rather, they have said in another body of this Congress, where they have recently confirmed a man of the least possible qualification, after first stripping him naked of any genuine business experience and then approving him to carry on the work of the great Commerce Department.

That honorable body argues that the President should have whom he might personally like. Is not the Nation itself entitled to some consideration? Why continue the power of confirmation, which is the supposed safeguard in such cases? Why have they surrendered it?

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, will my colleague yield? Mr. GIFFORD. Yes; I yield to my friend. I know he

wishes me to be less forceful.

Mr. McCORMACK. I was just coming to that. I noticed my friend was very much disturbed about gold and silver and I am much concerned with him about the expenditures of the Government. I was going to ask my friend what he thought about the Townsend plan and the tremendous expenditures which that would bring about. [Laughter and

Mr. GIFFORD. I shall request extra time if you are interested in that matter, because I am speaking today simply to excite interest in fiscal matters. I regret that the gentleman so seldom honors me with his presence on the floor. He should hear me more often. Only 2 years ago I took the floor, the first speech made on the floor of the Congress, and I spent an hour speaking against the Townsend plan.

I did not hesitate. I gave my views very seriously considered, I believe, and I have not changed. What he would really like for me to say is inferred by the roguishness of his remarks. [Laughter.] Like a previous speaker, we wish to confess our errors, if any. [Laughter.]

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield

at that point?

Mr. GIFFORD. No; I am not through. The gentleman well knows that the Republicans of Massachusetts, in State convention assembled, pledged, without prior consultation or consent, all their Congressmen to bring the Townsend plan to the floor of this House for discussion. I remarked: "How can I help bring a matter to the floor of the House of Representatives which I must then immediately vigorously oppose?" And everybody know my stand on the question. I merely want the gentleman from Massachusetts to divest himself of all party feeling and be my spiritual adviser when the time comes for me to act on that particular phase of the matter, namely, to bring it on the floor. [Laughter.]

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield

now?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The gentleman spoke about an anticipated indebtedness against the Government of \$50,000,-000,000. I do not know whether this is a fact or not, but it was rumored around over the country in 1933 that a delegation of bankers from the city of New York—when the country was practically faced with civil war following 4 years of high Republican rule—that this country—

Mr. GIFFORD. The gentleman is telling something. I have seemingly no need to answer, especially such an asser-

tion.

Mr. O'CONNOR. In a talk with the President of the United States, President Franklin Roosevelt, they intimated to him at that time that this country could stand an indebtedness in the neighborhood of \$70,000,000,000 and still be sound.

Mr. GIFFORD. I assume that Governor Eccles told him that.

Mr. O'CONNOR. No; but I understood that the conversation occurred. Does the gentleman have any information on that?

Mr. GIFFORD. Oh, everybody knows how promptly people are challenged if they make direct statements. I do not have to make direct statements to convey actual truths. Even when I merely look into your eyes I can read there what you would like to say. The truth permeates just as well as though words had been uttered. But I only say that from your words or looks I can "assume," which is sufficient. [Laughter.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to

proceed for 10 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER. Following the customary practice under such circumstances, there being another special order, the Chair asks if this is agreeable to the gentleman from New York [Mr. DICKSTEIN].

Mr. DICKSTEIN. It is, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts that he be permitted to address the House for 10 additional minutes?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for 10 additional minutes.

Mr. HOFFMAN and Mr. O'CONNOR rose.

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield first to the gentleman from Montana. I want him to finish.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The gentleman talked about the Townsend plan. Does not the gentleman know that about 62 of the new Members of Congress, that is Republicans who displaced Democrats, were endorsed by Dr. Townsend and the Townsend organization?

Mr. GIFFORD. Flirtations are very, very costly some-

Mr. O'CONNOR. And does not the gentleman further know that if this House adopted the Townsend plan that it would be a tax on business and not a tax upon the United States Government?

Mr. GIFFORD. We will discuss that later and discuss it plentifully. I hope the gentleman will read the speech I made 2 years ago. I probably would not change it to any great extent.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield.
Mr. HOFFMAN. Referring again to the gentleman, Mr. Amlie, who was yesterday appointed to the Interstate Commerce Commission, why do you worry over our financial condition when, if the new member of the I. C. C. has his way, our wealth is to be redistributed every now and then? Mr. Amlie was asked on November 24, 1937, page 374 of the Record of that date:

Am I correct in understanding that the gentleman's theory is that once in so often the wealth of the country, or those who have, should have part of their property taken from them to be shared with the more unfortunate?

And in answer Mr. Amlie said:

Yes; I would agree to that.

Does the gentleman think that the appointment of this man, Mr. Amlie, to the Commission will aid in redistributing the wealth or in aiding the railroads?

Mr. GIFFORD. Why, these worn-out theories held by perhaps discredited persons who now surround the President and whom he wants, remind me, "Mama, what happens to all the old worn-out automobiles?"

"They sell them to your father." [Laughter.]

Mr. HAWKS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield.

Mr. HAWKS. I may say to the gentleman from Massachusetts that that gentleman was completely discredited, and I would like to advise the Members on this side of the House that he is completely discredited in the State of Wisconsin.

Mr. GIFFORD. When I revise my remarks I will say, "Seems to be." By being defeated they may not be actually discredited, but their theories may be.

Mr. HAWKS. Seems to be. Mr. Amlie?

Mr. GIFFORD. That is a safer expression.
Mr, HAWKS. The gentleman recently appointed—only yesterday appointed—to the Interstate Commerce Commismission. I was just wondering if the city of Washington is the last outpost of these people who are apparently completely discredited in their own States?

Mr. GIFFORD. It is a sad day, I may say to my colleagues, it is a sad day, that when the people have spoken and administered their rebuke, after the tide has definitely turned, there are those so stubborn that they will still continue to carry out their own prejudicial ideas and reforms to the—I do not know how to say it—to the destruction that all know in their hearts may be facing the Nation as a result of these ill-advised and dangerous experiments. If sincerity of purpose is pleaded, let us find a more appropriate word.

The majority is still in full control. Must it still submit to that stubborness? Must there be sacrificed the welfare of the whole Nation, as they see it, believe it, and proclaim it as in another body, even as they vote compliance? It seems incredible.

We have been loaded with these pump-priming vagaries. We are loaded with problems that we seemingly cannot solve. There is not a word yet as to any attempt to relieve conditions and give business freedom and confidence. Relinquish the stranglehold granted by us under emergency acts and instill a little confidence into the hearts of those on whom we must depend to lift us out of these depressing conditions. The Nation has been sold costly, futile experiments, and the Government holds a large stock of them on hand

A man once said to a dealer, "You sold me a beastly cigar." But the dealer said, "You are lucky. I have thousands of them left, myself."

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. GIFFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Idaho.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. The gentleman talked about letting business go to work. What was the matter with business in 1930 that it did not go to work?

Mr. GIFFORD. Can the gentleman think that far back? Mr. WHITE of Idaho. It seems the gentleman cannot.

Mr. GIFFORD. I can, indeed. I can think back to the twenties. I can go back to the 1890's, the happiest days of all. If I had the business index here, I could show you exactly. I could show you how it dropped like a shot in 1932 and 1933, from November to March. That is the time the gentleman should study most carefully. That was an interesting period of 4 months, while plans of the President-elect were being formulated, while the people guessed at what their new deliverer was going to do—and how fearful they were of him. It was a trying period. But in March 1933 he promised much. And all Republicans supported him fully, relying on those pledges and promises.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. And the same curve the gentleman speaks of started on the upgrade from that date.

Mr. GIFFORD. Let us not get into that story.

Mr. McGRANERY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. McGranery. While the gentleman deplores the pump-priming processes, does the gentleman, or his party, have any program to offer?

Mr. GIFFORD. Indeed we have. If we offered it you would, of course, try to laugh it out of court. You will hear our plans sooner than you may really wish.

Mr. McGRANERY. Now is the time to offer the program. Mr. GIFFORD. You want to hear of no program. Our program at present, which is the highest form of statesmanship, is to hold the majority closely to its responsibility to the Nation. That is all at present that we are expected to do, and we are at present apparently perfectly capable of carrying out that function.

Mr. THORKELSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Montana.

Mr. THORKELSON. Is it not well in the proposal of a new program to allow business to assume its right reserved to business in the tenth amendment to the Constitution and permit them to have the power to regulate their own affairs wihout Federal interference?

Mr. GIFFORD. Permit me to close my remarks by letting this ring in your ears: We have delegated great powers to one man who controls business to such an extent that one remark about copper sent the whole market into a state of deflation. He declared:

I want it said of my first administration that those forces have met their match. I want it said of my second administration that they have met their master.

He apparently thinks he is just that.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House heretofore entered, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Dickstein] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. JONES of Texas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. JONES of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Thursday next after the reading of the Journal and the disposition of matters on the Speaker's desk I may be permitted to address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Jones]?

There was no objection.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Dickstein]?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I object.

## UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I sat here this afternoon in great amazement and surprise when the articles of impeachment were read by the Clerk against the able Secretary of Labor, which was a request of this House for action. It is not my purpose now to criticize any member of the Dies committee, but I would like to get some information from that committee so that I as well as other Members of this House may be more acquainted with the whole problem.

In the first place, after having heard the articles of impeachment read, I am not aware of any specific charges that would justify an impeachment proceeding of any kind. The broad references to the immigration laws reveal only the most superficial knowledge of the statutes.

Who is responsible for these impeachment proceedings? Was it the Dies committee or was it a minority member of that committee? The press, I am sure, will imply that the majority members of that committee, who are Democrats, have brought in an impeachment indictment against a Cabinet member, the Secretary of Labor, and two others in that Department, the Commissioner of Immigration and the Solicitor. Is it the position of the Dies committee that the

charges contained in the impeachment indictment have been sustained before that committee or a subcommittee thereof or is this merely a frivolous gesture at impeachment for the purpose of furthering some political ambitions for 1940?

Mr. Speaker, I am chairman of the Committee on Immigration, and I may say that this committee is continually faced with problems of the most difficult character, technical as well as social. We tried our hardest to determine what constitutes a Communist. May I say that after a great deal of study we found it was impossible to deport certain groups that we believed were communistic because the law was defective. For the last 4 or 5 years I begged this House for a resolution which would give the Committee on Immigration an opportunity to study the whole problem. Every time I presented such resolution there was great protest on this side of the aisle. The Committee on Immigration was refused the right to sit during the recess of the Congress. We wanted to determine the many problems that are now covered by the law. Some parts of the law should be repealed, and the whole law ought to be revised. At no time did we ever have this opportunity.

With what is the Secretary of Labor charged? We do not know whether these impeachment proceedings are instituted by the Dies committee or not. We do not know whether it is just the whim of an individual member. We may take it for granted, however, that the impeachment had its origin in the proceedings of the Dies committee.

I call your attention to the fact that in 1932, when my good and distinguished friend the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Dies] was a member of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, we reported from that committee a bill, the report on which the gentleman from Texas wrote, in which we included language that would take care of the cases of Strecker, Bridges, and other alleged Communists if they were really members of an organization engaged in an attempt to overthrow the Government by force or violence. The bill was reported by the committee, but never became a law. If it were law today, all this unnecessary noise and complication could not have existed. In that report (Rept. No. 1353, House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, to accompany H. R. 12044, 72d Cong., 1st sess., dated May 17, 1932), which I shall be pleased to place in the Record, the gentleman from Texas pointed out that under the existing immigration laws membership in the Communist Party, as such, does not constitute grounds for exclusion or deportation of aliens. The law today remains the same as it was in 1932, yet the gentleman from Texas today asserts that the Secretary of Labor should order deportation of alien Communists merely because of their membership in the Communist Party. If the Secretary of Labor had no statutory authority to exclude or deport alien Communists, as such, in 1932, what possible authority can there be for doing so today? Certainly no authority can be found in recent court decisions, for the most significant judicial development has been the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in the Strecker case. confirming the position asserted by the gentleman from Texas in the 1932 report to the effect that mere membership in the Communist Party is not a deportable offense. In fact, the Secretary of Labor has gone further than the gentleman from Texas would have, because until the Strecker decision the Department of Labor, relying on earlier court decisions, took the position that Communist Party membership, as such, did constitute grounds for deportation, and accordingly ordered deportation of such aliens.

Mr. THORKELSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Not at this moment. Another case, which the impeachment resolution mentions, is the Pritchett case. Who is Pritchett? He has not been in the country as an immigrant. He was here merely on temporary visits. A Canadian does not have to have a visa to enter this country temporarily. Pritchett is president of an international union which has locals on both sides of the border. It is true that in 1937 Pritchett applied for a permanent visa, and informa-

tion was sent to the consulate in Vancouver, that he had been connected with a radical organization in Canada, and this caused the consul to deny him a permanent visa. But the 1917 act, which is our basic exclusion statute, draws a distinction between visitors and immigrants entering for permanent residence. Consequently, as long as he was maintaining an unrelinquished domicile in Canada, he was entitled to enter on legitimate business.

The position taken by the Dies committee, or by some members of that committee, and I still do not know who is really behind the impeachment charges, is that the Secretary of Labor has refused to deport Bridges. As I told you last week, I have no use for Bridges or his cousins. As a matter of fact, the Communist Party and its active workers have boycotted my home for months because I exposed the deportability of a group of people and the Secretary acted promptly after I had brought the matter to the attention of the Department, because we had the facts in those cases. I am not here to defend Bridges, but I am here to defend law and order and decency, and I am here to decry the abuse heaped by certain individuals on a Cabinet member. Why could they not wait until after specific recommendations were made by the committee? Why did not the committee bring in a report and give the Congress of the United States an opportunity to go to work and rid this country of un-American agitators?

I could have pointed out to the committee that there are thousands of spies in this country today, if they had wanted to find something really significant. Why did they not examine into and recommend the deportation of other agitators in this country? Why did they focus their whole attention on the Bridges case? Is there anyone here to answer

that question?

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman vield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Bridges should not be deported. This alien British Communist, who has been destroying our merchant marine, which is as essential to our national defense as battleships, should be tried for treason and put before a firing squad.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I have made my position very clear, that I am not here defending Bridges, and I am not here defending the Communist Party. I am of the same opinion as every Member of this House, that any form of "isms" has no business in this country and should be destroyed; but let us do it in an American way. Let us not attack unjustly and unfairly just because we happen to be members of a congressional committee with unlimited powers of publicity at our command.

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama. Mr. PATRICK. I believe we all regret that a Member of our body should make the statement that someone should be put before a firing squad. I should like to ask if the gentleman will yield long enough so we can ask that gentleman if he would take the responsibility for seeing anybody put before a firing squad, or if he intends to commit this body to any such suggestion or idea.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I think if we ask the gentleman, he will expunge his statement from the RECORD.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I yield to the gentleman from Wis-

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. I believe with all my heart and soul that an alien British Communist who trys to destroy our American merchant marine, which is a part of our national defense, is guilty of treason and should be tried for treason and put before a firing squad.

Mr. THORKELSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I yield to the gentleman from Montana. Mr. THORKELSON. The gentleman has spoken of Communists. Does the gentleman believe the Communist, as we have heard of him and had him described as he exists in Russia, is an enemy of the United States?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I do not have the time to go into that subject, which would require a long discussion and statement of opinions. I am confining my remarks to Communists as we know them and as we have heard about them and as we understand the term.

Mr. THORKELSON. Would the gentleman consider him our friend?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I do not consider any Communist our friend or the exponent of any "isms" our friend.

Mr. THORKELSON. Then the gentleman would consider him an enemy?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. If he is not a friend, he must be an

Mr. THORKELSON. Then he is guilty of treason, which consists of levying war against the United States and giving aid and comfort to our enemies?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Let us not get into a discussion of the treason statutes and other sections of the Criminal Code. Let us confine ourselves to the administration of the immigration laws-the issue raised here today.

Mr. SACKS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. SACKS. I may inform the gentleman, in case he should like to have anyone put before a firing squad for treason, that both Bridges and the other gentlemen are not citizens, and therefore could not be tried for treason.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I must refuse to yield further, Mr. Speaker.

In 1934 the McCormack committee not only made a much more difficult investigation in a shorter period of time than the Dies committee, but we brought in five recommendations for legislation. I believe several of the bills were reported out and passed. The Dies committee, with all due respect to its membership, has created a Frankenstein; it has everybody worried, everybody is scared, and everybody is getting letters to continue the committee. Yet we find nothing in its report in the nature of specific recommendations for Congress. They say, "Give us \$150,000 and let us carry on for another 2 years and we might find the Negro in the woodpile somewhere." In the meanwhile they are banging away at Bridges, and ignoring the fact that the basic legal question in this case is before the Supreme Court.

I would have no sympathy for the Secretary of Labor if she were not doing her best to enforce the law. She gets her advice from her counsel, just the same as every other administrative officer gets advice from his legal staff in every department or bureau of the Government, whether under a Democratic or a Republican administration.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes. Mr. O'CONNOR. I read with considerable interest the articles that were filed here this morning laying the foundation for an attempted impeachment of Secretary Perkins. I could not find anything in them that would justify to my mind, as a lawyer, any consideration whatever. They were simply based upon conclusions that would be immediately thrown out of court and would not be admissible as evidence. The gentleman is thoroughly familiar with the Bridges case, and that is apparently all that these impeachment proceedings are based upon.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. That is right.
Mr. O'CONNOR. Does not the gentleman think the House should have followed the rule that I am informed the House followed when there was an attempt made to impeach or file impeachment charges against President Hoover?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. That is right.
Mr. O'CONNOR. Then a motion came from the Democratic side of the House to table such a resolution. Does not the gentleman think that this resolution, if it can be dignified by calling it that, should have been tabled this morning?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I think the gentleman is correct in his contention. If that question had been put, I should have voted to table it.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. DICKSTEIN. I yield for a brief question.

Mr. MICHENER. I am surprised that the gentleman from Montana should criticize his leadership. The House went along following exactly the leadership of the majority and the evident desires of the majority in dealing with the matter.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. In other words, my good friend would have voted to table it if a motion of that kind had been made?

Mr. MICHENER. I did not say that.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. That is what the gentleman is implying. Mr. MICHENER. What I intended to say was that I am surprised that the gentleman from Montana should find fault and criticize the leadership of the majority and say it was wrong in the way in which it handled this matter when the minority, helpless as it is, can only protest, but was willing to go along with the majority leadership in so serious a matter as an impeachment. We do not like the criticism.

Mr. O'CONNOR. If the gentleman will yield, my thought was, and still is, that these flimsy charges that were laid upon the Clerk's desk here this morning, as a courtesy to the Democratic Members of the House, a motion should have come from the Republican side of the House to lay the resolution, if it can be called that, upon the table.

Mr. MICHENER. In other words, the majority has not the courage to take the leadership and assume the responsibility. It wants something done, but is afraid to do it and asks the minority to have the courage to do it.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. DICKSTEIN. I yield.

Mr. SIROVICH. I say to my distinguished friend on the other side of the aisle, the gentleman from Michigan IMr. MICHENER], that the House did exactly today what happened when one of our colleagues impeached the former distinguished Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Mellon. After the impeachment proceedings were read, it was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. MICHENER. And also the Attorney General of the United States, Mr. Daugherty, when he was impeached by Mr. Keller, on the gentleman's side of the aisle.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I decline to yield further. There is no question that this country is infested with all forms of un-Americanism, and while they were chasing Bridges, the Nazi Bund, the "black shirts," the "blue shirts," all the "dirty shirts" in this country were working overtime. The committee did not even subpena one Nazi. They have not even subpensed one Communist. They simply gave Jones and Brown a chance to come before the committee and make certain loose charges that certain people were "reds." They discovered that Shirley Temple was a tool of Communists. They found that Cagney and Taylor had made some contributions to various causes. They revealed that James Roosevelt did not drop any money into the collection plate, for if he did he would surely have reported it to the incometax collector. I want to be kind and helpful to the committee. I have been in the van of the fight to subdue subversive foreign elements for 4 years. I fought this question on the floor and was ridiculed by the very men who are now sitting on the Dies committee. The Dies committee never asked me for help.

I would have been glad to have given them files on un-American activities which would really have kept them busy and helped this country to remove a menace that lies within it like a cancer. We have today 32 Nazi camps. We have today chemical departments secretly financed by foreign government, in this country. We have the espionage systems placed here by foreign governments. But the Dies committee did not even take the trouble to find out or to inquire about these things. Its investigation was nothing but an attack on Democrats. It was an underhanded campaign against our own democracy. If the Dies committee wanted to discover actual facts it took me 5 years to check on, some of the un-American activities, I would have been glad to help them. Instead the committee has preferred to create a bogie, to discredit responsible officials of the State and Federal Governments and frighten the public with a report citing startling conclusions about something that does not exist at all. I would have been glad to show where the un-Americanism is. We have a Spanish situation where our young men are taken from here to Spain. We have a Nazi youth movement in this country where they have taken American children and are teaching them hate and intolerance. I could cite 140 organizations in the United States that preach intolerance. I read an article in one of their magazines to the effect that the Dies committee is not going to touch "our patriotic organizations." In other words, they consider themselves patriots. Some of these organizations are being financed from abroad. Yes; it is high time to have a house cleaning, but let us do it on the basis of fair play.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes. Mr. O'CONNOR. The gentleman is very well informed upon the subject that I shall interrogate him about. What does the gentleman think about the propaganda going on in this country today to have this country stick its nose into the business of the civil war going on in Spain?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I do not want to go into that. That is a question by itself which would lead to a long discussion.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Let me ask another question.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I would not care to go into that at this moment. I decline to yield further.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield on a question of law?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes. Mr. HOFFMAN. The gentleman undoubtedly received this morning one of these notices I hold in my hand, and as one well informed, and I am asking for information, I have a question which I desire the gentleman to answer. says that under section 1 certain aliens shall be excluded from the United States—and then goes on down and finally recites those who teach or believe in or advocate the unlawful destruction of property. Is that the law or not?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I could not answer that, but I know where it comes from.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Is that provision in our law now?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. The 1918 act, from which that phrase is taken, is complex and ambiguous. As I said at the beginning of my talk, I have tried in vain to get the right from my committee to revise and revamp this statute so that we will understand what it means today. In the last 20 years all Congress has done is to amend it without striking anything out, and even the proverbial Philadelphia lawyer could not be sure of its meaning.

As I said, Mr. Speaker, the Dies committee has to a certain extent done a good job insofar as it started out to check on certain activities set in motion by foreign states. But the moment the committee allowed the door to be opened and let obviously partisan persons appear and encouraged them to make attacks on respected citizens in this country without giving those people an opportunity to contradict or refute their statements, it clearly proved that it had outlived its usefulness.

Yes. You need the committee. Let us go into communism, but let us go after the big Communists. Let us find out who the leaders are. Let us find out who is financing it, how strong it is in this country, how well it has penetrated throughout the country. Let us find out how the money is coming here. Let us get the big fish. Let us not attack people and destroy character and reputation. Let us find out who the Nazis are, and why they have so many camps in this country. Let us discover how many millions of dollars are coming here from Germany to support this subversive movement. Let us find out about this Spanish situation. Let us know something about the "black shirts" who have thousands of members in this country. Let us find out something about Anastia Vonsiatsky's so-called group of White Russians who are here organized with other groups to use America as a base of operations to overthrow the Soviet Government. Let us not attack character and reputation.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. No; I cannot yield. I can almost supply the committee with that information, but apparently

they do not want it.

I assume Mr. Dies is going to ask for a renewal of the investigation. I am not quarreling with Mr. Dies. He has a right to his opinion and I have a right to mine, but my opinion is based upon a 5-year investigation. I remember when I stood on this floor when I could not get a corporal's guard to agree with me. It took 4 years to convince the American people of un-American activities in this country. I did not ask for any credit. I did not get any medals. I am not asking for them. I had to appeal to the American Legion. It took me months to induce them to give me an endorsement for the investigation. I went to all the patriotic organizations and begged them to join me in this fight to clean up un-Americanism in this country. I am an American. God knows we have but few democracies left. We want to protect this United States democracy. We want to keep it as our forefathers gave it to us. So I say, do not get excited. You may or may not vote to renew that committee; but if you do, put some restrictions on it. Put some men on it interested in making a genuine investigation. I do not want another investigation which simply results in a fantastic impeachment—a blanket indictment against blanket things, an impeachment frivolous on its face, not based upon any evidence, as pointed out by my colleagues, but based upon stale and discredited reports, anonymous letters, statements, and charges, pro and con.

I am sure that when the Strecker case is decided by the United States Supreme Court this matter will be taken care of. There is only one question involved in the whole case. If an alien belongs to the Communist Party, does that constitute a violation of the law? If our law is defective, the

Secretary of Labor as well as you are powerless.

If you want to straighten this question out, you have to give the committee of which I am chairman an opportunty to revise and revamp the whole law, so that we can put teeth in the deportation law. Last year we passed the Dies bill in this House. It was a very fine bill that would allow a handful of innocent people to remain permanently in the United States. At the same time it would deport 20,000 criminal aliens.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 3 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, I want to read a letter that I received from, I believe, one of the most ardent American Legion members in the State of Michigan. I believe he is one of the most ardent in this Nation.

Dear Frank: On Tuesday last the local Legion Post No. 5 passed a resolution urging that additional funds be allocated to the Dies Committee in order that the work of eradicating undesirable, un-American activities might be continued; further, that copies of the resolution be forwarded to the two Senators from this State also to the Congressman from this district.

I am taking the liberty of writing you for the purpose of stating my own opinion which I also feel is that of other members of our post and that of many of the citizens of our community.

Apparently the resolution passed by the post is being fostered and urged by the Legion National and State organization. When presenting it to the post the chairman of the Americanization committee conscientiously explained that he had not discussed the matter with the rest of his committee and suggested that perhaps it would be best to lay the resolution over to the next meeting. If DEAR FRANK: On Tuesday last the local Legion Post No. 5 passed

would be best to lay the resolution over to the next meeting. If this had been done there would have been an intelligent discussion on the matter and I believe a resolution passed urging the continuance of the work of suppressing and eradicating un-American activities, but leaving the question of the Dies committee entirely to Congress. As it was the resolution was passed with little if any discussion. I believe the real interest of the post is in Americanization work and not in the perpetuation nor the glorification of the

Dies committee.

In common with the membership of our post and the vast majority of our local citizens I believe that Congress should make

every effort to suppress and eradicate all forms of "isms" from this country except Americanism.

Lincoln once said of the Declaration of Independence, "It is an ideal constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence."

While we cannot attain perfection, Americans do wish to preserve

While we cannot attain perfection, Americans do wish to preserve the spirit of independence. It should not be sacrificed on the altar of prejudice, avarice, and hatred. Too often it appears that an investigation has become an inquisition of medieval standards whereby "the trial proceeds quickly, for the judges know the sentence beforehand," or, becomes like an octopus whose tentacles sap the blood of the good and bad alike.

Many are disappointed with the Dies committee, particularly with the conduct of its chairman. In the assumption that we are living in a democracy, is it too much to expect of investigating committees as essential dignity at least bordering on judicial impartiality and restraint? I think not. It seems to me to be the American way. But from press reports one would gather that Mr. Dies has written into his record every name from Shirley Temple to Charlie McCarthy, all of which reminds me of the story that relates:

Justice once met a caravan upon the way to Baghdad.

Justice once met a caravan upon the way to Baghdad. "Why," asked the chief, "must you hasten to Baghdad?" "To take 5,000 evil lives," Justice replied.

The chief did not hinder Justice, for he knew of many evil men

The chief did not hinder Justice, for he knew of many evil hen in the city.

However, upon the way back from the city Justice and the caravan met again. "You deceived me," the chief said angrily. "Instead of 5,000 lives, you took 50,000."

"Nay," said Justice, "5,000 and not one more. It was prejudice and hatred and incompetence who killed the rest, for they knew no restraint."

By all means continue the work of creditating all up American

By all means continue the work of eradicating all un-American activities, but place the direction of such important work in the hands of those who will work to the end with judicial results that bear scrutiny by anyone and receive unbiased commendation from

[Here the gavel fell.]

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 53 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, January 25, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

# COMMITTEE HEARINGS

#### COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 a. m. Wednesday, January 25, 1939. Business to be considered: Hearing of H. R. 2531-transportation bill. Commissioner Splawn, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, is expected to be the first witness.

## COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Military Affairs in room 1310, New House Office Building, at 10:30 a.m., January 25, 1939, for the consideration of the President's message on national defense.

### COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives on Wednesday, January 25, 1939, at 10:30 o'clock for the purpose of considering H. R. 2880, "To authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes," carrying out partially the recommendations of the Hepburn Report.

### COMMITTEE ON WORLD WAR VETERANS' LEGISLATION

There will be a meeting of the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation at 10 a.m. Wednesday, January 25,

### COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Public hearings will begin Wednesday morning, February 1, 1939, at 10 a. m., on social-security legislation, in the Ways and Means Committee room of the New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

314. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the fiscal year 1939 to remain available until June 30, 1940, amounting to \$10,000, for the Department of State (H. Doc. No. 127); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

315. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize reimbursement of appropriations on account of expenditures in connection with disposition of old material, condemned stores, etc.; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

316. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to extend the benefits of the United States Employees' Compensation Act to members of the Officers' Reserve Corps and of the enlisted Reserve Corps of the Army, who are physically injured in the line of duty while performing active duty or engaged in authorized training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

317. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a supplemental statement in connection with a letter from the Secretary of War dated January 13, 1939, relative to medical care where the sickness was not in line of duty; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

318. A letter from the Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting the Fourth Annual Report of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

319. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the Annual Report of the Office of Education upon the affairs of Howard University for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938; to the Committee on Education.

320. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a list of papers consisting of 26 items from the Post Office Department and that Department having no objections to the destruction or effective disposition of these records under the authority of Congress, I recommend they be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

321. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting report of the Archivist of the United States submitting a list of papers consisting of 155 items from the Post Office Department which the Department has recommended to be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

322. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a list of papers consisting of 514 items from the Navy Department which the Department has recommended should be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

323. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a list of papers consisting of 149 items from the Department of Commerce which the Department has recommended should be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

324. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a list of papers consisting of 145 items from the Department of Labor which the Department has recommended should be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

325. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a list of papers consisting of 12 items from the Federal Trade Commission which the agency has recommended should be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

326. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a list of papers consisting of nine items from the Works Progress Administration which that agency has recommended be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

327. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a list of papers consisting of 11 items from the Farm Credit Administration which that agency has recommended be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; to the Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers.

#### CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 335) granting a pension to Walter Lloyd Hutcherson; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 337) granting a pension to Louise Eberle; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 371) granting a pension to David A. Huckelberry; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 380) granting a pension to Harry Miller; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 432) granting a pension to Millard C. Helm; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 436) granting a pension to John P. Matthews; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 446) granting a pension to Addaline Collins; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 447) granting an increase of pension to George Webb, Jr.; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 695) granting a pension to Millard C. Helm; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1712) granting a pension to J. E. Barrows; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

A bill (H. R. 1730) granting a pension to Charles Lycans; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

A bill (H. R. 1862) for the relief of Frank A. Adamus; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

A bill (H. R. 2115) for the relief of Catherine McLinden; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

A bill (H. R. 2243) granting a pension to C. R. McGill; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

A bill (H. R. 2365) granting a pension to Mary Harriet Hook; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DINGELL:

H.R. 3111. A bill to amend the Social Security Act with respect to old-age assistance and aid to dependent children; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

#### By Mr. CELLER:

H. R. 3112. A bill to extend the classified civil service to the positions of charmen and charwomen and head charman and head charwoman in the Government service and to fix a new rate of pay for those positions; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

# By Mr. PEARSON:

H. R. 3113. A bill to create United States Civil Service Board of Appeals; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H.R. 3114. A bill to amend section 903 of the Revenue Act of 1936 and section 645 of title 7 of the Code of Laws of the United States and extending the time for filing claims for refund of amounts paid as tax under the Agricultural Adjustment Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BUCKLER of Minnesota:

H.R. 3115. A bill to extend the status of veterans of the World War to persons enlisted and serving on United States Shipping Board vessels during the World War in war zones; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 3116. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products; to prevent unfair competition; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to promote the general welfare by assuring an abundant and permanent supply of such products by securing to the producers a minimum price of not less than cost of production; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BURDICK:

H. R. 3117. A bill providing for the optional cancelation of indebtedness against all homesteads in the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 3118. A bill to authorize a preliminary examination and survey of the Knife River and its tributaries in the State of North Dakota for flood control, for run-off and water-flow retardation, and for soil-erosion prevention; to the Committee on Flood Control.

H.R. 3119. A bill to authorize a preliminary examination and survey of the Goose River and its tributaries in the State of North Dakota for flood control, for run-off and water-flow retardation, and for soil-erosion prevention; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. CASE of South Dakota:

H. R. 3120. A bill making certain crimes the commission of which is facilitated by the interstate transportation of stolen motor vehicles punishable by death; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COFFEE of Washington:

H. R. 3121. A bill to create a National Natural Resources Corporation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HILL:

H. R. 3122. A bill to extend the time for completing the construction of a bridge across the Columbia River near The Dalles, Oreg.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. JACOBSEN:

H. R. 3123. A bill creating the City of Dubuque Bridge Commission and authorizing said commission and its successors to purchase and/or construct, maintain, and operate a bridge or bridges across the Mississippi River at or near Dubuque, Iowa, and East Dubuque, Ill.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MICHAEL J. KENNEDY:

H. R. 3124. A bill to provide for the payment of time and one-half for all overtime service performed in excess of 8 hours per day by certain employees in the United States Postal Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 3125. A bill to provide for the appointment of substitute post-office clerks and substitute city letters carriers in first- and second-class post offices to the positions of junior clerks and junior letter carriers and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. MAY:

H.R. 3126 (by request). A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to pay certain expenses incident to the training, attendance, and participation of the equestrian and modern pentathlon teams in the Twelfth Olympic Games; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3127 (by request). A bill to authorize the purchase of equipment and supplies for experimental and test purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 3128. A bill to authorize the loan of aircraft and aeronautical equipment to civilian aviation schools; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 3129. A bill to promote the efficiency of the Air Corps; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3130. A bill to authorize appropriations for construction and rehabilitation at military posts in the Panama Canal Department, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

LXXXIV-47

H.R. 3131 (by request). A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to convey certain lands owned by the United States for other lands needed in connection with the expansion of West Point Military Reservation, N. Y., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3132 (by request). A bill to authorize the disposal of

cemetery lots; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 3133 (by request). A bill to authorize the procurement, without advertising, of certain aircraft parts and instruments or aeronautical accessories, and for other pur-

poses; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 3134 (by request). A bill to amend the act entitled "An act authorizing the temporary detail of United States employees possessing special qualifications to governments of American republics and the Philippines, and for other purposes," approved May 25, 1938; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SECREST:

H.R. 3135. A bill imposing an excise tax with respect to the importation of certain earthenware and chinaware; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SWEENEY:

H.R. 3136. A bill for the relief of the postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. SPENCE:

H.R. 3137. A bill to authorize the erection of a hospital addition to the existing Veterans' Administration facility at Lexington, Ky.; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. WEST:

H. R. 3138. A bill authorizing J. E. Pate, his successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge or ferry across the Rio Grande River at Baco Chica, Tex.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BATES of Massachusetts:

H. R. 3139. A bill to extend the time for filing claims for refund of amounts paid as tax under the Agricultural Adjustment Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. COX:

H. R. 3140. A bill to amend section 603, title IV, of the Revenue Act of 1932; to the Committee on Ways and Means. By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 3141. A bill to extend the benefits of the United States Public Health Service to fishermen, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. By Mr. CASE of South Dakota:

H. J. Res. 129. Joint resolution to limit reduction in acreage allotments for wheat to types of which there is no surplus; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey:

H. Res. 67. Resolution for the impeachment of Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PACE:

H. Res. 68. Resolution to authorize investigation of market conditions of edible fats and oils; to the Committee on Rules.

### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALLEN of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 3142. A bill for the relief of Leland G. Myers; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ANGELL:

H. R. 3143. A bill granting a pension to Martha J. Poole; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 3144. A bill granting a pension to Clara L. Landis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BARRY:

H. R. 3145. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lena Margraffe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BURDICK:

H.R. 3146. A bill for the relief of William F. Kimball; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BREWSTER:

H. R. 3147. A bill to place Herbert R. Crandall on the emergency officers' list; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BUCKLEY of New York:

H. R. 3148. A bill to record the lawful admission to the United States for permanent residence of Chaim Wakerman, known as Hyman Wakerman; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts:

H.R. 3149. A bill for the relief of Louis Altobelli; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CHANDLER:

H. R. 3150. A bill for the relief of Claudia F. Banks and Edna B. Towner; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CASE of South Dakota:

H. R. 3151. A bill for the relief of George Francis Grundy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. CULKIN:

H. R. 3152. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ida A. Harter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DISNEY:

H. R. 3153. A bill granting a pension to D. F. MacMartin; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FLANNERY:

H. R. 3154. A bill to provide for the appointment and retirement of Faustin E. Werkus, of the United States Marine Corps, who served as an officer in the Garde d'Haiti; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GUYER of Kansas:

H. R. 3155. A bill for the relief of Harry Hume Ainsworth; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 3156. A bill for the relief of Anna E. Hurley; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HALL:

H. R. 3157. A bill for the relief of Franklin Lopez, administrator of the goods, chattels, and credits which were of Alice C. Lopez, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HOFFMAN:

H. R. 3158. A bill granting an increase of pension to Inez Clair Bandholtz; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MICHAEL J. KENNEDY:

H. R. 3159. A bill for the relief of the estate of Costas Demellis; to the Committee on Claims.

 H.R. 3160. A bill for the relief of Romualdo Cossano; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Maryland:

H. R. 3161 (by request). A bill for the relief of the estate and minor children of Dale W. and Gladys M. Guise, Sally C. Guise, and Martha G. and Arnold E. Orner; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McLEOD:

H. R. 3162. A bill for the relief of Maurice Clifford; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R.3163. A bill for the relief of Rose Bilaitis; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JOHN L. McMILLAN:

H. R. 3164. A bill granting an increase of pension to David Traxler Kirby; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. O'BRIEN:

H.R. 3165. A bill to authorize the cancelation of deportation proceedings in the case of George Joseph Poppovich; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. PEARSON:

H.R. 3166. A bill for the relief of Elmer Eugene Derryberry; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3167. A bill granting an increase of pension to Margrett B. Adair; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 3168. A bill for the relief of Mrs. J. T. Simmons; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ROMJUE:

H. R. 3169. A bill granting an increase of pension to Catharine Gillaspie; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RODGERS of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 3170. A bill granting a pension to Clara Dempsey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts:

H. R. 3171. A bill for the relief of George L. Sheldon; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3172. A bill for the relief of Fiske Warren; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SCHUETZ:

H.R. 3173. A bill for the relief of Kathryn O. Sweeney, Mary Kay Sweeney, Nancy Lee Sweeney, and Alex H. Sweeney (collectively); to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 3174. A bill for the relief of Morris Skolnik; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 3175. A bill for the relief of Robert Richard White; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 3176. A bill for the relief of Eugene J. Ruhnke; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 3177. A bill for the relief of John Klasek; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3178. A bill for the relief of Walter C. Paplow; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 3179. A bill for the relief of Thomas J. Kruk; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 3180. A bill for the relief of Carl L. Bernau; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SECCOMBE:

H.R. 3181. A bill granting a pension to Susan VanPelt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SECREST:

H. R. 3182. A bill granting a pension to George G. Gongia; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 3183. A bill granting a pension to William Frederick Kildow; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3184. A bill granting a pension to Mary V. Wells; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3185. A bill granting a pension to Margaret O. Hoffer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3186. A bill granting a pension to Louisa J. Humphrey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 3187. A bill granting a pension to Maretta Anna Booher; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3188. A bill granting a pension to Marion Gregory; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3189. A bill granting a pension to Nancy Jane Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3190. A bill granting a pension to Florence Bonnell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3191. A bill granting a pension to Dorinda V. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions,

H. R. 3192. A bill granting a pension to Narcissa Walter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3193. A bill granting a pension to Georgia Hupp Williams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3194. A bill granting a pension to Orla T. Pletcher; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3195. A bill granting an increase of pension to Harriett Morris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 3196. A bill granting an increase of pension to Blanche S. Keyes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3197. A bill granting an increase of pension to Charles L. Kent: to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3198. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lydia J. Allard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SHANNON:

H.R. 3199. A bill for the relief of Dory Cleo Arnold; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. SNYDER:

H. R. 3200. A bill granting an increase of pension to Catherine E. Hannen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3201. A bill granting an increase of pension to Margaret C. Mills; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 3202. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ellen Cora Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SPARKMAN:

H. R. 3203. A bill granting an increase of pension to Rosalie Hood; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SUTPHIN:

H.R. 3204. A bill for the relief of Lizzie Berry; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SWEENEY:

H. R. 3205. A bill for the relief of Frank Walker and his mother, Sarah Ann Walker; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 3206. A bill for the relief of Wesley Winsor; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia:

H. R. 3207. A bill granting a pension to Mrs. Carl Rainey; to the Committee on Pensions,

## PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

491. By Mr. BALL: Petition of certain citizens of Rockville, Conn., favoring our adherence to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and as amended by the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

492. By Mr. CULKIN: Petition of Oswego Council, No. 227, Knights of Columbus, Oswego, N. Y., favoring continuance of the Spanish Embargo Act; to the Committee on Foreign

Affairs.

493. Also, petition of A. A. Henry and 30 others of Croghan, N. Y., urging the embargo on arms to Spain be main-

tained; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

494. Also, petition of the St. Joan of Arc's Holy Name Society, Jackson Heights, New York City, with a membership of 1,600 men, urging the Congress of the United States to continue its policy of strict neutrality and to prevent exportation of arms from this country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

495. Also, petition of Gene Salesi and 28 other residents of Oswego, N. Y., urging the embargo on arms to Spain be maintained; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

496. Also, petition of Albert Stone and 28 other residents of Oswego, N. W., urging the embargo on arms to Spain be maintained, and favoring the continuance of the Dies investigating committee; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

497. Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Watertown, N. Y., Cora M. Van Voast, president, urging passage of legislation to stop the advertising of alcoholic beverages; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

493. Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Pulaski, N. Y., Nellie A. Hubbard, president, urging passage of legislation to stop advertising of alcoholic beverages in the press and over the radio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

499. By Mr. DEROUEN: Petition of the supreme board of directors of the Knights of Columbus regarding maintenance of so-called Spanish embargo and continued adherence by United States to its present neutrality policy; to the Com-

mittee on Foreign Affairs.

500. By Mr. THOMAS F. FORD: Petition of residents of the Fourteenth Congressional District of California requesting that the Seventy-sixth Congress enact the improved General Welfare Act, thus relieving the suffering of our needy citizens over 60 years of age and providing prosperity for America and security for all at 60; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

501. By Mr. JACOBSEN: Resolution of the Council of the City of Dubuque, Iowa, opposing Federal taxation of municipal revenues, bonds, and incomes of municipal employees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

502. Also, resolution of the Council of the City of Davenport, Iowa, opposing Federal taxation of municipal revenues, bonds, and incomes of municipal employees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

503. By Mr. KEOGH: Petition of the State of New York Department of Health, Albany, N. Y., favoring an appropriation of \$5,000,000 for venereal-disease control; to the Committee on Appropriations.

504. Also, petition of the Railway Mail Association, New York City branch, favoring the President's recommendation of \$875,000,000 for Works Progress Administration; to the Committee on Appropriations.

505. By Mr. KRAMER: Resolution of the city of Los Angeles, relative to taxation of income from municipal bonds,

etc.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

506. By Mr. LAMBERTSON: Petition of Mrs. J. A. Bloomberg and 39 other members of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of Wathena, Kans., urging Congress to vote against unnecessary warlike preparations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

507. Also, petition of J. D. Hurley and 15 other Leavenworth, Kans., citizens urging Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

508. Also, petition of Rev. Cosmas Schneider and 42 other citizens of Effingham, Kans., urging Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

509. Also, petition of D. Lavery and 20 other citizens of Seneca, Kans., urging Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

510. By Mr. LEAVY: Petition of Chelan County Pomona Grange and signed by L. J. Richardson and Addie Tedford, master and secretary, expressing appreciation for work done by the Farm Security Administration and especially the activities of this agency in connection with adjustment of farm debts, and urging that sufficient funds be allocated by Congress to permit expansion of the Farm Security Administration to a point where all fruit growers with satisfactory past records for credit and production may be financed; to the Committee on Agriculture.

511. By Mr. MARTIN of Illinois: Letter, in the nature of a petition, from Mrs. G. H. Greenfield, president of the Woodlawn League of Women Voters of Chicago, Ill., urging the raising of the embargo on arms to loyalist Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

512. Also, letter, in the nature of a petition, from R. Dellekamp, secretary of the Thomas Mann Branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy of Chicago, Ill., urging the immediate lifting of the embargo on Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

513. By Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts: Petition of Catherine M. O'Connor and sundry residents of Massachusetts, urging adherence to the general policy of neutrality enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and to retain the further and corollary principle in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

514. By Mr. O'BRIEN: Petition of George K. Schwab and other citizens of Rochester, N. Y., urging retention on the statute books of the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

515. Also, petition of Emmett J. Schnepp and other citizens of Rochester, N. Y., urging retention on the statute books of the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

516. By Mr. PLUMLEY: Petition of 29 citizens of Morrisville, Vt., to stop, so far as possible by Federal law, the great advertising campaign for the sale of alcoholic beverages by press and radio; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

517. By Mr. POLK: Petition of the city of Portsmouth, Ohio, signed by Mayor Harold Clayton and by City Clerk Evangeline Justice, asking the United States Congress to provide funds to erect a flood wall for the protection of the city against devastating high waters of the Ohio and Scioto Rivers; to the Committee on Flood Control.

518. By Mr. SECCOMBE: Petition of the Right Reverend G. N. Habig, of Canton, Ohio, and sundry residents of Canton and vicinity, urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality, as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and amended May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

519. Also, petition of Rev. J. T. Ruffing, pastor, St. Louis Church, Louisville, Ohio, and other residents of Louisville and vicinity, urging the Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and amended May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

520. Also, petition of Rev. Anthony P. Boeff, St. Clement's Church, Navarre, Ohio, and other residents of Navarre, urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

521. By Mr. SUTPHIN: Petition of the South Jersey Port Commission, requesting that Congress enact legislation which will grant exemptions in respect to vessels less than 200 gross registered tonnage from the requirements of Draft Convention No. 53; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

522. By Mr. TREADWAY: Petition of hundreds of members of Holy Rosary Parish, Holyoke, Mass., urging that Congress retain on the statute books the act of May 1, 1937, so long as we shall adhere to the general policy of neutrality enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

523. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Schmidt and family, Neillsville, Wis., petitioning consideration of their petition with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

524. Also, petition of the Kansas City Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Division 824, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to coin and issue money; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

525. Also, petition of A. J. Willinger, D. D. Bishop, of Providence, R. I., and others, petitioning consideration of their petition with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

### SENATE

# WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1939

(Legislative day of Tuesday, January 17, 1939)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

#### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Barkley, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Tuesday, January 24, 1939, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

### CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. LEWIS. I suggest the absence of a quorum, and, in order to secure one, I ask that the roll be called.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Auams	Caraway	Guney	Todge
Andrews	Clark, Idaho	Gurney	Logan
Ashurst	Clark, Mo.	Hale	Lucas
Austin	Connally	Harrison	Lundeen
Bailey	Danaher	Hatch	McCarran
Bankhead	Davis	Hayden	McKellar
Barbour	Donahey	Herring	McNary
Barkley	Downey	Hill	Maloney
Bilbo	Ellender	Holman	Mead
Bone	Frazier	Holt	Miller
Borah	George	Hughes	Minton
Bulow	Gerry	Johnson, Calif.	Murray
Burke	Gibson	Johnson, Colo.	Neelv
Byrd	Gillette	La Follette	Norris
Byrnes	Glass	Lee	Nye
Capper	Green	Lewis	O'Mchoney

Overton	Schwartz	Taft	Wagner
Pepper	Schwellenbach	Thomas, Okla.	Walsh
Pittman	Sheppard	Thomas, Utah	Wheeler
Radcliffe	Shipstead	Tobey	White
Reed	Smathers	Townsend	Wiley
Reynolds	Smith	Tydings	
Russell	Stewart	Van Nuvs	

Mr. LEWIS. I announce that the Senator from Utah [Mr. King] is detained from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. Brown], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Truman] are detained on important public business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

NON-FEDERAL APPLICATIONS PENDING IN PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION (S. DOC. 25)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Federal Emergency Administrator of Public Works, transmitting, in response to Senate Resolution 61 (agreed to January 17, 1939), a list of non-Federal applications pending in the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works as of January 18, 1939, which, with the accompanying list, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

#### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by Division No. 824, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, of Kansas City, Mo., protesting against the enactment of legislation to regulate the mileage of train service employees, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate a petition of sundry citizens of New Orleans, La., praying for retention of the principle of the present neutrality law and extension of the law to include civil as well as international conflicts, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Hellenic-American Loyal Club, Inc., of New York City, favoring continuation of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities (House of Representatives), which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. TYDINGS presented a petition of sundry citizens of Frederick, Md., praying for the enactment of general welfare legislation providing old-age assistance, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of the State of Maryland, praying for retention of the principle of the present neutrality law and extension of the law to include civil as well as international conflicts, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented memorials of the faculty and students of Calvert Hall College, the Rieger Club of St. Wenceslaus Parish, and students of the Institute of Notre Dame, all of Baltimore, and also of sundry citizens, all in the State of Maryland, remonstrating against lifting the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

### BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

S. 966. A bill to extend the period of restrictions on lands of the Quapaw Indians, Oklahoma, and for other purposes; and

S. 967 (by request). A bill for the benefit of the Omaha and Winnebago Indians of Nebraska; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

S. 968. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937; and

S. 969. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

S. 970. A bill for the relief of G. M. Weems (with an accompanying paper);

S. 971. A bill for the relief of O. L. Bates (with an accompanying paper);

S. 972. A bill for the relief of Julya Wiley (with an accompanying paper);

S. 973. A bill for the relief of Mrs. M. Bales (with an accompanying paper);

S. 974. A bill for the relief of Mary Shewbert Tethers (with an accompanying paper);

S. 975. A bill for the relief of Guy O. Bayless (with an accompanying paper);

S. 976. A bill for the relief of Jimmie Humphrey (with an accompanying paper);

S. 977. A bill for the relief of Ethel Wiley (with an accompanying paper);

S. 978. A bill for the relief of Felix Penner (with an accompanying paper);

S. 979. A bill for the relief of Kate Guinn (with an accompanying paper);

S. 980. A bill for the relief of George D. Davis (with an accompanying paper);

S. 981. A bill for the relief of George H. Schwiening (with an accompanying paper);

S. 982. A bill for the relief of T. F. Gafford (with an accompanying paper);

S. 983. A bill for the relief of Hettie Lovelace (with an accompanying paper);

S. 984. A bill for the relief of Victor M. Shewbert (with an accompanying paper);

S. 985. A bill for the relief of J. P. McKemie (with an accompanying paper);

S. 986. A bill for the relief of Ethel Wiley (with an accompanying paper);

S. 987. A bill for the relief of G. W. Slover;

S. 988. A bill for the relief of G. W. Peveto; S. 989. A bill for the relief of Etta Lukens:

S. 990. A bill for the relief of R. S. Caviness;

S. 991. A bill for the relief of Mary E. Cummings; and

S. 992. A bill for the relief of Sarah L. Renfro; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. THOMAS of Utah:

S. 993. A bill for the relief of J. H. Wootton; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McNARY:

S. 994. A bill for the relief of the Algoma Lumber Co.;

S. 995. A bill for the relief of the Forest Lumber Co.;

S. 996. A bill for the relief of the Lamm Lumber Co.; and S. 997. A bill for the relief of Lincoln County, Oreg.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WAGNER:

S. 998. A bill for the relief of Mary H. Denison; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 999. A bill granting a pension to Mary H. Denison; to the Committee on Pensions.

(Mr. Walsh introduced Senate bill 1000, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. WALSH:

S. 1001. A bill for the relief of Albert Pina Afonso, a minor; and

S. 1002. A bill for the relief of Julia M. Holland; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WALSH and Mr. LODGE:

S. 1003. A bill for the relief of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 1004. A bill for the relief of the city of Baltimore; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BONE:

S. 1005. A bill for the relief of Harry J. Tucker; to the Committee on Civil Service.

S. 1006. A bill for the relief of Dr. John M. Havlina, Dr. John F. Steele, Dr. Charles D. Hunter, and the Tacoma General Hospital; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1007. A bill to provide hospitalization for certain employees in the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation of the Department of Commerce and for licensed local pilots of the United States; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 1008. A bill to provide for the reincorporation of the National Woman's Relief Corps, auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LA FOLLETTE:

S. 1009. A bill granting a pension to Bert W. Helmer; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DAVIS:

S. 1010. A bill for the relief of Joseph M. McAleer; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1011. A bill granting an increase of pension to John G. Walton; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

S. 1012. A bill for the relief of Joy Montgomery; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CLARK of Idaho:

S. 1013. A bill granting a pension to Clara Johnson Wood; to the Committee on Pensions.

S. 1014. A bill to authorize a refund to the American Market, Inc., of Buhl, Idaho, of processing taxes paid under the provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as amended; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

S. 1015. A bill to authorize the disposal of cemetery lots; S. 1016. A bill to authorize reimbursement of appropriations on account of expenditures in connection with disposition of old material, condemned stores, etc.:

S. 1017. A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to convey certain lands owned by the United States for other lands needed in connection with the expansion of West Point Military Reservation, N. Y., and for other purposes;

S. 1018. A bill to authorize the procurement, without advertising, of certain aircraft parts and instruments or aeronau-

tical accessories, and for other purposes;

S. 1019. A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to pay certain expenses incident to the training, attendance, and participation of the equestrian and modern pentathlon teams in the Twelfth Olympic Games;

S. 1020. A bill to authorize the purchase of equipment and supplies for experimental and test purposes; and

S.1021. A bill to extend the benefits of the United States Employees' Compensation Act to members of the Officers' Reserve Corps and of the Enlisted Reserve Corps of the Army who are physically injured in line of duty while performing active duty or engaged in authorized training, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BRIDGES and Mr. DANAHER:

S. J. Res. 50. Joint resolution to provide for the purchase and sale of timber and alleviation of fire hazard in the New England hurricane-stricken area; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. PEPPER:

S. J. Res. 51. Joint resolution to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the founding and in aid of the historical restoration of St. Augustine, Fla., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

AMENDMENT OF NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I ask consent to introduce a bill for appropriate reference, and in respect to it I also request that an explanatory memorandum may be printed in the Record.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the bill of the Senator from Massachusetts will be received and properly referred, and the memorandum will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1000) to amend the National Labor Relations Act (Public Law No. 198, 74th Cong., approved July 5, 1935) was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

The memorandum presented by Mr. Walsh is as follows:

AMENDMENTS TO NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT

Amendments to the National Labor Relations Act were introduced in the Senate today by Mr. Walsh. These amendments, grouped in an omnibus bill (S. 1000), have one main objective—to guarantee fair and equitable administration of the law by the National Labor Relations Board. They propose:

To make it obligatory on the Board to respect the right of craft groups to decide for themselves by majority vote who their bargaining representative shall be.
 To curtail the assumed power of the Board to invalidate legal

contracts between employers and labor organizations.

3. To correct the Board's procedure so that all parties affected by any case will be given due notice, accorded a fair hearing, protected against abuses of discretion, and assured of adequate judicial review of wrongful decrees.

Briefly explained the accordenants such to transfer the first features.

Briefly explained, the amendments seek to strengthen the fundamental purposes of the act by limiting the discretionary power of the Board. These amendments are proposed with the expectation that they will benefit all legitimate labor organizations, honest

employers, and the public alike.

In recommending amendment of section 9 of the N. L. R. A. to protect the rights and integrity of craft unions, no new principle of law is proposed. The amendment is similar to existing provisions in the Railway Labor Act which have operated highly successfully and have been held constitutional by the United States Supreme Court.

In seeking to curtail the Board's assumed power to abrogate In seeking to curtail the Board's assumed power to abrogate contracts between an employer and a labor organization, the bill follows closely the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Consolidated Edison case. Under the amendment the Board is prohibited from taking such action unless (1) the contract is with a company union, (2) the contract is for a closed shop and entered into with a minority, or (3) the contract denies to a representative designated by a majority in an appropriate unit the right to bargain exclusively for such unit.

To carry out the foregoing objectives, various sections of the existing law have been revised and certain definitions clarified. Briefly stated, they provide that:

existing law have been revised and certain definitions clarified. Briefly stated, they provide that:

1. Every known interested party must be served with due process and afforded an opportunity to appear in any case.

2. Definite but adequate time limits be established within which the Board must act on petitions for elections and on complaints of unfair labor practices.

3. Decisions of the Board in representation cases which cannot now be appealed because of legal technicalities will be made reviewable in the courts.

viewable in the courts.

4. Secrecy of the Board's files must be lifted to the extent that interested parties may be permitted to examine material on which decisions are made.

5. Rules respecting the issuance of subpensi

6. Affidavits of prejudice may be filed within certain limits against trial examiners considered unfair by any party in a

7. Employers may express opinions on matters of interest to their employees or the public, provided that such opinions are not accompanied by acts of discrimination or threats thereof. (The Supreme Court in the Consolidated Edison case challenged the authority of the Board to scuttle rights of free speech guaranteed by the Constitution.)

by the Constitution.)

8. The Board may investigate petitions for an employee election filed by an employer and order such an election. (This provision is contained in the New York State Labor Relations Act and has worked out successfully there. At present the Board arbitrarily refuses to entertain such petitions even though there is nothing in the N I. B. A which would close the door to such is nothing in the N. L. R. A. which would close the door to such

action.)

The foregoing outline has dealt with the major proposals included in the amendments only.

### NAVAL CONSTRUCTION WORKS-AMENDMENT

Mr. GREEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 830) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs and ordered to be printed. ADDRESS BY SENATOR WALSH BEFORE COMMUNITY FEDERATION OF BOSTON

[Mr. Longe asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by Senator Walsh at the meeting of the Community Federation of Boston on January 23, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

## NATIONAL DEFENSE-ADDRESS BY SENATOR NYE

[Mr. Lundeen asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a radio address entitled "National Defense, delivered by Senator NyE on Tuesday, January 24, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### DEMOCRACY RISES ABOVE THE FOG-ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPH B. KEENAN

[Mr. Lewis asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a radio address entitled "Democracy Rises Above the Fog," delivered by Hon. Joseph B. Keenan, the Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, under the auspices of the National Democratic Club of New York City on January 21, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

GOVERNMENT SPENDING-ADDRESS BY MARRINER S. ECCLES

[Mr. Schwellenbach asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a radio address on the subject of Government Spending, delivered by Hon. Marriner S. Eccles on the National Radio Forum, Monday, January 23, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE TRANSPORTATION SITUATION-ADDRESS BY D. B. ROBERTSON

[Mr. Wheeler asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address entitled "The Transportation Situation," to be delivered by D. B. Robertson, president, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, at the Fourth Annual Economic Conference, Winter Park, Fla., January 26, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

REPEAL OF SPANISH EMBARGO, NEUTRALITY ACT, AND JOHNSON -STATEMENT BY SENATOR NYE

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD a statement which I have prepared, which is in the nature of an answer to a flood of correspondence which has come to my desk having relation to the Spanish embargo, the Neutrality Act, and the Johnson Act.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Upon my desk there is accumulating an impossible stack of letters and telegrams having to do with proposals to repeal the Spanish Embargo Act, the Neutrality Act, and the Johnson Act, the last-named legislation being the accomplishment which refuses Ameri-can loans to foreign governments which forget, or refuse, to pay what they borrowed from us in the last war.

The division as between those communications for and those

The division as between those communications for and those against the proposals is interesting; but I note that, for the most part, reasons stated in support of the wish of the writers afford a large departure from the real merits of the question. There seems to be no end of misunderstanding concerning the whole general question. To answer these many letters separately would afford an impossible task for my office, and I take this means of setting forth my own consideration upon the questions.

First of all, let me say that I favor the lifting of the embargo. I proposed a resolution in the Senate to accomplish this. This proposal grew out of a desire by me to have my country adopt a consistent position and a position of greater neutrality in the Spanish situation than is that prevailing with the embargo in force. I should like to make it clearly understandable that this position of mine is in nowise dictated by any sympathy for communism, with which I have no sympathy, or by any feeling against any church or religious cause, for I respect every church and every religious cause. Heaven forbid the day when America abandons that respect of freedom of worship and religious belief, or the day which may find our dom of worship and religious belief, or the day which may find our

dom of worship and religious belief, or the day which may find our country messing into religious controversies in other lands.

This embargo question should be weighed on its own merits and without prejudice. The introduction of the resolution to repeal the Spanish embargo law had behind it alone the cause of fair play and consistency of principle. To make this clear, I must state in some detail the background which in truth prevails.

I have been an earnest advocate for the adoption by our country to the proposed the proposed of the p

I have been an earnest advocate for the adoption by our country of a neutrality policy that would help us keep out of other peoples' wars. The present neutrality law, which should not be confused with the Embargo Act, is not all that I wanted it to be, but its existence is the outgrowth of the effort extended by myself and other Members of the Senate who served with me on that long investigation into munitions and the causes of war. The law provided against American munitions and money being made available to nations at war. It undertakes to provide a strict neutrality for the United States in fact as well as in name. The law did not entricipally however provide for civil war such as that now visited

the United States in fact as well as in name. The law did not originally, however, provide for civil war, such as that now visited upon Spain, for example.

Another point I desire to make in introduction of my position is this: When war comes between nations it is impossible to pass neutrality laws that will not hurt one side more than the other. For that reason any honest neutrality laws must be written and in effect before the war comes. Then we cannot be accused of playing favorites, for all would have had notice of our law and of our purpose to seriously strive to stay out of their wars. whatever sides pose to seriously strive to stay out of their wars, whatever sides

were drawn up.

were drawn up.

Now, as to the Spanish embargo question: Late in 1936 England and France moved a so-called nonintervention policy. They hoped to gain the cooperation of all other nations in a program intended to deny any help to either side engaged in the civil war in Spain. They seemingly hoped to be able to "freeze up" the trouble in that unfortunate country by simply withholding the war supplies needed to carry on hostilities there. England and France would naturally want the cooperation of the United States in such a program.

The machinery was set in operation in this country to bring such help about. When Congress convened in the first week of January 1937 a resolution to provide an embargo against the exportation of arms to Spain was introduced. It was hurriedly passed in a moment of apparent war hysteria. I pointed out that the resolu-

tion could not be passed in the name of neutrality because we could not act after the trouble had come to Spain without seeming to hurt one side more than the other. It was also pointed out that if we were to pass the embargo law, we might be gravely embarrassed if the cooperative effort in conjunction with England and France failed because some other countries refused to join with us and continued to sell armament in Spain, that we might then be in the position of holding the arms of one side in Spain while the other side dealt blows with outside help that they could get. I agreed that if the nonintervention policy won the cooperation of all countries, the plan would be good, and might serve the splendid purpose of halting the terrible bloodshed in Spain.

purpose of halting the terrible bloodshed in Spain.

It was only a matter of a few weeks before it became painfully apparent that the nonintervention policy, including our embargo, was not accomplishing the desired results. Armament was being shipped into Spain by Italy, Germany, and Russia. Indeed, some countries were even sending soldiers into Spain to help. I there-upon introduced a resolution which, had it been adopted, would have made our embargo against sending armament to Spain apply as well against those countries that were shipping arms to Spain. Nothing could have been fairer or more consistent. But such a move as I proposed would have hurt some American businesses and my resolution hardly got a hearing.

my resolution hardly got a hearing.

Last spring I became, along with others, convinced that a continuation of our policy against Spain, especially since our Government was continuing to officially recognize the Government of Spain, could only bring continued embarrassment to America and American policy. After much deliberation I introduced the repeal resolution can policy. After much deliberation I introduced the repeal resolu-tion, but provided in its terms that if purchases of armament by Spain were made in this country they should be paid for and not shipped in American ships. That was the "cash and carry" prin-ciple, the same principle I have long advocated in the interest of

shipped in American ships. That was the "cash and carry" principle, the same principle I have long advocated in the interest of preventing American business dragging our country into war.

There, concisely, is the whole story. At no stage in the repeal consideration was there any thought of alding communism or any other "ism" except Americanism. At no time was there any evidence or any purpose of showing pleasure or displeasure with any religious cause that might be involved in Spain. It seems to me that the record of facts clearly establishes that the whole purpose was one involving consistency and fair play, that alone.

For the purpose of keeping the record straight it should be added that weeks after—with emphasis on the word "after"—the passage of the Embargo Act applying specifically to Spain, Congress amended the Neutrality Act to give the President power, if he chose to do so, to invoke the provisions of the Neutrality Act in the event of civil war. Under this provision the President did issue a proclamation declaring that the strife in Spain constituted a threat to the peace and security of the United States and invoked the law. (Let it be here noted, however, that the President has the power, under the law, to recall this proclamation.) I want only to make the point that if we are embarrassed by reason of our action toward the situation in Spain, our embarrassment grows primarily out of the Embargo Act, not the Neutrality Act itself.

Nothing has contributed so largely to room for criticism of the

Nothing has contributed so largely to room for criticism of the Nothing has contributed so largely to room for criticism of the Neutrality Act as the Spanish embargo, which is not a part of the Neutrality Act, and the fact that the Neutrality Act has not been invoked in the Asiatic war. In the one instance it is damned for what something else has allegedly done in Spain. In the other case it is called a failure because it has helped Japan when it—the neutrality law—has not even been invoked by the President, who refuses to acknowledge that a state of war exists as between China

and Japan.

For the information of those who write me for and against repeal of the Spanish embargo, and for and against repeal of the

neutrality law, I say:
I am for repeal of the Spanish embargo.
I am against repeal of the Neutrality Act or the Johnson Act, two steps which constitute about the sole legislative evidence that we learned anything as a result of our engagement in other people's wars in 1917 and 1918.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States submitting nominations were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

AMERICAN EMBARGO ON SHIPMENT OF ARMS AND MUNITIONS-PRO-TEST AGAINST CHARGE THAT THE PRESIDENT INTENDED TO REMOVE THE EMBARGO BY EXECUTIVE ORDER

Mr. REYNOLDS obtained the floor.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I desire to occupy the time of the Senate for one or two moments preceding the address of the able Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS], which I have reason to know will contain matter largely interesting to this great body. I precede his address by an observation that I feel at this time is very necessary from some source such as the Senate.

Mr. President, I have observed that distinguished Senators of this body at different times, together with eminent writers, including that mistress of literary perfection in written phrase, Miss Dorothy Thompson, have more or less denounced the course of the administration because it will not at once remove the embargo which is provided by law against the shipment of supplies to those engaged in war. It is assumed that the President can by his act of Executive decree repeal the congressional law.

I feel that before we defeat this misleading movement we may gravitate this body and our compatriot body, the House of Representatives, into an action that will be more serious than is now considered by those who are active. I feel that it is timely that we pause to consider the real effect of this threatening action and the influence such would wield over

the minds and actions of our fellow citizens.

I allude particularly to that assertion and demand on the part of sources in our land, for which we have great respect, that the President of the United States should promptly remove the embargo that now under the law prevails as to supplies to those who are engaged in war. The President is for executing this law. I am sure the President feels he is, as is the order of this Government, enforcing the law in such a way as to avoid complicating ourselves in the conflicts of other countries. We are not to take action in any form whatever that would encourage the controversies of the outside

Mr. President, I inject myself for this brief moment into this question as it affects Spain. It is very evident, sir, from statements made from very distinguished sources, that it is assumed that this country should presume to take upon itself the conclusion that supplies for the war now existing in Spain should be provided by this country to one of the contestants in the unhappy conflict now prevailing.

Let this be noted: This exact discussion, this exact course, sir-as I am confident, Mr. President [Vice President GARNER], you will agree, as you were a distinguished Member of the House in those days-was the very thing that brought this country into the war which we now speak of as the World War; for had this country but obeyed the law, and had not our distinguished late President-whose soul, let us believe, rests with God-been overrun by the attitudes of those proclaiming our duty to establish humanity and democracy by intruding ourselves, we would not today be in the condition that this country is in. Nor, sirs, would the nations of the world, as I behold it, be in their present condition of terror, and I may assert, sir, not only confusion but desperation.

Then I come to the point. If this country should now, sir, in order to serve any one interest, remove the embargo that is the general law of the land, and there should follow from it certain shipments of supplies, affording further war materials in behalf of those who are supposed, as we read and hear, to be opposing what is called the advance of Franco, I ask what would be the result which some of our honorable friends do not pause to consider? The result would be that we would have those who, it is claimed, are aiding Franconamely, Germany, Italy, and Japan-promptly become our new enemies. Therefore, just so soon as an attempt on the part of an American conveyor, be it a vessel or an individual, was made to transfer supplies to those who are fighting Franco or fighting any other source coupled with those of whom I have spoken-Germany and Italy, if friendly to Franco, who, if it is true as charged, are partners in the design in his behalf-promptly these military masters would seize the supplies of America and arrest our vessels, and then slay those of our country who were distributing or delivering such supplies.

Promptly Japan would join-with its tripartite arrangement-and America would at once find itself assailed by Germany, Italy, and Japan jointly with the forces of Spain. All of these would be making war on America, because-let us have a frank statement-no American would be content to have the property of an American seized, his body impressed, his person arrested by war, and possibly subjected to death, without resenting such conduct-not because of our

interest so much in the policy of one side or the other of the conflict, but because America cannot remain quiet while Americans have by assault, their property confiscated, and their citizens murdered, all to the dishonor of the Republic and we put before all the world to our humiliation and disgrace.

For that reason, sir, let us have it understood now that there is but one course for America—to obey the law. Far from removing the embargo, the embargo should be tightened and carried out to the full degree of the meaning of the law. The President of the United States, as Commander in Chief of our forces and defender of the Republic, should not be interfered with by those on the outside who, not understanding the real evil they invite, surely would bring this country into war, all in order to serve one side or the other of a conflict abroad. Thus we would entail upon ourselves an unhappy result the like of which is paralleled only by the World War, from which we are this day suffering the consequences of our errors.

Mr. President, having asserted my position, hoping I have made clear the reason why I protested against an attempt on the part of outside influences to control and dominate the Congress of the United States, either to terrorize or seduce the Congress to the violation of law, I respectfully urge that the time has come when our body should have with one expression, first, the obedience of law; second, proper obedience to our institutions; and lastly and ever, that America shall attend to the duties of America for Americans and keep hands off the affairs of the outside world, and prevent the outside world from laying its hands upon our natural defense, upon our Nation, and upon our American people.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from

Illinois a question?

Mr. LEWIS. I shall be pleased to have the Senator do so. Mr. BORAH. Does the Senator from Illinois assume that

the President has the power to lift the embargo?

Mr. LEWIS. No; and I must say to my able friend that I am relieved to have the question put by him. I had intended to allude to the matter later. Now I only reply in response. I hold to the contrary; I assert that when we have passed the law by Congress, and the law is on the books, it is proclaimed to the public. The congressional body which passed the law to lay that embargo is the only source which by law has a right to change and vary it. I deny the idea appealing to the mind of many, particularly as asserted in a communication to President Roosevelt by a former Assistant Secretary of State. As I read, he proclaims to the American people that the President as the Executive has the right to remove that embargo. I answer my able friend the Senator from Idaho that the Congress of the United States, which passed the law, is the only source that can rightfully change the law which is now in effect, and this law should be obeyed in all respects.

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from

Illinois a question?

Mr. LEWIS. Certainly; I yield to my friend from Indiana. Mr. MINTON. Does the Senator from Illinois understand that the President takes the position that he has power to lift the embargo, or does the Senator assert that the Presi-

dent takes that position?

Mr. LEWIS. To the contrary, I have already stated—my able friend probably did not hear my remarks—that I am opposing the attitude which I read is being expressed by many Senators in their proper places where they have spoken; also from certain sources of the public, who seem to assume that it is the duty of the President to do what is suggested, and that it is within his power. As I remarked but a second ago, a former Secretary of State of this country has proclaimed himself generally to the public as believing and insisting that it is the privilege of the President and his duty to lift the embargo.

I announce to my friend from Indiana that such a position is not assumed by the President. I have not heard that he has for a minute had a doubt on the subject. I answer the question directly, that the President recognizes the law of the land and enforces the embargo, and that not until those who made the law shall remove it will any effort be made on his part to do other than execute it. Our attitude, appropriating the phrase of Lord Mansfield, is:

Let justice—the law—be executed, though the heavens fall.

WORLD CONDITIONS AND THEIR RELATION TO THE UNITED STATES

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, as a matter of fact I am always happy to accommodate the senior Senator from the State of Illinois [Mr. Lewis]. I am particularly happy to yield to him when he makes the request of me, because I know that when he takes the floor he always has something to say of interest to the Members of this body, and unquestionably of benefit to the American people. Today, however, I am unusually happy to have had the opportunity of yielding to my colleague, because he has very profoundly, very definitely, very happily, very delightfully, and most profoundly expressed my sentiments in regard to the attitude this body and the American people should take toward the 2,000,000,000 persons who reside outside the confines of the United States of America.

Mr. President, on vesterday I delivered a Nation-wide radio address, by the courtesy of the National Broadcasting Co., at the Carlton Hotel in the city of Washington, at the invitation and under the auspices of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, the president of which is Capt. J. B. Trevor of the city of New York. The subject of my address was Uncle Sam Should Keep His Nose Out of the Internal Affairs of Other Nations. After delivering that address I came directly to the Chamber of the Senate, and requested unanimous consent to have a copy thereof published in the Appendix of the RECORD; and the Senate being then courteous, as usual, provided me the opportunity to bring about that publication. I say to the Senators who do me the honor to listen so attentively today that that speech, made by me on yesterday in regard to our beloved Uncle Sam, and in respect to his meddling in the business of other nations of the world, is published in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I respectfully invite your attention to it, and in so doing I may say that I hope I shall be so fortunate as to find you and each of you in accord with me. I am confident, I state unhesitatingly, that if you do find yourselves in accord with me, you need have no fear of the United States of America becoming engaged in any war, because, as I stated yesterday at the outset of my speech, our beloved and great President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, has repeatedly declared on many public and private occasions that he is against war; you are against war; I am against war; the American people are against war. They do not want war, and they are not going to have war. Why? Because our memories are not short.

Today, Mr. President, I am going to take advantage of the opportunity to discuss, not briefly but at length and particularly, the situation as I have observed it in the four corners of the globe, and particularly in the countries of central, eastern, and continental Europe and the Asiatic political subdivisions, where today rages one of the greatest unholy conquests that the world has ever known.

In the first place, if I may be permitted so to do, I desire to say to the American people that I am pro-American. The only country in the world in which I have any interest whatever is the United States of America. The only people upon the face of the earth in whom I am interested are those constituting the population of the United States of America. I am for America first, last, and all the time; and if, in the course of my observations, I should find it necessary to tell the Senate the truth about the developments I have observed in other portions of the world. I hope none will do me the unfairness to say, just because I tell the truth about the progress other countries have made, that I am pro-this or pro-that. I hope I may be able to impress upon the Senate the fact that I am pro-American, and nothing else; and every word I shall say will be in the interest of the mothers of America, because the mothers of America are more deeply interested in the future of America than are any others.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am delighted to yield to my distinguished colleague, whom North Carolina is proud to claim as a native son of the blue hills of western North Carolina.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I should like to ask the distinguished Senator from North Carolina if he has not made a statement that he is against any expenditure for armament because nobody is going to attack this country. Is not that substantially the position the Senator takes?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Oh, no; not at all, Mr. President. I am very happy that my very good friend and distinguished colleague, a native son of North Carolina, of whom we are proud, directed that inquiry to me, because my position has been misunderstood or misconstrued, and I will now be provided an opportunity to correct that misconception in my attitude toward American armament.

Mr. SMATHERS. Will the Senator yield again?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Certainly; and I might state to the Senator that I shall be very happy indeed at any time during the course of my argument to yield to any of my colleagues for any question they may desire to ask, because if I am wrong I want to be righted, and if I am right I want the world to be with me.

Mr. SMATHERS. I understood that the Senator made a statement in the form of a question as to who was going to

attack America.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I did make such a statement.

Mr. SMATHERS. As if there were no necessity for expending large sums of money on armaments.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Oh, no.

Mr. SMATHERS. I want to ask the Senator from North Carolina if it is not better to have armament and not need it than it is to need it and not have it.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Unquestionably; there is no doubt about it. I think this will sum the whole thing up in a nutshell, in the form of an answer: We should keep our powder dry. I believe that answers the question. And I wish to say to my distinguished colleague that, of course, I know, as he knows, and as we all know, that we do not have to make the large expenditures for armaments which the countries of Europe have to make, because they are right next door to each other, while, fortunately for us, the Great Creator above has provided us with the depths of the ocean to the right and to the left of our country. I may state, for the information of my distinguished colleague, that I shall hope for the opportunity a little later to discuss the question of armaments and national defense in another address.

Mr. President, I believe that a moment ago I was interrupted at a time when I was making it plain to my colleagues in the Senate and to the American people that I am not pro this or pro that, that I am only pro-American. But as a citizen of America, as a representative of the people of North Carolina, and a representative of the people of this Nation, it is my duty, as it is the duty of all my colleagues, to advise the American people of our observations. That is what we are here for. If we make observations from time to time, we shall hope for the charity of the American people, for their indulgence, to the extent of their not dubbing us or branding us as pro-French, pro-British, pro-German,

pro-Italian, or pro this or pro that.

Mr. President, it is in connection with that subject that I desire to mention the newspapermen. A few days ago I had brought to my attention a column which I always greatly enjoyed reading. It is called the Washington Merry-Go-Round. I read it, to be perfectly frank, thinking perhaps the writers of the column may say something about me.

That is my reason for reading it, and no doubt that is the reason why my colleagues read it. We all like to see our pictures in the paper; we like to see our names in print; and I

read the Merry-Go-Round.

I also read that column in the Washington Times called Eve's Column. She had something about me in that col-umn yesterday. [Laughter.] I liked it so well that I asked one of the page boys here to run downstairs and find me a couple of copies of the paper, and I cut the comment out, and am going to send it to my friends in North Caroline, to show them that my name is frequently in the Washington papers, and that I am getting along nicely. I am vain and a bit egotistical, as all the rest of us are. have a little bit of that in our make-up. So I read the Merry-Go-Round because I like to find my name in that column. As a matter of fact, I shall be perfectly frank and state that I like to have the newspapers write something about me and to editorialize me. Whether it is good or bad, I want them to say something, because when they quit talking about you you are a dead one. [Laughter.]

In North Carolina the newspapers talked about me when I was a candidate for reelection to the United States Senate last fall, and last spring in the primary. They gave me perfect hell; but it elected me. It gave me a tremendous majority. The last time I received about 20,000 greater majority in the Democratic primary than I had received 6 years before. The newspapers will help you, particularly if they are against you editorially, I have found. [Laughter.]

Getting back to this little article I find here, I wish to read it to the Senate:

Tarheel Fuehrer.

This was written by my good friends Drew Pearson and Bob Allen. I like Drew. I think Drew is a nice-looking fellow, and he has a fine personality. And I like Bob Allen. I do not see Drew much. Drew must edit the stuff Bob writes, because Drew never comes around here, and Bob is always here. I like Bob. He has a sunny, cheery smile. He is stockily built, is healthy, and all that sort of thing.

I was angry when I read this article, not angry with these boys, not angry with Drew and Bob, but angry with the people who gave them the information upon which they relied.

Mr. President, I love my friends. I love everybody. [Laughter.] I do not hate anyone, not a soul upon the face of the earth. I am of a forgiving nature. I do not hate, because hate will age one quicker than anything else in the world, and I want to stay young a long, long time. [Laughter.]

Let us see what these boys say in this article. My friends have been deceived, and I wish Bob and Drew would tell me who gave them this information. I should like to know who is the man who deceived them. I should like to know who is the man who provided them with the information upon which they based this article.

### TARHEEL FUEHRER

Friends of Bob REYNOLDS, usually shrewd Senator from North Carolina-

Thank you, boys. [Laughter.]-

are worried over his plan to loose a Senate speech praising Adolf

Who is worried about me? No one is worried about me.

The wise-cracking Reynolds took a trip to Germany last summer and was wined, dined, and flattered by moguls of the Goering-Goebbels clique. He came back singing their praises and acclaim-

ing Hitler as a great man.

Nobody took this seriously until Bob unpacked the material he had brought back and began to write a Senate speech proclaiming the virtues of Adolph and describing nazified Germany as a

virtual paradise.

Mr. President, who ever told Drew and Bob that misinformed them. In the first place, I was not in Germany last summer. Last summer I was up in Arctic waters, hunting walrus and polar bear [laughter] on the Lena delta, around Wrangell Island, and the Diomedes, looking over the Siberian coast, the Pribiloffs, and the Aleutian Islands, trying to gather some information relative to the great subject we will approach next week regarding national defense. I was not in Germany in the summertime, as I have stated. I was up in the Arctic, in Alaska, and I was in Labrador and Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, down the Gaspé coast, all over Canada, and in a great many States of the Union. But I did go to Germany late in the fall.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am delighted to yield to my distinguished friend the Senator from Idaho.

Mr. BORAH. Did the Senator find Guam? Did he visit Guam?

Mr. REYNOLDS. No; I did not. Of course, as the Senator knows, Guam is but a short distance, one might say a step from Manila, the capital of the independent sovereignty of the Philippines, and I did not get there this time, although I might add that the subject of the fortification of Guam will become a very interesting one, particularly in view of the consideration of the fortification of the Aleutian Islands, the most westward of which is Attu, extending many miles into the Pacific, hundreds of miles further than the Hawaiian Islands.

Mr. President, I did go to Germany. After I had been reelected, after I had been reemployed by the people of North Carolina to represent them here I decided that I would go to Europe. I had been wanting to get on the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate for a long time, and I thought that if I did get on that committee the information I gathered on a trip to Europe would be first hand, and I would get the last pulsation of European affairs. So, after having voted for myself in North Carolina, exhibiting the same splendid judgment I always exhibit Ilaughter], if Senators will pardon that personal reference, I repaired to the city of New York and went to England by way of Queenstown, or Cobh, Ireland. I finally wound up in Germany.

Before I leave the subject of this article I wish to state that I was in Germany on this visit only 3 days. The last time prior to this recent visit I was in Germany in 1933, when I was returning to the United States after a visit through the Soviet Union.

When I visited Germany this time I was appalled, as a matter of fact, to observe the tremendous development and the great progress that had been made in that country. Any Member of this body or of the House of Representatives who has visited Germany this year will of necessity be forced in all fairness to that nation, as to any other nation, to say that unquestionably the Germans have made a tremendous, a phenomenal progress and have done a great deal for their people.

In the newspaper article to which I referred it was said that I was "wined and dined." Mr. President, I went from Prague, Czechoslovakia, to Berlin, and in Berlin I stopped at a simple little hotel just a few steps from the Unter den Linden itself, the great thoroughfare of the capital of Germany. I never met Mr. Hitler. I never met Mr. Goering or any other German Government official. I never met a single member of the German Government. I never had a meal with a German or any other person while in Germany. I did talk with taxicab drivers. I did talk with laborers. I did talk with American tourists. I did talk with hotel waiters, with men who work in the stores and laborers in the not-so-prosperous sections of Berlin. I spent some time in driving out into the countryside and motoring over some of their highways. Those who have seen them and motored upon them will of necessity be forced to admit that they are without a doubt the finest highways in all the world. I am very happy to note that in this country we have been giving a great deal of consideration to the construction of combination military and commercial highways to traverse the American Continent from the east to the west and from the north to the south.

I came back to America and told the American people what the German people were doing in Germany.

The next thing that I find is that my friends have stated here that I am pro-German. I am simply trying to provide my constituents and the American people with a description of the things I myself have actually observed while I was in Germany. When I try to advise the American people what the world is doing, so that we may prepare to meet the problems which America must solve, problems other countries are providing—if that be treason, why, then, let them make the best of it.

I know that Bob Allen and Drew Pearson would not have written such an article as that if they had not relied upon the information provided to them by a friend of theirs. I know that, because Bob and Drew are no exceptions to the

fine type of men making up the "fourth estate" with which they are affiliated. I am now talking about the gentlemen of the press who likewise honor me with their open ears at this time.

I wish to say to the gentlemen of the press that I have been associated with newspapermen all my life. My association with them began at a very early time in my career. I was once upon a time a newsboy. I see in the Press Gallery now Mr. Walter Hildebrand, who so ably represents the Greensboro Daily News, of Greensboro, N. C. When I was a boy 8 years of age I wanted to earn a little pin money. At that time in my home city of Asheville, N. C., the little Gem City of the mountains, which we all have heard so much about, I secured a job as a distributor of newspapers. Mr. Hildebrand was then the owner of the old Asheville Daily Gazette. His coowner, coeditor, was Mr. Earl Godbey, who is now the associate editor of the Greensboro Daily News. I was employed at a dollar and a half a week. I used to get up every morning at 4 o'clock and go down to the pressroom and wait there until the newspapers were off the press and then I continued delivery of the newspapers until around 10 o'clock.

My next association with newspapers was when I was about 12 years of age. I ran away from home and went to Charleston, S. C., and there went aboard one of the old steamships of the Clyde Line, and made my way by polishing the brass on the steamship Seminole, which ran from Charleston to Jacksonville, and there I went up the St. Johns River and was employed as turpentine man on a plantation. Later I found myself at a place called Cassia, working for a little country newspaper.

In later years at the University of North Carolina, as the result of my activities in athletics—at that time I was captain of the varsity track team and a member of the varsity football team—I was made athletic editor of the "Tarheel."

Subsequently I came to Washington and worked on a newspaper. Prior to that I was assistant editor of the Asheville Citizen-Times.

Here in the Capitol I see gentlemen of the press daily, and it is always a privilege to find myself in that company, because I find them genial, I find them good-natured, and very broadminded—just regular fellows. And I know that Bob Allen and Drew Pearson are of that classification, and that they would not have said that I am pro-German unless they had relied upon the information given them by someone in whom they had confidence.

Mr. President, I want to say something about the subject matter under discussion yesterday. I want to bring to the attention of this body the Democratic platform of 1932 and the Democratic platform of 1936. In the Democratic platform of 1932 it was set forth:

We advocate a firm foreign policy, including peace with all the world and the settlement of international dispute by arbitration; no interference in the internal affairs of other nations.

So, in the Democratic platform of 1932 we as a party pledged the American people that we would not meddle in or interfere with the internal affairs of other nations of the world. I ask Senators, I ask the American people, if we today stand flat-footedly upon that platform in which we stated that we would not meddle in the internal affairs of the countries of the world? What do we find? Mr. President, we find today that the American people and their leaders are giving more attention to the affairs of other countries of the world than they are to domestic affairs.

Going back to the fact that my friends of the Washington Merry-Go-Round have charged that I am pro-German simply because I told the American people what is happening in Germany, and simply because I want the American people to know what is going on in order that the American people may prepare themselves to meet problems such as we have never experienced before, I desire to say that I am not the only person who has tried to be frank and honest and fair with my constituents, and with the American people, by telling them the truth about things.

I have before me an article written by Miss Judith Listowel. It is published in the Wilson (N. C.) Daily Times of January 13, 1939. I want to read it to the Senate. It says:

EMPLOYMENT IN NAZI GERMANY

When Hitler came to power there were 6,000,000 unemployed in Germany. In January 1933, 30 percent of the German industrial workers, which meant 10 percent of the total population, were without employment. In January 1939 there are 115 jobs for every 100 German workers. Instead of unemployment, there is shortage of labor.

By the way, before proceeding further with the reading of this article let me say to the Senate that when I was in Italy last fall I was told by persons there that Italy had just sent 35,000 stone and brick masons to Germany to assist in its building program and make up the shortage of labor in Germany. There is no unemployment in Germany. There is likewise no unemployment in Italy. The articles proceed:

The miracle was performed by the readiness of the German people to take a medicine which may, in the long run, prove more poisonous than the disease. German men and women were willing to put up with regimentation, dictation, and "ukases" for the sake of economic security. To have jobs for all, "bread and circuses" was the price for which Germany gave up freedom and individualism

The Nazi plan to deal with unemployment was fourfold: (1) Labor was to be withheld from the market so as to ease pressure; (2) employment was to be created by rearmament and public works; (3) industry was to be reorganized by orders of an economic dictator; (4) consumption was to be regulated so as to fit production.

The Hitler regime has solved unemployment in Germany.

It is not I who am speaking. Miss Judith Listowel, of North Carolina, is speaking, in an article written by her entitled "Employment in Nazi Germany" and published in the Wilson Daily Times, of Wilson, N. C.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Washington.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Does the Senator know how many people in Germany are in concentration camps?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I do not know the exact number, nor do I know the number of people who are in the jails and the penitentiaries of the United States.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Does the Senator attempt now to make a comparison between conditions in our country as affecting those who are in our jails and penitentiaries for the commission of crime, and conditions in Germany, where people are in concentration camps because they happen to think something in their minds against Hitler?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am not in a position to state why, if there are concentration camps in Germany, people are in the concentration camps. I have never seen any concentration camps in Germany. I have heard they are there; I believe they have concentration camps there; but I have no information upon which I could base an estimate as to the number of people in the concentration camps in Germany.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Would the Senator advocate the adoption of a concentration-camp system in this country in

order to solve our unemployment problem?

Mr. REYNOLDS. To be perfectly frank with the Senator, I think the United States of America could well provide a concentration camp and place therein some of the Communists, Nazis, and others in this country who are today seeking the overthrow of the American Government.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Would the Senator have them sent there without trial, and without an opportunity for defense?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Oh, no; I should provide them with a trial.

In that connection, there are many in this country whom I should not want in concentration camps. I should want to deport them to the land from which they came. There are in this country today hundreds of thousands of undestrable aliens who are on our shores usurping the jobs of Americans and preaching the overthrow of the American Government. Why under heaven we do not deport them is beyond my comprehension.

The Senator has in mind minorities. I am glad he brought up that subject, instead of my having to bring it up. Let me say to the Senate that there is no man in this body or in the United States of America who is more sympathetic with the persecuted racial minorities of Germany than am I. I do not condone such persecution; on the contrary, I condemn it. I feel sorry for the poor, oppressed, unfortunate minorities in Germany today. If anything I could say would lift the yoke of oppression from their shoulders, I would say it. If there were anything America could do to lift the yoke of oppression from the shoulders of the oppressed in Germany or any other country without injuring or imperiling the lives of American citizens, I would advocate it.

However, let us make the record clear. Let us find out where we stand on this question. Let us admit, in all frankness and candor, that the only thing that is tearing this Nation limb from limb is our internal fight among ourselves over a question in Germany with which we do not have a thing in the world to do.

Let us see about that. Let us argue the question out. Are we going to let a state of affairs in a foreign country, 4,000 miles away from here, destroy the American Nation? I say, no.

Let me repeat, Mr. President, that I am in deepest sympathy with the minorities of Germany. My heart beats for them hourly and daily. That it not all. I am in deepest sympathy with the families of the more than 1,000.000 persons who have been killed in Spain since the revolution broke out there in July 1936. Of the 1,000,000 who have been killed, 260,000 were noncombatants. I am in sympathy with the families of the 1,000,000 persons who have lost their lives in Spain. My heart is big enough to engulf the world. I am in sympathy with the racial minorities in Italy, because the same racial minorities are being persecuted in Italy that are being persecuted in Germany. I am in sympathy with the more than 400,000 poor, unarmed blacks of Abyssinia who were murdered by the Italians in their conquest of Ethiopia. I am in sympathy with the more than 1,900,000 combatants and noncombatants, unprotected women, defenseless children, and aged men, Japanese and Chinese, who have been murdered in Asia. I am in sympathy with the minorities of Russia, from 4,000,000 to 7,000,-000 of whom were murdered in 1933 and 1934 in the territory known as the Ukraine, which is located in western Russia north of Odessa, on the Black Sea, and in eastern Poland. I am in sympathy with them and their families.

I am in sympathy with the persecuted peoples of the world. but I want my position to be understood throughout the length and breadth of America. I want every mother of America to let ring in her ears these words: My first sympathies are with the people of the United States. I take credit for coining the slogan that we should adopt. It is this: "American citizens and our country first." Then, if you like, you may add "last, and all the time." My sympathies are first with the American people. Although I sympathize with the minorities, the persecuted peoples living upon the face of this earth, I want to tell the Senate, without hesitating a moment—and I am not going to make any bones about telling it—that my sympathies are not deep enough to have the United States go to war over the minorities of Germany or of any other country. If any Member of this body is willing to take the floor and tell the American people that his sympathies for the minorities of any country in the world, the minorities who are not American citizens, are so deep that he would want this country to go to war to protect them, let him rise.

Why should we become so excited about all this? We have become excited about the minorities of Germany. Why did we not become excited about the millions of persons who were killed in Russia? Why did we not become excited about the millions who were killed in Ethiopia? Why have we not become excited about the millions who are being killed in China? That is what I want to know. I am sympathetic with such minorities, but I am tired of all this pussyfooting,

and of people trying to arouse great enthusiasm over something that has happened in another country. Murders, killings, and persecutions have taken place among the minorities in Germany, in Italy, in Spain, in Ethiopia, in Russia, in China, in Poland, in Rumania, and in Hungary. I ask whether or not the minorities in any of the countries I have enumerated, and about which we hear so much, are American citizens? The answer is, "No." Then why should we become excited about them?

Persecutions have taken place since the creation of the world itself; and we talk of aggression as though it were something new. We all know that of the 3,000 wars which have been fought since wars were first recorded upon the pages of history, 2,999 were fought as a result of aggressions and for the conquest of trade.

Let me finish the article from which I was reading:

The Hitler regime has solved unemployment in Germany. It has regimented industry, labor, consumers. It has brought mass production to a high level of perfection. A process which would normally have taken many decades was carried out in 5 years. The methods seem unbearable to us reared and living under democracy and capitalism. But this does not alter the fact that Germany is becoming rapidly the most formidable competitor of American industry.

That is what I am trying to impress upon the American people. I am warning the American people that unless we take steps to combat the menaces, unless we take steps to meet the problems with which we are faced in this world of twentieth-century commerce, problems which have been provided by the Nazis and the Fascists, then we are lost as a nation. God forbid that that hour should ever come.

I have read in the Wilson Daily Times what a little girl said. Let us look at something else. This is not ROBERT R. REYNOLDS, the junior Senator from North Carolina, speaking about Germany. It is the American press and the American

I read from the columns of the Wilson Daily Times, published by my good friend, P. D. Gold, at Wilson, N. C., the issue of January 20, 1939. The editor of a North Carolina paper is speaking, not ROBERT R. REYNOLDS, the junior Senator from North Carolina. The article is entitled "The Mas-

ter of Europe."

I read:

[From the Wilson (N. C.) Daily Times of January 20, 1939] THE MASTER OF EUROPE

In England and France observers find a growing belief that the Munich settlement was a tragic mistake. Even Mr. Chamberlain has lately taken a stronger position toward Germany. And there is a sound reason for that: Trade.

Self-sufficiency is Hitler's dream—a Germany which can live in

Self-sufficiency is Hitler's dream—a Germany which can live in comfort and plenty without relying on any other power. And self-sufficiency is what Hitler is achieving with amazing speed. The small nations of central Europe are coming more and more within the German orbit. Hitler uses any tools at his command to get the result he wants—promises, threats, economic bribes—and no small nation can afford to hold out against the desires of the "master of Europe." As Dewitt MacKenzie, an Associated Press expert, writes: "The smashing of Czechoslovakia, and France's abdication of her influence, have enabled Hitler to impose a control under which these comparatively small countries cannot live themselves." themselves.

Mr. President, when I read from the columns of the Wilson Daily Times, or from the columns of other newspapers. it is the editors thereof, or the writers, who are speaking, and not ROBERT R. REYNOLDS, junior Senator from North Carolina.

Yet because I thought it to be my duty to advise the American people concerning what is taking place over the face of the earth, in order that we may prepare ourselves for the onslaught, there have been those who have said that I am pro-Nazi. I say that I would be derelict in my duty if when, at my own expense, I went to Europe to study the social, economic, and political conditions there, on my return I did not tell the American people truthfully what I saw.

Now, as evidence of the fact that Germany has solved her unemployment problem, that Germany has solved her problem of surplus capital, gentlemen of the Senate, the President of the United States of America, Franklin D. Roosevelt, speaks. Let us note what he says. Our great and beloved President says the very same thing that I have been telling the American people. I shall quote from the message he delivered to the Congress on the state of the union on January 4. After having heard this, never let it be said again that I am pro-German, and let it not be said that every person who makes a truthful statement about conditions abroad as respects particularly Germany must of necessity be dubbed pro-German. When he delivered his message the President of the United States, recognizing as the truth all that I have said, recognizing as truth all that has been said through the columns of the press, some quotations which I have brought to the attention of the Senate, said:

The first duty of our statesmanship today is to bring capital and manpower together.

Dictatorships do this by main force. By using main force they apparently succeed at it—for the moment. However, we abhor their methods, we are compelled to admit that they have obtained substantial utilization of all their material and human resources. Like it or not

Like it or notthey have-

I digress again to remind the Senate that it is the President of the United States who is speaking.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield to the Senator from Washington. Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. The Senator does not mean to suggest that the President in his message or in his speech gave any praise for the way in which Germany has accomplished her purposes?

Mr. REYNOLDS. No. I am reading what the President of the United States said to the American people in his

message to the Congress. He said:

Like it or not-

Speaking of the dictatorshipsthey have solved, for a time at least-

Still speaking of the dictatorshipsthe problem of idle men and idle capital.

The President of the United States, God bless him and preserve him, recognized in the interest of the American people that the dictatorships that are giving us so much worry and trouble now have for the time being, "like it or not." solved the problem of unemployment and surplus capital. So today I have the enviable opportunity of warning the American people that what we have got to do is to stop and think and put our brains to work. We are not going to get anywhere by becoming enmeshed in this world of hatred.

By the way, in employing the word "hatred" I wish to read something right here. The other day I read in the Appendix of the Congressional Record a most able address which had been delivered by our colleague the distinguished Senator from Utah, Mr. Thomas. The address was delivered at the Institute of World Affairs, at Riverside, Calif., on December 16, 1938. One statement contained in that able address struck me with a great deal of force and significance. In speaking of hate, our able colleague said:

Are we going to live on the nations of the world or with the nations of the earth? We shall get nowhere by hating, except to breed more hate which may lead even to war.

Then I chanced upon a letter published in the People's Forum, in one of the daily newspapers of Washington, I think-judging from the type it is the Washington Post-a letter from a gentleman by the name of L. A. Rinne, of Summerville, S. C. He says:

Hatred against Germany is spreading in our country. Its destroying qualities are shown in our huge armament proposal, which, if passed by Congress, would add greatly to the tax burden of our people. I wish I could change the hatred to friend-liness. The German people have not done anything against people of the United States. We do not have the right to criticize and denounce them, because they have a different kind of government than we have and are satisfied with it. German Government is said to discriminate against United States. Have we not ment is said to discriminate against United States. Have we not discriminated against Germany?

Along the same line, I wish to bring to the attention of the Senate an editorial from the Redwood County Sun, of Redwood Falls, Minn., in the issue of January 13, 1939, entitled, "Why the Bitterness":

It is not likely that Senator Reynolds, of North Carolina, reflected popular opinion when he appealed for less bitterness toward Germany. "Why should we hate Germany?" he asked. "What has Germany done to us?"

"What has Germany done to us?"

The strong anti-Nazi tone with which leading publications—whether newspapers or magazines—are obviously injecting their presentation of the German picture leaves little room to doubt that the forces of propaganda are at work. We are told, of course, that Nazidom hates us and that America is the subject of an antidemocracy campaign handled by men with whom propaganda is a fine art. By way of response America replies in kind.

Sentiments such as those expressed by Senator Reynolds need not be construed as defending Germany. They are born, rather, of a desire to give peace, which is nourished by calm reason, a chance against war, which feeds upon intemperate thought.

And, Mr. President, I have before me now an editorial from a national magazine, Liberty, entitled "Shall We Be Forced Into War by Reckless Officials," reading, in part, as follows:

We will have to admit that we have harrowing problems of our

we will nave to admit that we have harrowing problems of our own, and we should attend to our own business and leave the affairs of other nations strictly alone. But what can we do to stop \* \* \* bullbaiting other nations? \* \* \* Now, we are far away from the war-making nations, and until the last few months we have studiously refrained from mixing in their mad preparations for war. And why should we try to compel any nation, through taunting criticism or through moral suasion—senecially Germany—to adhere to our particular greed?

any nation, through taunting criticism or through moral suasion—especially Germany—to adhere to our particular creed?

We are entirely justified in expressing our abhorrence of the conduct of the German Government. It has been brutal, shockingly inhuman. And we have a perfect right to express our opinions as publicly as we may desire—as private citizens—but the officials of this country have no right to express sarcastic and offensive personal opinions of other nations. They are not speaking for themselves. Whatever they say is an official utterance. It becomes the voice of the people of this country, and it is accepted abroad as the attitude of our National Government. And even offensive remarks by the officials of other nations are no excuse for a similar offense by our officials. by our officials.

by our officials.

We certainly want to keep out of war. We do not want to fight Germany, or any other country, because of its failure to follow our governmental ideals. We are facing grave governmental emergencies. God knows they are serious enough to take the entire time and attention of our officials—and then some.

We have no reason to be proud of our national status at this time. We have more people on relief than the combined total of all the European nations, and the dictators of the totalitarian nations only laugh at us when they make comparisons. And they have good reason.

However, the people of this country are determined to pull out

good reason.

However, the people of this country are determined to pull out of our trouble in spite of the powerful official handicap we are facing—and we hope it will be soon. We have had entirely too much encouragement of class hatred \* \* \*. They seem to enjoy setting group against group, labor against capital. \* \* \*

We have many fine citizens of German origin in this country, and the majority undoubtedly regret more than words can express the brutal treatment of the Jews by the Hitler government. But our officials are certainly going outside of their domain when they represent this Government in provocative criticisms of Germany's national affairs. \* \* \* national affairs.

In reference to that matter, let me proceed further by stating that the editorial states that the Germans have secured control of Europe, which is very nearly true. For instance, we all know that by force-like it or not, let us face the facts-Germany took over a part of Czechoslovakia, in which part there were to be found 3,500,000 Czechoslovakians; and in the particular territory bitten off by her we find munition plants, shoe factories, and textile-manufacturing establishments. In addition to that, Hitler had theretofore taken over old Austria, and now we find that he has made an agreement with the Czechoslovakian nation to parallel a railroad leading eastward to the Black Sea. The next thing we find is that the Blue Danube has been converted into a Hitler stream, because all the way along its banks, from its head to its mouth in the Black Sea, we find great barge after barge loaded with chemicals, with toys, with munitions, with textiles, and all sorts of manufactured products going eastward; and a few weeks thereafter the same barges are coming back into Germany loaded with hides, with tallow, with oil, with wheat, with timber, and with raw materials of all descriptions. Anybody who knows anything at all about the situation in Europe will say that Hitler already has Austria and Czechoslovakia, has a great influence in Poland, is starting his trade penetration in Holland; that he virtually has all the trade in Yugoslavia and Hungary and is making deep penetrations into Rumania: and the next thing, so say those who know, he will, through his agencies, bring about the independent establishment of Ukrainia, with 40,000,000 people, which eventually he will add to the German nation.

What is Hitler doing? He is looking after the people of Germany. What ought Uncle Sam to do? God bless Uncle Sam. I love him and you love him, Senators; but I want the old fellow to come home. He has been wandering over the face of the earth, trying to police the earth. I love Uncle Sam. You love him. We all love him. God bless him. I want the old man to come home. I want him to come back here to his nieces and to his nephews. He has been gallivanting all over the face of the earth, telling the people of other nations how to run their business; and while Uncle Sam has been telling them how to run their business, my heavens, when Uncle Sam gets back here and finds 12,000,000 of his nieces and his nephews out of work, what is he going to do?

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CLARK of Idaho in the chair). Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Certainly.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I am delighted to find the able and distinguished Senator from North Carolina joining the position which I took some 22 years ago, when I warned Uncle Sam not to go into the world-saving business and said that if he did we should come to grief. I say now, as I said 22 years ago, that our entry into the World War was the most colossal blunder ever committed by this Government in all its history; and again I say "no," we had better not engage in any more world-saving expeditions.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the able Senator for his fine contribution at this time. I am going to return to that particular part of my subject in a moment.

Mr. President, again I say that I am warning my constituents, I am warning the American people, against that man Hitler. I am warning the American people against that man Mussolini. I am warning the American people against that man Stalin. I am warning the American people against the dictators in other parts of the world. They have upset our apple basket. I am warning the American people because I am pro-American, and I want to do that which is best for America. But how in the name of Heaven are we going to find out what to do or what is best for us unless we know what our enemies are doing? Let us see what they are doing.

Not only have they all eastern central Europe but what else do we find? Mr. President, they have upset our apple cart down in South America. I see present now one of the ablest men who ever occupied a seat in the United States Senate. I see one of the most lovable characters I ever knew in my life. I observe here now a man for whom I have the deepest affection and one for whom I have great admiration. I mention him because I recall that when I first came here as a Member of this body the great man of whom I speak, the Honorable J. Hamilton Lewis, rose upon the floor of this Chamber and warned the American people that they should turn their eyes southward to Mexico, Central and South America, and the West Indies, where there are 140,000,000 people who want to trade with the people of America. I recall that during my short service here in the United States Senate under Mr. Hoover and under Vice President Curtis the Senator to whom I refer time and again warned the American people that they should turn their eyes southward; and throughout the first part of this administration and the 6 years which have followed he has from time to time warned the American people that they should turn their eyes from Europe and from Asia, and focus their interest upon the 140,000,000 people to the south of us. I have warned them likewise, but our warnings have been of no avail, and I am afraid that now it is too late.

Let us see about it. Let us get at the truth. We shall never know how to combat these enemies of ours-Hitler, Mussolini, the Mikado, Stalin, and all the others of them-unless we get at the truth; and we had better be getting at the truth right away. I say that, Mr. President, because if and when Franco wins, the influence of Spain, the mother country of every country to the south of us, with the exception of Brazil, which is Portuguese, will be powerful. Did Senators ever stop to think of that? If and when Franco wins, the influence of Portugal, the mother country of Brazil, is going to affect the United States of America. I wish the Members of this body, I wish the Members of the Congress of the United States, I wish the people of America in expressing their views in the public forum, would lay before the American people the truth, because until we have the truth we shall never be able to combat the destruction of God's temple; we shall never be able to combat the trade penetrations which are being carried on by the totalitarians, by the dictators of the world.

Let us see. Am I exaggerating? Not I. I am not speaking. This is the press speaking. Listen to this article. I clipped it from the Washington Star of Monday, January 16, 1939.

It is entitled:

Latin American trade only about half of 1929 volume. Average for 11 months of 1933 estimated at eighty-seven million.

The article is a special dispatch to the Star, and is dated New York, January 16. It reads as follows:

Our monthly trade with South America, Central America, the West Indies, and Mexico during the first 11 months of 1938 averaged only about half that in 1929.

Is not that distressing? Let us see the cause of it.

We still have a long way to go before our total exports to and imports from Latin America reach predepression levels, according to figures recently compiled by the statistical division of the

During the years 1921 to 1929, inclusive, the dollar volume of our total trade with all the Latin-American countries amounted to about \$150,000,000 a month, on the average. In 1936 the monthly value of total trade had risen from the 1933 low of \$47,500,000 to \$79,800,000; and in 1937, at the recovery peak, the average reached only \$112,000,000. Over the first 11 months of 1938, this monthly average is estimated at \$87,000,000, higher than in 1936, but far below the value of \$173,200,000 a month for total trade from Patagonia to the Rio Grande with the United States in 1929.

A significant feature of the conference board's study is the

analysis of our trade with South America by countries. During the first 11 months of 1938, we imported a total of \$88,700,000 of goods from Brazil, while we exported \$55,200,000 of our products to Brazil. Colombia also had a favorable trade balance with the United States, selling us \$9,300,000 more of various commodities than she bought.

selling us \$9,300,000 more of various commodities than she bought. By contrast, the value of our exports to Argentina exceeded our imports from that country by \$42,600,000 in the first 11 months of 1938. Venezuela, whose riches in petroleum and other raw materials enable her to operate on a cash-and-carry basis, bought \$47,800,000 of our products, while we purchased \$18,300,000 of hers. A similar analysis for Central America, the West Indies, and Mexico during the period from January through November 1938 shows that Cuba sells us more than she buys, while Mexico, the Netherlands, West Indies, and Panama, including the Canal Zone, buy more goods from the United States than they sell to us. Among all the Letin American countries Cuba has had the lergest dollar. all the Latin American countries, Cuba has had the largest dollar volume of total trade with the United States during 1938.

Very well. We find that our trade has dropped off one-half. We are not surprised by it.

Here is a little clipping which contains some information with which I had been provided prior to having observed, in the columns of the press, the article which I have just read.

I note that one of the representatives of Brazil is coming to the United States to discuss matters with our President. I should like to have an opportunity of talking with him.

Uncle Sam having stated that he would see that nobody attacked the nations of this hemisphere, that we would provide the battleships and the men, if necessary, and would fight to keep the Western Hemisphere for ourselves, I should like to ask the gentleman from Brazil why it is, according to press dispatches, that with an appropriation of a hundred million dollars to be expended over a period of 5 years for armaments, Germany is getting about \$70,000,000 of that business and we are getting about half of \$6,000,000 of the business.

We all know what Germany has done in Central and South America. My colleagues know, as well as I do, that despite the fact that we and the British have the largest amount of investments in Brazil, for many months the Germans led in trade in Brazil, and we were second and the British third. But, fortunately and happily, we are leading now and the Germans are following.

But I am discouraged and unhappy to be forced to tell the Senate that Germany leads in trade in Guatemala and in Salvador, and is making tremendous inroads throughout the entire Western Hemisphere. And sad were we all when we observed, through the columns of the press a few days ago, that Germany had made a trade pact with Mexico, our neighbor to the south, to buy from them \$17,000,000 worth of oil, which the Mexicans stole from us, ten million of which is to be paid for in bonds.

I repeat, and I cannot repeat too often to my colleagues and to the American people, that we are today participating in the greatest war the world has ever known, a trade war, and the only possible manner or means by which we can combat that which is being done by Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, and others, is to learn the facts. Who has told us how to get out of this situation? No one, evidently, because today there are 12,000,000 people out of employment in our country, and there were 12,000,000 out of employment here in 1933.

We are making utilization of all of our time in hating the Germans, hating the German people, because they are persecuting minorities, none of whom are American citizens. I repeat that I am not willing to vote to have the United States go to war to save the minorities of any country if they are not American citizens. We withdrew our Ambassador to Germany, and we are not sending him back. We have virtually broken off diplomatic relations.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am delighted to yield.

Mr. HATCH. If I understood the Senator correctly, he stated that the American people entertain bitter hatred for the German people. Does the Senator think that statement is accurate?

Mr. REYNOLDS. No; I do not think that would be a correct statement. If I said that, I did not mean to infer that. I thank the Senator very much. That would not be an accurate statement, if I am any judge, taking into consideration the thousands upon thousands of letters and telegrams which I have received from all over the United

We have virtually broken off relations with Germany, for what reason I do not know, but presumably because Germany has not been conducting her internal affairs as we think she ought to run her Government, presumably on account of her treatment of minorities.

If we are to sever relations with Germany, we have much more reason for severing relations with Mexico, and with Italy, and with Russia, than with Germany. If we are to sever relations with various countries because we do not like their form of government, and because they are not running their governments according to the way we think they ought t run them, then we had better sever relations with every country in the world, and become purely and simply isolationist.

Let us see about Mexico. Let us be fair. Immediately below the Rio Grande is a country called Mexico. It has 20,000,000 inhabitants. It is blood red. They destroyed and razed the churches, they murdered priests, they assassinated Christians, they attacked nuns. They raised the red and black flag. They have Trotsky down there now. It is Communistic, 100 percent.

There are assassinations everywhere in that country. They confiscated thousands upon thousands of acres of farm land belonging to American citizens and never even apologized for it. They stole millions upon millions of dollars of oil, the wells producing, which had been dug by American dollars.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, did we sever diplomatic relations with them?

Mr. REYNOLDS. No; we did not; but I say that if we are going to be consistent, if we are going to sever diplomatic relations with Germany, we had better sever diplomatic relations with every other country in the world. We have more reason for severing diplomatic relations with Mexico. Italy, and Russia than for taking that course with Ger-

Mr. LUNDEEN. If the Senator will permit, we have made a good start in the hating business.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Oh, yes; we have done well in that.

Mr. LUNDEEN. We have done so well that the cotton warehouses of the South are piling up with cotton, ten or twelve million bales, I am told, which we cannot sell to the nations we are busily hating.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am glad the Senator brought that

matter to my attention.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I do not believe they will buy any cotton from us while we continue this hating business concerning the internal affairs of other nations which are none of our affairs.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Absolutely; and I wish to repeat that I think Uncle Sam ought to keep his nose out of the internal affairs of other nations. I desire to say further that I think before Uncle Sam starts to telling every other nation in the world how it should run its business, before Uncle Sam tells them to clean up, Uncle Sam ought to wash behind his own ears. That is what I think about it.

When the Mexicans took by force the oil wells belonging to Great Britain, what did John Bull do? He withdrew diplomatic representation; and the Mexicans came right along, after having taken the oil of American capitalists, and made a trade with Germany for \$17,000,000 worth of business, \$10,000,000 of the oil to be paid for by bonds, \$7,000,000 to be paid for in cash.

I say that if we have just cause for severing diplomatic relations with Germany we have more cause for severing diplomatic relations with Italy. As I stated a moment ago, the same minorities being persecuted in Germany are being persecuted in Italy by Mussolini and his Government, except that in Italy they are giving them a little more time to take out a little more money.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Is not that true also of Poland?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Certainly.

Mr. LUNDEEN. And of Rumania?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Certainly.

Mr. LUNDEEN. And of Hungary?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Certainly.

Mr. LUNDEEN. And it is true of many other countries. Are we going to police the world? Are we going to regulate the earth? Are we going to be the superpoliceman of the

Mr. REYNOLDS. That is what we have been trying to do. Mr. LUNDEEN. Is that the policy of the administration in foreign affairs?

Mr. REYNOLDS. It looks to me as if that is what we have been trying to do.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Is it the purpose to distract the attention of the American people from our serious domestic troubles, with 12,000,000 men unemployed and tremendous deficits in our Budget, by directing the attention of the American people to minorities' problems in other lands which do not

Mr. REYNOLDS. In regard to breaking off diplomatic relations with Italy, let us go back in history just a few years. To repeat, the Italians are persecuting some racial minorities in their country as minorities of the same sort are being persecuted in Germany; so there is an even score in that regard. But, in addition, what has Italy done? As we all know, Italy murdered several hundred thousand Abyssinians when she went to Ethiopia in 1935 to bring about the unholy conquest of that country, an aggression for the purpose of getting raw materials which the Italians need.

I was on the Mediterranean in 1935, and I saw in the Mediterranean, not far from Alexandria, greater naval armament tonnage than I had ever seen before in my life, what was said to be greater than ever was assembled in the history of the world. At that time, in 1935, Italy was about to kill off an additional number of Abyssinians to clinch a victory, and at that time Mr. Anthony Eden, who was recently in this country, suggested that Great Britain and the United States enforce oil sanctions against Italy. The senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK], who honors me with his presence, will recall that suggestion. But we had sense enough not to join Great Britain in enforcing oil sanctions against Italy, because we knew that sanctions meant war, and if we had had little enough sense to follow Anthony Eden and John Bull on that wild-goose chase we would have been in war. We would have been fools to have done it in the first place, because at the same time that Great Britain was trying to get us to join her in enforcing oil sanctions against Italy she was selling Italy all the oil she wanted

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, will the Senator let me make a suggestion to him at this moment?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I gladly yield.

Mr. LEWIS. In order that the RECORD may be wholly clear in information, leading the able Senator to something a little apart from his already perfected phrase, there was given out by the statesmen of England at the time to which he refers, and publicly disseminated, a report that the United States, and the President, sympathized, using the exact expression, with the position of England demanding that we join in sanctions, in other words, in punishment of Italy, by prohibiting goods being sent to Italy because of her entering into Ethiopia.

I may say to the Senate, although I feel that I am in a manner an intruder upon the time of the Senator from North Carolina, that in Geneva 2 years ago I went before the session of the League of Nations and made bold to say in behalf of my country that the statement which had just been made by eminent gentlemen in Geneva in the meeting of the League of Nations, that this country had expressed its sympathy with their action, was without foundation; that our land had given no expression of that kind, and we as a people were not inclined, so far as I could gather, to accept anything other than the action of our Congress, and we would never join in the pursuit of a matter that was not our affair in any respect, and awaken the enmity of those of other nationalities who were peaceful citizens of our land by expressing sympathy for or against a foreign country concerning whose actions we had no understanding. I say to the Senator that that did transpire as I have expressed it.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LEWIS. I will say to my brother Senator from Pennsylvania that the Senator from North Carolina has the floor. Mr. REYNOLDS. I wish to say, Mr. President, that I am greatly indebted to the Senator from Illinois for his very fine contribution.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. REYNOLDS. I am glad to yield to the Senator.

Mr. DAVIS. I was out of the Chamber when the Senator from Illinois began his remarks. Was the discussion along the line of the statement which the Senator from Illinois just made in his last remark?

Mr. LEWIS. Does the Senator mean the last observation I made?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes.

Mr. LEWIS. I presumed to break into the splendid and thorough discussion on the part of the able Senator from North Carolina, revealing the attitude of this country in what is called assuming to interfere with domestic affairs in other countries. The Senator from North Carolina said, among other things, rightfully, that there was first an effort made to prevent us from furnishing oil to Italy as a punishment to Italy for assuming to invade Ethiopia, and that such action should be taken in compliance with the demands then made by the English Government, speaking through its foreign representative, Mr. Eden, that sanctions against Italy be enforced, sanctions which prohibited supplies being sent to Italy, in order to punish Italy for having taken Ethiopia. I stated to my able friend that it fell to my duty to be in Geneva at the time of the meeting of the League

of Nations. May I be pardoned if I add that my brother Senator [Mr. Davis] was in England that year; I served with him at that time. He realized something of the general attitude of all the countries of Europe. I had just reached Geneva from Russia. I had been very ill in Moscow.

I had hardly strength sufficient to take such action as the situation demanded, but I attended the session of the League of Nations in Geneva, and there, to my great astonishment, I heard able statesmen say to the world that the United States sympathized with the action on the part of England in announcing the sanction as a punishment of Italy, by denying Italy supplies because of her having taken Ethiopia. I boldly assumed on that occasion to oppose this view. I really went so far as probably to make some exhibition of ill manners by denouncing it upon the ground that our United States had never expressed any sympathy with a foreign country in its action touching the question of sanctions; that, if they meant the President, to whom I thought the eminent officials of England alluded, under our system of government and our policy the power resided only in our Congress to express our public desire; that there had come no such expression from the Congress; that none had come from the President; that none had come from this country in any form; and that we were not assuming to express sympathy with the action of foreign countries, or to punish some foreign country merely to serve the private financial object of other countries.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, I will say to the Senate that the Senator from Illinois on that occasion rendered a very great service to his country. I may also inform the Senate that I heard the Senator from Illinois make a very remarkable speech in London on Thanksgiving Day of that year, and his speech was just as true and just as fine and patriotic an American speech as I have ever heard made, even in Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I ask the Senator to yield for the purpose of asking the Senator from Illinois, for whom I have the greatest respect, a question. I will ask the Senator from Illinois if he has the slightest doubt, in view of his profound professional and senatorial attainments, that the imposition of sanctions or the designation of an aggressor nation by the United States upon which sanctions are to be imposed is of itself an act of war?

Mr. LEWIS. I answer my able friend that the imposition of sanctions, if going to the extent, as I understand it, of assuming to punish some other nation, would be sufficient to be declared by that country an act of war.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I ask if the Senator from North Carolina will yield so that I may ask the Senator from Illinois one further question?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I believe the Senator from Illinois will agree with me that if we shall adopt as a policy that mistreatment of minorities in other countries shall be a cause for war, it may be called to our attention that at various times we have had skeletons in our own closets. For instance, I think it will be admitted on every side that we violated treaties with the Indians, and that the white settlers of this country in the main shamefully mistreated the Indians. The Senator, of course, is familiar with the fact that at the time negotiations were being carried on, which led to the signing of the Treaty of Ghent at the conclusion of the War of 1812, the British Government arrogated to itself the right to act as the sponsor and the defender of the rights of the Indians which they claimed had been violated, and in the early part of those negotiations they demanded as a matter of right that they be permitted to set up a buffer state to be given to the Indians, which would have included most of what is now Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio.

Of course, it might also be said that if every nation has a right to interfere in the treatment of minorities by other nations, as an internal matter, any nation of the world might have the right to declare war on us today by reason of the fact that lynching of American citizens of African descent has been permitted to go on in this country, and that the Congress of the United States as the sovereign power in this country has refused to take any action on that subject. Does the Senator from Illinois think that Germany, for instance, or France, or any other country, would be justified in declaring war on us for that reason?

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I am glad to hear any statement made by the able Senator from Missouri on questions concerning foreign countries, particularly in the era which he describes. His excellent work on John Quincy Adams, and his treatises on history, comprehending many of these subjects, qualify him to discuss them to a greater degree than most of our able Senators, who have not had time to investigate questions pertaining to these matters, either those of the present day or those of history.

In answer to the question of the Senator from Missouri, I say "yes." I recall, as a matter of history, that at the time of the consideration of the Treaty of Ghent eminent Senators hesitated in arriving at the peace decree. The Battle of New Orleans had really been fought without knowledge of it on the part of those engaged in the discussion of the peace treaty. There were those who asserted, as my able friend meant to express, I am sure, that the lands that had been occupied by the Indians had been appropriated by us, and it may be that they added something as to what is called our treatment of the Indians. As to that, however, I do not know.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator again yield to me?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. It was the assertion and the demand of the British ambassadors and members of the British committee that a buffer state, so to speak, between our country and the British possessions in Canada be set up to be given over to the Indians, and the proposed buffer state would constitute what is now most of the States of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio.

Mr. LEWIS. I must say I was not so clear as to that matter. My opinion had been that that particular position was taken after the War of 1812 touching those lands which the Spaniards and the Indians had occupied in Florida. Am I not right that that was the basis?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I will say to the Senator that that was another question that was involved, but there was a very definite demand by the British peace mission that this buffer state be established; that territory be taken south of the Great Lakes in the United States and given to a state to be set up by England as a protectorate for the Indians, a buffer state between the American States and the Great Lakes.

Mr. LEWIS. That, Mr. President, discloses the tendency on the part of certain foreign nations to assume to punish us when we have attempted a course of conduct which they do not approve. I heartily concur with the Senator from North Carolina, whose illustrious exposé will remain as history, and the assertion made by the Senator from Missouri, that these are lessons to us, to lay our hands hard upon America and hold our vessel straight to the channel, holding firmly by the rudder, and to keep ourselves from the unnecessary shores of other places, and prevent others from interfering with the affairs of America.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator from Illinois very much for his compliment.

Mr. President, I made mention a moment ago, when I was asked to yield, of the fact that the British had a great deal of tonnage in the Mediterranean in November 1935, at which time Anthony Eden was desirous that the United States join Great Britain in enforcing sanctions, and I made mention of the fact that at that very time Great Britain was selling oil to Italy, as everyone knows. I wish to call attention to the fact that after Mussolini brought about the conquest of Ethiopia the British recognized Ethiopia.

Let me make a prediction. If and when Franco wins in Spain, Great Britain will recognize the Franco government. Do not let anybody tell you otherwise about that, because Great Britain always gets on the winning side. The British are the greatest diplomats in the world. They propagandized us into the World War. They told us we were going to save Christianity and democracy. They cost us \$100,000,000,000. They brought about the murder of the sons of American mothers. They do not appreciate our saving their hides. They have never paid a nickel on the principal they owe us. They have never liquidated the interest, and they never will, because I state unhesitatingly that they are the most ungrateful people in all the world. But they are smart!

Let us see. They are our "brothers across the sea." However, I like to have my brother show me some consideration. I want my brother to be good to me if I am good to him, and to think kindly of me if I think kindly of him. If I appreciate what my brother does for me, I want my brother to appreciate what I do for him. But John Bull, the old fat fellow, "he ain't no good" when it comes to showing his appreciation.

If John Bull wanted to show his appreciation, I will tell the Senate what he could do. I hate to digress, and I am going to stick with John. We shall get around to China in a

few minutes.

Our experts on military affairs say that we must have more outposts, particularly in the Atlantic. We have outposts in the South Atlantic, but we have no outposts in the North Atlantic. Our experts have told us before the committees that we must have an outpost in the West Indies, and we must have an outpost in the North Atlantic. If Great Britain wanted to show her appreciation of all the money we lent her, if she were desirous of showing her appreciation of our saving her hide, what could she do? She could bring about the ceding to us of Bermuda, the capital of which is Hamilton, in the North Atlantic, just 498 miles directly east and off the coast of North Carolina. We could very well afford to accept Bermuda, because 98 percent of all the revenue that goes to its capital, Hamilton, comes out of the port of New York.

Do Senators think Great Britain would give us Bermuda to apply on the debt she owes us? No. She is willing to give away other people's property, but she would not give us or anybody else a deed to her property. Show me where she ever ceded a square foot of land to anybody else.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I gladly yield.

Mr. LUNDEEN. In this connection, it might be well to recall the time in American history during the administration of the great Jackson, who was truly a red-blooded, fighting American, an American all the time.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Andrew Jackson-

Mr. LUNDEEN. Andrew Jackson; a great American.

Mr. REYNOLDS. From the Hermitage, Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Jackson had his difficulties with France about the so-called French war debt, which arose about 1800. After some 35 years or so of nonpayment, Andrew Jackson came into the White House, and he then demanded payment for the undeclared war which had gone on between France and America.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. He drew a sight draft.

Mr. LUNDEEN. As the distinguished Senator from Missouri so ably says, he drew a sight draft.

Mr. REYNOLDS. That is my recollection of it.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Not only that but in a remarkable state paper, one of the best state papers we have in our collection of American state papers, he made the statement that if the debt were not paid he would seize the gold, silver, securities, and collateral of French nationals on deposit in American financial institutions; and he threatened to seize possession of the West Indies, belonging to France, until the debt was paid.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator, because he has provided me with an idea.

Mr. LUNDEEN. That is exactly what I was trying to do.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Not so long ago, when the British were engaged in digging trenches in Hyde Park, Kensington Gardens, and elsewhere, getting together their antiaircraft defense, and making an effort to distribute gas masks because they were afraid the Germans were going to come over and level England, they sent millions and millions of dollars to this country. The Senator has provided me with an idea. Let us seize that money, because that is the only way in which we shall ever get a dime out of them. I wish to pursue that subject. I thank the able Senator from Missouri for his contribution in reference to the matter under discussion.

We saved Great Britain's hide, and for 20 years she has not done a thing in the world but give us the broad "a." That is all she has done. She has never given us any credit for saving her. She has never shown the slightest appreciation. Now, at a time when we are getting ready to bolster our defenses upon the recommendation of the experts of the Army who have been before the Committee on Military Affairs, which is so ably presided over by that great patriot from the State of Texas, the Honorable Morris Sheppard, who now does me the honor to listen so attentively, it is suggested that we must have more protection for the Panama Canal. I say, let Great Britain, if she wants to show her gratitude, cede Bermuda to us.

It has been suggested also that we must have defenses in the North Atlantic. I suggest that Great Britain make the proper arrangements to deliver to us Labrador and Newfound-

land, and let her apply them on account. She can do it if she wants to. Let her show her appreciation.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. NEELY. If Great Britain is to cede to us the territory which the distinguished Senator has suggested, I hope he will insist on immediate action, before Mr. Chamberlain has an opportunity to give those possessions to Hitler and Mussolini.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I am sure there will be no haste on that score, because Great Britain has never been known to give anything to anybody except lip service.

Mr. NEELY. And other people's territory.

Mr. REYNOLDS. And other people's territory, Mr. President. That is well put.

In that connection, in reference to the defenses which have been suggested by military authorities, one of the authorities made the suggestion a few days ago in executive session before the committee—and it is not a secret—that we have fortifications in the West Indies. When the West Indies were mentioned, my mind immediately found its way to Martinique, in the West Indies, which belongs to the French.

By the way, the French, one of the Allies in the World War, are indebted to us to the extent of millions and millions. Why not let France make her contribution, as evidence of her appreciation, by delivering to us Martinique, not far withdrawn from the Virgin Islands, and likewise not far from Puerto Rico, and near the Dominican Republic and Haiti?

Such action would be very appropriate.

I am sorry I was not traveling in an official capacity when, in the month of November, I had the pleasure and honor of interviewing the Prime Minister of France, because if I had been traveling officially, I should then have been very pleased to ask him if his Government was willing to deliver to us Martinique as part payment of that which they owe us.

That is not all. Our military experts have stated that we need something in the North Atlantic. They have made the suggestion that it would be desirable to have Labrador and Newfoundland, or perhaps Nova Scotia, as was suggested by one writer, Major Williams. I have a plan which would greatly simplify the question. The French Government owns two islands between Labrador and Newfoundland. One of them is about 17 miles long and 5 miles wide. The other is about 5 miles by 2. At least they are sufficiently large, and the terrain is adaptable, for the inexpensive development of airports. We could use them as bases. If Great Britain and France, both of whom are crawling on their knees and purring like old pussycats for favor with us, want us to lend an open

ear to all they are now saying and to the love they are making to us, let France deliver Martinique and her islands in the north between Labrador and Newfoundland, and let Great Britain talk to us about Bermuda, or perhaps some concessions in Newfoundland, Labrador, or Nova Scotia.

Before we get away from Great Britain, let me say that John Bull is the greatest diplomat in the world. Since 1931 John Bull has been trying to get Uncle Sam to pull his chestnuts out of the fire. I had to smile the other day when I read something in a Washington newspaper which I desire to bring to the attention of the Senate. This is good. It is entitled "Britain Joins U. S. in Opposing Japan."

Britain joins the United States! That is the first time I ever heard of the United States suggesting anything and taking the lead in a matter in which Britain is concerned, because during all our diplomatic life, so far as the history of Great Britain is connected with us, we have always been led around by the nose and have followed the lead of John

Bull. Let us see about this.

It will be remembered that in 1931, when the Japanese were proceeding northward through Korea, and likewise through the port of Shanghai, via Peiping, for the purpose of making conquest of Manchuria, our Secretary of State was a gentleman by the name of Stimson, who is now telling Secretary Hull how to run the Government. Secretary Stimson at that time suggested, as was currently reported in the press, that we stop the Japanese. The British did not see fit to follow the advice of Mr. Stimson. As a result thereof, in 1931 and in the months to follow the Japanese conquered that territory, which is inhabited by 120,000,000 Chinese. For the past several years, or at least since the beginning of the last conquest of Japan in China, Great Britain has been doing her best to persuade us to pull her chestnuts out of the fire in the Orient. Let us see about that.

In the first place, Great Britain was sorry because we gave up our interest in the Philippines. The Members of the Senate know that to be so. Great Britain wanted us to retain our interest in oriental waters, in Asiatic waters, in the Philippines, so that, of necessity, we would be forced to maintain a Pacific fleet in those waters. Great Britain was weakened and disappointed when we decided to give up the Philippines. Of all the people in the world at the present time who are desirous of our erecting fortifications abroad, which is entirely out of our sphere, it is the British people, because Great Britain wants us to have a position on a keg of explosives so as to retain our interest there.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am giad to yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I will ask the Senator if it is not a fact that Great Britain's title and claim to Hong Kong, for example, is precisely the title and claim that Japan has to the parts of China that have been taken by ruthless aggression in the last couple of years?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Certainly.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. In other words, Great Britain acquired Hong Kong-

Mr. REYNOLDS. By force.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. By precisely the same methods that Japan has been taking part of China during the last couple of years.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Of course, that is so. How did Great Britain get India? How did the French did Indochina? How did the United States get the 48 States of the Union? She took them away from the Indians. Everything is by conquest or by aggression.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, the Senator is familiar with the fact, of course, that in the opium war England not only took and kept Hong Kong, but in the same war she also acquired by storm or by surrender Shanghai, Hangchow, and Canton?

Mr. REYNOLDS. And right now in Canton she maintains an international settlement.

Now, what is the situation and what has it been for the last several years? Let us see what are Great Britain's interests in the east. In the first place, Great Britain owns in fee that which she took from the Chinese. She owns Hong Kong, which is one of the greatest, one of the most prosperous, and one of the most profitable ports in all the world, which particularly is attributable to its geographical location; and I might say further also is attributable to the fact that it is just south of Canton, one of the most prosperous cities in the world and on a great river. In addition to that, Great Britain has her part and portion of the international settlement in Shanghai. In addition to that, Great Britain admits that she has over \$1,500,000,000 in cash invested in China; and if she will admit an investment of \$1,500,000,000, I will say unhesitatingly that, in reality, she has \$3,000,000,000 invested there.

That, however, is not all her interest. Great Britain's frontier has been moved back from Hong Kong to Singapore. a distance of 1,500 miles.

Singapore is located at the head of a ladder the rounds of which are the islands of the Dutch East Indies. In addition to Java, Sumatra, and others Great Britain holds in fee ownership a part of one of the islands which is known as Borneo, where are to be found some of the finest untouched, untapped pockets of oil in all the world. In addition to that, Great Britain has an agreement with the Netherlands to protect her interests in the Dutch East Indies. So Great Britain has vast interests in the East; in fact, a great portion of her Empire and of her wealth is found in oriental and Asiatic waters.

Very well; now let us see what are the interests of Uncle Sam. If Senators will study the statistics as to the trade we have done with China and the Orient for the past 15 or 20 years, they will see that we have not made any money out of it, because in order to maintain our position there, to maintain our prestige, in order to "keep face" in the parlance of the Orient, we have, of necessity, been occasioned to keep in the Pacific a large fleet at a tremendous cost. The figures of the State Department will reveal today that all the investments of the United States of America in China will total only \$250,000,000, and that includes the missions and the benches and the furnishings therein. Two hundred and fifty million dollars is one-fourth of a billion, which may be compared to the investment of \$1,500,000,000, which is the English investment, and indicates our very small interest in comparison with that of Great Britain.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. REYNOLDS. I am glad to yield to the Senator from

Mr. LUNDEEN. In other words, the investment of America in the Orient is, roughly speaking, about one-tenth or less of the British investment?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I should make it about one twenty-fifth. Mr. LUNDEEN. And, of course, we should go in there and defend those who have 10 times greater interest there than

Mr. REYNOLDS. Certainly; and not only that, but Hong Kong itself is only 1,487 miles by air from Darwin, in Australia. and it will be remembered, of course, that Great Britain is greatly interested in Australia. So, as I have said, Great Britain has a vast interest in the Orient. In comparison we have but a pittance. The amount of the money we have invested in China, if we could get it all back, would be only sufficient to buy a couple of battleships weighing 45,000 tons apiece: that is all.

I notice from the newspapers that Great Britain has decided to join against Japan. Senators will remember that Anthony Eden came to the United States. While here he talked with some of our officials, and Anthony had barely gotten back to England when it was announced through the press that our Export and Import Bank had loaned to China \$25,000,000, and in a day or two after that the press stated that Great Britain was going to do the same thing. Mr. President, you know as well as I do that there was an agreement-and I dare say that that agreement or conclusion was reached when Eden was here—to the effect that we would lend China \$25,000,000 and Great Britain would follow, but Great Britain suggested that we make the first move in lending that \$25,000,000 because it would look better—it would leave a better taste in the mouth of the American people than would be the case if Great Britain made the move by lending

\$25,000,000 and the United States followed.

Senators, have you ever read the book entitled "England Expects Every American to Do His Duty"? If you have not, you ought to read it. I knew that at last, somehow or other, Great Britain was to get us involved in the Orient, and at last she has got us started on the road. Senators, regardless of what interpretation you may put on it or what conclusion you may reach, you may put this in your pipes and smoke it, that today the United States is in war with Japan. There is an undeclared war on the part of the United States against Japan, and that undeclared war was brought about when the Export and Import Bank loaned \$25,000,000 to China in its war against the unholy aggression of Japan.

I feel sorry for the Chinese. I have been in sympathy with them all along. I have been in sympathy with the Chinese all along, despite the fact that two-thirds of China is communistic, and I have been in sympathy with the Chinese all along despite the fact that Russia is financing China as much as she can. I have not been in sympathy with the Government of China, which is two-thirds communistic, but I have been in sympathy with the people. There are occasions and times when there is a radical distinction between a government and the people themselves. I am only hoping and praying that we will not become involved in war with any country in the world.

I see before me the senior Senator from the State of Georgia, able and lovable as he is. What fine judgment the people of my sister State showed in returning him to the Senate of the United States, because there is no more capable or competent or serious-minded or patriotic man than is the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. George].

I am happy indeed that the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell] is also present. Everybody likes him. He is a hard worker, and is very popular in his State. I am glad these Senators are here at this time, because I am going to mention something in reference to the Asiatic question which is of vital interest to them.

It has been said by our great and beloved President that our poor South is economic problem number one. We are poor, but we are God-fearing and patriotic. We love our people; we love our boys; we love our mothers. We have no wish to go to war. Yes; perhaps we are an economic problem, but we have become more of an economic problem to ourselves than ever before. Why? Because down there in the good old South-in the States of North Carolina and South Carolina and Georgia and northern Florida and Alabama and Mississippi and Louisiana and Texas, the old South-cotton is grown. In the old South there are 5,000,000 persons who are wholly or partly dependent upon the production and manufacture of cotton. The University of North Carolina has reported that there are 5,000,000 such persons. Now, with all the countries of the world competing with us, we are experiencing a struggle such as we have never before known; and unfortunately, on account of our foreign attitude, the South is bearing the brunt of all the damage that has been done. Why?

The other day I was in a meeting presided over by the able senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], in which we of the cotton-growing States were discussing the question of cotton, and what we were going to do with the 11,000,000 to 14,000,000 bales of surplus cotton upon which the Government has made loans and which has not been redeemed, millions of bales in the warehouses. We do not know what is to be done with it, but we know that we used to sell millions of dollars' worth of cotton to Japan every year. In 1937, I think—if I am wrong, I hope you gentlemen who are familiar with the statistics in relation to cotton will tell me-my recollection is that about 1937, or 1934, or somewhere along there, Japan bought from the cotton-producing States of the United States \$115,000,000 worth of cotton, took it to her shores, sent it through her textile plants, and delivered therefrom to the whole people of the United States only \$15,000,000 worth of finished products. In other words, for every \$115 that she gave to us, the whole people of the United States returned to her only \$15.

Germany was a great cotton textile center; and, by the way, the portion of Czechoslovakia which Germany has recently taken over has, I understand, the greatest number of textile plants in it, and they are going to need cotton more than ever. Germany is in a position to use millions of dollars' worth of cotton; but, somehow or other, they are not buying it from us. Japan and Germany and the other countries are going to buy cotton from countries which are friendly to them, or at least which are not unfriendly to them. Of course, there is a great deal of bartering going on; and, as all of you recognize, the tremendous trade which has been created by the Germans has been attributable most largely, I may say, to the fact that they have engaged and are engaging in the barter system. What Germany and Italy and Japan and the other countries want is raw materials; but the question and the problem which we are now up against in reference to the South American matter which I mentioned a moment ago is that Germany and Italy are sending to South America and obtaining raw products in exchange for their manufactured products. How are we to meet that problem? How are we to meet that competition when they have presented the question of barter, and to a large degree the raw materials that those countries of South America want to give us we have in surplus quantities here in the United States of America?

Mr. President, before I forget it I want to mention a matter which I started to mention a moment ago. I want to mention the fact that if we break off diplomatic relations with Germany on account of her internal affairs, her treatment of minorities, we have greater reason and cause to break off diplomatic relations with Russia. How so? Russia confiscated millions of dollars' worth of property belonging to Americans. It is said that she is now indebted to us to the extent of about \$600,000,000. As for the treatment of people, it has been stated upon authority, and I have no reason to disbelieve it, that the Russians murdered between 4,000,000 and 7,000,000 farmers in the Ukraine in 1933 and 1934. They suffered the most horrible sort of death, brought about by starvation of the Ukrainians. In addition to that, Russia has destroyed the churches and closed the temples of worship; and murder and assassination are found everywhere.

Again I say, it is none of Uncle Sam's business what sort of government the people of Germany or Italy or Japan or any other country in the world choose to live under. It is up to them; and I think the time has arrived when our Uncle Sam should come home. We have missed him. He has been all over the earth. He has been kicked in the pants everywhere. I think Uncle Sam ought to come home and look after the needs of his nieces and his nephews. As I stated a moment ago, we find 12,000,000 of them out of employment. Until Uncle Sam has put his own house in order, I think he should keep his nose out of the business of other nations, and should look after his own children. He has been all over the world, trying to police the world and tell the people of the world what they should do; but let us see.

I wish Uncle Sam were a better policeman than he is, because during the past year the then Attorney General of the United States issued a little pamphlet; and in that pamphlet, according to my recollection, Mr. Homer Cummings stated that the racketeers, those who violate the laws of our country, the criminals of America, cost the taxpayers of the United States between fifteen and seventeen billion dollars

every single year!

Think of it! According to my recollection, either the then Attorney General or Mr. J. Edgar Hoover made the further statement which I am about to quote. By the way, I want to congratulate the American people upon having J. Edgar Hoover at the head of their Bureau of Investigation. He is a fine, upright Christian gentleman, and we could not find a better executive. I think he is about the finest man of his profession in the world. J. Edgar Hoover or somebody else said in an article or a public address—I have forgotten, now, which—that we have in this country today 4,700,000 criminals. That being true, we have 300,000 more persons who are

violating the law, and are classified as criminals, than we had heroes in uniform and under arms at the close of the World War on November 11, 1918, when there were 4,400,000 men under arms.

Gentlemen of the Senate, I have not made any particular mention of Italy. I warn the American people that the totalitarian states, the dictators of the world, are "going places." I issue that warning to the American people with the hope that Members of this body, Members of the Congress of the United States, and the citizens of America who travel abroad will put their ears to the ground and keep their eyes open, and, when they return here, tell the executives of this Government what is taking place, in order that we may meet the problem presented by our enemies in the form of Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, and the Mikado.

Away down there in Italy, Mussolini has reclaimed hundreds of thousands of acres of land. Down there in Italy he has opened up innumerable granite mines and coal mines. Down there in Italy he has industrialized and rehabilitated his country. Down there in Italy, Mussolini is looking after the 42,000,000 people constituting the nation of Italy. Mussolini is not sticking his nose into the business of other countries of the world. Mussolini is thinking about the Italians; and the dictators are doing that which is best for their own people. I say it is high time that we find out how they are doing it, and why they are progressing so rapidly, in order that we may start the machines of industry rolling and turning in this country for the purpose and with a view to absorbing the 12,000,000 people of this country who are out of employment.

There is no use in our cussing them. We are not going to get anywhere by cussing them. There is no use in our hating them. We are not going to get anywhere by hating them. There is no use in our exchanging notes with them. We are not going to get anywhere by that. What we ought to do is to put our noodles to work and ascertain as to how we can meet the world competition which has been presented by the dictators of the world. Let us not try to meet it by war. Let us meet it with reason.

We do not want any war. We all know what the last war cost us. To date it has cost us \$69,000,000,000, and, as Calvin Coolidge said, before we have finished paying for it it will have cost us \$100,000,000,000.

I say again that I do not know any nation that is going to attack us. I believe in adequate national defense, and I am going to vote for appropriations sufficient to provide adequate national defense. But we are already in a war in which we are interested. We are in a trade war; and if anyone should ask me what solution I would suggest, I should be perfectly frank in stating that I had no solution to suggest, except that we keep our mouths out of other people's business, attend to our knitting here at home, and wash behind our own ears before we tell others to take a bath themselves.

I do not know what is going to happen. I think we are certan to be called upon to face some problems we have never had to face before. The senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. Lewis] has been telling us to look southward for years, and we have disregarded his advice. When we wake up we find that the Italians and Germans have all the trade in South America with the exception, perhaps, of that of Argentina, and the British are leading there, because the British buy most of their meat from the pampas.

What about the Lima Conference? Let us see something about that. The delegates assembled at Lima, the capital of Peru, the lovely, historic city that was settled by Pizarro, a lieutenant of Cortez, about 1527; and a lovlier place I have What did those who attended the Pan American never seen. Conference see? They saw hundreds of airplanes covering the blue skies above that beautiful city. What sort of airplanes were they? They were Italian airplanes manufactured by the Italians. By whom were they driven? They were driven by Italian aviators. What were they doing? They were teaching Peruvians to drive their planes. What sort of flag did they see? They saw the Nazi flag waving everywhere.

Let us see about that—see how we are getting along down there. I desire to read to the Senate what some columnist wrote about that, and I wish more of them would write about it. Let us wake up the American people and let them know just exactly what is taking place.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, will the able Senator from North Carolina allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Certainly.

Mr. LEWIS. I am being asked a question, and I should like to know how to answer-that is, as to when we will resume consideration of the relief bill. Trusting that the Senator will take all the time necessary to complete his exposition, which I know has required much study, may I ask him to indicate about what length of time he will take so that I may answer those who interrogate me?

Mr. REYNOLDS. About 30 minutes.

Mr. LEWIS. Then I am safe in saying that within an hour we will resume consideration of the relief bill?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Quite so.

Mr. LEWIS. I thank the Senator for informing me.

Mr. REYNOLDS. In regard to the Lima Conference, the Nazi flag, the airplanes, and how we are getting along in South America, it seems to me that we have not been attending to our business; it seems to me that we have been neglecting our duties; it seems to me the nations across the Atlantic are in a way outdoing us, getting ahead of us,

I hold in my hand a clipping containing a story by Mr. Paul Mallon which appeared in a column entitled "Behind the News." I clipped this, as I recall, this morning:

A very discouraging private report to President Roosevelt was brought back from South America by State Secretary Hull.

I was surprised when I read that, because all I had seen in the press theretofore about this matter was that everything was wonderful, peaches and cream; but it seems that those who have been heretofore writing about it were mistaken. Mr. Paul Mallon says:

A very discouraging private report to President Roosevelt was brought back from South America by State Secretary Hull. It pictures the Latin situation as wholly black for the United States, without a single practical ray of hope.

Mr. Mallon must have heard me talking somewhere about this thing. He has just taken the words right out of my mouth. I shall read that again:

It pictures the Latin situation as wholly black for the United States, without a single practical ray of hope. It sees the dictators continuing to make inroads there-

Listen to this-

It sees the dictators continuing to make inroads there against our trade and fails to suggest anything we can do to stop them.

I told the Senate that I could not suggest anything. This article says the report fails to suggest anything.

The President is upset and somewhat baffled.

Mr. President, I am upset, too, and I am baffled. I cannot make a suggestion as to what to do. I want someone in the United States to take us out of the darkness and lead us into the sunshine. May we be provided with a deliverer.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Certainly. Mr. LUNDEEN. It would seem that at the outset the minds of the people of the United States and of its leaders ought to be turned to our own affairs. If we turn our thoughts to our own country we are going to solve our domestic problem. We have always solved it in the past, and we are going to solve it again. I am an optimist in that regard. But we will never solve it while we are wandering over the earth saving others beyond our shores.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I believe that to be correct. The article continues:

The President is upset and somewhat baffled. So say his recent callers with whom he has discussed the prob-lem with some display of fire and at great length. As near as they can make out, the White House will reluctantly

sanction continuance of our policy of putting on our best business smile to our neighbors, but only until something more promising can be developed. Both Roosevelt and Hull have given more thought to this than anything else lately. But they cannot get

away from the roots of fact that the dictators want Latin raw materials and the United States does not.

That is just what I said.

The Latins are certainly going to trade where they can get the best deal, and momentarily no one can think of a way to give them a better deal.

Can you? Can I? No.

Furthermore, the smaller nations near us continue to look upon us as the Colossus of the North (a colossus without teeth) which makes them doubly amenable to the palm-greasing trade chiselers from Europe.

Talk about military production did no good, will be stopped.

That is what he says about it.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Gladly.

Mr. HOLT. Does not the Senator believe it more advisable to put dollars into the pockets of American workingmen so that they can buy our American goods, than to put dollars into the pockets of those abroad?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I think the Senator is correct in his

suggestion.

I recall—and if I am not correct, I hope the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Borah] will correct me—that I heard the Senator from Idaho say once that the trouble in this country was not overproduction, but underconsumption, and that was along the line of the idea suggested by the junior Senator from West Virginia. I thank him for his contribution.

In this country we have to put dollars into the pockets of American laborers so that they will have the power to purchase, and so to bring about consumption of the so-called

overproduction. That is the point exactly.

The great difficulty we are going to experience in this country along that line, I may say to the Senator, is that we have had things pretty easy during the entire history of our Nation. I say to the American people today that the next 25 years, perhaps the next 10 years, will be the hardest years for us, from the standpoint of problems, that we have ever experienced in this country. The American laboring man lives in a sphere of economic existence raised far above that of the laboring man in any other section of the world. As proof of that, for girls working in textile plants in North Carolina and throughout the United States the minimum wage is about \$11.49 a week.

In Japan the Japanese girls in the textile plants get about \$1.49 a week. We find there a difference of \$10. The laboring man in France gets 75 cents or a dollar a day. The laboring man here gets \$2.75 or \$3 a day. Similar differences exist between other wages in our country and wages in other

countries.

I am happy and proud that the American laboring man, who, after all, is the producer of all we have, occupies the strata in the social fabric of America that he does, far above all those in his classification throughout the rest of the world. But in view of the fact that the world is getting smaller, in view of the fact that we have been thrown in close competition with the other nations of the world which pay poor wages, I wish to ask, How are we going to compete in the world markets with those countries which are paying very small wages? How are we going to continue our wage earner where he is at the present time in competition in the world markets with those countries which do not pay their laborers what they deserve? That is a problem for us to solve in the future.

At this point I should like to read a letter written by a mother. After all is said and done, finally we come back to the mothers of America. So I am going to talk about an American mother. I want Senators to know what the American mothers think about Uncle Sam running over the face of the earth and sticking his nose in other people's business, trying to tell them when to go to Sunday school and not to go to Sunday school, trying to tell them how to run their

country or not to run their country.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. HOLT. Does not the Senator believe that those who are telling us to look abroad and dig into other people's business will be the first to apply for dollar-a-year jobs?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Certainly. Listen to what this mother says. I always like to listen to mothers. There is nothing in the world like a mother, Mr. President. As I stand on the floor of the Senate I thank God that mine is still living, and I hope she will be with me many years longer. I have before me a letter published in the Washington Herald. I take great pride in reading it because it is penned by a mother, and this mother has much sense. Listen to what she says:

Keep out of it. Being only a housewife-

She is just a plain American mother.

Being only a housewife I know very little about international affairs, but being also a mother of big boys of draft age—

Do Senators get that point? That mother is thinking about those boys being used as cannon fodder.

but being also a mother of big boys of draft age, I feel that I am entitled to a voice against the mistakes we are making in meddling with foreign nations in their internal squabbles. Naturally any human group would protest against malicious persecutions of any sort, but having protested time and time again without result, is it not about time that we realize that if we continue to protest and antagonize and ridicule and call names that our own Nation will be sucked into a war that will prove a million times more costly in life and money than anything now going on?

This is an American mother talking. It is not I who am talking. I am just reading what this American mother says.

I wish Senators could read some of the letters I receive from mothers all over America praying that we shall not become involved in another war. That is quite natural, because we are agreed upon this, certainly, that after all the debt incurred as the result of wars is not liquidated by the payment of the dollars and cents of the currency of a country. The debt incurred in wars is liquidated only by the tears that roll down the cheeks of the mothers who have lost sons, and no amount of money upon the face of the earth can ever heal those bleeding hearts. God bless the mothers of America. They will keep us out of war.

What does this mother say?-

We protested against Italy going into Ethiopia, and against the Spanish War, and now against German nazi-ism. Yet the protests do no good. Why now must we send a whole nation of Americans to slaughter? I believe that most Americans feel the way I do.

Many Americans feel the way this mother says she feels. Many people are afraid to tell what they have seen in Germany. They are afraid if they do that some will say they are pro-German. Listen to what this mother says. I am going to tell the American people what I saw everywhere I went in the world. It is my business to do so. That is why I am employed by the people of North Carolina. I am employed to see what is going on and to tell them and the people of the Nation what is going on.

They want to know what is going on. The people of this country do not have single-track minds. They are broadminded. They are reasonable. They want their Senators to travel over the face of the earth and see what the people of other countries are doing, because they know that the world is growing smaller and smaller year by year, and to safeguard America we have to know what the other fellow is doing.

Listen to what this American mother says:

I believe most Americans feel the way I do but dare not voice their opinions for fear of being called pro-Nazi.

Thank God for this mother.

We are not that. Most of us are not pro-anything. As far as Europe is concerned, we feel that bickering back and forth in others' affairs will prove as great a blunder as the attempt to make the world safe for democracy.

Safe for Christianity! We were propagandized into the last World War.

Mr. LOGAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. LOGAN. Does the Senator really believe that we blundered when we went into the World War?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I cannot exactly say that, Senator. I can only answer that by stating it is unfortunate indeed,

since we went into the war for the purpose of ending all wars, since we went into the war for the purpose of saving democracy then and for all time, that after the war is over we find that we have not as a result of our participation ended all war.

Mr. LOGAN. It was our own fault, was it not? It was America, our own United States, that quit before the game was played out and declined to have anything to do with making the world safe for democracy?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I assume the Senator has reference to the League of Nations?

Mr. LOGAN. Yes.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Upon that subject the Senator and I differ, because I think I recall that in the fight in this body of Congress in reference to our entering the World Court we had a discussion in regard to it being the back door to the League of Nations, and my recollection is that at that time the Senator from Kentucky favored the United States joining the World Court.

Mr. LOGAN. Yes.

Mr. REYNOLDS. And I was on the other side. But I desire to say that, regardless of the fact that the Senator's opinion and my opinion differed in reference to that question, I greatly admired his stand and appreciated immensely some of the arguments that he put forth. I recall the Senator spoke at length in regard to that matter, and I may state to the Senator's speech and studied it very carefully before I made my speech, because I did not want to find myself in verbal conflict with him about some portions thereof.

Mr. LOGAN. I thank the Senator. I am not questioning the right of any man to be for the plan submitted by President Wilson or against it. The Senator from North Carolina was with the majority of the people of the United States, but a majority of the people of the United States decided that they would take no further part at the most critical time in attempting to make the world safe for democracy and Christianity. So I may say to the Senator that I do not think it was a blunder when we went into the World War. I do not think anyone could prophesy what might have happened had we not gone into the World War. We might have been under the authority of the German Government at this time.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I can well appreciate the viewpoint of the Senator from Kentucky about that subject. We could not, of course, prophesy what would take place at the end of the war.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. HOLT. In the New York Times of this morning there appears quite a lengthy article in reference to the discovery of a propaganda machine that was in use just at and before the time of the World War. That machine furnished propaganda designed to get us into the last World War.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I have not seen the New York Times of this morning. I thank the Senator, however, for having brought that matter to my attention, because I shall be glad to read it.

In reference to what the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Logan] has just suggested, I will say that we must of necessity agree that our participation in the World War beginning April 6, 1917, and continuing until November 11, 1918, which was for the purpose of ending all wars, has not ended all wars, because since then in excess of 3,000,000 people have been murdered as the result of wars in the world. Senators, think of it. In this day of Christianity, in this day of enlightenment, in this day of so-called civilization there have been millions of people murdered as the result of wars declared or undeclared. Let us see what the numbers are. I believe the records to date in reference to the unholy conquest of China will show that since the Chinese conquest, not including the conquest of Manchuria, approximately 1,750,-000 Chinese and Japanese have been killed.

In addition, I believe that up to date approximately 1,000,-000 persons have been killed in Spain, 250,000 of whom were noncombatants. That makes a total of 2,750,000. It is said

that from 300,000 to 500,000 were slaughtered in Ethiopia. I do not remember the exact figures. Think of it! It is horrifying to bring ourselves to the realization of the fact that over 3,000,000 persons have been murdered.

Mr. LOGAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. REYNOLDS. I shall be happy to yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. LOGAN. Are there not things worse than death? And is it not better that 3,000,000 men should give their lives in defense of liberty and Christianity than that they should refuse to give their lives for such a cause? And as to our own 130,000,000 people, should they be denied, without a struggle, the right to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience, or the right to pursue liberty and happiness, and all the other rights which have been guaranteed to us by the Constitution? Does not the Senator think it would be better that the sacrifice be made in death rather than that our people give up those God-given rights which we have enjoyed throughout the years?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Most certainly. I am thoroughly in accord with that view. If I were a Chinese, I would fight to the death before I would permit the Japanese to conquer me, or my fellow man, or my neighbor. Had I been an Abyssinian, I would have done the same thing in Ethiopia. Had I been one of the 24,000,000 constituting the population of Spain, regardless of which side I took, I would have fought for the rights and liberties to which I felt I was entitled.

Mr. LUNDEEN. And had the able Senator from North Carolina been living at the time of Washington, no doubt he would have been marching in the armies of Washington, the Father of our Country, fighting to cut us loose forever from the quarrels and intrigues of Europe, and the trials and troubles and war taxes of that far continent.

Mr. REYNOLDS. George Washington warned us against any foreign embroilments. He warned us to keep our skirts clear from the entanglements or involvements of Europe.

I have before me a little volume known as Richardson's Messages and Papers of the Presidents. On page 120 we find the following statement by George Washington:

Observations on the value of peace with other nations are unnecessary. It would be wise, however, by timely provisions to guard against those acts of our own citizens which might tend to disturb it, and to put ourselves in a condition to give that satisfaction to foreign nations which we may sometimes have occasion to require from them. I particularly recommend to your consideration the means of preventing those aggressions by our citizens on the territory of other nations, and other infractions of the law of nations, which, furnishing just subject of complaint, might endanger our peace with them; and, in general, the maintenance of a friendly intercourse with foreign powers will be presented to your attention by the expiration of the law for that purpose, which takes place, if not renewed, at the close of the present session.

That was a part and portion of George Washington's message delivered on November 6, 1792, entitled "Fourth Annual Address."

A little further back in the volume I believe there are some lines from his last address.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Certainly.

Mr. HOLT. I like to listen to the Senator. I should like to have him answer the argument that Washington's time is so far back that we should not pay any attention to it. The Senator has heard the argument that Washington lived so many years ago that we should not pay any attention to the Farewell Address.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Conditions are changing all the time, and some of the nations which are breaking treaties say that they are permitted to do so on account of the changing conditions. However, I think the words uttered by George Washington are as important and pertinent today as they were then. That is particularly true because of the fact that we are in more immediate proximity to one another now than we were then, and as a result there is more constant daily association, and we are more likely to become involved unless we watch our course very closely.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. DAVIS. The Senator stated a few moments ago what he would do if he were a citizen of one or the other of the several countries which he mentioned. I should like to ask the Senator what he would have done if he had been Secretary of State during the time Japan marched into Manchuria, when the Nine Power Agreement was in force.

Mr. REYNOLDS. As a matter of fact, at the time we had the Nine Power Treaty, and that treaty, according to my recollection, guaranteed the independence and the integrity of China.

Mr. DAVIS. That is true.

Mr. REYNOLDS. If we were going to take a hand, that would have been the time to take it. I say, if we were going to take a hand. Of course, I do not know all the circumstances surrounding that most important moment. However, as I recall, Mr. Stimson was Secretary of State at that time.

Mr. DAVIS. That is correct.

Mr. REYNOLDS. He cabled the minister in charge of similar affairs of the British Government in reference to joining him in an effort to stop the march of the Japanese troops to the north.

Getting back to Washington-

Mr. LOGAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for one more question?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I shall be delighted to yield.

Mr. LOGAN. I know the Senator does not have much more time.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am very happy to yield to the Senator. Mr. LOGAN. If the Senator should be convinced that some powerful nation was making preparations to attack our Nation, do I understand it to be the position of the Senator that he would not favor doing anything until the enemy had actually reached our soil, and was burning our cities?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Oh. no.

Mr. LOGAN. Is it not best, when you know you have to fight, to strike at the first opportunity?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Certainly. I am in thorough accord with the Senator. In other words, as I stated in answer to the inquiry during the early part of my observations, I think we should always keep our powder dry, and we should be prepared. In physical combat the fellow who gets in the first lick is the fellow who has the advantage, because it rather takes the other fellow off guard. That is what I Just exactly as the Senator stated, we should be prepared. In pursuing that thought, I wish to say that we should not wait until the enemy has approached our shores. destroyed our buildings, and razed all our great edifices, but we should meet him over the waters of the Pacific or the Atlantic, before he arrives at our shores.

Getting back to George Washington, before I close I should like to quote from page 215 of Richardson's Messages and Papers of the Presidents. Washington said this in his last address:

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world, so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements.

In closing, I wish to bring to the attention of the Senate, which has been so kind as to listen to me, a few letters and cards which I have received, and which I have picked up at random. I have thousands and thousands of letters, telegrams, and post cards from American citizens in reference to my attitude, which I have endeavored to impart to the Senate today. I should like to provide the Senate with the opportunity of hearing me read some of these letters, in order that Senators who have today contributed to the discussion and to my observations may know that we are not lost but that we are riding a popular wave. That is to say, we are riding a wave which is made up of about 85 percent of the American people who share our attitude in reference to foreign affairs.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. REYNOLDS. I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. HOLT. I do not know whether or not I missed that part of the Senator's address; but did the Senator discuss the great danger of our playing a part parallel to the action of England and pulling England's chestnuts out of the fire?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes; I did.

Mr. HOLT. I am sorry to have missed that part of the Senator's address.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I discussed that question in relation to our position in the Orient-in Asiatic waters.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. DAVIS. The Senator has traveled widely and I should like to have his opinion as to whether or not we should point out who are the aggressor nations.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Whether who should point them out?

Mr. DAVIS. Whether we should.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I think we should keep our mouths out of the business of anybody else. If we start policing the whole world, we shall find ourselves in war. What we need to do is to look after our national criminals, the criminals here at home, instead of trying to police international criminals. We have enough at home to occupy our attention.

I have selected at random a few cards which I have received from different States. Here is one from New York

DEAR SENATOR: Congratulations on your interview re United States minding its own business. Thank goodness there is at least one man in Washington who can think straight and is not afraid

This is no reflection upon my colleagues.

I agree fully with what you say, and hope you will continue to publish similar sentiments. Understand Germany can use 4,000,000 bales of cotton, but all they get from us is abuse. Something wrong

I see my beloved friend, ED SMITH. I always call the senior Senator from South Carolina "Mr. Ed." I know he will be interested when I read about Germany using 4,000,000 bales of cotton.

Here is a card from Pittsburgh, Pa.:

DEAR SENATOR REYNOLDS: Allow me to express my fullest approval of your statement warning United States to mind its own business and not start out to run the affairs of other countries.

Here is one from far-away California:

We read your article about the United States minding its own business, and we think it is the soundest, most reasonable, intelligent article as a whole and as to each item that we have ever read. C. K. Johnson, Republican.

James Hervey Johnson, Democrat.

I have both the Democrats and the Republicans with me. I see in the Chamber the able junior Senator from Texas, the Honorable Tom Connally. In a few minutes I shall read a letter from Texas. People in Texas are writing to me.

Here is one from Fabius, W. Va., dated January 10, 1939:

Senator ROBERT R. REYNOLDS,

Dear Senator Reynolds,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Reynolds: This morning I see in the Baltimore Sun an article about your speech at Providence, R. I. You are exactly right when you said that it was none of our damn business what kind of a government Germany, Italy, and Japan has for their needle. their people.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. REYNOLDS. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Texas.

Mr. CONNALLY. Is that a literal quotation from the Senator's speech? [Laughter.]

Mr. REYNOLDS. Figuratively speaking, it is.

I try not to be partial or prejudiced, but it astonishes me how our Government nags and antagonizes the leaders of those countries, which of course puts the people of those countries against

We should have the good will of those people instead of the ill lil. If they have no government at all it is nothing to us, if they are satisfied.

Here is a letter from Pennsylvania. It is headed "Wilson High School" and reads:

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have just read your admirable statement urging the United States to stay at home, mind its own business, and solve its own domestic problems.

It seems to me that this is the sanest piece of advice that could

be given at this time.

I want you to know that Pennsylvanians, as well as citizens of your own State, will back you 100 percent.

I trust that you will courageously support any resolutions offered that are designed to keep the United States out of European entanglements.

Sincerely.

I will ask the reporter not to embody in the RECORD the names of the writers of these communications, for the reason that I have not been provided with an opportunity of writing them or telegraphing them asking their permission to use their names, and I think I ought to extend to them that consideration.

Here is a letter from Massachusetts which reads:

DEAR SENATOR: Your recent declaration that the United States hould "mind its own business" in foreign affairs is splendid wisdom.

These letters come from every State in the Union. Everybody apparently is in accord. Nobody wants to get into war. Everyone wants us to attend to our own business and put our own house in order here.

As you point out so clearly, it is true that the dangerous "red" elements in this country are incessantly attacking such nations as Italy or Germany, while they say nothing, of course, about "red" Russia from which they take their orders. As an example, I refer you to the February issue of the magazine Click, showing "red" propaganda at its most unspeakable worst.

I hope you continue to fight for our grand American ideals and

traditions.

With all good wishes, I am, Yours very sincerely.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, if there is any danger of the Senator running out of letters, I can bring him several bushel baskets full which have come from the State of Minnesota and in which the writers express themselves along the same line as the writers of the communications the Senator from North Carolina has read.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator. I may say to the Senator that I delivered a Nation-wide radio address yesterday, although it only occupied 30 minutes, upon this same subject, and I have bushels of telegrams from all the States since its delivery.

I read now a letter from Newton, in my State of North Carolina. I see the Senator from Washington [Mr. Schwel-LENBACH] in the Chamber and I wish to say to the Senator, who so frequently compliments my section of North Carolina, that is western North Carolina, and my home city, the little gem city of the mountains, that Newton is only about 75 miles from Asheville.

This letter, as I have said, is from one of my constituents.

NEWTON, N. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I heartily endorse your views upon foreign affairs and your stand against overdoing armament spending. I was in

Europe in 1936 and Alaska, and find your views confirm mine that we let Europe strictly alone. They will not and cannot bother us. We should have a powerful Navy in both the Atlantic and Pacific, Panama defenses, and enough airplanes, not too many for they get obsolete. Beware of Japan. They can't be trusted. Prepare against them in Alaska and other points.

This is a good, sensible letter.

Our official policy against Germany and Italy is uncalled for and is to our national disadvantage.
Yours sincerely.

Here is a letter from Providence, R. I. Let us see what

My Dear Senator Reynolds: Thank God there are one or two people in the country who can still think for themselves and who have the courage to speak out in these hysterical times—

Perhaps he is referring to me [laughter]-

when, though we are not at war, we little folk are almost as afraid of reprisal if we say the wrong thing according to the standardized mind as though it were in '17.

We read with delight the short summary in our Evening Bulletin of remarks you made in Providence yesterday. You could not have made them in a more needed spot, for the Bulletin-Journal is notorious for its bitter bloody-shirt waving now, just as it was a leader in German baiting and atrocity stories during the war. We

have only one newspaper serving our State, and we have had a steady diet of news, editorials, and cartoons over a period of years with one aim—to so stir up the people that war will be a pushover when the armament program begins and the death of our neutrality program has been consummated.

I submit that the great, voiceless, and thinking American people would agree to the following—

Let us see what he wants us to agree to-

We do not want any war, for or against Russia, for or against the Fascists, for American investments, to democratize the world, etc. We will war only for the defense of our country here.

The writer seems to be a pretty sensible man.

We will not be fooled again to cross the ocean to meet the foe

"before it comes to get us."

We reject the thesis that it is all right for us to insist that other we reject the thesis that it is all right for us to insist that other countries be democracies, though we deny the right of other systems to protect their ideologies, going even so far as to class as political propaganda the attempt to sell their goods in lands we once considered our private market places.

We want neutrality. We cannot have a meddling policy of labeling one nation in each quarrel an aggressor. There has always had to be one aggressor in every war.

had to be one aggressor in every war.

We want peace so that all our millions may live out the short and miserable span of life they are granted but once.

We feel there will be wrongs till crack o' doom, and that it is

futile for us to try to do again what we failed to accomplish in our last foreign venture.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, let me inquire of the Senator if the writer of the letter is the one who said, "Thank God for Bob REYNOLDS"? [Laughter.]

Mr. REYNOLDS. This is the same man, and I think he meant it. [Laughter.]

We know that a neutrality act which permits anything but an absolute hands-off policy to both sides is not a neutrality act at all. We know that declaring an aggressor and employing an embargo to one side will possibly draw us into others' quarrels.

And, I add, lead us into war.

We do not approve of classifying constantly and publicly the na-

we do not approve or classifying constantly and publicly the nations into the devils and the angels, especially when our hands are not too clean in many of the acts we accuse the devils of.

We feel that our "diplomats" should observe the ordinary courtesies, even though they are rabid partisans and zealots of another ideology, which is also foreign to America; that they should not allow their unrestrained language and stupid insults to cause difficulties with countries which are doing us no evil, or harming

We feel that the same treatment should be given to all outside propaganda; that all Communists and communistic efforts be given as much unfavorable publicity as are those of the bunds.

We for the most part, the silent folk, want to preserve our traditional democracy. We do not feel it has to be completely made over. We do not classify any extremes, either of the extreme right or the extreme left, as democracies.

We refuse to thin a united front with any nations either with

or the extreme left, as democracies.

We refuse to join a united front with any nations, either with Britain and France, or any other, least of all with Soviet Russia, no matter how alluringly dressed up in the verbiage of a democracy. We want armament for decent defense, knowing full well the absurdity of claiming that any nation is going to attack us, knowing well we will have no trouble if we have a decent regard for the rights of all other nations.

We know that Britain, by reason of their being imperial, will always have a finger in every nation's pie, and always be in on any shift in the balance of power, and therefore will always be in trouble. We do not want to be associated with any nation for this

wery reason.

We beg you, Senator, to keep up the fight, for you will give courage to others less brave, to come also to your aid. You will be able to stem this flame which will soon be an all-engulfing holocaust which will end our generation, our freedom, our civilization. We beg you to keep us out of any commitments or acts which will further antagonize others, knowing that if no nation feels it can count on our support to pull its chestauts out, there will be no great war. We here you too to use your influence to stopping the victous. war. We beg you, too, to use your influence to stopping the vicious system of agreements which aims, in part, to starve out of commerce certain nations, hoping thereby to bring to an end the governments of these countries. We hope you will teach our fellow Senators the truth that a prosperous world, a world with all countries having a modicum of business, trade, prosperity, will not go

to war.

I, too, have just returned from Europe, where I have been for 4 months. I was amazed at what I saw, and at the amount of propaganda that was swamping my country, giving absolutely incorrect notions for obviously definite purposes. I am back appreciating my democracy more than ever, but determined to fight for a live and let live policy as far as other governments are concerned, feeling that as you said "it's none of our damned business."

That's the spirit. Again, thank God for such a statement. Wishing you success in this truly American and patriotic and humanitarian program, and promising you our support in the firm con-

viction, that there are millions more who try to think and read between the lines, and aren't gullibles, I am, Cordially yours.

I have here another letter, from California, reading as

JANUARY 13, 1939.

United States Senator ROBERT R. REYNOLDS,

United States Senator Robert R. Reproduct, Washington, D. C.

\*\*United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

\*\*Dear Sir: My warmest felicitations to you. You close an article witch you have written for International News Service with the following words: "I am for America first, last, and all the time. I am interested in maintaining and preserving America for

Most heartily I endorse the sentiments which you have expressed in the quoted language. Not only that, but I also endorse most everything you have said in your article. It is high time that we awaken to the importance of minding our own business.

Here is another letter from North Carolina, from one of my constituents:

JANUARY 16, 1939.

Senator Robert R. Reynolds,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Reynolds: I was delighted to note that you planned to make a speech on the floor of the Senate entitled "What Has Germany Done to Us." and I have been sorry to note that you have postponed the speech. Your general remarks in the newspapers as to your position on America taking part in any

European issue certainly appeals to me.

European issue certainly appeals to me.

What I can't understand is our sudden alarm over the welfare of minorities. Personally I have no German or Italian ancestors, insofar as I know, but have always been told that I was part French and part English; therefore my views are not affected in any way by inheritance.

I have a deep feeling of sympathy for all of the persecuted minorities throughout the world, but it is beyond me to understand why our President and State Department made such a great effort to establish relations with Russia during probably one of the most extended persecutions in the history of the world and why our Government failed to criticize the Russian persecutions that have been probably the bloodiest in history. Our neighbors, the Mexicans, have in recent years persecuted the religious groups to an extent that probably would be on a par with anything that has happened in Germany, if the truth was known as to the extent of actual persecution there. Yet the actions of our Government toward Mexico if anything leaves the impression that we approved of the administration in power.

All that any of us know, unless we travel as you have, is what

All that any of us know, unless we travel as you have, is what we read; and from what I have been able to read Germany and Italy have acted like perfect little ladies compared with Mr. Stalin and his crowd. Yet one would believe from the recent agitation

and his crowd. Yet one would believe from the recent agitation that existing conditions in Germany, and now Italy, are the worst that ever happened anywhere before in the history of the world.

It is my humble observation that the trouble lies not in the persecution of the minorities but in the same fact that drew us into the World War, and that is that neither Russia nor Mexico have as yet been a threat to the British Empire. Therefore, it was unnecessary for British influences to exert themselves in connection with our foreign policy. In the case of Germany and Italy, however, they are a threat to the British, but that would not be sufficient to arouse the feelings of American people. Therefore, the same propaganda machine that aroused Americans in 1914 to save the world for democracy is now running full steam ahead to save the persecuted minorities and incidentally to protect the British Empire. British Empire.

That is the object of all this propaganda that is coming from Europe.

The writer of this letter winds up by saying:

It seems to me we should not forget that only a few years ago the British in their smug superiority referred to Americans as Shylocks simply because we expected them to repay us the money lent them and incidentally which they were financially able to pay. Now we are the White Hope of the democracies because

again they need our resources and manpower.

I do hope that you will have the courage to express and to continue to express your convictions on this subject.

Here is a letter from New York:

Hon, Senator ROBERT R. REYNOLDS:

Dear Sir: I have read with the greatest of pleasure, your remarks making clear your stand as to the policy we should pursue in regard to foreign countries. It is indeed cheerful reading especially at a time when too much concern has been shown over the conditions overseas. I sincerely hope that you and others of your line of thinking can amalgamate and form a powerful "Mind Our Own Business" bloc to more than offset those who seem to Own Business" bloc to more than offset those who seem to under the impression that we are supposed to act as

monitor to the rest of the world.

I see in the present a large trend toward that pious conception of the United States of America as the savior of the world which got us into the last fiasco. There is altogether too much of

the same Anglo and Francophobia in the air as well as too much anti-German feeling. This was another powerful factor in embroiling us in the last war to save the hides of the Limies and

I think that we see eye to eye when I say that we are neither pro or anti in our attitude toward any other countries but that we are entirely pro-U. S. A.

As an American-born citizen, a voter, a worker, a taxpayer, a veteran, and as one who has the best interests of my country at heart, I want you to know that I think it well worth my time and effort to let you know that I wish more power to you and to those others of the country's representatives who see things

to those others of the country's representatives who see things in the same light as we do.

You are going to have a fight on your hands to make your point accepted as a national policy and it is no more than your just due that you should know of the approval which your efforts

The country is in no more danger of attack from Germany than it was during the time of the Kaiser. Both he and Hitler have had or now have their hands full right on their own home grounds. And it gratifies me to know that there are men in public life who recognize this fact and who have the courage to

come out and say so in blunt, plain terms.

Again, hoping that you and others of your way of thinking can succeed in persuading the majority in Congress to accept your views on so vital a matter, I am,

Just a plain citizen.

Mr. President, in view of the fact that it is 20 minutes past 3, and I am desirous of replenishing the inner being with foodstuffs, I ask permission of the Senate that the official reporter be permitted to embody in my address, as a part thereof, the remainder of the letters on this subject,

which I have snatched at random from my files.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The letters are as follows:

JANUARY 12, 1939.

Hon. ROBERT REYNOLDS.

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR STR: It does one's heart good to read occasionally in the local "kept" press of an individual who is not afraid of voicing the unadulterated truth, even though it might entail possible

political suicide. I fully endorse your stand on immigration stoppage, only as one who rubbing elbows with refugees every day in the week can appreciate its value.

However, it was your statement on January 11 to the press regarding the possibility of our going to war against the German Nation to fight the refugees' battles, which has filled me with great admiration for your political honesty and courage.

I am really sorry that I am not one of your constituents, so as to

be able to vote for you.

Keep up the good work.

Very sincerely yours.

JANUARY 14, 1939.

Senator Robert R. Reynolds,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Senator: After reading your splendid article in the Baltimore-News Post of January 12, 1939, and being heartily in accord with the sentiments as expressed by you, I think it befitting at this time to let you know that your thoughts and feelings are the same thoughts and feelings that are paramount in millions and millions of American minds today, and this country is blessed in having a man of your intellect and courage to openly state your opinion on subjects that are of a vital issue to every American today.

Every true American is also asking himself the question, as you so ably outlined in your recent article, What business is it of ours (the people of the United States) what sort of government the people of Germany, Italy, Japan. or any other country on the face of the earth has? Why should we continue to stick our nose into the business of other nations when the sniffling around is absolutely assembled for absolutely uncalled for.

This likens itself to a family who has some very sick children in their own home and gives their own children very little attention, yet is terribly concerned about the health and welfare of their neighbor's children and spends most of their time in their neighbor's home.

The unemployment situation in this country is one of the worst plagues that has ever stricken a God-loving nation, and while there have been measures adopted in an effort to relieve this horrible plague, there are millions of deserving men and women who are absolutely destitute, broken in faith and spirit, and feel the only possible visible relief is self-destruction, and this, at an age when life should hold the most for them.

The enclosed newspaper clippings and pictures tell a more realistic and truthful story of what problems thousands of Americans are facing today, and while the headlines of our American newspapers blazened just a few short weeks ago, with horror, of

what fate was befalling other poor unfortunates in foreign na-

what fate was betalling other poor unfortunates in foreign nations, right here at home we have thousands of our own American-born citizens who are facing the same fates—nonemployment, loss of homes, and need of food and clothing.

With all local relief agencies in nearly every community taxed to the limit, with W. P. A. unable to take care of all those qualified, and with decent jobs in private industry at premiums, yet despite these facts, we read that refugees will be given a 6-month time extension in order to let them continue in their employment as teachers or college professors.

time extension in order to let them continue in their employment as teachers or college professors.

In the thousands of miles I've traveled as a wholesale representative, during 1936, 1937, 1938, I found the same acute need for employment and subsistance, regardless of whether it was a town of 500, 5,000, or 50,000 population.

We need more men like you, Senator Reynolds, in our National Government today, and it is my fervent hope that you may live long to perpetuate the humanitarian ideals you so capably expressed in your newspaper article aforementioned in this letter.

I hope your bill relative to the stoppage of all immigration into this country will be speedily passed and every effort will be concentrated on the relief of the horrible unemployment situation here in these United States, because, after all, charity begins at

here in these United States, because, after all, charity begins at home.

It is not only my desire but the desire of others with whom I have discussed your stirring article within the past few days that you will continue to write and make public your views.

I will await, with interest, your next article.

Very truly yours.

[Enclosures]

[From the Harrisburg (Pa.) Telegraph of August 4, 1938]

MOTHER FINDS BODY OF SON IN NOOSE

LANCASTER, August 3.—Mrs. John Lichty returned to her home at Klinesville and found the body of her son, Arthur, 19, dangling from a rope in the cellar. Dr. G. P. Taylor, deputy coroner, said the boy had been idle and was unable to work.

### [From the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot-News of August 4, 1938] CAPTAIN LOSES COMMAND—TAKES LIFE IN KITCHEN

New York, August 3.—Loss of command of the Panama Pacific passenger liner *Pennsylvania* some time ago and his failure to obtain a new berth was blamed today for the suicide of Capt. Harold L. Winslow, 45.

Ending 24 years of service at sea, the captain's body was found in his kitchen seated on a chair, his head in an oven with five gas test turned on.

iets turned on.

[From the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot-News of August 5, 1938] EIGHT-DOLLAR-A-WEEK STORE CLERK ENDS LIFE IN \$5 ROOM

PITTSBURGH, August 4.—A struggle to get along on \$8 a week apparently was too much for an orphaned grocery clerk.

Elmer (Bunny) Thomas, 17, was found dead in his \$5-a-week room just 5 months after he left an orphanage to make his way in the world.

Thomas, who earned \$8 a week working as a grocery clerk, was stretched out on the bed. A shower-bath hose was connected to a small gas stove and poured gas into a paper bag which he had pulled over his head.

### [From the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot-News of August 7, 1938] EIGHTEEN-YEAR-OLD GIRL ENDS LIFE

PHILADELPHIA, August 6.—Marie Marcantonio, 18, who has searched futilely for work after leaving home 2 weeks ago, committed suicide in midcity by drinking poison and washing it down with a bottle of soda pop. She died at Temple Hospital.

### [From the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot-News of August 11, 1938] DESPONDENT MAN ENDS LIFE

PITTSBURGH, August 10.—The coroner reported today that Frank Mravinitz, 29, despondent because he was unemployed, hanged himself in his bedroom last night.

### [From the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot-News of August 5, 1938] SHOOTS HIMSELF AFTER EVICTION NOTICE SERVED

PHILADELPHIA, August 4.—Relatives found Howard Knell, 50, with a mortal bullet wound in his head, soon after a constable had served an eviction notice. Knell, who lost his job 2 weeks ago, died in a hospital about an hour after his son, mother, and sister had found him with a pistol at his side.

### [From the Baltimore News-Post of December 29, 1938] MOTHER'S PLIGHT BRINGS FAMILY FOOD

New York, December 28.—Discovery of a young mother unconscious from gas today brought the family of a jobless salesman its first food since Christmas. Police found Mrs. John Cardinale, 20, unconscious in her apartment. Cardinale said he had been without work for 3 months and neither he, his wife, nor their 16-monthold son had eaten since Christmas.

### [From the Baltimore News-Post of January 9, 1939] MAN TREATED FOR POISONING

Disgusted with the small salary he was earning, Walter Aberts, 33, of Clarksville, swallowed poison at his home last night, according to Patrolman Lambert McDonald, of Fullerton. Aberts was brought to Union Memorial Hospital, where he is reported today as being out of danger.

### [From the Baltimore News-Post of January 9, 1939] NO JOB, GIRL TAKES POISON

Despondent because of her failure to obtain employment, according to police, Miss Rose Poggy, 23, attempted suicide early today by drinking a bottle of antiseptic.

The girl, it was reported, ran into the bedroom of Mr. and Mrs. Everett Koch, 21 North Calhoun Street, with whom she boards, and told them she had taken poison.

They took her to Franklin Square Hospital, where she was treated and sent home. Her condition is not server.

and sent home Her condition is not serious.

## [From the Baltimore News-Post of December 24, 1938]

CHILD DIES; FIND FIVE STARVING

Masontown, Pa., Dec. 23—The death of a child, one of four living in a windowless, one-room shed in the nearby mining village of Bessemer, drew the attention of civic and county authorities today to the plight of the Elmer Carroll family.

Dr. A. E. Peters attributed the death of 7-year-old John Carroll to improper food and care.

The father a W. P. A. worker a house content of the proper food and care.

The father, a W. P. A. worker, a housekeeper, and the four children were living in the hut furnished only with one bed, a small cooking stove, and an oil lamp, Dr. Peters said.

## [From the Baltimore Sun of December 31, 1938]

JOBLESS MAN ENDS LIPE AS WIFE DIES—WOMAN SUCCUMBS WHEN HUSBAND DISAPPEARS—HIS EODY IS FOUND IN LAKE

New York, December 30.—Arthur Decker's wife, Caroline, was very ill. He was 57, out of work, and couldn't find employment. He left home and disappeared. After 2 days of waiting and worrying, Mrs. Decker's heart gave out and she died.

A report from West Palm Beach to the missing persons' bureau here said that a man identified as Arthur Decker had been found drowned in Lake Worth. A note referred to Matthias Steinmacher, of Prochlym as worth.

of Brooklyn, a son-in-law.

At that address Mrs. Steinmacher described the circumstances that brought about the deaths of her father and mother.

"He was desperate," she said. "His poverty and no job and mother's illness were too much for him. We searched everywhere for him, but 2 days later my mother couldn't stand it."

## [From the Baltimore News-Post of January 10, 1939]

MOTHER KILLED BY GUN BLAST

MOTHER KILLED BY GUN BLAST

ROCKVILLE, MD., January 10.—As her 2-year-old son and his father remained in a room at their home in Damascus, near here, last night, Mrs. Herbert L. Duvall, 21, stepped to the yard, rested her head against the muzzle of a shotgun, and sent its charge crashing into her brain, according to police.

When the child, Herbert L. Duvall, and her husband, 31, reached her side she was unconscious. Dr. M. McHenry Boyer, of Rockville, was summoned and pronounced her dead.

Magistrate Charles W. Stang, who will hold an inquest tonight, said that Duvall told him his wife was despondent. Duvall said that he was unemployed and had been unable to obtain work.

## [From the Baltimore News-Post of January 10, 1939]

ALLEGED SLAYER IS APPLAUDED-ON TRIAL IN DEATH OF NEW JERSEY

JERSEY CITY, N. J., January 9.—The accused murderer of Harry Barck, 74, Hoboken's tight-fisted overseer of the poor, was applauded today when led into court to stand trial.

There was a scattering of handclaps for the 37-year-old defend-

ant, Joseph Scutellaro.

His defense is being financed by nickels and dimes contributed by fellow relief recipients.

## Hungry, jobless

Scutellaro, hungry and jobless, fatally stabbed Barck with a desk spike in his office while pleading for an \$8 relief check which was delayed in the mail, according to police. At home, Scutellaro's wife and two small children were starving.

Scutellaro's attorney, Samuel Leibowitz, said only outright acquittal will be acceptable to the defense. He indicated he would not advise his elient to plead guilty to a lesser charge if the electric chair is not demanded by the State.

## To fight evidence

Any evidence tending to show that Barck was unduly tight-fisted with public relief funds will be fought by the State, William George, assistant prosecutor, asserted.

An undue stinginess with public relief moneys attributed to Barck by several relief clients has attracted considerable public

attention.

[From the Baltimore Sun of January 12, 1939]

FINDS RELIEF SITUATION NEAR ACUTE STAGE-WAXTER SAYS EXPENDI-TURES EXCEED ESTIMATES AS CASE LOADS MOUNT-BLAMES REFUSAL OF W. P. A. TO PROVIDE EMPLOYMENT FOR NEW CLIENTS

With relief expenditures exceeding all estimates and case loads mounting steadily, the situation in Baltimore is becoming acute, Thomas J. S. Waxter, director of the department of welfare, said

rhomas J. S. Waxter, thretter of the table of the yesterday.

Refusal of the W. P. A. to provide employment for new relief clients in the city, which resulted from a general curtailment in the works program in the city and State, is responsible for the present problem, Mr. Waxter added.

The director said the relief case load has mounted more rapidly in the last few months than in 3 years.

#### Many await employment

Approximately 2,000 persons have been certified for employment on W. P. A. projects in the last few months, but have not been given jobs because of the curtailment in the works program.

Meanwhile, between 400 and 500 persons a day have been filing

applications for relief. applications for relief.

Since November 1, when the W. P. A. stopped providing employment for new relief clients, the relief case load has increased by 900, reaching a total of 5,629 as of January 1.

In October, 850 relief cases were closed, but this number fell

to 532 in December.

#### Reports 2,969 unemployable

Of the 5,629 case load carried into January, 2,969 comprise cases which are unemployable, 2,431 which are employable but cannot be given W. P. A. employment, and 522 involving persons who are capable of performing light work only.

The case load for all four types of assistance—direct relief, oldage pensions, aid to dependent children and to the needy blind—was 18,143 as of January 1. Approximately 8,000 of the cases involved Negroes

involved Negroes.

Involved Negroes.

In addition to the relief case load of 5,629, the case load for the other types of assistance are: Aged, 7,598; aid to dependent children, 4,528; and aid to the needy blind, 388.

Mayor Jackson recently said if the relief situation was to be met it would be necessary for the W. P. A. to continue to provide employment for new relief clients in the city.

### [From the Baltimore Sun of November 18, 1938]

UNITED STATES LETTING NAZI REFUGEES STAY ON-ROOSEVELT PLANS 6-MONTH TIME EXTENSION FOR 12,000 TO 15,000 "VISITORS"

Neither may they be admitted as permanent residents under the quotas in the future years, the law provides that they must first go back to the countries of their origin.

"Will these visitors be permitted to work in the United States?" asked a reporter.

The President replied that many of them were already at work as teachers and college professors. They may work as "visitors." He said that not all the visitors were Jews.

## Taylor going abroad again

Secretary of State Cordell Hull disclosed, meanwhile, that he had asked Myron C. Taylor, former head of the United States Steel Corporation and first American delegate in the work to help refugees, to return to London to stimulate assistance for the hundreds of thousands of German refugees needing new homes. Hull said Taylor plans to sail November 26.

Hull said George Rubles, the American director of the intergov-ernmental committee on political refugees at London, had been prepared for some time to go to Berlin to consult with the German Government on practical measures for solving the refugee problem.

#### [From the Baltimore News-Post of November 30, 1938] ANOTHER KIND

Now, it's hard to understand why the mail should include anything like that.

But this sort of letter is easy to understand: 'I am writing in regard to our family situation.

"We are in need of food, and my husband needs work terribly badly. He was employed by the W. P. A. but was laid off in July and has not been recalled as yet. He has been to the relief, and they tell him that they can't do anything for him because he is eligible for W. P. A. work. But when he goes to W. P. A. they tell eligible for W. F. A. work. But when he goes to W. P. A. they tell him they have nothing except laboring work, and he can't do that, as he is a disabled war veteran. They tell him he will just have to have patience until they find clerical work for him.

"We have seven children, ages from 3 to 15 years, and I am asking you how we can feed and clothe them on patience.

"My husband receives \$26.25 as compensation, which just pays our rent and \$1.25 over. Right now we have nothing in the house except coffee.

except coffee.

"I am sure you can realize just what a situation this is. That is am sure you can realize just what a situation this is. That is why I am writing to you to see if there is someone you know who can give us some food or give my husband some work. He has written three letters to the American Legion without results. "He cannot get Maryland veteran's relief because they say he was a Pennsylvania veteran. And Pennsylvania won't send him any relief because he lives in Maryland.

"As for my husband and myself, we could stand the situation for a while but it is terribly hard for the children. We surely hope you can help us, and it will be appreciated more than we can say."

#### All kinds

Letters like that come in every day. It's easy to understand why they are sent. They are sent in sheer desperation, because the writers don't know anywhere else to turn. Unfortunately, it is possible to be helpful in only a small minority of these cases, because the relief organizations are bound by all sorts of rules and regulations. For the general run of cases, these regulations are sensible. But special circumstances often leave families in a sort of no man's land, caught between rules.

Anyway, this may help explain to you why the daily mail is a daily fascination.

# [From the Baltimore News-Post of December 2, 1938]

### PROTESTS EVICTION

Protesting her eviction from her Broome Street apartment in New York, Mrs. Anna Rosenthal had part of her furniture moved in front of the Home Relief Bureau, then began picketing the place by sitting on the furniture, as this photo shows. Sympathetic neighbors took in her aged mother and two daughters who, Mrs. Rosenthal said, suffer from sleeping sickness.

#### [From the Baltimore News-Post of January 12, 1939] FORCED OUT

With no crops to share, these homeless Missouri sharecroppers huddle along a lonely roadside. They are Mr. and Mrs. William Jones, who, with their children, found themselves in this sad plight. Sharecroppers in the State are demonstrating against the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, charging it made them homeless.

### NEW YORK CITY, January 12, 1939.

New York City, January 12, 1939.

Hon. Robert R. Reynolds,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I wish to thank you for the article in today's New York Evening Journal entitled, "Senator Reynolds Warns United States to Mind Own Business." I wish every Member of Congress felt the way you do on this subject. We have been listening to a lot of false prophets and warmongers too long for the good of our own country. Visitors from Europe here are amazed at the amount of war talk. They all say one hears more of war in this country than one does in Europe. What is back of all this? This is an interesting question.

### DURHAM, N. C., January 11, 1939.

Hon. Robert R. Reynolds,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.
Dear Senator Reynolds: You asked the question why we should hate Germany. Bear in mind all of us have not had the opportu-nity to take a trip to Germany. Perhaps we have not had the opportunity to have Germany put a deceivable rose pinned upon our chest. The rose they will pin upon anyone has such an offen-sive odor that it spreads all over the world. How on earth can you have a feeling for any nation who wants to destroy humanity and religion and above all the house of God. This is to remind you, Robert, the people of North Carolina have stood by our playboy. Robert, the people of North Carolina have stood by our playboy. This is not time to start any playing under our critical condition. If you love Germany, I would suggest to you to resign as our Senator of North Carolina and withdraw your citizenship of the United States, and make your departure from our country, who stands for liberty and freedom and above all a nation who permits any person to worship God as it sees fit, just as long as it worships God sincerely and conscientiously. Thank God we have such a nation to have for our leader a man whom we all know as Franklin D. Roosevelt, who stands for humanity and liberties. Your attitude is so shocking and it really sounds unbelievable, when the people of our religion have stood by you and has spent thousands of dollars to put you where you are today. Germany might have given you some deceivable and personal privileges to cause you to try to cause us to enjoy some good feeling toward her, but, Robert, I want to remind you what happened 20 years ago when the Kaiser of Germany valued an agreement as just a scrap of paper, and how on earth you can feel that way toward them is absolutely inhuman—deceivable nation.

Robert, again how on earth you can have a good feeling for a nation who doesn't enjoy living in peace after they have had their lesson and medicine who have hear economicine way for 20 years.

nation who doesn't enjoy living in peace after they have had their lesson and medicine, who have been conspiring war for 20 years against the world. If you, Robert, appreciate such a nation, I can't understand why.

Hoping you will give your further careful consideration regarding your attitude in this Nation toward Germany.

JANUARY 12, 1939.

Hon. Senator Reynolds, of North Carolina,

Congress of United States of America,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Reynolds: I read with great interest the Associated Press report of January 10 of your visit and your opinion of conditions in Carponian of conditions in Germany.

You are to be commended for your honesty and sincerity in bringing this message to our people in its true form. Our 10,000,000 unemployed and the danger of black plague of communism within our borders should be our first consideration.

To start a war with any foreign power at this time just to please a few munitions manufacturers will positively be the end of our democratic form of government. Next a dictatorship.

My dear Senator, please do everything in your power to prevent any such catastrophe and get us back to our own Americanism and preserve the American traditions.

Please send me your speech that you were going to make in the Senate.

the Senate.
With every good wish, I remain.

JANUARY 12, 1939.

Dear Senator Reynolds: I started to read my paper this evening, the Minneapolis Star, and I read your article on our country minding its own business. I consider it my duty to write you to say you are my idea of a real American. It seems today in this country there are a lot of people in high places that are everything but American. I agree with this statement of yours in its entirety. Being a member of the Foreign Relations Committee you are in an ideal most to make yourself heart. It would seem to me the people. Being a memoer of the Foreign Relations Committee you are in an ideal spot to make yourself heard. It would seem to me the people of North Carolina ought to be mighty proud in having an American Senator. I wish you good health and may you fight hard to keep this country out of a war, that the propagandists are trying to promote.

FORT WAYNE, IND., January 14, 1939.

Hon. Robert R. Reynolds,
Senate Building, Washington, D. C.
My Dear Sir: It is not a habit of mine to comment to public officials upon their published statements. So far as I can recall, this is the first time that I do so. I do so at this time merely to strengthen you in what evidently is your resolve to speak out fear-

strengthen you in what evidently is your resolve to speak out fear-lessly and with undaunted courage for a truly American course with reference to international policy of our Government.

The Fort Wayne News-Sentinel, January 12, 1939, issue, carried an article by you copyrighted by the International News Service dated Washington, January 12, in which you state that "America should mind its own business in present crisis." Let me commend you most highly for that sane stand which you take, and may I encourage you to continue to speak out fearlessly in favor of your present position, which, in spite of what propagandists would have us believe, is still the position of the great majority of the people of our country. of our country.

LOUISVILLE, KY., January 13, 1939.

Senator REYNOLDS, United States Senator from State of North Carolina,

United States Senator from State of North Carolina,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Reynolds: I have enclosed another article from
the Louisville Courier-Journal regarding the Baptist minority in
Rumania. I have been a Baptist all my life, and, while I think that
everything that is reasonable should be done to help the Baptist
minority in that country, it does not call for any warlike action by
our country against the Rumanian Government.

I also believe that the Baptists as a general rule do not want any
warrange action because of the present action of the Rumanian Gove-

extreme action because of the present action of the Rumanian Government. This is in sharp contrast to the actions of another minority group in the present time, who are doing everything possible to drag our Nation into an early war with a strong European power. This is one of the most vital and far-reaching questions of our

[Enclosure]

THE RUMANIAN BAPTISTS

To the Editor of the Courier-Journal:

The Edmanian Baptists

To the Editor of the Courier-Journal:

There was a recent article in the Courier-Journal about an edict from Rumania, limiting the activities in that country of all the evangelical groups. This new action by the Rumanian Government makes it possible for them to close most of the churches, including the churches of over 70,000 Baptists.

I have been a Baptist all my life. I think that everything that can be done reasonably should be done to help the evangelical groups in that country. However, I do not think that this new edict should call for any warlike action from our Nation or even any threat of war from our Government.

I predict that the Rumanian Baptists and other evangelical groups will adapt and adjust themselves to this new law. I also predict that they will not, in that country, ask us or try to drive us into any warlike action because of their present trouble. Even though their course will be hard, and the people may be forced to suffer having the churches closed for a time, at least, these Rumanian people, I feel sure, are the type and kind of people who can "take it" when the "going is rough."

Furthermore, they will not go in for a lot of world-wide sympathy and calls for help from this side of the Atlantic. Neither will they ask us to throw down the bars of the American immigration laws, and cause our Nation extra trouble and added expense. In short, I predict that their conduct will be to make the best of a very poor situation, and it will be in sharp contrast to others, who are doing their best to drag this Nation into a new European war.

others, who are doing their best to drag this Nation into a new European war.

They will adjust and adapt themselves to the new laws of their country in the same manner we ourselves in this country do.

That is by making the best of a situation, no matter how poor it may be, and not to be forever crying for help when things get rough.

LOUISVILLE.

St. Louis, Mo., January 14, 1939.

Hon. Robert Reynolds,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Reynolds: In various press dispatches recently I notice your valient and outspoken stand against criticism by prominent Americans against foreign nations, particularly Germany. I

want to commend you for this.

Just as you say, we have plenty room for improvement right in

Just as you say, we have plenty room for improvement right in this country.

I am an American-born citizen, and hold no brief for Germany or any other foreign nation. However, it is none of our business how they conduct their internal affairs. That belongs strictly to

Senator Norris, passing through St. Louis recently, told news-paper reporters that he deplored the treatment of Jews in Germany, and added that he didn't see what we could do about it, as it was

Germany's affair, not ours.

It is certainly very imprudent for a Cabinet member of the United States—and I mean Mr. Ickes—to make the violent and vicious remarks he made about a friendly nation.

I wish we had more level-headed men, such as you, Senators

NORRIS and CLARK

Such men as these are the real, true type of Americans.

MUSKOGEE, OKLA., January 13, 1939.

DEAR MR. REYNOLDS: As a teacher and preacher I have been very much interested in all phases of our Government, but have never before written to any public official. This letter is my first, and I wish to thank you for the article published in the papers under the title "Let's Mind Our Own Business."

WILLIAMSPORT, PA., January 15, 1939.

Senator REYNOLDS,

North Carolina.

My Dear Sir: I have read with a great deal of interest your very good comments regarding ill feeling here in the States to the Nazi Government.

I, like your self, also visited in Germany and cannot for all the

world see why the feeling here at home is so awful bitter.

I recently informed a rector who is forever attacking Hitler, and the Nazis as a whole, to preach Jesus Christ awhile and give the Germans a rest. It has reached a point wherein many people are taking it much too far.

Please keep your good work up. I only wish we had more men

like yourself.

With kind regards, believe me,
P.S.—If copies of your address can be had, may I please have
two or three mailed to me?

NEWTON, N. C., January 17, 1939.

Senator R. R. REYNOLDS,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator: You and I did not agree on the Supreme Court reorganization, but I am certainly with you on your speech yesterday in the Senate on our foreign relations.

I went to Paris in 1927 as a member of the American Legion, traveled over the different countries, finally landed in London, and can say that we found more jealousy in England than any of the seven countries we visited. We were nothing more than a big sucker in the last war, and after sending millions of our men and billions of our dollars, which any sensible person knows won the war, the only thanks we have received is, as you said, a repudiation of their debts and never a word of praise, but on the other hand a spirit of jealousy. spirit of jealousy.

We live in the greatest country the world has ever known; let's prepare for our own defense and tell Europe to go to h—.

You are the best prepared man in the Senate on foreign affairs, so go to it; the people are with you.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., January 13, 1939.

Senator ROBERT R. REYNOLDS,

Senator Robert R. Reynolds,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Reynolds: My wife and I read with a great deal
of interest as well as approval what was published in our daily
Journal and attributed to you.

We are happy there are a few men left who realize we are meddling too much in the other country's business, and especially is
that true of our President's Cabinet. We should be above petty
bickering, for the more we say ugly words about our neighbors the
more liable we are apt to be fighting. A soft answer turneth away
wrath.

You know we elect our Government officials to run our Government smoothly. You all have plenty to straighten out here at home without going to war about minorities in other countries or to make our munition makers richer and our financiers put more gold in their pockets. Rich men nor elected officials of our Government do not fight. If the racial minorities want to fight Germany and Italy, let them go. 1939

The sad part of the last war is that we are paying for it now, and shall be maybe 50 years from now. We were taken for a bunch of poor suckers once to fight and pay for a war that was none of our business. We hope enough of the faithful men of our Senate and Congress shall get together and put that referendum through giving the people a chance to vote on whether we want any war of aggression. People in America hate war even though the press seems to try to make them war conscious.

We thank God there is a man like you speaking so forcefully

We thank God there is a man like you speaking so forcefully against war now when it is much more effective than waiting when

it is upon us.

Again and again we thank you for speaking out now and ask God's richest blessings on you always.

NORTH BERGEN, N. J., January 12, 1939.

My Dear Senator Reynolds: In tonight's Evening Journal I have read your article of we Americans criticizing every nation upon the face of the earth. At this point I am with you 100 percent.

You are asking what have the German people done to the people of the United States. To my opinion, nothing.

In reference of putting our own house in order, there you are right, before worrying about someone else's house.

For this country to go to war for the minorities of any country, I am absolutely against it, as I am a World War veteran and I know what war is. I hope that everyone would read your article and feel the same as I do.

With best wishes and good luck to you from

With best wishes and good luck to you from someone that knows.

SOUTHERN PINES, N. C., January 12, 1939.

Dear Bob: Don't cut out that speech. Go to it! The people don't want war. One hundred million ears are keen to hear you. Quarantining Franco or Japan means war. Cordially, your friend.

FORT WORTH, Tex., January 15, 1939.

Hon. ROBERT R. REYNOLDS, United States Senator of North Carolina,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Please allow me to express my sincere approval of an article which appeared under your name in the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, January 12, in reference to Americans minding their own business

I admire your courage in expressing the truth candidly and preefully. I wish there were more men like you representing the

I admire your courage in expressing the truth cantuly and forcefully. I wish there were more men like you representing the people in Washington.

I contact a great many people in Texas and numbers of them think as I do, although they may not trouble to write you.

Some one should set forth the idea that it is worth while to be a plain American and to pull for the United States. Soon it will be difficult to do that if the propagandists have their way. Please carry on. Maybe there are a few Americans left, if we include the Indians.

Evidently, England is setting the stage now to slip the "big britches" on somebody. I wonder who will be next—France or the United States of America?

FLUSHING, LONG ISLAND, N. Y., January 12, 1939.
The Honorable ROBERT R. REYNOLDS,
United States Senator from North Carolina.
SIR: I have just finished reading your address, which was reprinted in the New York Journal of this date.

The American people should kneel down and thank their God that they have at least one Senator who is interested in the good of all the American people.

As you have stated, we should put our own house in order; never mind what Germany, Italy, Spain, and Russia are doing.

As I understand it, we are going to be taxed to death to take care of the refugees from Europe, and everyone that gets a job here will put an American out of the job that he is entitled to as an American citizen.

American citizen.

I presume that you have seen the enclosed clipping. It means only one disturbance that is being added to the many which the Communists are trying to fan into another fire. If they can get enough fires started, we soon will be under another form of

UPLAND, CALIF., January 11, 1939.

Senator Robert Reynolds, Washington, D. C.:

Believe millions beside myself completely agree with your attitude regarding our foreign policy. Yours only sane course. Hope your influence sufficient to counteract insidious propaganda.

ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATION FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939. Mr. MILLER obtained the floor.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield

Mr. MILLER. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll. The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Downey	Lee	Reynolds
Andrews	Ellender	Lewis	Russell
Ashurst	Frazier	Lodge	Schwartz
Austin	George	Logan	Schwellenbach
Bailey	Gerry	Lucas	Sheppard
Bankhead	Gibson	Lundeen	Shipstead
Barbour	Gillette	McCarran	Smathers
Barkley	Glass	McKellar	Smith
Bilbo	Green	McNary	Stewart
Bone	Guffey	Maloney	Taft
Borah	Gurney	Mead	Thomas, Okla.
Bulow	Hale	Miller	Thomas, Utah
Burke	Harrison	Minton	Tobey
Byrd	Hatch	Murray	Townsend
Byrnes	Hayden	Neely	Tydings
Capper	Herring	Norris	Van Nuys
Caraway	Hill	Nye	Wagner
Clark, Idaho	Holman	O'Mahoney	Walsh
Clark, Mo.	Holt	Overton	Wheeler
Connally	Hughes	Pepper	White
Danaher	Johnson, Calif.	Pittman	Wiley
Davis	Johnson, Colo.	Radcliffe	
Donahey	La Follette	Reed	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Ninety Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I shall not detain the Senate long, but I wish to submit some thoughts which, in my opinion, should be considered by this body in the determination we are to make of the pending business. I am always loath not to follow the recommendations of a committee, and particularly of the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate, a committee composed of men who have given many years' study to their work and who undertake to ascertain the facts before reporting to this body. But, in my opinion, we are now confronted not so much with a theory as with a condition which we must meet.

I cannot bring myself to support a proposal to reduce the relief funds so long as the unemployment problem in this country is as it is today. I am as ready as is any other man to economize, but I shall not be a party to economizing at the expense of human misery.

A few of the figures carried in the hearings before the House committee and before the Senate committee should be and are sufficient, in my opinion, to convince this body of the duty it has to perform. Taking the month of December 1935, we find that at that time 3 years ago there were 2,740,000 citizens upon the W. P. A. rolls. A year later, in 1936, there were 2,192,409. A year later, in December 1937, there were 1,629,271 on the rolls, while in December 1938 there were 3,021,233, to which 91,000 should be added, making a grand total of 3,112,233 citizens of this country who were on the work relief rolls in December 1938.

The pending proposal is to reduce the number in a rather arbitrary manner, without giving any reason, rhyme, or excuse, except that what is stated in the report. The report filed by the chairman of the subcommittee, the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS], contains this statement:

The records of previous years show that in the year 1936, between February and July, there was a reduction in the relief rolls of 786,495, and that during the same period in 1937 there was a reduction in the relief rolls of 576,745. In view of the large sum of money being expended in the construction of public works projects, which now aggregate one and one-half billion dollars, the rearmament program in progress, the very definite uprise in business conditions—

I am quoting from the committee which asks the Senate and the Congress to reduce the amount of the relief appropriation to \$725,000,000. The report continues:

there is every reason to expect as large, if not a larger, decrease in relief rolls in 1939 as occurred in either 1936 or 1937.

Let us assume that such a decrease might occur. Still, that being true, an appropriation of \$725,000,000 would be insufficient even to meet the roll which existed in 1936.

On page 60 of the hearings before the Senate committee will be found a statement as to how the \$725,000,000 would be expended, and the number it would provide for on relief. think this table has already been put into the RECORD.

Then let us turn to the House hearings, page 9, and consider the figures as to those on relief in 1936, the year to which the committee asks us to look as a criterion, and the year they cite as the justification for this smaller appropriation. There will be found the figures for the month of January 1936, the only month when the number of men on relief was lower than the number which the committee says might reasonably be expected to be on relief in 1939.

In the month of June 1936 there were on the W. P. A. rolls 2,255,898. The committee says it is thought that the unemployment situation will improve, so that we can look to 1936 by way of comparison. Yet they bring in a bill which, according to their own calculation, in the month of June 1939 will show 1,950,000 men on the rolls, leaving entirely unconsidered nearly 400,000 men, aside from the 750,000 who are now certified and unable to obtain employment.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. O'Mahoney in the chair). Does the Senator from Arkansas yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. MILLER. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. A good deal has been said about the 750,000 men who are already certified but who cannot find work on W. P. A. projects. Of course, that figure does not take into account, probably, a much larger number of men who cannot be certified because, although out of work, and although their families may be as hungry and as destitute as those of the 750,000 referred to, they cannot be certified because it may be that they happen to own a little piece of property somewhere.

Men have come to me in my home town who had a little shack worth \$200, and they could not even get on the certified list because they happened to be what are called "property owners."

No one can eat a shack worth \$200, and very few such shacks, if sold, would support a family very long. I myself have wondered a good deal whether it is wise and just to discriminate against a man with a family simply because he has in the past tried to be frugal enough to own a little piece of property, which in these times he would have difficulty in selling and which, if he could sell it or if he were required to sell it in order to support his family, would bring very little in the present market.

I wonder if the Senator has any knowledge as to how many such border-line cases there are; cases of men who cannot get on the rolls but who are just as deserving and just as destitute as some of those who can get on because they do not happen to own anything that we call property.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I may say to the distinguished leader of the majority that I have no figures, and I know of no way to obtain even an estimate of the number of men who come within that category; but we all know from our experience in our own States that there are a great many of them. The truth about the matter is that the only indictment against our relief program is that it has neglected the man and woman who have heretofore worked and tried to take care of themselves but who, because of circumstances, now find themselves destitute and the owners of some property which cannot be made liquid, and upon which they cannot live.

Suffering among that class goes on just the same; and yet efforts are made to reduce the amount of the appropriation in the face of this dire necessity and need.

Mr. President, we have heard learned Senators discuss the point that in the spring of the year farming operations will start and that many of those now on the W. P. A. rolls will necessarily go off the rolls. Let me call attention to the fact that in the month of October there were on the W. P. A. rolls in the United States 3,337,470 men and women. The month of October is the month of harvest in every State in the Union. Yet we had that tremendous number on W. P. A. in October. I am speaking as one who at least thinks he knows something of the conditions in the South. Very little relief can be expected in the agricultural South so long as the present farm program continues. In other words, we are going to have the relief program with us just so long as the Government continues to stifle and restrict production and does not pay more

attention to the labor question and to the questions of transportation and distribution of products. Our economy of scarcity simply will not work. Until we get our feet on the ground and undertake the solution of the fundamental problems, we might just as well make up our minds that American citizens must be fed, and that the cost must be paid by the American Congress with money taken from the pockets of those who have.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MILLER. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. I ask the Senator from Arkansas if the minimum wage paid by the W. P. A. in what may be called the agricultural South is only \$26 a month?

Mr. MILLER. That is correct.

Mr. PEPPER. So if the farm laborer received the minimum W. P. A. wage he would not receive more than \$26 a month, which is not quite a dollar a day.

Mr. MILLER. That is true. The people of the South are frugal. The people there can get by if they are given half a chance, and they will get by. But, after all is said and done, some money must be furnished; there has to be employment. I can take Senators into many places in Arkansas where employment does not exist and cannot exist under our present scheme of things, unless the Government furnishes employment; and that condition prevails not only in my State but everywhere.

Senators may talk all they care to about economy. I am just as willing to lop off as many battleships and nonessential things as is any other Senator, but I am not willing to see suffering among our own fellow citizens merely to satisfy someone who may be crying "economy."

On page 42 of the Senate hearings, Colonel Harrington, in testifying, stated:

As I was saying, we do not think that there should be a straight-line reduction in W. P. A. Instead we believe that during the winter months employment should be maintained substantially at the level of 3,000,000, which will be reached in January 1939, and that thereafter, beginning on April 1, a gradual reduction can be made which would bring the number employed on the Works Progress Administration program to an average of 2,700,000 in June, which would mean the employment of approximately 2,650,000 by the end of that month.

In other words, that is the formula for the expenditure of the \$875,000,000, with a maximum of employment of 3,000,000 persons, which number is gradually to be reduced by the end of the present fiscal year to 2,700,000. As I have said, a table has been set forth which indicates the figures of employment under the \$725,000,000 figure which is now before the Senate. Beginning with 3,000,000 persons employed, the number would be reduced gradually, and decline to 1,930,000 in June.

The committee says that we should look to June 1936. In June 1936 there were about 400,000 more employed than the figure given of those expected to be employed in June of this year. The committee says that conditions will become as good as conditions were in 1936. Even if that be true, every dime of the \$875,000,000 will be required.

The average employment for the first 6 months of 1939, under the \$875,000,000 figure, will be 2,375,000 persons under the formula announced by Colonel Harrington.

During the last 6 months of 1938 what was the average employment? It was 3,197,909 persons. What are we going to do in the face of that situation? We find quite a difference between 2,375,000 and 3,197,909 persons.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MILLER. I yield.

Mr. RUSSELL. There have been so many different tables and figures given that I am quite sure all Members of the Senate are somewhat confused. I listened very attentively to Colonel Harrington's testimony, and if I understood him correctly he stated, not once but several times, that if the \$875,000,000 shall be appropriated it is not proposed to reduce the rolls of those employed below 2,700,000 as of July 1.

Mr. MILLER. That is correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. How did the Senator get the figure of 2,300,000 as an average between now and then?

Mr. MILLER. I probably was in error at that point. I thank the Senator for calling my attention to it—2,375,000,

instead of the number mentioned, is the average number that will be employed under the \$725,000,000 appropriation instead of the other figure. I thank the Senator sincerely for calling my attention to that. In making my calculations I took the figure \$725,000,000 and a total of 19,177,458, the number who will be employed during the 6 months, and dividing by 6 obtained the figures I presented.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MILLER. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. In connection with the quotation from the committee's report which the Senator read a moment ago, anticipating a larger private employment due to P. W. A., the rearmament program, recovery, and all that, I should like to point out that, as I stated yesterday in a colloquy with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK], the proportion of persons taken from the relief employment rolls and absorbed in private employment is 1 to 4. Not all of the 3,000,000 persons who are now on the rolls are suitable for all kinds of private employment, and when construction or other work is in progress men, of course, will still have the right to choose whom they will employ.

The figures show that one out of every five absorbed in private employment is on the relief rolls, so that in order to transfer 200,000 men from the public pay roll to private industry, 800,000 other unemployed persons who are not on the rolls will have to be taken into private employment.

According to the figures submitted by Colonel Harrington, an appropriation of \$875,000,000 for the remainder of the present fiscal year will mean the dismissal of 300,000 persons between now and July 1. In order for those 300,000 to be absorbed into private employment it will be necessary for private employment to take on a million and a half persons between now and July 1. Let us take the figure of the committee, \$725,000,000, which contemplates a reduction of 1,050,000 persons by July 1, which means from this date the taking off of about 2,000,000 persons from the pay roll of the W. P. A. If the same proportion should apply in the absorption of these persons into private employment, then in order to get those 2,000,000 persons back to work in private employment it would be necessary to take on 8,000,000 persons who are unemployed and are outside of the W. P. A. rolls. So that would contemplate absorption of all the unemployed now existing in this country, which everyone knows is a dream which we should like to realize by the first of July, but which would be utterly impossible. So the 2,000,000 which it will be necessary to strike from the rolls by July 1 cannot hope to be reabsorbed into private employment.

Mr. MILLER. I thank the Senator.

During the last 6 months of 1938, at a time when employment ought to have been at its maximum, as I say, we had an average of 3,197,909 people on the relief rolls. Under the committee's program the maximum employment that can be furnished during the next 6 months is 2,375,000 per month, leaving a difference of 822,909. Who in this body is prepared to say that private employment can absorb 822,909 persons a month during the next 6 months?

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MILLER. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. Are the Senator's figures taken from the table on page 77 of the House hearings?

Mr. MILLER. I have looked at that table.

Mr. McKELLAR. I was wondering what examination the Senator had made. Yesterday the distinguished junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes] had this to say:

In January 1938, only 12 months ago, we thought 1,900,000 was a high figure under the terrible conditions then existing.

However, I find from the House hearings, on page 77, that in January 1939 there were 3,651,000 persons on the rolls. In speaking about figures, I am wondering where the Senator from South Carolina obtained his figures. I wonder if the Senator from Arkansas has studied that matter.

Mr. MILLER. I will say to the Senator that I have not, because I have tried to take the record of the testimony and to find some plausible reason or excuse for reducing the appropriation to \$725,000,000. I am naturally opposed to

spending money. However, when we are faced with the stark necessity which exists in this country today, we must choose whether we are to try to maintain harmony, tranquillity, contentment, and peace within our own borders, or whether we are to engage in other undertakings.

What is being done with the money appropriated for W. P. A.? We are spending huge sums of money. Senators whom I admire, who are my personal friends, protest in the utmost good faith against the expenditure. Let me ask any Senator if he recalls any nation or any government which ever fell because of the expenditure of money for internal improvements. I can think of none. Today the W. P. A. in this country is building 37,031 valuable work projects. thousand one hundred and nine of those projects are highway and street improvements. Five thousand six hundred and seventy of them are necessary public buildings. I ask each Senator to think of his community and his own State and see whether or not there has been a highway built which is not necessary, and which is not serving the people, or a public building which is not serving the people.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MILLER. I yield. Mr. BARKLEY. A large proportion of those public buildings, I should say probably 90 percent, are schoolhouses for the education of the children of the country.

Mr. MILLER. I think that is correct. I should say 90

percent of them are schoolhouses.

Mr. BARKLEY. I may be wrong about the percentage. However, a large proportion, more than a majority of them, are schoolhouses.

Mr. MILLER. That is true.

Twenty-one hundred and eighty-four parks and other recreational facilities have been built or are now being built. Thirteen hundred and thirty-two conservation projects, such as flood control and other projects, have been built or are in the course of construction. Those are projects for which the Government must spend money. They are being built by men on relief.

Three hundred and twenty-seven airports are being built. There are 9,192 so-called white-collar, education, recreation, and clerical projects, and 3,735 sewing projects.

When we are tempted to shed crocodile tears about the expenditure of money, we should consider the projects for which it is being spent. I wonder how many Senators ever went to a sewing project and saw the widows and wives of disabled men, men unable to work, earning a living on such a project. If the project is taken away the families will be destitute, and they will have to be provided for in some way. There is nothing else left to do. There is more real work being done in the sewing projects of this country than in any other single class of projects of which I know.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MILLER. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. Does the Senator subscribe to the view, which is entertained by some, that W. P. A. workers are a

rather unworthy class of our citizenship?

Mr. MILLER. No; I do not. I think some men on the W. P. A. rolls are undertaking to make a career out of it; and I think such men ought to be dealt with in no uncertain manner. There is a provision in the joint resolution, which I hope will be rigidly enforced, providing for an investigation and so-called purging of the rolls. No doubt there are men in the Senator's State, and in my own State, my own county, and perhaps even in my own city, who have no business being on the rolls. But what is the use of punishing nine deserving men merely because one is receiving something which does not belong to him, when we are responsible for all of them?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. MILLER. I yield.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. In 1936 the W. P. A. made a very close and intensive study of the rolls by investigating the affairs of the individual clients. Less than 5 percent of those on the entire roll were found to be disqualified, either by reason of property or for some other reason. If the present roll is

investigated in that manner it will cost \$3,000,000, because when the examination was made in 1936 it cost an average of \$1 per case. If the investigation is made by means of questionnaires sent to the relief clients to be filled out, it will cost \$750,000.

Mr. MILLER. If any Senator or any man connected with the Government can point out any better way in which we can meet the unemployment problem than that which we are following, he will have a disciple and follower in me. We hear much said about the expenditure involved and about the cost of this enterprise. We have some records as to the cost of administration. During the fiscal years 1936, 1937, 1938, and the first 5 months of the fiscal year 1939 the figures show that the W. P. A. expended \$5,647,861,857, and the administrative expense was 4 percent. In some States it was much lower. In Arkansas the administrative expense is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  percent. In other words, of every dollar expended, at least 96 percent goes to the purpose for which we intend it to go.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MILLER. I yield.

Mr. BONE. I have often wondered why we attach so much significance to the administrative expense in connection with the W. P. A. In my own experience-and I assume it is the experience of most Members of the Senate-I have encountered many men who were accustomed to doing clerical work, or some form of administrative work, and who have been absolutely unable to obtain work anywhere, although they were capable, trained men. Every Senator has had that type of human being brought to his attention, and has been solicited to aid them in obtaining work. Because they are given a spot in the W. P. A. to do administrative work, I see no reason, in that sort of a situation, to challenge the fact that a portion of this money—the Senator indicates that it is about 4 percent of the total cost-is expended for administrative purposes. I do not see anything in that situation to challenge our attention as a dangerous thing, because if these men are unable to find work elsewhere they also are entitled to consideration at our hands. Obviously, some one must handle the administrative work. We would not turn that work over to unfit and inept people. Personally, I see nothing wrong in retaining the best minds and the most skilled men we can obtain to handle this very vital and important work.

The Senator has adverted to the fact that we have built schoolhouses and airports. Mr. President, those things are socially useful and socially necessary additions to the great economic plant which we call the United States of America. They are things of worth-while value. They are permanent and valuable additions to our plant. Our plant deteriorates year by year, and I doubt if we can find it in our hearts to say that a schoolhouse is not a valuable contribution to society. While we are spending this money for relief, I think we are doing something worth while to make this a better country for every one. So it is not money thrown away. It is money spent for additions which are very valuable to us and to our children.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MILLER. I yield.

Mr. ADAMS. I do not wish the inference to be drawn from these statements that the committee has in any way challenged the administrative expense or the benefits which have been conferred by construction. Everything that the Senator from Washington has said in reference to the benefits conferred, and everything that has been said by the Senator from Arkansas, has the full support of the committee. I have stood on the floor of the Senate advocating and managing every one of the recent relief bills, pointing out those very things; and it seems to me it is necessary to make it clear that there is no warrant in the arguments which have been made for the inference which might be drawn from the suggestions and statements which Senators have made, because no attack has been made on this floor on the efficiency or the economy of the program so far as the type of work and the benefits conferred are concerned.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arkansas yield to me for a moment?

Mr. MILLER. I yield.

Mr. BONE. I desire to absolve the able Senator from Colorado and his associates on the committee of any responsibility for any such charge. I think all of us realize very keenly the difficult position the Senator from Colorado is in. He is a very able Senator; he has done a fine piece of work for his committee, and he has a most disagreeable job on his hands.

I would not leave any inference that he is in anywise culpable or has done anything wrong. He has done his duty as a member of the committee. Certainly no Member of this body can complain of his activity on the floor, because that is his duty. I should not want anyone to think the Senator from Colorado had leveled a lance at a decent purposeful human being. I know he recognizes my own attitude toward his work, for I have repeatedly said on this floor that no blame attaches to the Senator from Colorado for handling a bill on the floor.

This much may be said, it seems to me, about the overhead expense, that it has been the target of criticism in the newspapers; it has been utilized by critics of the relief program as something that is reprehensible. That is why I mentioned it on the floor, not because the committee has said anything about it, for the committee, so far as I recall, has not adverted to it in a critical way. The Senator from Colorado is right; it has never been the subject of criticism at the hands of members of the committee.

Mr. ADAMS. During previous sessions the Appropriations Committee has been responsible for putting a 5-percent limitation on administrative expenses, and the Works Progress Administration has kept well within that limit. Their expenses have been less than 4 percent.

Mr. BONE. The Senator is absolutely correct. I refer to it only because it has been the subject of criticism, and I think that the criticism coming from outside quarters is not just. I was only impelled to refer to it because the able Senator from Arkansas made mention of it.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, what I said with reference to administrative expenses of the W. P. A. was certainly not said as a criticism of any Senator on this floor, nor as a criticism of the committee. I think the committee has done a splendid job, and that the W. P. A. has done a splendid piece of work in the administration of the law. I know a good job has been done in Arkansas. I referred to the question of administrative expense, however, to dispel the idea which seems to prevail all over the Nation. There are many chamber of commerce speeches being made every day in which the speakers attack the relief program and talk about overhead expenses. Such speeches are not made in the Senate; no one here or elsewhere in a responsible position makes such charges, but we hear them; we have heard them on the stump; we have heard them in campaigns; we have heard them almost everywhere, and we are going to continue to hear them. Now and then some newspaper takes it upon itself to enlighten the people without giving the actual facts as to the cost of administration. I quite agree with the Senator from Washington that we have a class of men who need to be furnished employment, and if they are competent to work for the W. P. A. let them do so.

Something was said a few days ago in the Senate about the contribution of local interests to W. P. A. projects. Let me call the attention of the Senate to page 26 of the House hearings. Cumulative up to November 30, 1938, the contributions made by local interests averaged over those years 16 percent.

That was the percentage of expense contributed by the various States. Not all the States made the same contribution. Some of the so-called richer States made smaller contributions than were made by the poorer States. For instance, my State of Arkansas made a contribution of 17.4 percent to all W. P. A. projects. Other States contributed much less, while some others contributed more. I merely

mention that fact to establish the point that in W. P. A. relief the various communities themselves are interested.

I do not know what the experience of others has been but my experience with W. P. A. in Arkansas has demonstrated to me that it is doing today a splendid work; much good is being accomplished. To be perfectly frank, I do not know what we in Arkansas would do without it. If someone will just tell me what we would do without it he would render me a distinct service. Certainly I do not know. I do not know how we could continue to build roads and houses and other structures without the assistance of the W. P. A. So I do not think the Congress should quibble over \$150,-000,000, when in less than 2 months from now we will be called upon to appropriate a half billion dollars for other purposes that are not so material to the welfare of this country as are expenditures made by the W. P. A.

Some people are naturally opposed to relief; some are opposing the larger appropriation which is proposed because they are opposed to relief. I may say that none of us like to have to be called upon to provide relief, but, as I said in the beginning, we are facing a condition and not a theory, and so far, Mr. President, no one has pointed out a better remedy than that which has been adopted. Taking the figures for the last 6 months of 1938—and I know of no way of judging the future except by the past—of the number on the relief rolls, I know that necessarily there will be the same number, or approximately the same number, on the rolls during the first 6 months of 1939. So, until someone can show me that the larger appropriation is not needed, I am going to support it and support the amendment of the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, not being a member of the Appropriations Committee, I have listened very attentively to the discussion on the floor during the past 2 days. I desire to express my approval of everything that has been said by the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Miller] with reference to the record of W. P. A. I know that what he has said today with reference to his own State applies with equal force to my State of Montana. I know Montana would have suffered very severely had it not been for the operations of W. P. A. The work that it has accomplished in my State has been of tremendous value, and when the country once more gets upon an even keel what has been done by W. P. A. is going to show its effect. Small dams, reservoirs, schools, and various other projects have been completed, which in the years to come will be of tremendous and lasting value to the people of my State.

Fortunately, we have not had any difficulty in the State of Montana with reference to politics in connection with W. P. A. In that State the W. P. A. has been entirely free from politics. The first administrator appointed in the State of Montana was a Republican. Under him various zone directors were appointed, and after the original administrator left his office those original appointees were retained in office during the entire administration of W. P. A. in Montana, except in instances where they retired of their own volition.

As I have said, not being a member of the committee, it is not possible for me to go into the fine details of the statistics that were brought before the committee. I am convinced, however, that, if the action of the Senate Appropriations Committee is sustained and the deficiency appropriation for the Works Progress Administration is held to \$725,000,000, approximately 2,000,000 W. P. A. workers will be dismissed from the rolls by June 30 next. This result is established by the statistics which have been presented during the discussion and at the hearings before the committee. I think no greater mistake could be made by the Senate than to fail to grant an appropriation sufficient to continue the relief program now being carried out by the administration.

In considering this question we must not overlook the fact that we are not merely financing an agency for the relief of millions of the destitute and hungry unemployed workers in this country, but we are, at the same time, financing an agency that constitutes the only means which has been discovered to prevent bankruptcy and ruin from overtaking thousands of business and professional men in every section of the Nation. I know that in the city of Butte, where I live, there would not be a merchant in business today if it had not been for the operations of the W. P. A. during the past several years.

The policy of Federal relief which we have been following has been sanctioned by all the outstanding industrial and business leaders of the country. It is supported by the expert advice of leading economists who have studied the failure of our economic system to overcome this difficult problem of unemployment.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, would it interrupt the Senator if I should ask him a question?

Mr. MURRAY. Not at all.

Mr. ADAMS. The Senator a moment ago stated that if the \$725,000,000 provision contained in the joint resolution as it came from the House were adopted, it would mean leaving off the rolls 2,000,000 persons. At page 60 of the Senate committee hearings Colonel Harrington gives a tabulation which does not conform to that statement. Colonel Harrington makes the lowest number a reduction from 3,000,000 in January to 1,930,000. That is 1,070,000 as the maximum reduction rather than 2,000,000. I assume that the Senator would accept the figures at least of Colonel Harrington.

Mr. MURRAY. I should be compelled to accept the figures of Colonel Harrington. I was relying upon what I heard on the floor of the Senate during the past day or two.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MURRAY. I yield to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I think every person who has listened to this debate has been greatly confused by the conflicting estimates. After considerable inquiry the other day, one of the distinguished Members of the Senate said that all he could get out of the debate was that he could understand that \$875,000,000 was a larger amount than that recommended by the committee. I wish some simple statement could be made of the situation, so that Senators who have to vote on the question would not be confronted by these confusing estimates and statistics.

For instance, we not only have the table which the Senator from Colorado says appears on page 60 of the Senate committee hearings, but we have a table which I understood was prepared by the administrative officials and experts of the W. P. A., which appears in the views of the minority, which does not correspond with the table that appears on page 60; and, if my recollection of the estimates made by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes] is correct, his setimates do not agree with either one of the other two I have mentioned. So before we have to vote on this question I wish someone could present a statement of what the alternatives here really are.

Mr. ADAMS. With the permission of the Senator from Montana, I will say to the Senator from Wisconsin that a number of us have been confronted with that difficulty. I shall be glad if I can be of any help in accumulating and gathering together the different estimates. So far as the minority views are concerned, the Senator from Tennessee IMr. McKellarl, who prepared them, said he knew nothing about percentages; and I think that led to some of the figures—I do not say erroneous figures, but unusual figures—which do not correspond with the statements which were given to us by Colonel Harrington. That is, the difference we have here really is the difference between the figures of the request which came from the Works Progress Administration and the other set of figures which the majority of the Appropriations Committee think are more appropriate.

I knew the Senator from Montana did not want to make an unqualified statement which did not conform to Colonel Harrington's own figures.

Mr. MURRAY. If the Senator will permit me, I should like to say that I have the utmost confidence in the distinguished Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKellar], and I am always perfectly willing to follow anything he says in connection with this matter.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, that is very kind of the Senator from Montana, but I desire to say that the figures I submitted were not my figures at all. They were the figures of Colonel Harrington, who is the Administrator of this activity. I am still banking 100 percent on Colonel Harrington's figures; and before this debate is over it will be perfectly clear that they are correct, and that no such mistake of \$56,000,000 has been made by Colonel Harrington.

Mr. ADAMS. It might be well to get all of Colonel Harring-

ton's tabulations together and compare them.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator from Colorado will have to find not only all of Colonel Harrington's tabulations but a great many others to sustain the figures the Senator has given to the Senate.

Mr. MURRAY. I will say to the Senators that I was following the statement contained in the minority views signed by the Senator from Tennessee, in which appears the following language:

The Senate majority disagrees with the House in its reduction for February and March and requires substantially the same amount to be spent in February and March as was expended in January. So far so good. But when it comes to April, May, and June, there is only \$363,000,000 left for those 3 months as against \$362,000,000 for February and March. This amounts to a cut from about 3,000,000 persons to 1,050,000 in 5 months. In other words, for those now obtaining relief, there is a cut of two-thirds in 5 months.

The opposition to this policy of W. P. A. Government spending certainly does not stand on firm ground. The desire for rapid curtailment of Federal spending is exactly what caused the recent recession, from which we are only now emerging with a fair measure of success. We are by no means in such a happy and prosperous condition that we can feel certain industry will now be able to take up the slack which will result from throwing millions off the relief rolls during the coming months.

What is there in the situation of business and industry that will give us the assurance that we shall not again meet with the same debacle that came on the country in 1938? Already we find some of our important national industries fluttering and floundering on the verge of another serious curtailment, and perhaps a tailspin such as overtook the automobile and other industries in 1937 and 1938.

The last issue of Barron's Weekly calls attention to the serious reduction in copper production, and points out that there is no evidence of any pick-up in that industry in the near future. I have just received telegrams from the State of Montana announcing the closing of the Leonard mine at Butte, and the laying off of 970 miners, who will be dependent upon W. P. A. for their existence. It is expected that this closing will be followed by similar closings of mining properties and a curtailment of operations in the smelters. Already I have been notified that the zinc plant connected with the Washoe smelter at Anaconda, Mont., has been closed. Prior to the closing of the Leonard mine, there were 312 miners of Butte certified for jobs on W. P. A., in addition to hundreds of other workers whom W. P. A. had no power to employ. It was, in fact, laying off some of the workers already on the rolls. At the present time in the mining industry alone at Butte there is a total of 1,562 miners who will be dependent upon local help for their very existence if W. P. A. is unable to employ them. There is no local help in sight for them. This curtailment in the mines affects the entire State. I also have information that the railroads have laid off some employees.

Barron's Weekly, the financial journal of Wall Street, also calls attention to the fact that the Kennecott Copper Co. has already made a 10-percent reduction in operations in Utah, and it is rumored that the International Copper Cartel will call for further reductions in the production of copper in the near future.

The New York Times, which I have before me, in its financial section of January 24, calls attention to the severe reactions taking place in the security markets. I quote from that issue of the Times:

It is to be noted that the stock market has lacked rallying power of any consequence in recent weeks.

The article further says:

The business news thus far this year has not been helpful on the side of the advance in the stock market, and there was additional disappointment yesterday when the American Iron and Steel Institute estimated a decline in the week's steel output.

\* \* The New York Times' index of 50 stocks fell 4.04 points on the day to 99.14, the lowest closing level since September 30, 1938. \* \* \* The industrial average dropped 6.56 points to 176.18, and the rail average 1.51 points to 22.11.

Where, then, is there any justification for a drastic reduction in the W. P. A. relief rolls which will undoubtedly have a serious psychological effect on the whole country, upon the theory that business is going to take up the slack?

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I do not want to intrude in the midst of the Senator's remarks; but I have on my desk a clipping from the New York Times of this morning which I should like to have included in the Record at the end of the Senator's remarks, if I may.

Mr. MURRAY. That is a special article. I am reading from the financial section, which gives the accurate statement. Special articles written by reporters sometimes do not do so.

Mr. ADAMS. This is a report of the Bureau of Labor statistics, from the Secretary of Labor, Miss Perkins. That is the source of this article, which I shall ask permission to insert in the RECORD at the conclusion of the Senator's remarks.

Mr. MURRAY. Whence, then, is this demand for the slashing of W. P. A.? Certainly it is not coming from intelligent business and industrial interests. No request, or even suggestion, has come from the management or leadership of business or industry for this wholesale dismissal of workers from the relief rolls. All over the country it will have a serious effect upon the small business and professional men, who are barely able to get along as it is. I think all this hnu and cry we hear for the slashing of W. P. A. is political in origin. It is designed to cripple the administration in its efforts to carry the country through this period of economic distress and confusion with which we have been struggling. If another setback comes these critics will undertake to point to the failure of the administration.

I challenge anyone to name an outstanding leader of business, finance, or industry who will approve of this move to throw thousands of workers off the W. P. A. rolls in every section of the country. No outstanding businessman can be found who would justify such a mistaken policy. On the contrary, scores of able industrial leaders and economists repudiate such a move. I have here a statement made by 69 economists who have joined in an appeal to the administration to halt this dangerous slash in relief. These economists point out that the Government spending program was the only weapon that could be used in fighting the recession and stimulating recovery. They contend that the W. P. A. program should continue to perform this function until private industry clearly demonstrates its capacity to absorb all those released from relief rolls.

I quote from their report further:

The curtailment of W. P. A. at the present time would be particularly ill-timed from an economic as well as from a humanitarian viewpoint, and we strongly urge that the contemplated policy of curtailment be abandoned.

This article is published in the Boston Daily Globe of December 26 last. The statement contains this further language:

Contemplated reductions of the W. P. A. would "involve a reduction of more than \$50,000,000 per month in direct wage payments in addition to some \$30,000,000 in related expenditures." Such a cut in purchasing power would "constitute a severe threat to the continuance of the present economic recovery, and might even cause a serious set-back in business."

This statement is signed by 69 of the leading economists of the country, including 13 from Harvard University and 7 each from Yale and Columbia, besides leading economists from various other nationally known universities and colleges. Among these economists is Paul H. Douglas, of the University of Chicago, who appeared before our unemployment and relief committee last year and made an impressive

analysis of the causes of the recession, proving conclusively that the cessation of spending at that time was a serious mistake and precipitated the recession.

I think anyone who gives consideration to the events which occurred in the country in 1937 and 1938 must realize that what we do here today is going to have serious consequences in the immediate future. Statistics of the W. P. A. have shown us that the funds appropriated last year were wholly insufficient to take care of the Nation's relief load; 750,000 persons properly certified to the rolls were never able to get jobs. If a more adequate appropriation had been made last year, we would be further on toward complete recovery today. We are, of course, now facing a gradual improvement in business and industrial conditions. Employment has increased and production has advanced steadily and substantially.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Lucas in the chair). Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. MURRAY. I yield.

Mr. WAGNER. In connection with what the Senator said a moment ago, perhaps he will give me the privilege of reading a telegram from another association of businessmen from the small-business men in New York City. They send me the following telegram:

Following businessmen's associations and department-store owners, totaling 10,000 members, have agreed to support the United Labor and Citizens' Committee for Jobs and Recovery in efforts to restore the cut of the President's W. P. A. budget by participating in a store closing for 15 minutes Wednesday night, 6 p. m., and endorsing the Saturday January 28 parade in support of the President.

That is signed by a large number of different organizations in New York City. So they are alive to the danger of this decrease in the appropriations.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from New York for his contribution. I have letters from business-

men in my own State along the same line.

The country is really beginning to show signs of confidence in the future. We should, therefore, do nothing at this moment that would retard these improving conditions.

We should take warning from what happened in 1937 and 1938. In 1937 the country had been making rapid progress toward recovery, but the administration then started on a movement to drastically cut W. P. A. rolls. Before the slash began recovery had reached a very satisfactory point. The upturn was well under way, and workers were finding jobs in private industry in constantly increasing numbers. But the urge to cut expenses and balance the Budget took hold of the administration and the drastic cut began. Thousands were thrown out of their jobs before they were able to secure employment in private industry. At the hearings conducted by the Special Senate Committee on Unemployment and Relief last year it was conceded by representatives of business and industry, as well as the Nation's leading economists, that the recession which came on us in the early part of 1938 was directly due to this rapid curtailment in the administration's spending program.

We are going through exactly the same situation again today. Statistics that have been furnished to the Committee on Appropriations prove that private employment today is at a new high point for the past 2 years, but it is by no means all that could be desired. The prospects for further improvement, however, are favorable.

If we want to maintain these conditions and prevent another slump, it is the duty of Congress to make this appropriation sufficient to prevent men from again being thrown off of W. P. A. jobs and creating another psychological condition, ending possibly in another downward spiral of depression. There are at present approximately 11,000,000 unemployed in the country. This constitutes a dangerous, depressing effect upon business and industry. If the curtailment in W. P. A. is permitted to occur as a result of our failure to grant an appropriation sufficient to continue the upward movement of industrial progress, we will have our 1938 experience all over again. As pointed out by the able

and distinguished Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKellar], the \$725,000,000 appropriation would mean the rapid removal from employment of hundreds of thousands of men. This would obviously have exactly the same effect in 1939 as it had in 1937.

The W. P. A. program has never been completely adequate to fulfill the purposes for which it was created. There are at present, as I have said, about 750,000 persons who are certified and in need of work but who cannot be assigned because of arbitrary administrative quotas. If we are to continue the present rapidly improving conditions in industry so as to enable it to gradually absorb the unemployed of the Nation, we must necessarily appropriate funds in an amount that will mean a continuation of the program of work relief.

Instead of cutting the present program Congress should appropriate at least \$915,000,000, as indicated by the Conference of Mayors, who have furnished the committee with statistics conclusively establishing that any lesser appropriation means the discharge of thousands of W. P. A. workers during the coming months. These figures cannot be challenged. It is simply a matter of mathematics. Thus, in order to keep within the \$725,000,000 proposed, it is necessary to get down to a national W. P. A. quota by the end of June of 1,050,000 workers. With present rolls at about 3,000,000 workers, this means that nearly 2,000,000 workers must be discharged.

I propose that the appropriation should be raised to \$915,-000,000, which will merely carry out an adequate program and prevent the discharge of willing and anxious workers at this period. It will mean the continuation of the rapid improvement in business and industry which has been going on all over the Nation. Now is not the time to gamble on recovery. The danger is that even a slight recession, once started, will have cumulative effects. Men thrown out of work buy less, and hence cause trade and industry to produce and sell still less; this, in turn, throws more men out of work in industry, and so on until we find ourselves in the midst of another dangerous industrial slump.

The position of those who are advocating W. P. A. cuts at this time does not represent the real interest and welfare of American industry. I am sure that if the intelligent leaders of industry were consulted they would repudiate this false policy of seeking to achieve recovery by taking it out of the hides of helpless human beings—men, women, and children caught in this debacle of our economic system.

There is no sign on the business horizon to indicate that either recovery or reemployment has gone far enough to justify the reductions on W. P. A. at this time. We are just slowly recovering from the effects of the 1937 cut, which, as I have pointed out, brought on us the recession of 1937 and 1938. The extent of the rise in private investment does not justify any reduction in W. P. A. expenditures. Reemployment to date has not absorbed enough workers to justify a reduction in W. P. A. rolls, whether on humane or economic grounds.

Critics of these relief appropriations love to dwell upon the unbearable and crushing burden of the public debt. These critics are quite willing to incur a much larger public-debt burden for purposes which they may approve. They weep, however, when the Government spending is directed to the general welfare of the people as a whole. Congress did not hesitate to authorize the Government to borrow billions of dollars to protect this country against a foreign enemy during the World War. In 1 year alone we created a deficit of \$13,000,000,000, which was equal to the entire cash deficit of the present administration during the past 5 years. Congress is again proposing to spend billions for preparedness; yet, at the same time, we are quibbling about \$150,000,000 necessary to help protect our human resources.

Mr. President, I submit that every known consideration indicates the necessity for an appropriation of \$915,000,000 to carry on the W. P. A. program for the next 5 months.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, the Senator made one comment which I cannot permit to pass without observation. It was stated by the Senator from Montana that we who were favoring the lesser of these two sums were actuated by political motives.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. MURRAY. I beg the Senator's pardon. If he will read my statement, he will find that I did not say anything of the kind. I said that the hue and cry in the country was actuated by political motives.

Mr. ADAMS. I hope I am in error. If I am correct, I

trust the Senator will correct his remarks.

Mr. MURRAY. If I made any such statement as that, I withdraw it immediately; but I did not. I will show the Senator the statement.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, the Senator incorporated in his remarks quotations from the New York Times. I referred to an article appearing in this morning's New York Times, headed "Industries Hired 200,000 Last Month." now read a portion of the article published in the New York Times:

Private industry in the nonagricultural field absorbed 200,000 more workers in December, Secretary Perkins of the United States Department of Labor announced today. She remarks that the most significant features of the month's gain were the continued increase in factory employment, normally declining at this season, and an unusually large expansion in retail-trade personnel.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics index of factory employment, now 91.1 percent of the 1923–25 average, the Secretary said, is above that for any month during 1938.

### I quote further from the article:

Since July, according to Miss Perkins, almost 1,200,000 workers

Since July, according to Miss Perkins, almost 1,200,000 workers have been reemployed in nonagricultural occupations.

"These figures," she commented, "do not include employees on projects of the Works Progress Administration and other Federal emergency agencies or certain temporary workers who are hired only during peaks of activity in some industries."

The article incorporates the index of manufacturing employment. It shows that employment stood at the peak of 91.1 in December 1938. It incorporates the index of pay rolls for 1938 and shows that for the month of December the index stands at 86.6, which is the peak of the pay-roll index for 1938.

I ask that the article to which I have just referred, appearing in the New York Times of January 25, be incorporated at this point as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The article is as follows:

[From the New York Times, January 25, 1939]

INDUSTRIES HIRED 200,000 LAST MONTH—FEDERAL INDEX, AT 91.1
PERCENT OF 1923-25 AVERAGE, WAS BEST FOR ANY PERIOD IN 1938—
FACTORIES, STORES LEAD—SINCE JULY, OUTSIDE OF FARMING, 1,200,000 GOT JOBS, SECRETARY PERKINS SAYS

Washington, January 24.—Private industry in the nonagricultural field absorbed 200,000 more workers in December, Secretary Perkins, of the United States Department of Labor, announced today. She remarked that the most significant features of the month's gain were the continued increase in factory employment, normally declining at this season, and an unusually large expansion in retail-trade personnel.

normally declining at this season, and an unusually large expansion in retail-trade personnel.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics index of factory employment, now 91.1 percent of the 1923–25 average, the Secretary said, is above that for any month during 1938. It showed a reduction of 3.4 percentage points from December 1937.

In December there was a gain of 3 percent in factory pay rolls. The Bureau's index of factory pay rolls for December, 86.6 percent of the 1923–25 average, was the highest level since November 1937 and was 2.9 percent above the December 1937 level.

### GAIN GREATER THAN SEASONAL

"This," the Secretary commented, "was much more pronounced than the usual seasonal increase of 0.4 percent and represented an than the usual seasonal increase of 0.4 percent and represented an additional \$4,800,000 in weekly disbursements to factory wage earners. The Bureau's index of factory pay rolls for December 1938 was at its highest level since November 1937 and was 2.9 percent above the record of the previous December."

Since July, according to Miss Perkins, almost 1,200,000 workers have been reemployed in nonagricultural occupations.
"These figures." she commented, "do not include employees on projects of the Works Progress Administration and other Federal emergency agencies or certain temporary workers who are hired only during peaks of activity in some industries.

only during peaks of activity in some industries.

"In addition to the gain of approximately 50,000 workers in manufacturing industries, about 44,000 additional persons were

employed in stores between mid-November and mid-December to handle the holiday trade. Increases in employment, in a lesser degree, were reported in metal and bituminous-coal mining, wholesale trade, brokerage, and insurance. In quarries, dyeing and cleaning works, and private building construction there were substantial seasonal recessions. The building industry decline was much less pronounced than is usual in December.

#### CHIEF RAILROADS DROP 18,000

"Class 1 railroads laid off almost 18,000 workers. Seasonal reductions in employment in crude-petroleum producing, utilities, hotels,

tions in employment in crude-petroleum producing, utilities, hotels, and laundries were not large.

"The small decline in anthracite mining was contraseasonal."

Forty-nine of the manufacturing industries reported employment gains and 63 increased their pay rolls. The employment gain of 13 percent in retail trade between mid-November and mid-December reflected the expansion necessary to handle holiday volume and was the "most pronounced employment increase in this month" for the last 10 years.

Wholesale trade reflected a contraseasonal employment gain of 0.5 percent, which added 6.400 employees to pay rolls, and the figures represented the largest number employed at any time since February 1933. Private building construction again reported a "smaller-than-seasonal" decline of 6.1 percent in employment, the smallest curtailment reported between November and December in the last 7 years. in the last 7 years.

### COMPARISONS BACK TO 1926

The Labor Bureau's general index of manufacturing employment in December compares with preceding months and years as follows, with the average of 1923-25 as 100:

onth:	Index
December	91.1
November	90. 6
October	
September	88.8
August	85. 7
July	
June	81.6
May	
April	
March	87.7
February	
January	87.8
December 1937	
December 1936	
December 1935	
December 1934	
December 1933	
December 1932	
December 1931	
December 1930	
December 1929	
December 1928	
December 1927	
December 1926	
December 1920	

The index of December pay rolls compares as follows:

December         86.6           November         84.1           October         83.9           September         81.0           August         76.8           July         70.6           June         70.8           May         72.9           April         74.6           March         77.1           February         76.9           January         75.0           December 1937         84.2           December 1938         98.8           December 1935         80.4           December 1933         56.5           December 1931         57.8           December 1930         75.4           December 1929         101.2           December 1928         106.9           December 1928         106.9           December 1926         103.6	Month:	Index
October         83.9           September         81.0           August         76.8           July         70.6           June         70.8           May         72.9           April         74.6           March         77.1           February         76.9           January         75.0           December 1937         84.2           December 1936         98.8           December 1935         80.4           December 1934         66.2           December 1933         56.5           December 1931         57.8           December 1930         75.4           December 1929         101.2           December 1928         106.9           December 1927         100.0	December	86.6
September       81.0         August       76.8         July       70.6         June       70.8         May       72.9         April       74.6         March       77.1         February       76.9         January       75.0         December 1937       84.2         December 1936       98.8         December 1935       80.4         December 1934       66.2         December 1932       42.4         December 1931       57.8         December 1930       75.4         December 1929       101.2         December 1928       106.9         December 1927       100.0	November	84.1
August       76.8         July       70.6         June       70.8         May       72.9         April       74.6         March       77.1         February       76.9         January       75.0         December 1937       84.2         December 1936       98.8         December 1935       80.4         December 1934       66.2         December 1932       42.4         December 1930       75.4         December 1929       101.2         December 1928       106.9         December 1927       100.0	October	83.9
July       70.6         June       70.8         May       72.9         April       74.6         March       77.1         February       76.9         January       75.0         December 1937       84.2         December 1936       98.8         December 1935       80.4         December 1934       66.2         December 1933       56.5         December 1931       57.8         December 1930       75.4         December 1929       101.2         December 1928       106.9         December 1927       100.0	September	81.0
June       70.8         May       72.9         April       74.6         March       77.1         February       76.9         January       75.0         December 1937       84.2         December 1936       98.8         December 1935       80.4         December 1934       66.2         December 1932       42.4         December 1931       57.8         December 1930       75.4         December 1929       101.2         December 1928       106.9         December 1927       100.0	August	76.8
June     70.8       May     72.9       April     74.6       March     77.1       February     76.9       January     75.0       December 1937     84.2       December 1936     98.8       December 1935     80.4       December 1934     66.2       December 1932     42.4       December 1931     57.8       December 1930     75.4       December 1929     101.2       December 1928     106.9       December 1927     100.0	July	70.6
April       74. 6         March       77. 1         February       76. 9         January       75. 0         December 1937       84. 2         December 1936       98. 8         December 1935       80. 4         December 1934       66. 2         December 1933       56. 5         December 1931       57. 8         December 1930       75. 4         December 1929       101. 2         December 1928       106. 9         December 1927       100. 0		
March       77. 1         February       76. 9         January       75. 0         December 1937       84. 2         December 1936       98. 8         December 1935       80. 4         December 1934       66. 2         December 1932       42. 4         December 1931       57. 8         December 1930       75. 4         December 1929       101. 2         December 1928       106. 9         December 1927       100. 0	May	72.9
February       76.9         January       75.0         December 1937       84.2         December 1936       98.8         December 1935       80.4         December 1934       66.2         December 1932       42.4         December 1931       57.8         December 1930       75.4         December 1929       101.2         December 1928       106.9         December 1927       100.0	April	74.6
January       75.0         December 1937       84.2         December 1936       98.8         December 1935       80.4         December 1934       66.2         December 1933       56.5         December 1931       57.8         December 1930       75.4         December 1929       101.2         December 1928       106.9         December 1927       100.0	March	77.1
December 1937       84.2         December 1936       98.8         December 1935       80.4         December 1934       66.2         December 1933       56.5         December 1931       57.8         December 1930       75.4         December 1929       101.2         December 1928       106.9         December 1927       100.0	February	
December 1936         98.8           December 1935         80.4           December 1934         66.2           December 1933         56.5           December 1932         42.4           December 1931         57.8           December 1930         75.4           December 1929         101.2           December 1928         106.9           December 1927         100.0	January	
December 1935       80.4         December 1934       66.2         December 1933       56.5         December 1932       42.4         December 1931       57.8         December 1930       75.4         December 1929       101.2         December 1928       106.9         December 1927       100.0	December 1937	
December 1934       66. 2         December 1933       56. 5         December 1932       42. 4         December 1931       57. 8         December 1930       75. 4         December 1929       101. 2         December 1928       106. 9         December 1927       100. 0	December 1936	
December 1933       56.5         December 1932       42.4         December 1931       57.8         December 1930       75.4         December 1929       101.2         December 1928       106.9         December 1927       100.0	December 1935	
December 1932       42.4         December 1931       57.8         December 1930       75.4         December 1929       101.2         December 1928       106.9         December 1927       100.0		
December 1931       57.8         December 1930       75.4         December 1929       101.2         December 1928       106.9         December 1927       100.0	December 1933	
December 1930       75.4         December 1929       101.2         December 1928       106.9         December 1927       100.0	December 1932	
December 1929	December 1931	
December 1928 106.9 December 1927 100.0	December 1930	12 (12 (25 (25 (25 (25 (25 (25 (25 (25 (25 (2
December 1927 100.0	December 1929	101.2
December 1021-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1	December 1928	106.9
December 1926 103.6	December 1927	100.0
	December 1926	103.6

The following table gives the high and low index numbers of employment for a series of years:

1938:	Index
December	91.1
June	81.6
1937:	
August	. 109.1
December	93.5
1936:	
December	104.4
January	92.1

Index
95. 2
86. 6
89.0
78.8
THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY OF T
85.0
62.3
The property of
71.2
61.0
THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARK
81.2
72.0
98.3
82.9
E
110.3
100. 7
ASST DIVITABLE (NAMED IN 1918)
103. 5
95.3
The second secon
101.2
96. 5
104. 0
99.7
Security of the American
102.6
96.6
101.9
90.6
105. 7
100.2
99. 1
82.4
THE CASE OF THE PARTY OF THE PARTY.
83.7
79.5
115.6
88.0
Supragrant and the office of the

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I wish to say, because I desire to encourage the Senator from Montana and to concur with his view, that we are moving forward and moving upward industrially and economically. That brings me to the conclusion that we need not anticipate as heavy a load on our relief rolls as in a declining market.

The Senator reached one conclusion which disturbed me greatly. He said that the decline of 1937, which occurred in the latter part of the year, was due to the withdrawal of Government expenditures. I shall be very apprehensive if it becomes apparent that we can never continue a program of economic advance unless we also continue the program of Government expenditures. Personally, I believe that in this, the richest land on the globe, we can advance, can progress, on our own resources and our own manpower, and that this great country will progress, once properly organized and economically operated, and will not be dependent upon stimulation resulting from great governmental expenditures.

I give one figure in addition. We are today spending for relief purposes more than one-half of the total income of our Government. If while doing that we are in danger of a decline, we are, indeed, in a hopeless situation.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. President, I do not think anyone in this body has listened more attentively or more earnestly to the debate and discussion that has taken place in connection with this very important matter than have I. I am frank to say that as an individual Senator I find it very difficult, in fact, impossible, to determine just what amount this appropriation really should be. Obviously, there is great difference of opinion concerning this matter of the amount. Just what amount is too much, what too little, and what amount just right I am very frank to say I have not been able to learn either from the debate or the study of the report. Be that all as it may, what I want to say now—and this is the reason for my being on my feet—is that my whole interest in this particular connection is much more humanitarian

than it is for economy alone. In other words, I know that economies are necessary, but in my own mind the fields of relief and, at this particular time, national defense, are not the most appropriate or justifiable fields for economy for economy's sake alone. In other words, if I vote, as I expect to, for the committee proposal, it will be because as I understand it, Mr. President, that proposal actually gives more protection to the men and women now on the relief rolls than does the other proposal. And that is my chief interest and responsibility.

I should like to ask either the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Adams] or the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes], who have studied this matter so closely, if it is not a fact that the retention of the people on the relief rolls is left to the discretion of one man individually in the committee proposal? The director can, if he likes, reduce the rolls in the wintertime by 5 percent, but not more than that percentage, and he does not have to reduce the rolls during the winter months by a single person, regardless of how much of the appropriation he has to spend in that period?

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. Which does the Senator think would give more jobs, the small appropriation or the larger appropriation?

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. President, I rather expected that question, and I rather expected it from the Senator from Florida. My own conviction is that it is more likely that under the proposal of the committee there will be more money expended, more people kept on the rolls, certainly, if there is need for it, in the winter months than by the other proposal which has no safeguard in this respect. By the same token, at any time, 30 days, 60 days, or 90 days thereafter, there will not be anything to prevent those administering relief from coming in just as they have come in this time, and asking for another deficiency appropriation. And I will vote for it. So I ask the Senator from Colorado if what I say is not a statement of fact, in both these respects.

Mr. ADAMS. The Senator is entirely correct. I think the attitude of the majority of the Committee on Appropriations is more in line and more in harmony with the humanitarian motives of this administration and with the heart of the people than is the minority report, because we positively protect each person on relief during the winter months by a statutory limitation, and do not close the door to a further appropriation thereafter.

If the balance of the fund is not adequate to provide proper relief, we specifically invite the President of the United States to ask for additional money to provide it. We have 2 months of maximum employment under the W. P. A. in which to study the problem, to watch the course of economic movement, and then to do whatever may be necessary, be it great or small.

Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. BYRNES addressed the Chair. Mr. BARBOUR. I yield to the Senator from South Caro-

Mr. BYRNES. The Senator from New Jersey has correctly stated the effect of the language of the amendment which is now pending before the Senate, because the amendment specifically prohibits a reduction of more than 5 percent by any administrative action. It does not say that there must be a reduction of 5 percent, 4 percent, or 1 percent; but it says that if the Administrator does undertake a reduction, the reduction may not be more than 5 percent, in the language of the amendment, during these 2 months. After that, in the warmer months, the Administrator is authorized to apportion the balance of the money over the remainder of the present fiscal year. Then specific reference is made to what the Senator from Colorado has called an invitation. As a matter of fact it is the same thought, expressed in different language, that is expressed in the existing law; namely, that if the President finds that the situation demands more money, he shall submit to the Congress an estimate for the amount of money he deems necessary, and that such estimate shall be accompanied by the

reasons for its submission. That is the purpose of the amendment.

Mr. BARBOUR. I thank the Senator very much.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. It is true that the 5 percent will apply to the \$725,000,000, if appropriated. It will apply in like manner to the larger appropriation, because no fight has been made on that particular provision.

Mr. ADAMS. There have been some indications that some

persons did not approve it.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator must not jump at conclusions from indications. The 5-percent provision would apply to the \$875,000,000 just exactly as it would apply to the \$725,000,000.

Mr. ADAMS. May I say that we are very glad to find the

Senator a convert to that view today.

Mr. McKELLAR. I voted for it in the committee. I do not think it amounts to much, but I voted for it just the same.

That statement cannot explain the matter about which the Senator from Florida [Mr. Pepper] asked. He wanted to know how the money was to be spent so as to make \$725,000,000 more effective for relief than \$875,000,000. The particular proviso referred to applies only to February and March. After that time the organization is permitted to use the money as it sees fit. The Administration has said how it would use the money if \$725,000,000 were appropriated. It has said how it would use it if \$875,000,000 were appropriated.

Let me state what the facts will be so far as New Jersey is concerned. The W. P. A. has given the figures, and the Senator will find them on page 8 of the minority report. In New Jersey there are now 103,000 persons on relief. If \$725,000,000 is appropriated, on July 1 there will be 35,100 persons on the rolls and 67,900 will have been taken off the rolls in New Jersey. If the Senator wants to deprive 67,900 people in New Jersey of relief in 5 months, he can vote for the \$725,000,000. That is what will happen.

Mr. BARBOUR. The Senator, of course, cannot put me in that position, because he knows that is not what I want.

Mr. McKELLAR. I do not think it is.

Mr. BARBOUR. I want just the reverse of that; and the proposal of the committee will do it.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. BYRNES. Let me say to the Senator from New Jersey that if 103,000 persons are on relief in New Jersey, and a reduction of 17 percent is made in the amount, if the Administrator then deliberately should take 68,000 out of 103,000 persons, or 66 percent, off the rolls because of a reduction of 17 percent, something ought to be done to the Administrator.

Mr. BARBOUR. And I should like to be the one to do it.
Mr. McKELLAR. The Administrator has given the facts.
They are in the evidence. There is nothing to the contrary in the evidence. What I have stated is just exactly what will happen in the Senator's State. Two-thirds of the persons will go off relief.

Mr. BARBOUR. I cannot agree with the Senator.

Mr. ADAMS. Does not the Senator think that the Administrator is also a little short on matters of percentage?

Mr. McKELLAR. I do not know about that. I do not think he is.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield gladly to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. There is quite a difference between calculating a reduction of 17 percent at the beginning of the period, to cover the whole period, and calculating a smaller reduction for the first 2 or 3 months of the period, but a much larger reduction during the latter months of the period.

That is exactly what the Administrator has worked out. Seventeen percent taken from the rolls for the first 5 months would make it necessary to take them all off at once, and saw off the butt end of the log at the start. However, by spreading it out over the period there would be a smaller percent-

age of reduction for the first part of the period, but a larger one during the latter part of the period.

That is not the matter about which I wanted to interrupt the Senator. It was the same thought that the Senator from

Tennessee had.

The Senator from Colorado, the Senator from South Carolina, and the whole committee, I suppose, contend that regardless of the amount of the appropriation, the 5-percent limitation for the first 2 months ought to apply. If we may assume that it will apply regardless of the amount, the Senator from New Jersey will recognize, of course, that there would be less necessity even to discharge the 5 percent during February and March under an appropriation of \$875,000,000 than there would be under an appropriation of \$725,000,000.

Mr. BARBOUR. I will tell the Senator that so far as I am concerned I do not want any one at all put off the rolls in this winter. Moreover, I want no doors closed to any appropriation later on if further expenditures for relief are necessary.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am satisfied that the Senator feels that way about the matter, and we all feel that way about it. Of course, with either of these amounts some persons must be discharged from the rolls. With the larger amount there would be less likelihood of anybody being discharged during February or March, or during the winter than with the smaller amount. Even with the 5-percent limitation during February and March, there is no necessity for the Administrator to discharge anybody during February and March.

He can keep them all on the roll. However, if he does, when the 1st of April comes he must make such a precipitate reduction, in order that the \$725,000,000 may last until July 1, that it would be like riding in an airplane and striking an air pocket, and suddenly descending four or five hundred feet. So I do not see how anybody can calculate that with the smaller appropriation there would be greater protection to the persons now on the rolls, even with the 5-percent limitation, than there would be with the larger appropriation, especially if the 5-percent limitation is to apply. With the larger appropriation, and with the 5-percent limitation included, it might be possible to go through February and March without discharging anybody. However, I hardly see how it would be possible with the smaller amount, unless we were prepared on the first day of April to discharge almost half of those still remaining on the rolls.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield gladly.

Mr. BYRNES. If the Senator will look into the Record, I know he will find the figures which I inserted yesterday, and which I shall be glad to hand him now. He will find from those figures that under the committee report there is no excuse for a reduction by July 1 to a figure of less than 2,000,000 persons. No figures presented by the Administrator can change simple arithmetic. The expenditure is figured out at \$61 a month from February 7 to July 1. The figures which have been quoted are based upon having only 1,000,000 persons upon the rolls on July 1, when the majority of the Appropriations Committee know that \$725,000,000 will provide for no reduction greater than 5 percent during the first 2 months, and never below 2,000,000 until July 1.

Mr. BARBOUR. I thank the Senator very much; and I yield the floor.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, before the Senator takes his seat, will he state if it is not a fact that the statement he has just made is based upon the premise that there was a larger sum than \$190,000,000 on hand on January 1?

Mr. BYRNES. No; it is based upon the fact that the Director has said he had enough money to run him to February 7. Not once did he say it, but at least 10 times before the Senate committee and the House committee. The difference in the figures is that he is now calculating on spreading this money for 3,000,000 persons over the entire month of February, whereas he testified before us that he has sufficient money to run him until February 7.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, if the Senator from South Carolina were to assume as a premise that the Administrator had on hand and unobligated \$190,000,000 on January 1, would he come to the same conclusion that the Senator from South Carolina has just indicated?

Mr. BYRNES. That raises an entirely different question. I attempted yesterday to say that so far as the unobligated balance is concerned, no two statements submitted to the committee up to this time can be reconciled. Just at the time this debate was started I was reading one that I have now seen for the first time, and it is entirely different from any I have seen up to this time; and that question is not involved in the other question, that of taking the \$725,000,000

and spending it from February 7.

I will say to the Senator, however, that if he ever goes into the unobligated balance, he will find that in the testimony before the House committee the Director said that he did not intend to spend more than \$750,000,000 in the time from February 7 to July 1. That is in the testimony. Then how does he explain the difference? He says that the balance, \$175,000,000, he desires to have to carry over. He now has practically the same amount starting into this period, and he does not count it. In other words, he just says, "I have \$175,000,000 with which I shall have to pay pay rolls and pay for materials. I have to have that amount on hand. Now, you give me \$725,000,000."

If we give him \$725,000,000, and he already has \$150,000,-000, I know then that he has \$875,000,000; and when he gets to July 1, if he is not going to spend more than \$750,000,000 he is bound to have the same carry-over. On July 1 of every fiscal year the statement has been made to us that they have a carry-over to look after the period for the first 2 weeks, and they have to do it. When the Administrator says, as he testified before the House committee, that he does not expect to expend more than \$750,000,000, he tells you that he does not expect to spend any more than the House commit-

tee has now given him.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I should like, if possible, for some of us to get some premise from which we may reason, because honest men reasoning from different premises will come to different conclusions. Let us start our reasoning with the assumption that there were \$190,000,000 on hand and unobligated on January 1.

Mr. BYRNES. I never like to reason with a gentleman, though, if he starts with a premise as to which I do not

Mr. PEPPER. I am going to state the premise, and then let the Senator state the contrary. I say, let us start with the premise that there is \$190,000,000 unobligated on January, 1, 1939, or December 31, 1938, as you choose, as indicated by the testimony of Colonel Harrington on page 31, at the bottom of the page, in the Senate Appropriations Committee hearings, reading as follows:

STATUS OF W. P. A. FUNDS AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1938

Colonel Harrington. Obligations incurred against these funds totaled \$1,162,000,000 as of December 31, 1938, leaving on that date an unobligated balance of approximately \$181,000,000.

Then he points out that in addition to that there are transfer funds of \$9,000,000, which give him on hand and unobligated January 1, 1939, \$190,000,000.

On page 6 of the same hearing he gives a table showing \$180,599,422 as the balance available for obligation. That is table 1-B, on page 6; and down at the bottom there is a note which says:

These data include \$20,800,000 transferred from balances of allocations under the Emergency Relief Administration Act of 1937, but do not include \$9,590,482 of such balances which still remain available for transfer.

If we were to take those two statements and that testimony as showing that the Administrator had on hand, on January 1, \$190,000,000, then I ask the Senator whether he would come to the conclusion he has just indicated?

Mr. BYRNES. As to the premise, I certainly never could agree. I have in my hand a report issued by the Adminis-

trator showing the financial status of funds in the Emergency Appropriation Acts as of January 10, and I find there for the first time the statement, which I shall be glad to show to the Senator, that on that date we had on hand another amount which was not mentioned in that testimony:

Undistributed by programs, \$50,137,955.

And then this note in explanation of it:

(1) Appropriated but not yet distributed to specific programs by administrative agencies.

A sum of \$50,000,000 on that date which has not yet been distributed to any program of any agency.

Mr. PEPPER. Does the Senator know that it has not been

obligated to some agency?

Mr. BYRNES. The statement is specific. It sets out the obligations to the State work programs, the amount that is obligated then to the Federal Nation-wide program, then to administrative expenses, and then it says this amount is undistributed to any program; and certainly until it is distributed to a program it is impossible to obligate something.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, is there not a difference between distribution and obligation or allocation? Distribution is actually spending the money. Obligation or allocation may be earmarking it so that the projects have already been approved, but the money has not been actually distributed.

Mr. BYRNES. If the Senator believes that before this money is ever distributed to the National Youth Administration, the National Youth Administration is going to assume the power and authority to go out and obligate it, he thinks that Administration will assume an authority that I have no

idea any administrative official would assume.

I will say to the Senator from Florida that what amount the Administrator carries over is really not involved in this particular discussion as to what can be done with this money, and that is where the Senator is being confused by these figures, as we have so often been. Whether the Administrator brings up to February 7, \$170,000,000 or \$70,000,000, if, when he comes to that date and he has this carry-over, we come along and say, "Here is \$725,000,000," then he has \$725,000,000 to spend that does not affect this amount in any way at all. This is an additional amount. The disposition of this \$725,000,000, without adding a dollar to it, will provide for the number of persons indicated on the statement I have read, never less than 2,000,000, up to July 1. That is not involved with this additional fund, except that to the extent that there is a carry-over it must be added to the \$725,000,000 which we now put into the Administrator's hands.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I know that the Senate to a large degree shares the element of confusion I have about all these figures which are given to and fro. I wanted to pin the matter down to a given time and a given point and let us see what the difference is between the Senator's premise

and my premise.

I start with \$190,000,000 on the 1st of January 1939, and I can reason from there to a conclusion. Now, let us see what the premise of the Senator from South Carolina is on the 1st of January 1939 and begin at that point to reason. Will the Senator from South Carolina be good enough to state what the unobligated available balance of dollars and cents was on the 1st of January 1939?

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, may I step in here? I happen to have the figures for the 1st of January.

Mr. PEPPER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADAMS. The Senator from South Carolina has the figures for the 10th of January. These are the figures in the President's report:

The unobligated balances of emergency relief funds on December 31, 1938, were \$482,800,000, and there are other funds which bring the total to \$537,600,000; but emergency relief funds unobligated on December 31, 1938, according to the report the President made, amounted to \$482,800,000. I think we should start from that premise and then reason.

Mr. BYRNES. I will say to the Senator from Florida in good faith that I know that if he is going to attempt to reason

from January 1 with the figures supplied to the Appropriations Committee of the Senate by the Treasury, by the President, and by the Administrator it is just a hopeless matter. Therefore I have attempted to say to him that disregarding those figures—because we have to disregard them, no two statements being alike—and considering only the amount of \$725,000,000 that we now appropriate and put into the Administrator's hands, and dividing that amount among the number of persons at work at the rate at which he says he figures them, \$61 per month, it would provide the necessary amount if he did not have a dollar on January 1 or January 15 or 16, or until February 7.

Therefore I know that it is much easier to reach a conclusion, certainly it is for me, as to what I can do with the \$725,-000,000 if you hand it to me on February 7, rather than to go back and attempt to say how much money should be appropriated when no two statements he has given us can be reconciled.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, if the committee report to the Senate that they simply do not know how much money is now available, or how much was available at a given time, how can they expect the Senate to pass intelligent judgment on the matter?

Mr. BYRNES. What the committee reports is that the Director does not know.

Mr. PEPPER. I ask the committee to advise me, as one Member of the Senate, how many dollars, unobligated and available for expenditure, were on hand on the 1st day of January, in an authentic figure, so that we will begin to reason from some point and know where we are.

Mr. BYRNES. It all depends on what the Senator regards as an authentic figure. The Senator from Colorado has quoted the figure submitted by the President of the United States, the highest authority we know. If the Senator accepts that, very well. If he cannot, we can submit no higher authority.

Mr. PEPPER. Is it not appropriate to refer the bill back to the committee, and let them find out what the truth is, and come back to the Senate with some figure on which we can depend?

By logic which I think is not refutable, I come to the conclusion that if their prohibition against more than a 5-percent cut is applicable through the month of March they will wind up with approximately a million people on the pay roll at the end of the month of June, and I should be glad to have those figures examined by anybody. That takes into consideration the 90,000 for whom provision is said to be made to the 1st of March. Those figures would provide for caring for the 2,900,000 for 2 months' time, and that would give \$354,000,000, which would be the expense of caring for them. Then there would be \$183,000,000 to be added to that, which would make \$537,000,000 to be required to carry on until the end of the month of March.

The appropriation asked is \$725,000,000. To be added to that is \$190,000,000, on hand January the 1st, making the total available funds \$915,000,000. Subtracting \$537,000,000 from \$915,000,000 gives a balance of \$378,000,000 which will have to carry the load for the 3 months of April, May, and June.

One hundred and eighty-three dollars would be the amount necessary to carry one man, at \$61 a month, for 3 months. Dividing \$378,000,000 by \$183, we get 2,070,000, which means that for the last 3 months we will have to have an average figure of 2,070,000 on the pay roll. How can we get an average of 2,000,000 for 3 months without having as much above 2,000,000 for 1 month and the same amount below 2,000,000 for the third month?

If we do that, we will come to a balance of a million people on the W. P. A. rolls, or approximately that, at the end of the month of June. Therefore, the Senate cannot decide this question. I am willing to take the Administrator's testimony. He is an Army engineer, a graduate of West Point, and a man who is qualified by experience, having been in this organization for years, assigned there by the President of the United States. He has intimate contact

with this problem and knows what he is talking about. When he comes before a committee of the Senate and gives his solemn testimony that there was \$190,000,000 on hand unobligated and available for expenditure on the 1st day of January, I am going to give credence to his statement, and if I give credence to it I come to an unhappy conclusion which I am not willing to adopt and which the Senator from New Jersey says he is not willing to adopt. So if we cannot start with a point and a premise and a figure that is dependable, how can we arrive at a satisfactory conclusion which can be accepted by the whole Senate?

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Florida yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. There is one thing which seems to bring confusion to many of us, and that is the question of the carry-over. If we were to abolish the W. P. A. on the 30th of June, and wind it up, there would still be a carry-over, to complete the projects which had been begun, of approximately \$125,000,000. That always happens. We do not even have to consider a fiscal year, but take the end of any month, and Colonel Harrington so testified, and he has confirmed it to me personally since his testimony. There is always an average of about \$125,000,000 of an appropriation for a fiscal year that must be expended in the next fiscal year, because it is a carry-over.

This \$56,000,000—and I might say that it is not that large; it is really about \$45,000,000, I believe—is what they carry over from the month of January into the month of February. In other words, they will have enough money out of the appropriation which has already been made to complete projects, or to complete the pay roll for work which has been done in January, up to the 7th day of February. But if we were to conclude and terminate the W. P. A. completely on the 30th of June, the same condition would then exist, and there would be a carry-over which probably would be sufficient to pay those on the rolls up to the 7th day of July, or some approximate date like that.

So we can never end a thing up abruptly, at any midnight, and say there is no carry-over, because there will always be a carry-over after we have terminated it. So it seems to me that very fact is partly responsible for some of the confusion which exists here with respect to how much money was on hand to be expended during the first part of January, and how much will be available to be expended on the 1st of February, or during the first week in February.

I have a letter which I have received today from Colonel Harrington, and which tomorrow, in some very brief remarks I hope to make, I shall include in the RECORD, undertaking to clear up that misapprehension on the part of many Senators regarding the \$45,000,000 or \$56,000,000. I also have a letter from the Director of the Budget, in which he confirms the statement made by the Administrator and by the President, that although in the Budget only \$750,000,000 was estimated for actual expenditure by being actually paid out of the Treasury up to July 1, \$875,000,000 is the amount necessary in order to carry on the work according to the program which they have outlined. So there is really no inconsistency between the \$750,000,000 they asked for actual appropriation during the fiscal year and the \$875,000,000 which they said would be necessary to carry on the work of the fiscal year, with this carry-over beyond the 1st day of July.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Florida yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. WAGNER. I thought I had some comprehension of these figures until I heard all this discussion. Assuming that the Senator from Florida is accurate in the statement he has made—and I followed it very closely—the result would be, with the \$725,000,000 appropriation, that by the end of June private industry would have to absorb 2,000,000 of the 3,000,000 now upon the rolls, not counting at all those who are certified who have not yet received employment.

Mr. PEPPER. That is exactly correct.

Mr. WAGNER. So far as our experience goes, is not that utterly out of the question, that private industry during that short period of time can absorb so many from W. P. A.?

Mr. PEPPER. The Senator is undoubtedly correct.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. HILL. That is the reason why I find it impossible to go along with the subcommittee who recommend the cut which would result in taking all these men off the roll, but who offer nothing so far as putting the men back to work is concerned. What is going to keep these men and their families going if we make this reduction? Has the committee suggested anywhere that these men may find work or find some means of income or something to afford them and their families a livelihood?

Mr. PEPPER. I will say to the Senator from Alabama that, based on that premise, I would just as soon have \$190,-000,000 unobligated and available on hand January 1, 1939. The way the conclusion was arrived at was, that there would be 40,600 out of 61,500 cut off of the existing W. P. A. rolls in the State of the Senator from Alabama; in the State of the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER], as he has already no doubt learned, in the city of New York, there would be 118,400 out of 179,600 cut off; in up-State New York 43,500 out of 66,000; and in my State of Florida, where we now have 52,400, we would have at the end of June 34,600, or I believe something like 67 percent of the ones now on the relief rolls would be off. And I may add that in my State already at least six or eight thousand people have been cut off since the 1st of January. In the Nation at large something like 75,000, or perhaps 100,000, have been cut off since the 1st of January. I have not seen anybody shedding any tears about their welfare. They have already been cut off. Why not let us put them back? The committee did not recommend that. Yet the unquestioned testimony before the committee was that they had been cut off, and there was no place for them to go, so far as I have seen the record disclosed.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. BONE. In my own State, in the month of January, 10,000 W. P. A. workers were stricken from the rolls. It is my view that if we should appropriate \$875,000,000, we would still save a depletion of those rolls precisely as we did in my State in the month of January. If we were to freeze it at that figure, even with the \$875,000,000, I confront the picture in my own State of 16,000 or 18,000 persons being certified who can by no possibility ever get on the rolls. So we have to stand here, whether we will it or not, in the role of executioners. We are purging those people. We are driving them out and creating an army of refugees here in our own America, who are almost as pitiful as those in Europe.

I am wondering if we have to make this election, so that we say 10,000 or 15,000 shall go off the rolls. They all have to suffer. There is no hope, even with the \$875,000,000 appropriation, of putting back the number that were on the rolls in December, and the conditions do not justify that. In my judgment, the figure of \$875,000,000 will be insufficient to take care of the people who have been certified, and who, without the assistance of W. P. A., are not going to be able to eat.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator explain what he means by being certified and state what he believes to be the credibility and the responsibility of the certifying agency in his own State?

Mr. BONE. In my own State the State agencies have quit certifying because of the inability of W. P. A. to take care of those who were certified. They abandoned that in the month of December. It was a futile gesture to certify men at that time, when the W. P. A. was laying them off. Ten thousand were laid off in the month of December. The State relief agency is unable to take care of them. They are paying \$5.60 to each family in the way of direct relief. But that in itself becomes an increasing burden on the State as the W. P. A. rolls diminish.

Mr. PEPPER. Does the Senator have an opinion or any knowledge as to whether the people who were certified were investigated by the State agency before certification and found to be in need?

Mr. BONE. Yes, indeed. I will say to the Senator from Florida that one of the complaints made to me repeatedly in my State was that the certifying agency in the State was entirely too harsh and rigorous; that its judgments were almost Draconian; in other words, they went into a home and literally fingerprinted a person and demanded a birth certificate from the person who was applying to get on W. P. A. Men very deeply resented it. They said it was an intrusion which they did not think was justified. It has caused no end of trouble in the State of Washington in the way of objection to the program.

Mr. PEPPER. Did the State have any experience with complaints as to the length of time consumed in making

investigations on account of that situation?

Mr. BONE. Yes. The complaint was made, whether justly or not—and certainly I had enough complaints in my office to challenge my attention many times—that when a person went out to seek certification the State was a long time getting around to it, and people could not eat for a long time and suffered very severely. I suspect that situation exists in a number of other States where they have a form of certification such as that which exists in the State of Washington.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, was that a State agency, or W. P. A.?

Mr. BONE. No; the State agency certifies them as being entitled to go on W. P. A. In other words, the W. P. A. organization has looked to the State to certify them as proper subjects for W. P. A. employment.

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, in view of the fact that no one seems to have any authentic figures, and we are all confused about figures—in fact, we have confusion worse confounded—are we not driven in the last analysis to a choice between following the committee as to what the policy shall be in the matter of expenditures, or the Administration, which has had the execution of this law under its charge for a number of years?

Mr. PEPPER. I see no escape from that conclusion. So far as I am concerned, in spite of the deference I have for the committee members and the affection I have for them personally, I think Colonel Harrington knows more about the W. P. A. than these fine, good friends of ours.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I ask the Senator whether or not in all these discussions we ought not to be reminded occasionally that all propaganda of communism and nazi-ism thrives on economic despair.

Mr. PEPPER. Unquestionably so. And not only that, I will say to the Senator from New York, but if the New York business world knew that the Congress of the United States threatened to make any appreciable reduction in public expenditures, in my humble opinion, we should see a very violent and unfavorable business reaction in that community.

Mr. WAGNER. I will say to the Senator that while the distinguished junior Senator from Montana was addressing us I read a telegram signed by 10,000 members of business associations in New York protesting against the proposed cut in the W. P. A. appropriation. So that they have already voiced their sentiments.

Mr. PEPPER. I imagine the Senator would agree with me that the best way to give business confidence is to give business customers.

Mr. WAGNER. Of course. Purchasing power, after all, is the blood of our whole economic system. We ought not to forget that.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I had intended to submit a few more remarks in connection with this matter, but in view of the lateness of the hour, I should prefer to proceed tomorrow.

Mr. BARKLEY. I was waiting. I thought the Senator would conclude today.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, if it would be agreeable to the Senate, I should like to have the privilege of resuming my remarks tomorrow, if there is no impropriety in making such

Mr. BARKLEY. I think it is perfectly proper for the Senator to make the request. The Senator from Florida has the floor.

Mr. BONE. I should like to ask the Senator from Colorado a question. Possibly he cannot answer it.

Mr. ADAMS. I have been faced with many such situa-

Mr. BONE. In view of the tremendous difference in the figures presented here with respect to the unexpended and unobligated balances of the W. P. A. funds, can the Senator tell us how it is possible for the President and for the chief executive officer of W. P. A. and other well-informed persons to be so far apart in their estimates of the actual number of dollars available to W. P. A.? Is there not any single key system of books through which all could be made clear?

Mr. ADAMS. There is a single key system of books, and that is all set out in the report of the President of the United States sent to the Congress. All the figures are set out there. Everything is set out in detail. All the expenditures are set out. Even obligations which have not yet resulted in expenditures are set out. The record is a very accurate and a very complete one.

Mr. BONE. Does Colonel Harrington have access to that information?

Mr. ADAMS. He does.

Mr. BONE. How does it happen that he advises us in his statement that the Administration has \$190,000,000?

Mr. ADAMS. I am not able to tell the Senator how Colonel Harrington obtains his information.

Mr. BONE. The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes1 mentioned a figure of \$50,000,000 or \$55,000,000, and I believe the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] suggested \$45,000,000. The problem becomes confusion worse confounded.

Mr. BYRNES. The Senator from Kentucky said there was always \$125,000,000 carried over, and according to the Senator from Florida there is a balance of \$190,000,000. If the Senator from Florida and the Senator from Kentucky are correct, there is a total of \$190,000,000 plus \$125,000,000.

Mr. ADAMS. Which would make \$315,000,000.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, I wonder if it is possible for the committee to obtain from Colonel Harrington a further statement reconciling these conflicts.

Mr. ADAMS. It is possible to get a statement. I have no question as to the accuracy of the statement of the President of the United States, with all the details which he sent to us at our request. The statement was sent to us after Colonel Harrington testified before our committee.

Mr. HUGHES. It must be apparent that many of us do not understand the situation. There seems to be a diversity of opinion as to what figures should be taken in arriving at the calculations we have been trying to make. In view of the discussions which we have had, is it not possible to iron out the conflicts by giving us later figures upon which we may rely, securing them from Colonel Harrington or some other source?

Mr. ADAMS. I think we can obtain reliable figures. I would not say to the Senator that I would accept Colonel Harrington as the final word on the matter. I do accept the statement of the President of the United States and the report of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. HUGHES. I wish to say further that I understand that the Senator from Kentucky, our floor leader, has later figures. I was hopeful that they would be presented this afternoon, so that we could have them. I wonder if those figures could be presented to the Senate tomorrow.

I had not intended this afternoon to pre-Mr. BARKLEY. sent the figures which I have, because of the lateness of the hour. I shall present them as soon as I can tomorrow.

Mr. HUGHES. Personally, I am very anxious to come to an understanding about these conflicting figures, and, if possible, to arrive at a basis on which I may make my own calculations. I am not any stronger at figuring than is the Senator from Colorado, and yet I know something about ordinary arithmetic. I should like to have figures from which I can make my own calculations and arrive at my own judgment as to what I should do under the circumstances. Without some figures upon which we can rely it is difficult to see just how we can arrive at a conclusion as to whether we should vote for \$725,000,000 or \$875,000,000.

Mr. BARKLEY. I hope that before a vote is taken we can all reconcile the various totals and figures which have been given. The Senator from Colorado reads from some sort of book which evidently is not a part of the hearings. I presume it is a report of the President in his Budget message.

Mr. ADAMS. No; it is a report which was submitted on January 10, 1939.

Mr. BARKLEY. That report is not available to all of us.

Mr. ADAMS. Oh, yes. The Senator will find in his office a digest, with the statement that a copy of the report is available to him if he wishes it.

Mr. BARKLEY. I suppose that report includes many other departments.

Mr. ADAMS. No; this is all in reference to the relief department.

Mr. BARKLEY. Including the National Youth Administration and several other branches?

Mr. ADAMS. Including all the emergency relief appropriations.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

## EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Lucas in the chair) laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting several nominations, and withdrawing a nomination, which were referred to the appropriate committees

(For nominations this day received and nomination withdrawn, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

### EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. SHEPPARD, from the Committee on Military Affairs. reported favorably the nominations of several officers for promotion in the Regular Army.

Mr. WALSH, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, reported favorably the nominations of sundry officers and citizens for appointment or promotion in the Navy.

Mr. BAILEY, from the Committee on Commerce, reported favorably the nominations of sundry ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Coast Guard.

Mr. TYDINGS, from the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, reported favorably the nomination of Edward L. Bartlett, of Alaska, to be secretary of the Territory of Alaska, vice Edward W. Griffin, deceased.

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of several postmasters in the State of Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The reports will be placed on the Executive Calendar. If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will read the nominations on the calendar.

### POSTMASTERS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of postmasters.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask that the nominations of postmasters be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations of postmasters are confirmed en bloc.

That concludes the calendar.

#### RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. As in legislative session, I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Thursday, January 26, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 25 (legislative day of January 17), 1939

UNITED STATES HOUSING AUTHORITY

Jacob Crane, of Illinois, as Assistant Administrator and Director of Project Planning of the United States Housing Authority.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

Gaston Louis Porterie, of Louisiana, to be United States district judge for the western district of Louisiana, to fill a position created by the act of Congress of May 31, 1938.

#### CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 25 (legislative day of January 17), 1939

POSTMASTERS

COLORADO

John W. Baldwin, Hudson. Gertrude M. Carroll, Woodland Park.

### WITHDRAWAL

Executive nomination withdrawn from the Senate January 25 (legislative day of January 17), 1939

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

Gaston Louis Porterie, of Louisiana, to be United States district judge for the northern district of Louisiana, to fill a position created by the act of Congress of May 31, 1938.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1939

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our blessed Heavenly Father, we are deeply thankful when we think of the Lord God at Bethel, in the manger, on the cross, and on the mount. Cause us this day some message of Thy truth to bring; speak through our lives and our lips as we work for things to be. As we pray may we harken unto Thy word: "A man shall be as a hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." O kindle our souls with enthusiastic love and devotion. Let the Rock with its restful shadow shelter us. When the wind of trial is fiercest, be our hiding place; when the blasting tempest affrights us and the way leads through the desert of unfruitful experience; when hopes wither and plans are defeated, be Thou a refreshing stream of water in the barren places. In the name of the Saviour. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read.

The SPEAKER. Without objection the Journal will stand approved.

There was no objection.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that Mr. Lucas, of Illinois, had been appointed as a member of the Joint Committee on Government Organization, in accordance with Public Resolution No. 4,

Seventy-fifth Congress, to fill the vacancy caused thereon by the expiration of the term of Hon. Fred H. Brown, formerly a Senator from the State of New Hampshire.

The message also announced that the Vice President had appointed Mr. Barkley and Mr. Gibson members of the joint select committee on the part of the Senate, as provided for in the act of February 16, 1889, as amended by the act of March 2, 1895, entitled "An act to authorize and provide for the disposition of useless papers in the Executive departments," for the disposition of executive papers in the following departments and agencies:

- 1. Department of Commerce.
- 2. Department of Labor.
- 3. Department of the Navy.
- 4. Post Office Department.
- 5. Farm Credit Administration.
- 6. Federal Trade Commission.
- 7. Works Progress Administration.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein a letter by Frederic R. Coudert, a leading international lawyer, to the editor of the New York Times which appeared in today's edition in reply to a letter of the Honorable Henry C. Stimson recently published in the New York Times on the Spanish embargo.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I certainly have no personal objection to the matter offered by the gentleman from New York, but on Friday last I made a perfectly reasonable request to extend in the Record a statement and article by one of our own Members. It was objected to. Until that matter is incorporated in the Record, or until we have some understanding as to what the content of the Record shall be, I feel myself constrained to object, and I do object.

The SPEAKER. Objection is heard.

### CALENDAR WEDNESDAY

The SPEAKER. This is Calendar Wednesday. The Clerk will call the roll of the committees.

The Clerk called the roll of the committees.

### CODIFICATION OF INTERNAL-REVENUE LAWS

Mr. DOUGHTON (when the Committee on Ways and Means was called). Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Ways and Means, I call up the bill (H. R. 2762) to consolidate and codify the internal-revenue laws of the United States.

### CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts makes the point of order that there is not a quorum present. Evidently there is no quorum present.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

## [Roll No. 6]

Barton
Brown, Ohio
Buckley, N. Y.
Byron
Case, S. Dak.
Clark
Collins
Creal
Crosser
Curley
Darrow
Dempsey
Dingell

Douglas
Evans
Gamble
Gerlach
Hendricks
Holmes
Johnson, Okla.
Kee
Lambertson
McArdle
McGehee
McGranery

McReynolds

Maciejewski Magnuson Merritt Mitchell Mouton Murdock, Ariz. O'Leary Oliver Ramspeck Reece, Tenn. Risk Sabath Sandager Seger
Simpson
Smith, Conn.
Somers, N. Y.
Sumners, Tex.
Sweeney
Taylor, Colo.
Tinkham
Voorhis, Calif.,
White, Idaho
Wood

The SPEAKER. On this roll call 382 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

On motion of Mr. Doughton, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

CODIFICATION OF INTERNAL-REVENUE LAWS

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill may be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I understand there are 500 pages in this bill. I ask the chairman of the committee if it is not true that these bills have not yet been printed in accordance with the rules of the House? They are not on the floor of the House now.

Mr. DOUGHTON. I do not suppose I can satisfy the gen-There are over 100 copies available. It is a very expensive bill to print, and the committee has been desirous of not incurring any more expense than necessary. I am sure the gentleman has notes of the points of the bill in which he is interested.

Mr. CHURCH. It is my information, Mr. Speaker, that very few copies of this bill are available and there are not more than 18 copies on the floor. This does not comply with the rule of the House or the statute, as set forth on page 455 of the House Rules and Manual, which reads:

SEC. 55. There shall be printed of each Senate and House public bill and joint resolution 625 copies, which shall be distributed—

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CHURCH. I yield.

Mr. DOUGHTON. I suggest, Mr. Speaker, that the gentleman is proceeding on information that is incorrect.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will overrule the point of order.

There are copies available to Members.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I understand there are no more than 18 copies avail-This is a bill of 500 pages. I am therefore constrained to object to the consideration of this bill at this time unless I can receive further information. I am sure I am correct that there are no more than 18 copies of this 500-page bill available for the Members of the House.

Mr. DOUGHTON. I will furnish the gentleman with a

copy if that will convince him.

Mr. RAYBURN. If the gentleman will permit, I may say that the gentleman cannot prevent consideration of this bill at this time because it is called up under the Calendar Wednesday rule, and the Committee on Ways and Means was reached on the call of the calendar.

Mr. CHURCH. I understand I cannot prevent the bill's coming up, but I have the right to object to bringing up for consideration a 500-page bill which has not been made available to the Members. It has taken all this discussion on my part to even get the one copy just handed to me.

Mr. RAYBURN. The bill is already before the House, I

may say to the gentleman.

Mr. DOUGHTON. We can easily determine whether the gentleman is correct or not.

I take the position the gentleman is entirely incorrect that there are only 18 copies available.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, I want to ask a further ques-

The regular order was demanded.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Doughton]?

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Church] objects to the request. The House automatically resolves itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2762) to consolidate and codify the internal-revenue laws of the United States, with Mr. BEAM in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, this bill, H. R. 2762, would enact into absolute law an internal-revenue code, which would contain in one volume all existing law dealing exclusively with internal-revenue matters. At present the internal-revenue laws are scattered throughout 35 volumes of the Statutes at Large which I have before me. The revenue laws are contained in these 35 different volumes.

A taxpayer, in order to find out what his tax liability to the Government is, may have to search painstakingly through all these volumes to ascertain what may be due the Government under existing internal-revenue laws, and then he cannot be absolutely certain he is correct, because many of the laws have been repealed. It may be difficult or impossible for him to find just where the repealing measure is contained in the various books which are on the table here.

I may say at the outset that this bill has the unanimous support of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. Does this proposed codification include decisions on questions involving internal revenue laws?

Mr. DOUGHTON. No; it does not contain court decisions. It contains the laws as written, no more and no less.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. I mean the construction of those laws.

Mr. COOPER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Chairman, this is simply a compilation or codification of all internal revenue statutory law.

There is one practical question presented to the House today and that is whether or not we shall continue with these 35 volumes containing the internal-revenue laws or whether for the convenience and in the interest of the taxpayers and those interested in these matters we shall bring it all together in one volume. That is the only question presented.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. I am in complete sympathy with the proposal, but I wondered if it also contained decisions of the courts on questions arising from these various

Mr. COOPER. No. I may say to the gentleman it only applies to the statutory law and is a compilation of the internal revenue statutory laws. It does not in any way change or seek to change any existing internal revenue statute.

Mr. MICHENER. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman from Michi-

Mr. MICHENER. Is this a codification or a compilation? Mr. DOUGHTON. This is a codification.

Mr. MICHENER. If this is a codification, then the gentleman who just spoke used unfortunate language, because a codification puts together the main substance of the laws and strikes out parts that have been repealed by implication or by direction. If it is a compilation it means nothing more or less than putting in one volume the laws verbatim as they are found as originally passed.

If it is a codification, the judgment of the codifier writes the new law. Codification may change the wording of the

original statute.

This House has never before considered a codification more important, and we are making this absolute law. When we passed the United States Code, it was up here for years and years with various committee staffs working on the matter. and I say, and I think anyone familiar with the situation knows, that no committee staff is capable of codifying the law. We found that out in consideration of the code. first made it prima facie. We should do that here.

Mr. DOUGHTON. I did not yield to the gentleman for a speech. I yielded to him for a question.

Mr. MICHENER. The gentleman has an hour. How much time will he yield to me?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair may say if there is any minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means opposed to the bill, the Chair will recognize such member

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, as the ranking minority member of the Ways and Means Committee I may say that the minority members of that committee are in favor of this codification. I would be very glad, however, to accept the assignment of the hour and distribute it to those Members who may be opposed to the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY] for 1 hour.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, may I clear up the matter of time. If it is agreeable, I will yield 20 minutes of my hour to the gentleman from Massachusetts to dispose of as he may see fit.

Mr. TREADWAY. I will take my own time under the Chairman's ruling.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Will the gentleman yield to Members on that side?

Mr. TREADWAY. Yes.
Mr. HOUSTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas. Mr. HOUSTON. Has the Treasury Department, the Department of Justice, and the Internal Revenue Department

approved this proposed codification?

Mr. DOUGHTON. This codification was prepared and the work done by the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation in cooperation with the Treasury Department officials and officials of the Department of Justice. I am assured that the Treasury Department officials are satisfied and that they are favorable to it and have no objection. I have here also a letter from the Assistant Attorney General expressing approval of it, and I shall ask the Clerk to read that a little later.

Mr. HOUSTON. That is all I wanted to know. I thank

the gentleman very much.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman from New

Mr. CELLER. I notice on page 3 of the report a statement indicating the elimination of obsolete matter in these various internal-revenue laws.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Nothing has been eliminated that has not been specifically repealed, or has become inoperative. Of course the numerous provisions of law relating to back taxes have not been incorporated into this code, but the code does not repeal these provisions or in any manner disturb

Mr. CELLER. I am with the chairman and with his committee.

Mr. DOUGHTON. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. CELLER. However, I should like to get an expression. in order to clear up a question in my own mind, of whether or not this obsolete matter and these temporary provisions were omitted, and who determined whether they were obsolete or whether they were temporary. Was the determination made by the committee or was it made primarily by the Treasury experts, in whom I have the greatest confidence, I may say.

Mr. DOUGHTON. It was done by all parties.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. COOPER. Those provisions are not eliminated or not repealed by this law. Where there is a provision by means of which a limitation is imposed or where a law has been repealed it is simply not brought forward as the law in this volume.

Mr. CELLER. Was it clear the provisions were obsolete or was an investigation made to determine whether a particular provision no longer did apply?

Mr. COOPER. No; it is my understanding the provisions of the statute in question itself determine that; in other words, if a provision expires by the provision of the statute itself, it clearly is no longer operative.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gen-

tleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman from Texas. Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I wish to commend the Committee on Ways and Means for bringing in this bill. I have had occasion during my service in Congress to receive frequent letters from people in my district who desired information and pamphlets with respect to laws governing Federal taxes, and I have had to advise them that such laws are scattered in numerous volumes and that I was unable to furnish them.

Only a few days ago I had an illustration of this situation. A man in my district improperly paid a tax he did not owe because he did not have access to the tax laws with reference to social security. I believe it is a real duty the Congress owes the American people, in view of the large number of taxes we have, to codify these tax laws in one volume. I suggest to the Committee on Printing that when this bill becomes a law, as I am sure it will, copies of it be printed as a public document so they may be available to the people of the United States.

Mr. DOUGHTON. I thank the gentleman for his observation.

Mr. MASSINGALE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma

Mr. MASSINGALE. If I correctly understand this proposition, the object is simply to make this compilation prima facie evidence of the law.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Oh, no.

Mr. MASSINGALE. What is it?

Mr. DOUGHTON. This is intended to be absolute law, not prima facie evidence of what the law is. If it were the latter, the situation would not be any better than it is now. This is a matter of absolute law, as the matter contained in the different volumes from which this is compiled is absolute law. Mr. MASSINGALE. It is law anyhow.

Mr. DOUGHTON. It is law anyhow, but one cannot find out what is the law without reading through the 35 volumes to find out whether or not a certain provision may have been repealed.

Mr. MASSINGALE. In my opinion, if you want to use this compilation as prima facie evidence of the law, it will not hurt anybody.

Mr. DOUGHTON. That is not the purpose of it, I may say to the gentleman.

Mr. MASSINGALE. Making up this compilation does not make it law.

Mr. DOUGHTON. This just consolidates and codifies the law into one volume.

Mr. MASSINGALE. It would be worth nothing-and I am just giving my own judgment about it-unless it were made prima facie evidence of the law.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Is prima facie evidence stronger than the law itself? I never understood that before.

Mr. MASSINGALE. We already have the law.

Mr. DOUGHTON. I never understood that prima facie evidence was stronger evidence of what the law is than the law itself.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman from Massa-

Mr. McCORMACK. It is interesting to know that the last time we had codification of the internal-revenue laws was in 1874. If we placed a provision in this bill stating that this particular act would be only prima facie evidence of the law, we might just as well not pass it at all. We might just as well let the law remain as it is and let the lawyers wade through all these volumes. I happen to be a lawyer. It is a

good thing for the profession to have all these books, but it is not a good thing for the businessmen of the country. We are trying to simplify these laws, but it seems to me if we are going to have a compilation as distinguished from a codification, I should vote against it. I would not have voted for such a bill in committee. There are 25 members of the Committee on Ways and Means, 10 Republicans and 15 Democrats-and this bill was reported out unanimously.

I respect the observations of my distinguished friend the gentleman from Michigan, and I may say they are pertinent observations, but I assure the gentleman his alarm is unnecessary. Care has been taken in the preparation of this codification. The only way to carry out this purpose is to codify these laws. Then when you or I introduce a bill or when we seek to offer a minor amendment to existing law we have got to make a citation to anywhere from three to a dozen statutes if we are only changing one word. This represents expense to the taxpayers and work on our part. Furthermore, when this codification is made all we have got to do is to amend this measure. The law books we have here continue to be existing law, and our action here today will only apply in the future.

This is a good proposition from a business angle. It simplifies the laws and is in the best interest of the country, and it is in the best interest of business that we met this problem instead of joshing ourselves about a mere compilation. It is much better that we put through a codification. Every State in the Union codifies its laws approximately every 20 years, and we have not codified the internal-revenue laws since 1874.

Of course, there may be a few minor mistakes. This is bound to occur, but the broad thing to do is to accomplish our present purpose and simplify the law for the benefit of the businessmen and the taxpayers of the country.

Mr. DOUGHTON. I thank the gentleman for his observation, which contains statements I had in mind.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a suggestion?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. GIFFORD. I read in the report that amendments are often involved and obscure. I also read that the work has been done in the Treasury Department or, rather, reviewed in its entirety by officials of the Treasury Department and the Attorney General's office. The gentleman can assure us, can he not, that all these determinations, as well as the language used in the codification, might well be considered as having been determined in behalf of the Treasury as against the taxpayer when there was any such determination to be made?

Mr. DOUGHTON. No such assumption is warranted.

Mr. GIFFORD. Is not that a fair assumption? Were there any on this committee who, you might say, were represented by counsel-any with a view to protecting the tax-

Mr. DOUGHTON. That was the duty of the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. That was their function, of course, and that is what they were doing all the time.

Mr. GIFFORD. It was done by the council?

Mr. DOUGHTON. Not the council but by the staff.

Mr. GIFFORD. Did the gentleman himself go through

Mr. DOUGHTON. No; and neither would the gentleman from Massachusetts do it if he lived a thousand years.

Mr. GIFFORD. Were the people properly represented on that council, because we know the attitude of the Treasury always when it comes to a decision between the Treasury and the people?

Mr. DOUGHTON. Just as well as the people ever could be represented. I do not know what further safeguards could have been taken or what further precaution exercised than were taken or exercised in the preparation of this codification of the various laws.

Mr. GIFFORD. I once had a little experience in the codification of some laws in my State. The committee appointed to codify those laws, when they completed their job, told me how many liberties they took with respect to phraseology and also told me of the changes they made which would probably pass unnoted.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman from

North Carolina yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee?

Mr. COOPER. We have this simple situation here. Along about 1930, under the direction of the Ways and Means Committee, the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation-

Mr. GIFFORD. I know about that.
Mr. COOPER. They were all employees of the Congress, and they began this work of simply copying existing internal-revenue statutes and bringing them together. After they had worked for years and had completed this work, not changing a single word of existing law, only actually copying existing statutes and bringing them together, and after analyzing every word of this work and after they had reached the conclusion it was correct in every respect, then the committee took the matter under consideration. After this it was referred to the Treasury Department and the Department of Justice simply for the purpose of having their attorneys likewise comb it over and see whether they could find any mistakes whatever in the copying of these existing statutes.

Some 25 or 30 lawyers worked practically all summer in the Treasury Department and, likewise, quite a number in the Department of Justice, and they here present satisfaction with the work.

Mr. GIFFORD. I appreciate the fact that this work has been done, I do not criticize it, but amendments or phraseologies are often involved and obscure. Somebody has to make them plain and relieve the obscurity, which is acknowledged.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Amendments? You would have to search through all of these volumes to find the amendments. What procedure would the gentleman suggest that is better than what we have done? This has already cost the Government thousands of dollars. What has been done has been done as thoroughly as possible. What other procedure would the gentleman suggest?

Mr. GIFFORD. I wanted to make sure that there were attorneys for the people there and not all representatives of the Treasury. [Laughter.] Oh, I think that is a fair statement. The Treasury gets all the money that it can and would resolve language of statutes in its favor when possible.

Mr. COOPER. And whom does the gentleman think that we represent?

Mr. GIFFORD. We represent the people, but we delegated that job.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, I have here a letter from the chairman of the Committee on Federal Taxation of the American Bar Association, which I think will answer the inquiry of the gentleman from Massachusetts, and I ask unanimous consent to have it read.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will read the letter.

There was no objection, and the Clerk read as follows:

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, STANDING COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL TAXATION January 24, 1939.

Hon. ROBERT L. DOUGHTON.

Chairman, Ways and Means Committee,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.
MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: An examination of the codification of
the internal-revenue laws as prepared by the staff of the Joint
Committee on Internal Revenue indicates that a highly sensible
idea has been brought to a most satisfactory fruition.

Unless one has had experience handling questions which involve the statutes treating with our internal revenue for a span of years (not at all an unusual experience in tax disputes), he can have little idea of the difficulty of achieving certainty as to what the applicable statute law is. If for taxpayers and their counsel these difficulties and uncertainties can be eliminated, the reduction of expense of tax controversies and even the elimination of such controversies should be greatly furthered.

Not only does it seem highly advisable that this painstakingly prepared codification should be enacted into law, but it should be apparent that the sconer such action is taken the more beneficial will be the effect, particularly in the consideration of any revenue legislation during the present session of Congress. An intelligent consideration of any proposal for change would seem to require an assured knowledge of the law which it is proposed to change.

Expressing the hope that this hardly controversial proposal will be enacted into the law promptly, I am

Sincerely yours.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE M. MORRIS.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, I also send to the desk and ask to have read a letter from James W. Morris, Assistant Attorney General.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will read the letter.

There was no objection, and the Clerk read as follows:

LETTER TO THE CHAIRMAN FROM JAMES W. MORRIS, ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, Washington, January 18, 1938.

Hon. R. L. DOUGHTON,

Hon. R. L. Doughton,
Chairman, Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation,
Room 1336, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.
My Dear Congressman Doughton: I am in receipt of your letter
of January 15, 1938, requesting the views of this office relative to
the proposed codification of internal-revenue laws and the enactment of such codification into law. In your letter you quote the
statement contained in the report of the subcommittee of the
Committee on Ways and Means of January 14, 1938, dealing with
this proposal.

The Tax Division of the Department of Justice, in the performance of its function of handling revenue litigation, has been impressed with the need of a codification of the revenue laws which will be recognized as the law rather than as being merely prima facie evidence thereof. We believe that much confusion exists by reason of the number of revenue acts, containing in many instances the same basic provisions, to which reference must be made in the handling of cases arising under the various acts. This confusion constitutes a burden for courts and counsel alike.

Also, several of these statutory provisions were amended by Executive order. Since the changes thus made have not appeared on the face of the statutes, it has been necessary to refer to the Executive order to ascertain the nature and extent of these changes. I am glad to see that this situation has been taken care of It will

I am glad to see that this situation has been taken care of. It will also be helpful and lessen confusion.

It is the opinion of this office that the enactment of a codification of the revenue statutes will be a definite step toward clarity, certainty, and simplicity. Such a codification will bring the substantive and procedural provisions together and will be most helpful.

In doing this work I feel that the staff of the joint committee has made a valuable contribution to the tax law which will be a substantial aid to this Division in the handling of litigation involving Federal revenue.

Very truly yours,

James W. Morris, Assistant Attorney General.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, we feel that this bill that we are presenting to the House is as nearly perfect as it is humanly possible to make it. We feel that it will be a valuable contribution to the taxpayer, to the courts, and to the lawyers, and to those who administer our tax laws. I feel that the bugaboo of errors, which can always be raised, should not deter us from doing our manifest duty in this very important matter.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield.

Mr. CELLER. Will the gentleman say a word about whether or not there are any saving clauses in the statute in respect to pending cases?

Mr. DOUGHTON. Oh, this does not apply to pending cases at all.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the remainder of my time, and I ask the gentleman from Massachusetts to use some of his

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, first, in reply to the inquiry made by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gif-FORD] about the protection of the public in this matter: We have in Congress a Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. I have been a member of that committee since it was originated, and the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Doughton] also has been. We have employed ever since it originated a most efficient staff. The head of that staff up to last year was Mr. Lovell H. Parker, than whom there is no

greater tax expert in the country, in the opinion of the Committee on Ways and Means. He had under him, as counsel to the joint committee, Mr. Colin F. Stam; and when Mr. Parker resigned from his position, Mr. Stam was unanimously elected by our joint committee to take his place. Therein is the security of the public, that men of such high type as these employees and the persons under them have done the manual work, the actual physical work of codifying the laws on taxation. As much of a partisan as I am, and I am proud of the fact that I am a partisan, and I have made that statement a good many times on this floor and I repeat it—as much of a partisan as I am, I cannot conceive of anyone endeavoring to cover up or hide or prevent a proper classification and codification of anything as complicated as the tax laws. One of the reasons for starting the joint committee was an effort to simplify the tax laws. I am afraid that we have not accomplished our purpose very soundly in that respect, but nevertheless we are doing it now. As my colleague from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack] said, to think that an ordinary man, in order to know that he is right, that he has the right law, must go through 34 volumes, such as are on the table, seems absurd to me; and while I appreciate the attitude of lawyers wanting to be certain that everything is properly done, I cannot see why we should not accept this effort at simplification through the method of codification, and I ask my colleagues on the majority side if that is not exactly what our Committee on Ways and Means is endeavoring to do. It is simply to simplify these complicated tax laws, and they will be complicated when this codification is passed, but certainly if I am any judge of professional ability, men who will have the interpretation of the law and be employed as counsel will appreciate the effort that is contained within these 500 pages, in having 500 pages to consult rather than 35 volumes. Am I correct?

Mr. DOUGHTON. The gentleman is absolutely correct. The primary purpose of this work is in the interest of the taxpayer, to simplify the matter so that it will be more readily understood by him, so that we will not have to employ so many expensive lawyers and then finally know exactly what his duty is in making out his income-tax return.

Mr. TREADWAY. Before yielding to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Robsion] I would like to add one further remark having to do with the correctness of this report. You have not only the experience of this very efficient staff of the joint committee, but you have the approval of the Department of Justice, as expressed in the letter that has been read from the Clerk's desk. There was some little complication or unfortunate circumstance that prevented a definite approval by the Treasury Department, but we are assured that the Treasury Department likewise approves this effort at codification.

When you have your legal profession itself, when you have the departments of government who will have the law to enforce, when you have the word of such a group of men as the staff of the joint committee, and with every interest protected, both for the individual citizen and taxpayer and the council of interests, it does not seem to me possible that there should be any serious objection to this codification.

I realize I am speaking somewhat at a disadvantage, not being a lawyer myself, but I think I am using a little common horse sense, such as we are taught down in New England where I am proud to have come from. Therefore, I take at full measure value this compilation as having been honestly, carefully, and sincerely prepared by efficient people to become the codified tax laws of the country.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman vield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I wish to compliment the efforts of the committee to simplify the revenue laws of the United States. I am wondering, however, if this codification has gone further than striking out obsolete statutes or laws. Has there been any restatement of the law?

Mr. TREADWAY. Let me see if I cannot answer the gentleman in this way: When the Ways and Means Committee heard the staff in connection with whether or not this bill should be reported, the distinct question was asked whether there was any change in law, and if there were any inconsistencies, as one of our members spoke of at the time. Those inconsistencies were not obliterated. That is my judgment of it.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Now it is claimed that this is a recodification of the law. That would indicate that there must have been some changes. Otherwise it might be merely called a compilation or bringing together of various laws. Now, I am calling attention to this language in the report:

It was, therefore, made only prima facie evidence of the law, and scrutiny of it was invited for the purpose of correcting errors, eliminating obsolete matter, and restatement.

Now, I understand you have eliminated obsolete statutes. What does that mean? Is it a restatement? Does that mean that these master minds, or these very highly efficient lawyers, have taken the internal-revenue acts or statutes and have restated them with the idea of making them clearer or more easily understood, or is there any restatement at all? Are the statutes copied exactly as the Congress passed them?

Mr. TREADWAY. My understanding is that the statutes were copied exactly as they were in those 34 volumes. It simply puts them all in one volume of 500 pages. There has been no change of any kind as far as the organic law is concerned.

Mr. DOUGHTON. I might say it means that laws that were temporarily enacted were no longer in force, and those have been left out.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Now, that is what I mean. You have eliminated the laws that have expired, but which are carried in those volumes? They are left out?

Mr. TREADWAY. The gentleman has properly stated the fact.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Does the gentleman from North Carolina and the ranking minority Member say to the House that no words have been added and no words have been taken from the statutes?

Mr. DOUGHTON. Absolutely, unconditionally, without any qualification or equivocation, there has been no change in the law.

Mr. TREADWAY. The only qualification would be a human error unintentionally made.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. With that idea in mind I shall support it, and I think this Committee deserves the thanks of the House for having presented such a splendid bill to the House.

Mr. DOUGHTON. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield.

Mr. GIFFORD. I do not want the last gentleman's question to be answered that way. The gentleman from Kentucky knows that there must have been obscurity and involvements and contradictions, as they say there were. When you recodify laws you have to make language plain and resolve into language a definiteness understandable.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. We have the statement from the chairman and the statement from our colleague from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY] that no word has been added and no word has been taken from the law.

Mr. GIFFORD. Oh, that is not possible. They must interpret somewhat at least in a codification of these laws.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. No. They say the text remains as it was.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. COOPER. Unfortunately I think the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gifford] misapplies the term "obscure." It is not used here in the sense that there is anything obscure in the wording of the statute. The obscurity arises by reason of being distributed through all these 34 volumes. It is obscure in the sense that it is tucked away somewhere in some of these books; not that there is any obscurity about the language itself, once you are able to find it. The obscurity is in being able to find the statutes and provisions.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. Yes; briefly.

Mr. GIFFORD. Taxpayers constantly come to us having sought redress in the courts, and often the Treasury withdraws without carrying the case further because they often simply try to make collections if the taxpayer would prefer to pay rather than resort to the courts. This is not a partisan statement. I trust the gentleman will not consider that. I think I ought to know that in the codification of law, as I have seen it performed before, that there must be some new wording, new explanations, and new definitions applied to relieve "obscurities." It does not seem sensible that they could simply take out obsolete things and place verbatim new legislation in view of the statement they make themselves. I shall vote for it. It is badly needed; but I simply inquired whether the taxpayers themselves were properly represented, as the Treasury seems really to have the last word on this matter. That is all.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to

the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Wolcott].

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Chairman, I probably am to blame for this controversy today in that I objected to the passage of this bill by unanimous consent when it was requested by the worthy chairman on Monday. I did so, however, to bring out this discussion, and I think it is a very healthy thing for the country and for this Congress that we do have this discussion with respect to this proposed code.

I was not opposed to the code when I objected. I am not opposed to it now. I do know, however, that there are opportunities in the codification of laws for almost endless litigation. Many of the States have had this experience in years gone by when they have turned the codification of their laws or any group of their laws over to so-called experts. wanted to determine definitely that the matter set forth in this code clearly reflects the intent of this Congress. In looking over the code I believe the committee and the experts have done a very fine job, but even in glancing over it as hastily as I have—and I was not able to get a copy of the bill until this morning-certain questions have arisen which I think should be clarified. Because some questions have arisen, there might, of course, be many more; and I hope that the committee today will take all of the time which is allotted to it to try to answer any quesions which have arisen with respect to the code.

We must take into consideration the fact that when we pass this bill we repeal-not by implication but we specifically repeal-all internal-revenue acts passed previous to the date of the enactment of this bill. An attempt is made to safeguard those acts which are not included by a saving clause, the effect of which is somewhat doubtful, in my mind. We find on page 1 of the bill, however, the following language:

In furtherance of that purpose, all such laws and parts of laws codified herein to the extent they relate exclusively to internal revenue, are repealed, effective, except as provided in section 5, on the day following the date of the enactment of this act.

Section 5 merely points out that any provision of law in force on the 2d day of January 1939 corresponding to a provision contained in the internal revenue title shall remain in force until the corresponding provision under such title takes effect.

There is a great deal of doubt in my mind as to whether this language accomplishes the purpose of the committee. Probably if it does not a later session of Congress may remedy the defect. I know it is the purpose of this code to include everything in respect to internal-revenue laws and all other revenue laws. We must proceed rather cautiously, because it must be remembered that the power to levy taxes

carries with it the power to coerce, regulate, and destroy. It was because of this that I was insistent that we give a little more consideration to this particular bill.

On page 32 of the draft I find at least an implication that all existing law has not been included in this code, nullifying somewhat the intent of the committee to facilitate the interpretation or the use to which the tax laws are put. Section 61 provides:

All administrative, special, or stamp provisions of law, including the law relating to the assessment of taxes, so far as applicable, shall be extended to and made a part of this chapter.

This does not obviate the necessity of a lawyer searching, and searching, and searching through perhaps not only these 34 volumes which are on exhibit at the chairman's desk, but also through many other laws. If this were a codification in the true sense of the word, all of the laws applicable to this particular subject would be brought together between the two covers of this document. It would, of course, include the regulations, the administrative, special, or stamp provisions of the law as referred to in section 61. There is at least this deficiency which should be called to the committee's attention and to the attention of the lawyers and courts who will have to do with the interpretation of this act, and to the Congress; because, it should not be presumed from any statement made on this floor that this law when enacted is an embodiment of all of the laws affecting our

I think the committee and the experts have done a reasonably good job. I do not think that any charge should be made against the committee or the experts that they have willfully, maliciously, or intentionally done anything which they should not have done in the codification of these laws.

Mr. BULWINKLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOLCOTT. I yield.

Mr. BULWINKLE. Speaking of section 61, page 32, is not

that same provision in the Revenue Act of 1938?

Mr. WOLCOTT. It might be; but if the gentleman will indulge me, the regulations referred to in that section are not in the Revenue Act of 1938 as I understand it. Instead of being written into this act by reference they should be written into it actually, if this is to be a complete codification of all internal-revenue laws. That is my point.

Mr. BULWINKLE. All administrative, special, or stamp provisions of law are a part of the revenue act anyhow. They

are all in the code.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Will the gentleman, then, in order to clarify that particular section, for the purpose of the record and in order that the Congress may have the benefit of the gentleman's views of the interpretation of the intent of Congress, point out on the record where in this bill the administrative, special, or stamp provisions of the law are included? Mr. BULWINKLE. I will leave that to one of the members

of the committee.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Chairman, emphasis has been placed on certain things.

Mr. BULWINKLE. Just a minute.

Mr. WOLCOTT. May I go on?

Mr. BULWINKLE. I want to show the gentleman where it is.

Mr. WOLCOTT. All right.

Mr. BULWINKLE. It is on page 435, one of them, the general administrative provision.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I am not going to take the time, nor have I the time, of course, to check up to see if they are all in here. I hope they are, but I do not want the courts or any other lawyer who has to do with this bill to rely solely on the statements made here that they are all included.

In this bill, emphasis has been placed on certain provisions of the revenue laws. I think we must bear in mind that this bill is not only prima facie evidence of the law but is the law itself. In the case of any error on the part of the Government Printing Office in printing a copy of the act, that copy is the law regardless of anything to the contrary. Now, that is not good legislation. It is not good LXXXIV-50

legislation to tie the hands of our courts so that they have to take a copy of an act printed by the Government Printing Office as absolute proof of law. That is a denial to the judicial branch of our Government of the right to go behind the law and to determine legislative intent.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOLCOTT. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Of course, that is true of any law we might enact in the future. In the case of error, it would be the duty of the Congress to correct the mistake by amending the law as soon as it was discovered.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Wolcott] 3 additional minutes.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Chairman, I stated that particular emphasis had been placed on certain law. If this bill is an embodiment of all laws having to do with the raising of revenue, why is it necessary to reenact subsection (e) of section 4 having to do with the publication of returns by corporations and individuals?

Mr. BUCK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOLCOTT. I yield to the gentleman from California. Mr. BUCK. May I explain to the gentleman that the provisions to which he has referred, the repeal and savings provisions, have been copied directly from the bill which enacted the Revised Statutes of 1874. The exact language has been used, because that has already been construed by the courts and has a definite meaning.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I assume the gentleman means the act of 1874 as amended, because I do not think the act of 1874

authorized the publication of income-tax reports.

Mr. BUCK. May I call the gentleman's attention to section 8 of the bill, to which he referred a few moments ago, which is also copied from the Revised Statutes of 1873, the act creating the Revised Statutes.

Mr. WOLCOTT. That is not consistent, then, with the statement made by the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means a few minutes ago that the existing revenue acts are prima facie evidence only. The gentleman from North Carolina made the statement awhile ago that because we were trying out the advisability of continuing these tax laws all tax laws up to the present time have been prima facie evidence of the law; that because we had tried them out and had found them to be all right, we write this section in here which makes a copy of this act printed by the Government Printing Office and bearing its imprint conclusive evidence of the original Internal Revenue Code in the custody of the Secretary of State. I think if that provision of the law does exist it should be corrected as we codify. I merely want to bring up these questions that I know are the subjects of concern because I appreciate the committee will contribute a great deal if they will clarify and clear up some of them.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER].

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Chairman, I cannot discuss this matter intelligently, nor can any other man in this body discuss the matter intelligently, unless has been a member of the committee and knows something about it. So far as the objective is concerned, we are all for that. I am a little surprised that the lawyers of the committee, however, should bring in as exhibit 1, 35 volumes of existing law and lay those upon the table and give that as the reason we should accept a bill which contains hundreds of pages without reading it and without knowing something about it simply because we want to make the law more accessible. As I stated before, we are all for the objective of the committee. If you can simplify and codify laws, so much the better. If all the laws of the land could be written into a 1,000-page volume, we would all be much better off, but that cannot be done.

Mr. Chairman, with this bill before us today there is an effort to rewrite-and I use the word "rewrite" advisedly-all the laws affecting our Federal tax system. As pointed out by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Wolcott], not only is what you have presented in this volume to be the absolute law-not prima facie law-but also all administrative-and I emphasize that "also all administrative"—"all administrative, special, or stamp provisions of law, including the law relating to the assessment of taxes," and so forth, are included in this bill. All rules and regulations which are now law are to become a part of this new law. That is just one of the little things.

Of course, this bill will pass, but you will be back here correcting it. I call attention to that in order to point out the danger of passing legislation of this type without adequate consideration. Why make it absolute?

Mr. BUCK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MICHENER. I yield to the gentleman from California. Mr. BUCK. Where does the gentleman from Michigan find anything in section 61 that refers to rules and regulations being enacted into law?

Mr. MICHENER. It says "all administrative, special, or stamp provisions of law"-

Mr. BUCK. Of law.

Mr. MICHENER. "Including the law relating to the assessment of taxes, so far as applicable, shall be extended to and made a part of this chapter."

Mr. BUCK. I think the gentleman has made that clear now by reading the entire section to the Members. We are not enacting into law any rules or regulations, merely reenacting all existing provisions of administrative, and so forth, law as it exists at the present time.

Mr. MICHENER. The gentleman will find in the 34 volumes before him statutes making certain rules and regulations of the department law, and by this bill you say that these statutes or laws are reenacted. The result is that some things not included in this bill are by reference made law.

I am not criticizing the committee. I feel safe in saying that my good friend the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY! is for this bill, and is honestly for it. The gentleman from Massachusetts is a splendid member of the committee. He is a splendid legislator and businessman. He is a splendid hotel man, but he does not know anything about revision of the laws. I can go down through the roster of the committee and show you that you will find a great many persons on the committee who are splendid men in their lines, they are good legislators, but they do not know anything about revising the laws. When you come to the technical job of codifying the law it cannot be done by businessmen as businessmen and it cannot be done by physicians as physicians, or dentists as dentists, or by lawyers without experience. There are certain people who are qualified to do this kind of work. I am not qualified to codify the law, although I am a member of the bar. It takes experts to do that work.

Mr. DOUGHTON and Mr. BULWINKLE rose.

Mr. MICHENER. I should like to get through, but if the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Doughton] has a contribution to make, I should be pleased to have it.

Mr. DOUGHTON. If the gentleman will look into the matter, he will find that the language he is criticizing is an exact copy of that used in section 61 of the law of 1938. It is an exact copy of what is already in the law. There is no change whatever.

Mr. MICHENER. Exactly? Mr. DOUGHTON. What would the gentleman have us do

if we did not copy it exactly?

Mr. MICHENER. If you are going to codify and place all the law on the tax question in one volume, you must write every rule and every regulation having the force of law affecting the matter into that volume or you have not lessened the task of the man who wants to know what the law is or what the rules and regulations are, because if this bill makes reference to other law, you have to go to that other law just the same in order to know what all the law is.

Mr. DOUGHTON. The gentleman makes a distinction without a difference. The gentleman is straining at a gnat.

Mr. MICHENER. This same question arose when the

United States Code was up for consideration. You remember that down through the years we were trying to codify the law. Several committees were set up to study the codification of the law. They worked for years, they worked for a decade with the staff their committee employed. It was a splendid staff for committee work, but the members of the staff were not qualified as experienced codifiers. Finally a bill like this was brought in and the House passed it, as you are asking that this bill be passed. It went over to the Senate and it was found the bill was so full of holes we were all ashamed that we had ever voted for it. It had the same consideration in this House now being given this measure. We should profit by experience. We have plenty of time. There is nothing to do the rest of the week. Why not put this off for a couple of days? A number of our new Members are outstanding lawyers and might be of much help in putting together these old statutes. They could at least have an opportunity to point out any errors.

Mr. BULWINKLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman

yield?

Mr. MICHENER. Not just now.

Mr. BULWINKLE. I have been earnestly beseeching the gentleman to yield.

Mr. MICHENER. I yield for the gentleman, but then I shall have to ask for additional time.

Mr. BULWINKLE. The gentleman knows that in the code we adopted, which is prima facie evidence, and which was drafted by the legal staff of the West Publishing Co. and the Edward Thompson Co., in connection with the provisions regarding the Interstate Commerce Commission. the Federal Trade Commission, and other commissions of the Government, we gave the force and effect of law to the rules and regulations of such commissions, and that has been done in every bill that has ever passed this House.

Mr. MICHENER. I thank the gentleman. The gentleman states the West Publishing people did the work, and that is true. We tried for years to accomplish it by the means you are attempting to use here. We finally secured the experts and the work was well done and for less money.

Mr. BULWINKLE. I was one of those who got the services of the West Publishing Co. and the Edward Thompson Co.

Mr. MICHENER. The gentleman deserves a lot of credit, and I give it to him. He was on that committee. For years they tried to get somewhere, but everything they brought in here was so imperfect it just could not be used. The committee meant all right, but it just was not correct. Finally the committee employed experts and the code today is the result of the work of those experts.

The Committee on Revision of the Laws, of which I am a member, now has another revision of the United States Code under consideration. If I have my way about it we are not going to do the work with any committee staff, and we will not bring a revision of the laws before this House unless it is prepared by experts. It can be done just as economically by experts as it can be done by committee staffs, regardless of who they are. I am sure the Committee on Ways and Means has a splendid staff, and there is none better in the House, but they are not experts on this kind of work. They have had no experience. This matter is too important to act hastily.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MICHENER. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee. Mr. COOPER. In direct reference to the statement made by the gentleman in regard to the present code, I may say the present Committee on Revision of the Laws took the work of this staff and included it in the present code on the internal-revenue laws. They set aside their own work and took the work of this staff. It is in there today.

Mr. MICHENER. I cannot yield further.

I have not read this bill. No one else has, except maybe one or two members of the Committee on Ways and Means, and I doubt if the chairman of that committee himself has read this entire bill through. I doubt if any other member of the committee has read it through.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman

Mr. MICHENER. I yield to the gentleman from North

Carolina, the chairman of the committee.

Mr. DOUGHTON. If I had read it I could only have done it hurriedly, and I have not the confidence in my own reading that I have in the reading and rereading done by the staff a dozen times and the checking of this bill by the experts of the Treasury Department and the Department of Justice. Neither has the gentleman.

Mr. MICHENER. But-

Mr. DOUGHTON. Would the gentleman himself be satisfied with his own reading of it?

Mr. MICHENER. I do not want to yield further, Mr.

Chairman. My time is about up.

Mr. DOUGHTON. I would be willing to take the gentleman's reading of it if he would certify it is absolutely correct, I do not believe the gentleman would have confidence in his own reading, or as much confidence as he would have in the reading of our staff, who read it and reread it. The experts in the Treasury Department have read it and reread it and checked it for 6 months, and I would put that far above any reading I could do.

Mr. MICHENER. The gentleman concedes that no one has read the bill. I have the utmost confidence in and respect for the chairman, but why cannot we be given a few days to at least casually examine the bill? Possibly all will not read

all of the bill but some will give it study.

We have gone since 1874, the gentleman from Massachusetts tells us, without rewriting this law, and then it is brought before the House and we are asked to pass a new tax law without reading it, and by unanimous consent. Of course, objection was made to passing this law by unanimous consent without reading it and without knowing what is in it. So today the matter is called up without notice and we come in here to discuss this matter which is of vital importance to every taxpayer in the country, and we are asked in the name of the taxpayer to pass the bill instanter.

Now, listen. It seems to me the American people have reached a stage where they want this Congress to proceed cautiously and carefully. In matters of this kind haste makes waste. If the American people ever gave the Congress a mandate, it is that we must know what we are doing; that we must not pass laws that we know nothing about, regardless of the recommendation of somebody down in the Treasury Department, in the Labor Department, or in any other department of the Government.

I stand squarely on the premise that this Congress itself, through its own agencies, should know what it is considering and should vote intelligently upon what is before it. I do not think it is a credit to the committee to come in here and say, "No; we have not read it; we do not know what is in it; we would not know what was in it if we did read it, so we left it to the committee clerk or staff."

This is the situation we find ourselves in. You have left it to the committee clerk or staff. I hope the committee clerk is right. I am sure he has done his best. This bill is going to pass the House. It may become a law, but when these errors are found-and errors will be found-then I hope, when they are found, the Congressional Record will record that some of us have risen on the floor and protested against this procedure, although we are heartily in favor of the objective. I hope those interpreting this law will read the statement of one gentleman of the Ways and Means Committee who says this is but a mere "compilation," that no changes have been made, that the purpose and intent was not to eliminate a word from existing law, and then I hope they will read the statement of the other Ways and Means Committee member who says it is a "codification," that there are changes, but that nothing material has been eliminated. Nothing material has been eliminated! Who determined the materiality? Did the Congress determine whether or not the elimination of a certain phrase was material? No; we left it to the committee clerk or staff, if you please, and then we put our stamp of approval on it without any knowledge whatever as to the facts. This bill may be all right. I hope so. The tax laws need clarifying more than they need codifying. I am opposed to this haste. I am opposed to this procedure. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON].

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. Chairman, in answer to the last observation of my distinguished friend from Michigan, I am willing for the Record to show that it is my very definite opinion that if we served notice upon every Member of the House and furnished them with a copy of this bill that 6 months from now we would vote on the bill, not a single Member of the House in that time would have read it.

I would like for the RECORD to further show that if we did undertake to read this difficult compilation of tax laws we would not know whether in it were correctly gathered all the tax laws that are contained in the 35 volumes that are now before me on this table.

It is, of course, quite impracticable in a code to include departmental regulations. We already have 86 or 87 volumes of regulations. We could not put those in a code.

My friend from Michigan evidently has not read, or else he does not accept, the statement on page 3 of the committee report to the following effect:

It makes no changes in existing law.

The gentleman asks if this is a codification. Technically it is, but actually it is not the kind of codification that we are accustomed to in our State legislatures, where the codifiers eliminate inconsistencies. To that extent this is a compilation as well as a codification, because no effort has been made to eliminate any inconsistencies in existing laws. They are all here that are still in force and effect.

Now, for my friend from Cape Cod [Mr. GIFFORD], who was so fearful that we would not protect the dear people, I can say that, in addition to precautions taken by the committee to select as agents of the Congress the best experts available, I took their report last spring and submitted it to the chairman of the tax committee of the chamber of commerce, and those of you who are familiar with the work of the United States Chamber of Commerce know that that organization has a lively interest in the tax laws of the United States. I asked that expert, during the succeeding 6 months before we would bring this up for action in the House, to check through it in his leisure time; and if he could find any error in it, speaking now, of course, for the taxpayers of the country, to bring it to my attention, and he found none. Therefore, I say, Mr. Chairman, that we are fighting windmills. This is the work of experts. We have every reason to believe that it has been well done; and if it is not well done, we would not know the difference if we debated it here for the next 6 months.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBERTSON. Yes.

Mr. MICHENER. If there is that doubt, what is the objection to making this prima facie the same as the code is

Mr. ROBERTSON. I have not expressed any doubt. My friend from Michigan expressed the doubt, and I have felt that he has no ground for doubt. We do not want this code to be prima facie evidence of the law; we want it to be the absolute law. We would not be making any substantial progress if we made it prima facie evidence of the law, because the lawyers would then have to go back to all of these volumes and take them into court and show them to the judge before the judge would be willing to rule on any claim made in a tax case.

Mr. MICHENER. You want to be sure that you will make H. R. 2762 the absolute law of the land, regardless of what the law is?

Mr. ROBERTSON. Oh, the gentleman begs the question. We state in the committee report, and we state it on good grounds, that the codification of H. R. 2762 makes no changes in existing law.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. Buck].

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Chairman, all these arguments that have been brought here today against the immediate adoption of this code were made in 1874. I take this opportunity to read what Senator Carpenter, then a Member of the Senate, said on the floor of the Senate when the revised statutes were being considered, and perhaps it is the answer to all the objections that have been made today:

The great benefit of it is that it gives us a starting point for the law, and if errors are discovered, as undoubtedly there will be more or less, they are to be corrected by subsequent legislation, and every man, every citizen, every lawyer, every judge, knows what he has got to start with to find what the law is. He is to start with that volume, and then subsequent legislation is all he has got to discover. Tell any common man in the complicated relations of official life, who is an internal-revenue collector, if you please, or has something to do with the distillery business, that he is supposed to know all the law on that subject, and it is to be found in 17 volumes, and he is to be indicted if he omits a single particular or mistakes a single provision, and he would as soon go to the insane asylum at once as attempt to wade through it. Now, then, he has got a start; he has got the statute of revision; and then he has got to look to subsequent legislation and nothing else, and is certain he has all the enactments on the subject before him.

I think that seems to be the entire case for the adoption of this code. [Applause].

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Church].

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Chairman, naturally I do not want to proceed to a vote today on a 500-page bill, when I know there have been no hearings. Certainly, there are no printed hearings available on this bill, which is of momentous importance. May I make, therefore, just one or two observations, and trust that the other body will not proceed so summarily. At the bottom of page 2 of the report of the committee I read the words of James W. Morris, Assistant Attorney General, which, in part, are as follows:

Furthermore, several of these statutory provisions have been amended by Executive order, but, since such changes have not appeared on the face of the statutes, it has been necessary to refer to the Executive orders to ascertain their nature and extent. The proposed codification will be particularly helpful in that it eliminates these sources of confusion.

It has been stated here on the floor today that this bill does not affect existing litigation. The very words of Mr. Morris embodied in this report definitely indicate that if Executive orders are in the process of litigation as to their validity, the enactment of this bill decides that question. This bill gives the Executive orders the full force and effect of absolute law. Of necessity, then, all questions as to the validity of these Executive orders are here now decided. We are being forced to take this extremely important step without being able to so much as read the bill. We are unable to consult any hearings, if any, because there are no printed hearings on this bill.

I do not question the good faith of the members of the committee. I favor the codification of laws. I believe it necessary. I was so interested in that sort of thing that I accepted membership on the Revision of Laws Committee at the last session. I am interested in that. That is a good objective. I would like to vote for this bill if I thought it had had proper consideration. I respect the judgment of every member of this committee. But it appears that the committee was limited more or less to the recommendation of 25 or 30 lawyers, appointed, if you please, none of them being the representatives of the people.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman vield?

Mr. CHURCH. If the gentleman will give me some more time, I will yield.

Mr. DOUGHTON. I will yield the gentleman 1 or 2 additional minutes.

Is the gentleman aware of the fact that the law provided that these Executive orders should become law unless they were disagreed to by the Congress within a certain time, which was not done?

Mr. CHURCH. But does not the gentleman know there are many cases in the courts where question of legality of Ex-

ecutive orders is being tested? There are also questions as to the confusion of laws and the overlapping of laws involved, so that the courts are being asked to construe the intent of the law, as well as the legality of these Executive orders, and for these reasons the rights of the people are involved. This absolute law which you are asking us to enact today in this fashion will settle those questions in litigation for all time.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Reed].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. Reed] is recognized for 14 minutes.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, I have listened with a great deal of interest to the very fine addresses by those who are apparently opposed to the codification of the revenue laws.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REED of New York. I yield.

Mr. TREADWAY. I think possibly that statement ought to be just slightly corrected, in that at least two of the gentlemen who have made statements criticizing the report, have said on the floor that they appreciate the work that had been done, and intended to support it; not that they were definitely opposed to codification.

Mr. REED of New York. I would rather suspect from the language that we had been damned by faint praise.

It has been stated on the floor of the House that this committee was not competent, in and of itself, because of certain professions, business, or trade in which they were engaged, to pass upon legislation in this House. Personally, I resent that so far as these men are concerned. I have been a member of this committee for some time. I know that the members of the committee go into session and consider these matters in a nonpartisan way and endeavor to bring legislation to the floor of this House in such form and for such purposes as will protect the interests of the public. Everybody on the floor of this House knows that the revenue law, scattered through a host of volumes, has been perplexing and bewildering and has bedeviled the people of this country. We have had appeals coming in here for years to simplify the revenue laws.

Only last year we had a message from the President urging the enactment of a tax law and urging the simplification of the tax law. Any Member who has been in Congress very long knows that the lawyers in the country, not always having available all of these acts, write here for information in regard to them. It is a herculean job for any man to wade through this and try to correlate the amendments,

As far as the ability of the members of this committee is concerned, what do most committees do? On matters relating to engineering or what not they call in the best talent they can get. I believe the Joint Committee on Taxation has engaged as fine a lot of experts as can be found. They are experts in one definite line of legislation, namely, the revenue laws. The lawbook companies are interested in these things, of course, but when it comes to revenue law they take the very codification of these experts that we have here. They have not found errors in them. Now, for at least 3 years these experts have been working on the codification of the revenue laws. They have gone to the Department of Justice, as has been stated here. Thirty lawyers have gone over this with a fine-tooth comb. They know something about tax laws. They have gone to the Treasury Department and they have searched carefully through this work to see if there are any errors, and they report none. Now, it is about time that instead of fussing around here we take the findings of these experts and give the people something that they want; that is, a codification that will clarify, bring into one place the laws relating to revenue. Every lawyer will throw up his hat for joy when this act is passed.

They say no hearings have been held. Why, there have been hearings on every item of the revenue law on the books that is now being codified. We are not enacting any new law.

We are here codifying laws that already exist that have been passed by the representatives of a sovereign people.

Let us for the sake of illustration take the estate-tax law alone. To find all the laws dealing with estate taxes a lawyer must wade through the following volumes-and I ask unanimous consent to insert this list in my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair suggests to the gentleman from New York that he will have to secure that consent in the House.

Mr. REED of New York. I thank the Chairman.

Why play into the hands of a few tax lawyers whose retainers in some cases run as high as \$50,000 before they even start to work? They, of course, like to have it so that no one is infallible on tax matters except themselves, for it means money to them; but why milk the public by complicating this tax situation through our inability to act upon the work of experts who are worthy of our confidence?

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to incorporate at this point in my remarks the names of the men who have passed upon this codification and who have told Congress that the work is well done and is accurate.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair suggests to the gentleman from New York that he will have to secure that permission in the House

Mr. REED of New York. I thank the Chairman.

With the passage of this act we shall have performed a monumental work in the interest of the taxpayers of the country. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the laws of the United States hereinafter codified and set forth as a part of this act under the heading "Internal Revenue Title" are hereby enacted into law.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the further reading of the bill and that the bill be not printed in the RECORD, for, as I understand, it would cost between \$14,000 and \$15,000 to print it, and copies of the bill are available to every Member of the House.

Mr. MICHENER. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Chairman, this is the second reading, or, really, the first time the bill is to be read, and there will be no further reading of the bill?

Mr. DOUGHTON. Yes; the gentleman is correct.
Mr. MICHENER. I shall not object, but I do want to call the gentleman's attention to the fact that we are passing this bill without even having it read. The gentleman from New York suggested certain men in the country were for it. We do not know who they are. He said they told him about it and he wants to put their names in the RECORD, but we do not know who they are.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will permit, let us get the record straight. What I asked permission to put in the RECORD was the names of the experts in the various departments who checked our work and who cooperated with us.

The gentleman from New York said Mr. MICHENER. some of them were experts and that they are for it, but the House has not got that information. The House does not know who they are.

Mr. REED of New York. It is a matter of public record who these men are.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. MICHENER. I yield.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Does the gentleman feel that even if the bill were read it would accomplish any real purpose?

Mr. MICHENER. No. As I said a moment ago, I shall not object.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Then why did the gentleman call attention to it if he thought it would not help?

Mr. MICHENER. It is perfectly all right with me to pass it without printing.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise and report the bill (H. R. 2762) to consolidate and codify the internal-revenue laws of the United States back to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. BEAM, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 2762) to consolidate and codify the internalrevenue laws of the United States, had directed him to report the same back to the House with the recommendation that the bill do pass.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous ques-

tion on the bill to final passage.

The previous question was ordered.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the

Mr. DOUGHTON. On that, Mr. Speaker, I ask for the veas and navs.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were-yeas 350, nays 16, not voting 66, as follows:

#### [Roll No. 71 YEAS-350

Alexander Allen, Ill. Allen, La. Griffith Griswold Costello Lemke Lesinski Crawford Gross Guyer, Kans. Lewis, Colo. Lewis, Ohio Crowe Crowther Allen, Pa. Gwynne Hall Lord Anderson, Calif. Culkin Anderson, Mo. Andresen, A. H. Cullen Halleck D'Alesandro Daly Ludlow Hancock McAndrews Andrews Darden Harness Angell McCormack Delaney Dempsey McGehee McKeough Arends Harrington Arnold Harter, N. Y. Ashbrook Dickstein McLaughlin Harter, Ohio Hartley McLean McLeod Dies Austin Rall Dingell Havenner McMillan, John L. Barden Dirksen Barnes McMillan, Thos. S. Disney Hawks Barry Healey Heinke Maas Mahon Bates, Ky. Bates, Mass. Dondero Maloney Mansfield Doughton Hennings Hess Hill Beam Dowell Beckworth Blackney Mapes Marcantonio Marshall Doxey Hinshaw Drewry Hobbs Bland Duncan Martin, Colo. Martin, Ill. Dunn Hoffman Bloom Durham Boehne Boland Eaton, Calif. Eaton, N. J. Hope Martin, Iowa Horton Houston Martin, Mass. Bolles Mason Massingale Boren Eberharter Edmiston Hull Boykin May Miller Hunter Bradley, Mich. Elliott Ellis Jacobsen Bradley, Pa. Jarman Mills, Ark. Mills, La. Elston Brewster Brooks Jarrett Englebright Jeffries Jenks, N. H. Monroney Moser Brown, Ga Faddis Fay Fenton Brown, Ohio Mott Bryson Jensen Mundt Murdock, Ariz. Murdock, Utah Johnson, Ill. Buck Ferguson Johnson, Ind. Bulwinkle Fernandez Johnson, Luther A Johnson, Lyndon Burch Fish Murray Myers Nelson Nichols Fitzpatrick Flaherty Burdick Johnson, Okla. Johnson, W. Va. Burgin Byrne, N. Y. Byrns, Tenn. Caldwell Flannagan Folger Ford, Leland M. Jones. Tex. Norrell Norton Cannon, Mo. Carlson Ford, Miss. Ford, Thomas F. Keefe Keller Kelly O'Connor O'Day O'Neal Fries Kennedy, Martin Kennedy, Md. Fulmer Garrett Carter O'Toole Owen Cartwright Case, S. Dak. Celler Chandler Keogh Gartner Kerr Kilday Gathings Parsons Patman Patrick Gearhart Kinzer Kirwan Kitchens Chapman Gehrmann Patton Pearson Clark Gerlach Geyer, Calif. Gibbs Clason Claypool Cochran Kleberg Knutson Peterson, Fla. Gifford Coffee, Nebr. Coffee, Wash. Cole, Md. Cole, N. Y. Collins Gilchrist Kocialkowski Pfeifer Pierce, N. Y. Kramer Gillie Gore Gossett Graham Pierce, Oreg. Kunkel Landis Lanham Pittenger Plumley Colmer Grant, Ala. Grant, Ind. Larrabee Poage Polk Lea Connery Cooper Green Gregory Leavy LeCompte Rahant

Ramspeck Randolph Rankin Rayburn Reed, Ill. Reed, N. Y. Rees, Kans. Rich Richards Short Robertson Robinson, Utah Robsion, Ky. Rockefeller Rodgers, Pa. Rogers, Mass. Rogers, Okla. South Romjue Rutherford Sparkman Spence Ryan Satterfield Springer Starnes, Ala. Schaefer, Ill. Schuetz Steagall Stefan

Schulte Sumners, Tex. Schwert Sutphin Sweeney Scrugham Seccombe Shafer, Mich. Talle Tarver Shanley Taylor, Colo. Taylor, Tenn. Tenerowicz Shannon Sheppard Snort
Sirovich
Smith, Maine
Smith, Va.
Smith, Wash.
Smith, W. Va.
Snyder
South Terry Thomas, N. J. Thomas, Tex. Thomason Tibbott Tolan Treadway Turner

Vorys, Ohio Vreeland Wadsworth Walter Warren Weaver Welch West Whelchel White, Ohio Whittington Wigglesworth Williams, Del. Williams, Mo. Wolcott Woodruff, Mich. Woodrum, Va. Youngdahl Zimmerman

NAYS-16

Van Zandt

Vinson, Ga

Vincent, Ky.

Voorhis, Calif.

Andersen, H. Carl Clevenger Bender Curtis Bolton Church Dworshak Engel

Johns Jones, Ohio Michener Routzohn NOT VOTING-66

Schafer, Wis. Smith, Ohio Sumner, Ill. Thorkelson

Barton Bell Buckler, Minn. Buckley, N. Y. Byron Casey, Mass Chiperfield Cluett Cooley Cox Creal Crosser Cummings

Curley

Darrow DeRouen

Douglas

Maciejewski Magnuson Flannery Gamble Merritt Mitchell Gavagan Goldsborough Monkiewicz Hare Hendricks Mouton O'Brien O'Leary Holmes Oliver Izac Jenkins, Ohio Osmers Kee Pace Kennedy, Michael Reece, Tenn. Lambertson McArdle Risk Sabath McDowell McGranery Sacks Sandager

Schiffler

Secrest Seger Simpson Smith, Conn. Smith, Ill. Somers, N. Y. Stearns, N. H. Sullivan Wallgren Wheat White, Idaho Wolfenden, Pa. Wolverton, N. J. Wood

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs: Until further notice:

Mr. McReynolds with Mr. Wolfenden of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Cox with Mr. Reece of Tennessee.
Mr. Curley with Mr. Darrow.
Mr. Secrets with Mr. Jenkins of Ohio.
Mr. Cooley with Mr. Gamble.

McReynolds

Mr. Cooley with Mr. Gamble.
Mr. Sullivan with Mr. Wolverton of New Jersey.
Mr. Crosser with Mr. Risk.
Mr. Gavagan with Mr. Seger.
Mr. Merritt with Mr. Barton.
Mr. O'Leary with Mr. Oliver.
Mr. Magnuson with Mr. Lambertson.
Mr. Walgren with Mr. Stearns of New Hampshire.
Mr. Buckley of New York with Mr. Cluett.
Mr. Creal with Mr. Holmes.
Mr. DeRouen with Mr. O'Brien.
Mr. Flannery with Mr. Sandager.
Mr. Goldsborough with Mr. Wheat.
Mr. Mouton with Mr. Douglas.
Mr. Somers of New York with Mr. Chiperfield.
Mr. Bell with Mr. McDowell.
Mr. Cummings with Mr. Osmers.
Mr. Byrne of New York with Mr. Schiffler.
Mr. Smith of Connecticut with Mr. Monkiewicz.

Mr. Byrne of New York with Mr. Schlimer. Mr. Smith of Connecticut with Mr. Monkiewicz. Mr. Evans with Mr. Simpson. Mr. Michael J. Kennedy with Mr. Tinkham, Mr. Pace with Mr. Buckler of Minnesota. Mr. Hare with Mr. Wood.

Mr. Smith of Illinois with Mr. McGranery, Mr. Sacks with Mr. Casey of Massachusetts. Mr. McArdle with Mr. Hendricks.

Mr. Gross changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded. On motion by Mr. Doughton, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks on the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Doughton]?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, of course, the gentleman has the right under the rules of the House to revise his remarks. In view of the fact we have not been able to have the remarks of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Barron] extended in the RECORD, I feel I must object.

Mr. RAYBURN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman under my reservation.

Mr. RAYBURN. I wonder if we cannot come to an agreement until a more definite one may be reached. Frankly, I am hopeful that the Joint Committee on Printing in the near future will bring in some kind of a resolution with reference to matters that may go in the RECORD. I know that extraneous matter cannot be put in the RECORD without unanimous consent.

May we not have an agreement for the present that Members may be allowed to extend their own remarks in the RECORD? It seems to me that is fair to all the Members of the House. In the Senate they do not have to extend their remarks in the RECORD, because they can take all the time necessary to complete their views. The only way a Member of the House who may be yielded 5 minutes can get his thoughts in the RECORD is to extend his own remarks in the RECORD. He may want to mail those back to his constituents. Frankly, I have never been in favor of indiscriminately extending remarks in the RECORD and putting in matters that did not occur on the floor of the House or language that did not come from the Member himself.

If we carry on this policy of not allowing Members of the House to extend their own remarks it is going to be very embarrassing to practically all the Members of the House. I am not going to insist, but I am wondering if for the present, when an objection is going to be made to matters that are not the words of the Member in an extension or did not happen on the floor, we cannot agree that extensions of the Member's own remarks may be permitted?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Does the gentleman think an article by a Member such as the article written by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Barton] is the Member's own remarks? They are over his signature, and he is the author of the words. Would that be included?

Mr. RAYBURN. No.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Then we cannot reach an agreement; and, Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further proceedings under the call of committees be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN]?

There was no objection.

### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for one-half minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker and Members, we have just passed a very praiseworthy bill providing for the consolidation and codification of the internal-revenue laws. was positive need for this codification and I am happy to note that we have passed the bill because thereby the Government, the public, lawyers, and courts will be greatly benefited. It often took a Sabbath day's journey to find or to seek out internal-revenue statutes. Dozens of volumes often had to be examined before one could find a sequence of related statutes.

I note that a great deal of thought and many helpful suggestions were made by the Department of Justice. James W. Morris, Assistant Attorney General in charge of internal revenue, made many splendid contributions. I know of no more efficient or sagacious public servant than my friend James W. Morris.

Others who are worthy of praise in this work are Mr. Preston C. Alexander, chairman of the Chief Counsel's committee, and Mr. Wallace Streater, of the Interpretative Division of the Treasury Department. It is men of the type of Jim Morris and his colleagues who make Government work

worth while. They are indeed shining lights in the Department of Justice. They shall have our eternal gratitude.

Incidentally, I desire to recommend to the Members of the House the reading of the decision made by James W. Morris, of the Department of Justice, on the question of taxation of Government bondholders and employees, and his fine statement concerning the immunity ruling in connection with the sixteenth amendment. A more able or more constructive document has never come from the pen of any Government official.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 2 minutes to make an announcement.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON]?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, during the World War we increased the acreage in production of farm products by 50,000,000 acres. Following the World War horses and mules were in many instances supplanted by trucks and tractors, which eliminated a market for corn and hay from between twenty and thirty million acres; at the same time we have lost export markets; consequently, we have had a surplus of farm production and in recent years we have been trying to get the farmers to take some of this surplus land out of the production of commercial crops. Mr. Speaker, I wish to read a memorandum on an amendment issued on January 10 by the A. A. A. to its soil-conservation plan:

The rate for planting trees in the east central region is \$7.50 per

acre, and the rate for seeding legumes is \$1.50 per acre.

It is believed that this will be the prevailing rate throughout the country, provided, however, that the planting of trees (and shrubs) has been approved as a practice for which payments will be made in the particular State and county in which the farm may be

This is going to be a great boon, Mr. Speaker, to wildlife, and all sportsmen and conservationists all over the country should welcome this new addition to our farm plan to pay the farmer \$7.50 an acre to plant trees or shrubs that will improve the habitat for wildlife and \$1.50 an acre for planting legumes or lespedeza or any of those things that will make a food supply for game. I am sure the Members of the House will be glad to pass this information on to the farmers of their respective districts because this is a great opportunity for the farmers to get paid for doing something that will help others as well as themselves.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. KLEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 2 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. KLEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I have just placed in the hopper a bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 insofar as its provisions affect cotton. This bill is introduced for the purpose of making it available for the study of the members of the House Committee on Agriculture and the Members of this body. I have gone over the bill with considerable care. While I am not entirely satisfied with all its provisions, in the main it has a great many commendable features. I ask the Members of the House interested in cotton, as one of the commodities produced in this country that are important to all walks of life, to give this bill their attention.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin rose.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will not recognize any other Member at this juncture without the consent of the gentleman having special orders.

For what purpose does the gentleman from Wisconsin rise?

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is that agreeable to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Peterson]?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, in view of the lateness of the hour, I prefer that the gentleman withhold his unanimous-consent request until I have made my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Under special order of the House heretofore entered, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Peterson], is recognized for 45 minutes.

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise my own remarks. I am asking not to extend my remarks in the RECORD but to revise them.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I may say that under the rules of the House the gentleman has the right to revise his remarks. but he does not have the right to extend them.

The SPEAKER. In the opinion of the Chair, the gentleman has the right to revise his remarks.

PROBLEMS OF THE AVERAGE AMERICAN FARM FAMILY

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I shall address myself this afternoon to the problems of the average farm family of America.

During the last 6 years the Congress of the United States has made available for the benefit of the farmers of this Nation appropriations averaging approximately \$1,000,000,000 annually; in other words, during the last 6 years a total of approximately \$6,000,000,000 has been made available by the United States Government for the benefit primarily of the farm population of this Nation.

This total sum may be divided into three parts. We have made available approximately \$3,000,000,000 in direct benefits to the farmers. In addition, we have made available approximately \$1,000,000,000 in regular appropriations to the Department of Agriculture, the benefits of whose operations are supposed to accrue to the farmers of America. Further, there has been made available of the \$10,000,000,000 or \$12,000,000,000 of relief funds appropriated by the Congress not less than from \$1,500,000,000 to \$2,000,000,000 to the farmers of this Nation. This makes a total of approximately \$6,000,000,000.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the time is now ripe for the Members of Congress and the people of America to take stock of our activities and see what lasting, permanent benefits have accrued to the 7,000,000 farm families of America by virtue of the expenditure of the stupendous sums which have been made available to them by our great country. I have official facts that have been prepared by those to whom has been entrusted the administration of the laws of this country as they pertain to the farmers, as well as figures prepared by the Census Bureau, showing that during this same period, although the number of farm families in America has increased, the number of tenant farmers in America has been continually increasing and, according to the word of the President of the United States, during this period the increase in the number of tenant farmers has been approximately 40,000 annually.

Further, we find that the number of mortgages on farms owned and operated by the farmer himself has continuously increased year after year. However, there is one group among whom the number of farm mortgages has continuously decreased. During the period from 1930 to 1935, which are the latest figures we have available, there has been a decrease in the number of mortgages of absentee landlords of approximately 400,000.

To sum this up, Mr. Speaker, we find that while this \$6,000,000,000 has no doubt been of material benefit to the present-day needs of the farm families of America, insofar as permanent benefits that have accrued to the farmers are concerned, the benefits of these vast expenditures have gone primarily to the absentee landlords of America. The poor little individual owner-operator farmers of this Nation, who earn their own living by the sweat of their brows, digging their living out of the soil day after day, have received virtually no permanent benefit from these vast expenditures.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the day is at hand when it is the duty of this Congress to take stock of these emergency

measures and to see whether or not we are really enacting legislation which is going to cure permanently the basic problem of that group upon whose shoulders lies the future prosperity of this Nation, the farmers themselves. In doing this, it is necessary that we recount briefly the history of the land policies and of the independent farm families of this Nation.

America is known as a land of opportunity. Why is it known as a land of opportunity?

When you sift it all down, the fundamental reason for this Nation being recognized throughout the world as the land of opportunity is because it has offered to distressed mankind throughout the world an opportunity to flee from the yoke of tyranny and despotism and oppression and come here and in our boundaries find a little piece of free soil where he could rear his family in freedom and independence as he earned for himself and his family the necessities of life.

From the day that Columbus and his little brave crew of men sighted the first soil of America and the great cry of "Land! Land!" went up from that crew down to the present day there has always prevailed in this Nation, whether written upon the statute books or not, the fundamental proposition of free land for free labor, and when you have studied thoroughly and completely the fundamental principles, the very essence of Americanism, you will find, Mr. Speaker, that the free farm home, occupied by free citizens, earning their honest living by the sweat of their brow, is the cornerstone of our free institutions.

Now, we have had depressions—numerous depressions—in the history of this country, as we all know, and you will find upon studying the history of this country that in virtually every instance up until the last 30 years those depressions have been ended by those who have been without employment, who have lost their homes, who have lost their means of existence, who have lost the means of supplying the necessities of life for themselves and their families, getting in their little covered wagons and moving out farther into the vast public domain and there securing for themselves a new free home where they could again enjoy the fruits of their labor and provide for themselves and their families the necessities of life.

This fact is recognized by all who have studied American history, and virtually in every instance our depressions have been ended by a process of this nature.

At the beginning of the present century virtually all of the public domain suitable for farm purposes had gone into private ownership. An interesting fact is that during the period from 1910 until 1920 we find that the only 10-year period in the history of our country where agricultural products occupied a position above parity as related to industrial products, yet during that identical period the mortgages on the farms of this Nation increased from over \$3,000,000,000 to around \$7,500,000,000.

Immediately after the war period, when this Nation began to readjust itself to normal conditions, we find that many of those who in the wild, inflationary period had seen fit to mortgage their farms hoping to obtain for themselves a better economic position-we find these people up against the proposition of being unable to meet their obligations, and what was the result? There was no new domain, there was no unexplored territory, there were no public farm lands available to them, with the result that the finance companies began to foreclose their farm mortgages and these poor devils and their families were thrown upon society without means of support—the first time that such a condition had prevailed within this great Nation of ours. It was a new problem for the American people, a problem foreign to any that had ever confronted us before, and from that period to this there has prevailed in this Nation among the agricultural group a condition that might be described as chaotic.

Now, what has been the effort to remedy this condition? We find that many well-intentioned public leaders have attempted to grapple with this grave problem in our Nation, but in almost every instance they have approached the prob-

lem, not from the American angle, Mr. Speaker, but from the angle of socialism and communism, and it is easy to understand why they have approached it from that angle. because if you will recall, during the last three-quarters of a century our great educational institutions have bloomed into maturity, and in virtually every instance before an educator was considered completely educated, he was supposed to have studied in Moscow or in Berlin or in Vienna or in Paris or in some other nation at the feet of educators who knew nothing of Americanism, but whose whole background was steeped in a civilization centuries behind the great American civilization that our foreparents had built up. Then as the boys and girls of this Nation, whose parents had grown rich under the great system that we have here, were sent to college, they went to colleges where the professors knew nothing of Americanism, but did know all of the details of socialism and communism.

And, of course, they were taught nothing else, and when they came back and occupied positions of prominence, and these problems arose, it has been only natural that these well-intentioned American citizens should attempt to apply these doctrines to American problems. Mr. Speaker, the natural result has been the enactment of laws by this Congress which run contrary to the American ideal—the enactment of measures which do not meet the wishes, the requirements, the needs of the average American citizen.

And so today we find that, in spite of the fact that we have appropriated these huge sums of the taxpayers' money, still the problem of the average farmer of America confronts us as emphatically as it did 6 years ago. What are we going to do about this thing? Are we going to continue forever to spend huge sums of money beyond the income of this Nation, hoping that such course can go on forever and ever? If so, it is a foolish hope, because we all know that the end must come some day. Again, are we going to sit quietly by and permit that end to come and, when it does, find the foundation stone of Americanism shattered into tenantry and serfdom? If so, there is no hope for free government. Mr. Speaker, it is absurd, positively absurd, to think that free institutions can continue to thrive and prosper when over two-thirds of the farm families are tenants and serfs. The only way that we can hope to preserve our free institutions is by the Congress of the United States of America again placing a sufficient number of producers of raw products of this Nation and their families in an economic position so that it is to their advantage to preserve free institutions. It is time, therefore, for us to lay aside these communistic, these socialistic programs which lead only to despotism, to the rule of tyranny, to the rule of anarchy, to bureaucratic control, and return to the simple, fundamental principles of Americanism and reestablish our independent farm units in their basic positions as the cornerstones of our institutions.

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. Does the gentleman mean to imply that the legislation that we have passed along agricultural lines is leading us to that position?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I mean to imply that, although, no doubt, many very beneficial things have come out of the legislative program that has been adopted, if we stop with that program alone, without reestablishing independent farm units in my district and your district and throughout the country in a position of economic independence so that they can enjoy their freedom and liberty, this great form of government which we enjoy shall crumble and decay.

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I challenge the gentleman's statement that the only people who have enjoyed the benefit of this legislation are the landlords. The whole country has enjoyed it, and we today would have 5-cent cotton and 25-cent wheat if it had not been for the legislation passed in this Congress. I do not think the gentleman has the right to indict the work that we have done. I think

it has been most beneficial. I agree with the gentleman that

the independent-

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I do not yield any further to the gentleman. I wish it clearly understood that I am not indicting any legislation that might have been passed by the distinguished gentleman from Oregon or any other Member of this House. As I said in the beginning, much material benefit has accrued to the farm population of this Nation by virtue of these expenditures, but I say further that these expenditures are not sufficient, and, further, that it is absolutely essential for this Nation to again return to American principles of legislation and reestablish the independent farm unit of this Nation on a self-supporting basis if we hope to preserve our free institutions.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. KELLER. How would the gentleman accomplish what he is saying?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I am coming to that feature now. Since I have been in Congress I have initiated a program designed to accomplish that result—not perfect, I admit, but it is in harmony with the fundamental principles of Americanism, and, as I see it, there is but one way to approach this problem in a sane and sensible economic manner and that is to take the old free homestead policies of America, which have resulted in such tremendous benefit to all classes of this Nation, and amend them so as to make them apply to the present needs of the country.

Mr. KELLER. How will the gentleman do it?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I appreciate the gentleman's asking that question. I have reintroduced this year, and I am proud to say that I have been joined in this by both of our distinguished Senators from the State of Georgia, who introduced an identical measure in the other body, a program which will accomplish this result, and to me the process appears comparatively simple. If this Nation, instead of spending huge sums of money in temporary relief or, I might say, in addition to spending huge sums of money in temporary relief, which, according to all the facts in the case, are not giving permanent relief-if we will proceed at the same time toward liquidating the farm mortgage indebtedness of the little independent owners of this country, placing them back in possession of their homesteads, free of debt, with the condition that they cannot be further mortgaged, with that one stroke we will have attained for each of these farm units a position of economic independence.

Now, I want it understood that I do not propose to force a program of this nature on the American people. If you have not read the measure which we are advocating, I would like to have you get a copy and read it. It is only four pages long, as compared with the bills that have been brought in heretofore containing scores and scores of pages. After I have read them time after time I was not able to understand them, and I do not believe you folks were able to

understand them either.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I yield.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. I got the impression from what the gentleman said that legislation which we have passed during the past 6 years to coddle the farmer with one subsidy after another has tended to weaken and in many instances to destroy his spirit of thrift and independence?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I do not know that I mean to leave that impression particularly, but I do mean to leave the impression that that legislation has not done anything to regain for that farm unit its position of economic independence which I am sure my distinguished colleague from Tennessee on the other side of the aisle is so anxious to see regained for the farmers in his congressional district.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. I thoroughly agree with the gentleman.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I cannot yield further at present. This is a serious problem. It is one that has not even been broached by this House on this floor. I am proud to say that during the last term of Congress, the bill which I am now advocating was passed by my committee unanimously. It was never brought to the floor for action.

I propose that we should take a small portion of the funds that we are using in emergency relief and proceed to solve the problem of the little independent owner and operator of farms, who is struggling against an insurmountable burden, and place those farm units again in a position of economic independence. That is the foundation of our whole political, economic, civil, and social structure. The farm home, occupied by free and independent citizens, is the framework around which our whole civilization is built.

The President in his message of February 16, 1937, warned the Congress that this unit is vanishing in America, and he states that—

When fully half the total farm population of the United States no longer can feel secure, when millions of our people have lost their roots in the soil, action to provide security is imperative, and will be generally approved.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it is time for this Congress to begin to use some common sense. I have voted against every one of these lump-sum appropriation relief measures, because to me it is only driving our Nation and our people deeper and deeper into the abyss of despair and will finally mean complete rejection of all liberties and rights and benefits we enjoy under our free institutions. [Applause.]

Now, I appreciate the applause coming from the other side of the aisle, and I take advantage of this opportunity to remind my Republican friends that their party grew into its greatness and gained control of the political affairs of this Nation primarily on account of the fact that there was written into the platform of the Republican Party of 1860 a plank which would accomplish the identical results that I am pleading for here today.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I do not yield now. I welcome the cooperation of my friends on the other side of the aisle, and I wish to present to them a copy of that plank in their platform of 1860 and read it for their benefit, because I feel that possibly some of you might have overlooked it in recent years, during the time that you have failed to help solve this problem of the average farmer of America.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Not now. This is the plank in your platform:

We protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty, and we demand passage by Congress of a complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

If you will study the history of this Nation you will find that that clause in your platform is the primary cause for the ascendancy of the Republican Party in this country, and the enactment of that into legislation in 1862 is the primary cause for the great progress that this country made for 75 years, and the fact that the Republican Party failed to continue along that pathway is the primary cause for our great Democratic Party rising and again subjecting you into a position of minority in this country.

Mr. Speaker, this proposition is dear to my heart. It is dear to the heart of every American citizen. "Oh," you say, "it will cost too much." I see some of you gentlemen here, the watchdogs of the Treasury, who say that such a program would cost too much. The United States Government today, under the Farm Security Administration, according to figures presented to me a few days ago, is now buying, with public money, farms for certain individual farmers and paying approximately \$5,000 per farm unit for them. The size of these farms is approximately 150 acres. To do that you have had to set up vast new agencies with additional officials,

hundreds of them. Under the program that I propose you do not have to have any new agencies or any new officials. The cost will be much less than one-half of what you are

now spending.

All in the world you have to do is to go to the General Land Office, permit the General Land Office-which is one of the oldest agencies of the Federal Government—to go onto the market and buy farm mortgages. Then instead of going into the competitive land-buying business as we are now doing, which forces the price of land up, you will be going into the competitive mortgage-buying business, which will force the price of mortgages down. The size of the average farm mortgage in America today is only a little over \$3,000. Suppose you do pay 100 cents on the dollar; you would still save \$2,000 on every unit. The size of those units is virtually the same as the size of the units that are being bought today by the Farm Security Administration. In my State of Georgia they are paying from \$2,500 to \$3,000 of the taxpayers' money per farm unit. Under my program, with the average mortgage indebtedness being only approximately \$1,100 or \$1,200, you could set up twice the farm families for the same cost that you are setting up one farm family under the present program. Under my program you would be reducing the debt over \$3,000, whereas under the present program you are only adding \$3,000 to the indebtedness.

Consider, for instance—and it is liberal to estimate this way-that the average farm unit under this program of liquidating farm mortgages can be brought about for approximately \$2,000. We have recently appropriated, or will soon appropriate, approximately \$800,000,000 in direct relief to be expended between now and July 1. By July 1, I dare say there will not be 1,000 families in this Nation upon those relief rolls who will be in any better economic position than they are today. What could be done under this simple program I am urging? With this \$800,000,000 under that program you could establish 400,000 farm families, or approximately 2,000,-000 American citizens, in a position of permanent economic independence where they could work out for themselves their own salvation and secure for themselves the necessities of life without any bureaucratic control from Washington or any other centralized point.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I yield.

Mr. KELLER. How would the gentleman purchase this land?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I would not purchase the land.

Mr. KELLER. How would the gentleman put the people on it?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I would purchase the farm mortgage. There are many of them in my district and in the gentleman's district—perhaps the gentleman does not have them, but I do.

Mr. KELLER. I have plenty of them.

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. The little individual farm unit, farmers and their families who—it might be due to their own extravagance, it might be due to the adversities of life—I know not what, but for some reason—it might have been due to some slick-tongued financial wizard who sold them an automobile and then talked them into mortgaging their farm to pay for it—but in any event whose farm has become mortgaged.

History shows that he does not pay off the farm mortgage. They have never done it in the history of the world—as a rule—and they are not going to do it from now on unless the Government steps in and pays them off in one way or another. That poor devil is up against an impossible proposition. Everything that he makes, if he continues ownership of that farm—the profit on it—has got to go in interest and in sinking fund. Why, the interest alone on the farm mortgages of this Nation and the other farm debts under normal conditions is \$800,000,000 annually, according to figures I have here from the Department of Agriculture. Suppose that man has a 100-acre farm. He is up against an impossible proposition.

He must do one of two things: He must continue to be an owner-operator and let everything he makes, all his profits, go to pay interest on that obligation, or he must let his farm be foreclosed and must become a tenant, a serf. There is no other way out for that man under normal conditions.

This is a problem for society. There is not one man like this in America but there are millions like him in America, and nothing yet has been done by act of Congress to alleviate their condition. I propose, instead of all of this new-fangled stuff here that you do not know anything about, and I do not, either, to permit the General Land Office to buy that farm mortgage. Suppose it is a 100-acre farm and that the owner owes \$1,000 on it, I would let the Land Office make a proposition to the financial institution, whether it is a Federal land bank, a private citizen, a private bank, or whatever it might be, and buy that farm mortgage as cheap as it can be bought with a provision that under no circumstances can they pay more than the actual value of the farm. After they have bought it they can make the proposition to the man who lives there that now the Government, the Congress of the United States, society, if you please, recognizes his impossible position, recognizes that his purchasing power is gone, recognizes that he not only cannot support his family but cannot buy the processed goods of this Nation, recognizes that he is the greatest purchasing agent of the processed goods of this Nation that there is on earth, and recognizes that his purchasing power is gone, so we are going to set him up not only in a position of economic independence but in a position where his family can earn a livelihood in freedom and independence. It will go back to the General Land Office and become a part of the public domain. Then we will give him a prior right to homestead that piece of land under the Homestead Act of 1862, with the further provision that if he homesteads it he can grow on it what he pleases, do with it what he pleases, be a free, independent agent, he and his family, but that he cannot mortgage it or encumber

In other words, society is going to throw a cloak of protection around you, so that your farm, the means of livelihood not only for you but your wife and those poor little children of yours, if you are not in a position to make a living for yourself, may be saved so that your family can make a living on that soil, and we will protect them while they do it and protect them in the enjoyment of the fruits of their labor. Does not the gentleman think that is pretty good legislation?

Mr. KELLER. I think your sympathies are fine. I have not gone into the matter sufficiently to know whether it is at

all practicable.

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I regret that the gentleman has not studied the free homestead laws of this Nation, because I will tell him that in his district and throughout this Nation as a whole millions and millions of farms have been made available to the farm families of this Nation under their provisions.

In 1862, when this identical piece of legislation was being discussed on the floor, the question arose as to whether limitations should be placed preventing the farms from being sold, encumbered, or mortgaged. There was a vast domain. There were millions of unexplored acres. There are 2,000,000,000 acres of land in America. Millions of those acres had not been explored in 1862. No one could dream of or visualize the time when all of this public domain would go into private ownership. So when a Member rose on the floor of Congress and began to talk about restrictions so that the farms could not be encumbered, he was laughed out of court or, at least, was not seriously considered.

I can fully appreciate that fact. But now, Mr. Speaker, we are up against that proposition, are we going to completely lay aside the American proposition of free land for free labor? If we are going to now or hereafter reject the proposition of giving the opportunity to distressed human beings of getting a piece of free soil whereby they may live in freedom and independence while they work out their own salvation. The only other alternative is despotism, socialism, or tyranny. There can be no other answer.

Mr. KELLER. I sympathize entirely with what the gentleman is saying with reference to making it impossible for foreclosure. I think that is a fine idea.

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Did not the gentleman vote for the Farm Security Administration bill?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Why does he object to my proposition? Has the gentleman read those contracts which they get when they buy those farms?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. There is the case of William J. Langsley, of Jasper, Ala. I made a study of that gentleman. He mortgaged himself to the extent of \$4,500. He has 40 years to pay it out, and he is a man, according to the newspapers, 59 years old. When he pays it all out, when he pays up every obligation, he will be 99 years of age. The only hope he can have to enjoy his farm free of debt is to take it to heaven with him.

Mr. SIROVICH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Not now. If the gentleman will read it further, he will find, if that man moves a fence, places a terrace, or drives his mules to church on Sunday with his family contrary to the specific permission of the bureaucrats here in Washington, they can declare his contract null and void and throw him off for any pretense. Yet you say we have made an independent unit of him.

Mr. Speaker, it is a farce. I must admit this first example was in the great State of Alabama. You will find, further, that that particular man could have bought a farm anyhow. He had several hundred dollars a year in pension money coming to him from the Government. In addition, the first year they paid to him four or five hundred dollars for doing certain building work. If the Government is going to take every farmer who is in such desperate condition and buy a farm unit for him, then turn around and appropriate money to keep it up so that he can pay off the farm debt, and that is exactly what we do. Why is it not much better, more sane, and using greater common sense to get to the bottom of this thing and liquidate the farm-mortgage indebtedness from the bottom on up?

Mr. Speaker, a few days ago the President of the United States stated in this House that it was up to Congress to solve all these problems. It is up to us now, and the duty falls on us. The question is, Are we going to continue in a haphazard manner to lay aside any serious effort to again reestablish the foundation to our American free Government by creating independent farm units and putting these farmers in a position of economic independence instead of fooling around with these untried, fanciful theories that are leading us deeper and deeper into the abyss of despair, or are you going along with the two distinguished Senators from Georgia, myself, and others who are supporting this piece of legislation which will go a long way toward solving permanently the basic farm problems of this Nation?

I sincerely trust this piece of legislation will be reported by my committee and that the Rules Committee will grant us a rule so that it can be brought before the membership of the House, where every Member will be given ample opportunity to consider and study every angle of the matter. Let us work together to get a permanent solution of this problem that will reestablish our Nation and place us again in the position of normal prosperity. [Applause 1]

position of normal prosperity. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. BOLLES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, after the legislative program of the day, and following any special orders heretofore entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, at the conclusion of the special orders heretofore made, I may be permitted to address the House for 10 minutes to answer the extension of remarks of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Ludlow] entitled "What Is the Matter With New England?" At the end of his remarks the gentleman asked the New England newspapers to please copy. I suggest they wait until I answer the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Ludlow]. I shall entitle my remarks "What Is the Matter With Congressman Ludlow?"

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts that on tomorrow, at the conclusion of the special orders heretofore made, she may be permitted to address the House for 10 minutes?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Under a previous special order, the gentleman from Washington [Mr. Hill] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for an additional 5 minutes at the conclusion of the 20 minutes allotted me.

The SPEAKER. Under the practice heretofore indulged in by the House, inasmuch as there is another gentleman to follow the gentleman from Washington, the Chair is loath to put that request unless it meets with the approval of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Van Zandt]. Will the gentleman from Washington submit his request at the conclusion of his remarks?

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, I had not intended to ask permission to address the House so early in the session, as it has been my observation during the seven sessions I have served here that those who talk the oftenest, the loudest, and the longest wield the least influence in this body. But when on Monday last my simple request to extend my own remarks in the Congressional Record and include therein a 10-minute talk I made on the preceding Saturday over the National Broadcasting System was objected to by the minority floor leader, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Martin], my only recourse was to secure time on the floor of this House. Members of this body are fully acquainted with the reason for this objection, but that the people of this Nation may know the tactics adopted by the opposition in this session, I will state the facts.

In the first place, let me say that it has been an invariable custom in the House to concede unanimous consent to any Member to extend his own remarks spoken over the radio. Excerpts from newspapers and magazines have often been objected to. Congressman Bruce Barton, for whom I have a high regard, and with whom I serve on the Committee on Indian Affairs, had published in Collier's an eight-page political article entitled: "After Roosevelt, Then What?"

He is now engaged more or less in a speaking tour of the East, presumably in behalf of his own candidacy for the Presidency in 1940. Last week, during his absence, one of his Republican colleagues requested unanimous consent to extend his own remarks and include therein this eight-page political article by Congressman Barton. This was objected to by Congressman Buck, of California, because of its being a long magazine article. As a result, my request to insert my own brief remarks, which were nonpolitical, was objected to by the leader of the minority. And he or his lieutenants have persistently continued that policy and threaten to continue it indefinitely. These are the facts, and I leave it to fair-minded citizens of this country to pass judgment in this matter. That the privileges of the Congressional Record have been abused cannot be successfully refuted; and I well remember the facetious remark of an intelligent and witty constituent of mine who had been "fed up" on much of the worthless material that finds its way into that ponderous publication. Said he on my first trip to Washington in 1933: "The first thing I want you to do when you get down there is to extend your remarks in the RECORD and include therein the Encyclopedia Britannica so we may have it free!" However, there is no valid reason for objecting to speeches made by Members outside the Chamber especially when they deal with current legislation and are nonpolitical, so here I am going to insert the speech that I asked to have inserted in an extension of my remarks.

The purpose of all taxes should be to provide Government with the necessary funds——

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts rose.

Mr. HILL. I am sorry, but you cannot object to this.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I certainly can object to it. Mr. HILL. To carry out its functions of protecting its citi-

Mr. HILL. To carry out its functions of protecting its citizens, safeguarding their inalienable rights, and developing their opportunities for progress, success, and happiness.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Regular order, Mr. Speaker. The gentleman is out of order. Under the rules of the House, the gentleman is not supposed to read from a manuscript.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. The gentleman is reading his own remarks.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. I do not care.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. If the gentleman is reading his own remarks, Mr. Speaker, I submit that is in order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Pace). The Chair believes the gentleman is within the rules of the House.

Mr. HH.L. I wish no more interruptions, please, so I can finish in my 20 minutes.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. A point of order, Mr. Speaker.

Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from

Wisconsin insist on his point of order?

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the gentleman is out of order under the rules of the House and is not supposed to read his remarks in the Well of the House. I ask for a ruling.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has been provided with a copy of the rules of the House and refers to rule XXX, which reads:

When the reading of a paper other than one upon which the House is called to give a final vote is demanded, and the same is objected to by any Member, it shall be determined without debate by a vote of the House.

Mr. HILL. Is this going to be taken out of my time, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. It will not be taken out of the time of the gentleman.

The Chair is of the opinion that under this rule the question of whether or not the gentleman from Washington shall be permitted to proceed to read his own remarks must be submitted to the House.

The question is on permitting the gentleman from Washington to proceed to read his own remarks.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Schafer of Wisconsin) there were—ayes 15, noes 3.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground there is no quorum present. I believe that when the gentleman is making a political speech attacking the Republican Party he should have more than 18 Members present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will count.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the point of order so the gentleman may proceed to deliver his political speech to the 18 Members of the House who are present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin withdraws his point of order. The gentleman from Washington may proceed.

Mr. HILL. Taxes, to be just and equitable, must be based on ability to pay and benefits received. When thus levied, and when wisely expended, no patriotic citizen should be unwilling to pay his fair share to carry on the Government in a democracy like ours.

It is far wiser to carry on the legitimate functions of government by means of taxation than by borrowing and issuing interest-bearing bonds. Both the taxpayer who pays the bill and his servant, the county, State, or Federal official, who is charged with the prudent spending of the money, will be less prodigal with these funds when unlimited demands on the future are prohibited, the large sums wasted in interest are saved, and the political power of unscrupulous Shylocks

is curbed. A graduated income tax is the most equitable, based as it is on the ability to pay and adjusted according to the benefits received. Does not the Government provide the incomes or present the opportunities for private incomes?

A tax on consumption, a sales tax, too often violates the principle of ability to pay. Moreover, it decreases the purchasing power of the great mass of people, thereby decreasing the national income, whereas the aim of economists and high Government officials is to increase the national income from \$60,000,000,000 to \$80,000,000,000. The flow of money in the economic body is as necessary and vital as the normal circulation of the blood in the human body. This can be accomplished not by taking from those whose wages are far below standard through a tax on their food, wearing apparel, and shelter, but rather by furnishing them permanent jobs at good wages through Government employment when private industry fails, neglects, or refuses so to do. Not only is it the function and duty of government to provide adequate relief for work purposes during these winter months, but it must enter upon a permanent program of public work projects so as to take up the slack, as it is sure to come in years ahead. The United States can well afford to study and follow the wise leadership of the Scandinavian lands as outlined in a book entitled "The Northern Countries in World Economy."

There is another field in which the Federal Government can wisely spend. This is along educational lines. As a teacher for many years in our public schools I am sincerely and heartily in favor of generous Federal aid to education. We have not only erected a splendid edifice of government of which we are justly proud but it is our privilege and duty to maintain and protect it against the raids of communism, fascism, and nazi-ism; also from the greed and selfishness too often characteristic of some of our most vociferous patrioteers. The best weapon against all these subversive forces is public opinion—not that fostered by newspaper propaganda or selfseeking investigating committees, but based upon an intelligent study and exposition of all the fallacies of all these modern "isms." Our boys and girls, our young men and women, all of them, must have access to all the facts and data available; the supervision of intelligent and sincere instructors, and the inalienable right of American citizens to choose for themselves the methods of solving their problems and those of the country in which they live.

I believe in an adequate defense for our country, especially in these serious times when madmen are at the helm in so many foreign countries. Our ship of state will need cool heads and courageous hearts in the coming years. I am, however, unalterably opposed to the building of costly superdreadnaughts to cruise the seven seas in another futile attempt to "make the world safe for democracy." I am far more interested in making the United States safe for democracy and a fit place in which to live and rear our children. The millions wasted on such an armed program leading to foreign entanglements can better be spent on alleviating intolerable conditions at home and making available one of the most essential elements of national defense—an intelligent, enlightened, and patriotic citizenry which no outside force on the face of the earth can conquer. We are all quite familiar with the poverty and unemployment situation about us; it is both tragic and threatening. Temporary relief measures are mandatory. But a more permanent program is essential in the educational field. Three quarters of a million children in the United States have no schooling. About two and a half million children of school age are so handicapped that they need special facilities. One-third of the children of school age do not have the full school year, many of them having only from 2 to 5 months.

All this in our land of wonderful historic achievements. All this in our country of magnificient power and wealth. All this in our land of limitless opportunities.

We boast of our splendid heritage, of our wonderful opportunities, of our boundless natural resources. They are worthy of praise and our best efforts. But let us cherish a greater pride and a more lasting interest in our greatest and best

national resource—our boys and girls—the men and women of America's temorrow.

That is the end of my radio talk.

The policy of petty obstruction and the lack of constructive criticism on the part of the Republican leadership both in the country at large and here in the Congress have been quite evident since the recent election. The wine of temporary success has gone to their heads. They speak immoderately and act quite foolishly. You need not take my word for it. Read the sound criticism and advice given the opposition by so seasoned and conservative a writer as David Lawrence in his Star column under the heading "Obstruction Tactics May Turn Tide; New Deal Opponents Attack, But Offer No Alternatives." How deadly true this has been from the first week of the session. Biting, sarcastic criticism of the President's statesmanlike annual message, but not one word of constructive suggestion. They would balance the Budget but where would they begin-not surely on their own pet projects and on long-standing Republican bureaucrats. They, with reactionary Democrats led by the late lamented-I might say lamentable-ex-chairman of the Rules Committee, defeated the reorganization bill urged by platforms of Presidents of both parties for the past twoscore years, which could have been so shaped as to effect great economies in the executive departments. They ridiculed the President's Jackson Day speech, one that shows conclusively that Franklin D. Roosevelt has his face turned toward the east, toward the dawn of the day when Progressives, regardless of past party affiliations, will, for the purpose of self-protection but chiefly to make our splendid heritage of the past 150 years serve the men and women of today in modern terms and in such a way as to render the sentiments expressed in the Declaration of Independence a living and breathing spirit to bless the America of today. I have long cherished the hope of a new party alinement. I have no dislike for the conservatives of the old school. They are genial, intelligent men and their motives are above suspicion. But they do not belong to the Democratic Party of today. They should train and follow through with the reactionary Republicans whose ideas and ideals are similar to theirs. We who believe in the ideas and ideals of the New Deal and have followed the essential principles and policies of the program of reform as well as recovery took charge of the Democratic Party in 1932, continued in charge in 1934 and 1936 and 1938 and by the eternal, under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt we will continue in charge in 1940. Let the issue be met fairly and squarely, let the voters of the United States have the long-awaited opportunity of deciding between all the conservatives of the old school on one side and all the progressives of the New Deal on the other side. I, for one, have no fear of the outcome. But the opposition will hedge, as they are now doing on the W. P. A. relief bill. During the recent campaign in our State, the Republican candidates promised better wages and other emoluments to W. P. A. workers. There has been for years more Republican political activity in relief in our State than Democratic political activity. Even as I speak, a threatened investigation of the Republican relief set-up in our State is on by our State legislature notwithstanding it is controlled by a coalition of Republicans and conservative

Mr. Speaker, there has been a coalition of conservative Democrats and Republicans in this House since the inception of the New Deal. During the first few sessions of the present administration there was no open opposition to the program of the New Deal expressed on the floor of this House. The people of the country were in no mood to tolerate any destructive criticism for those first few years. But we heard considerable opposition and criticism in the cloakrooms on the part of conservative Democrats even that early. They knew, however, that their only assurance of reelection was to support the New Deal. It was purely a matter of expediency with them, not one of conviction. In later years when there has been a reasonable recovery

achieved and the novelty of the New Deal has worn off, with all the newspaper and magazine propaganda hurled at it, and a certain amount of popular disapproval of some of the methods used, these Members have come out into the

open and are showing their true colors.

I bring no brief, Mr. Speaker, for the President of the United States. He needs none. He can and has taken care of himself superbly. His annual message delivered on the floor of this House and his Jackson Day address show his indomitable courage and splendid leadership better than ever. He is still the progressive leader of the progressive Democratic Party. It behooves us who believe in the same high ideals and progressive policies to back him up in this leadership. We, the rank and file, are the shock troops, if you please, upon whom he will have to depend when his erstwhile supporters desert him in the hour of real battle. I have not always agreed with and supported the President. On the second vote cast in this House during the special session of 1933 our whole Washington delegation saw fit to vote against the so-called economy bill which the Liberty League had so cleverly induced the administration to sponsor. It was not popular in that session to vote against the popular President. I have done so several times since. But I am heartily and sincerely in favor of the policies and program of reform as well as recovery promulgated and advocated by him. It is commonly asserted that he lost the court fight. Did he? Is it a loss to compel a conservative court to completely reverse itself on two such important issues as minimum wages for women and the interstatecommerce clause in the Constitution? Is it a loss to have been permitted to appoint such known liberals as Black, Reed, and Frankfurter to the highest tribunal in the land? Is it a loss to have the Supreme Court of the United States now interpret the Constitution in the light of modern intelligence and modern demands and modern developments? No; the President did not lose the court fight; he won a magnificent victory, not because he is a shrewd statesman but because he is eternally right on that question. Did he lose the reorganization battle? Possibly the first skirmish, but the battle is not yet done. One of the leaders in opposition to that much-needed reform met his Waterloo on the plains of New York on November 8 last. We have just begun to fight that battle for economic, efficient, and expeditious functioning of the executive department of the Government. The Republicans with their conservative Democratic friends may continue their folly of opposing this reform. But when the voters understand what reorganization really means to the orderly processes of good government, what it did for the State of Virginia under Governor Byrd, who now as Senator opposes Federal reorganization presumably for personal reasons, and that platforms and Presidents of both parties for the past twoscore of years have demanded this reform, then this battle, too, will be won.

The President has not gone as far as I would go on the money question, on the farm problem, on social security, and old-age pensions. But he has done more to breathe new life into the Constitution and carry out the purposes as expressed in the preamble of that great instrument and the ideals and principles as enunciated in the Declaration of Independence; he has done more to make the United States safe for democracy; he has done more to urge the rights of the common people than any President since Abraham Lincoln. In the years to come Americans will have good cause to thank God for Franklin D. Roosevelt.

I want to serve notice here and now that all these attacks on the President and the New Deal program will be met by those of us who, possibly too long, have sat by in silence. As much as I dislike to take up the time of the Members of this House in discussing political issues, I shall take the floor whenever I deem it my duty to speak in behalf of the principles I have advocated for many years. And I care not who the aggressor may be. If it be the tall tornado from Texas who has these many months been gathering unto himself a fund of publicity as chairman of the Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities and is now galavanting around the country in behalf of his candidacy for the Presidency and breaking bread with the Nazi agents here, let him come on. In the words of Shakespeare:

Lay on, Macduff; And damn'd be him that first cries, "Hold, enough!"

His sole purpose has been to discredit the administration and the New Deal and not to sincerely uncover subversive un-American activities. Or it may be the ponderous gentleman from Wisconsin, who seems to consider burly brawn superior to brains as essential to qualify a Member for this House. Yesterday in one breath he belabored the Secretary of Labor for not deporting an alien, and in the next breath he wanted this alien shot by a firing squad for treason. Can the gentleman, in his own time—and he uses a good deal of it—tell the Members how an alien can be guilty of treason to this country? Or it may be our gruff-voiced but genial gentleman from Massachusetts, who so often quotes poetry for the edification of his listeners. Only yesterday he bemoaned the fact that my good friend Amlie, a "lame duck," had been appointed to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Mr. Amlie needs no praise of mine.

Mr. GIFFORD. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. HILL. I do not have the time.

Mr. GIFFORD. The gentleman must yield. He referred

Mr. HILL. If I get 5 additional minutes, I will yield.

Mr. GIFFORD. And the gentleman misrepresented me, too.

Mr. HILL. I think not.

Mr. GIFFORD. Oh, yes; the gentleman did. My speech made no reference to Mr. Amlie. His name came up through an interruption by another Member. My remarks fitted Mr. Hopkins and stripped him naked. I said nothing about Mr. Amlie.

Mr. HILL. Oh, it was in the gentleman's talk.

I will simply say that he is as sincere and intelligent a student of economics as ever graced this Chamber with his presence. And I may add that it was a sad day for Wisconsin, of whose State university I have the honor to be an alumnus, when it failed to return such men as Boileau, Sauthoff, Schneider, and Withrow. Their successors will have to go far to equal them in courageous and intelligent service. Speaking of "lame ducks" may I remind the gentleman from Massachusetts that William Howard Taft was the most discredited "lame duck" in the history of our country in 1912. Yet appointed as Chief Justice he made an enviable record, notwithstanding his conservative trend of decisions. And who was more of a "lame duck" than Herbert Hoover in 1932? And yet the opposition sit at his feet today and would gladly see him appointed to any office.

In closing, I want to follow in the footsteps of my good friend from Massachusetts [Mr. Gifford] and quote the

following poem by Ella Wheeler Wilcox:

NO QUESTION IS EVER SETTLED UNTIL IT IS SETTLED RIGHT However the battle is ended, Though proudly the victor comes With fluttering flags and prancing nags

And echoing roll of drums, Still truth proclaims this motto In letters of living light, No question is ever settled Until it is settled right.

Though the heel of the strong oppressor May grind the weak in the dust, And the voices of fame with one acclaim May call him great and just, Let those who applaud take warning And keep this motto in sight, No question is ever settled

Until it is settled right.

Let those who have failed take courage, Though the enemy seems to have won— Though his ranks are strong—if he be in the wrong, The battle is not yet done, For sure as the morning follows

The darkest hour of the night, No question is ever settled Until it is settled right.

This question will not be settled right until we lay aside our partisanship-and we will do it if you will-and carry into effect that fine sentiment of Theodore Roosevelt:

This country in the long run will not be a good place for any one of us to live in until and unless it is a good place for all of us to live in.

I submit that is the purpose of the New Deal under Franklin D. Roosevelt. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. MILLER] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, if it be in order, I yield my time for today and ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, at the conclusion of the special order heretofore entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 20 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the special order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Van Zandt] is recognized for 30 minutes.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it is gratifying to have this opportunity to address the House on a question of absorbing interest to me for two decades—the question of the national defense. But merely because I mention my long interest in this question, please do not misunderstand my purpose. I do not rise to address the House for the first time to impart any information. My purpose is quite the contrary. I am seeking information.

My first real interest in the national defense came with impelling force in April 1917. I promptly left high school to enlist in the Navy. After my discharge at the end of 28 months I enlisted in the Naval Reserves. I still am a member of that splendid organization. Hence it must be obvious that I do not qualify as an authority on the national defense. I merely endorse the policy of an adequate national defense. For, unless our national defense is adequate to withstand any test, we might as well disband the Army and Navy right now and thus help balance the Budget.

Since the World War I have been active in veteran affairs. I was honored three times by election as commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. While occupying that post I preached the policy of an adequate national defense before veterans' organizations, civic, patriotic, and business bodies, and before committees of Congress, I mention my modest military record and my veteran activities not to point with pride but to indicate that I have little fear of anything I may say on this occasion being used against me to sustain an indictment for pacifism. I am speaking for the national defense, not against it.

Under the Constitution one of the first duties of Congress is to provide for the national defense. The turbulent state of world affairs today lends added importance to that everimportant problem. It is kept before us constantly by frontpage accounts of the wars in Europe and Asia, with discussions of the mad race for armaments by dictator nations and democracies alike. All experts agree that a general war in Europe is inevitable. Some persons in positions to be well informed, such as our Ambassadors to England and France, even set the date for the opening of hostilities as next spring. Is there any wonder the American people have a severe case of war jitters? Indeed, the most acute case of this universal malady seems to be suffered by the President himself.

In his personal report to Congress on the state of the Nation the President so stressed the "storm signals from across the seas" that he made the national defense a prior and a more pressing problem than our most urgent domestic needs. The President referred to a narrowly averted war "which threatened to envelop the world in flames." Peace, he told Congress, is anything but assured in this world bristling with armaments that are swifter and more devastating than ever. Then from a skillfully woven summary of wars and rumors of war the President drew a startling challenge to our democratic institutions, if not an actual threat to our peace and security

Some gentlemen on this floor have been unkind enough to accuse the President of using the wars and preparations for war as a convenient smoke screen to conceal 6 years of New Deal failure in our domestic affairs. Be that as it may, that is not the question I wish to discuss at this time. There should be no partisanship where the national defense is concerned. There may be honest differences of opinion as to what constitutes an adequate national defense, but that is one question which never should be made a political football. The President of the United States still is my Commander in Chief. When he solemnly advises Congress that our national defense needs strengthening, I always shall give him respectful attention, examine the evidence, and then act upon my responsibility as a Member of this House. Right now I am seeking evidence.

The President professed to see in the undeclared wars and the threats of new aggression—both military and economic a direct challenge to three institutions, which all agree are indispensable to Americans—religion, democracy, and international good faith. Then, the President added:

The defense of religion, democracy, and international good faith among nations is all the same fight. To save one we must now make up our minds to save all.

Mr. Speaker, I submit there can be no question about our determination to defend our shores from invasion, to protect our possessions, continental and insular. Surely, if we do that successfully, we shall save our own religion, our own democracy, and our own good faith in international affairs.

America was founded as a consequence of religious persecution. Hence, we abhor religious or racial persecution. America's helping hand always has been and always will be extended to the oppressed minorities in other lands. Yet, it is doubtful whether the American people are prepared to embark upon a crusade to avenge the victims of such persecution in Europe or elsewhere. We would be quick to resent any intervention by any other nation in our strictly domestic affairs, such as lynching Negroes in the South.

What about democracy? More than 20 years ago we went to Europe and fought a great war "to make the world safe for democracy." We all know the result only too well. America poured out blood and treasure without stint in the name of democracy. Yet, only two great democracies survive in Europe today. Dictators dominate Europe and Asia. Are we going to use our Army and Navy to assist in changing the form of government in any other country? I think not. When it comes to economic wars, do we propose to force the people of other lands to buy our goods at the point of the bayonet? Hardly!

So far as international good faith is concerned, by all means we must keep the faith. There can be no doubt about the damage done the cause of international good faith by the dictators. As much as we deplore that, the United States, after all, is not the keeper of the world's conscience. We can set the world a good example, but the day has passed for reforming the morals of any nation by fire and sword.

So, despite the violence done religion and democracy by dictators in their own countries and the damage to the cause of international good faith in the world, I doubt whether the American people are prepared to make these outrages an issue of war so long as our own institutions remain free from the heavy hands of Communist or Fascist dictators.

We all understand that it is advisable in promoting any cause to paint the picture with broad strokes and in vivid colors to arouse interest. Yet, with all the wars and threats of war, it seems hardly necessary to overdraw the picture to arouse the country and Congress to the need of a strong and modern national defense. And although national defense, in the strict sense, merely implies the weapons with which to defend our own shores and our own possessions, I am willing to follow the President a little further along the line in search of the objectives we must have added arms to defend

The President, referring to the "common ideal of democratic government" in the Western Hemisphere, as a bond of mutual respect and a guaranty of peace, declared:

That hemisphere, that peace, and that ideal we propose to do our share in protecting against storms from any quarter. Our people and our resources are pledged to secure that protection. From that determination no American flinches.

Most Americans are in general sympathy with the President's declaration for a doctrine of solidarity of the Western Hemisphere. Even though Congress, under the Constitution, must declare war before we go into any fight, there is general sympathy with the President's grand gesture of friendship toward Canada. In one of his characteristic bursts of enthusiasm the President has assured the Canadians the United States would join in the defense of the Dominion in the event of attack. There is general sympathy with the implications of the Monroe Doctrine and the results of the Lima Conference. We all agree with the determination to keep this hemisphere free from European or Asiatic invasion or political domination.

Now, let us examine world conditions to ascertain, if we may, from whence comes this threat against our own security or against any nation in this hemisphere. Surely neither the United States nor any nation in this hemisphere need fear an immediate attack from Germany. In the first place, Hitler is committed to the east. His eyes are on the rich wheatlands of the Ukraine. He has no high-seas navy. Without a navy not even Hitler is likely to undertake a war overseas. He has no gold, no credit, and his balance of trade is on the wrong side of the ledger.

Germany is reported to be developing long-range bombing planes capable of flying the Atlantic, bombing our eastern seaboard and returning to Germany or bases he might seize along the African coast. Admittedly, the United States could be bombed from almost any place in Europe, but just as a stunt. The planes never would get back and such an attack would have no value. So not even Hitler is likely to launch such an expedition. It would be scarcely less fantastic than Orson Welles' radio broadcast about the attack from Mars.

What if the Berlin-Rome axis began to go into high gear and that precious pair of jealous prima donnas, Hitler and Mussolini, joined forces for a foray against the United States or any nation in this hemisphere? Italy is in much the same economic and financial plight as Germany. Moreover, Mussolini is committed to making the Mediterranean an Italian lake. He has no gold, no credit, no navy capable of waging war on this side of the Atlantic. He still has the Spanish war on his hands, to say nothing of a slight touch of indigestion from swallowing Ethiopia.

Recently a jingoistic Japanese spokesman warned that the Empire of the Rising Sun might find it necessary to sink the American Fleet if we dare attempt to fortify the island of Guam. Japan has stuck her Samurai sword so deeply into the bowels of China she had to go in after it. And what she will look like when she gets back, God only knows. Japan is bleeding her people white trying to conquer the Chinese dragon. Experts assert that conquest will engage Japan for the next century. So that Japanese statesman probably was thinking more about bolstering flagging public opinion at home than sinking our fleet. Japan never has had, not even in her wildest Shinto doctrine, the slightest intention of attacking the United States. Indeed, such an eminent naval expert as the President himself, in a magazine article in 1931, asserted a war between the United States and Japan was physically impossible. He may have changed his mind. He has been known to do that-on the potency of party purges, for instance.

What of Russia? Has Russia any territorial ambitions in this hemisphere? The "bear that walks like a man" is very much engaged at present in watching Germany on one side and Japan on the other, to say nothing of his internal difficulties, which require constant purging. So much for the dictators and the totalitarian states. Now for the democracies of Europe.

Is our threat from England? Decidedly, no. Another Munich, and John Bull may find himself classed with Ferdinand, the bull which never learned to fight. Certainly, John Bull wants to embrace us, not fight us. Our friendship with France has been traditional since Revolutionary days. La Belle France is blowing kisses in our direction today. No, sir; we were the devoted ally of Britain and France in the World War. We supplied the men, money, and munitions to whip the Kaiser. Although England and France, who owe us the bulk of the war debts, are slightly in arrears on their payments, they would like to be in a position to draw on our men, money, and munitions if they fight Germany or Italy, or both. That is a question I shall touch upon in a moment.

First, by this process of elimination, I may well echo the cry, "Whom are we going to fight?" "Are we arming to fight

some other nation's battle?"

That is what we all want to know. That is what Congress ought to know. That is what the people are entitled to know.

Let us turn back the pages of history just a few years in our search for the answer. Four men sat down at a table at Versailles in 1919—three hard-headed European realists and a soft-hearted American idealist-and proceeded to redivide a world already badly divided. All the present trouble in Europe dates from that so-called peace conference. And that brings us to Munich, where the phantom menace was born, the phantom terror we are arming to fight in the name of national defense. We will pass over the right and justice of that affair. All we need consider is this: Czechoslovakia was one of the states carved out by the four wise men at Versailles in order to cripple Germany. Among the assorted peoples given to Czechoslovakia were the Sudeten Germans. Under Hitler's influence, the Sudetens began to cry for a return to the fatherland. Hitler finally served an ultimatum on the little Republic. President Benes stood his ground, depending upon alliances with France and Russia to save his country. And England, of course, was supposed to back

Shortly before the show-down at Munich, Col. Charles Lindbergh made certain discoveries in Germany and Russia, presumably about the superiority of the German air forces over those of Britain and France and that little assistance could be expected from Russia. Whatever it was, it was reported to the British and French. No matter whether it was Colonel Lindbergh's discoveries or something else, the fact remains that Czechoslovakia was sold out at Munich by England and France. Hitler got his chunk of land and restored several million population to the fatherland.

Whatever that phantom menace may be, it soon was imported to the United States by our Ambassadors to London and Paris. These diplomats reported to the White House, and then at an unprecedented and supposedly secret meeting of the House and Senate Military Affairs Committee, Messrs. Kennedy and Bullitt revealed the phantom menace. Some members were not impressed by the menace. While we know Germany and Italy constitute the phantom menace, its connection with our national defense still is baffling, but those using it as a bugaboo become better known daily.

Why did handsome Anthony Eden pay his recent goodwill visit to America? He did not come merely to set girlish hearts aflutter as he emerged from a long and earnest conference with the President at the White House. Why are the British King and Queen to make what a London paper called "the first royal visit to a former colony"? Why is there is a rumor in service circles that by 1941 we must have our Army air force and our Navy tremendously increased? Can it be that we are preparing to spend upward of \$2,000,-000,000 on the national defense only to use our Army and Navy for the protection of some other nation? Could it be that almost without knowing it we are preparing huge increases in the air force for the benefit of England? It is possible that England is trying to maneuver us into the same position in which we found ourselves back in 1917, when we sent 2,000,000 boys to Europe to make the world safe for democracy.

Before I vote on these vast expenditures, which the President says are necessary for the national defense, I want the answers to those questions. Congress ought to have the answers. The country is entitled to the answers.

England certainly could use our help. Japan threatens Hong Kong. Japanese troops are almost to Burma, where vast India boils. Palestine is restless. Mussolini is astride the Mediterranean. He almost has his hands on Gibraltar at one end of his new lake and is demanding a voice in the control of the Suez Canal at the other. England's highly concentrated industry along the channel and North Sea coasts and London, the largest city in the world, are the most vulnerable aerial targets in all Europe. England, to save London and her industrial cities, sold out Czechoslovakia at Munich. Do you think she would hesitate to sell out America to save her loosely bound empire, an empire bound together by the symbol of a crown?

When you add up the international situation today, there is no possible enemy for the United States to fight unless we leave home to do it. There is no nation on earth which could invade this country today. The only way we are likely to become involved in war is to get in somebody else's war. We can only get in somebody else's through diplomatic blundering. Can it be that Ambassador Kennedy, a fine American of Irish stock, a hard-headed businessman, is as susceptible to the subtle British blarney as Walter Hines Page, our Ambassador to London in the period leading up to our entrance into the World War? Did the British sell Kennedy a bill of goods? What is the President's real purpose? What is our foreign policy?

Now, let us consider the President's message on the national defense, in which he made some specific recommendations for strengthening and modernizing our national defense. Even when we consider that the Regular Army budget calls for \$510,000,000 and the Regular Navy budget calls for \$720,000,000, and the defense program is set at \$552,000,000, making a total outlay of \$1,782,000,000 for the next fiscal year, the price seems to be a reasonable one to pay for national security, if that amount is really needed. But do we need it?

The President has spoken. Now, it is the duty of Congress to determine the amount needed for defense. But, whatever the amount may be, once Congress is convinced of the necessity of even this enormous expense, I believe the American taxpayers will pay almost any price for peace and security.

But, as I have attempted to show in sketchy outline, our position for peace and security, even in a mad world bristling with armaments, never has been so favorable since the World War. At the same time I refuse to yield, not even to the President, in my desire to have this country prepared to meet any emergency. The President's vision, from his vantage point in the White House, is longer than mine, of course. He may have been able to discern the new German "invisible troops." He certainly saw some menace that none of the rest of us have been able to discern. So, before I vote for this vast national-defense appropriation, I would like to know something more about this threat to our security. I want to know. Congress ought to know. The people are entitled to know.

Even before we get an answer to that question, I would like to put several others. I would like to know what constitutes an adequate national defense in view of the present world situation, our commitments for hemisphere defense, the possible developments in national alinements, the possible improvement in the destructive power and speed of armaments, and how should we best go about achieving the desired security by the expenditure of nearly \$2,000,000,000. Those questions can be answered only by experts on the subject. By "experts" I do not mean merely the Secretaries of War and the Navy, their aides, and the ranking Army and Navy officers now in command of the various branches of the service in Washington.

I do not discount the value or the importance of the facts and the opinions now being given by these officials and officers to the House and Senate committees. That is their job and I have every confidence in them. But I believe there is no disagreement about the assertion that modern warfare is waged by nations as economic units, not merely by the armed forces afield, afloat, and in the air.

If Congress is to legislate wisely and soundly on the national defense, with a long-range view of any emergency that may arise in the future, we should have the benefit of expert testimony on every conceivable angle of the program. It is not enough to have expert opinion on guns and ships, planes and tanks, men and munitions. Information on those vital points can be obtained from the General Staffs. We should have the testimony of military and naval experts who are not now in active service. We should hear from the industrialists, especially the automobile and airplane manufacturers and their experts, and all others who would arm and equip this Nation if it ever again is plunged into war.

Nor should we stop there. The President may be justified in dramatizing the menacing situation which suddenly confronts us. And in doing so, he has set a precedent. He has brought the diplomatic corps into the national defense picture for the first time. Messrs. Kennedy and Bullitt already have appeared before the House and Senate Military Affairs Committees. Mr. Johnson, the American Ambassador to China, is in Washington to give the President and the State Department a report on the progress of the war in China, and confidential information on the Japanese situation. Mr. Grew, the American Ambassador to Japan, is returning, supposedly on a similar mission. Mr. Wilson, the Ambassador to Germany, was recalled "for consultation and report" and still is in this country. Is there any reason why these gentleman should be slighted by congressional committees? They should be called so as to give their jigsaw section of the picture so that we could fit it together and make a whole.

Nor should we stop even there. Inasmuch as our foreign policy seems to be the crux of our defense policy, Congress might save time by asking the man who makes it-the President of the United States. There is precedent for that. President Wilson was questioned by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. The result of this quiz, however, need not be the same. In fact, the President should welcome the opportunity to give the House and Senate Committees on Foreign Affairs some of the more intimate details about this new menace. The President could insure easy sailing for this defense program by merely inviting the members of the two committees down to the White House and disclosing his foreign policy, which demands added armaments. Once this menace is cleared up, Congress will vote any necessary defense funds.

But whatever this new menace may be, whatever threats there may be to our religion, our democracy, and international good faith, or to those of our neighbors in this hemisphere, the President has advised us there is no occasion for hysteria. In that event, there is no occasion for undue haste. Meanwhile, we not only should take steps to meet this menace when it appears but we should establish a progressive policy of national defense which will insure the security of this Nation so long as it has defenders.

The National Defense Act of 1920 as amended to 1935, of course, laid down such a policy as I contemplate. That law may be perfect as it stands. I do not know. But I want to know. Congress ought to know. The people are entitled to know. If the law needs any revision or a complete revamping, whatever is necessary should be done. Sound as the law may have been at the time of its enactment and amendment it may be outmoded by the new menace.

What I am proposing is simply this: In view of the President's solemn warning, we should do a thorough job of surveying our resources of national defense before taking any action. The National Defense Act should be dusted off with a view to making any necessary amendments. The Navy should be overhauled fore and aft. The army should be given a rigid inspection. Instead of doing a piecemeal, patchwork job that might find us almost as unprepared as we were in 1917-a matter of which the President reminded us-the

national defense should be examined and explored from every angle to the end that an up-to-the-minute policy can be established and place us in readiness to meet any emergency. Once that is done, the program should proceed in an orderly manner. Thus, with a long-range policy that has sufficient flexibility to meet any changes that developments would require, we would be as immune from war scares as from any real danger to our security.

In revamping our national defense policy and the defenses themselves, it might be well to consider the suggestion for establishment of a joint congressional committee, composed of members of all committees which have any legislative responsibility in the matter. Our able and sagacious minority leader [Mr. Martin] has pointed the way. He has named an informal committee, composed of minority members of the various committees considering the national defense, in order that all information on the subject may be pooled for the benefit of all Republicans of the House. But the national defense is not a party matter. The joint committee should be official and the information it gathers from the War and Navy Departments and other sources should be pooled for the benefit of all Members of Congress. And, inasmuch as the President has set the precedent, and brought the diplomatic corps into the national defense picture, we should have all available material bearing on that subject in the hands of the State Department.

In that way we could assure the American taxpayers of a sound investment of their money set aside for the national defense. In that way we could soon learn whether we need upward of \$2,000,000,000 now for the national defense or more.

The President's proposal of placing "educational orders" with various munitions manufacturers, so that industry could be quickly stepped up to quantity production in the event of emergency, appeals to me as a progressive step, but we might go even further. In the past, one of the greatest difficulties with keeping the national defense abreast of the times has been the rigid method of Congress in making funds available. All moneys must be earmarked for a specific purpose. As a consequence of that earmarking, I am informed there is a 3-year lag in the defense program. Why would it not be advisable to place in the hands of the War and Navy Departments a certain amount of liquid funds for use in experimental work and development and a limited production of all types of mechanical defense? If Congress can vote billions of dollars in blank checks for relief, we certainly can trust the War and Navy Departments to make judicious use of funds to promote and perfect the national defense. In other words, cut the red tape.

Americans are the greatest mechanical and industrial race in the world. There is no reason why we should not build a mechanized defense as far superior and as far advanced beyond anything the European and Asiatic nations may have as our automobiles are superior to the foreign products. There is no question about our ability to do this if restrictions and handicaps on the War and Navy Departments are removed. We could and should keep a generation ahead of the world on mechanical developments in the national defense if we scrapped the outmoded and cumbersome system of research, experiment, and development of weapons, which is due largely to the earmarking of funds. It would prove an economy in the end, and yet we would get the most improved type of national defense.

Airplanes are a case in point. The airplane, which originated in America, still is in its infancy. So rapid are the improvements and developments of planes that I am informed a shiny new plane becomes obsolescent the moment it is placed on the line to take off on its first flight. The miracle of today becomes the jaloppy of tomorrow. Hence it would seem unwise to build any great number of military planes now with the thought that they would give us superiority and security in the air for any length of time. I would not begrudge the Army and Navy a single plane the experts asserted was needed now, but I would not vote for the expenditure of a single dime for planes that should be in the junk heap instead of in the air in the time of emergency.

While I am well aware of the highly controversial nature of the proposal for a Department of National Defense, with the Army in one branch, the Navy in another, and the air force as a third, we should try to learn once and for all time whether such a plan is desirable, and if so, adopt it at once. While there is a plan for the cooperation of the Army and Navy, in the event of war, it never has been decided definitely where the Army leaves off and the Navy begins to function in the air. We certainly should have a plan to coordinate all branches of the service and promptly adopt it if the menace to our security is anything like the President described.

Naturally there are many other military and naval problems involved in the national defense. I merely have tried to touch some of the high spots that occur to an inexpert layman. I also would like to suggest a few expert witnesses who could shed light rather than heat on the subject of the national defense as well as any possible menace to our security.

Inasmuch as this phantom menace appeared coincident with discoveries alleged to have been made to Colonel Lindbergh, the Lone Eagle himself should be called before a joint congressional committee to tell his own story. I noticed recently that he was expected to return to this country in the near future. In any event, he could be summoned, and I feel sure he would be glad to come and clear up some of the mystery about this phantom menace to our security.

Another witness I would like to hear is Gen. Douglas Mac-Arthur, our former Chief of Staff of the Army and now military adviser to the Philippines, which still flies the American flag. I have known General MacArthur for several years, and I regard him as one of the finest military minds in the world today. I also know him to be absolutely fearless in giving testimony. His testimony should be of great value not only on the National Defense Act, which I understand he helped to formulate, but on affairs in the east. General MacArthur could reach Washington within a week after he were summoned by taking a clipper plane and then flying across the continent after reaching the States.

We should not ignore such outstanding soldiers as General Moseley, Gen. Smedley Butler, and Gen. Hugh Johnson. All of them are now on the retired list, and they would not be restricted in their testimony by any fear of a reprimand following it.

In shaping a new national-defense policy, designed to give a maximum of security at a minimum cost, I would not restrict testimony to military men or industrialists. I would like to hear from the peace societies and any others with a legitimate interest and something to contribute. Above all, I would like to hear from the veterans of the World War, through their organizations. They know the cruel cost of war in maimed bodies and broken minds. These veterans are living reminders that the cost of war has scarcely begun when the last shot is fired in battle. With America still carrying a large share of the financial burden of the World War, that debt will not be wiped out for many, many generations. With our Budget in the red for the past 10 years, with our national debt mounting to almost \$40,000,000,000, with the whole world bankrupt as it totters under its unreasonable burden of armaments, I would be dishonest if I did not oppose with all my strength the expenditures of every penny over and above the amount required for adequate national security.

We do not want to pull the chestnuts out of the fire again for Great Britain or any other nation. Let us keep out of this European mess. Let us concentrate on the solution of our own problems. Let us open up this whole question of the national defense and its related foreign policy. Let us get all the answers before we act. That is what I want to know. That is what Congress ought to know. That is what the American people are entitled to know. [Applause.]

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. Merritt, on account of death in his family.

The SPEAKER resumed the chair.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. PACE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday, at the conclusion of the legislative program of the day, I may be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 31 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, January 26, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### COMMITTEE HEARINGS

#### COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 a.m. Thursday, January 26, 1939. Business to be considered: Continuation of hearing on H. R. 2531—transportation bill. Commissioner Splawn, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, is to be the witness.

#### COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Military Affairs in room 1310, New House Office Building, at 10:30 a.m. Thursday, January 26, for the continued consideration of the President's message on national defense.

#### COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives on Thursday, January 26, 1939, at 10:30 a.m., for the purpose of continuing the consideration of H. R. 2880, "To authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes," carrying out partially the recommendations of the Hepburn report.

# COMMITTEE ON WORLD WAR VETERANS' LEGISLATION

There will be a meeting of the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation at 10:30 a.m. Wednesday, January 26, 1939.

#### COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Public hearings will begin Wednesday morning, February 1, 1939, at 10 a.m., on social-security legislation, in the Ways and Means Committee room in the New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

328. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the Secretary of War to provide for the sale of aviation supplies and services to aircraft operated by foreign military and air attachés accredited to the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

329. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated January 3, 1939, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Meredosia Bay, Illinois River, Ill., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

330. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated January 3, 1939, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on a survey of New Jersey Intracoastal Waterway from Shrewsbury River to Delaware Bay above Cape May via Manasquan-Barnegat Canal and

including entrance through Barnegat Inlet and waterway across Cape May County, N. J., to connect New Jersey State Inland Waterway with Delaware Bay, authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 30, 1935 (H. Doc. No. 133); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

331. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated October 19, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on a preliminary examination and survey of Northeast Harbor, Maine, authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937 (H. Doc. No. 132); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

332. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated December 28, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on reexamination of Cape Fear River, N. C., at and below Wilmington, requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted January 27, 1937 (H. Doc. No. 131); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

333. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated January 11, 1939, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on reexamination of St. Joseph Harbor, Mich., requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted January 27, 1937 (H. Doc. No. 129); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration

334. A letter from the Executive Director of the Social Security Board, transmitting the Third Annual Report of the Social Security Board for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938 (H. Doc. No. 130); to the Committee on Ways and Means and ordered to be printed, with illustrations.

#### CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 528) granting a pension to Merrill T. Bryant; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 529) granting a pension to Ted Spires; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 530) granting a pension to Thomas A. O'Leary; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 531) granting a pension to John Henry; Committee on Pensions discharged; and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 628) granting a pension to Gus Brunner; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

A bill (H. R. 638) granting a pension to Carl H. Smith; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

A bill (H. R. 653) granting a pension to Katherine Slusher; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 657) granting a pension to Nettle Saylor and Noel Junior Saylor; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 679) granting a pension to Elige Caldwell; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 685) granting a pension to John H. Botner; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. A bill (H. R. 687) granting a pension to Daniel Blanton; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 689) granting a pension to Cora Arlena Ballard; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 696) granting a pension to Addie Higginbotham; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 697) granting a pension to Richard B. Hammer; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 709) granting a pension to Millard Pittman; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 748) granting a pension to Charles Arthur Collins; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 750) granting a pension to Joseph Ladish; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 752) granting a pension to James Joseph Monahan; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 755) granting a pension to Edward A. Price; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 758) granting a pension to George W. Wormington; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 766) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Fairfax Ayres; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 812) granting a pension to Walter L. Mitchell; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1371) granting a pension to Hilder Smith; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1379) granting a pension to Timothy A. Linehan; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1910) for the relief of Charles R. Randall; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Claims,

A bill (H. R. 3076) granting a pension to Howard E. Tolson; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN:

H. R. 3208. A bill to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the discovery of America by Leif Ericson, in connection with the national Leif Ericson celebration to be held at Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn., on June 10–13, 1939; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. BLAND:

H. R. 3209. A bill making it a misdemeanor to stow away on vessels engaged in interstate or foreign commerce and providing punishment therefor; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. CANNON of Florida:

H. R. 3210. A bill to exempt and exclude from operation and effect of the International Labor Treaty Draft Convention No. 53, as ratified by the United States Senate in the Seventy-fifth Congress, all vessels under and less than 200 tons gross registered tonnage; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. COCHRAN:

H. R. 3211. A bill to authorize reimbursement of appropriations on account of expenditures in connection with disposition of old material, condemned stores, etc.; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. DARDEN:

H. R. 3212. A bill providing for the acquisition of additional lands for Norfolk Navy Yard at Portsmouth, Va.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. ELLIOTT:

H.R. 3213. A bill to provide that 50 percent of Federal highway-aid funds shall be applied to secondary and feeder roads, including farm-to-market roads, rural free delivery mail routes, public-school-bus routes, and roads in oil-producing districts; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. GEYER of California:

H.R. 3214. A bill to provide for the construction of a marine hospital at Los Angeles Harbor, Los Angeles, Calif.; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H. R. 3215. A bill to amend the act of March 2, 1929 (45 Stat., ch. 536); to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin:

H. R. 3216. A bill to exempt vessels of less than 200 gross tonnage from the provisions of article 1 of the International Labor Conference Treaty Draft Convention (No. 53); to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. VAN ZANDT:

H. R. 3217. A bill to amend the National Housing Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. MICHAEL J. KENNEDY:

H. R. 3218. A bill to provide for the appointment of substitute laborers in the Post Office and Railway Mail Service in first- and second-class post offices, and for the regulation of hours of service and salary; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. BURDICK:

H. R. 3219. A bill to amend Public Law No. 383, Seventy-third Congress (48 Stat. L. 984), relating to Indians, by exempting from the provisions of such act any Indian tribe or reservation in the State of North Dakota; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. MAY:

H.R. 3220 (by request). A bill to extend the benefits of the United States Employees' Compensation Act to members of the Officers' Reserve Corps and of the Enlisted Reserve Corps of the Army who are physically injured in line of duty while performing active duty or engaged in authorized training, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3221 (by request). A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to provide for the sale of aviation supplies and services to aircraft operated by foreign military and air attachés accredited to the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GREEN:

H. R. 3222. A bill for the completion of the construction of the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal across Florida; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. MANSFIELD:

H. R. 3223. A bill for the completion of the construction of the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal across Florida; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. MILLS of Louisiana:

H. R. 3224. A bill creating the Louisiana-Vicksburg Bridge Commission; defining the authority, power, and duties of said commission; and authorizing said commission and its successors and assigns to purchase, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Delta Point, La., and Vicksburg, Miss.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HUNTER:

H. R. 3225. A bill authorizing the Department of Highways of the State of Ohio to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Ottawa River at or near the city of Toledo, State of Ohio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KLEBERG:

H. R. 3226. A bill to amend all provisions (insofar as they apply to the commodity cotton) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended; to provide for the general welfare, by achieving in behalf of cotton planters through the protection of the product of the soil and toil for that portion of their commodity which they sell in the markets of the United States, an equitable price commensurate with the costs to them of the things they buy within the United States; and to restore the control of the production as well as the marketing of exportable surplus cotton to the producers of cotton themselves; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. GREEN:

H. R. 3227. A bill to provide for refunding to tobacco producers amounts paid to the Secretary of Agriculture under administrative ruling No. 50, amendment No. 1; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H. R. 3228. A bill to exempt from the Officers' Competency Certificate Convention, 1936, all American vessels under 200 tons; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. ROGERS of Oklahoma:

H. R. 3229. A bill for the benefit of the Omaha and Winnebago Indians of Nebraska; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. ROMJUE:

H. R. 3230. A bill to amend the statutes providing punishment for transmitting threatening communications; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

H. R. 3231. A bill to authorize the mailing of pistols, revolvers, and other firearms capable of being concealed on the person, to officers of the Coast Guard; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. STEAGALL:

H.R. 3232. A bill to amend the National Housing Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. SUMNERS of Texas:

H. R. 3233. A bill to repeal certain acts of Congress (pocket vetoed); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. IZAC:

H. R. 3234. A bill to provide for the completion of the Navy and Marine Memorial; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. WHELCHEL:

H.R. 3235. A bill providing for refund of taxes collected under the Bankhead Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 3236. A bill providing for equalization of taxes in counties where there are Government-owned lands; to the

Committee on the Public Lands.

H. R. 3237. A bill making eligible, under the Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, for admission to the Civilian Conservation Corps camps, or for any other governmental work, veterans otherwise qualified but whose names do not appear on the relief rolls; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 3238. A bill to provide allowances for widows and children of World War veterans who died of disability not acquired in the service; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 3239. A bill to restore the 2-cent postage rate on first-class mail; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 3240. A bill granting pensions to veterans of the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and the Philippine Insurrection and the World War, their widows and dependents; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 3241. A bill for the restriction of immigration; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 3242. A bill making it unlawful to pay, or agree to pay, any ransom or reward for the release of kidnaped persons; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 3243. A bill to provide that World War veterans who are totally and permanently disabled from nonservice causes

shall be entitled to pension without regard to the length of service; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 3244. A bill to provide sick and annual leave to substitutes in the Postal Service; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H. R. 3245. A bill for the restriction of immigration, to prevent the purchase and possession of firearms by aliens, and to provide for the deportation of criminal and certain other aliens; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 3246. A bill to amend the Judicial Code to create a new district in the State of Georgia, known as the north-eastern district, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 3247. A bill to encourage and promote the ownership of farm homes and to make the possession of such homes more secure, to provide for the general welfare of the United States, to provide additional credit facilities for agricultural development, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BUCKLER of Minnesota:

H.R. 3248. A bill authorizing a per capita payment of \$15 each to the members of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians from the proceeds of the sale of timber and lumber on the Red Lake Reservation; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. McKEOUGH:

H. J. Res. 130. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11 of each year General Pulaski's Memorial Day for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY:

H. Res. 69. Resolution for the appointment of a committee to investigate the conditions in Mexico; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. CONNERY:

H. Res. 70. Resolution authorizing an investigation of the Federal Communications Commission; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. KERR:

H. Res. 71. Resolution to pay a gratuity to William Duke Jones, son of the late Howard F. Jones; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. WIGGLESWORTH:

H. Res. 72. Resolution authorizing an investigation of the Federal Communications Commission; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BOEHNE:

H.R. 3249. A bill for the relief of Oscar L. McCallen; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CONNERY:

H. R. 3250. A bill granting an increase of pension to Charles M. Porter; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 3251. A bill for the relief of Edward J. Fegan; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 3252. A bill for the relief of Humbert Di Pesa; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 3253. A bill for the relief of Edward John Bradley, deceased; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 3254. A bill for the relief of Frank Hansen; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 3255. A bill for the relief of Ellen A. Farrelly; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 3256. A bill granting a pension to Mary P. Hall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3257. A bill for the relief of Edward M. Holian; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 3258. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ida A. Chapman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 3259. A bill for the relief of Andrew V. Donovan; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. COLE of New York:

H. R. 3260. A bill granting an increase of pension to Adelia Van Wormer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CARLSON:

H. R. 3261. A bill for the relief of Dr. C. O. Anderson and others; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DALY:

H.R. 3262. A bill for the relief of Leib Milgrom; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. HALLECK:

H. R. 3263. A bill granting an increase of pension to Laura E. Boze; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HARRINGTON:

H. R. 3264. A bill for the relief of Frederick Henry Pollman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3265. A bill for the relief of E. J. Riegel; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HAVENNER:

H. R. 3266. A bill for the relief of Avram and Ida Butnariu; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. HEINKE:

H.R. 3267. A bill for the relief of Anthony Coniglio; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3268. A bill granting a pension to Charles J. Fuhrer; to the Committee on Pensions,

By Mr. HESS:

H.R. 3269. A bill for the relief of Joseph Pund; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HOPE:

H. R. 3270. A bill for the relief of Carl Gumbir; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. IZAC:

H.R. 3271. A bill for the relief of the estate of Facundo Gonzales; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 3272. A bill granting an increase in retired pay to George Occhionero, first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps, retired; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KELLY: H. R. 3273. A bill for the relief of Thomas Francis Fleming;

to the Committee on Naval Affairs. By Mr. KILDAY:

H.R. 3274. A bill for the relief of Thomas L. Boren; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 3275. A bill for the relief of Mattie M. Tapping; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KUNKEL:

H. R. 3276. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lucy Killinger; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LESINSKI:

H. R. 3277. A bill for the relief of Egon Karl Freiherr von Mauchenheim and Margarete von Mauchenheim; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. LEWIS of Ohio:

H.R. 3278. A bill for the relief of Letizia Angeletti; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3279. A bill for the relief of Anne-Marie von Steuben Rosenberg; her son, Juergen von Steuben; and her husband, Hugo Rosenberg; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. McKEOUGH:

H.R. 3280. A bill granting a pension to Annie Marie Swingle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions,

By Mr. NELSON:

H. R. 3281. A bill for the relief of P. G. Sullivan; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3282. A bill for the relief of Lucy Sullivan; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PETERSON of Georgia:

H. R. 3283. A bill for the relief of John N. Crotty; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PIERCE of New York:

H. R. 3284. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth R. Davis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PITTENGER:

H. R. 3285. A bill for the relief of Sigvard C. Foro; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 3286. A bill for the relief of Itasca County Abstract Co.; to the Committee on Claims,

By Mr. POLK:

H.R. 3287. A bill granting a pension to Stanley Earl Mowry; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. RAYBURN:

H. R. 3288. A bill for the relief of Jennie Painter; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ROCKEFELLER:

H. R. 3289. A bill granting an increase of pension to Libbie Van Deusen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3290. A bill granting an increase of pension to Catherine A. Burdick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3291. A bill granting a pension to Lottie Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SCHAEFER of Illinois:

H. R. 3292. A bill for the relief of Thomas W. Wright; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3293. A bill for the relief of Fred C. Hinrichsen; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 3294. A bill granting an increase of pension to Jessie G. Bivens: to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin:

H. R. 3295. A bill for the relief of Touma Tamexian; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SCHIFFLER:

H. R. 3296. A bill for the relief of Donald R. Chaffee; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SCHUETZ:

H. R. 3297. A bill for the relief of Daniel S. Snyder; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3298. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Noce; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. SNYDER:

H. R. 3299. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TERRY:

H. R. 3300. A bill for the relief of Grace Rouse; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. THOMASON:

H.R. 3301. A bill for the relief of L. B. Starns; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3302. A bill for the relief of B. W. Higgins; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WHELCHEL:

H. R. 3303. A bill granting an increase of pension to John R. Robertson; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 3304. A bill to honor the military service of Charles G. Clement; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3305. A bill to correct the military record of Capt. Charles G. Clement; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3306. A bill to correct the military record of Jonathan Waters; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3307. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Clifford D. Barber; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3308. A bill for the relief of Eddie B. Black; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3309. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Earnest Smith and two small children; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3310. A bill for the relief of W. K. Crow; to the Committee on Claims.

# PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

526. By Mr. BOLLES: Petition of sundry citizens of Nesh-koro, Wis., requesting that we adhere to the general policy

of neutrality contained in the act of August 31, 1935, and in the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

527. Also, petition of members of St. Rita Sodality, Society of Ladies of the Parish of St. Joseph of Lyons, Wis., requesting that we adhere to the general policy of neutrality contained in the act of August 31, 1935, and in the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

528. Also, petition of the parishioners of St. Patrick's Church in Racine, Wis., requesting that we adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

529. By Mr. CLEVENGER: Resolution of the Women's Missionary Society, Church of Christ, Leipsic, Ohio, urging that the Government of the United States put into effect a policy of nonparticipation in aggression by discontinuing the shipment to aggressor nations of all goods that can be used by their military forces, and that immediate steps be taken to stop shipment of such goods to Japan; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

530. By Mr. COFFEE of Washington: Resolution of the General Welfare Federation of Washington, Inc., F. H. Raymond, secretary, Tacoma, Wash., asserting that National Social Security Advisory Council's recommendations for oldage security are utterly inadequate, uncertain, and confusing; insisting that such recommendations if enacted into law would perpetuate the present inequalities and iniquities in the Social Security Act; alleging that the General Welfare Act (H. R. 11) represents a sound effort to correct abuses and provide relief to the aged, and therefore urging that the General Welfare Act (H. R. 11) be enacted into law by the Congress at the earliest possible moment; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

531. Also, resolution of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union, Local No. 2669, Charles E. O'Brien, secretary-treasurer, Tacoma, Wash., pointing out that the War Department's program calls for the authorization of several antiaircraft National Guard regiments; asserting that the Pacific Northwest is without even a minimum of air defense, though many Federal projects having a direct relationship to war are located in the area adjacent to Tacoma and Seattle; insisting that Washington, being a seacoast State, is vulnerable to attack, yet is without air defense; therefore urging that authorization be granted at once for the allotment and formation of National Guard antiaircraft artillery; to the Committee on Appropriations.

532. Also, resolution of the Willapa Harbor Industrial Union Council, G. H. Hatfield, president, Raymond, Wash., alleging that the majority of American people consider the Dies committee to have functioned as a kangaroo court and as a sounding board for ill-considered expressions of stool pigeons and stooges; asserting that the effect of the Dies committee has been to discredit and defeat New Deal candidates for election to public office; and therefore vigorously opposing the continuation of the Dies committee and insisting that Congress refuse to appropriate funds for that purpose; to the Committee on Rules.

533. Also, resolution of Federated Fishermen's Council of the Pacific Coast, Martin E. Olsen, secretary-treasurer, Portland, Oreg., asserting that curtailment in employment in salt herring industry in Alaska has been caused by excessive importation of European herring; therefore requesting Congress for suitable appropriation to be set aside for survey intended to develop means to revive this industry; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

534. Also, resolution of Federated Fishermen's Council of the Pacific Coast, Martin E. Olsen, secretary-treasurer, Portland, Oreg., asserting that the present policy of the Government to cut down all appropriations for adequate health service for Alaskan fishermen is short-sighted and parsimonious; insisting that such policy is detrimental to marine workers; therefore urging that marine hospitals be created in the Territory of Alaska; to the Committee on the Territories.

535. By Mr. CULLEN: Petition of the supreme board of directors of the Knights of Columbus, expressing their oppo-

sition to any action of Congress which would result in a lifting of the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

536. By Mr. FLAHERTY: Petition of the American Federation of Teachers, Boston, Mass., opposing the amending of the National Labor Relations Act; to the Committee on Labor.

537. By Mr. HAWKS: Petition of 70 residents of St. Joseph's parish, Madison, Wis., protesting against any change in our neutrality policy; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

538. By Mr. KEAN: Petition of Rev. John O. Buckmann and sundry other citizens of the Twelfth Congressional District of New Jersey, urging consideration of the subject of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

539. By Mr. LEWIS of Ohio: Petition of Frank Nelson and other citizens of Bellaire, Ohio, to adhere to the general policy of neutrality and extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on

Foreign Affairs.

540. Also, petition of John Phalin, president, and William Clower, secretary, of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, of Yorkville, Ohio, asking Congress to lift the embargo on the loyalist Spanish government and quarantine the aggressor; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

541. By Mr. KING: Petition of the United Societies of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, of Brooklyn, N. Y., urging continuation of the Dies investigating committee and keeping the embargo on Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

542. By Mr. KINZER: Petition of members of St. Anne's Holy Name Society, Lancaster, Pa., setting forth a declaration of policy on the subject of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

543. By Mr. LANHAM: Petition of George J. Kreyenbuhl and others, of Fort Worth, Tex., concerning neutrality; to

the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

544. By Mr. MOTT: Petition signed by Mrs. G. H. Macrum and 51 other citizens of Portland, Oreg., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; also urging that the Congress launch an investigation of those leftist groups which are sponsoring favoring the lifting of the embargo on arms to "red" Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

545. Also, petitions signed by William J. Todd and 77 other members of St. Mary's Academy, The Dalles, Oreg., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; also urging that the Congress launch an investigation of those leftist groups which are sponsoring favoring the lifting of the embargo on arms to "red" Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

546. Also, petition signed by Mrs. E. J. English and 17 other citizens of Portland, Oreg., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; also urging that the Congress launch an investigation of those leftist groups which are sponsoring favoring the lifting of the embargo on arms to "red" Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

547. By Mr. MYERS: Petition of John Divine and 23 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

548. Also, petition of Rev. John Daly, rector of St. Barnabas' Catholic Church, and 127 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

549. Also, petition of Dr. James A. Kane and 240 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

550. Also, petition of Frank J. Eustace, Jr., and 20 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

551. Also, petition of John A. Hoffman and 20 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress of the United States on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

552. Also, petition of Mrs. G. Culbertson and 20 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

553. Also, petition of Nora Chambers and 20 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

554. Also, petition of Mrs. M. Fagan and 20 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

555. By Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona: Memorial of the Santa Cruz County Board of Supervisors and the Santa Cruz County Chamber of Commerce, praying for the relief of certain property owners of Santa Cruz County, Ariz., offered in support of House bill 1394; to the Committee on Claims.

556. By Mr. PFEIFER: Petition of the Knights of Columbus of New Haven, Conn., urging the Government to adhere strictly to its present policy of absolute neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

557. Also, petition of the Department of Health of the State of New York, Albany, N. Y., urging support to the appropriation authorized by the Venereal Disease Control Act for the coming year; to the Committee on Appropriations.

558. Also, petition of the Railway Mail Association, New York City branch, opposing reduction in the personnel of Works Progress Administration and endorsing the President's request for \$875,000,000; to the Committee on Appropriations.

559. Also, petition of the New York State Association for Nursery Education, Albany, N. Y., urging support of the nursery school and parent education project of Works Progress Administration; to the Committee on Appropriations.

560. Also, petition of the Fuel Merchants Association, Inc., Brooklyn, N. Y., urging support of House bill 12, amending the Revenue Act of 1932 by imposing a tariff of 3 cents per gallon on importations of crude petroleum and fuel oil; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

561. By Mr. POLK: Petition of Rev. Edward J. Creager, pastor of St. Andrew's Church, Milford, Ohio, and 208 other citizens of Milford and vicinity, urging the Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and amended May 1, 1937, and particularly keep the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

562. By Mr. RISK: Petition of Rev. Louis B. D'Aleno, pastor of Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church, Providence, R. I., and containing the signatures of many parishoners,

protesting against the lifting of the Spanish embargo permitting the shipments of arms and ammunitions to Spain;

to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

563. By Mr. SCHAEFER of Illinois: Petition of Rev. Stephen R. Freund, spiritual director, Holy Name Society of St. Luke's Parish, Belleville, Ill., and entire membership of that organization, urging Congress to uphold the Neutrality Act of May 1938, and opposing any movement to lift the present embargo against shipment of implements of war to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

564. By Mr. SMITH of Ohio: Petition of Adeline Wurm, of Findlay Ohio, petitioning Congress to adhere to the policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international con-

flicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

565. Also, petition of Richard Hennessy and others, of Findlay, Ohio, petitioning Congress to adhere to the policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts: to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

566. By Mr. TENEROWICZ: Petition of August J. Boulay and other citizens, of Detroit, Mich., urging Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality; to the Committee on

Foreign Affairs.

567. By Mr. THORKELSON: Petition of Montana Grain Producers Association, recommending certain changes and additions to the Agricultural Act with reference to commodity transportation costs, weed control, soil conserva-tion, parity payment principle, State-owned grain elevators, percentage reduction, and other related matters; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

568. Also, petition of the Fourth Degree Assembly, Knights of Columbus, Great Falls, Mont., opposing the lifting of the embargo of arms and ammunition to Spain; to the Com-

mittee on Foreign Affairs.

569. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Jacksonville Open Forum, Jacksonville, Fla., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

570. Also, petition of Anne-Marie von Steuben Rosenberg, Milan, Italy, petitioning consideration of her petition with reference to entering the United States of America; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

# SENATE

# THURSDAY, JANUARY 26, 1939

(Legislative day of Tuesday, January 17, 1939)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

## THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Wednesday, January 25, 1939, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

#### CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. MINTON. I suggest the absence of a quorum. The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Burke	Frazier	Herring
Andrews	Byrd	George	Hill
Ashurst	Byrnes	Gerry	Holman
Austin	Capper	Gibson	Holt
Bailey	Caraway	Gillette	Hughes
Bankhead	Clark, Idaho	Glass	Johnson, Calif.
Barbour	Clark, Mo.	Green	Johnson, Colo.
Barkley	Connally	Guffey	La Follette
Bilbo	Danaher	Gurney	Lee
Bone	Davis	Hale	Lewis
Borah	Donahey	Harrison	Lodge
Brown	Downey	Hatch	Logan
Bulow	Ellender	Hayden	Lucas

Lundeen	Norris	Schwartz	Tobey
McCarran	Nye	Schwellenbach	Townsend
McKeellar	O'Mahoney	Sheppard	Truman
McNary	Overton	Shipstead	Tydings
Maloney	Pepper	Smathers	Van Nuys
Mead	Pittman	Smith	Wagner
Miller	Radcliffe	Stewart	Walsh
Minton	Reed	Taft	Wheeler
Murray	Reynolds	Thomas, Okla.	White
Neely	Russell	Thomas, Utah	Wiley

Mr. MINTON. I announce that the Senator from Utah [Mr. King] is detained from the Senate because of illness, and that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez] is detained on important public business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety-two Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

SUPPLEMENTAL ESTIMATE OF APPROPRIATION FOR DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (S. DOC. NO. 24)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the District of Columbia, Commission on Mental Health, for the fiscal year 1939, in the amount of \$9,820, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

CHOCTAW AND CHICKASAW SANITORIUM AND GENERAL HOSPITAL

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for conveying to the United States the land, buildings, and improvements comprising the Choctaw and Chickasaw Sanitorium and General Hospital, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

#### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following memorial of the House of Representatives of the State of Colorado, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

House Memorial 1

Whereas in the interests of humanity and world peace it becomes necessary that the President of the United States and the Congress of the United States take such action as will deny aid or assistance of any kind to the country of Japan in the furtherance of the war against the country of China; and

Whereas denial of the right to purchase munitions and materials of war would effectively accomplish such purpose: Now, therefore he it.

therefore, be it

Resolved by the house of representatives of the thirty-second general assembly, That this body memorialize the President of the United States and the Congress of the United States to take immediate action to terminate the selling of munitions and war materials by citizens of the United States to the country of

materials by citizens of the United States to the country of Japan; and be it further Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives of the State of Colorado in the Congress of the United States give their support to any measure that will accomplish the purposes of this resolution, and that copies of this memorial be forwarded to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States and to the Senators and Representatives of the State of Colorado in Congress. State of Colorado in Congress.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate the following House memorial of the Legislature of the State of Montana, which was ordered to lie on the table:

A memorial to the Congress of the United States of America pro-testing the reduction of the \$875,000,000 asked by President Franklin D. Roosevelt for Works Progress Administration purposes to \$725,000,000

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the

United States in Congress assembled:
Whereas the House of Representatives of the United States has cut the appropriation for Works Progress Administration purposes to \$725,000,000 from \$875,000,000, the amount requested by President Franklin D. Roosevelt; and
Whereas such a reduction would cause great distress and serious conditions in Montana due to increased unemployment in private industry. Now therefore he is

conditions in Montana due to increased unemployment in private industry: Now, therefore, be it \*Resolved\*, That the Twenty-sixth Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana, the senate and house concurring, does hereby protest the reduction of the appropriation for Works Progress Administration purposes and respectfully petition and request the Congress of the United States to restore to the sum of \$875,000,000 the appropriation for said Works Progress Administration purposes as requested by President Franklin D. Roosevelt; and be it further \*Resolved\*, That copies of this memorial be transmitted by the secretary of state of the State of Montana to the Honorable

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States, the Honorable B. K. Wheeler and the Honorable James E. Murray, United States Senators, and to the Honorable James F. O'Connor and the Honorable J. Thorrelson, United States Representatives of the State of Montana.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate the petition of the Central Labor Union of St. Petersburg, Fla., praying for the continuance of the subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor investigating violations of the right of free speech and assembly, and interference with the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively, which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram embodying a resolution adopted at St. Louis, Mo., by the Committee for the Rehabilitation of the Sharecropper, favoring an appropriation for the prompt extension through the Farm Security Administration of its rehabilitation project in southeastern Missouri, which was referred to the Committee on Agricul-

ture and Forestry.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by General Lafayette Post, No. 2103, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, of Lafayette, La., favoring the enactment of legislation to insure maximum production to domestic sugar growers, and protesting against the action of the Secretary of Agriculture in further reducing sugarcane crop acreage, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also laid before the Senate the memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of Winter Park, Fla., remonstrating against appropriations for the construction of the Florida ship canal, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram in the nature of a memorial from the Mobile (Ala.) Central Trades Council, remonstrating against the reappointment of Donald Wakefield Smith as a member of the National Labor Relations Board, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also laid before the Senate a petition of sundry citizens of the State of New York praying for the retention of the principle of the neutrality law and the extension of the law to include civil as well as international conflicts, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram in the nature of a petition from the John Reed Club of New York, N. Y., praying for the lifting of the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Washington (D. C.) Branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy, favoring the establishment of a permanent Civil Liberties Committee, which was referred to the Committee on Rules.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram in the nature of a petition from the Teachers Federal Music Project, of New York City, praying for an appropriation of \$875,000,000 for the Works Progress Administration, as proposed by the President, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Job Stewards Council of the Workers Alliance, San Francisco, Calif., favoring an appropriation of \$1,050,000,000 for continuing the Works Progress Administration for the balance of the current fiscal year, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. LODGE presented a petition of sundry citizens of Southbridge, Mass., praying for the enactment of legislation removing the tax-exemption privilege from governmental securities and salaries, as proposed by the President, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of the State of Massachusetts, praying for retention of the principle of the present neutrality law and extension of the law to include civil as well as international conflicts, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. CONNALLY presented petitions of sundry citizens of Cameron, Galveston, and Houston, Tex., praying for retention

of the principle of the present neutrality law and extension of the law to include civil as well as international conflicts, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented the memorial of seminarians of St. Mary's University, of La Porte, Tex., remonstrating against lifting the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

VIOLATIONS OF FREE SPEECH AND RIGHTS OF LABOR—STRIKE-BREAKING SERVICES (REPT. NO. 6)

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, out of order, I ask unanimous consent to submit the first of a series of final reports from the subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor under Senate Resolution 266, Seventy-fourth Congress, to investigate violations of the right of free speech and assembly and interference with the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively. The report deals with strike-breaking services.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the report

will be received and printed.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to submit a resolution providing for the printing of an additional 5,000 copies of the report which I filed earlier in the day from the subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor. I will say that I have conferred with the junior Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden] concerning the resolution and am authorized to say that I have his approval in asking unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Wisconsin for the immediate consideration of the resolution submitted by him?

There being no objection, the resolution (S. Res. 71) was

read, considered, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That 5,000 additional copies of Senate Report No. 6, a report of the Committee on Education and Labor submitted pursuant to Senate Resolution 266 (74th Cong.), entitled "Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor," be printed for the use of the Senate document room.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS

Mr. BAILEY, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 760) for the relief of Mrs. Guy A. Mc-Conoha, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 7) thereon.

Mr. BROWN, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 117) for the relief of Lulu M. Peiper, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 8) thereon.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 313) to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Lester P. Barlow against the United States, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 9) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 342) for the relief of L. L. Stokes, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 10) thereon.

Mr. WILEY, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 60) for the relief of Dierks Lumber & Coal Co., reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 11) thereon.

Mr. BURKE, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 13) for the relief of John Mulhern, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 12) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

S. 218. A bill for the relief of Manuel D. A. Otero, as administrator of the estate of Teresita S. Otero, deceased (Rept. No. 13); and

S. 219. A bill for the relief of Emma Gomez (Rept. No. 14).

Mr. LOGAN, from the Committee on Claims, to which were
referred the following bills, reported them severally with an
amendment and submitted reports thereon:

S. 87. A bill for the relief of Leslie Truax (Rept. No. 15);

S. 323. A bill for the relief of E. C. Beaver, who suffered loss on account of the Lawton, Okla., fire, 1917 (Rept. No. 16): and

S. 470. A bill for the relief of Alice Minnick (Rept. No. 17). Mr. SCHWARTZ, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 766) for the relief of the Missoula Brewing Co., reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 18) thereon.

Mr. SMATHERS, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 532) for the relief of Mabel Foote Ramsey, widow of William R. Ramsey, Jr., late special agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 19) thereon.

#### EXECUTIVE REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

As in executive session,

Mr. HARRISON, from the Committee on Finance, reported favorably the nomination of William H. Burke, of Little River, Kans., to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Kansas in place of Harry D. Baker, resigned, which was ordered to be placed on the Executive Calendar.

#### BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. LOGAN:

S. 1022. A bill granting an increase of pension to Kate R. Forrester; to the Committee on Pensions.

S. 1023. A bill for the relief of W. B. Kennedy; and

S. 1024. A bill for the relief of Harriett Boswell, personally, and Harriett Boswell, guardian to Betty Fisher; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1025. A bill for the relief of Sam Murrell; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

S. 1026. A bill to correct the military record of Joseph Narewski; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CAPPER:

S. 1027. A bill exempting newspapermen from testifying with respect to the sources of certain confidential information; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(Mr. Typings (by request) introduced Senate bill 1028, which was referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. SMATHERS:

S. 1029. A bill to provide for the admission to the United States for permanent residence of certain aged persons whose admission would not be contrary to the interest of the public; to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. PITTMAN:

S. 1030. A bill authorizing the conveyance of the mint building in Carson City, Nev., to the State of Nevada; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. GILLETTE:

S. 1031. A bill to amend section 243 of the Penal Code of the United States, as amended by the act of June 15, 1935 (49 Stat. 378), relating to the marking of packages containing wild animals and birds and parts thereof; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

(Mr. Walsh introduced Senate bill 1032, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. TRUMAN:

S. 1033. A bill for the relief of Albert P. Dunbar; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MEAD:

S. 1034. A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to terminate certain leases of the Long Island Railroad Co.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1035. A bill for the relief of the heirs at law of William Wheeler Hubbell, deceased, and to preserve inviolate the integrity of patent rights, such heirs being the following: Eleanor Hubbell, a daughter, and Albert Hubbell, a son, of 134 Wood Cleft Avenue, Freeport, Long Island, N. Y.; Norman Wheeler Hubbell, a son, 1327 Collings Road, Fairview, Camden, N. J.; Beulah Hubbell Tompkins, a daughter, 5141 Stiles Street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Ruth Lois Hubbell, a granddaughter, 26 North Potomac Street, Hagerstown, Md.; Annie Marie Hubbell Rees, a daughter, 829 Twelfth Street, Prospect Park, Pa.; Leland Stanford Hubbell, a son, route 1, Concord Depot, Va.; and Lena Walker Hubbell Vanier, 5141 Stiles Street, Philadelphia, Pa.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FRAZIER:

S. 1036. A bill to authorize the purchase of certain lands adjacent to the Turtle Mountain Indian Agency in the State of North Dakota; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mrs. CARAWAY:

S. 1037. A bill to furnish employment by providing for emergency construction of public highways and related projects, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

#### AMENDMENT OF PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE ACT

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I hold in my hand a bill dealing with the Filipino question. The bill was prepared by an interdepartmental committee that sought to work out certain imperfections in the existing law. In introducing the bill at their request, I do not want to assume responsibility for it as being my own bill. I believe it is, however, a subject upon which a bill ought to be framed, and that the bill as presented will furnish a very fair basis for consideration. With that explanation, I ask unanimous consent at this time to introduce the bill for appropriate reference.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the bill of the Senator from Maryland, introduced by request, will be re-

ceived and properly referred.

The bill (S. 1028) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands, to provide for the adoption of a constitution and a form of government for the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes," was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

#### AMENDMENTS TO PUBLIC CONTRACTS LAW

Mr. WALSH. I ask consent to introduce a bill for appropriate reference embodying several amendments to the public contracts law, and request that a brief statement explanatory of the proposed amendments be printed in the

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the bill of the Senator from Massachusetts will be received and properly referred, and the statement will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1032) to amend the act entitled "An act to provide conditions for the purchase of supplies and the making of contracts by the United States" and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

The statement presented by Mr. Walsh is as follows:

### AMENDMENTS TO PUBLIC CONTRACTS LAW

Senator WALSH, of Massachusetts, introduced today certain amendments to the Public Contracts Act, sometimes known as the Walsh-Healey Act. The amendments are as follows:

1. The jurisdiction of the act has been extended to contracts and immediate subcontracts entered into by the contractor for the express purpose of performing his contract with the Government where those contracts and subcontracts exceed \$2,000 instead of the present \$10,000 provision.

2. The coverage of the act has been extended to include vessels.

The coverage of the act has been extended to include vessels and equipment which, insofar as the Navy is concerned, must be built or repaired in accordance with the provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act, so that the requirement now binding on the Navy will apply to all Government contracts.

3. Nonprofessional service contracts have also been included to

prevent service industries, such as laundries, taking Government

business by sweatshop practices.

4. The present wage provision of the statute has been amended by incorporating the language of the Fair Labor Standards Act by permitting deductions for "board, lodging, or other facilities \* \* customarily furnished by such employer to his employees." This will make the provisions of the two acts uniform in this

This will make the provisions of the two statutes are also made harmonious by dropping the present Walsh-Healey prohibition of the employment of female minors under 18 to permit boys and girls over 16 to be employed except in hazardous occupations, where they are prohibited until they are 18.

6. The change made in section 2 dealing with violations permits the recovery on behalf of employees of double the amount due them for underpayment of the minimum wage or overtime in the case of

a second offense by the same employer, and treble the amount in

the case of subsequent offenses. This provision is necessary and very important because at the present time no penalty is provided for a violation of the statute except the invocation of the so-called "blacklist" provision which allows the Secretary of Labor to put on the ineligible list for 3 years violators of the act. This provision is so drastic that it has been rarely exercised, and employers generally know this and hence are willing to run the risk of being caught, since the possibility of punishment is remote.

7. The final provision of the act makes these amendments effective

in 90 days.

It is to be noted the highly controversial provision that has heretofore been proposed by the Labor Department, providing for the
blacklisting from receiving Government contracts all violators of
the National Labor Relations Act, is not included in this bill.

# ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATION FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF-AMENDMENTS

Mr. BARBOUR submitted amendments intended to be proposed by him to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed, as follows:

On page 4, line 23, after the word "appropriated", insert the following: "or appropriated in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938."

Act of 1938."

On page 5, line 1, after the word "would", insert the words "manufacture or."

On page 5, line 2, before the period, insert a colon and the following: "Provided further, That all building construction under the Works Progress Administration shall be done on a contract basis under contracts which provide that the contractors shall pay the prevailing rate of wages." prevailing rate of wages

#### FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS-AMENDMENT

Mr. JOHNSON of California submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to House bill 2868, the first deficiency appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed, as follows:

On page 4, line 7, to insert the following:

#### VITICULTURAL MARKETING REGULATIONS

Amend section 508 of an act entitled "the Liquor Tax Administration Act of June 26, 1936," which reads:
"Exc. 508. This title, except sections 502, 505, and 507, shall take effect when a majority of the members of the Federal Alcohol Administration first appointed under the provisions of section 502 qualify and take office,"

by adding after the figures "505" the figures "506", so as to make and intending thereby to make section 506 of title V of said Liquor Tax Administration Act immediately effective.

#### LIBERALISM-ARTICLE BY SENATOR DAVIS

[Mr. Gibson asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "The True Liberal," by Senator Davis, published in the Weekly News of West End, Pittsburgh, Pa., January 19, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

AMERICAN PEACE AND HOW TO OBTAIN IT—ADDRESS BY SENATOR JOHNSON OF COLORADO

[Mr. Lundeen asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered by Senator Johnson of Colorado on January 26, 1939, before the Fourteenth Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense entitled "American Peace and How to Obtain It," which appears in the Appendix.]

#### PEACE FOR THE UNITED STATES-ADDRESS BY SENATOR LODGE

[Mr. NyE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by Senator Longe before the Fourteenth Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense in Washington, D. C., January 24, 1939, on the subject of Peace for the United States, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### THE NATIONAL DEFENSE-ARTICLE BY COL. FREDERICK PALMER

[Mr. Clark of Missouri asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article by Col. Frederick Palmer on the subject of National Defense, which appears in the Appendix.1

#### THE A. A. A. WHEAT PROGRAM-ADDRESS BY HON. MYRON L. WILSON

IMr. MURRAY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a Jackson Day dinner address delivered by Hon. Myron L. Wilson, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, at Great Falls, Mont., on January 8, 1939, on the subject of the Wheat Program, which appears in the Appendix 1

ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATION FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President-

The VICE PRESIDENT. At the time the Senate took a recess yesterday the Chair observes from the RECORD that the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] had the floor; that he yielded for certain purposes, and then the Senate went into executive session. The Chair feels that, in good sportsmanship, he should recognize the Senator from Florida.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to

me for a moment?

Mr. PEPPER. I should like to continue my remarks, but I will be glad to yield.

Mr. WAGNER. I ask unanimous consent to have the clerk read a telegram relating to the subject under consideration. The telegram was received by me from Mr. George Meany, who is president of the State Federation of Labor of the State of New York.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New York? The Chair hears none, and the clerk will read, as requested.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Hon. Robert F. Wagner, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

There can be little doubt that a W. P. A. appropriation of \$875,000,000, as recommended by the President, is absolutely vital. This sum is needed to make it possible to continue to meet the minimum relief needs in New York as well as in other parts of the country.

The amount recommended by the President is by no means excessive. To siash the appropriation for W. P. A. to \$725,000,000 or to any other figure below \$875,000,000 would result in the discharge of many thousands of needy New Yorkers, a lowering of relief standards, and a decrease in the amount supplied to those

relief standards, and a decrease in the amount supplied to those who have already endured severe hardships, through no fault of their own, during the last 8 years.

The lessons of a year ago ought not to be so soon forgotten. When W. P. A. rolls were reduced by 1,000,000 men between October 1936 and October 1937 not only that number suffered horribly, but 5,000,000 other workers, up to then employed in private industry, lost their jobs in one of the most violent recessions in our history.

Can any same man want a repetition of that

history.

Can any sane man want a repetition of that catastrophe? Certainly "economy" which causes losses 50 and 100 times as large as the sum saved is the falsest kind of economy imaginable.

Organized labor in New York State, having a longer memory than that of persons who advocate the \$150,000,000 reduction and being convinced by the harsh teachings of experience that a reduction in W. P. A. rolls at this time would be disastrous in short order to virtually everyone, not excluding those who profess to see benefits in the action taken by the House, urges you to employ your best efforts with the Senate to the end that the \$150,000,000 shall be restored. shall be restored.

GEORGE MEANY,
President of State Federation of Labor.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, at the conclusion of the session yesterday we were discussing what figure might be relied upon by the Senate as the basis of our conclusion as to the amount which should be appropriated for the Works Progress Administration for the remainder of the fiscal year. The difference of opinion had arisen from some difference in understanding as to what was the actual amount of funds available on January 1 of this year.

I had referred to pages 31 and 32 of the Senate subcommittee hearings, giving the testimony of Colonel Harrington, the W. P. A. Administrator, that the amount of available W. P. A. funds on January 1, 1939, was approximately \$190,000,000. Then I had also referred to a table in the same report at the top of page 6 which confirmed the same testimony on the part of the Administrator, Colonel Harrington.

Some have said that the testimony given by Colonel Harrington was mistaken testimony; and in spite of the fact that he is an Army engineer assigned by the President to this task, notwithstanding the fact that he has had at least 2 or 3 years, if not more, experience in the Works Progress Administration, and notwithstanding the fact that he is known to be a gentleman of probity and ability, the proponents of the \$150,000,000 reduction stated that Colonel Harrington had made a mistake in his figures, and they could not be relied upon.

The majority leader, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], at the conclusion of the session indicated that he proposed to read today a letter from Colonel Harrington reaffirming the accuracy of his testimony before the committee and reasserting that the funds available to the W. P. A .and that is what we are talking about; not the Farm Security Administration or some other Federal relief agency, but the W. P. A.—were \$190,000,000 on the 1st of January 1939. So I am going to reason to a conclusion, based upon that testimony, which I believe to be true, and which I believe cannot be properly contested by the members of the committee. I understand, furthermore, that the majority leader will read a communication from the Director of the Budget in which he reconciles the difference in the estimates given by the Administrator and those understood to have been alloted by the Budget Bureau.

Mr. President, you will recall that the chairman of the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations hearing this testimony referred to the fact that there were funds available to carry the W. P. A. force of 90,000 that were employed in other Federal agencies until the 1st of March. Therefore, to maintain the figure of 3,000,000 now employed, there would be need for an appropriation for taking care of only 2.910,000 to March 1.

At \$61 per person, 2,910,000 persons would require for their employment approximately \$177,000,000 for each of the months of January and February. That would make a total of \$354,000,000 required for the 2,910,000 for the months of January and February. Then for the month of March there would have to be an appropriation of \$183,000,000 to carry the full 3,000,000 through March. This figure is arrived at by multiplying 3,000,000, the number employed, by \$61, the amount required to employ 1 person per month. Adding the \$354,000,000 necessary for the employment of the presently engaged 3,000,000 up until March 1 to the \$183,000,000 required for their employment during the month of March, we get a total of \$537,000,000 required to carry the program with the present volume of employment to the end of the month of March.

Then, Mr. President, starting off with the fact that the House appropriated, and the committee recommends, \$725,-000,000, and adding to that \$190,000,000, which by hypothesis was on hand January 1, we have a total of \$915,000,000 available for the program under the scheme of the House appropriation. Deducting \$537,000,000 from \$915,000,000, we get \$378,000,000 available for the program for the months of April, May, and June. It is obvious that that sum of money will yield a uniform and average employment of only 2,070,000 persons for the 3-month period. That figure is arrived at by multiplying \$61 per person by 3 months, which will be \$183 required to keep 1 person on the pay roll for the months of April, May, and June, and dividing \$183 into the fund available for those 3 months, \$378,000,000, by which we get an average of 2,070,000 persons that that fund will carry until the end of June.

It is obvious to anybody, by simple arithmetic, that an average of 2,000,000 persons for 3 months would allow us to carry the 3,000,000 and the 1,000,000 for exactly the same length of time in order to reach the average for the 3-month period of 2,000,000.

So that is the reasoning by which the W. P. A. authorities inform us that the number who will be employed under the \$725,000,000 appropriation at the end of June will be 1,050,-000; and that will necessitate the reduction of about 2,000,000 persons from the W. P. A. rolls of this country between now and the end of June this year.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Florida yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. PEPPER. Gladly.

Mr. ADAMS. On page 60 of the Senate committee hearings is a table submitted by Colonel Harrington in reference to the proposed appropriation of \$725,000,000, in which he says that in June there will be 1,930,000 persons on the rolls. That is his tabulation, which will be found on page 60 of the Senate committee hearings.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I have given the premise and the process of reasoning by which I have arrived at that conclusion. If the chairman of the subcommittee proposes to contest either the premise or the process, the opportunity is open to him so to do. I can only say that I have in my hand a copy of Colonel Harrington's letter to the Senate majority leader, in which he reiterates his previous evidence that the number to be employed at the end of June of this year with the \$725,000,000 appropriation is 1,050,000. That is arrived at by the figure 3,000,000 for January, 3,000,000 for February, 2,925,000 for March, 2,600,000 for April, 2,000,000 for May, 1,350,000 for June, and 1,050,000 at the end of the month of June.

Mr. President, whether or not that is so, I desire to call the attention of the Senate and the subcommittee to the fact that nobody disputes that either figure which is proposed to be appropriated will give a single job to the 750,000 persons of this country who have been carefully certified by their own State agencies as being in need, employable, and not able to get jobs on the W. P. A. because sufficient funds are not available for their employment.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Florida yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield. Mr. BORAH. Did the Senator say the number was 750,000?

Mr. PEPPER. Yes.

Mr. BORAH. I thought it was 925,000.

Mr. PEPPER. Well, at least 750,000, I will say to the Senator from Idaho, and the truth is, as Colonel Harrington testified in his testimony before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, the W. P. A. has never given employment to more than 27 percent of the total number of the unemployed of the country. There are at least 11,000,000 unemployed men and women in this Nation who are eligible for employment and not able to get jobs under the present program.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE and Mr. MILLER addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Florida yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield first to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, a moment ago the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS] interrupted the Senator from Florida and referred to the table on page 60 of the Senate committee hearings, which has been referred to on numerous occasions in this debate as indicating that the testimony of the Administrator was to the effect that if he had only \$725,000,000 appropriated, 1,930,000 persons would be employed during June of this fiscal year.

I should like to point out that at the time the Administrator presented that table there was not before him, nor was there knowledge so far as I understand, of the committee's proposal to provide that there should be no cut in excess of 5 percent; and therefore his break-down of what the employment would be month by month on the average under the \$725,000,000 appropriation did not take into consideration the Senate committee's recommendation, which now prevents any discharge in excess of 5 percent. Therefore it seems to me that that must in all fairness appear upon the record so far as the Administrator is concerned, because, as will be seen by any Senator who refers to page 60, he has broken down the expenditures and the total employment figures on the W. P. A., providing \$725,000,000 should be allowed, beginning with a reduction of 200,000 in February and 400,000 in March, which could not take place under the Senate committee's proposal, because that would provide that not to exceed 150,000 persons could be discharged during those months. Therefore it follows, it seems to me, that there will not be the same amount of money available to carry such a large number of persons beyond the 1st of April.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Wisconsin for bringing out that fact. I have just turned to

the copy of the letter I have, which was sent to the majority leader, and I find a direct affirmation of what the Senator from Wisconsin has just pointed out in his statement. The figures are given by the Administrator under the House \$725,000,000 appropriation, without the 5-percent prohibition exactly as the Senator from Wisconsin pointed out. Three million would be employed for the month of January, 2,800,000 for the month of February, 2,600,000 for the month of March, 2,400,000 for the month of April, 2,150,000 for the month of May, 1,930,000 at the beginning of June, and 1,850,000 at the end of June. I thank the Senator for clarifying that point, and I hope the chairman of the subcommittee will take note of that contribution the Senator from Wisconsin has made.

Mr. President, why has not the Senate subcommittee told us how much more money would be available to take care of the additional 750,000 who are certified and not able to get jobs? If 2 people out of 5 who are unemployed are able to get jobs on W. P. A., why are not 5 people out of 5 entitled to the same privilege? If it is economically and morally sound to give 2 out of 5 work-relief jobs, why is it not economically and morally sound to give 5 out of 5 work-relief jobs? Yet the members of this committee tell us they are going to save \$150,000,000, and that we will be compelled to cut off but a few. Why do they ignore the threequarters of a million who have not a chance to get jobs even if the present appropriation is continued?

Not only that, but there are 1,640,000 people over 65 years of age in this country who are receiving social-security benefits, and those people are not getting social-security benefits as large in amount as the minimum W. P. A. wage. In my State, which happens to be the highest among the Southern States in the amount of its social-security contribution, the beneficiaries are not getting over about \$16 a month, whereas the minimum W. P. A. wage is \$26 a month, even in the most remote rural sections. If those people just had an opportunity to get W. P. A. jobs which would bring their incomes up to the minimum of \$26 a month, that would mean many more millions of dollars; and the committee is not concerned about taking care of that group.

In addition to that, there are in this country 250,000 mothers with dependent children, embracing a total of 630,-000 children, and every one of those mothers receives on an average a sum less than the minimum W. P. A. wage. If they were given an opportunity to get W. P. A. work which would supplement their incomes in many States, only six or eight dollars a month, even up to the minimum W. P. A. wage, that would take many more millions of dollars, and the committee has not concerned itself about those people.

In addition, there are 1,520,000 families, representing five or six million people, altogether, who are receiving direct relief from the States and their political subdivisions, and in their case also the amount of their relief is less than the minimum W. P. A. wage. If those people were given an opportunity to get W. P. A. jobs which would at least give them enough work to bring their incomes up to the minimum W. P. A. wage, that would take some more millions of dollars, and the committee has not concerned itself about those.

In addition to that, there are at least 750,000 farmers in the United States whose total individual annual income is less than the minimum annual income of the employed W. P. A. workers. To give those 750,000 farmers an opportunity to get into W. P. A. work in the off season, when their labor is not required in their agricultural pursuits, to bring their annual income up to the W. P. A. wage would take some more millions of dollars, and the committee has not concerned itself about those people.

There are at least 100,000 farmers who are receiving farm security benefits, a \$50 loan, or a \$25 loan, a loan of enough money to buy a mule or plough stock, a bit of farm equipment, and because they borrow maybe \$30 from the Farm Security Administration they are ineligible for any W. P. A. benefits under the existing rules of the W. P. A., because of the limited W. P. A. funds available.

Mr. President, the committee has not said, "We will give those fellows opportunity to get a little W. P. A. work in the off season so as to bring their annual incomes up to the minimum W. P. A. wage." They too have been ignored in the calculations of this committee, which comes here and tells us that we have to save \$150,000,000; and in doing that we have to cut off between now and the end of June at least 2,000,000 people-men and women in this country who have been given at least an opportunity to get a pittance of remuneration and a pittance of a livelihood.

Mr. President, there is something a great deal more fundamental involved in this debate than the question of \$150,000,000, important as that is. The Senator from Colorado and some other members of the committee, with perfect honesty and perfect sincerity, have a different political and economic philosophy from that of some of the rest of us in this Chamber who may be entitled to have attributed to them perhaps the same degree of sincerity and honesty of purpose. I do not quarrel with any man who takes the other view of the matter, and there are many, perhaps more, for all I know, in that category; but the fundamental question involved in this debate is whether or not we are going to embrace the philosophy of the Senator from Colorado and those of like view, or whether we are going to express the philosophy which is manifested in refusing to make this reduction requested by our committee and by the other branch of the Congress.

Walter Lippmann, in an article of his which appeared on January 23 of this year, made the following statement about the subject of the present debate:

The essentials which remain are, first, the acceptance as a fact that there is a permanent mass of unemployed; second, the opinion that the able-bodied unemployed must have work relief rather than a dole; third, the conviction that much more than half the cost of relief must come out of Federal funds. Not all public men would subscribe fiatly to all three propositions. But few, if any, I believe, will be found to challenge them when it comes to casting a vote for which they are publicly accountable.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President-

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Florida yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. GILLETTE. I may say to the Senator that I have no disposition to argue; I am honestly seeking information. The Senator stated a moment ago, if I understood him correctly, that there are some 11,000,000 employables in the United States who are seeking employment and cannot be furnished with employment.

Mr. PEPPER. That is correct.

Mr. GILLETTE. Will the Senator state the source of his figures in that regard?

Mr. PEPPER. Specifically, and to give it more directly to the Senator, it was stated in the testimony of Colonel Harrington in the committee hearings, the report of which is now before the Senate. Of course, his figure is an estimate, as the Senator knows, but he tried to reconcile all the various estimates and all the different data which have been available into the best estimate he could make, and that is the estimate which Colonel Harrington gave to the committee, as the report of the hearings will disclose. He said they had not provided for more than 27 percent of the whole number of unemployed.

Mr. GILLETTE. I thank the Senator. Will he yield further?

Mr. PEPPER. Certainly.

Mr. GILLETTE. The Senator also referred to the 725,000, if I remember the figure correctly, who are on the relief rolls, and who cannot be taken care of under the present program. I wonder whether the Senator has given any thought to the repeated charges which are made that, this fund being distributed on the basis of need rather than upon the ratio of population, there is an incentive to pad the relief rolls in the hope of participating more largely in the funds?

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I think that charge, whether innocently made or otherwise made—and I am not saying the Senator has made the charge, knowing that he is merely referring to it—does a gross injustice to the devoted, faithful social-service workers in every State in this Union who have held up the matter of certification until they could make thorough investigations of the relief applicants and finally certify those people to the W. P. A. as eligible for work relief.

Mr. GILLETTE. I am very glad to have that information, because I had hoped that that condition prevailed.

Mr. President, I have before me a table which breaks down the distribution of this fund should the population ratio be used; and according to that table, I find that had that system been used the Senator's State of Florida in the last 2½ years would have received \$10,315,000 more than it received. My State of Iowa would have received over \$56,000,000 more than it received. The table shows that New York received \$328,000,000 more than it should have received on the basis of population ratio, and Pennsylvania received around \$178,000,000 more. So it was interesting to me to hear what the Senator said. My inquiry was intended to disclose whether in the Senator's opinion there was any basis for the assertions which have been made that there was, in determining the need, a disposition not to use population ratio.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, will the Senator vield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I ask the Senator whether or not he has found in his State the situation which I have found repeatedly, of people coming to him claiming that they were entitled to be certified, pointing out a need proving as they did to my satisfaction at least, that it was absolutely unjustifiable not to certify them. I do not know how many persons of that kind there are, but certainly it is my opinion that there are as many in that classification who ought to be certified as there are of those who are certified to be in poverty.

Mr. PEPPER. There is no doubt in my mind, Mr. President, of the truth of what the Senator from Washington has just pointed out. Senators heard yesterday the statement of the Senator from Washington [Mr. Bone] in which he pointed out that such a situation in his State had come to his knowledge, and that the investigating units in his State were reliable and were accurate in their determination. I know that in my State of Florida we are from 2 to 3 months behind in the certification of relief applicants, due to the fact that the social-service workers will not certify them until they have taken time to make a thorough investigation, and there is not money available to employ enough social-service investigators to enable them to do that job promptly.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I ask to interrupt the Senator from Florida simply to call his attention to a statement by Colonel Harrington which appears on page 44 of the Senate hearings, when this matter was being discussed, and the relative accuracy of the investigation of the certifying officers and the W. P. A. authorities were under consideration. The colonel said:

During the 3-month period covering October, November, and December 1938, approximately 75,000 certifications made by public relief agencies were rejected by W. P. A.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, the Senator does not point out the method used, or the reason for the rejection. It might well have been, as was pointed out by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes] in his debate on this measure, that a man was sent over certified for W. P. A. work, but the W. P. A. authorities found he could not do the work they needed to be done at that time, and he might have been rejected for that reason. Perhaps he might not have been in good health at that particular time. That, however, does not go to the integrity of the certification, Mr. President. I have heard no Senator willing to impugn the integrity of the public welfare agencies of the various States of this Union which have made these certifications of persons in their own communities.

Some Senators are constantly saying, "Let us turn this matter back to the States. We are here in Washington, and do not know who need these jobs." Mr. President, these certifications were not made by the W. P. A., they were not made by persons in Washington, they were not made by persons who were on the Federal pay roll. They were made by persons living in the communities in which these relief applicants live. Therefore, if a person were certified as a relief client and it was a matter of common knowledge that he was not

eligible, that fact would stand out like the nose on your face in the eyes of the people, to the great indignation of those in that community.

Mr. President, no one will deny that we have more unemployed than we are giving jobs to. The committee does not deny that fact. Yet many say that we should reduce the number now employed by a figure which the Administrator said will reach 1,000,000 by the end of June of this year.

I know that all of us are aware of what has been going on in the world since the beginning of what we call the industrial or the machine age. We all know how violently the inventions and the discoveries and the genius of the past hundred years have shocked the existing economic and social order.

Colonel Harrington also testified, that we commonly overlook the number of new workers coming every year into the ranks of the unemployable. He said that every year at least 500,000 workers become of working age and working capacity, and they go out into the labor market to get jobs somewhere in private or public employment. If we accept that figure, Mr. President, of 500,000 new workers becoming available each year and coming into the labor market, 3,000,000 new men and women have come to be of working age in the last 6 years, since 1933, when the present administration came into power.

What are we doing? We are giving W. P. A. employment to just exactly that number, 3,000,000, who would be unemployed otherwise. What have we done, therefore, to reduce the number of 15,000,000 or 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 who were unemployed in 1933, when this administration took office? Due to the large number coming in every year, by our W. P. A. appropriations we have done no more than absorb the new entrants into the labor market, and not at all reduced the number net of the unemployed in 1933 when this program began.

Another fact that is not particularly observed is that every year other people are being thrown out of employment by reason of technological improvements which take place within the year. As a matter of fact, the testimony developed before the committee shows that at least 10 percent fewer people were required to produce the income of this Nation in 1938 than would have been required to produce that income if the rate of production per man had been that of the year 1929. As a matter of fact, 1,000,000 more workers would have been required to produce the income of 1938 than were required if the rate of production of 1929 had been the rate of production of employed men and women in 1938.

In 1880 one man upon the farm produced enough to feed five other people on the farm and one-half a person in the city. But so great has been technological improvement on the farm that in the year 1938 the 1 farmer from his farm feeds not only 4 people besides himself but 12 additional people in the city and 2 additional people abroad. Yet we say we are surprised that we should have large agricultural surpluses.

In 1869 the productive power of one laborer in terms of horsepower was 1, and in the year 1938 it was 5 horsepower per laboring person, on an average.

Therefore it is no wonder that we do not need all of our employable and able people to produce what we are now producing with our modern methods of production.

As a matter of fact, in the year 1936 we came within 5 percent of producing as much goods in volume as we produced in 1929, yet while we had 4,000,000 unemployed in 1929, we had at least 10,000,000 unemployed in 1936. Did those 6,000,000 men just get to be unworthy, did they get to be derelicts, did they become of the undeserving class because technological processes in that period of time displaced them from their jobs?

I say if one takes into consideration the number of new workers coming to working age every year, and the number of workers displaced from employment annually by reason of technological improvement, Mr. President, it will be found that our income in 1939 will have to be one-quarter again as high as it was in 1929 to give employment to the same number of people as were employed in 1929. Has the committee taken that fact into consideration?

I think anyone who will view this question with candor and complete intellectual honesty will come to the conclusion that if we think that private industry, however prosperous it may become, is going to absorb these unemployed men and women, we are just cherishing a pipe dream. We might as well tell the people of America now that as long as industry is mechanized as it now is they never will get a job in private industry, and we deceive them if we withhold from them knowledge which teaches us this, and do not tell them the truth as soon as possible. The proof of it is in every book and every treatise on economy and employment that can be picked up. I say that based not only on the economy of America but on the economy of the nations of the world.

This summer I happened to be in Geneva, Switzerland, and visited the International Labor Building there, and saw depicted in graphic form, in the form of a series of blocks, the economic condition and the number of unemployed in the nations of the world. What surprising fact did that disclose? Beside the name "Great Britain" I saw and read the inscription on a block indicating the number of the

unemployed of that country as being very great.

Beside that block I saw one with the name "United States" on it. That was even higher than England. Besides that, I saw another with the name "France" on it, and that was almost as high. Beside that I saw another with the name "Holland" on it, and others with the names of other democracies of the world. Every one of them stuck conspicuously up above the table top to indicate to a curious world the fact that the democracies had not solved the question of unemployment.

Then I looked down the table a little farther and I saw one marked "Germany." That was hardly an inch high. I saw another marked "Italy." That was only a little higher. I saw another marked "Japan," and that was lower than those of either Germany or Italy. I made the startling discovery that those nations had resorted to the most extreme methods to combat this national challenge to the ability of the state to maintain its integrity and that of its people.

In my hand is the League of Nations World Economic Survey for the years 1937 and 1938. Reading from pages 192 and

193 of that volume, it says:

During the same period the attitude of governments toward intervention in internal economic affairs has suffered an extreme In the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, complete state control over economic affairs had already been instituted before 1929. In Germany, control over many aspects of internal economic life has been imposed since the post-1929 slump.

Unemployment has been reduced to vanishing point by state

activity in public works, in rearmament expenditure and the development of the armed forces, in industrial investment, and the production of substitute raw materials under the 4-year plan. To carry out these objects, prices and wages have been fixed, many raw materials have been rationed, labor has been made liable to conscription for work of interest to the state, and in many other ways industry has been subjected to increasing Government con-trol. These measures have been combined with the control of external economic relations to form a coordinated policy of autarchy designed to make Germany as self-sufficient as possible. Similar but less far-reaching measures have been adopted in Italy. In Japan, as a result of the war against China, the Government has instituted control over imports and exports, capital investment, prices and raw materials; and in the national general mobilization law, passed in March 1938, extensive powers of control were granted to the Government over most of the main branches of economic life.

Even in countries such as France, the United States, and the United Kingdom, in which internal economic conditions remain more or less liberal, government economic interventions remain more or less liberal, government economic intervention has developed considerably since 1929. The Blum experiment in France and the New Deal in the United States have involved the extension of government control over prices, wages, hours of work, social services, monetary policy, the stock exchange, and the new-issue

markets

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. REYNOLDS. May I respectfully inquire what point the Senator was making in reference to the situation in Japan, Italy, Germany, and the other countries which the Senator mentioned?

Mr. PEPPER. The point I am making, Mr. President, is that with modern machine and technological methods of production no economy in the world-I do not care whether it is located in the Old World or the New-is able to give jobs to the unemployed without the intervention of the government and the opening of the government pocketbook.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I agree with the Senator.

Mr. PEPPER. If we are to escape the degree of rigidity, the measure of exactitude, and perhaps the essential loss of our liberties, which are the price the people of the totalitarian states have paid for a degree of economic security, we must do it willingly, through the democratic process of intelligent, free, and generous governmental aid to our economic system and our impoverished unemployed citizens.

Mr. REYNOLDS. As I understand, the Senator makes the point that the general utilization of machinery in the United States, in comparison with the limited utilization of laborsaving devices in the other countries of the world, has of necessity had much to do with our unemployment problem in this country.

Mr. PEPPER. Exactly.

Mr. REYNOLDS. And, as the Senator very properly put it a moment ago in interpreting the lines of the book from which he was reading, the circumstance of the nations mentioned by him having indulged so generously in the production of armaments and war materials has of necessity absorbed the activities of many hundreds of thousands of men and women in those countries. As a result, we must of necessity give close attention to that situation in this country and, as a matter of fact, more than ever on account of the fact that the dictators of the world in the totalitarian countries have brought into practical use for themselves a method and means of bringing about international trade by means of the barter system, in which we, unfortunately, cannot participate on account of the fact that the countries with which Japan, Germany, and Italy are trading are in a position to supply raw materials. We cannot engage in the barter trade in competition with those nations for the reason that we already have the raw materials which Italy, Japan, and Germany are obtaining from the various countries of the world, particularly South America, through the barter system.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank the Senator very much for his very valuable contribution to the thought I was trying to present.

Mr. President, so great has been the effect upon our internal economy of modern methods of production and technological improvements that in his antimonopoly message to the Congress last year the President told us that 200 corporations of this Nation own one-fourth of the total wealth of the country and one-half of the nonbanking corporate wealth of the Nation. He told us also that one-tenth of 1 percent of all the reporting corporations in the United States in 1935 earned 50 percent of the net income earned by all corporations in the country in the same year. He also told us that 33 percent of all the property transmitted by inheritance in the United States of America in the year 1937 was transmitted by 4 percent of all the estates in the country in that year.

What has been the effect on the purchasing power and the earning power of the masses of the people of the country? Recently a report was issued showing the income of the various family groups of this country, and the number of families we have. That report showed that there are roughly 29,000,000 American families. It showed that 14 percent of those 29,000,000 American families have an annual income of less than \$500. Think of that, Senators. One-seventh of America's families having a total annual income for the whole family of less than \$500. How many automobiles can they buy? How much farm machinery can they buy? How much of the products of America's factories can they purchase?

The report further showed, Mr. President, that 42 percent of those 29,000,000 American families had an annual income of less than \$1,000. Think of that! Nearly half of America's families have a total family income of less than a thousand dollars a year. How many automobiles can they buy? How much farm machinery can they buy? How much manufactured goods can they buy with that income?

The report further shows that 65 percent of the 29,000,000 American families have an annual income of less than \$1,500 a year; that 87 percent have an income less than \$2,500 per year; that 97 percent have an income of less than \$5,000 a year; and 99 percent have an income of less than \$10,000 a year. Only 1 percent of America's families make \$10,000 or more every year.

In the antimonopoly message our President further said that  $1\frac{1}{2}$  percent of America's families make as many dollars as 47 percent of America's families.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me again?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. GILLETTE. Just a moment ago the Senator referred to the displacement of labor by technological improvements, and made a very able discussion of the question. I wonder if, before he gets into another field of discussion, he will comment on the statement, which is borne out by statistics of the Commerce Department, that because of new industries, such as the automobile industry, the radio, the moving picture, and industries in the beauty-parlor field, 7 percent more persons are employed in industry than were employed at the time to which he referred in this comparison. Will the Senator comment on that point?

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, we all know, for example, that the invention of the steam engine made it possible for the steelmaker to obtain a job, and it eventually gave work to the miner. It also provided commodities to be transported by the transportation systems. Perhaps it eventually gave the bank clerk a job, and many others throughout the ramifications of our economic life. Yet, Mr. President, we all know that the rate at which new jobs are being provided is not as rapid as the rate of displacements from old jobs. Even if the statement is true that eventually as the result of inventions employment will be given to a number of people perhaps even in excess of the number originally displaced, yet we all know that that is not a result which follows directly the displacement. For example, when canned music was put in theaters there were at least 10,000 musicians thrown suddenly and definitely out of a job in the theaters of the country where they were employed. So we all know that when buggy factories closed down the workers in those factories generally did not have a job to which they could go, and when the tractor comes along and displaces plow hands, for that matter, they do not have anywhere to go for a job.

A little while ago I was in the great sugar belt of my State, where I saw a machine that can harvest sugarcane in such quantities that it can do the work of 200 laborers. There is such a machine. Fortunately the salutary policy of the management of the particular plantation is to give the jobs to people and not to avail itself even of that form of economy made possible by this mechanical instrument. I heartily commend that policy in that particular case, although, generally, I think things ought to be done in the most efficient way and some compensation made for it in some other way to give those who are displaced jobs. But suppose they had started that machine gathering sugarcane; at least 200 men would have received their notice to go to what? Not even to the W. P. A. rolls.

So I know that this problem has grown more and more acute until it has become not a local problem in any part of the world; it is a world-wide problem, because of which some nations have felt themselves so much endangered that to try to meet it they have even mobilized every unit of their economic and human power as if engaged in a war.

Furthermore, in relation to agriculture, 42 percent of the farmers in this country are tenant farmers, and in the year 1935 the rate of increase in the number of tenants per year was 250,000. So more and more are the ramifications of this dislodgment from economic moorings reaching to every phase of our national life. I may add, Mr. President, that as a corollary of that low standard of income and low standard of living and low standard of opportunity in this country,

where the Government rests upon the intelligence of its citizenry, we have a million more illiterates than we have college graduates.

Not only that, but recently the President said in his health message that every year at least a million of our fellow citizens die premature deaths and our annual economic loss from preventable disease and illness is at least \$250,000,000.

Those who on the pretense of economy talk about not giving jobs to the waifs in the alleys of the cities because it costs too much, those who talk about not giving jobs to the derelicts upon the farms because that costs too much, would better observe the fact that in the United States of America our annual crime bill is \$15,000,000,000.

That is the situation generally which our Government found when it came into power in 1933.

There are some of our friends who say that the only thing we need to do to have prosperity is to give business confidence, and by confidence they mean Hooverizing the Government—that is to say, doing nothing; because, surely, the businessmen had nothing to fear from 1929 until the 4th of March 1933. Not even the businessman who did not want to play fair with his fellow businessmen had anything to fear in that period of our national life. That was the period of laissez faire, when men could live in a civilized country by the rule of the jungle—

They should take who have the power, And they should keep who can.

Yet I hear some of our brethren on the other side of the aisle, because of a little petty politics in relief, because it is administered by human beings and not deities or divinities, stand up and castigate it as the appalling wrong of this generation. I think the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Neely] perhaps has sufficiently emphasized the sordid and slimy tale of actual fraud and thievery, reaching to the very highest places in this Nation, that emanated from the corridors of the other party when it administered the people's government. In two Democratic administrations of 8 years each, when in both there was spent at least \$4,000,000,000 of the public money, I challenge the other party to show that the finger of suspicion has ever been pointed at our White House.

Has its slimy trail ever led to a Cabinet officer? Has it ever touched the high places in our administrative machinery? No, Mr. President; they do not care to debate the matter on that basis, because they live not only in glass houses but in houses more fragile than glass when they begin to make moral comparisons in the integrity of this administration of public affairs and their own.

As an illustration of the attitude of the administration in 1932, they finally allowed the light of a new day to penetrate sufficiently into their beclouded philosophy to establish the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Let me tell the Senate the wonderful record of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in the effort to lift this country's relief load from the backs of the States and their political subdivisions under the Hoover administration.

From 1932, when the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was created, until January 1933, that agency distributed a total of \$80,000,000 for relief purposes in this country, which is exactly the number of dollars that it loaned to Mr. Charles Dawes for the First National Bank of Chicago, which may or may not have been paid back to the Government.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield there?
The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Florida
yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. LEE. Perhaps they thought the letters "R. F. C." meant "relief for Charlie." [Laughter.]

Mr. PEPPER. That is probably correct.

Mr. President, this administration, therefore, having to start a new way, to undertake an entirely new thing in American political life, began courageously to try to do something about this problem because they preferred to go down fighting to sitting and dying without making an effort or drying up nationally to nothing. So this administration created in May 1933 the F. E. R. A. That agency received an

appropriation of \$500,000,000 on the 12th of May 1933. In turn, that agency was succeeded in November 1933 by the C. W. A., and that agency on the 15th of February 1934 received an appropriation of \$950,000,000. Then, in the spring of 1935, Congress created the Works Progress Administration, and there was an appropriation of \$4,548,000,000 provided for that purpose.

Remember that we had experimented since 1933 with public works, with direct relief, with aid to the States and their political subdivisions, and finally 2 or 3 years of experience taught us that the W. P. A. set-up, whereby the Government would give jobs only to employables and the States would give relief doles to those unable to work was the best method of handling nationally the relief problem.

In 1936 the appropriation for W. P. A. was \$2,234,000,000. Mr. President, the total amount appropriated for relief under the present administration from 1933 until the end of 1936 was approximately \$10,000,000,000. Bear that figure in mind, if you will.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. PEPPER. Yes.

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator has been relating our steps from the beginning as to relief and the W. P. A. Does not the Senator think, though, that Congress has been derelict in not enacting legislation setting up standards to inform the W. P. A. how the organization should be operated? Have we not given too much authority to the Administrator just to take money and do what he pleases with it? As it is now, when an applicant goes to the W. P. A. he does not know what the standard of requirement is. He does not know whether he has any right, if there is such a thing, to get on the rolls or whether he does not, and the public at least has the idea, whether founded or unfounded, that it is up to the local administrator to put him on or not to put him on. Is not that true?

Mr. PEPPER. If there is any such misapprehension as that in the public mind—and to some extent it may be justified—there is no doubt that the matter should be made clear to everybody that by congressional limitation there can be but 5 percent of the W. P. A. funds used for administrative purposes. The administrative personnel does not have to be certified; it does not necessarily have to be in need of a job; but it represents only 5 percent out of a hundred percent.

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator from Texas must have failed to make himself clear. I am talking about the whole thing. Does not the Senator think that Congress should have passed legislation to define how the act should have been administered, just as we pass legislation to tell the War Department, the Navy Department, and all the other departments of the Government. Because of the fact that we have not done that, the public has concluded that it is just a matter of local influence and pull, and all that sort of thing. That is bad in the administration of this kind of legislation.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I wish to answer the Senator's question, if he will allow me to make one more preliminary statement. The 95 percent can be expended only to people who are certified by State agencies to be eligible. If there is a different idea in the mind of anybody, it ought to be made very clear.

Mr. CONNALLY. Certified as to what? Mr. PEPPER. As to their need for a job.

Mr. CONNALLY. Their need. There is no standardization. There may be one rule in one State and another rule in another State. I think some of the committees that have been busy with this matter should have reported legislation so that there would be some standard to determine whether or not a man was in need of relief. I have letters complaining that men who are drawing income from other sources, for instance, pensions from the Government are still on W. P. A. and drawing additional income, while other people cannot get on the rolls. That is what causes so much dissatisfaction.

Mr. PEPPER. I desire to answer directly the Senator's question. I will say that I favor having all legislation lay down as complete standards for its administration as can possibly be laid down. I think that is the proper spirit and the

proper function of legislation. But I do know—and I am sure the Senator from Texas will acquiesce in that statement—that it is literally impossible to prescribe all the details by legislation. A certain amount of administrative discretion must necessarily be employed by any administrative agency; but, as far as possible, based upon our experience and based upon not making rules so rigid as to defeat their own objective, we should broaden the scope of our legislation as much as we possibly can.

I will announce this as my individual view, Mr. President: Personally I think no certification should be necessary for anybody to get a job on public works. I think enough public jobs should be created so that every man or woman willing to work at a job for which he or she is reasonably adapted should be able to get that job at the prevailing W. P. A. wage.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator further

yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I will.

Mr. CONNALLY. Then the Senator also thinks that we have been derelict in not prescribing some formula for the allocation of these funds as between States or districts or subdivisions?

For instance, my information is that New York State has received several hundred million dollars more than it would have received upon any basis of population or other formula, whereas the State from which I come is something over \$100,000,000 shy. It is not fair or just for Congress merely to turn over to any single individual the power, we may say, of life and death—life and death over the Treasury to a certain extent—the power of saying, "Why, yes; I will give you \$100,000,000," or "Here is \$10,000,000," without Congress laying down some formula or some sort of a basis.

Gentlemen who have studied the subject more than the Senator from Texas has done are better prepared to say what the formula should be; but I understand that the law fixes none at all except the sweet will of the Administrator. So the Congress is not performing its duty if it does not adopt some method of saying how these funds shall be allocated, and how the individual shall get on the rolls, and how he shall get off.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, it is entirely agreeable to me, and I think it is proper, that the funds should be distributed on a basis of need, and not geography or population.

Mr. CONNALLY. Will the Senator tell us what is need? What is the standard of need? Does a man have to be starving, and not be able to buy food within an hour; or, if he has a small income, is he in need?

That illustrates just what the Senator from Texas has in mind. There ought to be some standard as to what is need. A man who lives luxuriously might think need was one thing. A man who lives impecuniously and abstemiously might think need was something else.

Mr. PEPPER. I am sure that any reasonable State welfare agency would at least be able to tell whether a man or a woman needed a W. P. A. job that would give them, in my State, \$26 a month. If there have been instances in which that judgment has been improperly exercised, such persons should be purged from the rolls. Nobody doubts that; but I will tell the Senator what I do resent.

I hear some of these great "watchdogs of the Treasury" state their views of these matters and say people are on the W. P. A. rolls who should not be on them. Such people never speak of those who are entitled to get on such rolls and never get a chance. I should like to say that in the course of my knowledge of human history I have never seen a human being improved in his condition, I have never seen the burden of labor lightened upon the backs of those who toil, I have never seen men's horizons broadened and their vision elevated to better and more beautiful things by any man whose reputation was that he was a "watchdog of the Treasury." I know that in society we have to have both kinds of people. I presume some of us might spend too much if we did not have on the other side some men who were worse, perhaps, to counteract us. But, anyway, I say that what we should do is to give jobs to those who need them. We all know that. If any better way can be devised than is now being employed, I am for that way, provided it is not used

LXXXIV---52

as an excuse to achieve some object contrary to what we are all trying to achieve—the best interest of the man who does not actually have a job.

A moment ago I was saying that beginning in 1933 the Federal appropriations for work relief had amounted to approximately \$10,000,000,000. I want Senators to remember that figure. Then in 1936 Congress passed the Bonus Payment Act, as a result of which in the years 1935 and 1936 we expended \$2,500,000,000 in payment of the soldiers' bonus; and in the years 1936 and 1937 we expended to veterans \$1,128,000,000. You will see, Mr. President, that that makes a total veterans' expenditure in those 2 fiscal years of approximately \$3,500,000,000. Adding that to the \$10,000,-000,000 that we have spent since 1933 for work relief, you will see that during the years 1936 and 1937 we poured nearly \$15,000,000,000 of extraordinary expenditure into the channels of purchasing power and trade in America, not to mention the other appropriations of the Federal Government which were being carried on in due course.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I gladly yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. Without debating the merits or demerits of relief expenditures, and assuming that it is necessary for the Congress to appropriate for the unemployed, does the Senator feel that we have arrived at a time when we ought to put governmental expenditures on more of a pay-as-you-go basis?

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I do not. I know the Senator from Maryland makes that as an honest inquiry, and my answer is an equally honest "no." I do not believe that we can escape the necessity of continuing to put money in circulation, continuing to increase purchasing power, continuing to increase the national wealth, and that the vehicle by which that must be accomplished in the absence of it being done by private capital is the extension of Federal funds and Federal credit by the Federal Government.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for another question?

Mr PEPPER. Yes.

Mr. TYDINGS. Assuming that the expenditure of the money which we propose to expend between now and the end of the fiscal year 1940 will result in a public debt of approximately \$44,000,000,000, and that thereafter the need for relief expenditures will continue, would the Senator then be in favor of putting the country on more of a pay-as-you-go basis?

Mr. PEPPER. I would not, unless economic conditions had taken some sudden change or alteration in course, so that by some miracle, which I do not anticipate, private industry and enterprise might be able to absorb practically all the unemployed of the country.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, let me ask the Senator another question, if I may. Assuming that we go to the year 1945, and still have our unemployed, and that we provide for them not by raising revenue but by borrowing against the future, using borrowed money to provide for these extraordinary expenditures, would the Senator then feel that we should begin to go from that point onward on more of a pay-asyou-go basis, assuming that we should have added another \$15,000,000,000 to the national debt, which would then take it to almost \$60,000,000,000?

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, my answer to the Senator would be the same, but I am afraid that in making those answers he will not detect the fact that I am basing them upon this fundamental proposition: I am assuming that this money is not thrown into the sea. I am assuming that it is employed in useful projects which have an economic value to the Nation, and that while we are spending money we are increasing the national income and increasing the national wealth, and that private investment does not absorb the field, so that it is necessary that public investment be a substitute for normal private investment.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for another question?

Mr. PEPPER. Yes.

Mr. TYDINGS. I shall have to make a brief statement in order to ask the Senator a question.

It is assumed by many persons, and indeed by the Senator himself in part, if I understood his remarks, that the machine age has made a permanent large reservoir of unemployment. Assuming that the Senator's premise is sound. therefore, through the approaching years, and particularly with world conditions upset as they are, we shall have this problem continually to deal with. If we are dealing with it permanently, on a borrow-against-the-future payment plan, how long can we keep on before we begin to recognize it as a permanent problem, and take care of it out of current revenues?

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, it sounds like a paradoxical answer to be made right out without explanation; but the truth is that so long as our national income is increasing, and so long as our national wealth is increasing, it is not a disproportionate thing if our national debt is increasing.

I mean to say that I think we are better off now than we were in 1932 in spite of the fact, as I propose to develop later, that we have spent, we will say, \$20,000,000,000 in the increase of the national debt since that time. Yet the figures are well known to all of us, that the total debt of the American economic system, as the President stated in his address to the Congress, as Mr. Wallace has repeatedly stated, and incorporated in his little book, Paths to Plenty, is no greater, appreciably, than it was in 1929.

Mr. TYDINGS. And the ranks of the unemployed are no less than they were in 1929, so we have simply gone around on the treadmill, have we not? What difference does it make, if we have the same number of unemployed today that we had in 1932?

Mr. PEPPER. Of course, Mr. President, unfortunately eating is something one has to do every day.

Mr. TYDINGS. But that is not the question. I am just beginning to wonder where we will eventually come out under a policy which provides for what the Senator claims to be a permanent problem on a temporary rather than a permanent hasis

Mr. PEPPER. I will say frankly to the Senator that I prefer a higher amount of tax as we go along. I should prefer that the amount of the turn-over be greater. In other words, the problem is this: The first farmer who took some seed, which he must have cherished, and threw them into the ground to be covered up must have thought they were lost. But in the harvest of the autumn he saw the enrichment he received from that adventure. So, when we take money from the coffers of those who have acquired it by profit and from those who have acquired it by wage and by salary and throw it back, plant it, and plow it into the economic system again, so that those who had made a profit, wages, and salaries keep on making a profit, and keep on getting wages and salaries, and others may work meanwhile, that is the principle of agriculture with which we are all familiar.

Mr. TYDINGS. Of course, the Senator is assuming that the farmer owned the seed before he threw it in the ground. In the case we are discussing the farmer does not own the seed; the Government is going out and borrowing the seed. Moreover, it is not planting the seed in the soil of economic production; it is planting it in the soil of relief; and while the purchasing power may stimulate the consumption of goods, and thereby help to some extent economic production, that is the indirect rather than the direct consequence of expenditures of this kind.

The point I wish to make to the Senator is that if the unemployment problem is a permanent problem, if it is going to be here 5 years from today, and 10 years from today, and 20 years from today, and 30 years from today, as the Senator himself, I think, suggested by his comparison of the machine age with the old age-

Mr. PEPPER. Undoubtedly.

Mr. TYDINGS. If that is to be a permanent problem, will we not then have to do eventually what it might be argued it is wise to do now, that is, pay as we go? Certainly if the Senator argues that it is a permanent problem, to solve the problem today with the returns of 10 or 15 years from now is not sound business, in my humble judgment.

Mr. PEPPER. I should like to make three replies to the statement the Senator makes.

Mr. TYDINGS. Probably one will be enough.

Mr. PEPPER. No; I want to cover the three points the Senator suggested.

First, the Senator stated that the seed does not belong to the farmer. It is all part of the same economy, and we are talking about the wealth and the enrichment and the integrity of that economy; so it is all here within the borders of the United States. The farmer does own the seed he is putting out, because it is being distributed by the American people to the American people.

Mr. TYDINGS. But where does the Government get it? Mr. PEPPER. It gets it from the American people.

Mr. TYDINGS. It gets it from the people to whom it is distributing it, does it not?

Mr. PEPPER. Not necessarily.

Mr. TYDINGS. In substance, if we take them as a whole, it comes from them and goes back to them.

Mr. PEPPER. It is a process of movement; yes.

Mr. TYDINGS. At the time they accept it they sign their names to notes promising to repay it in the future.

Mr. PEPPER. Yes; it is to be repaid in the future; but it is to be repaid in the future from the revenue of the economic system, of which they are all a part.

Mr. TYDINGS. But suppose the revenue of the economic system does not grow any more than it has grown in the last 5 years?

Mr. PEPPER. That is involved in my second reply; that is, the Senator stated that it was assumed the expenditures had been unproductive. I deny that assumption. In 1932 the national income was \$38,000,000,000.

Mr. TYDINGS. Oh, Mr. President-

Mr. PEPPER. Just a moment.

Mr. TYDINGS. If the Senator will allow me to interpose, I do not think it is fair argument to take the year 1932, with banks crashing all over the country, and the spiral going down with airplane speed, and say that the condition then was the permanent condition of America, and that, therefore, if we have progressed from that time on, we have made a decided improvement. We could not be any worse after the first 6 months of 1933, when a foundation laid. Conditions were bound to get some better, and I do not think that was altogether due to the economic policies of government.

Mr. PEPPER. I will continue with my second answer to the Senator's observation.

In 1932 the national income was \$38,000,000,000; in 1933 it was forty-two billion; in 1934 it was fifty billion; in 1935 it was fifty-five billion. In 1936, after the Federal Government had spent about \$4,000,000,000 in the previous year, the national income jumped to \$63,400,000,000. In 1937, after the Federal Government had spent \$10,000,000,000 since 1933, after the Federal Government had distributed nearly \$3,000,000,000 additional in payment of the bonus, the national income jumped to \$69,800,000,000. In 1938, after we stopped spending in 1937, after we took in almost as much money as we paid out, if not a little more, including social-security taxes, the income dropped to \$64,000,000,000 from \$69,000,000,000.

In the spring of 1938, when the spiral of recession was at the bottom, the President obtained from the Congress authority to expend over \$3,000,000,000 more; and what happened? The result was that immediately securities listed on the New York Stock Exchange developed a \$15,000,000,000 increase in value. The result, generally speaking, was that our economy reflected the enrichment which had come from the investment in that economy of that much money.

Mr. TYDINGS. Then it is the Senator's contention—and he may be right in it; I am just attempting to find out where he stands—that if we continue from year to year this policy of spending borrowed capital, eventually, by that piece of governmental mechanism, we will drive up the na-

tional income from sixty-three or sixty-four billions to eighty or more billion dollars. Is that the contention of the Senator?

Mr. PEPPER. That is correct—to a point where the amount of money put into circulation will so compensate for the natural deficiencies of the machine age and the modern industrial structure that there will be something like a balance between income and outgo; and at the same time we will take care of the people who are unemployed by the movement of the system.

Mr. TYDINGS. I am with the Senator up to that point; I understand where he is going, and the Senator may be correct. What he enunciates as a theory—and it is a theory, of course—may turn out to be sound. But suppose the Senator is wrong; suppose the \$80,000,000,000 does not come as a result of these devices to which the Senator has referred. What happens then?

Mr. PEPPER. Then every known ingenuity to preserve the modern economic order in its present state to my knowledge will have failed.

Mr. TYDINGS. But how can we then preserve it, when we will have already set in motion, if it fails, perhaps, the very machinery which will ultimately destroy it, namely, taking the savings of the people and using them in this emergency, and then finding that the people have not the earning capacity, because the conditions have not improved, to enable them to repay the sums which they have obligated themselves to pay?

Mr. PEPPER. If the Senator will allow me to give a simple illustration, a man might start out in business, and he might owe, in the very beginning of the business, \$100, and he might have a hole in the wall. He might be able to find someone who would lend him a thousand dollars. and he might take the thousand dollars and increase the size of his store or the magnitude of his business. Then he would owe a thousand dollars, whereas before he owed only a hundred. A bank or some other person having capital to invest might see that the effort he made was tending toward his betterment, and, observing his financial skill, might lend him \$10,000. Now he would owe \$10,000, instead of a thousand or a hundred. Someone else might lend him a hundred thousand, and he might then get a business upon which he could float an issue of securities to the American public. They might be listed on the exchanges. He might float a million dollars' worth of securities, and he might owe a million dollars. Does it follow that that man has gotten progressively poorer because he owes a million?

Mr. TYDINGS. No; but let us take the Senator's illustration and work it another way. Let us assume there is a man who owns a hole in the wall which he opens up for a hundred dollars. He does a pretty good business and he borrows a thousand dollars; he does an increasingly large business, and he borrows \$10,000. Of course, having a larger place, more folks come in the store, and he lays the foundation to float a bond issue, so that he may build a bigger store. He has done all of his business on credit, and after a while the banker who floated the bond issue calls on him to pay, and he finds that in the meantime he has sold the goods, or a substantial part of the goods, upon which he obtained credit. What happens to that particular individual, if what I have supposed in my illustration comes to pass?

Mr. PEPPER. If the Senator assumes as a premise that the man does not get back dollar-for-dollar value for the money he borrowed, of course he goes broke. However, I am assuming that the money that we have spent, as I said in the beginning, has not been thrown in the ocean. I am assuming that it has been spent on things that enrich the national economy.

Mr. TYDINGS. Does the Senator mean that the building of a schoolhouse produces not spiritual but material wealth? Mr. PEPPER. I do; definitely.

Mr. TYDINGS. Does the Senator believe that the building of a new town hall in place of the old town hall produces material rather than spiritual wealth?

Mr. PEPPER. I do; definitely.

Mr. TYDINGS. I should be interested in knowing just how much wealth a new town hall can produce. [Laughter.]

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I do not know just what material value the Senator might attribute to a church, and yet I will tell the Senator, and I am sure that when he reflects upon it he will agree with me that if it had not been for the churches that have been built in this country we would not today have anything like the material value that every community has.

Mr. TYDINGS. I am not assuming the spiritual side, but I can today take the Senator to an office building, and, for the sake of my illustration, I will assume it is unoccupied. I should like to know what material wealth that unoccupied office building contributes; what it contributes to the sum total of human happiness or economic development.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I do not agree to the assumption that the building is unoccupied. If the Senator will assume an occupied building, I will answer the question.

Mr. TYDINGS. Let us take a town hall which is occupied with town hall officials. What wealth does that produce? Does it make a suit of clothes? Does it make a loaf of bread? Does it make a pair of shoes? Does it make an automobile? Does it make an asbestos roof, or does it make a pearl button, for that matter?

Mr. PEPPER. I will answer the Senator this way. The girl who sits at a typewriter-

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NEELY in the chair). Does the Senator from Florida yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. BORAH. I think Senators ought to define "wealth." Let us know what is meant when Senators say that wealth is produced or is not produced. Wealth is not composed of material things alone.

Mr. TYDINGS. I may say to the Senator from Idaho that I asked the Senator from Florida if he was talking about spiritual or cultural wealth or material wealth, and as I understood his answer, he was assuming that what we were discussing contributed to the material wealth of the country. That was the reason for my pursuing this line of thought, so that I might inform myself with respect to the Senator's point of view. I should be the last one to deny that a church or a schoolhouse has great refining, educational, and cultural advantages. But from the standpoint of bread and butter and shelter it is only indirect. And I was assuming the Senator was arguing that it contributes directly to the material side of clothing, shelter, and food.

Mr. PEPPER. I mean just exactly that, Mr. President; and if the Senator will allow me, I will say why. The figures are available to show that the average income of a boy who has a grammar-school education is one figure. The boy who gets a high-school education in a schoolhouse earns about twice that figure. They boy who gets a college course has an advantage immensely greater than that of one who has not. By which I mean to say that that schoolhouse has made an economic and material contribution to the enrichment of the whole economy, because men have learned there a greater skill. They know how to take Nature's resources and make something more out of them. That is just as material enrichment as there is anywhere.

Mr. TYDINGS. I do not want to debate that. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. PEPPER. I do not wish to yield until I complete my statement. A man who takes a little punch in his hand and punches a notch on a little green piece of paper, so far as the test proposed by the Senator from Maryland is concerned, would not be making any material contribution to the enrichment of his country, and yet that is what a railroad conductor does as a part of his job. Taking a piece of white paper, and putting it in a typewriter, and hitting the keys of that typewriter, and taking out a piece of paper covered with

figures, so far as I know, does not give something that is worth much in dollars and cents, and yet the clerk is a part of the economy of the world and makes a material contribution to the world's wealth. So does the schoolhouse, the sewer, the church, and the town hall, and the highway. Does the Senator deny that a public road makes a contribution to the economy of the country?

Mr. TYDINGS. I did not use that in my illustration. What I did use was the town hall primarily, and I am going to ask the Senator a question based on that. I, of course, concede that the cultural advantages of spending money are great. For example, if a sum of \$10,000 were to be provided to give every Senator in this body a course at the Beaux Arts at Paris, for example, I have no doubt that he would be enriched terrifically in his artistic appreciation of Millet and Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci and many others whom I might mention; but what I do not understand is how the man living down in the Everglades is going to get any more bread to eat by reason of the fact that I am an authority and have received a great cultural inspiration in the art of painting or portraiture.

The point I want to make to the Senator is this: Here is a little town that has a city hall. For some reason or other it decides it ought to have a better city hall. The people of the town admit they can get along in the old city hall, but it would be finer for the town if it had a more imposing edifice. The cost of that city hall is \$100,000. The town agrees to bond itself for 55 percent of the cost, and it raises \$55,000 of borrowed money, and then it goes to the Capitol and it gets \$45,000 of what is called a grant, which is nothing more than the Government borrowing the money to add to what the town has already borrowed, and so the whole \$100,000 is finally provided, and it does some good. It provides work for a while in rebuilding that city hall. But the people in the town owe, first, \$55,000 to the city government, which is themselves, and they owe \$45,000 to the National Government, which is their share of the national borrowing for such purposes. In other words, when the transaction is completed, for an old city hall which they owned without any debt whatsoever, they have a new city hall on which they owe completely \$100,000.

The city hall is built. They have got to tax themselves for 30 or 40 years to pay off the principal and the interest on that loan. They have got to take that much out of their purchasing power. They have got to take that from their wages and hand it over to the Government, when they need it to send their boys and their girls to college, but because of the accumulation of all these expenditures they cannot quite make the grade. Then they look at the city hall and they say to themselves, "I wonder when that city hall is going to produce a suit of clothes, or when it is going to produce a loaf of bread, or when it is going to produce a tin roof," because where is the permanent food, clothing, and shelter? Where in what we call money is the equivalent wealth that can be produced from that city hall? And it turns out to be only a monument to the town's civic righteousness, and as an economic production proposition year after year it is a deterrent, because it usurps a part of the income of every taxpayer in that little town. That is what I am driving at.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. BORAH. I was going to say that centuries ago, when the devil offered the Saviour of man the whole world. He replied:

Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

Meaning, as I suppose, he must have moral and spiritual

Mr. TYDINGS. Yes; but a man cannot live without bread, either. Let us not lose sight of that fact. Let me say to the Senator from Idaho that anyone who will try to live on the spiritual side of this world for about 60 days, I think, will find that bread has its usefulness in the scheme of existence. Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I think it has. Therefore I shall vote to give 925,000 persons, who have no bread, enough

money to buy bread for the next 6 months.

Mr. TYDINGS. Yes; but that is not arguing what we have been arguing. I am arguing that we cannot feed people on spiritual things. I am arguing that we cannot create wealth on spiritual things except indirectly. The farmer who toils down the furrow, the miner who digs in the ground, the lumberman who cuts down the forest may have very little of the spiritual side, of the cultural side, of the educational side, but all those who have the other civilizing influences, which are very valuable, must come back to those three individuals for food and for clothing and for shelter, and in a time of great emergency I would rather put forth efforts to revive the economic, material side, so that people may live, than to encourage the painting of pictures or the writing of books or any such things as a concomitant part of a recovery program.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, we cannot make good citizens without doing all these things, and, after all, the citizen is

the wealth of this country.

Mr. TYDINGS. We cannot make good citizens by allowing an economic condition to go on from one year to another, which the Senators who argue for increased relief say is permanent, and by postponing the day of paying for that program to some future generation for whom all our cultural ambitions and urges and efforts are ultimately directed.

Mr. BORAH. That is true, but it is also true that we cannot postpone the day or the hour when we are going to give people food which is necessary to keep them alive.

Mr. TYDINGS. That is true. But it will be said 10 years from now, "I do not think we ought to begin paying for that now"; and 20 years from now it will be said, "I do not think we ought to begin paying for that now." Every Senator who argues for increased appropriations for relief says upon the Senate floor that the unemployment situation is permanent, and that our way of handling a permanent problem should be to postpone the payment 30 or 40 or 100 years in the future.

Mr. BORAH. The Senator must pardon me for correcting him in one respect. I am not arguing that the unemployment situation is permanent.

Mr. TYDINGS. I am not referring to the Senator individually.

Mr. BORAH. I do not think the unemployment situation is permanent at all.

Mr. McKELLAR. Neither do I, if the Senator will permit

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida has the floor.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I want to apologize to the Senator from Florida. When I rose to ask him a few questions I had no idea that I should usurp so much of his time. If I may conclude, my only reason for asking him the questions was that I was hopeful that if he recognized unemployment as a permanent problem, we would meet a part of the cost of that problem now, and not build colleges and other things for the cultural and spiritual helpfulness of the generations which are to come, loading them with such an economic burden that their education would not be worth anything when they had to step under the load to be borne.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I think the Senator from Maryland has just given me the most astonishing bit of information I have ever heard from the lips of a United States Senator. I never thought that an intelligent man who was a college graduate, and who himself had a wide culture and experience, would absolutely and flatly contradict the material value of every spiritual and educational stimulus in the world today.

A while ago I said that a schoolhouse makes an economic contribution because it is a place where men are educated to do things better than they otherwise could have done them. I said that a road has an economic value because it makes it

possible for men to move from place to place, which in the long run produces an economy, an inspiration, and an enrichment which otherwise would be absent. Although, of course, we all know that there must be a balance between productive and nonproductive projects, I say that even the city hall, even the church, makes a valuable economic contribution to the society of which it is a part. The Senator said a moment ago that such things as going to the Beaux Arts and obtaining an education and cultural attainments have no practical value. I will let the Senator argue that question with Mr. Walter Lippmann, who is able to take care of himself in an argument.

A short time ago Mr. Lippmann wrote one of the most clarifying columns I have ever seen come from his rich pen. In that article he said that the trouble with America today is the fact that our leaders do not have the deep knowledge and the rich cultural background that the founding fathers of this Government had. The fathers had the ability to see, as Carlyle said Mirabeau could, and to define courses of

human conduct and progress.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. PEPPER. It might be, Mr. President, that if we had a deeper and richer culture and a broader vision, somebody might be able to see the way out of this thing, and we would not be going from one trough to another, as the Senator and I are, and as our generation is in trying to find the way out.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Florida again yield to the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield to the Senator from Maryland to ask me a question, but not to make a speech.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Florida wish the Senate rule enforced in regard to protecting him against interruptions unless he yields?

Mr. PEPPER. I value the mental ability and agility of the Senator from Maryland. I am willing to discuss any question with him. However, I will request him to ask me questions and not make a protracted speech in my time.

Mr. TYDINGS. I shall be very glad to comply with the Senator's request.

The Senator does not mean to contend, does he, that the Senator from Maryland is opposed to all art or all education?

Mr. PEPPER. The Senator from Maryland has indicated in his treatment of the subject today that he does not think very much of them.

Mr. TYDINGS. The Senator from Florida does not think he is being fair in making that observation, does he? The Senator from Maryland said, did he not, that the Senator was talking about food, shelter, and clothing, and was asking the Senator how the building of a city hall, outside of creating some temporary work in its building, contributed to the production of food, shelter, and clothing? Is not that a fair statement of the position of the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. PEPPER. May I ask the Senator from Maryland a question? He can answer it categorically "yes" or "no." Does the Senator take the position that everything upon which we spend money which does not directly provide food, clothing, or shelter, has no economic or material value?

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, does not the Senator—Mr. PEPPER. Answer the question "yes" or "no."

Mr. TYDINGS. That is like asking, "Have you stopped beating your wife?" Let me answer the Senator by asking him a question. Did not the Senator from Maryland say that indirect benefits would flow from such a policy? But did not the Senator from Maryland contend that there would be no direct benefits other than temporary employment, and that the primary purpose of the relief measure is the production of food, clothing, and shelter, the three essentials to life? Does not the Senator feel that he is taking advantage of his ability to hold the floor and shut the Senator from Maryland off by contending that the Senator from Maryland wants every college, every high school, every public school, every

art gallery, and every cultural activity wiped off the face of the earth?

Mr. PEPPER. And every city hall.

Mr. TYDINGS. And every city hall. [Laughter.]

Mr. PEPPER. I should like to ask the Senator one more question.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, of course the Senator may ask me anything he wishes, but it is not fair to ask me questions if he is to demand categorical answers.

Mr. PEPPER. Very well. Let me ask the Senator this question: Did he take the position that all the money that was contributed to anything that did not directly yield food, clothing, and shelter had no direct economic value?

Mr. TYDINGS. Of course not. I took the position that a city hall or a schoolhouse did not directly produce food, clothing, or shelter; and up to this good hour the Senator from Florida has been unable to show me how either the schoolhouse or the city hall produced a loaf of bread, a pair of shoes, or any clothing, except that it educated men and women to produce them better. In the meantime, the people who are without are waiting on the appropriation bill.

Mr. PEPPER. I think the Senate probably is able to form its own conclusions about this subject from what has been said

I wish to remind the Senate, Mr. President, that I was attempting to show, in what I thought was a logical way, that in 1933 the Federal Government began to spend money, and up until 1936 it spent \$10,000,000,000 for work relief. In addition to that, in 1936 the Federal Government paid the soldiers' bonus, and the amount of the expenditure for veterans' purposes in 1936 and 1937 amounted to a little over \$3,000,000,000. I say that those were two factors contributing to the improvement of economic conditions in this country which came about in 1936 and 1937.

I point out a third contribution which emanated from the Federal Government and this administration. That was the undistributed-profits tax, which had the effect of putting more money into circulation than otherwise would have been put into circulation by the business of the country. In 1935 65 percent of the corporations' profits was distributed to the owners of their stock in dividends. In 1936, as the result of the undistributed-profits tax, the amount of money distributed into the hands of the stockholders for consuming purposes was 79.9 percent. So those three factors were an integral part of the Federal program for improving the economic conditions of the country.

Let us see what happened. In 1935 the monthly average value of stocks and bonds upon the New York Stock Exchange was \$37,900,000,000. In 1936, under the impetus of this program, the figure jumped to \$50,200,000,000 in value, and I say that was material value. It represented an increase of more than \$13,000,000,000 in the value of the securities on the New York Stock Exchange alone, which came directly from the impetus of the Federal program.

In January 1937 the value of those securities on the New York Stock Exchange had increased to \$61,900,000,000, another increase of almost \$12,000,000,000 in value of those securities alone, upon the impetus of that program in 1 year.

Then what happened? In July 1937 after the cessation of that Federal spending program, under the lash of the economists of the Congress of the United States, these same securities dropped to \$59,000,000,000 in value, and in January 1938 to \$39,200,000,000.

I have said that the \$13,000,000,000 paid out in work relief and for veterans' purposes gave us an increased value in securities on the New York Stock Exchange. I have already pointed out what it did in increasing the national income from \$38,000,000,000 in 1932 to \$69,000,000,000 in 1937, and slightly less than that in 1938. So, Mr. President, if a program will give an increase in value to the securities of the exchanges of this country, if it will give an increase in the national income, if it will enhance the wealth and assets

of this Nation, I proclaim, Mr. President, that it is neither an expenditure nor an extravagance; it is a wise investment; and shortsighted is the man who would not agree to a policy which has practically demonstrated that result in its operation.

The farmer who buys fertilizer and puts it under his crops might be considered by some to be an extravagant man, wasting away his substance, but when the harvest time comes and he realizes what his yield would have been without the fertilizer and compares it with the yield of the crop which had the fertilizer, no wise man has difficulty in making a choice as to the proper course. So if the value of securities, if the national income, if the value of real and personal property in this country has shown the direct effects of that program, then, may we not determine whether or not it has been a wise and successful program?

What happened in 1937? What was the cause of the recession of that year? Why was it the national income fell off? Why was it that the value of securities declined? Why was it that the number of unemployed increased? Why was it that the economic order fell again into a tailspin and a recession ensued almost as drastic as the depression of 1932? I do not ask the Senate to take my word for it. I hold in my hand a World Economic Survey, issued by the technical experts of the League of Nations for the years 1937 and 1938, dealing with our own economy. I assume they are impartial; I assume they are disinterested; and I assume they know what they are talking about. So I go to them. Let us see what they say the cause of the 1937 depression or recession in the United States was. I read from page 15 of that volume:

The figures for the production of investment goods and of consumption goods show that the recent recession was marked by a rapid fall in investment activity with a very much smaller fall in the production of consumption goods. Between August and December 1937 the production of investment goods fell by 51.7 percent while the production of consumption goods fell only by 13.3 percent. In the same period, steel output fell by 69.7 percent, motorcar production (after making allowance for seasonal variations) by 50.3 percent, and the value of contracts awarded for residential building plans by 25 percent. On the other hand, pay rolls showed little tendency to fall until November, and between August and December fell by 22 percent; and department store sales (after making allowance for seasonal variations) also were maintained at a practically constant level until November, falling between August and December only by 3.3 percent. These figures leave little doubt that the immediate cause of the recession was an abrupt fall in investment activity and in expenditure on durable consumption goods such as motorcars, and that it was only the consequent fall in incomes which later caused a reduction in expenditure for current consumption.

Many explanations have been offered for this abrupt fall in investment. These explanations are usually in no way contradictory, and it is probable that the recession in investment was due to a conjunction of many unfavorable factors, only the most impor-

aused a reduction in expenditure for current consumption.

Many explanations have been offered for this abrupt fall in investment. These explanations are usually in no way contradictory, and it is probable that the recession in investment was due to a conjunction of many unfavorable factors, only the most important of which can be discussed here. According to one theory, which is well illustrated by these recent events in the United States, the level of investment activity depends upon the rate at which the demand for consumption goods is expanding. When the demand for consumption goods is expanding rapidly, investment activity will be high in order to provide the new capital instruments with which the greater output of consumption goods may be produced. On the other hand, the production of capital instruments will soon fall to a low level if the demand for consumption goods ceases to increase, even though this demand remains at a high level; for new capital instruments are needed only when the output of consumption goods is increasing. From the first of the two graphs on page 14, it can be seen that department store sales, which may be taken as an index of the demand for consumption goods, started to rise in 1933.

Which was the same time, Mr. President, if I may interpolate, that Federal expenditures began to be made.

After a relatively rapid rise during 1936, the expansion of consumers' demand ceased and department-store sales remained remarkably stable for 12 months after November 1936.

By August 1937 this remarkable stability of consumers' demand had continued for some 9 months; and this would have given time for producers to appreciate the fact that consumers' demands had ceased to expand and for existing orders for capital construction to have been completed.

Why, may I interpolate, would they have had notice that consumers' demand was about to be diminished? Because the Federal appropriation had been cut down to the point where the Federal Government was not putting out any more money than it was taking in.

In consequence, at this point, investment activity, as represented by the index of production of investment goods, reached its

peak and subsequently fell off abruptly.

It remains, however, to explain why consumers' demands ceased to expand at a time when the recovery might be thought not fully to have run its course. It is not difficult to find certain definite factors which may have caused a rapid expansion of consumers' demand in 1936 and a subsequent failure of further expansion in 1937. In the first place, in January 1936, the Veterans' Bonus Act was passed, which enabled the veterans of past wars to claim immediately in cash the payment of the full face value of their pension rights. Some 3,500,000 veterans were to receive nearly \$2,500,000,000 worth of bonds, which could be cashed on demand; and the following table shows the effect of this measure on the Government's expenditure on pensions. When it is remembered that the whole American national income for 1936 was approximately \$63,800,000,000, it is clear that there may have been a very appreciable expansion in consumption during 1936, due to this particular cash bonus. Since the bonus payment was not repeated, the increase in consumption which was caused by it was one which could not be expected to last for long.

In 1936 the tax on the undistributed profits of corporations was introduced.

Then the survey goes on to point out that the proportion of profits paid out in dividends may have been raised approximately to a higher level by this tax and that might have caused the expansion of consumption which might well be stabilized at a higher level.

Then the survey shows in a table how, in 1935, the percentage of profits that went into dividends from corporations of the country was at least 65 percent, while under the undistributed-profits tax of 1936 the amount of profits going into dividends—that is to say, into consumption power—was raised from 65 percent to 79.8 percent.

In 1936 and 1937 the Federal Government and the States began to raise taxes mainly for the future finance of old-age pensions and of unemployment benefits. Pay-roll taxes on employers, together with taxes on workers' wages, were levied during 1937 for these purposes, although the main benefits were not to be paid out until later. Part of the proceeds of these taxes were paid to the Federal Treasury to be invested in special obligations of the Federal Government. In effect the borrowing made necessary by the nominal Budget deficit of the Federal Government was covered by these special taxes. For example, on January 5, 1938, the net deficit in the Federal Budget for 1937–38 (exclusive of expenditure on debt retirement) was estimated at \$1,088,000,000, against which there were trust funds of \$1,194,000,000 available for investment in the special obligations of the Federal Government. The corresponding figures, estimated at the same time, for the Budget of 1938–39 were: Net deficit, \$950,000,000, against which were trust funds of \$1,163,000,000 available for investment in Government obligations. These figures may be compared with a net Budget deficit of \$4,361,000,000 in the year 1935–36.

Then the survey proceeds to show a table that indicates that from old-age benefits a fund of \$592,000,000 was derived by the Government in 1937; for railroad retirement pensions, \$68,000,000; and for unemployment insurance, \$568,000,000; making a total of \$1,228,000,000.

This taxation, by withdrawing income from the employer and the wage earner in the absence of any corresponding payment of benefits, may have had a marked effect in putting a stop to the expansion in expenditure which might otherwise have continued during 1937.

Now, let me read the last quotation. On page 19, this book further says:

It will be seen that industrial profits reached their peak in the second quarter of 1937, when they were still 10 percent below the 1929 level. As profits ceased rising and started to decline in the middle of 1937, it is probable that the expectation of profits changed adversely at the same time and that this reacted adversely on investment activity. One reason for this change in the prospect of profits—namely, the failure of the demand for consumption goods to continue to increase after 1936—has already been discussed at length.

So I do not ask the Senate to take my word for these assertions, but I ask you to take the word of a world-wide economic authority, who says that the very philosophy, the very sentiments embodied by those who now propose this reduction in expenditure, triumphed in 1937, and we reaped from the wind the whirlwind of a recession which impover-

ished millions of our fellow citizens and sent millions more to untimely graves.

So that kind of economy is false economy. Those who advocate it do not cite facts and figures. They go upon the basis of some vague, nebulous idea that we have to stop spending money. What we propose is the kind of an investment a sick man makes when he hires a doctor. It is the kind of investment a man makes when he builds anything of a productive character. So we know, then, that the responsibility for what happened in 1937 has been well placed.

I want economy, but I want intelligent economy. And I do not want to stifle wise investment under the guise of false economy.

What did these gentlemen propose to do in the summer of 1937, when the recession almost hit the bottom? What did they propose to do in the fall of 1937, when it got even worse? What did these economists and the watchdogs of the Treasury and the Budget balancers offer as a panacea to the American people in the spring of 1938, when misery became yet broader in its grasping reach? Nothing. They sat in the same idleness, they sat in the same inertia in which they always sit when called upon for an affirmative suggestion. And where did the change come from? It came from the White House, which many of them, by the vote they cast on this measure, want to repudiate. It came from the man who has had more vision and courage than any other statesman in this generation has exhibited. He came to Congress and said, "I propose that we spend \$4,000,000,000 again to try to resurrect the economy of this country, to give men jobs, and to save that economy from dissolution and destruction." Thank goodness, the Congress had the willingness and the faith and the courage to follow that recommendation; and the result was that Roger Babson-an economist who is not a Democrat, who is not a New Dealer-in October of last year made the statement, immediately after that program had gone into effect:

Business in the United States is forging ahead. There is no longer any doubt about the present recovery.

Did the economists, the watchdogs of the Treasury and the Budget balancers, make business forge ahead? What contribution did they make to giving anybody jobs, to producing more national income, to doing anything that gave us a greater amount of assets in this Nation than we otherwise would have had?

Roger Babson, in the same statement, referred to the fact that by the expenditure of a little over \$3,000,000,000 in the spring of 1938 by Congress, under the President's recommendation, the value of securities on the New York Stock Exchange increased \$15,000,000,000. We could have gone to the New York Stock Exchange and have taxed out of existence three and a half billion dollars' worth of those securities, and the owners of the remaining securities still would have had a net profit by that investment, in just that one category of our national wealth, of approximately \$12,000 .-000,000. Yet they say, Mr. President, that a few of us who want to provide for the unemployed, who want to put money in circulation, who want to build our national economic structure from the bottom up, are extravagant spenders, while they are entitled to be called wise and conservative statesmen!

Fortunately, I think we have a different idea about statesmanship. The easiest kind of statesmanship I know that anyone can embrace is to do nothing, and look solemn, and talk with a deep voice [laughter]; just to sit and say, with arms folded as one serenely surveys the troubled sky, "I think the thing for us to do is to be calm, to be steady and stable and sensible and reasonable and conservative in what we do."

That philosophy dominated this Government in 1929, and until 1933. I give to my colleagues on this side of the Chamber one humble man's honest prediction—that if all we are to contribute to the statesmanship of America as a party is to be what is classically known as "watchdogs of

the Treasury," and "conservators of our fiscal policy," and the cherished upholders, like Atlas of old, of our "institutions of financial integrity," as they have been regarded in the past by some persons with a restricted economic vision, it will not take the American people long to determine whether or not they want to continue the Democratic Party in power. The people did not turn out some of our good Democrats in the last election because we had done too much; they turned them out because we had not done enough; and they will turn us out if we do not do more than we have done in the past to solve some of these fundamental problems which have challenged the conscience and the intelligence of the American people.

We cannot let agriculture go along with a purchasing power which is not adequate to consume at least a reasonable surplus. At a time when we need the energies of our men and women, at a time when we need their efforts and their labor, we cannot spurn the creative power which they have, and say, "We are not concerned about your welfare, or even your livelihood," and expect the people to give us credit for having made a substantial solution of challenging eco-

nomic problems.

I think Mr. Lippmann was right when he said that we need a little better education than we have—we who are trying to guide the destinies of a free people in troublous times like these. We need to know what the future holds in store, and be able to make at least something like a sensible and courageous effort toward the solution of those problems.

Here in America we have a possible market of \$32,000,000,000 for durable goods as compared to \$21,000,000,000 spent for that purpose in 1936. We have the resources. We have the people. Our intelligence should be able to find the way to put the two together. I believe that we shall never do it unless, somehow or other, we put into circulation the credit and the currency necessary to make money move in the channels of commerce and trade, and when private investment does not put out those funds it is obligatory upon the Government to take that place in the economic order and fulfill an essential role if we are to have even a pretense of economic recovery.

So, Mr. President, when we cast our votes we shall decide what our philosophy is. We shall declare it to the world. We shall declare it to our people and our constituencies wherever they are. We know from irrefutable facts that we have not begun to take care of the unemployed who are entitled to consideration at our hands. We know that 100,000 persons have already been cut off the relief rolls since January, and the committee does not propose to put them back. We know that even in case we appropriate \$875,000,000 some more persons will have to be turned out who are living the pitiful existence made possible in my State by an income of \$26 a month. We know that if we adopt the figure of \$725,000,000 we are going to turn out yet more into the cold of the winter months, and in the spring there will be no spring for them. When all the earth is full of life and beauty no sweet foliage will kiss their brows with new benefactions that they previously had not enjoyed. We know that the result of voting for an appropriation of \$725,000,000 is inevitably that. So when Senators make up their minds on that question they will indicate to the country what may be expected of their philosophy, and the Democratic Party will indicate what may be expected of that party.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I desire to take a very few moments of the time of the Senate to express very briefly my views on the subject now pending before the

Senate.

In the beginning, the issue presented to the Senate was indeed confusing to me; but the more I studied the situation the more I became familiar with the real point in issue on the vote which is to be taken in this body on the pending subject matter.

In my honest opinion, from the standpoint of dollars and cents it does not make a particle of difference whether we vote for \$725,000,000 or whether we vote for \$875,000,000. If we adopt the figure \$725,000,000, and it carries on the work of W. P. A. for only 6 weeks, the relief administrator will

come back and ask for more money, and of course we shall give it to him. On the other hand, if we elect to restore the \$150,000,000 cut and vote for the full amount of \$875,000,000, and it develops that that is too much money—\$150,000,000 too much—and that the relief load can be carried for \$725,000,000, then in June we shall find in the treasury of the W. P. A. an unexpended balance of \$150,000,000 which we will do with as we did this year; namely, allot it for expenditure in some other form.

There is no question of economy involved in my decision as to the way I shall vote. To me the question is purely a question of policy, a question of leadership. The President of the United States of America, supported by the W. P. A. authorities, has asked the Congress to appropriate \$875,-000,000. It is the President's leadership which I pledged myself to follow when the people of the great State of New Jersey honored me in electing me to this great body. So today I am confronted with the question, Will I follow the leadership of the President of the United States, or will I follow the leadership of some other, who asks me, in the name of economy, to follow his leadership into the error of cutting the relief rolls, the rolls of the unfortunate unemployed, and to make that the first cut in the interest of economy?

Mr. President, I submit to the Members of this body that the relief roll, the misfortune of the unemployed, is the last item in the \$9,000,000,000 yearly outlay Budget that we should touch, instead of the first one.

If we in this body really wish to practice some economy, if economy is the order of the day, if economy is the catchword of the moment, so much so that it rises above human values and human welfare, then I suggest that we practice some real economy. If we desire to practice real economy, let us stop handing out \$266,000,000 a year to the cottom farmers of the Nation, let us stop handing out \$50,000,000 a year to the sugar farmers, let us stop handing out \$60,000,000 a year to the wheat farmers of the Nation.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Jersey yield to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. SMATHERS. No, Mr. President; the Senator from New Jersey declines to yield, because this is my first attempt to make a speech in the Senate and I am dismayed enough without being harassed with questions. I will ask the Senator from Texas to wait until I conclude my remarks, and then I shall be glad to answer any question he may propound.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, the Senator from New Jersey is bad enough without being harassed. [Laughter.]

Mr. SMATHERS. It may be true, Mr. President, that I am bad, but I am presenting my honest views to this body and I should like to have courtesy from the great and glorious Senator from Texas, the same courtesy I would extend to him, so that I may proceed and conclude my remarks.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I do not wish to interrupt the Senator. Will the Senator permit me to say just a word?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Jersey yield or decline to yield?

Mr. SMATHERS. The Senator declines to yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I disclaim any discourtesy to the Senator. I do not wish to be discourteous.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, if we wish to practice real economy, let us stop handing out \$70,000,000 a year to the corn growers of the Nation. If we want to practice real economy, let us stop spending \$360,000,000 a year for school and university buildings. If we want to practice real economy, let us stop spending \$225,000,000 a year on roads and the construction of highways. If we want to practice real economy, let us stop spending billions of dollars every year in the construction of dams and the development of the natural resources of this country.

Mr. President, those expenditures can wait; but I submit to the Members of the Senate that a hungry child, or an old man or an old woman, without sufficient clothing and without sufficient heat and without sufficient food, with no job

and no prospect of a job, cannot wait.

I say to the Members of the Senate that in my State of New Jersey we have no cotton problem, we have no sugar problem, we have no wheat problem, but we do have the pressing human problem of unemployment; and I submit to this body that the people of the State of New Jersey have a right to look to the Federal Government, whose responsibility it is also, to see us through with this form of unemployment relief. I submit to the Members of the Senate that I am ready to vote for economy if a start is made on every other outlay first and the unemployment and relief rolls are reached last.

Now, I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from Texas.
Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I thank the Senator, but
I do not care to have him yield. I will take my own time.
He insisted that I take my own time.

Mr. SMATHERS. Very well. Mr. WILEY obtained the floor.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, if the Senator from Wisconsin will yield, the debate which has been in progress has been on a subject which is really not before the Senate. Under the unanimous-consent agreement the amendments of the committee are to be disposed of before other amendments can be offered. I am wondering whether those who desire to speak on the general subject would not be willing to defer their addresses until we can vote on the amendments which have been offered by the committee, so that the Senator from Tennessee may offer his amendment, and then we can have it debated while it is pending.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I should like to have only about 5 minutes to reply to the Senator from New Jersey.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin was recognized. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield the floor to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I wish to reassure the Senator from New Jersey. He spoke of refusing to yield to the Senator from Texas because he did not want to be harassed. The Senator from Texas has no disposition to harass the Senator from New Jersey, because the Senator from New Jersey is self-harassing and does not need any harassing. The Senator attacked the cotton farmers; they headed his list; and all I intended to do was to ask the Senator whether he was really opposed to agricultural legislation in behalf of the cotton farmer. That is all I intended to ask him. Is he?

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Texas yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator from Texas cannot resist the Senator from New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. SMATHERS. The Senator from Texas will have to square his conduct by what he says. He cannot run with the rabbit and chase with the hounds in one breath and in the next breath say I am irresistible. Now, which is it?

Mr. CONNALLY. I have no disposition to go with the Senator in either direction.

Mr. SMATHERS. Very well. To the Senator from Texas I wish to say that my answer to his question was fully presented by my remarks that the relief rolls, the rolls of unemployment, to me should come last in any step toward economy. Yes; I am prepared to vote to cut relief to the cotton farmers and all the others, and to cut all the other outlay, before I put the finger of economy on the relief rolls.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, the Senator started out by saying that if we wanted any real economy we should chop off all relief to cotton farmers, all relief to wheat farmers, all relief to so-and-so and so-and-so. The Senator from Texas has voted just as consistently for the relief and W. P. A. appropriations as has the Senator from New Jersey. But I was just wondering why it was that the Senator from New

Jersey, ensconced up in Atlantic City, with all the pleasures and luxuries of that marvelous city-where he has to have clothes to wear at certain seasons of the year [laughter], and has to have food to eat-is willing to take away the benefits to the man who grows wheat in the storms and winters of North Dakota, Minnesota, South Dakota if his constituents on the boulevards of Atlantic City can get that wheat at Government expense, free. The Senator is willing that the cotton farmer in the South shall burn up in the summer raising and picking cotton and be without Government help so long as the citizens of Atlantic City may walk the boardwalk and take their dips in the sea every afternoon at Government expense. My understanding is that during the W. P. A. New Jersey has received many million dollars more—I forget how many million dollars more—than it would have received had the allocation been based upon population. I cannot give the Senate the exact figures, but I shall get them and give them to the Senate in a few moments. Possibly the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Adams] can give them, or perhaps the Senator from New Jersey can give me the figures. Perhaps he can tell how many million dollars more the people of New Jersey have received under the administration of the relief act than they would have received had its administration been based upon population. Does the Senator know?

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, my knowledge on that subject is as poor as is the knowledge of the Senator from Texas. I do not have the figures with respect to it.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, the Senator from Texas has just received the figures. I do not carry them around with me. The Senator from New Jersey says he does not know anything about it. Let us see about New Jersey, and perhaps when we know the figures we may understand some of the enthusiasm of the Senator from New Jersey. New Jersey received \$40,150,016 more than that State would have received had these funds been allocated in proportion to the number of human beings that were in New Jersey and the number of human beings that were in other States of the Union. We are supposed to feed human beings, not machines.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?
Mr. CONNALLY. I shall be glad to yield to the Senator
from New Jersey. I will be kinder to him than he was to me.
Mr. SMATHERS. Does the Senator.

Mr. SMATHERS. Does the Senator— Mr. CONNALLY. Just a moment. I shall yield when I am ready.

Mr. SMATHERS. Then we are playing the same game.

Mr. CONNALLY. No; I disclaim that. I shall give the figures with respect to the State of Texas. Here are some of the cotton farmers that the Senator from New Jersey is pointing to as being first on the list of those who should be stricken from the rolls, not for walking the streets, but for working out in the cotton fields and factories. Texas received \$144,864,806 less than it would have received had the administration of W. P. A. been based upon population of the States. Of course, the Senator from New Jersey is in favor of striking off the cotton farmer, and the wheat farmer, and other people who work, in order that the inhabitants of Atlantic City and the rest of New Jersey may get more, because the Senator knows the more money that is available, the more his people are going to receive. They received \$40,000,000 more than their quota.

I will say to the Senator from New Jersey that I am inclined to vote for the full amount, but I cannot let his arguments go unanswered on the Senate floor. He does not want any agricultural workers to have any aid from the Government, but he is willing to have his constituents get a larger percentage than they are entitled to have for doing nothing.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. SMATHERS. I ask that the distinguished Senator from Texas not deliberately try to misrepresent the position taken by me by saying that I am for striking off all of the

benefits to cotton and to sugar and to wheat and to what not. My proposition is: Let us cut them proportionately, and then we will not have to cut the relief rolls 17 percent. Mr. CONNALLY. Has the Senator completed his state-

Mr. SMATHERS. Yes.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I was guided only by what the Senator from New Jersey said. I did not want to misrepresent him. The first on the list of those he proposed to cut off was the cotton farmer. The record is here. The official reporter has his notes. Then the next on the list was the wheat farmer. In other words, being a representative of Atlantic City the Senator can do without clothes better than he can without food. He wants to strike off the clothes first and the food next from the man who produces them.

Mr. SMATHERS. The Senator from Texas has evidently been to Atlantic City. I simply wish to observe that the Senator from Texas knows that we wear very little clothing in the summertime, but we do eat, and I want to say again that my proposition was: Let us stop handing out \$266,000,-000 a year to the cotton farmers. That does not mean to cut them all off. Let us apportion it on the relief rolls.

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator meets himself coming back. One minute he says "cut off \$266,000,000," and the next minute he wants to apportion the allocation. Which does he want to do? I yield now to a declaration by the Senator on that subject.

Mr. SMATHERS. It is quite evident, Mr. President, that I cannot satisfactorily answer the Senator from Texas, and I shall cease to try.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am not interested in the clothestaking-off process which has been mentioned here, but I thought it might be interesting if I were to put into the RECORD at this point the States which have at this time more than 100,000 persons on the W. P. A. rolls. I do not have the figures as to what the different States would have received, if the allocation had been based on population only, and I did not understand that it had been proposed here by any one that the money be allocated on the basis of population alone. An effort has been made to work out a formula by which population would be taken into consideration, and need, I suppose, would also be taken into consideration. But at the present time the States which have more than 100,000 persons on the roll are California with 118,000, Illinois 241,000, Massachusetts with 127,000, Michigan with 145,000, Missouri with 109,000, New Jersey with 103,000, New York City with 179,000 and New York State outside of New York City 66,000, Ohio 261,000, Pennsylvania 261,000, Texas, 112,000.

Those are the States which now have over 100,000 persons on the W. P. A. rolls. I do not know how that will be modified by an allocation of funds based purely on population. I do not have any table of that sort and have not attempted

to work it out.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I think it simply accentuates what Congress has failed to do. Congress in the past 3 or 4 years should have enacted legislation providing some sort of formula for the distribution of relief funds. Perhaps it should not be based on population alone, but certainly population ought to have some relationship to the manner in which the money is allocated. Mr. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, made an allocation of public-works funds and he made some claim that it was based on population, as I recall.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. GILLETTE. While the Senator is discussing this question, and has the chart before him, I wonder if he will refer to my State of Iowa, and the corn farmers, who were the third on the list mentioned by the Senator from New Jersey, and tell how, on the basis of population, they were discriminated against.

Mr. CONNALLY. I shall be glad to do so.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. Mr. CONNALLY. I have the floor, Mr. President.

Mr. LEE. A parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CONNALLY. I refuse to yield.

Mr. LEE. I wish to make a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CONNALLY. Very well, I yield to the Senator.

Mr. LEE. I ask who has the floor?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NEELY in the chair). The Chair asks the Senate to suspend for just a moment. The Chair invites the attention of the Senate to rule XIX which provides:

No Senator shall interrupt another Senator in debate without his consent, and to obtain such consent he shall first address the presiding officer \* \* \*.

Secondly, the occupants of the galleries are admonished that confusion in the galleries and the expression of approval or disapproval of anything that occurs on the floor of the Senate is in violation of the rules of the Senate. Let both those in the galleries and the Members of the Senate be in order.

The Senator from Texas has yielded to the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, who has the floor?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas [Mr. Connally] has the floor. The Chair is endeavoring to protect the Senator from Texas in the exercise of his rights.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?
Mr. CONNALLY. If the Senator from Oklahoma will
withhold his request until I shall have answered the question
of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE]. I shall yield.

Mr. President, in reply to the question of the Senator from Iowa, I will state that the figures disclose that the State of Iowa received \$56,236,680 less than it would have received upon a percentage or population basis.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. LEE. The junior Senator from Oklahoma understood the Chair to say that the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Wiley] had the floor and yielded to the Senator from Texas. Is that correct?

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator from Wisconsin gave way to me. I shall be through in a moment. I thank the Senator from Wisconsin very much.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. From what table is the Senator reading? Mr. CONNALLY. I do not care to identify it at present, because the one from whom I received it does not want to place it in the Record at this time. He will put it in the Record later. It is an official record, though.

I thank the Senator from Oklahoma for his anxiety with respect to who has the floor. I graciously yielded to him and will yield again if he desires. I thank the Senator from Wisconsin. The Senator from Texas appreciates his indulgence. He wished to say these few words in reply to the Senator from New Jersey, who assails the men who raise cotton and the men who raise food in order that his people may have more to wear and more to eat and work less. That is the philosophy of the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, now that New Jersey and Texas have harmonized their differences, as another novitiate I wish to say a few words upon the subject which is before the Senate for discussion.

I have listened with interest for the last 3 or 4 days to many excursions off the issue. I have gone with my friend the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Reynolds] on the magic carpet all over Europe and Asia. I have traveled with the distinguished Senator from Florida [Mr. Pepper] over to the League of Nations.

I wish to compliment the distinguished Senator from New Jersey for stating the issue. The President wants \$875,-000,000 and the majority of the committee feel that we should appropriate \$725,000,000 at this time. What is the issue? I think it can be understandingly put in the following way:

A son wants of his parent a certain sum of money—a considerable sum, if you will—for a certain definite purpose.

The parent says: "I will give you four-fifths of it at this time, which I think is sufficient. However, if it should prove to be insufficient, son, I will give you the other fifth later."

There is no quarrel about the need. However, according to the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] and others, and as the debate on the floor has demonstrated, no really definite knowledge exists as to the number of unemployed there will be a month from now, 2 months from now, or 3 months from now. Neither can any of us say with any definiteness what the various contributing agencies which have been mentioned will contribute toward taking up the slack. Therefore, there being no quarrel over the apparent need, is it not reasonable that we who stand in the place of the parent, we who distribute the fund, should have something to say? I feel that Congress should go slowly, so that the taxpayer will not pay more than is really needed to do the job in a decent manner.

Since I have been sworn into office I have heard the word "purge" used to a considerable extent on the floor. Let the purge start in those undertakings where it is needed. Let the worthy and the needy be helped. Let is be understood that for every dollar expended a worthy and a needy person is helped, and his morale strengthened. But let us also purge the chiseler and the grafter who exist in every Commonwealth in this Nation, as every Senator knows.

This fight over the W. P. A. appropriation is more than a contest over relief funds. The mandate of the recent election was for sensible and decent economy. Everyone knows that unemployment is serious. No one wants to economize at the expense of the worthy unemployed. As the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Borah] has said, no one wants to take it out of the hide of the poor. But, I say, neither can we disregard the opinion of the employer, the taxpayer, that class which sustains government. We cannot disregard the opinion of that class on the subject, which opinion was expressed in the recent election.

The people of this Nation were shocked by the annual Budget with its estimates of heavy, continued deficit spending. I again invite the attention of the Senate to the fact that the Sheppard committee disclosed and brought to the attention of the public the fact that relief is a good place in which to practice and to start decent economy. The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Harrison] has said that we must make a start somewhere on cutting down our huge governmental expenses. I say that he expressed the conviction of the great middle class of this country, the sustaining class.

As we have heard many times, the Senate committee voted 17 to 7 to stick to the reduced figures passed by the other House. For 2 days, with an issue as simple as the analogy I have used, in which the son asks the parent for money and the parent replies in a common-sense way, the Senate has heard all the angles of the controversy.

I have nothing further to say on that subject. Let me say that, coming into this august body as a novitiate like the Senator from New Jersey, I appreciate, more than many Members of the Senate can know, the courtesy, the friendliness, and the consideration which have been shown me from both sides of the center aisle. I appreciate also the genial hospitality shown by the Vice President.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH obtained the floor.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Washington yield to me long enough to read the correspondence which I have between the Director of the Budget and the Administrator of the W. P. A., to which I referred yesterday, and which I think ought to go into the RECORD? It may be the Senator will wish to discuss the contents of this correspondence.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. BARKLEY. In view of the apparent misunderstanding which has existed regarding certain tables and figures which are in the hearings, and in view of the statement made a day or two ago by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS] that the Administrator of the W. P. A., Colonel Harrington, had made a mistake of \$56,000,000, I wish to read certain correspondence touching on that subject, so that it

may now go into the RECORD and Senators may consider it in their determination of the merits of this controversy.

First, I read a letter addressed to the Acting Director of the Budget, Mr. Samuel W. Bell, by Col. F. C. Harrington, Administrator of the W. P. A.:

> Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., January 23, 1939.

Mr. DANIEL W. BELL,

Acting Director, Bureau of the Budget,

Washington, D. C.
DEAR MR. Bell: In connection with the deficiency appropriation DEAR MR. BELL: In connection with the deficiency appropriation for the W. P. A., some misunderstanding has arisen in the Congress concerning the difference between the \$875,000,000 recommended in both the Budget message and the President's message requesting the deficiency and the \$750,000,000 estimate of cash expenditures out of this appropriation which was also contained in the Budget. A good deal of this misunderstanding was caused by press reports which seized on the \$750,000,000 cash expenditure estimate and erroneously assumed this to be the appropriation estimate. estimate.

The question was also raised as to the reason why the estimated "emergency" appropriation for fiscal year 1940 of \$1,750,-000,000 was the same as the expenditure estimate for that year. Although I attempted to explain these matters in my testimony before the Appropriations Committee, I think it would be desirable if you would clarify the distinction between these two figures and indicate the difference between the Budget estimates of expenditures and appropriations. Very truly yours,

F. C. HARRINGTON, Administrator.

To that letter Mr. Bell made this reply on the 24th of January:

BUREAU OF THE BUDGET, Washington, January 24, 1939.

Col. F. C. HARRINGTON,

Administrator, Works Progress Administration,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Colonel Harrington: This is in response to your inquiry concerning the Budget estimates of appropriations and of expenditures for the W. P. A. for the fiscal years 1939 and 1940.

The Budget estimate of a deficiency appropriation for the W. P. A. for the balance of fiscal year 1939 is \$875,000,000, and was so shown in the Budget released on January 3, 1939. It appears in Budget teleased on January 3, 1939.

statement No. 2 on page A 79, and in Budget informational table No. 1 on page 894.

The \$750,000,000 figure, which appears on the same pages, is an estimate of that portion of the \$875,000,000 appropriation that would actually be paid out in cash by June 30, 1939. If the W. P. A. should incur no further obligations after June 30, would still be necessary to liquidate those obligations incurred prior to June 30, which, in this instance, are estimated at the difference between \$875,000,000 and \$750,000,000, or \$125,000,000. For example, the unliquidated obligations on June 30, 1938, under appropriated funds allocated to W. P. A. for the fiscal year 1938

appropriated funds allocated to W. P. A. for the fiscal year 1938 amounted to \$125,284,000.

In regard to the 1940 supplemental item of \$1,750,000,000, appearing on the same pages of the Budget, it is estimated that the unexpended balance at the end of the fiscal year 1940 would be the same as at the end of fiscal year 1939. In other words, the \$125,000,000 unexpended balance out of the \$875,000,000 appropriation will actually be paid out in fiscal year 1940; and, similarly, \$125,000,000 out of the contemplated \$1,750,000,000 appropriation would be paid out in the fiscal year 1941. Thus the appropriation would be paid out in the fiscal year 1941. Thus the appropriation estimate and the expenditure estimate under this heading happen to be the same for the fiscal year 1940 because the carry-over is expected to be the same.

expected to be the same.

As the President stated in his message, balances now available will barely finance the W. P. A. through January. In order to maintain the employment schedule contained in the President's relief message, providing for 3,000,000 workers on the W. P. A. in February and March and tapering down to an average of 2,700,000 in June, at an average cost of \$61 per worker per month, it will be necessary to provide an appropriation of \$875,000,000.

Very truly yours

Very truly yours,

D. W. BELL, Acting Director.

I have also a letter addressed to me by the Administrator of the W. P. A., with which he sends to me the two letters I have already read and certain tables, which I will also ask to have printed in the RECORD in a moment. The letter is dated January 25, 1939, which was yesterday. I asked the Administrator to send me information undertaking to clear up the misapprehension to which our attention was called the other day in the debate. The Administrator's letter is as follows:

> WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION. Washington, D. C., January 25, 1939.

The Honorable Alben W. BARKLEY,

United States Senate.

My Dear Senator Barkley: In response to your request for a statement concerning the funds available to the Works Progress.

Administration, I would like to give you the following information: There was no mistake of \$56,000,000 in our estimates as submitted to the Congress. My testimony in the House and Senate committees is perfectly clear and is in complete agreement with Treasury figures.

On page 672 of the Congressional Record of yesterday it was stated that I made a mistake of \$56,000,000, which was made up of two items: First, \$45,000,000 (the cost of the program from February 1 to 7); and second, \$11,000,000 (the cost of carrying 90,000 workers on Federal projects for 1 month). As to the first item, it is obvious that a work program employing 3,000,000 persons in all sections of the country must maintain a working fund consisting largely of advance pay-roll encumbrances for 1 week, namely,

sisting largely of advance pay-roll encumbrances for I week, namely, \$45,000,000. A similar amount will be carried over at the end of the fiscal year and consequently this factor does not affect the amount of the appropriation required. As to the \$11,000,000 item, the cost of Federal projects for I month is \$5,500,000 and not \$11,000,000, as stated in debate. Federal agencies operating work projects have funds which will last through February totaling this amount.

All of the other amounts mentioned in debate, quoting from Treasury reports, include other agencies than the Works Progress Administration. A more careful reading of these reports will show that the amounts made available to the Works Progress Administration are in agreement with tables 1-A and 1-B based on Treasury tration are in agreement with tables 1-A and 1-B, based on Treasury reports, and submitted by me in my direct testimony (pp. 5 and 6

of the Senate hearings). I am attaching a memorandum showing the reconciliation of the various amounts mentioned in yesterday's debate, as well as corespondence with Mr. Bell, Acting Director of the Bureau of the Budget, in which he states very definitely that an appropriation of \$875,000,000 will be necessary if the employment schedule mentioned in the President's relief message is to be followed for the balance of the fiscal year. I am also attaching a table showing employment that would be possible with the various sums that have been under discussion.

I trust that this will clarify the situation.

Yours very truly,

F. C. HARRINGTON.

In that connection I wish to insert at this point the tables to which Colonel Harrington has made reference, and I wish also to call to the attention of the Senate the tables to which he refers on pages 5 and 6 of the Senate committee hearings. When the two tables, table 1-A, on page 5, and table 1-B, on page 6, are considered in connection with the testimony of Colonel Harrington on pages 33, 34, and 35 of the Senate committee hearings, I think there will be no misapprehension in the minds of anyone as to the \$56,000,000 referred to as a mistake made by Colonel Harrington, because \$45,000,000 of it represents practically 1 week's pay roll, which is a carryover from the end of the month. No matter when W. P. A. might terminate, as I said yesterday, there will always be a carry-over, for projects cannot all be completed at midnight on the 30th or the 31st of any given month; they cannot be completed on Saturday night at midnight or at the end of any week. So, in considering the \$56,000,000 or the \$45,-000,000, the amount is a carry-over, and would be a part of any monthly carry-over of \$125,000,000. We have got to consider that at the end of the period, whenever it is, there will be a similar carry-over; and in order to arrive at the exact amount that would be needed in any given period, we have got to check these carry-overs against each other, so as not to get them confused with the amount that will actually be expended by paying out the checks or cash during the month involved or during the fiscal year involved.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that there may be printed at this point in the RECORD, in order that Senators

who are interested in reading the RECORD before they vote may have an opportunity to do so, table 1-A and table 1-B on pages 5 and 6 of the Senate committee hearings, and also the tables submitted to me in the letter of Colonel Harrington reconciling, as I think they do, the figures referred to in the debate by the Senator from Colorado—\$419,000,000 and \$190,000,000—and also showing a comparative table of the number of men possible of employment on W. P. A. rolls during February, March, April, May, and June under the \$875,000,000 appropriation; also a column showing the number of men employable under the joint resolution as passed by the House as it came to us, and also the number for each of those months employable under the joint resolution as it has been reported to the Senate from the Committee on Appropriations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McKellar in the chair). Without objection, the tables will be printed in the RECORD, as requested.

The tables referred to are as follows:

Table 1-A.—Distribution of funds appropriated to the Works Prog-ress Administration under the Emergency Relief Administration Act of 1938

[As of Specific appropriation, Works tion		Amount \$1,425,000,000 20,800,000
TotalSpecific appropriation to Wortration for National Youth	ks Progress Adminis- Administration	1, 445, 800, 000 75, 000, 000
Total	198 121 pp. 2 april 15	1, 520, 800, 000
Water conservation (Second Deficiency fiscal year 1938) Other transfers by legislat Treasury, Public Her Deficiency Appropri 1938)	War Department Civil 1938) and utility projects Appropriation Act, live authorization: alth Service (Second ation Act, fiscal year	18, 000, 000 5, 000, 000
Puerto Rico Reconstion (sec. 1 (d), Eministration Act of Work relief supply figency Relief Adri 1938)  Transferred under sec Administration Act	imergency Relief Ad- 1933) und (sec. 17, Emer- ninistration Act of 3, Emergency Relief of 1938	200, 000 3, 000, 000 59, 756, 676
Total transfers		86, 856, 676
Available for Works Progress National Youth Administrational Youth Administration	ion	1, 433, 943, 324 75, 000, 000
Available for Works Properated programs		1, 358, 943, 324

-These data include \$20,800,000 transferred from balances of allocations under Emergency Relief Administration Act of 1937, but do not include \$9,590,482 still subject to transfer from such

Table 1-B.—Status of funds available to the Works Progress Administration and National Youth Administration under the Emergency Relief Administration Act of 1938

balances on Dec. 31.

[As of Dec. 31, 1938]

de como de la companya del companya de la companya del companya de la companya del companya de la companya de la companya del	Allocated or allotted	Obligated through Dec. 31, 1938	Balance available for obligation	Expenditures (checks issued)	Unexpended balance
Total available to Works Progress Administration and National Youth Administration National Youth Administration	\$1,433,943,324	\$1, 213, 574, 773	\$220, 368, 551	\$1,076,652,020	\$357, 291, 304
	75,000,000	35, 237, 995	39, 762, 005	29,966,008	45, 033, 992
Total available to Works Progress Administration	1, 358, 943, 324	1, 178, 336, 778	180, 606, 546	1, 046, 686, 012	312, 257, 312
	15, 750, 000	15, 745, 505	4, 495	14, 975, 032	774, 968
	108, 000	105, 371	2, 629	104, 471	3, 520
	1, 343, 085, 324	1, 162, 485, 902	180, 599, 422	1, 031, 606, 509	311, 478, 818

Source: U. S. Treasury Department.

Note.—These data include \$20,800,000 transferred from balances of allocations under the Emergency Relief Administration Act of 1937, but do not include \$9,590,482 of such alances which still remain available for transfer.

Unobligated balances of funds appropriated in emergency relief appropriation acts available for obligation on Dec. 31, 1938, as reported by U. S. Treasury Department 1

A CANADA DE LA CALLA DEL CALLA DE LA CALLA DE LA CALLA DEL CALLA DE LA CALLA D	1938 act	Prior acts	Total all Emergency Relief Ad- ministration acts com- bined
Total, all Emergency Relief Administration Act funds	\$419, 644, 426	\$46, 446, 489	\$466, 090, 915
Farm Security Administration Employees' Compensation Commission. Treasury Bureau of Public Roads	143, 107, 638 2, 102, 656 13, 376, 280	530, 478 18, 331, 018 7, 404, 126	143, 638, 116 20, 433, 674 13, 376, 280 7, 404, 126
Puerto Rico Reconstruction Adminis- tration	3, 870, 488	3, 513, 580	7, 384, 068
transferred to other agencies under sec. 3. All other agencies, excluding Works Progress Administration and National	23, 215, 610		23, 215, 610
Youth Administration Total available to Works Progress Administration Total available and National Youth	13, 603, 204	6, 311, 165	19, 914, 369
Administration Available to National Youth Ad-	220, 368, 550	10, 356, 122	230, 724, 672
ministration	39, 762, 004	765, 640	40, 527, 644
Available to Works Progress Administration	1 180, 606, 546	9, 590, 482	2 190, 197, 028

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For data on all Emergency Relief Administration acts combined, see table II, p. 129 of the Report of the President of the United States to the Congress, Showing the Status of Funds and Operations Under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Acts of 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1938, as of Dec. 31, 1938. For data on Emergency Relief Administration Act of 1938, see table II-B, p. 441 of the same report.

<sup>4</sup>See statement of Col. F. C. Harrington, appearing on pp. 5, 6, and 32 of the hearings before the Committee on Appropriations, U. S. Senate, on additional appropriation for relief and work relief, fiscal year 1938.

Employment schedules under deficiency appropriations of \$875,000,000 and \$725,000,000 for the Works Progress Admin-

Month	\$875,000, propriat ommend	le under 000 ap- ion rec- ied by the it (House	Employment schedule under \$725,000,000 ap- propriation as passed by the House (Senate hearings, p. 60)		Employment schedule under \$725, 000,000 appropriation as modified by Senate committee to limit reductions to 5 percent prior to Apr. 1, 1939	
	Average employ- ment	Cost at \$61 per worker	Average employ- ment	Cost at \$61 per worker	Average employ- ment	Cost at \$61 per worker
January February March April May June June 30	3, 000 2, 875	\$183.0 183.0 175.0 169.0 165.0	Thousands 3, 000 2, 800 2, 600 2, 400 2, 150 1, 930 1, 850	\$171.0 159.0 146.0 131.0 118.0	Thousands 3,000 3,000 2,925 2,600 2,000 1,350 1,050	Millions \$183.0 179.0 159.0 122.0 82.0
Total		875.0		725. 0		725, 0

Mr. BARKLEY. I thank the Senator from Washington for yielding. I thought this information ought to go in the RECORD at this point, so that it might be available to Members of the Senate.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Washington yield to me?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. ADAMS. I will not take the time now, but there are some features connected with these tables which I will discuss later. I think, however, the Senator from Kentucky will agree that probably further discussion of that question had better await the presentation of the amendment in reference to the amount. I merely wish to state that the figures as given do not constitute an explanation of the discrepancies in reference to the \$45,000,000 and the additional item of \$11,000,000, which I think can be made rather obvious.

Mr. BARKLEY. I will paraphrase the expression about a woman by saying that convince the Senator from Colorado against his will and he is of the same opinion still. [Laughter.]

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, I wish to speak briefly on the amendment which is proposed to be offered by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKellar] which will restore the amount of the appropriation to the sum requested by the President of the United States by adding \$150,000,000.

Debate upon this subject has involved a number of questions which I do not propose to discuss. I think probably most of the time has been spent in discussing the question whether or not the Administrator of W. P. A. was mistaken in the figures which he presented to the subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee. I do not propose to discuss that matter. A large part of the debate has been spent upon the question as to whether or not the figures as to the necessary reduction in the number of workers on the pay roll were correct. I do not propose to discuss that question. At the same time, I should like to point out that, so far as the discussion upon this particular amendment is concerned, we are not discussing the question of the continuation of the W. P. A., for both sides of this argument admit that W. P. A. must be continued during the remainder of the present fiscal year. We are not discussing the question of the efficiency of W. P. A. or politics in W. P. A. We are discussing the question of the amount which should be appropriated in order to care for the needs of W. P. A.

By the amendment which the committee proposes, under the terms of which an invitation is extended to the President of the United States to come back within a comparatively short time and ask for further funds, there is recognition by the majority of the committee that the question as to the amount is one which should be determined upon the basis of the possibility of present W. P. A. workers securing employment in private industry during the period of the next 5 months. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY] said a few moments ago that the problem could be analyzed by the analogy of a father talking to his child and withholding onefifth of the amount the child asked for the reason that he was uncertain as to the amount that should be needed. If, on the other hand, the facts presented to the father prove conclusively that there is a necessity for the total amount, then there is no justification for withholding the one-fifth, with an invitation to come back and get it if it turns out to be necessary.

I do not think anybody can deny that the suggestion made by the committee that the President should come back and ask for a further appropriation is a suggestion that will be carried out by the President, because he has already submitted his case and submitted his proof of the necessity for it. The only justification which the Senate might have for accepting the reduced amount is a belief upon the part of the Senate that economic conditions in the country are going to improve at such a rate during the next 5 months as to make it unnecessary to have either the amount requested by the President or the amount requested by the committee in their amendment.

I desire to limit my remarks very largely to that particular question: What can we see during the next 5 months as to the economic possibilities?

The outlook for W. P. A. needs between now and the end of June 1939 must be judged in terms of the economic situation. The level of W. P. A. employment is closely related to the level of general business activity, unemployment, and agricultural distress. Year after year the need for W. P. A. employment follows a trend which corresponds to the trend of unemployment and moves opposite to the trend of private employment. This may not appear to be true if we look at the figures for a couple of months at a time; but if we look at them over a period of months, and take into consideration the necessary lags between loss of jobs and destitution sufficient to qualify for W. P. A., it must be accepted as true.

The major question involved in this appropriation is, How great is the need for W. P. A. employment going to be up to

June 30? How great that need is depends upon how much improvement can be expected in industrial operations and employment in that period. The President estimated that the need for W. P. A. employment would require the expenditure of \$875,000,000 in the next 5 months. This sum will provide for the employment of 3,000,000 workers on W. P. A. in January, February, and March, which would be reduced to 2,700,000 on W. P. A. in June, a reduction from the 3,100,000 employed in December of 400,000, or 13 percent. In his testimony before the subcommittee, Colonel Harrington indicated that the reduction of 13 percent in W. P. A. employment was based on the assumption of continued sharp increases in private employment, amounting to 1,500,000 by the arrival of the month of June. This estimated increase is very great. It is based upon the belief that recovery will continue at a more rapid rate than it has come at any time of increases during the Nation's history. In fact, an increase of 1,500,000 in private employment in this period would be greater than the increases recorded in the recovery years of 1936 and 1937 and nearly as great as that recorded in 1934. It would be one of the fastest recoveries on record. This increase would be in addition to the already spectacular recovery which we have witnessed since last summer and last fall. Private employment increased by 1,200,000 from June 1938 to December 1938, so that further rapid increase in private employment of 1,500,000 between December 1938 and June 1939 would mean a total increase of 2,700,000 between July 1938 and June 1939. It has never occurred before in the country. The President's estimates are based upon an increase which would be unprecedented over a year's period of time.

It appears to me that the request for \$875,000,000 was based upon a pretty optimistic assumption, more optimistic than is justified. It seems to me that the President and his advisers have bent over backward to be careful not to be accused of underrating the recuperative powers of private employment during the next 5 months. Those of you who follow quotations on the stock market may have been wondering, during the past few days, how the experts got any idea that recovery was going to continue between now and June. Those of you who have been following industrial reports know that the almost unprecedented rises in industrial production that occurred between June and November halted in the middle of December, and production has leveled off since then. The index of industrial production in December was 104, only 1 point higher than it was in November. Preliminary indications for January are that this index will decline to about 100 in January, a drop of 3.8 percent. Probably not until April, according to the expert economists of the country, will industrial revival again be in full swing. Private employment will act very much in the same way.

It is all right to assume that private employment is going to increase sharply and make possible a reduction in W. P. A. employment; but we here, in facing this problem, must be realistic about it. The W. P. A. experts say they can see the possibility of a net increase of 1,500,000 in jobs provided by private industry between December and June, if recovery continues at the same rate that it continued between June and December; but we already know that for the past 2 months it failed to continue at that rate, and these estimates are made in the face of the fact that we face a European and a world situation which is so disturbed that it may at any time bring about a complete change in the plans of American industry.

What does an increase of 1,500,000 in private employment mean in terms of other things? It means that the index of industrial production will have to hit 110 by June, a level just 43 percent higher than in June 1938. If you have followed increases in industrial production in the past, you will realize that that is a most sharp increase. At 110, the index of production would be 5 points higher than its average in 1936, and on a par with its average in the calendar year 1937. It means that automobile production, which amounted to 2,500,000 units in 1938, will have to be at the annual rate of 3,600,000 units in the first half of 1939.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield; yes.

Mr. GILLETTE. I have just been rereading the President's message with reference to relief in connection with the subject the Senator has just been discussing. The President called attention to the fact that from a peak in the latter part of last summer there has been a drop in the relief rolls, up to December 24, of some 250,000 persons. At that time there were on the relief rolls 3,112,000 persons; and it is stated that it is expected that by the end of this month the number will be 3,000,000, or a gain of 112,009.

On what basis of reasoning is it fair to assume that at that point the number on the rolls will become stable and stationary, and that we can gain 112,000 in employment in January, but that during February and March we are not to

gain anything?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I do not think the Senator means what his question implies. I do not think anybody is contending that the drop in W. P. A. rolls during the past few months has been justified by industrial conditions. It has resulted from the fact that the appropriation had to last until some time in February, and the drop had to be made in order to carry the appropriation over until February.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for

just one moment further?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Yes; I yield.

Mr. GILLETTE. The basis for the \$875,000,000 estimate, of course, is a load of 3,000,000 workers in February and March, and then, from that time until the end of the fiscal year, a drop of 300,000.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Yes; 300,000. The number of 400,000 includes the 100,000 who have already gone off the

Mr. GILLETTE. Then again I ask, on the basis of the gains which have been made, while it is unfair to assume that they will continue at the same ratio, how can we assume that between the 1st of February and the 1st of July there can be a gain of only 300,000, on which this figure is predicated, when we gained 362,000 in the past 60 to 90 days?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. If there were a relationship between the drop of employment in W. P. A. and the industrial conditions of the past 3 months, I think the Senator's question would be logical; but there is not such a relationship. The drop occurred despite the fact that we have not had an increase in industrial work during the past 3 months. As I have just pointed out, industrial work increased until the middle of December, and then it leveled off for the rest of December; and the estimate for January is that it will go down to 3.8 percent over the November figures.

I should like, if I may, to repeat the last statement I read as to the meaning of the estimate which the President has made. It means that automobile production, which amounted to two and a half million units in 1938, will have to be at the annual rate of 3,600,000 units in the first half of 1939. It means that residential construction will have to be nearly 40 percent greater during the first half of 1939 than it was in the first half of 1938. It means that national income in 1939 will have to be practically as high as it was in 1937, which was the peak year of the period since 1933.

I do not claim to be an expert on these things; but it looks to me as though the request for \$875,000,000 was based upon as optimistic an outlook for economic conditions in the next

5 months as it is reasonable to expect.

The optimism is presumably based in part on the belief that the Public Works Administration program will get well under way by early summer. Included in this forecast of an increase of 1,500,000 in private employment is a forecast of a very sharp increase in employment on P. W. A. Federal and non-Federal projects. In spite of the fact that only about 190,000 were at work on P. W. A. projects in December, it is hoped that P. W. A. Federal and non-Federal employment may reach 500,000 by June. Remember, this 500,000, as well as any indirect employment provided by P. W. A., are already included in the estimated increase of 1,500,000 in private employment upon which the request for \$875,000,000 is based.

Why will an increase in private employment of 1,500,000 make possible a reduction of only 400,000 in W. P. A. employment? The answer is, as we all know, that W. P. A. provides work to only a part of the unemployed. Of the 11,500,000 estimated to be unemployed in December, W. P. A. employed only 27 percent, or 3,100,000. This is important. For one thing, it means W. P. A. provides jobs only to those unemployed who are in greatest need, those who have exhausted all other resources.

We are not dealing with all of the unemployed, some of whom may have friends or relatives to fall back on. We are dealing with those unemployed who are in dire need. These people cannot stand the elimination of their incomes by Congress merely because of a feeling that Federal expenditures ought to be cut down just as a gesture to the Budget balancers

In addition, since only 27 percent of the unemployed get W. P. A. employment, any expansion in private employment should be in the ratio of 73 percent from the unemployed not on relief, and 27 percent from the unemployed on W. P. A. It is just not fair to expect those people on W. P. A. who are the most destitute, the longest out of work, the farthest removed from direct personal contact with private employers, to obtain more than 27 percent of the new jobs. Many of the unemployed not on W. P. A. have become unemployed only recently, and still have good contacts with employers. Many are young people just out of high school and college, equipped to meet the rigorous employment standards of modern industry. Many have fathers or brothers or uncles who can help them get placed. In competition with this group, W. P. A. workers cannot be fairly expected to get more than their proportionate share of the total amount of new work.

The appropriation of \$725,000,000 even under the employment schedule of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes], which I am not willing to accept, means that from 3.100,000 in December, W. P. A. employment must decline to 2,000,000 by June, a decline of 1,100,000 from December. In other words, this committee expects W. P. A. workers to get 76 percent of all the new jobs which it is estimated will become available in that period. May I ask, are those assumptions reasonable? I think they are not reasonable, that they are arbitrary and unrealistic. With a decrease of 1,100,000 in W. P. A. employment as contemplated by the schedule of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes], and assuming, on a fair calculation, that 27 percent of the new jobs can be obtained by W. P. A. workers, then private employment must increase the stupendous amount of over 4,000,000 between December 1938 and June 1939. Keep that figure in mind. When it is said that private employment will increase to take care of the workers thrown off W. P. A., remember that that means that over 4,000,000 jobs must be provided in private employment in the short space of 6 months. Such a rate of increase has never been known in the history of the country.

Let us get the issues in this debate clear. The President and his experts, after very careful study, believe that 1,500,-000 jobs may be made available in private industry between December and June. As I pointed out, I think that is entirely too optimistic an estimate. The opposition, on the other hand, wants to cut arbitrarily \$150,000,000 off the President's recommendation. The opposition either fails to realize that such a reduction can be justified only if private employment increases at least 4,000,000 in the next 6 months.

It seems to me that anyone will readily agree that such an achievement is impossible.

There is general agreement among economists that the Federal Government's expenditures in excess of receipts since 1933 have been one of the major factors contributing to recovery, that the degree of recovery achieved by 1937, and now again in 1939, would not have been possible if the volume of

Federal expenditures had been less. Continuation of this recovery depends in large part upon the stimulation given to purchasing power by Federal spending, as experience in 1937 demonstrated.

As long as a fifth of the working force is idle, as long as a large proportion of plant capacity is not being operated, we cannot afford to cut down on the stimuli. Business is still sadly lacking in vigor; it still cannot go forward without the crutch of W. P. A. expenditures. We tried it once, in the summer of 1937, and by October of that year we met with the most precipitous decline in business this Nation has ever experienced. The curtailment of expenditures on the basis of the present insecure business situation can have no other result than the one we experienced 2 years ago.

We are offered this \$150,000,000 reduction as a gesture to induce business confidence. The very talk of reduction heard during the last fortnight has had its retarding effect upon business in this country. Reduce W. P. A. expenditures by the amount proposed and we know what will happen to business confidence—not, perhaps, as indicated by such "barometers" as the expressions for publication by some antiadministration businessmen, but as indicated by statistical indexes of production and employment.

The business community needs more confidence, I admit. But although its strength is coming back I suggest what appears to me to be obvious: what the patient needs at this stage of convalescence is not a visit from a sixteenth century surgeon who would bleed him but a visit from a doctor who is willing to give him a blood transfusion.

Business is in no position to petition the Government to retire from the field so that business can get its confidence back. If the truly representative voice of business could be heard, no such sentiment would find expression. If the business world recognized its true interest, its petition to Government would be, "We cannot yet stand a substantial withdrawal of the support to purchasing power that is afforded by Federal spending; until a substantial increase in the volume of private investment has been achieved, we need the present volume of Government expenditures to sustain the existing level of business activity; curtainment of W. P. A. funds at this time would not encourage an increase in private investment; on the contrary, there is every likelihood this private investment would be jeopardized."

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. MILLER. Referring to business, I assume that the Senator is not considering agriculture as a business, and I should like to call attention to the really sick condition in which our agricultural industry finds itself. Approximately 40 percent of our 130,000,000 people are engaged in agriculture. The total national income last year was approximately \$65,000,000,000. Agriculture received less than \$8,000,000,000 of that income. So 40 percent of our people are receiving less than one-eighth of the national income. Those people are facing the stark reality of distress and want, and there is no employment in the agricultural section. What is the situation in the Northwest, from which section the Senator comes?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. First, let me say that I appreciate the Senator's interruption and the suggestion he has made. No one can seriously contend that we can have a solution of any of our problems until the problem of agriculture and the problem of employment in industry are solved. There must be cooperation between all the people of the country in the effort to solve both problems. It will require cooperation here of those who represent industrial centers and those who represent agricultural centers in the effort to solve both problems.

I wholly disagree with any contention that we should take money away from agriculture for unemployment relief, or, on the other hand, take it away from unemployment relief for the purpose of aiding agriculture. The problems are mutual and probably of equal importance, and they both must be

Mr. MILLER. I agree entirely that they are mutual. I merely wanted to call the attention of the Senator to the

appalling condition among those engaged in agriculture. Considering the disparity of income, how their income is to be increased, and how employment is to be increased in the next 6 months in the agricultural section is more than I can understand.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I thank the Senator from Arkansas for pointing out that, in addition to the difficulty of increasing industrial production, we must face the fact that there is in sight no promise of increasing employment in the agricultural sections of our country.

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, does not the Senator think that the primary consideration in the question of relief is the farm problem? Forty to forty-five percent of our people, as the Senator from Arkansas has said, are engaged directly or indirectly on the farm. If 40 to 45 percent of the people of this country are not prosperous, how can we expect the other 55 percent to be prosperous? And have we not the cart before the horse when we are talking about industrial unemployment and forget that agriculture is the sickest industry in the country?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I think the remarks I made in reply to the Senator from Arkansas answer the Senator from Indiana. I may say to the Senator from Indiana on behalf of the Senator from South Carolina and the Senator from New Mexico and myself, as well as the other members of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, that we are glad to welcome him on that committee. We understand he comes to the committee with a complete solution of the agricultural problem. [Laughter.] We will be asking him for advice.

Mr. MINTON. I have just come hitting the sawdust trail, singing "Hallelujah."

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. I have just come to the floor of the Senate, and I had assumed, from the remarks just made by the Senator from Indiana that the Senator from Washington had already answered the Senator from Arkansas, and suggested a full solution of the agricultural problem. I merely rose to express my regret that I had not been present when he was making that clear.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I may say to the Senator from New Mexico that the gist of my remarks has been that even the bases of the President's figures and his predictions, when he asks for \$875,000,000, were altogether too optimistic. And I may say to the Senator, knowing him as I do, that, if he thinks I have a solution of the agricultural problem, he also is too optimistic.

Mr. President, public spending to promote the national welfare has demonstrated its ability to get results. By relieving the stark need to which the unemployed have been reduced, we have at the same time increased purchasing power and promoted recovery. With the inauguration of a vast Federal spending program in 1934, the national income increased steadily from \$40,000,000,000 in 1933 to \$70,000,000,000 in 1937.

Then in 1937 we in the Congress of the United States, listening to those who argued that the solution of our problem was the balancing of the Budget, passed appropriation bills which very definitely reduced Federal expenditures. We listened to arguments which held out not only the definite hope but the promise that if we continued on that basis through 1938 we would have a balanced Budget in 1939. That was precisely in accordance with the argument of gentlemen who say that a balanced Budget is the solution of our problems. We accepted their challenge. We carried out the request they made, and inside of 4 months we went into a tailspin such as this Nation's industry had never before seen.

It is the analysis of many of the country's most respected economists that the outlook for private investment is such that if we had waited for business itself to initiate a recovery movement we would have been waiting yet. Without some outside stimulus, we faced an indefinitely protracted period of stagnation. And once again, in 1938, the President called

upon the Congress to give assistance to the business of the country in the form of Federal expenditures, and once again business indexes climbed and private employment climbed.

The main channel through which the Government has distributed new purchasing power has been the W.P.A. W.P.A. workers live at a near-subsistence level; they spend their wages as fast as they get them. A W.P.A. pay roll today means that stores do more business tomorrow. The W.P.A. must continue to perform this function until the recovery movement has displayed more vitality of its own.

As for public spending interfering with the expansion of business, quite the contrary is the truth. The rise in consumer demand induced by Federal relief expenditures has called forth an expansion in private capital expenditures for repairs and replacements in order to keep pace with this demand. The time must come when such expansion in business investment will be self-sustaining. But, with present production levels and the existing volume of unemployment, we know, without hairsplitting, that that time has not yet come.

In addition, Mr. President, I wish to present another rather interesting thing. We hear much about the possibility of men being able to get jobs in private employment; we hear that they do not want work, that if they only would try to get busy and get some work they would be able to find jobs very easily. I have received from a man whom I do not know-I simply know that his name is Joseph A. Martin. and that he lives at 220 Ocean Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y .a number of letters which he has received from various corporations. I am not going to burden the RECORD by having them all printed, but, while it is not a great amount of proof, I think it is a very interesting item of proof. He is a trained, skilled man, this W. P. A. worker. He had heard so much about the fact that W. P. A. workers could get jobs that he decided he would find out for himself. He went to the New York Stock Exchange records and got a list of the corporations which had made the most money during the last year, and he filed application with those corporations. He sent me the replies to his applications. I do not know how he happened to choose me as the one to send them to, but he sent me the answers which he received from those corporations whose operations had been most profitable during the years 1937 and 1938.

The first one is from the Delaware & Hudson Railroad, to Joseph Martin:

It would appear that your application was misdirected as we have no record of having received same in this department. However, there is no opportunity for employment at this time in view of the fact that our forces are curtailed.

.

Very truly yours.

W. W. BATES, Assistant to General Manager.

This is the letter of the American Brake Shoe & Foundry Co.:

Replying to your letter of December 31, we regret to advise we have no openings.

A letter from the American Telephone & Telegraph Co.:

Mr. Gifford asked me to reply to your letter of December 31 and tell you that he regrets very much that this company is unable to offer you an opportunity at this time.

Letter from Climax Molybdenum Co.:

In reply we regret to advise that we are amply staffed in all departments at the present time and are therefore not in a position to avail ourselves of your services.

The letters I have read are typical of the letters he received from these various companies. I wish to place in the Record, however, the names of the corporations who answered Mr. Martin's application in practically the same language, saying, "We have no place in our employment business for you."

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH, I yield.

Mr. MURRAY. Is it not going to be increasingly difficult for men to find employment with corporations engaged in these basic operations, for the reason that practically all these corporations are now spending millions of dollars in modernizing their plants, which means less employment? Even in the mining industry in Montana more ore can be produced today with half the number of men than could previously be produced with the greater number. I have received telegrams from my State every day during the last few days with reference to the curtailment of mining operations and miners being thrown out of work. So it seems to me that the letters to which the Senator has referred demonstrate that there is going to be no possibility of these corporations offering any employment to W. P. A. workers.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I thank the Senator from Montana for his contribution. I wish now to give the list of the corporations whose letters Mr. Martin sent me. They are the Delaware & Hudson Co.; the American Brake Shoe & Foundry Co.: American Telephone & Telegraph Co.: Climax Molybdenum Co.; the Commercial National Bank & Trust Co.; the Dime Savings Bank of Brooklyn; the American Smelting & Refining Co.; Amerada Petroleum Corporation; the American Sugar Refining Co.; Anaconda Copper Mining Co.; the Greater New York Savings Bank; Pepsi-Cola Co.; American Can Co.; Central Hanover Bank & Trust Co.; the American Tobacco Co.; the Lincoln Savings Bank of Brooklyn; Continental Can Co., Inc.; American Express Co.; Allied Chemical & Dye Corporation; the New York Savings Bank; the Diamond Match Co.; the New York Trust Co.; the Marine Midland Trust Co. of New York; the First National Bank of New York; the Chase National Bank; Manufacturers Trust Co.; Irving Trust Co.; Brown, Harriman & Co.; Fulton Savings Bank of Kings County, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Cluett, Peabody & Co.; American Gas & Electric Service Corporation; Kennecott Copper Corporation; Corn Products Refining Co.; Socony-Vacuum Oil Co.; American Radiator Co.; Cannon Mills.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. SMITH. I ask the Senator whether the applicant sent the Senator a copy of his application; and did it indicate his qualifications or his fitness for a job with any of the

companies to whom he applied?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I will say to the Senator from South Carolina that he did not send me a copy of his application. The first question I asked myself was, Is this of any value? because of the fact that I did not know what he said on his application. However, the letters, universally and without exception, show that the companies have no place for anyone; that they are fully staffed, or something of that kind. They do not base their refusal simply upon the fact that they have no work for anyone with the qualifications of this applicant.

Mr. SMITH. The Senator recognizes that those replies are scarcely of any value, for the reason that unless the application were supported by certain evidences of fitness, the applicant would almost universally be denied. Senators know that the answers the Senator read are almost identical with the stock expressions used by our Government departments. Those companies, in making their replies, were simply following what a prudent businessman always does in the absence of evidence of some extraordinary fitness of the applicant for certain work. I notice the list runs all the way from refining companies to banks. The applicant must have been a very versatile gentleman to be qualified to fill a position in any kind of business in America.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I think a man could fill a position as janitor in a bank and also in a refining company. Mr. Martin said in his letter to me that he had stated he was willing to accept any employment they might have.

Mr. SMITH. That was indicative of the fact that he was not fit for anything.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Let me state to the Senator that I am directing this question to him purely for the purpose of obtaining information. I am desirous of having information in order to make up my mind how to vote. I do not really know

how I shall vote on the question before the Senate, and I desire to obtain some information.

How many aliens are there on the relief rolls of the United States at the present time?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. My answer to that question is that I do not know.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Would the Senator object to my making that general inquiry of all Senators who are present, so that if any Senators present know how many aliens there are on the relief rolls I may be forthwith advised?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Does the Senator think that is

the controlling question in his mind?

Mr. REYNOLDS. No; there are other questions upon which I desire information.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. The Senator is familiar with the fact that the joint resolution provides that those who are illegally in the country—

Mr. REYNOLDS. The veterans come first.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Aliens who are illegally in the country may not obtain employment at all.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes; I understand.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Let me read the provision to which I refer:

SEC. 2. No alien illegally within the limits of the United States, and no alien who has not, prior to June 21, 1938, filed a declaration of intention to become an American citizen which is valid and has not expired, shall knowingly be given employment or continued in employment on any project prosecuted under the appropriations contained in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution.

The joint resolution provides, in addition, that preference shall be given, first, to veterans; second, to other American citizens; third, to aliens in need whose declarations of intention to become American citizens were filed prior to June 21, 1938, and are valid and have not expired.

Mr. REYNOLDS. The reason why I made that particular inquiry was that several days ago I observed through the columns of the press that Colonel Harrington, who is now at the head of the W. P. A., had stated to the press that there were only 30,000 aliens on the W. P. A. rolls. That is why I raised the question.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. May I ask the Senator from Colorado whether or not a similar provision was contained in the last act, on the question of having filed a declaration

prior to the 1st of July?

Mr. ADAMS. The amendment which the committee suggests is copied from the existing law. It is a restatement of the existing law, which in turn was copied practically verbatim from the 1937 Emergency Relief Act.

If I may follow that remark with just a few words, the item which the Senator from North Carolina saw was a statement which Colonel Harrington made in reference to a section of the joint resolution as it came from the House. He was asked how many persons would be affected by the House amendment, and he then said he thought about 30,000. I think that was not intended to be an accurate statement, but was an estimate.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. In other words, if I may paraphrase what the Senator said, if the provision had remained as the House had it, then approximately 30,000 persons would have had an opportunity—

Mr. ADAMS. Would have had to go off the roll.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Those aliens who are now on the rolls, whatever their number may be, are those who legally entered the United States and filed their declarations, which are still pending, and who take their places after the preferences to veterans, other American citizens, and Indians. They are the needy ones who come after those particular classifications?

Mr. ADAMS. That is my understanding.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. BYRNES. The Senator's statement is in accordance with my recollection of Colonel Harrington's testimony. By reason of the action of the House he caused an inquiry to be made, and his best judgment is that the amendment would

affect 30,000 persons. He said that he had to rely upon the statements he received from the States.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. The figure of 30,000 referred to in Colonel Harrington's testimony on page 103 of the Senate hearings indicates that not to exceed 30,000 aliens are on the rolls, and they have taken out what are called their first papers, to obtain citizenship in the United States. As I understand, the House amendment treats them as full aliens and bars them from consideration, although they have taken out their first papers.

Mr. BYRNES. That is correct.

Mr. REYNOLDS. In that connection, Mr. President, with the permission of the Senator from Washington, I should like to ask, in the first place, how those 30,000 aliens got on the relief rolls.

Mr. BARKLEY. I cannot answer that question, except that I suppose they made application, and were found in need of work, and were assigned to work, there being no law against such persons who have come into this country legally, and presumably with the intention of becoming citizens. They have taken the first steps toward the accomplishment of American citizenship.

Mr. REYNOLDS. At the present time we will assume that an alien illegally entered this country 15 years ago. When he learns that under the law he may not get on the relief rolls unless he makes application for American citizenship, he may now—that is to say, tomorrow—make application for citizenship and thereafter get on the relief rolls; may he not?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. No; he must have have two qualifications. First, he must have entered legally.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Suppose he entered legally 15 years ago.
Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I thought the Senator said
"illegally."

Mr. REYNOLDS. I did. The Senator has answered that question. Suppose that 15 years ago he entered legally, and tomorrow he makes application for naturalization. Is it not true that immediately after having filed that application he will be permitted to be considered for a place on the relief rolls?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Yes. He could not get the place, but he would be considered.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Can any Senator tell me, please, how many of the 30,000 aliens who have been properly recorded as entitled to the benefits of relief under the law as at present had been in the United States more than 5 years before they made application for naturalization?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I do not think I can answer that question.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I was wondering if any tabulation of that sort had ever been made. My reason for making the inquiry is that I am ready to assume that many of the 30,000 who are now on the W. P. A. rolls never made application for American citizenship until after they had learned that they could not participate in relief benefits unless they made application for naturalization. I was just wondering whether or not the Government had made any figures or tabulations as to that matter. I am trying to figure out how we can save a little money. I am becoming more and more economically inclined.

A few moments ago I was listening to the very able address of the Senator from Washington, in which the Senator was directing inquiries to some of the other Members of this body, and other Members of this body were directing inquiries to the Senator. I recall that at that time the Senator from Washington asked the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes] if the number of unemployed would not depend upon whether or not industry absorbed more and more of the unemployed during the coming spring. I think that was the gist of the discussion.

Let me make this statement in the form of a question: Let us assume that during the coming spring no more of the unemployed are absorbed than were absorbed during the past five springs. In other words, according to all I hear and all I read, and according to all I learn, our unemployment for the past 5 years has not been reduced. I see the Senator from Colorado shaking his head.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I shake my head because in 1936 the number on the relief rolls went down nearly 800,-000, and the next year it went down nearly 600,000 in the spring, by reason of the increase in employment.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Shall we assume, in view of the statement the Senator makes, that during the coming spring industry will absorb a number equivalent to one of the two figures which the Senator mentioned, either 600,000 or 800,000?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, I appreciate very much the interruptions of the Senator, and I always enjoy discussions with him. However, in view of the statement of the Senator that he was greatly interested in the few minutes he heard of my discussion, let me suggest that if he will read the Congressional Record tomorrow morning and read my entire speech he will find an answer to all his questions.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am very happy to learn that the Senator's speech has been so thoroughly informative.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I know the Senator does not want me to repeat my remarks for his own benefit.

Mr. REYNOLDS. As a matter of fact, it was not necessary for the Senator to advise me that if I should read his statement every question would be answered. I knew that, knowing the Senator as I do. [Laughter.]

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. If the Senator will read my statement in the morning, I am sure he will find the answers to his questions.

Mr. REYNOLDS. One further question: I know that the Senator is as thoroughly interested in saving money as I am. I should like to know how many men in the employ of the Government administering these few dollars per week to the unfortunates in the land are themselves drawing compensation in excess of \$5,000 a year.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I do not know the answer to that question offhand, but there are very few. Some of the State administrators may receive more than \$5,000 a year.

Mr. ADAMS. The information is contained in the House hearings, but I am not able to turn to it at the moment.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. A very small number are receiving more than \$5,000.

Mr. REYNOLDS. The Senator does not have in mind the number?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. No.

Mr BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. On the subject of aliens, the Senator will recall that the first act which dealt with that question was the Relief Appropriation Act of 1937. In that act, aliens who had taken out their first papers were authorized to be employed, and all others were barred. As a result of that, State directors went over their lists and removed from the roll every identifiable alien not possessing first citizenship papers. So the 30,000 or whatever the number is—and that seems to be the maximum—are made up of those who have obtained their first papers. The rolls were purged in 1937 of all those who could be identified as not having taken out their papers.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, I merely wish to say a word or two in conclusion. Again I desire to call to the attention of the Senate the fact that the issue upon the McKellar amendment will not be an issue as to whether or not we are going to continue W. P. A., it will not be an issue as to whether or not there will be politics in relief, or whether or not those who are to vote may be satisfied with the particular persons in charge of the administration. There is just one issue involved, in the light of the invitation of the committee to the President to come back and ask for more

money if it is necessary, and that is, Can we today be certain that employment conditions in this country are going so to improve during the next 5 months that we will be able to make the reductions which are desired by the committee's report?

It is my belief and my contention that the President and the W. P. A. have been extremely optimistic in their thought as to possible recovery. It seems to me that there is no such possibility, if we take into consideration the past history of the increase in private employment which would be necessary. If it is true that the proposal of the committee will work, it will mean that there will have to be 4,000,000 people taken into private employment between now and the 30th day of June, and such a thing has never occurred in even the most prosperous 5-month period the Nation has ever

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, we have had much stated on the floor in reference to political influence upon W. P. A. workers. The Committee on Appropriations have recommended provisions incorporating what are known as the Hatch amendments prohibiting, under very extreme penalties, any effort to influence politically those upon the W. P. A. rolls. I am advised, however, that the same limitations do not seem to operate in the reverse way, and I am sending to the desk and ask to have incorporated in the RECORD, with the permission of the Senate, a bulletin which was posted upon the bulletin boards on two floors of the national headquarters of the W. P. A., urging W. P. A. workers to send telegrams to Senators of the United States to influence them, and also a sample telegram which accompanied it, in order that they might not be misled as to the kind of telegram that they should send.

Mr. SMITH. May I ask the Senator where those telegrams came from?

Mr. ADAMS. Those notices were on the bulletin boards on two different floors of the W. P. A. headquarters in the city of Washington.

Mr. SMITH. Let the clerk read them in the Senator's time.

Mr. ADAMS. I will be glad to read them:

Spend 25 cents. Send a telegram to your Senator today. Protest W. P. A. appropriation cuts. Protest civil service ban on W. P. A. employees. Protect your job.

Then a sample form of a telegram is furnished, as follows: Senator ALVA B. ADAMS,

Chairman of Appropriations Committee,

Washington, D. C.:
Respectfully urge you support \$875,000,000 appropriation and oppose civil-service ban on W. P. A.

BALTIMORE, MD.

I have no objection to such telegrams, but I merely want to point out to the Senate what is being done.

Mr. SMITH. There is no politics in it-none. [Laugh-

Mr. LEE obtained the floor.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oklahoma yield?

Mr. LEE. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Lucas in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Capper	Green	Lewis
Andrews	Caraway	Guffey	Lodge
Ashurst	Clark, Idaho	Gurney	Logan
Austin	Clark, Mo.	Hale	Lucas
Bailey	Connally	Harrison	Lundeen
Bankhead	Danaher	Hatch	McCarran
Barbour	Davis	Hayden	McKellar
Barkley	Donahey	Herring	McNary
Bilbo	Downey	Hill	Maloney
Bone	Ellender	Holman	Mead
Borah	Frazier	Holt	Miller
Brown	George	Hughes	Minton
Bulow	Gerry	Johnson, Calif.	Murray
Burke	Gibson	Johnson, Colo.	Neely
Byrd	Gillette	La Follette	Norris
Byrnes	Glass	Lee	Nye

O'Mahoney Overton	Russell Schwartz	Stewart Taft	Tydings Van Nuys
· Pepper	Schwellenbach	Thomas, Okla.	Wagner
Pittman	Sheppard	Thomas, Utah	Walsh
Radcliffe	Shipstead	Tobey	Wheeler
Reed	Smathers	Townsend	White
Reynolds	Smith	Truman	Wiley

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Ninety-two Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, in Oklahoma we have 33,726 persons who have been certified to the W. P. A. rolls as eligible who cannot secure employment. I assume that those 33,726 persons in Oklahoma have no buying power, because that is the prerequisite to being certified for the rolls. Far be it from me to say "I told you so"; but a year ago, I believe, I made the statement here that if Congress would grant us a formula that would guarantee a price of 20 cents a pound on the cotton which we consume in this country we could fold up most of the relief agencies in the deep South and in the cotton-raising area. Of course, that was not done. At the same time I made the statement that if it were not done we would come back here and ask for more appropriations this year to continue these people on relief. I also said, I believe, that I should be one of those asking for this appropriation. Therefore I rise now to speak in support of the amendment which is to be proposed by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKellar].

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I do not want to interrupt the Senator; probably he has the figures which I am about to ask for; but the statement that there are in Oklahoma 33,000 persons certified as eligible and not having work arouses my curiosity as to the number who are actually employed in Oklahoma. Has the Senator those figures?

Mr. LEE. Those actually employed are 65,093. The number of persons certified for relief and available for assignment is 98,819. The difference is 33,726-33,000 persons who have no buying power; 33,000 persons who cannot be customers of any store, of any shop, of any business or profession; 33,000 persons who no longer constitute the mass to whom the manufacturer must sell his goods.

There are two major causes of unemployment. One, we may say, is the result of science. Labor-saving inventions have displaced many workers. The Rust Brothers of Tennessee have invented a cotton-picker which, if and when perfected and placed on the market, will throw out of employment in round numbers 3,000,000 persons who depend upon cotton-picking for enough money to grubstake them through the year. Should we pass a law to prevent that labor-saving device from coming on the market? Should we by legislation attempt to prevent a mechanical cotton-picker from being placed on the market? Not if you ever had your back ache from picking cotton all day-labor which is the hardest drudgery that can be found. You would not vote against the introduction of a machine to prevent that; but that means 3,000,000 persons who will be displaced by one invention.

I am told that in the steel mills, even since this depression began, labor-saving machinery has been applied until there are blocks and blocks of mills which you may go through without seeing a man. The mills are mechanically operated. There has been a displacement of labor.

What is the answer? Should we attempt, as China might do, to roll back progress and say, "We cannot and shall not progress?" Or shall we welcome every labor-saving mechanical robot that lifts the load from the back of man? I am sure my colleagues agree with me that if we are to progress in the world we should welcome and subsidize labor-saving inventions; but with the coming of these inventions we are presented with the problem of furnishing employment to those who have been displaced by the inventions.

We are making an effort in that direction. We offered the wage-hour law last year as a contributing means of solving this difficult problem by shortening the hours people may work; and, incidentally, the reports we get on that law are very good. That was an attempt to cut down the number of hours in order to distribute the labor among as many persons as possible.

We are in a scientific age. My grandfather used to tell me how he cut wheat with an old-time scythe and cradle. You can imagine how much wheat one man could cut in that fashion. Compare that with wheat harvesting in the West today, where a man hooks a mogul on a combine and pulls into a thousand-acre ocean of grain and cuts and threshes that grain in one operation and pours it in a grain bin to be hauled away. The next thing we know some fellow will invent a portable flour mill and hook it on behind that machine and grind up the wheat into flour, and then perhaps put a portable bakery on behind that and cook the flour up into hot bread all in the same operation, and put on a plow behind and let it prepare the seedbed for the next year, and sow the next year's crop, all in the same operation. [Laughter.]

But seriously, one man on a farm today, with power machinery, can do the work of 5 men or 12 men, depending on how far back in history we go to make the comparison.

Electricity? By our laws we are propelling the progressive movement of science. We set up a T. V. A. to send electric currents vibrating out over steel-towered lines carrying electricity to light dark homes and to lift heavy loads. Everything today is being done by electricity. Why, they even have an electric polling machine in New York, where a candidate is elected and his opponent is electrocuted at the same time. [Laughter.]

A young woman called up her husband and said, "George, you had better come home." He said, "What is the matter, honey?" She said, "I don't know; I must have got the wires crossed, or the plugs mixed, or something. Our radio is all frosted over, and our refrigerator is giving a fireside talk." [Laughter.]

So we are living in a scientific age. It is useless to blink at it. It is useless to go to sleep with the belief that the unemployment problem will solve itself. It will not. There is only one power that can solve it, and that is the Government itself: and that is why we have government.

We make another contribution to the solution of that problem which I do not wish to discuss now, in the form of old-age pensions and the Youth Administration, hoping to cut off unemployment at both ends, giving the old people something to live on and at the same time furnishing enough income to young people that they may spend their time in school, and cutting down the number of unemployed in that manner.

There is another major cause of unemployment and that is the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, with the accompanying increase of poverty on the part of the many. The two things operate in inverse ratio. The richer the rich become, and the faster they become rich, the poorer the poor become, and the faster and more numerous they become poor. That is a natural tendency. It was here before we were.

In the Army we were paid on pay day. I remember that when we were paid off all of us privates had the same amount of money; but by midnight that night some of us were flat "busted," and some of the rest of the privates had their pockets full of money.

Tonight we could divide up equally all the money in the United States, and tomorrow night some persons would be rich and some of the rest of us would be broke. The second night the rich would be richer, and the poor would be poorer and more numerous. The third night the rich would be richer and fewer, and the poor would be poorer and more numerous; and that would continue on and on.

Wealth constantly and continuously gravitates toward the hands of a few, as surely as the laws of gravity pull falling bodies toward the center of the earth. Unless some power is set up to offset that tendency, the inevitable result is crash and ruin.

It has happened with every nation which has followed the policy of laissez faire—let the Government keep its hands off, and let dog eat dog, and let the devil take the hindmost. It has always followed that there has been upheaval and revolution, and out of the wreckage a few human souls have crawled back and started all over again. If we pursue

the same policy, sooner or later the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few will bring that about.

Wealth? We have more wealth in the United States than has any other nation on the face of the globe. Why, we have so much gold that we dig it up in Colorado and bury it in Kentucky; and yet we split hairs over furnishing buying power to a few poor souls who cannot buy the necessaries of life.

Wealth? We have it in this country, but it is spotted; and being spotted is a sign of disease. The circulation of money is as necessary for the well-being of the body politic as is the circulation of blood for the well-being of the physical body. When it congests in one spot, there is disease; and unless the congestion is broken up and circulation established, death will follow.

Money? We have it in this country, but it is spotted. We have, in round numbers, over \$50,000,000,000 of untaxed bonds that do not bear their share of the cost of government. When we realize that those \$50,000,000,000 of bonds are owned by those in the highest wealth brackets, we realize that the ones who buy the bonds are those most able to buy and store them away and therefore be exempt from paying taxes on them. We have enough wealth in America, we have enough natural resources in America, we have enough manpower in America to develop those resources. Have we enough courage in this body to bring those things together in the proper relation to move forward, or shall we hesitate and talk about stopping the flow of money?

The concentration of wealth in the hands of the few brings stagnation. The Government must set up a power that is constant and forceful, bringing about a redistribution of wealth continually and constantly, or the wealth will all find itself in one place. That is the position in which we are today. It has been said the wealth of the Nation is concentrated until 1 percent of the families have 66 percent of all the national wealth, while thousands of others, yes, millions, have so little that it is not enough to live on.

Today we are debating whether or not we will increase the amount appropriated for the W. P. A. pay rolls.

I realize that this administration has been called a Santa Claus. President Roosevelt has been called Santa Claus so much that he has discontinued the dairy business on his farm in Dutchess County, N. Y., and has gone into raising Christmas trees. I suppose he wants to raise enough so that he can hang up presents for everyone.

We are criticized on account of the W. P. A. Goodness knows I cannot defend every act of the W. P. A. everywhere, and I say frankly that I hope the time will come when we can taper off the W. P. A. into a permanent public-works program, where the employment will be through private contract, where people will be employed as a private contractor employs them, and return to the local communities the semicharitable and charitable cases so that the communities can investigate and take care of them. But that stage has not yet been reached. Today we are still confronted by the necessity of deciding whether to take care of these people or not take care of them. We have not worked out a publicworks program. I should like to see us embark on a program that would favor self-liquidating and semi-self-liquidating projects, such as the construction of toll bridges, perhaps toll canals, and highways, power projects, and any other that had a self-liquidating possibility or a semi-self-liquidating possibility as a permanent proposition. But we have not yet reached that point. We still must take care of those who are before us today.

This criticism comes, "You will bankrupt this Nation; you will ruin us." Let me ask those who make that criticism, Does it make for any less money in the United States if we put some of it into circulation? When we raise money by taxation and spend it by giving jobs, does that result in any less wealth in the United States? It certainly does not. It increases the wealth in the country, as every economist will testify.

The amount of money and wealth in the country is determined not only by the volume of currency but by the turn-

over of the dollar. When we set up Government force pumps and start forcing money out from Wall Street to Main Street we are clearing the arteries and the channels of stagnation and putting the money in circulation; and that money, as it is turned over and over, means more wealth in this country.

Mr. President, I was interested in the question asked the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Typings]. The Senator from Maryland asked, Is it not the purpose to increase the food and raiment and shelter supply of this country? Then he asked, Does the construction of a city hall bring that about? I was surprised at the able and distinguished Senator from Maryland asking a question like that. The question today is not whether there is a sufficiency of food and raiment. That is not the question. That would have been the question in the days of barter, but we are not in those days now. Today we have a medium of exchange known as the dollar, and when the circulation of that medium of exchange is stopped, we can have surpluses which are burdensome, as we do have today. Yet, because the circulation of the medium of exchange is stopped, they cannot be handled. What good would it do to increase the production of wheat and cotton and wool when we already have surpluses?

Certainly the construction of a city hall increases the food and raiment supply of the people, because the workers on the building convert their time into dollars, and convert the dollars into food and raiment. There is a sufficiency in this country, and there is more than that.

I must tell a story here which I have told before, of an old fellow who had more whiskers on his face than I ever saw hanging on any man's chin. His head was as bald and as slick as an egg. I looked at him and said, "That is our situation today—overproduction and poor distribution." [Laughter.] I do not believe there would be overproduction in this country if it were not for the poor distribution.

Let us follow up that question of men working on the city hall. In the first place, the city hall is built of brick. Whence come the brick? From a clay deposit, and the clay has to be mined. Who does that mining? Laborers. What do those laborers get for their work? They get money. What do they do with that? They buy clothes and shoes and food. Then what is next? The next is cement. Someone has to mine that, haul it, and sack it. Then there is the paint. Someone has to produce the paint. There is the lumber. The lumberjacks in the forest get employment in producing the lumber, and they convert their labor into money, and that money into food and raiment and shelter.

What does the W. P. A. worker who toils in constructing this city hall do? Let us say he gets a dollar. What does he do with that dollar? Does he roll it up and smoke it like a cigarette? Certainly not. Does he roll it up in a wad and swallow it? Certainly not. Does he light a match and burn it? Certainly not. It is ridiculous even to ask such questions. What does he do with it? Does it mean less money in the country when that laborer gets the dollar? Certainly not. What does he do with it? He takes it to the grocery store as fast as he can and buys bacon and beans and other food supplies for his family, and, if any is left, buys clothing for his wife and children. It means unclogging the channels of trade, so that the dollar can be converted into food and raiment and shelter. That is exactly what it means.

We might be able to get along without the city hall, it is true, but that W. P. A. worker and his family cannot get along without the money he gets for helping build that city hall.

We are told that an increase in the appropriation means more taxes. From what class do the taxes come? They come from those who have the money. We can get out of paying any taxes at all by bringing back the soup lines. Then we can get into them and stick our hands down into our empty pockets and console ourselves by reflecting that, though we are starving to death, we do not have to pay any taxes. Certainly there are people paying taxes today who did not

pay them several years ago, and some of them are displeased at having to pay them.

Do taxing and spending mean less wealth in the United States? Certainly not. I do not mean that there is not a limit beyond which we should not go; but I think we have already gone further than the limit in one direction in allowing so many people to be without buying power.

Let me illustrate the point in this way: At my home we had a sandbox where the children used to play. There was a certain amount of sand in that box, and sometimes the children when playing would have the sand all heaped up in one corner of the box, sometimes they would have it all leveled out nice and smooth, but it was the same sand in the box. It did not make any less sand when it was all spread out.

Which makes for more prosperity in the United States, to have a hundred men with a million dollars each or a million men with a hundred dollars each? The answer is obvious. Bringing about a redistribution of purchasing power, by taxing those most able to pay and giving jobs to those least able to buy, makes for prosperity. That is the whole program, and that is what we are working on here, to bring about prosperity by taking money by income taxes, inheritance taxes, gift taxes, corporation taxes, and the different forms of taxes which reach all wealth in proportion to its ability to pay and in proportion to benefits received, and giving jobs to those least able to buy and increasing their purchasing power.

It is not confidence the business people need today, it is cash customers, and we are trying to see that they get more

cash customers.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LEE. I yield.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I take it, then, the able Senator would agree that the problem is not one of production, but is a problem of distribution?

Mr. LEE. To a great extent it is one of distribution of the purchasing power, as well as of the commodities. If we distribute the purchasing power, the commodities will be distributed, because whenever there is purchaser demand on the one side and an ample supply on the other, there is a free play and flow, and full prosperity throughout the Nation. What we are seeking is an increase in the purchaser's power up to the bare necessities of life alone. That is all we are asking, not for ability to buy any luxuries.

I was speaking of confidence in business. Confidence is as much a result as a cause of prosperity, in my opinion more. When does the businessman have confidence? After he has done a good day's business, after he has sold a good supply of goods, his confidence goes up. He says, "I feel better. I will buy more goods and fill my shelves." So that confidence is as much a result as it is a cause, and in my opinion more.

Confidence will rise in equal ratio with the increase of purchasing power of the people throughout the Nation. I fully agree—in fact that is one of the things in which I am deeply interested—that we should increase the purchasing power of the 30,000,000 people on the farms throughout the Nation, whose purchasing power has dropped to nil.

There are 6,000,000 farm families. Counting at least five persons to the family, that makes a total of 30,000,000 farm people. Their purchasing power has dropped to a very low point. The average farm family income in one of the States \$75 a year. What kind of purchasing power is that? No wonder the channels clog up when the people do not have the money with which to purchase goods.

No business man ever refused goods to a cash customer simply because he was pouting at the Government. When we get the cash customers, we will have good times, and not until then. We hear many idealistic talks about confidence on the part of business. That is all very well, up to a certain point. But let us not blind our minds or confuse our reasoning.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LEE. I yield.

Mr. WAGNER. The Senator remembers that during the former administration it was suggested that all that was

needed to restore confidence and bring business back was for the President to make some statement. So a statement was made that prosperity was just around the corner. But it did not mean anything, because there existed no purchasing power. People had no money with which to buy the goods produced, and business kept going down instead of recovering.

Mr. LEE. That is correct. And when prosperity comes back to America in a full measure it will not come around the corner of the First National Bank. It will come through the barn door, starting with the grass roots; it will come when the farmer gets his checks and starts going to the stores to buy his goods from the retailers, who in turn will send in their orders to the wholesalers, the wholesalers will order from the manufacturers, the wheels in the factories will start their slow hum again, and the hitchhiker will get his job back. When we start that cycle we will have prosperity.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LEE. I yield.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I feel certain that the Senator would advocate for the farmer, then, cost of production plus a fair profit.

Mr. LEE. I advocate it by all means, not quietly, but as vociferously as I am able to do.

It is not my opinion that we should abandon any of the fundamental principles of democracy. On the contrary, it is my full conviction that we should save those fundamental principles by adapting democracy to the times in which we live. When the engineers decided to produce the 1939 automobile, and streamline the body, they did not change any of the fundamental principles of engineering. They could not. They simply adapted the automobile to a basic rate of speed, namely, 80 miles an hour instead of 40 miles an hour. They could not change the centrifugal force; they could not change the law of gravity pull; they simply proved those laws with a machine operating at 80 miles an hour instead of 40 miles an hour.

There is no intention on our part in any way to destroy any of the fundamental principles of democracy, but to preserve those principles by causing democracy to function in a streamline civilization, in a streamline age, bring it up to date, and make it provide what is necessary to satisfy the demands made upon it by a people in a modern civilization. When our democracy or any other democracy fails to meet that demand upon it, it soon fails to be a government of the people.

Mr. President, a pioneer built a log cabin in a trackless forest. His nearest neighbor was 100 miles away. He had little or no need of government of law. With his ax and his gun he took whatever he was able to take. His home was an independent establishment. He manufactured his own leather goods. He manufactured his own cloth from fibers and made his own clothes. The home was sufficient. There was little need of any government at all.

His herds roamed at will. But one day a neighbor moved in, and whereas his herds had roamed at will before, now his rights were related to those of his neighbor. His neighbor had herds. They got along, perhaps, but soon other neighbors moved in, and soon there were so many neighbors that it was necessary to establish an institution called government to define and decide the rights as between these different people. There was a progress of civilization leading toward an increasing demand upon government. Whereas before they had needed no sanitation laws, it later became necessary to adopt sanitation laws. Then they had to pass legislation regulating traffic. Then they had to establish regulations and rules regulating the erection of buildings, the installation of piping and plumbing in connection with the construction of buildings necessary to health and the safety of the people, all of which was unnecessary at one time.

Twenty years ago it would have been silly for the Congress of the United States to establish a Committee on Civil Aeronautics, but we have one today because it is necessary. Today we have a committee which regulates the wave lengths of the air, or at least regulates them with respect to those who can use the different wave lengths of the air. That was unnecessary at one time. Thus we progress.

Labor-saving inventions come with the passing of every year and with every turn of the clock. One day a man said, "I will spend all of my time making leather goods. I will not have time to plant and harvest, so I must depend upon somebody else for the other necessaries of life." Another man said, "I will be a weaver and produce clothes, but I will not have time to do anything else. I will have to depend upon somebody else to produce the necessaries of life." Another man said, "I will study to be a doctor, and take care of the health of your children and your families." Thus we divided up our work, and we became interdependent to the point where we all now depend upon each other.

Today we are so interdependent that every man's business and profession is impressed with a public interest that did not before exist. And government cannot ignore that progress and ignore all the rights of the individual in comparison with society as a whole and the rights of society in the aggregate as compared with those of the individual. There is a shifting that impresses every business and every profession with a public interest. If the milkman does not bring a bottle of milk tomorrow morning, you suffer. If the bus does not run, you are inconvenienced. And those things that did not once exist under the purview of regulation today are by force of circumstances regulated, and logically must be, and the government that ignores the changing conditions is destined to crack for lack of keeping itself abreast of the times.

The democracies in Europe failed because they failed to function. The people turned aside from them because they no longer afforded relief from the very evils I have been discussing.

We hear much said about rights. A man says, "I have a right to make all the money I want to make." "Right" is a relative term. "Time" is a relative term. If one is waiting for something that is very dear to him, which he wants to get in a hurry, time is long. If we do not want it to pass rapidly, time is short. "Time" is a relative term.

One man's right to make money today is tempered by the other man's right to make a living for himself and his family, and the Government cannot ignore that.

Why have government? If we did not have government we would have the law of the jungle; the law of the jungle means the survival of the fittest; and the survival of the fittest means that the brute with the strongest muscle rules the jungle. Therefore, people set up an institution they call government, and the purpose and duty of that institution is to protect the weak from the strong, to prevent the strong from exploiting the weak.

In my opinion, that law extends beyond the physical side. It is just as much the duty of the Government to prevent the financially powerful from crushing the financially weak as it is to prevent the ruffian from outraging the child. It is just as much the duty of the Government, in my opinion, to prevent the cunning from exploiting the simple as it is to prevent the brute from destroying the child. And the government that fails to recognize that duty fails, in my opinion, in the purpose for which it was established.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. LEE. I yield.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I would say to the Senator, then, that the Congress should not have surrendered the power to coin money and regulate the value thereof.

Mr. LEE. That is another chapter.

I wish to thank the Senate for the kind hearing it has accorded me. I shall vote for the pending amendment, and on every question I shall be found on the side of those who desire to take care of the human interest in this country, to promote the purchasing power of those who do not have purchasing power, to do by Government action what cannot be done by individual motion. The only power that can do it is the Government. In this complex civilization only the Government can take money off the mountains of wealth and throw it back in the valleys of despair, and level up some of the low places in America, so that all the people may have a purchasing power with which to buy the moun-

tains of wheat and corn and of cotton which now exist in this country, and keep us on the road to true prosperity.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, a few moments ago, when the Senator from Colorado read the notice which he said had been posted in the W. P. A. building, I immediately called Colonel Harrington on the telephone about the matter and told him what had been presented to the Senate. Colonel Harrington knew nothing about it, but said he would immediately make an examination and telephone me. He has just called me over the telephone and said that he had learned that such a notice had been found at one place: that he immediately had it removed; that it had not been put there with the knowledge or approval of himself or any other official of the W. P. A.; and that he is very sorry it occurred. He does not know, and has not been able as yet to ascertain, who the person was who put it there, but he is using every effort to find out who put it there, and will report further to the Senate. In my judgment, Mr. President, it was put there by a wholly unauthorized person.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, we have consumed about 3 days in talking about a phase of the pending joint resolution which really is not before the Senate. We have devoted practically all the discussion to the amount which ought to be appropriated, when that amendment is not before the Senate for its consideration.

Under the unanimous-consent agreement entered into the other day, as usual, the committee amendments were ordered to be first considered. However, in view of the situation, it seems to me logical that the amendment which we are all discussing ought to be before the Senate to be passed upon.

I have consulted the minority leader, the distinguished Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNary], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes], and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Adams], in charge of the joint resolution; and as a result of those consultations I ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding the unanimous-consent agreement entered into with respect to committee amendments, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKellar] may now offer his amendment and have it pending, and that we may vote upon it at an hour not later than 2 o'clock tomorrow.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I am very much in favor of the purpose the Senator has in mind in fixing a time to vote on this question. I am quite willing to have the amount, which is the matter which has been debated, brought up first. The debate has been in the main by those who have favored the larger amount. Will the Senator, in his unanimousconsent request, in some way reserve a modest amount of time for those who wish to speak for the committee? The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes] and I would like an opportunity to be heard.

Mr. BARKLEY. I will say to the Senator that I am willing to amend the request by a provision that the time to be occupied tomorrow shall be equally divided between those who favor the amendment of the Senator from Tennessee and those who oppose it.

Mr. ADAMS. That is agreeable.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President-

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield to the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Before the unanimous-consent agreement is entered into I desire to occupy some time upon the joint resolution. I shall not desire a great amount of time; but there may be some questions asked, and I should not want to be limited. If I may be recognized tomorrow upon the convening of the Senate, I will take my chances on the 2 o'clock vote.

Mr. BARKLEY. It is entirely agreeable to me that the Senator shall be recognized. Of course, the Senator would not consume the whole time.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Not unless questions should be asked.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield to the Senator from South Caro-

Mr. BYRNES. In that case, I suggest that the Senator change the hour in his request to 3 o'clock, so that there will be ample time.

Mr. BARKLEY. That is entirely satisfactory. I amend the request by making the hour 3 o'clock instead of 2 o'clock. Mr. BYRNES. The time to be equally divided between

both sides.

Mr. BARKLEY. The time to be equally divided between both sides.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request of the Senator from Kentucky? Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I have had no opportunity

to confer with the other Members of the minority, but I am willing to assume that I may speak for them. I favor the

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, unless it is understood that I shall be recognized upon the convening of the Senate tomorrow, I cannot agree.

Mr. BARKLEY. After the agreement is entered into, I am perfectly willing that the Senator shall be recognized this afternoon, so that he may have the floor tomorrow when the Senate convenes. Of course, I cannot control the action of the Chair in recognizing Senators. However, under the circumstances I think the Senator will have no trouble.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, we never incorporate in any unanimous-consent agreement a stipulation that certain

Senators shall be recognized.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am not doing that.

Mr. McNARY. If the Senator will seek and obtain recognition this afternoon, he will have the floor when the Senate convenes tomorrow.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, I shall en-deavor to obtain recognition. With that understanding, I raise no objection to the unanimous-consent agreement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, may I be recognized?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma is recognized.

Mr. BARKLEY. As I understand, my request is now agreeable.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the unanimous-consent request of the Senator from

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Provided I may be recognized. Mr. BARKLEY. Let us dispose of the unanimous-consent agreement.

Mr. McNARY. May we not dispose of the unanimousconsent request?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will say that he will recognize the Senator from Oklahoma immediately after the disposition of the request of the Senator from Kentucky, which is now before the Senate.

Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request of the Senator from Kentucky? The Chair hears none, and the agreement is entered into.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma obtained the floor.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oklahoma yield for the purpose of offering an amendment to the joint resolution?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. On page 1, line 8, I move to strike out "\$725,000,000" and insert "\$875,000,000." I think the amendment is printed. I offer that amendment at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 1, line 8, after the words "the sum of", it is proposed to strike out "\$725,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$875,000,000."

#### RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 56 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Friday, January 27, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, JANUARY 26, 1939

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Oh, the depths of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God. How unsearchable are His judgments and His ways past finding out.

Heavenly Father, help us to hope, pray, and aspire with faith and confidence, for in Thee we live and move and have our being; thus may the tangled webs of life be unraveled and misunderstandings made clear. Thou who art the source of all good, be with us that we enter not into temptation and do wrong to no man. Very soon, blessed Lord, give answer to that prayer which falls from countless lips each day: "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven," and unto Thee be eternal praises. Through Christ our Saviour. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

## ADJOURNMENT OVER

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. I understand that there is no business ready for tomorrow.

Mr. RAYBURN. No, and I might say this to the gentleman. It had been the hope that the independent offices appropriation bill would be ready during the coming week, but during the hearings so many documents were asked for that it made the hearings so long that it is impossible to have the hearings printed and to report the bill next week. The earliest we can hope for that report is on the 6th of February, which would be Monday week.

There is very strong probability that the Committee on Ways and Means will be able to report and be ready to consider the matter known as the exemption of retroactive taxes on State salaries sometime next week. That committee does not hope to bring in the bill in response to the whole recommendation of the President at that time, because the matter of taxation of State securities, and so forth, would take longer consideration.

The chairman of the Committee on Rules has been asked to give hearings early next week on the resolution of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cochran] with reference to extending the life of the Reorganization Committee. Unless those two things are in the House next week or unless some committee reports something that I do not expect at the present time or have not been notified about by the chairman, that will be the extent of the program next week.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Then nothing of importance is likely to come before the House on Monday or Tuesday of next week? Several Members are anxious to know about that.

Mr. RAYBURN. No; except that the relief bill in some form in all probability will be before the House on Monday next, and there might be some votes, very important ones, in connection with that measure at that time.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. And, of course, that would depend somewhat on what the Senate does.

Mr. RAYBURN. That depends on the decision the Senate reaches today or tomorrow on some matters.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAYBURN. Yes.

Mr. FISH. Has the gentleman any knowledge of when the Committee on Rules might meet to consider the continuation of the Dies committee?

Mr. RAYBURN. That will certainly be not long delayed.

Mr. FISH. Has the gentleman any idea of whether the Rules Committee will meet next week to consider the matter?

Mr. RAYBURN. I think the gentlemen who have been in charge of that investigation are hoping that it might be done during the week, but no decision has been reached.

Mr. FISH. It will probably not be reported back to the House next week?

Mr. RAYBURN. Of course, Mr. Dies and his committee want that issue decided at the earliest date possible. I do not think that he has asked for a hearing yet before the Committee on Rules, but there is strong probability that it may be asked for next week.

Mr. FISH. The Rules Committee has not yet met?

Mr. RAYBURN. The Rules Committee has not met, but applications are coming to the chairman at this time for hearings.

Mr. FISH. There is no disposition on the part of the majority leader to delay consideration of that matter?

Mr. RAYBURN. Not at all. I assure the gentleman that will be taken up for consideration at as early a date as seems feasible.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAYBURN. Yes.

Mr. RICH. Last week I asked the majority leader what action would be taken this year by the Congress, or at least the House, or the leaders of the House, relative to trying to keep the Government spending down to a point where the people of this country might expect, reasonably, at some time in the near future to balance the Budget.

Mr. RAYBURN. It has always been our purpose over here to hold the expenditures of the Government to the lowest point consistent with taking care of the needs of the people, and that is our purpose this year. We are hoping, of course, that some of these days we may balance the Budget; and when that time comes, when we start in that direction, we trust that the gentlemen on the other side, including the great economist from the State of Pennsylvania, will not just make speeches about balancing the Budget but will vote that way.

His record has not been very consistent in that fashion in the past.

Mr. RICH. The gentleman cannot put one thing in the RECORD to show that the gentleman from Pennsylvania has not been consistent. I ask the majority leader, if we are going to adjourn until Monday, if he should not keep this House in session and try to get some economy into government. Whenever you point the finger at the gentleman from Pennsylvania you are on the wrong track. I will say the majority leader is the man who should come out here now and try to speak for economy. He is the one who should show the people of this country where you are going to get the money. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. RAYBURN. I may say that I think I can look through the Congressional Record and find many instances where, during the consideration of appropriation bills, the gentleman from Pennsylvania has spoken for economy and then when an amendment to increase the amount was proposed the gentleman voted for it. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. RICH. There is only one place where you can show that, and that was on the rural electrification proposition. I ask the gentleman from Texas to put them in the Record now and show the people of this country where the gentleman from Pennsylvania has not been for economy and where he will stand back of you Democrats if you will get out here and work for economy.

Mr. RAYBURN. Just so the gentleman stands back it will be perfectly satisfactory. [Laughter and applause.]

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Monday next?

There was no objection.

## PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday next, after the disposition of matters on the Speaker's table and the legislation program

of the day I may be permitted to address the House for 20

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that upon the conclusion of the special orders for today and any business on the Speaker's table I may be permitted to address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I make a similar request, that following the other special orders I may be permitted to address the House for 10 minutes today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 4 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is that agreeable to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Jones], who has a special order at this time?

Mr. JONES of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I have only a few minutes myself and I would like to have this matter read, and I would prefer that the gentleman from Indiana follow on account of this, if he does not mind.

Mr. HALLECK. I will yield, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Jones] is recognized for 10 minutes.

#### SUGAR LEGISLATION

Mr. JONES of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on two or three occasions during this session there has been some criticism of the administration of the sugar legislation. The criticism is legitimate and this is the proper forum for that criticism. However, I think it is important in any discussion that both sides of any question be presented. It is one thing to criticize. It is another matter to administer a far-reaching piece of legislation. That is always fraught with difficulties, especially when there is as much involved and as many different areas are involved as in the handling of sugar legislation. For that reason I am going to ask that there be read in my time a statement from the Department, giving their viewpoint of the sugar legislation, its problems, its difficulties, its outlook, and a contrast with the conditions that prevailed before the legislation was enacted. It is only three or four pages long, and I ask that this letter be read in my time.

The SPEAKER. Without objection the Clerk will read the

letter the gentleman refers to.

There was no objection. The Clerk read the letter as follows:

> DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, Washington, January 24, 1939.

Hon. MARVIN JONES,

House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. JONES: In response to your request of January 19 for certain data with respect to some of the questions raised in a recent congressional discussion about the program under the Sugar

recent congressional discussion about the program under the Sugar Act of 1937, we are pleased to submit the following information:

Briefly summarized, criticism of the sugar program in recent congressional discussion relates almost entirely to an assumed inadequacy of income for sugar-beet producers under the sugar program and the fear that the small reduction in the duty on Cuban sugar from 0.90 to 0.75 cent per pound, raw value, now under consideration in connection with the pending trade-agreement revision, may further curtail such income. It may therefore be useful to summarize the elements of protection and benefits for the sugar industry provided by the Congress in the Sugar Act of the sugar industry provided by the Congress in the Sugar Act of

1937. The prior sugar legislation of 1934 was of a similar nature. The four outstanding elements in the sugar program are as follows:

1. Limitation through quotas on the admission of foreign and insular sugars, which limitations have been fully effective and restrictive each year since 1934, and limitations on marketings of the mainland sugarcane and sugar-beet industries, which have been nominal since 1935 because production was generally below the quotas for such areas established in the legislation.

2. Limitation through quotas on the imports of liquid sugars from Cuba and Santo Domingo and outright prohibition or embargo on the importations of such sugars from other foreign countries in excess of 10 short tons.

The effect of these quota limitations has been to maintain a differential in the price of sugar in the United States above the price of unprotected sugars (seaboard basis) and in favor of domestic production of 2.17 cents per pound in 1937 and 1.80 cents

in 1938, equal to an ad valorem protection of 168 and 159 percent, respectively, not including the Federal payments to growers.

3. Federal conditional payments to producers of 60 cents per 100 pounds of recoverable sugar, pursuant to title III of the act, which, on the basis of average yields of beets in the United States, equal on the basis of average yields of beets in the United States, equal about \$24 per acre. For the 1937 and 1938 crops of sugar beets payments were made under the act on the total production of the growers, without any limitation of acreage or production. For the 1937 crop, \$16,966,000 has been paid out to date, covering 46,700 applications for payment, comprising practically all producers of sugar beets, an average of \$362 per farm, and for the 1938 record crop of approximately 1,700,000 tons of refined sugar it is estimated that the Government payments will aggregate \$20,300,000. These payments are, of course, supplementary to the payments made to growers by the processors.

growers by the processors.

4. Special payments to producers in the event of abandonment 4. Special payments to producers in the event of abandonment of acreage or deficiency in production under certain conditions as the result of natural causes beyond control of producers, such as freeze, drought, insect pests, etc. Producers are not required to pay premiums in money or in kind for this form of crop insurance. As the result of the above measures and similar legislation in 1934 the acreage and average returns of mainland sugar-beet producers under the administration by this Department have been increased as follows:

increased as follows:

No charles from Wilcom 150".  In the boundaries (on 'Wilcom the'  Place of the contract of the	Acreage	Average income per ton	Farm value
Average, 1909–14. Average, 5 years preceding sugar program (1929–33) Average, 5 years following sugar program (1934–38) <sup>1</sup> 1938 (estimated)	485, 000	\$5. 50	\$26, 697, 000
	785, 000	6. 09	54, 249, 000
	798, 000	6. 79	60, 428, 000
	931, 000	16. 30	70, 814, 000

1 1938 estimated.

The income per ton of cane for mainland cane growers increased from an average of \$3.39 in the 1929-33 period to an aver-

creased from an average of \$3.39 in the 1929-33 period to an average of \$3.98 per ton in the 1934-38 period, while the farm value of the sugarcane crop increased from \$10,134,000 to \$20,624,000.

The net income of the five major sugar-beet processing companies, representing about 75 percent of the total sugar-beet production of the United States, expressed as a percentage of their net worth averaged over 9 percent for the 5-year period of the sugar program, 1934-38, as compared with a loss of 4.2 percent in 1932 and 1.9 percent in 1933. (These figures are for the fiscal veers anding in the suring of each year.) For the year 1937, pri-1932 and 1.9 percent in 1933. (These figures are for the fiscal years ending in the spring of each year.) For the year 1937, primarily as a result of the invalidation of the sugar processing tax,

marily as a result of the invalidation of the sugar processing tax, the net income reached 12.47 percent.

Under the somewhat adverse conditions of decreased general purchasing power of consumers in 1938 and greatly increased sugar-beet and sugarcane production during the years between invalidation of crop adjustment in January 1936 and resumption thereof under the new Sugar Act, a reduction in net income for the fiscal year ended in the spring of 1939 may be anticipated.

Statements have been made in recent congressional discussion which would indicate that the share of the domestic industry in

which would indicate that the share of the domestic industry in supplying the United States market has been decreased under the sugar program. The fact is that the domestic share has increased markedly while the proportion of the United States consumption supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically the supplied by the supp sumption supplied by Cuba and other foreign countries has practically been cut in half under the sugar legislation, as compared with the late twentles. In 1938 Cuba contributed about 28.8 percent of the total United States requirements as compered with 43 to 53 percent in the period 1925-30.

The 1937 sugar-beet crop, the first to be marketed under the new law, gave the growers an income per ton equal on the average to parity prices. The increase in the income to growers from the 1927 crop will average close to \$10 an exerce over the contribution.

to parity prices. The increase in the income to growers from the 1937 crop will average close to \$10 an acre over that of the preceding year. Independent growers of sugarcane will benefit similarly. The margin of the processors has been reduced somewhat but they have benefited from increased volume of tonnage, which has resulted in part from the assurance of a more equitable division of total returns. It is significant that the first sugar-beet plantings after the enactment of the Sugar Act have been large enough for the first time since 1934 to justify the expectation that the industry will be able to fill the sugar-marketing quota established for the sugar-beet area.

The income of sugar-beet and sugarcane growers was increased

The income of sugar-beet and sugarcane growers was increased and the total income of the sugar industry was maintained, despite a decline in the general purchasing power of consumers. More-over, this was accomplished without the evils of a rigid price struc-It is particularly significant that consumer requirements for sugar were adequately met at varying prices as industrial recession and recovery caused variations in consumer incomes.

It will be noted from the foregoing that the references in the congressional discussion to the "record low prices for sugar" have been misleading, since the Federal payments of 60 cents per hundred pounds of sugar paid directly to the producers under the sugar program were not taken into consideration.

The second marketing year under the Sugar Act (which is the current crop) began in September 1938 and will terminate in September 1939. It is too early to forecast the outcome for sugar-beet producers, since only a portion of the sugar from that crop

has been marketed, and under their participating contracts with processors growers ordinarily receive about half of the net sales value of the sugar processed from the cane or beets sold.

It is to be noted that, because the sugar-processing season is a short one, there are considerable stocks of sugar throughout the year in the hands of processors, refiners, importers, speculators, and dealers. The Department is subject, therefore, to continuous pressure, in direct and indirect form, to utilize whatever power these interested parties believe it to possess to enhance the inventory value of such stocks. As of January 1, the total value of the visible supply of sugar alone is about \$170,000,000, and a quarter of a cent increase would mean \$10,000,000 additional to the owners of such sugars. The Congress, however, embodied in the Sugar Act certain standards limiting the discretion of the Secretary in fixing consumers' requirements.

the policy of the Department to administer the provisions of the act in accordance with such standards and for the benefit of domestic producers and with protection to the conflicting interests of other groups affected by the act.

Sincerely yours,

H. A. WALLACE, Secretary.

#### EXTENSIONS IN THE RECORD

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 4 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The Chair cannot submit that request without the consent of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Bolles]. Is it agreeable to the gentleman from Wisconsin?

Mr. BOLLES. It is, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, for some days there has been a controversy in the House which has operated to keep certain articles out of the Appendix of the RECORD. Of course, whether or not that has been for or against the general public good, I would not undertake to say. The controversy was precipitated last Friday when I offered for the Appendix of the Record an article written by our colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Barton]. At the time it was suggested to me by a Member on the floor, prior to the subsequent objection, that the article was a long article. I replied that I thought it would take about two pages of the RECORD. Subsequently there was objection.

I offered that article for the RECORD in good faith. I have been in Congress 4 years, and during all of that time I have observed that articles and statements, radio speeches, and other matters, written and given by Members of the House themselves, their own words, have not been objected to for the RECORD.

The ostensible reason for the objection was the length of the article. Then, too, somewhere along the line there has been a suggestion that there is a distinction between an article written for a periodical and a speech made over the radio. As far as I am concerned this is a distinction without a difference, because on many occasions I have seen radio speeches delivered by Members of the House subsequently reprinted in newspapers and periodicals. Such speeches have been inserted in the RECORD without objection. The medium through which the statement is first made is of no consequence.

So we get down to the matter of the length of this article. It was suggested yesterday by a Member on two different occasions in two different places that this was an eight-page article. Just that we may keep the record straight, the article in the periodical referred to occupies parts of four pages. In order, however, that there may be no question in the minds of the Members as to the actual length of the article and the space it would take in the RECORD, I submitted it to the assistant superintendent of planning at the Government Printing Office for information as to how much space it would take in the RECORD. I was informed that it would take not to exceed two and one-fourth pages. I do not know whence comes this talk about eight pages, or the extreme length of the article, because I see in the RECORD this morning a reprint of a speech delivered on the floor of the House 2 years ago, a speech heretofore contained in the RECORD, reprinted this morning to a length of five pages.

I said that I offered this article in good faith. Since offering it I have inquired of the Committee on Printing as to the length of articles that may be inserted without an estimate of the cost being obtained and found that it was two and one-half pages. This article, Mr. Speaker, will not take two and one-half pages.

Mr. Speaker, this article in all of its paragraphs and parts may not be the expression of views with which Members agree. Many things have been put in the RECORD with which I did not agree. There are some things in this article with which I do not altogether agree.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 additional minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALLECK. The fact of the matter is that this is a well-written, well-thought-out, well-considered article by a Member of this House. It deals with current social, political, and economic questions. It deals with problems that are before the House and the country. If there ever has been anything produced by a Member of the House that justified its insertion in the RECORD, this is such an article.

In all fairness, and in order that we may not engage in further controversy that can do nothing but close the pages of the Record to some Members, I ask again, Mr. Speaker, unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include therein the article to which I have referred written by our colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. BARTON].

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I see that the gentleman from California [Mr. Buck] is not on the floor. He is detained in committee, I understand. I trust the gentleman from Indiana will renew his request when the gentleman from California is on the floor.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, the other day I spoke with the gentleman from California [Mr. Buck] and based on that conversation, I may say to the House that I am confident if he were here he would not object to the offer of this article.

Mr. RAYBURN. Will the gentleman withhold his request until I can communicate with the gentleman by telephone? Mr. HALLECK. I shall be glad to.

Mr. RAYBURN. I personally have no objection to the article, but I know the gentleman from California [Mr. Buck! has objected twice.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my request for the time being.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks just now made.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts has objected-

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my request. The SPEAKER. Under the special order of the House heretofore entered, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Bolles] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. BOLLES. Mr. Speaker, I recognize fully the fact that this House, closely representing the people of the Nation, has no prerogative in determining who shall fill major or minor offices of the Government-no power of confirmation. But we are deeply, vitally interested in what manner of men are named to those offices. We cannot all be carried away by the soporific sophistications of the man at the other end of the Avenue or the tintinnabulations of easy-flowing sonorous sentences. We must face facts.

A man has been named to the Interstate Commerce Commission who is committed not only to public ownership of transportation lines, but to revolutionary changes in the Government which would put us on a plane with a Marxian Socialist government, did he have his way. That man is honest in his beliefs. That is the pitiable part of it, and into this great Commission Thomas R. Amlie will carry those

ideas frequently expressed on the floor of this House, in his honest zeal for the destruction of the purpose for which the very agency of government on which, if confirmed, he will serve and advocate the erection of something new, hostile, and different. The I. C. C. believes in privately owned lines. Mr. Amlie does not believe in privately owned lines.

I cannot remain silent at such a time. My district in Wisconsin, which was Mr. Amlie's district, and which overwhelmingly repudiated the political philosophy of Mr. Amlie, will expect me to make protest; my people will expect it; my State will expect it. The Nation will eventually expect it-demand it.

This is not a question of personal integrity. It is a question of placing a man in one of the great independent agencies of the Government to administer its affairs and sit in judgment on technical questions of transportation ,with opinions, expressed in advance, hostile to the established order of our Government. It is a paradoxical situation which we seldom meet-that a man so mentally out of harmony with a job could be given cheering assistance from the appointing power.

From the lips of Mr. Amlie come his own condemnation. He advocates:

First. A change in government.

Second. Confiscation of wealth by taxation.

Third. Government ownership of all industry, business, and every operation, with practical confiscation of all productive private property.

Fourth. Setting up of a great agency which is to practically and actually succeed the present Government insofar as its economic policy is concerned. The only thing left unmentioned is the police powers of the United States Government.

And this man has been named as a member of a great Commission, an independent unit of government in this Nation. I say to you, and every patriotic citizen must agree, that a man with that political philosophy has no place in our coordinated Government under the Constitution and the flag. That philosophy belongs overseas where Karl Marx and his manifesto are the fundamental law.

I call attention of the House to a speech made by Thomas R. Amlie, of the First Congressional District of Wisconsin, in the Seventy-fourth Congress, recorded on page 10037 and subsequent pages of the RECORD, as an index to the thought, principles, and purposes of the man nominated on Monday, January 23, for high office in the Interstate Commerce Commission.

As a man thinketh so is he.

We know that the Interstate Commerce Commission is one of the Government's most powerful in our bureaucracy. The destiny of millions of vested capital are in the control of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The destiny of nearly a million employees and their families are wrapped up in this Commission. The life or death of a transportation system is bound up in this Commission. It calls for skillful experience and some technical knowledge beyond the restricted confines of a small-town lawyer's office.

To say that this appointment came as a shock to thousands of friends of President Roosevelt in Wisconsin is to speak in I do not speak lightly when I say this. The Democratic State Committee of Wisconsin has already protested. Mr. Amlie has the right of his own opinions, but when they run not only counter to but in fixed opposition to the Constitution and public policy, especially in relation to the very task given him by the President, a position and responsibility so foreign to all his declared commitments to completed public ownership and the perfected Marxian production for use to be applied to America, we cannot help but register a shock.

Was there no Democrat of outstanding ability for this office? Was there no Republican like Balthasar Meyer in the State or Nation, or no Progressive?

Mr. RAYBURN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOLLES. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. RAYBURN. I do not want to interrupt the gentleman. I desire to make a correction, however. A Democrat cannot be appointed to this office.

Mr. BOLLES. The Commission is already overmanned by Democrats.

Mr. RAYBURN. Not overmanned; no.

Mr. BOLLES. Are there not seven Democrats on that Commission now?

Mr. RAYBURN. No; only six, and that is all there can be from any one party.

Mr. BOLLES. I know that. The statute so provides.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. BOLLES. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. To keep the record straight, may I say the law has been violated already. There are now seven Democrats. Mr. Eastman was appointed by President Hoover, according to the newspapers, on December 18, 1929, as a Democrat; so there are now seven Democrats. Mr. Amlie is a Democrat. He supported President Roosevelt in his two Presidential campaigns.

Mr. RAYBURN. There were a great many people who were not Democrats did that. Mr. Eastman has never been classed as a Democrat, and he does not class himself as a Democrat. He classes himself as an independent.

Mr. BOLLES. In Wisconsin Mr. Amlie is not even recognized as a Progressive of standing. He belongs to the extreme left wing. His own party defeated him in the primary in which he ran for United States Senator.

I want to read here in this RECORD the speech to which I referred in my opening sentences:

If, however-

Said Mr. Amlie-

we are to consider the nature of an adequate constitutional amendment, it seems to me that it would be well to consider what further power, if any, ought to be incorporated in an amend-ment designed to grant to the United States Congress powers sufficiently broad to permit an adequate consideration of economic conditions by the representatives of the people. I should like to suggest, therefore, for your consideration an amendment substantially as follows:

## HUMAN-RIGHTS AMENDMENT

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the "Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein). That in order to permit Congress, as the elected representatives of the people of the United States, to take action necessary to bring to the people of the Nation the abundance which full-capacity use of its natural resources, its machinery of production, and the skill of its people make possible, the following amendment to the Constitution, to be designated as the human-rights amendment, be, and is hereby, proposed to the States to become a valid part of the Constitution when ratified by conventions in the several States as provided in the Constitution: stitution:

# " 'ARTICLE -

"'SECTION 1. Congress shall have the power to enact laws providing for the ownership, operation, and management, through instrumentalities of the Government of the United States, of business, manufacturing, commerce, industry, and banking, and shall have the power to purchase, or condemn by eminent domain, such enterprises

have the power to purchase, or condemn by eminent domain, such enterprises.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have the power to regulate, limit, and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age; to regulate hours and conditions of labor and to establish minimum wages in any employment; to regulate production, industry, trade, and commerce; to provide for the support of children, mothers, aged, sick, and other persons not gainfully employed in the form of periodic grants, pensions, benefits, compensation, and indemnities from the Public Treasury or through contributions; and to provide for the economic and social welfare of the people of the United States. States.

"'SEC. 3. Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes on gains, profits, and income derived from securities issued either before or after the ratification of this amendment under the authority of the United States, the authority of any of the several States, and the authority of any subsidiary government of any State, including municipalities, as well as the right to make direct levies on capital. levies on capital.

"'SEC. 4. Nothing contained in the fifth or the fourteenth amendments to this Constitution relative to the taking of property without due process of law shall be construed to impose any limitation on the legislative power of Congress and the several States with respect to any of the subjects referred to in this article."

Mr. Amlie explains that-

This would give to the Federal Government the power to set up agencies for the production and distribution of goods and services to the citizens of the United States.

Substitute "Stalin" for "Federal Government" and put the statement in the past tense and we have the Soviet Republics in operation

That was in the Seventy-fourth Congress. I have not here time to carry my indictment into further counts. But in support of his position Mr. Amlie quotes a number of New Deal agencies which he says has in part carried out these schemes of control. Here is the fantastic plan of taxation in order to carry out the idea which is uppermost in Mr. Amlie's mind, sharing the wealth. But as a simple method he proposes that Congress spend billions on divers and sundry things, and from the RECORD I quote as to payment:

#### POWER TO INFLATE

In order to pay for this spending Congress may impose taxes of a kind that would absorb all income above a certain point. Congress might also levy excise taxes that would virtually take from gress might also levy excise taxes that would virtually take from certain sections of the people most of their present income, or if this should fail, there is then no limit on the extent to which this Government might borrow, and if people should finally become unwilling to buy Government securities, then the Government could simply take over the Federal Reserve System, causing the Treasury to issue securities which the Federal Reserve System would buy at par. In other words, the Congress and President have the power to embark on a program of pure inflation if they should ever desire to do so. If they so desire they could issue flat money to any extent that they might choose.

In still further confirmation of the Amlie position, let me further quote from the RECORD in the Seventy-fifth Congress, when Mr. Amlie was further expounding his views:

Mr. Hoffman. The gentleman thinks we can continue to spend beyond our income for 20 years without endangering our financial structure?

Mr. Amlie. Yes; I think so.
Mr. Hoffman. And the gentleman believes that one who conscientiously inquires where the money is coming from is a calamity

howler?

Mr. Amlie. Yes; I would class him as such, particularly when he states squarely that the country is going to run into bankruptcy, internal disorder, and every other calamity unless we immediately balance the Budget. I feel, if we come to a national calamity, the shortest way will be not by spending but by following the gentleman's advice to immediately balance the Federal Budget.

Mr. Michener. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. Amlie. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan. Mr. Michener. I have great respect for the gentleman's view and

stating that the gentleman is a disciple of that philosophy which calls for doing away with the profit system in this country, that the gentleman believes in production for use and not for profit, and that if he had his way he would change the economic system

and that if he had his way he would change the economic system of this Nation?

Mr. Amlie. I believe we are moving to a point where the economic system will be changed. For 20 years I have expressed my views on this and tried to get the American people to agree with me. I am not speaking now, however, from the standpoint of advocating a change from an economic system driven by the profit motive to one driven by a production-for-use motive. I am merely stating what I conceive to be the course of wisdom here and now operating within the framework of the present economic system.

Mr. MICHENER. Knowing the gentleman as I do, and the sincerity of his belief in his doctrine, I know the gentleman would naturally encourage and do anything which would eventually terminate in the type of government he wants to see in this country.

Mr. Amlie. No; that is not fair.

Mr. Amlie. No; that is not fair.
Mr. Michener. Therefore, the gentleman favors the present system because he believes it leads directly to a result which will bring about this new kind of a government he wants.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Amlie was a Member of the House, from the district which I now have the honor to represent, for 6 years. The gentleman came from North Dakota, where he was an able speaker and proselyter for the Non-Partisan League and the Townley system, now long laid away in the catacombs of ancient political history. The people got tired of horse-liniment theories. They wanted something else.

It reminds me of a delegation that visited a certain colored preacher and asked him to resign. A member of the delegation said, "If you ask us why, we want to tell you. You argufies, you sputifies, you discourses, all O. K., but what this here congregation wants to know is whereas and wherein." We began over in Wisconsin to find out "whereas" and "wherein" and from that comes the Republican delegation from that State.

The people of my district have risen in arms, they have held mass meetings, and have agreed to come down to Wash-

ington to protest to the Senate and to the President himself the appointment of a man who does not believe in our system of government, who does not believe in the profit system, who does not believe that the railroads ought to be operated privately. The one job to which he would be appointed is to administer the privately owned railroads, and the people want somebody on that Commission who realizes fully the responsibilities that they have rather than to use their position in order to proselyte for some new and strange doctrine in the United States, transplanted here from the mind and brain of Karl Marx.

[Here the gavel fell.]

#### MEETINGS OF COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the Committee on Ways and Means, I ask unanimous consent that that committee may have permission to sit during the sessions of the House during the session of the Seventy-sixth

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Cooper]?

There was no objection.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an article written by our colleague the gentleman from New York [Mr. Barton] entitled "After Roosevelt, What?"

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK]?

There was no objection.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Buck] may have permission to revise and extend his own remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN]?

There was no objection.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I now have permission to address the House today for 10 minutes. I ask unanimous consent that this time may be extended to 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish]?

There was no objection.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes today at the conclusion of such other special orders as may have been heretofore entered.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California [Mr. Voornis]?

There was no objection.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SHANLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks in the RECORD on the resignation of former Attorney General Homer Cummings, and to include therein a speech made by Max Spelke.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. SHANLEY]?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. Rogers] is recognized for 10 minutes.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on January 19, in an extension of remarks of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Ludlow], that very distinguished gentleman asked, "What is the matter with New England?"

Mr. Speaker, I have the very highest regard for the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Luplow] and I have always been of the opinion that he means to be fair. However, in the article mentioned above if the gentleman meant to be fair his ideas and facts are really very confused. He speaks in the first place of the matter of timber salvage and the payments to be made to the timbermen for the purchase of their logs as

a purely local matter. The gentleman entirely overlooks the fact, however, that the timber market of the entire country would be seriously affected and also the consumers of the entire country would be affected if this were not done.

I very much resent, Mr. Speaker, the implication in the gentleman's remarks that the New England timber people have not shown the courage, the fortitude, and the independence they have shown during every calamity in New England, and the fortitude, the independence, and the resourcefulness the people of New England showed at the very beginning of our country's history.

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield? Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman

from Indiana.

Mr. LUDLOW. If I had known when I reverted to my old newspaper habit of writing an article for publication that I would have brought down upon my head the castigation of my very esteemed friend the gentlewoman from Massachusetts, I doubt very much that I would have written the article. My whole purpose in writing it was to point out that in my opinion the country had gone crazy on spending, and that at last New England has gone crazy with the rest of the country.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I assure the gentleman that New England has not gone crazy, and is very much standing on her feet and using her head in this matter because it is so vital to the entire country as well as to

New England.

Mr. LUDLOW. Will the gentlewoman yield further?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. May I ask the gentleman to wait until I have completed my statement? I am very eager to place the facts in the Record.

In justice to the gentleman from Indiana I may say that in reading over the hearings again I realize that perhaps we did not stress enough the damage to the timber market of the entire country, so perhaps the gentleman did not

get that picture.

I have a very high regard for the gentleman from Indiana, I recall that years ago as a member of the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation and as chairman of its subcommittee on hospitals I believed the gentleman had such a good cause in asking for a hospital at Indianapolis that I did everything in my power to help him.

Mr. LUDLOW. I thank the gentlewoman.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I thought providing such a hospital would be of benefit to the veterans in that section of the country, and it affected the entire country as well. I know the gentleman means to be fair. I have stated before that I have always had that belief. I have a very high regard for the gentleman. However, I cannot let this matter pass without comment.

No loans are being made by the Northeastern Timber Salvage Administration to the timber owners in New England. Loans are made by the Disaster Loan Corporation to the Salvage Administration for the purpose of carrying on the salvage work. The purchase agreement made with timber owners provides for advance payment, at one time 80 percent of the log value and now 90 percent. Any further payments will be made pro rata at the end of the timber operation if there is a surplus over all costs of administration and marketing.

The gentleman unjustly did not bring out in his article the fact that this is a business arrangement. It is in no sense a grant. The logs are to be purchased and paid for, value received. There will be no loss to the Federal Government through this procedure. Interest will be paid by the Timber Salvage Corporation to the Disaster Loan Corporation, so there will be no loss to the Disaster Loan Corporation in any way.

poration in any way.

The Salvage Administration's operation is in no sense a relief measure. It is true it is an attempt to recover for the New England farmer some of the great wealth destroyed by the hurricane of September, but fundamentally it is a business operation that is being carried on. Logs are not being bought indiscriminately; for both the hardwoods and the softwoods there have been established three grades, with

exact specifications. These grades cover only the quality logs from which high-grade lumber can be manufactured. The logs are accepted at designated delivery points, leaving to the owner or his contractor the logging and hauling. The price schedules that have been set for the logs were arrived at by comprehensive studies made by Government experts and represent approximately the average price paid for logs in the commercial market over a period of 3 years previous to the hurricane. If the farmer was paid the full schedule price for his logs it would not give him the stumpage value he received before the hurricane, because the cost of logging the fallen timber lying in a tangled mass is estimated to be from \$2 to \$3 a thousand board feet more than logging standing timber.

It is estimated that there is about 4,000,000,000 feet of fallen timber in the hurricane area. Of this approximately 1,600,000,000 feet is salvageable. This represents about 5 years' supply for the sawmills of New England. Before the Salvage Administration began buying logs, sawmill operators were offering timber owners from 25 to 75 cents a thousand board feet as stumpage prices for the fallen logs. Logs bought at such a price could be manufactured into lumber, which, if thrown on the market in quantities, would have broken the lumber market in New England. The effect would have extended far beyond the New England market. After fulfilling the requirements of the New England market at disaster prices the markets of New York and the Middle Atlantic States could have had cut-rate lumber dumped into them, producing disturbing effects on the markets of the entire Atlantic seaboard.

The Members of the House must realize perfectly what the dumping of all this lumber on the market would mean. The timber people would have to sell their logs at a tremendous loss today, and this would disrupt the timber market. Then, if the procedure we have suggested were not followed, later the price of lumber would go so high the cost of building, of making boxes, and so forth, would be prohibitive. You can imagine the effect that would have all

over the country.

This is a great national problem, not just our own local New England problem. I am very sorry if we of New England have not made this situation clear to the Members before this, but possibly this is because we were so impressed by the enormity of the disaster and know it so well we believed other people must know about it also. This was the worst hurricane and the most serious disaster of its type that has ever taken place in the world, according to the experts, but perhaps we did not make that fact entirely clear to all the Members. It is obvious the gentleman from Indiana also did not realize the seriousness of the problem.

It must be remembered that 45 percent of New England's consumption is home produced and that 55 percent comes from other regions. Alabama, Florida, and Georgia supply 4.7 percent; Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Texas, 4 percent; while from Oregon and Washington come 22 percent. These figures are for the year 1936 and are the last compilation of lumber consumption. All of these regions would have felt the effect of any break in lumber prices on the northeastern coast. It is the purpose of the Salvage Administration to prevent any such consequences. It is storing softwood logs in ponds, or where that is impossible, processing the logs immediately into graded lumber and storing it. Hardwood logs are being processed as rapidly as possible and the lumber stored. The logs and the lumber will be fed into the market at a rate which will prevent any disturbance of prices.

Let me say again to the gentleman from Indiana and to the Members of the House that the only wood to be purchased by the Timber Salvage Corporation through Surplus Commodities Corporation is marketable wood, wood that can be sold in the markets, wood that can be merchandised. From the gentleman's article one might infer that people are to be paid for any kind of wood they have, whether or not it is saleable in the ordinary and usual sense of the word.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 2 additional minutes, if the gentleman from Connecticut, who has been granted permission to address the House at this time, has no objection.

Mr. MILLER. I have no objection, Mr. Speaker.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I know the gentleman from Connecticut is also interested in this problem.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Romjue). Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. In the opinion of conservative mill and lumber operators in New England there is only a normal business risk in the operation. With the acceleration of construction in the New England area lumber prices have stiffened with every likelihood that within the next few years there will be some increase in prices.

As administrative costs are being kept to a minimum for effective handling of the operation even if there should be no increase in lumber prices the operation should be self-liqui-

dating at the very least.

The timber-salvage operation is in no sense a relief measure. Logs are not being bought indiscriminately. They are mostly hardwoods and softwoods, of three grades, with exact specifications.

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman from Massachusetts yield?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. LUDLOW. I know the gentlewoman from Massachusetts wants to be entirely fair.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I certainly do.

Mr. LUDLOW. And I am sure she knows my high regard, and, indeed, my affection and esteem for her.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. And I have the same feeling toward the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. LUDLOW. And I appreciate what she did for me in

the instance to which she formerly referred.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I was delighted to do so; it was only a matter of justice.

Mr. LUDLOW. And I do not want to be put in the attitude of any seeming criticism of the delegation in Congress from New England, because I did not have any such feeling.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. May I interrupt there to say that I felt the gentleman meant to pay a tribute, perhaps, in getting away with something. [Laughter.]

Mr. LUDLOW. And I may say, as of course, we all know, there is no abler delegation in this Congress from any section than the delegation from New England, and I sat in at all of that meeting and I believe I never heard a case more ably presented; but what have we here? A new and a strange philosophy, that any time an act of God injures anybody we are to step into the United States Treasury and make him whole. [Applause.]

I am sorry that the gentlewoman from Massachusetts thought she detected between the lines of my article an implication that I did not appreciate the tragic position in which the farmers of New England are placed as a result of the hurricane. I was born and raised on a farm at a time when many sections of our State had barely emerged from the wilderness and the good people from whom I sprang had more than their share of the hardships, the tragedies, and the heart-rending disappointments of farm life. God never made any better people than my pioneer father and mother, and I would be untrue to their memory if I did not have the broadest and sincerest sympathy for those who seek to wrest a living from the soil. When the gentlewoman from Massachusetts a few moments ago referred to the courage and fortitude of the New England farmers the golden strands of memory led me back to the little country graveyard in Indiana where my father and mother sleep. They, too, were courageous. They, too, were brave; and anyone who thinks I do not sympathize with the New England farmers does not know me. Of course, I sympathize with them with all my heart and with all my understanding.

But I am concerned-more concerned than I can express-over the trend of things in this country. We are piling up a national debt that is simply staggering to the imagination. We have turned our back on local initiative and local responsibility and we now look to a centralized Government at Washington to do everything and to the Federal Treasury to pay all the bills. It is a most unwholesome trend of government and, painful as the process may be, it would be better for everybody, including the farmers of New England, if we would redirect our footsteps to safer ground. We can no more repeal the laws of economics than we can repeal the laws of nature, and one of the laws of economics is that we cannot go on forever with a deficit of \$4,000,000,000 a year. If we make the farmers of one section of our country whole on their blown-down logs every citizen who suffers from a calamity for which he is not responsible would have an equal right to make a similar claim on the United States Treasury. Into what depths of involvement would such a doctrine lead us?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. But in this case it is simply a purchasing matter and the Federal Government will receive back every penny. It is not a charity or a gift or a grant to New England in any way.

[Here the gavel fell.]

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Montana [Mr. Thorkelson] may have 30 minutes to address the House at the conclusion of the legislative business and other special orders on Monday of next week.

The SPEAKER pro tempore \*(Mr. Romjue). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan? There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein a letter addressed by myself to Colonel Fechner, the head of the Civilian Conservation Corps.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record by including therein remarks of Senator Townsend of Delaware regarding the silver question.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend the remarks I made a short time ago.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the special order of the House the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. MILLER] is recognized for 20 minutes.

### FLOOD CONTROL

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, in this House I have the honor to represent the First Congressional District of the State of Connecticut. Within that district lies the city of Hartford, the capital city of Connecticut. The district runs from the Massachusetts-Connecticut line south to a point 7 miles below Hartford, and spreads east and west from the Connecticut River. The people of that district are vitally interested in the problem of flood control and flood prevention. This afternoon I am going to talk about flood control in an effort to present to you the point of view of a citizen residing in the flood-affected area.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let us look at this whole proposition for what it is. Twice, in 1936 and again in 1938, flood waters swept buildings away; the lives of men, women, and children were menaced; factories were flooded; warehouses became swirling pools of turbulent waters; property was detroyed. This project, far from being partisan in itself is

nonpartisan—if there has ever been such a thing as a non-partisan issue before Congress. We are talking now, if you please, in the terms of human lives—the lives of men, women, and children. We are talking now, if you please, in the terms of factories which give employment. We are talking now in terms of property owned by citizens, property which represents their all—the accumulation of a lifetime of effort.

Now, let us see what happens. In other parts of this country the Government has been so eager to establish flood control and, properly so, that it has even used the excuse of navigability. And yet, when this project comes up we find objections being voiced. Somebody objects to putting on paper what is conceded to be a verbal agreement as between the Federal and State officials.

What objection can there be to a contract, setting forth in plain words, what the terms and conditions are to be? Is it not true that the only possible safeguard against misunderstanding and against misconstruction and distortions of verbal agreements is a written contract? Some object to the paragraph in the proposed contract which says:

In order to carry out the provisions of the foregoing acts as to the particular project herein mentioned, it is agreed between the State of Vermont and the Chief of Engineers without prejudice to the rights of the State of Vermont with respect to any other proceedings under the cited act of Congress.

And so forth. Now, since the administration objects to that clause, would it not be a simple fairness for the administration to say what other right of the State of Vermont it intends or contemplates violating. After all, this is a union of States. It is not a new form of government that sets up a rivalry between the Federal Government and the State government as to the execution of the rights of a State. The Federal Government ought to be the very first to want to protect any State in its rights. It is not enough for officials of the Government to say they do not know what this paragraph means. One might observe that the administration has enough legal talent on its pay rolls to advise these gentlemen on this point.

Again I say, let us look at this proposition for exactly what it is worth. What a strange contradiction we have here. How all the lofty sentiment about caring for the unfortunate; feeding the ill-fed; clothing the ill-clothed; sheltering the ill-housed vanishes when this proposition comes upof saving the lives of men, women, and children; of saving the factories which offer them the hope of employment and wages; of protecting the property which represents their life savings. Why is it that all the noble sentiment of the administration seems to vanish and all the deep concern for the lives and welfare and jobs of the people become a secondary consideration in this case?

Is it, Mr. Speaker, is it because the administration wants to shove down the throats of these people a power project to constitute what my respected friend from Mississippi designated as a yardstick? Is it the fact that this administration is willing to qualify its concern for the lives and safety and health, the jobs and property of these men, women, and children of this particular section of the United States by its desire to establish another little T. V. A.? What other conclusion can we reach than this?

It may interest this House to know that Governor Baldwin, of Connecticut, told me, within the last few days, that four of the private power dams which have been washed away are not going to be replaced by the power companies because there is now a surplus of dams in that section. Now, Mr. Speaker, if the administration wants to continue its insistence upon seven Federal power projects, referred to in the last Congress as the "seven little T. V. A.'s," let the administration come fairly before Congress and ask for what it wants and let that question be decided upon its merits; but I plead with this House, and I plead with the President, not to make the lives and safety and jobs and property of the people the price of establishment of a little T. V. A.

Undoubtedly, within a few days, I will be accused of being a tool of a so-called Power Trust; but let me say to the Members of this House, I do not own nor have I ever owned a single share of stock in any power company. I have no friends in the power business unless it be a few pick-swinging, pole-climbing employees. My only interest in this matter is to do whatever I can to see that the residents of my district receive some protection from future floods.

It is not impossible that you who have dealt with this problem over a period of years should allow your personal animosities to affect your judgment. You will all agree with me that to a new Member of Congress many of the things that take place here are strange. It certainly was surprising to me last week to hear a Member from Mississippi address the House during a discussion of an appropriation bill providing money to clean up the damage caused by the recent hurricane, spend all of his time tossing a few darts at the Governor of Vermont and referring to other things that had no connection with hurricane damage.

Why is there so much interest in trying to save money for residents of my district? If there is one characteristic of the people of New England that has stood out over the years, it is their willingness and ability to save an honest dollar. These various angles were discussed during the last campaign; they will not be news to the people of my district. My precedessor came back to Connecticut last summer claiming credit for defeating the New England flood-control compact. He raised the Power Trust cry. He broadcast on the subject Lobby Over Congress, and when the campaign was over a 36,000 Democratic plurality of the 2 years previous had been turned into a 4,000 Republican plurality, or a turn-over of almost 20 percent of the votes cast.

I am not here to defend any public utility—that there have been abuses in that field we all know. That dishonest men have engaged in the power business we all know. There are dishonest men in other industries, and recent history proves that dishonest men have even engaged in politics.

For one, I am rather proud of the Hartford Electric Light Co. It treats its employees well; it has reduced its rates voluntarily as consumption increased; there are hundreds of small stockholders who have invested their savings in the stock of that company who now look to its dividends for a livelihood.

I am convinced that the people of my district do not want to see public ownership. We do not want to see the Government compete with private industry. We cherish our freedom and liberty.

Now, just a brief review of flood-control history in Connecticut. Following the 1936 flood the citizens of my district demanded protection from future floods. They were willing to pay for that protection. Congress enacted legislation providing that where reservoirs had to be built in one State for the protection of citizens, in other States they could enter into a compact and under certain conditions submit the compact to Congress for approval. That method was adopted in New England. A nonpartisan commission was appointed to draw up the compact. They did their work well. The compact was approved by the legislatures concerned, signed by the Governors of the New England States, some of whom were Republicans, some Democrats. I do not know all the members of the commission that drew up that compact, but I know the Connecticut members. They were outstanding men, honest and able. They had just one thought in mind, and that was flood control. That compact finally came down here. Congress refused to approve it because it contained what was alleged to be a "power joker."

I am not a lawyer, but I can read English, and as a rule can understand what I read. I have never been able to find the alleged "power joker." That compact stated in substance that certain land was to be leased to a flood-control commission for the purpose of providing flood control, and to make it emphatic it further stated "and for flood control only." A lot has been said about the fact that the lease was to run for 999 years. I am told that originally the term of 99 years was mentioned, until it was pointed out by the Democratic Attorney General of Connecticut, Mr. Daly, that 99 years was a short time in the life of a Nation, therefore the longer

term was inserted. In another place the compact stated: "Any power inherent in these reservoirs is hereby reserved to the several States," which to me means only one thing—you cannot reserve something to a State unless it be something that State already possessed. That being true, the question of future power development was left right where it was before the compact was written.

It is interesting to recall that in the campaign of 1936 President Roosevelt spoke in Bushnell Park, Hartford. While speaking to a vast audience he complimented the representatives of the New England States for the way they had gone ahead with the compact idea as suggested by Congress. He further said, in substance, that you can spend all the money you want building dikes in Hartford, but you will not have solved the problem of flood control until you enter into a compact with your neighboring States to the north. Why and when did the President change his mind? Now, we come to 1939, and the residents of Hartford County have no more protection than they had in 1936.

Dikes are being built on both sides of the Connecticut River at Hartford and East Hartford. These dikes will create a natural narrows which will, according to Army engineers, increase the crest of a flood north of that point; but we were told that the three reservoirs for which money has been allocated would more than offset that rise of the river. However, if these reservoirs should not be built, because of the present controversy, we are worse off than ever before.

If the 1938 amendment is not clear, why was it not submitted to a proper tribunal? It has been reported within the past week that the President himself stated that he is not certain that the Federal Government has the right to take land without the States' consent. At the same time, the President stated further that he could recall no occasion when the Government had taken land from a State without its approval. We must bear in mind that land taken for post offices, lighthouses, public parks, and such uses have always met with State approval. Why not evict the "Ethiopian gentleman" from this wood pile? Mr. Rankin has stated in the Record:

If you will let us alone, we will develop the water power of New England.

I should like to say to Mr. Rankin that we are not interested at this time in developing water power for electricity—what we want is flood prevention and flood control. Let us forget politics. Let no one take an arbitrary stand and say, "You will get flood control on my terms or you won't get it at all." Flood protection can be provided within the Constitution without taking from any State, rights the State have always had and without injecting the power issue. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the special order of the House the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Dondero] is recognized for 10 minutes.

#### DUTY ON BINDER TWINE

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, I introduced in the House today a bill to place binder twine manufactured in foreign countries on the dutiable list and fix the amount of the tariff or duty at 2 cents a pound. I do this knowing full well that this item has been on the free list since 1894. The manufacture of binder twine by private producers of this country has decreased more than 50 percent since 1925; and if the present trend continues, it will be but a very short time when there will be no more binder twine manufactured in the United States and this industry will have gone the way of some other industries—vanished entirely from this country.

I realize this subject is of vital interest to every Member of this House who comes from a grain-producing State. It is also of vital interest to every Member of this House where binder twine is manufactured in this country. It is also of vital interest to the Members of this House who come from the eight States of the Union where binder twine is manufactured in their penal institutions.

My State of Michigan happens to be one of the eight States in the Union where binder twine is manufactured. The subject has been called to my attention by the department of correction of Michigan. With an investment of nearly \$1,000,000 in the binder-twine plant of our penal institution—and if am not as much concerned about what is produced by convict labor as I am concerned about what is produced or manufactured by the free labor of our country—this department shows that within the last few years the number of men employed has decreased from 259 to 143, with the prospect, as the department has said in its letter to me, that within a very short time Michigan will lose its entire investment in this plant at Jackson, Mich. This is situated in the district of my distinguished colleague Mr. MICHENER. If the present policy is continued, it may be compelled to close its doors and the investment will be lost to the people of my State.

The record shows that in 1925 binder twine was produced in this country to the extent of 290,000,000 pounds—and I simply use the round numbers for the sake of brevity—while in 1935, 10 years later, the amount produced in this country was only 158,000,000 pounds, or, as I have said, a decrease of nearly 50 percent.

The amount produced by convict labor in all penal institutions was 56,000,000 pounds in 1925 and in 1935, 10 years later, 48,000,000 pounds, or a reduction of practically oneseventh of the amount, while in private industry it has been reduced from 234,000,000 pounds in 1925 to 109,000,000 pounds in 1935, or about 50 percent. In the same period we find that the amount of imports of binder twine from foreign countries has increased from 11,000,000 pounds in 1925 to 56,000,000 pounds in 1935. In other words, from 4.5 percent of what was consumed in this country in 1925 to 27 percent in 1935, or an increase of 85 percent in the amount of importations. The most of it comes from Mexico. I have some figures here which I shall ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD in the extension of my remarks. The amount produced in 1925 by private industry for domestic consumption was 72.7 percent of all of the amount used in this country. That has been reduced to 49.4 percent in 1935, while the amount of imports, as I have shown, have increased from 4.5 to 27.1 percent. Within the last 2 or 3 years I recall distinctly that what I am attempting to do by this bill we did in the case of sugar. On the floor of this House a very heated debate arose over the question of permitting Cuba to ship into this country more refined sugar than she had shipped before. It was argued if that was done the American refineries on the Atlantic seaboard would close their doors and men employed in that industry, many thousands of them. would be thrown out of work and compelled to seek employment elsewhere. Members who were here then will remember that we defeated that proposal. There may arise in the minds of Members from the grain-producing States the question whether this will increase the cost of binder twine to the farmer. My answer to that question is that if the trend in this country continues until all manufacture of binder twine ceases in the United States the farmers of this country will be at the mercy of foreign manufacturers and be compelled to pay whatever price is fixed by them. hope and my belief is that if we can restore or save for this Nation the manufacture of that one product, at least to the extent of our own domestic consumption, we can raise the volume to a point where the amount of the duty on foreign manufactured binder twine will be absorbed and the price of binder twine will not be increased to the American farmer. The price will be reduced by the increase of the amount manufactured.

I call attention to the fact that this bill in no way prevents the importation of raw materials for the manufacture of that article in this country. It simply applies to the manufactured product in other countries. It may be a surprise to many to know that you can buy Mexican binder twine, and I mean by that binder twine manufactured in Mexico by Mexican labor, for less than you can buy the raw material in the United States. I have a telegram from the Director of Corrections of the State of Michigan which reads in part as follows:

It appears that there is no fixed selling price on foreign binder twine. Owing to profusion of foreign twine available in this country, sellers are allowing buyers to name price. It also appears that much foreign twine is being held by banks and other moneyed interests who are anxious to dispose of the stock in order to liquidate. Mexican twine is quoted at a less figure than Mexican raw materials can be purchased by domestic manufacturers, due we suspect to the fact that finished twine is not taxed by Mexican Government while raw materials for export are taxed.

It is my information that foreign manufacturers of binder twine wait until the price is fixed by the American manufacturer, and then sell for 1 cent a pound less to the American consumer. That policy means the ultimate extinction of our domestic manufacturer in the production of this particular article.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DONDERO. Yes.

Mr. GREEN. Would not also the relief mentioned by the gentleman be a tremendous help to the cotton grower?

Mr. DONDERO. I have not given consideration to that subject, but I do have in mind the question of keeping our own people employed as long as possible. If this particular industry vanishes, we will have that many more people unemployed. May I say, for the benefit of the House, that in the month of June 1938, there was imported more than 18,000,000 pounds of binder twine into this country, while last year over 80,000,000 pounds were imported duty free.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman

from Michigan has expired.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DONDERO. I yield.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. What the gentleman has said about the extinction of the manufacture of binder twine in this country is also true with respect to the manufacture of newsprint paper. All the plants engaged in that manufacture were forced out of business because of the importation of foreign made newsprint paper, made by foreign labor, which threw thousands of people out of work in this country.

Mr. DONDERO. And with which American labor cannot compete.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DONDERO. I yield.

Mr. MICHENER. I want to compliment the gentleman from Michigan for calling this matter to the attention of the country, because it is important to the people of the district which I represent, and if I can cooperate with the gentleman in any way I shall be very happy to do so.

Mr. DONDERO. I thank the gentleman for his observa-

I do not think it is overdrawn to say that if we are going to protect sugar refineries of this country and keep men employed in those factories, there is no reason why we should not keep American labor employed in American factories for the manufacture of binder twine so greatly needed by the grain-producing farmers of this Nation.

I am well aware that in some sections of the country where combines have come into use in place of the binder, binder twine is not used because the grain is cut and threshed in the field. I understand there are about 35,000 combines in use now. However, that does not apply in other sections of the country where combines cannot be and are not used. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has again expired.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and include a radio address I delivered on last Friday night.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the Record LXXXIV—54

by including a speech which I delivered at the Farmers' Equity National Union Convention in St. Francis, Kans.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the Record and include therewith certain charts and diagrams disclosing the facts and figures in reference to the importation of farm products, and the American acres displaced thereby.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the

request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record at this point.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? There was no objection.

## THE SUGAR-BEET INDUSTRY OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, during the war this country was insufficiently supplied with sugar. Prior to the war we had not developed the domestic beet-sugar industry to a point where it could supply a reasonable percentage of our sugar requirements. In 1913, we must remember, the administration then in power and led by President Wilson reduced the duty on sugar coming to this country from Cuba. This discouraged the growth of the industry, and our people were afraid to invest their savings in the industry for fear it would eventually be crushed by reason of competition from the lowcost areas in Cuba and other foreign lands. Following the war Cuba greatly expanded her sugar industry in actual production, and as a direct result of this expansion plus the rapid recovery in actual production of the beet-sugar industry of western European countries and the creation of a highly protected and subsidized sugar-beet industry in the British Islands, the expansion of the industry in the United States was further discouraged.

## REPUBLICAN ENCOURAGEMENT IN 1930

However, in 1930 the administration then in power enacted a protective tariff of \$2 per 100 pounds on raw sugar coming in from Cuba. Since 1930 the domestic American industry has been expanding its production of actual sugar. This added protection was encouragement, and we should add it to the further inducement for growing sugar beets because of the protection of the Tariff Act of 1930 and the participating sugar-beet contracts put into operation by the industry in 1932, under which farmers were able to grow sugar beets on a basis more profitable than other substitute crops would bring in the way of cash income at the prices prevailing in 1932 and 1933. During the years 1932 and 1933, by reason of sugar being a nonsurplus crop, the farmers in the sugar-beet factory areas found the industry to be of great benefit. As a matter of fact, it was in 1932 and 1933 the domestic sugarbeet industry justified its immortality in the economic life of this country.

#### REDUCTION OF DUTY ON CUBAN SUGAR IN 1934

When President Roosevelt decided to reduce the Cuban sugar duty on sugar coming to the United States from Cuba he knew quite well that some type of compensation would have to be offered to the American farmer growing sugar beets. The processing tax was then applied and with it direct benefits began to flow to the American sugar-beet grower in lieu of the reduction in duty allowed to those who own and operate sugarcane plantations in Cuba. This processing tax plan was held unconstitutional. The Cuban duty was reduced by the President from \$2 per 100 pounds down to 90 cents per 100 pounds on raw sugar coming in from Cuba.

#### SUGAR ACT OF 1937

September 1, 1937, the President approved the present sugar act now in operation and under which a benefit payment is going to the United States beet grower, and this is in lieu of the \$1.10 per 100 pounds on raw sugar which he allowed to the sugar industry of Cuba. The intent of the 1937 act was to preserve the domestic sugar industry—beet and cane.

#### SECRETARY'S POWER UNDER 1937 ACT

If under the 1937 sugar act the mill operators are obtaining too great a return as compared to the sugar-beet and sugarcane growers, should the Secretary of Agriculture complain about the matter when he holds in his hands such powers as are granted by the 1937 act. Let those who would be informed read the act very carefully. Of course, the industry has enjoyed the general pick-up in operating profits which other branches of American industry have enjoyed when comparing the present situation (1938) with 1932 and 1933. The record shows this improvement in most all lines of industry. It is not fair to restrict the statement to the sugar industry. Neither is it fair to claim that the general improvement in the industry is due to some specific act of Congress.

#### THE MOMENTARY SITUATION

Now it appears the President desires to further reduce the Cuban duty from 90 cents to 75 cents per 100 pounds raw value of sugar. This proposed reduction has greatly affected present prices and the value of inventories of sugar now in the hands of producers and the trade. The proposal has affected prices adversely. The Secretary of Agriculture places great emphasis on "past" performance. Why does he not discuss prospective prices on present inventories; prospective prices the beet growers-farmers-and sugarcane growers will receive for their product by reason of it having to move into channels of consumption at present and probably much lower prices? Farmers are interested in the future. The past is a closed book. The Secretary has already made releases on prospects for 1939 crops other than sugar. Now let him say to the domestic growers of sugarcane and beet-what he thinks they will receive if present prices, or if lower prices, prevail on the unsold portion of their 1938 crop and the coming 1939 crop. No doubt the Secretary would prefer to not venture into this field of prophecy. But in presenting my thoughts to the Congress, let me say that I am interested in what the future promises to the growers of sugar in our domestic industry. Again, why does the Secretary deal with the price of sugar to the consumer in one release and then in a later release talk as if the previous release dealt with the price of sugar as paid to the grower by processor and the Government through the benefit payment. The layman has difficulty in comprehending just what the Secretary does say. The sugar expert can, of course, understand all that is said and so can the Secretary and his sugar experts. Therefore, let me admonish you to keep in mind hereafter that either one of two prices may be under discussion; that is, the price paid by the consumer to the retail trade and the price paid to the farmer by the processor and the Government.

# DOES THE DOMESTIC SUGAR INDUSTRY FACE ANOTHER DISCOURAGING PERIOD?

What the industry and its friends want to know now is, Will the Government extend a friendly interest in the future? Do we now face an unfriendly period? Is Cuba to be given greater consideration in the future than the domestic industry is to receive? Will the Department of Agriculture point to past performance rather than remove all doubt as to future cooperation? Must the industry suffer heavy losses on present inventories and the 1939 crop? Time will answer these questions, but it might encourage industry—private industry—if they could be answered now.

Mr. SHAFER of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record at this point.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. SHAFER of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, for a long time we have heard much about "pump priming" and "relief."

These phrases have been used by the New Deal to excuse deficit after deficit and to justify an ever-increasing public debt which has now reached mountainous proportions.

Our national debt by 1940, according to President Roosevelt's own calculations, will reach an all-time high of \$44,-

458,000,000. Others in Government calculate that if all of the appropriations now asked for by the President are granted, the public debt by 1940 will actually exceed the statutory limitation of \$45,000,000,000.

Indeed, it was recently stated in newspapers that the President would ask the Congress to raise the statutory limitation of the public debt.

We have recently been given a new catch phrase under which the New Deal seeks to justify and excuse our enormous national debt and the constantly increasing deficit. This new term is "Government investments."

It is apparent that we are now passing out of the era of "pump priming" and we are entering an era of "Government investments" propaganda.

ment investments" propaganda.

Now, it seems to me that it is utterly dangerous for us Members of Congress to try to fool ourselves or the country any longer concerning this matter of Federal expenditures. Spending is spending; waste is waste; extravagance is extravagance; political racketeering is political racketeering, regardless of the name by which they may be called.

Someone once said that a rose by any other name would smell as sweet. It is equally true that a polecat called by any other name would smell just as offensive. It does not make the slightest difference to the taxpayers whether their hard-earned dollars are taken from them under the pretense of "pump priming" or under the pretense of "Government investments."

You may change the name or phrase but you do not alter the facts. The Federal debt cannot be reduced, or extravagant spending stopped, by euphonious phrases. The debt will be paid out of the pocketbooks of the American taxpayers and by no other means. These continuing deficits will be curtailed only by efficiency and economy in Government. It is time to face these facts. We can no longer ignore them.

The President has outlined to this Congress plans and requirements for a \$9,000,000,000 Budget. If things continue as they are now going, we may well face in 1940 a \$10,000,-000,000 Budget.

I am greatly disturbed by the declaration by our President that a \$9,000,000,000 or a \$10,000,000,000 Budget for this country is a fixed and unchangeable fact and that, of necessity, we must raise the national income to \$80,000,000,000 a year in order that 10 percent of the people's income may be arbitrarily taken from the citizens to sustain the extravagance, the political exploitation and racketeering which has characterized the administration of public affairs for the past 6 years.

There are many of us, Mr. Speaker, who deny that we are confronted with a \$9,000,000,000 or a \$10,000,000,000 annual Budget as a fixed and unchangeable fact in the affairs of our Nation.

The administration now talks about a new kind of trick bookkeeping—two sets of books—one in which to keep certain items of expenditures, and the other in which to keep so-called Government investments.

Now, it is common knowledge that the New Deal administration has been writing off millions of dollars in so-called loans and investments which are not collectible. It is also a fact that the Government is carrying on its books as assets many more millions which are today uncollectible. Any Member of Congress who desires to confirm this fact has but to study the list of commitments of this Government in which the principal and interest on loans have been guaranteed by some department of the Government. These are not assets. They are plain losses.

The President, in his message of January 4, said:

Many people have the idea that as an agent we are overburdened with debt and are spending more than we can afford. That is not so. Despite our Federal Government expenditures the entire debt of our national economic system, public and private together, is no larger than it was in 1929, and the interest thereon is far less than it was in 1929.

That, Mr. Speaker, is an excellent illustration of this new trick bookkeeping which is proposed for the Government.

The private debt in 1929 and in the years preceding was vastly greater than it is now, because there was a vastly greater amount of private business going on. Private capital, at that time, had not been scared into hiding by hostile administration attitudes and punitive taxation. Businessmen were willing to borrow credit and venture into commercial and industrial operations because they believed they had at least a fair chance to get a reasonable profit without Government competition, without labor disorders, and without punitive policies on the part of the administration.

The statement I just quoted from the President's message further illustrates this trick governmental bookkeeping, because it apparently has actually persuaded the President that the financial situation of the Nation is now better than it was in 1929; that we are not spending more than we can afford: and, on the basis of this economic philosophy, we can go on spending far into the indefinite future without worrying for a moment about the size of the Federal debt or of the

fiscal state of the Union.

Certainly a tremendous change has taken place in President Roosevelt's financial reasoning since March 10, 1933, when he told Congress:

For 3 long years the Federal Government has been on the road to

Too often in recent history liberal governments have been wrecked on the rocks of loose fiscal policies. We must avoid this danger.

When Mr. Roosevelt made these statements in his message in 1933, the increase in the national debt from March 3, 1929, to March 4, 1933, had been \$3,592,000,000, or an average increase of only \$898,000,000.

And now, by the President's own calculations, we are better off financially as a Government that we were in 1933, although the Federal debt will have grown from \$20,937,000,000 on March 4, 1933, to \$44,458,000,000 on July 1, 1940.

This will be an increase in 7 years under the New Deal of \$23,521,000,000. And this, in turn, represents an average annual increase under the New Deal of \$3,360,000,000, and also represents an average annual increase of 275 percent greater than the average annual increase which in 1933 impelled Mr. Roosevelt to warn the country that "for 3 long years the Federal Government has been on the road to bank-

As I have said, Mr. Speaker, this trick bookkeeping is not going to reduce the public debt or put the brakes on these recurring deficits. Trick bookkeeping is not going to relieve the taxpayers who have to raise the money for these expenditures, whether they be called regular or extraordinary expenditures, whether they be called "pump priming" or whether they be called "Government investments."

We all favor an \$80,000,000,000 income for this Nation. There is no argument about that. In fact, there is no reason why our national income should not be even greater than that if it is based upon sound economy rather than inflationary economy. We should try to achieve an \$80,000,000,000 national income in order that our people may have work; that they may be self-sustaining and prosperous, and not in order that 10 percent of it may be eaten up by taxation to support an extravagant bureaucracy and political waste and racketeering.

It has been pointed out recently by well-known writers on governmental affairs that there is a great difference in sound economics between investments and expenditures. Certainly the business affairs of the Government ought to be conducted on sound economic lines.

If a man invests his money in food or clothing, which he is going to consume or wear out, he is making expenditures. If he puts his money into a factory in which he intends to manufacture food or clothing which he expects to market at a profit, he is making an investment. The same thing is true of the Government. Federal funds which are spent for made work or for non-self-liquidating projects are expendituresplain expenditures—and nothing else. They may or may not in some cases be desirable or necessary, but certainly there is no need for us to fool ourselves by entering them on the Government books as investments.

Of course, it is easy if we adopt this catch phrase of "Government investments" to spend money on all sorts of impractical experiments and then claim that it is a "Government investment" in cultural or spiritual values. There is a very grave doubt, however, that many of these so-called investments in cultural and spiritual values have yielded any return in that direction. However, a sound economy and a stable Government credit demands that we look squarely at the nature of our expenditures, instead of fooling ourselves by trick bookkeeping and fancy phrases.

One well-known newspaper columnist, Mark Sullivan, pointed out recently that Talleyrand, noted French diplomatist and statesman, was aware of this device of the artful use of catch phrases. Talleyrand, in his memoirs, according to this columnist, said:

A chief art of politics is to invent new names for things which, under their old names, have become unpopular.

This same writer points out that David Cushman Coyle, in a magazine article which appeared about a year ago, wrote:

The fact is still there but the name was wrong; it is time to adopt the more accurate vocabulary. \* \* \* Once the people understand this distinction they can be shown that the Federal finances are in a sound condition.

That phrase, "once the people understand this distinction they can be shown that Federal finances are in sound condition," is disquieting to me. It has the sinister tone of fooling the people. At this season of the year it might be appropriate to note in passing that Lincoln once said something to the effect that you can fool all of the people some of the time and some of the people all of the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time. The elections last November would seem to have confirmed Mr. Lincoln's declaration in some degree.

It has been pointed out several times by Members of Congress that the present New Deal administration has spent in its short life of 6 years more than 33 percent than was spent in the 128 years from 1789 to 1917. It has also been pointed out that the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury for the fiscal year of 1937 showed that the total expenditures of the United States Government from 1789 to June 30, 1917, were only \$28,700,000,000, and by March 3, 1938, they had risen to \$155,000,000,000.

The repeated assertions of the present administration that emergency expenditures account for and justify the tremendous increase in public expenditures is not correct. The Treasurer's report, just referred to, shows that regular operating expenditures of the Government rose from \$2,779,000,000 in 1933 to \$3,189,000,000 in 1937, an increase of \$410,000,-000 in 5 years.

This increase in the regular operating expenditures is especially significant when it is considered that during the 10-year period from July 1, 1921, to June 30, 1931, the entire expenditures of the Government, exclusive of debt retirement, increased from \$3,372,000,000 for the fiscal year of 1922 to only \$3,652,000,000 in 1931. Keep in mind that the operating expenditures during this period represented 87 percent of all the costs of Government, exclusive of debt retirement.

In 1934 the first complete fiscal year of the Roosevelt administration, regular operating expenditures were 33.3 percent of the total expenditures. In 1937 regular operating expenditures had risen to 42.8 percent of the total expenditures.

Now, Mr. Speaker, these are only some of the plain facts which show the fallacy and danger of adopting any system of trick bookkeeping which will tend to fool the people and ourselves as to Government expenditures. Every thinking citizen in this country knows that we cannot continue spending as we have been spending for the last 6 years.

The Roosevelt administration has been 6 years getting us into the fix we are in. Now, Mr. Roosevelt and his followers call upon the Republicans to tell them how to rescue the Nation, and they want the answer in less than 6 weeks.

There is no single answer to these problems. They are so interrelated in our economy that only a general reformation of all the wasteful spending, political racketeering, wild experimentation, and theoretical financing can save us.

The President has asked the Republicans where we would curtail expenditures and thereby reduce these annual deficits. I say that one good place to begin is by cutting off political racketeering in relief. Relief must be made efficient and economical. It must be put on a nonpartisan, nonfavoritism basis so that the greatest possible amount of every relief dollar will reach the needy who are entitled to it.

Another way to curtail relief expenditures would be to eliminate from the relief rolls every individual who is not justly entitled to be on relief. Put into their places some of the worthy unemployed citizens who have never received a dollar of relief in the 6 years of the New Deal. Over that period we have had an average of 11,000,000 unemployed, but the Administration's own figures show that the work-relief peak-reached just prior to election last fall-was but 3.200.000.

Reduce the vast army of political henchmen who stalk the corridors of the governmental establishments in Washington and who infest this country in every village and hamlet.

Encourage private investment. Adopt a cooperative attitude toward business instead of punitive tax policies and hostile administration attitudes. Instead of trusting our money to political racketeers to "invest" under the false name of "pump priming," let us encourage private capital, private industry, and private agriculture to seize the pump handle and go to work.

Restore and retain our rich home markets for American producers, American farmers, and American workers.

Trim all along the line in every department and activity in government. Cut off every dollar of useless expenditures that can be curtailed.

Rise above partisanship to the principle of a sound nation, in which we all may be prosperous.

Get away from sectional rivalries and class jealousies and turn as a united people to work our way out of this morass of depression in which we are today.

Follow this program and it would not be long until the sun of prosperity would shine upon us again.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under special order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish] is recognized for 10 minutes.

# THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I desire to take this opportunity to make a few comments on our foreign policy and also to speak briefly on the arms embargo that was adopted by the Congress 2 years ago against both belligerents in Spain.

Members of Congress are being swamped by letters and telegrams from those who would either have us change that policy or by those who want us to retain the neutrality law as applied against both factions in Spain. The situation since then has changed considerably. Before I point out the change in that situation, I want to call the attention of the Members of the House to the fact that we have identically the same power when it comes to laying an embargo as the Senate of the United States. However, if you read the newspapers and read the speeches of Senator PITTMAN, Senator NYE, Senator Lewis, and others, you might come to the conclusion that it was purely a matter of senatorial power and prerogative.

Two years ago, by a vote of 411 to 1, this House adopted an embargo on arms, ammunition, and implements of war against both belligerents in Spain. At the present time we are being swamped with appeals and petitions for and against the arms embargo in Spain. Agitation is broadcast throughout the country either to uphold that embargo or to do away with it. The newspapers this afternoon state that Barcelona, the largest city and port in all Spain, has been captured by the Franco forces. That capture means that the Nationalists, the Franco forces, have control of over threequarters of Spain, of their natural resources, their territory, and their population. It also has control of the sea, likewise of all the northern seacoast, the southern seacoast, and a part of the eastern seacoast.

That means that the Franco government actually is the de facto government of Spain. So when Members of Congress are asked to take sides by lifting the arms embargo in favor of the Loyalists, the question that we have to decide is. What is the best interest of the United States of America? It is not necessary to show any preference or to take any sides. When we voted an embargo we did it only for one reason, and that was to keep out of war; to keep out of foreign entanglements, to keep out of these mad and bloody conflicts in Europe.

That was the only reason we were called upon to vote for the Spanish neutrality bill; and now when we find that one faction controls three-quarters of Spain, it would be the height of stupidity for the United States at the eleventh hour to lift the embargo and thereby take sides in behalf of the loyalists against the nationalists who apparently are winning a victory. If we did, we would become the undying enemy of the Franco government.

Our interest in this matter, I submit, is an American interest; and it has always been the policy of our country to maintain neutrality between belligerents. Members of the House have repeatedly asked me what the Committee on Foreign Affairs proposes to do in regard to the Spanish embargo. The chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McReynolds], a distinguished Member of the House, unfortunately is sick. The committee will hold its first meeting next Tuesday. From what I can ascertain from members of the committee there is no intention on their part to hold any hearings on the Spanish neutrality bill or to change it in any respect. I think that has been agreed on by both Republican and Democratic members of the committee.

I submit by request a resolution and a letter to the House. The letter I will read, as it is addressed to me:

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE STEUBEN SOCIETY OF AMERICA New York, N. Y., January 25, 1939.

Hon. HAMILTON FISH,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Congressman: A great deal of agitation is at present noticeable regarding the present neutrality law and the attempts being made by the administration to amend the neutrality law so as to remove all restrictions and to give full discretionary powers to our President.

Our society is vigorously opposed to such a policy and specifically opposed to the desire of now permitting the export of arms to the Loyalist forces of Spain. In the opinion of our political committee chairman, this would be tantamount to war.

We know that you feel with us all the way on this neutrality

question and I am therefore prevailing upon you to present to the House of Representatives and to have inserted in the Con-gressional Record the attached memoranda and petition.

Thanking you in anticipation of your kindness and cooperation, I beg to remain, with best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

THEO. H. HOFFMANN. Chairman.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE STEUBEN SOCIETY OF AMERICA New York, N. Y., January 25, 1939.

To the Congress of the United States:

We herewith respectfully petition Congress not to amend the neutrality law in surrender to the clamor of those in sympathy with either side in the internal conflict now apparently drawing

to a close in Spain.

To now permit the export of arms to the loyalist forces of Spain would be tantamount to our engaging in war.

Respectfully yours,

STEUBEN SOCIETY OF AMERICA, THEO. H. HOFFMANN, Chairman. F. W. MAYER, Secretary.

The Steuben Society of America is composed of patriotic American citizens and has no connection with Nazi propa-

In the remaining minutes I would like to make some comments on the speech made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Van Zandt] yesterday. He asked, What is the foreign policy of the United States? He wanted the President of the United States to be called by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate at a joint conference to explain what the policy of the United States is in respect to our foreign affairs. I think it would be more advisable if the President came before the entire Congress and told the

Congress and the American people exactly what the foreign policy of our country is today. I admit I have not the slightest idea what the foreign policy of this administration is

I have been doing my best for the last 6 years to find out what the New Deal foreign policy is, but have been unable to do so except in one respect; and that is, that the President of the United States has asked the Congress to give him the power to determine the aggressor nation. If we did we would be surrendering our constitutional war powers, and would be involved in every foreign dispute, conflict, and war throughout the world. This is the only definite recommendation of the President, and I am unalterably opposed to it.

So that I may not be misunderstood on partisan grounds permit me to say that I opposed this demand under Republican administrations. The same request was made by a former Republican Secretary of State, Mr. Henry L. Stimson. It was made before the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It did not receive one single Republican vote. It has been repudiated by former President Hoover time after time, particularly in recent years.

Mr. Stimson now announces in the press that he has joined with the President of the United States to ask the Congress to give the President the power to determine the aggressor nation. It is the old League of Nations and collective security platform all over again. It would be the most dangerous power if the Congress gave to any one man the right to determine the aggressor nation, and a direct step to being involved in war. It would mean abandoning and surrendering our constitutional power to declare war. I specifically mention Mr. Stimson. Every American has a right to express his views in this country, but I do not know a single Republican Member of Congress, either in the House or in the Senate, who supports the contention of former Secretary of State Stimson that the Congress should give to the President this power to determine the aggressor nation and thereby permit him to push or drag us into foreign wars.

What is and what has been the policy of the United States on foreign affairs? Our foreign policy was established by George Washington in 1793, when all Europe was at war. The world was then in the throes of one of the eternal wars of Europe that have been going on ever since. He proclaimed a policy of neutrality, nonintervention, and peace. This became the traditional foreign policy of the United States of America. It has been upheld by every President and Secretary of State since that time, by Thomas Jefferson, by Madison, Monroe, and Jackson—by all our great Presidents and Secretaries of State. These principles were accepted as the fundamental foreign policy of our country—neutrality, nonintervention, and peace.

Yet now the President of the United States seeks to secure from the Congress the right to determine the aggressor nation, an utterly unneutral act. Every international lawyer would tell you that it is not only unneutral and unfriendly but that it would be a cause of war if we were to determine that some first-class power was the aggressor nation and then lay sanctions and embargoes and join in any collective security action against that nation. It would be all right to apply such a policy against Haiti or Liberia, or some small nation that has no navy; but to apply it against a first-class power, against Germany, or Japan, or Italy, or England, or France would lead immediately to war.

The President in his speech said that we have a rendezvous with destiny. I say, Mr. Speaker, that if we ever surrender our constitutional right to declare war and give the President power to determine the aggressor nation—whether he be a Republican or Democratic President makes no difference—we would have not only a rendezvous with destiny, but we would have a rendezvous with death, bankruptcy, disaster, and loss of our free institutions.

I reiterate to the Members that the identical power of laying embargoes rests as well in the House of Representatives as in the Senate.

I repeat for the benefit of the new Members that our Committee on Foreign Affairs does not propose to take any ac-

tion—at least in the near future—toward changing the neutrality laws of our country.

The main neutrality law, or that part of it known as the "cash-and-carry feature," expires on May 1 of this year. Before that time the committee will hold hearings to determine if it is necessary to do away with the "cash and carry" section entirely, and I do not believe it would be a mistake if we did, because it gives certain discretionary powers to the President, and I for one am against giving any discretionary powers to the President to involve us in any war at any time. [Applatuse.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may be permitted to proceed for 10 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Allen]?

There was no objection.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, we in this country face a very serious situation. We are in the midst of a war hysteria, a fear and dread of war, and of dangerous war propaganda, and if the women of America believed one-half of what they read in the newspapers and one-half of what they heard over the radio, they would look under their beds every night to see if there was not a Jap, a German, or an Italian there ready to pounce out on poor, little, defenseless America and gobble up both North and South America.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. KNUTSON. The potential enemies of the Republic, according to the best information I can get, are Japan, Germany, and Italy. Japan has her hands full in China, Italy in Abyssinia, and Germany in central Europe. Will the gentleman explain how all of these charges at the present time can only exist in disturbed mentalities?

Mr. FISH. I agree with the gentleman that the President is largely responsible for this war propaganda. He leads the American people to believe that we are about to be attacked, that we are about to be invaded, that our cities are about to be bombed. I challenge the President of the United States to specify what nation or nations has the faintest thought or capacity to invade the United States of America. [Applause.] All the totalitarian states are exceedingly busy in their own backyards.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Will the gentleman yield for one question?

Mr. FISH. Yes.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Does not the gentleman realize that the Monroe Doctrine is in danger in Latin America, and does not the gentleman believe that Latin America can be and is being invaded by totalitarian propaganda at the present time as a prelude to an armed invasion?

Mr. FISH. I happen to be a firm believer in the Monroe Doctrine. I believe in upholding the Monroe Doctrine and serving notice on every nation that if they attempt to invade any part of Latin America it means war with the United States immediately. [Applause.] But what are the facts? The facts are that we have the greatest Navy today that we ever had in the history of the United States, a navy three times as large as Germany's, twice as large as Italy's, and 50 percent larger than Japan's. With appropriations already authorized, it will be just so much larger than the navies of those nations. We can defend every inch and foot of our own territory and of our possessions. We can uphold and defend the Monroe Doctrine. But in spite of all that the war propaganda has become so misleading that the people in the Middle West believe their cities are about to be bombed.

Let me answer that with facts and figures, not propaganda. Let us assume we sunk our entire Navy and that we went to war with these three so-called totalitarian states. How many airplanes do you think they can bring over here to bombard us? Altogether they have eight airplane carriers. Italy has none; Germany has two, one built and one building; Japan has six; making a total of eight airplane

carriers. Those airplane carriers can carry a maximum of 50 airplanes, or between 40 and 50. Assuming a maximum of 50, these eight airplane carriers could carry 400 airplanes. We have today in the United States approximately 4,000 planes. Congress has already authorized 5,300 planes. We have 4,000 of the best planes in the world today and the best pilots. If we sunk our Navy, and if those three dictatorial nations combined, all they could bring over would be planes. We have 4,000, and if those 4,000 planes of ours could not handle 400 enemy planes, we had better do something about it immediately.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. KNUTSON. In view of what the gentleman has said, can it not be said that the President is using this hysteria as a springboard for a third-term campaign?

Mr. FISH. I would rather let some other Member of the House answer that question. I wish I had more confidence in the President, because I believe this war hysteria and demand for huge armaments are the direct result of the provocative and inflammatory speeches of the President when he says we are on the verge of war and must join in collective action to police and quarantine the world.

These intemperate and alarming speeches of President Roosevelt are copied by our State Department and our Cabinet officers vying with each other in hurling insult after insult against foreign governments. I believe we are confronted with a dangerous situation so long as the President continues to insult these foreign nations and at the same time inflame our people back home.

Mr. KNUTSON. May I say to the gentleman, he has as much confidence in the President as I have.

Mr. FISH. If the gentleman wants to know how much confidence I have in the President, I will tell him. On one side of the Hudson River up where I live, I have Father Divine and his angels. On the other side of the Hudson River I have the great White Father and his "brain trusters." I confess to the gentleman as between the two I have more faith in Father Divine and his angels. [Applause.]

Mr. PACE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. FISH. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. PACE. As a member of the Committee on Military Affairs, I am interested in one statement made by the gentleman. Will the gentleman give his authority for the statement we now have 4,000 of the best planes in the world?

Mr. FISH. Yes; I can do it both directly and indirectly. May I say to the gentleman before I answer the question that, if we have not, I would like to scrap them all tomorrow and have the best; but I do not believe we need 8,500, which we are about to be asked to authorize. Both the Army and the Navy Air Corps claim that they have the best planes. If we have not, it is our own fault, because France only yesterday placed an order for 600 American pursuit planes, due to the fact they are the best in the world, because they are the fastest and strongest. There is every reason to believe that the 4,000 planes of ours are the best, the fastest, and the most effective. If we have not got them—and I believe we have—then this House ought to see to it that we scrap those that are not the best and provide only for the best and fastest planes.

But I see no reason to have 8,500 planes. I will, however, speak on that issue later on when the legislation comes before the House.

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. For a brief question.

Mr. GEYER of California. Did I correctly understand the gentleman to say that he has more faith in Father Divine than he has in the President?

Mr. FISH. On these particular matters, the gentleman certainly did, and more specifically in regard to his inflammatory speeches that have caused war hysteria in America. In my opinion President Roosevelt is both an internationalist and interventionist.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Does not the gentleman believe his constituent, the President of the United States, ought to be in position to know something about potential wars? The international bankers, munition makers, and war profiteers are disseminating war propaganda all over America, and since the international banking house of Roosevelt has joined the munitions house of du Pont in the holy bonds of matrimony, they might explain some of the propaganda.

Mr. FISH. I believe this House has made up its mind on one thing, and that is, it proposes to keep this country out of all foreign wars. [Applause.] If the President or anyone else tries to get us into a foreign war it is our duty to see to it that he does not succeed. I believe we can keep out if the Congress insists on keeping out. The only way we will get into a foreign war is by letting this war hysteria spread to such an extent that it gets out of bounds.

Where does it come from? It comes from our enemies within. It comes from Communists, who would like to see us go to war with Germany and with Japan for the benefit of Soviet Russia. It comes from the British, who would like us to preserve the British Empire. It comes from internationalists and those who believe in collective security, and the League of Nations. It comes from the interventionists, who would have us scrap our policy of neutrality and adopt one of collective security, sanctions, and war commitments.

As far as I am concerned, as a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs I propose to do everything I can by my voice and vote on that committee to keep the United States out of all foreign wars. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a special order heretofore made, the gentleman from California [Mr. Voorhis] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I should just like to comment on some of the things that were said about the President a few minutes ago by observing that in the campaign just closed he was accused of being a dictator. I hope you understand what I have in mind.

This afternoon a speech was made on this floor having to do with the nomination by the President of Mr. Thomas R. Amlie, of Wisconsin, for a position on the Interstate Commerce Commission. I wish to address myself for a few minutes to that speech, not only as regards Mr. Amlie personally but because of certain fundamental implications in that speech and in other things which I find going on about the country and in the House which it seems to me bode no good for a real continued expression of the democracy America has known.

The man about whom that speech was made happens to be a veteran of the World War and has been commander of two American Legion posts. I happen to know he is as fundamentally devoted to constitutional democracy in this country as any man in this House. [Applause.]

The point I want to make is that I believe there are two groups of people whose work today is the most dangerous work there is to democracy in America. I refer on the one hand, to those people on the left who refer to everybody that does not agree with them as Fascists, and, on the other hand, to those people on the right who refer to everybody that does not agree with them as Communists. I should like to point out with all the vigor at my command that if that sort of tactics is pursued long enough a spirit will be built up in this country whereby you will have two groups of people so much opposed that there will be no possibility of sympathetic and understanding contact between them. [Applause.]

Let us think for a minute what real disloyalty constitutes. If a man says to me or anyone else, "I do not like the United States; I believe some other country is better than the United States; I think the fundamental Constitution of the United States ought to be overthrown," I think that is disloyalty. If a man says to American citizens, "You owe allegiance else-

where than to the Government of this constitutional democracy," then I think that is disloyalty. However, I do not think it is disloyalty if a man makes a speech or does anything else in advocacy of economic measures with which I fundamentally and absolutely disagree, providing that man believes in his heart those economic measures are the best means he can see for the preservation of the fundamental liberties of the people of this country.

After all, democracy means something pretty earthy, pretty fundamental, pretty much at the roots of life. It means the opportunity for the common citizen to enjoy freedom, to enjoy personal, religious, and civil liberties. Yes; it means more than that. It means the maintenance with all the strength at our command of the greatest possible degree of equality of economic opportunity in the Nation, because it is out of the soil of equality of economic opportunity that a

democracy grows and flourishes.

I myself desire the greatest possible amount of freedom for all people; and if, for example, I should be compelled to choose between freedom for speculators in farm commodities to do exactly as they please and the freedom of the farmers in America to continue to conduct an independent farming business, I should choose freedom for the farmers of America, even if I had to interfere with the license of the speculators. If in order to insure the freedom of the small-business men of America I had to interfere with the license of monopoly, I would choose to interfere with the license of monopoly rather than to sacrifice the small man to it.

I believe it is most unfortunate for anyone to take the attitude that because a man disagrees with you or with me on an economic question he therefore is considered not a good American. There are a lot of people who have hoped we could come to the place where we would have a full production of wealth and a full consumption of wealth in this

country. [Applause.]

I am one of those people. I believe, as a matter of fact, that the achievement of that goal is, perhaps, the most important single thing we have before us, and I have a fundamental respect for every single individual who has a program whereby he believes that this can be accomplished, regardless of whether it is the same idea I have or not. Just because a man advocates that certainly ought not to condemn him.

I happen to have a little pamphlet here having to do with the industrial expansion bill which represents an attempt to try to work out a method whereby industry could be assisted to an increase of production through Government guidance and guarantees against loss through unsalable surpluses, in somewhat the same way as we have brought about a control of production in agriculture. It happens there are certain remarks by Mr. Amlie contained in this pamphlet, some of which I want to read. He says:

But it has always seemed to me that there was little justification for any hope in such a program in the United States. I have written extensively on the subject, and have as a result been con-demned at considerable length in the official publication of the demned at considerable length in the official publication of the Communist Party in this country. I have long been convinced that the American people will never regain that equality or opportunity that has been an American heritage by the traditional program of either the Socialists or the Communists. On the other hand, I am equally sure that the old order of laissez faire and rugged individualism will never again work satisfactorily. I am convinced that the American people will regain the equality of opportunity of which they dream only when American industry is operating at full capacity.

Now, suppose a man believes sincerely and in his heart that danger to our democracy is real. Suppose he loves liberty and democracy and the rights of the common people and the preservation of constitutional liberties in this country with all his heart, and suppose he believes that certain economic measures, which may change certain monopolistic practices in this country, are essential to preserve those things, do you blame him for advocating the things in which he believes? I do not think you should. I do not ask you to agree with him, I do not ask you to be glad because he got an appointment, but I do ask that fair play be used, and I do ask that the real facts be given and not that irresponsible charges be allowed to take their place.

Mr. Amlie has been referred to here today as a small-town. country lawyer. If I recall correctly, Abraham Lincoln was a small-town, country lawyer. I believe Henry Clay was one. I think Andrew Jackson was one. I think I could name a lot of others of the very greatest people in all the history of our country who have been such small-town, country lawyers, and I believe we could ill afford to do without them.

In conclusion I simply want to make this very plain. What I am appealing for is this: We in the United States are undoubtedly confronted with most serious problems. The great problem is the problem of unemployment, and that problem is the result of a lack of full production, and that problem, in turn, is largely the consequence of a failure on the part of our distributive system to distribute consuming power among the people in accordance with our capacity to produce. Here, some advocate retirement pensions; some, monetary reform; some, public works; some, changes in the tax laws, and so on. The important thing is that these problems are common to us all. Let us meet here in this great parliamentary body, let us meet on the platforms of this country, and let us put our hearts and minds on the task of solving that problem, and let us be certain that we will make a real, valid distinction between what does constitute disloyalty to America, on the one hand, and what merely constitutes disagreement with our own particular economic views, on the other, and let us be sure we maintain that fundamental faith and confidence in one another, without which, indeed, democracy may be in danger. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may have 5 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, if some one wants me to yield to him I shall be pleased to take the time, otherwise I have finished my remarks

Mr. KELLER. I want to ask the gentleman a question. I would like to ask what the Members of this body think of a new man who comes in here succeeding Tom Amlie, known to many of us intimately, and makes the sort of speech that that the gentleman who succeeded him made here today. I put it up to every man to stop and think a little about it and wonder what we are going to do with the idea of free speech in this country and free democracy in this country if we tolerate and endorse such speeches as that.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I am sure the gentleman understands I am not endorsing the speech. I would like to say that I was glad to note in the speech that was made this afternoon by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Bolles] that he himself remarked that the question of personal integrity and ability on the part of Mr. Amlie was not at stake, and I am sure that everybody who knows anything about him will agree with that statement.

Mr. PACE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Mr. PACE. If we do not tolerate speeches like that, what would become of free speech in this country?

Mr. KELLER. I agree with that.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I said in answer to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Keller] that I did not endorse it, I did not use the word "tolerate." I tried to make it plain in my remarks that I believed that people, whether they agree with me or with the gentleman or with anyone, have a right to express their views.

Mr. KITCHENS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. VOORHIS of California. Yes.

Mr. KITCHENS. As I understand the gentleman from California, he stands for the right of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish] to follow the inspiration he obtains from Father Divine and his angels, rather than from the President of the United States, if he so desires.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. If the gentleman from New York is so inclined, I think he has that right.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, will the gentle-

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Yes. I yield to my fine,

distinguished colleague from Colorado.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I remind the gentleman and other Members that when President Woodrow Wilson nominated Mr. Justice Brandeis to the Supreme Court he was denounced as an anarchist by the very same reactionary groups and interests that are denouncing Mr. Amlie as a Communist, but long since, whenever these groups and interests want to show to the country that the Supreme Court is still worthy of their confidence and respect, they always put Mr. Justice Brandeis in as exhibit A.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. So that inasmuch as Mr. Amlie is a young man there is still hope for him; he, too, may be

respectable 20 years from now.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I thank the gentleman; and may I add here a further word. Objection was made by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Bolles] to a constitutional amendment submitted some years ago by Mr. Amlie. Now, when a man proposes a constitutional amendment here is what he is really saying. He is saying, "Here is a proposition. If Congress passes it by a two-thirds vote, if the President signs it, and if three-quarters of the States ratify it. then, and not till then, I propose that it be the law of the land." That is democracy. It is the American way of making changes when an unquestioned majority of the people working through our constitutional machinery will that such changes be made.

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Yes; gladly to my friend from Alabama.

Mr. PATRICK. If I understand correctly, Mr. Amlie is not a Democrat in his politics.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. That is correct.

Mr. PATRICK. What is he?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. He is a Progressive.

Mr. PATRICK. There cannot be another Democrat appointed on that Commission as it now stands?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. That is correct.

Mr. PATRICK. And the President refuses to appoint a Republican, or at least he did not appoint one.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Of course, I do not know the President's mind, but as a matter of fact he did not in this case.

Mr. PATRICK. I thought that might be interesting.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. Mr. Speaker, will the gen-

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Yes.

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. As a matter of fact, does not the gentleman recognize or understand that the leading economists of the United States look upon Mr. Thomas R. Amlie as one of the best thinkers along the lines of political economy that we have in America today?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I believe that to be true, both by people who agree with him and by people who do

not agree with him.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman vield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Yes.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. It is recognized by everyone that when Mr. Amlie was a Member of this House he served with honor and distinction. As he has established himself qualified to serve in this House, then he certainly is qualified to serve in any branch of the Government.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Yes.

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Yes.

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Speaker, does the gentleman from California believe if he were the President of the United States, or in the President's place, and were to get exactly the same words from the Republican side of the House that he heard today, that he would be interested in appointing a Republican to this place which has been vacated by a

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I thank the gentleman. I think I would be amused by some of those remarks. I do not think I would lose by sense of humor, and I know the President will not lose his.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. VOORHIS of California. Yes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. The gentleman does concede that the Republicans are entitled to pay their share of the taxes to support these offices?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Oh, I say to the gentleman that throughout my whole speech I have tried very hard to make it plain that I have a wholesome respect for other points of view on all of these questions, whether they agree with mine or not. I do not think I know what the purport of the gentleman's question is.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I just wondered whether we would still be recognized and have the right to live in this country or express an opinion, or whether we were just to contribute, and I ask the gentleman if he thinks the Republicans do have some good points.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. The gentleman does not think, surely, that members of his party have lacked opportunity to fully express their opinions. And in answer to the second part of his question I will say I am sure the Republicans have many good points.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that the appointment of former Congressman Thomas Amlie to the Interstate Commerce Commission should be confirmed by the Senate of the United States. The Interstate Commerce Act provides that-

Not more than six Commissioners shall be appointed from the same political party.

Mr. Speaker, the present make-up of the Interstate Commerce Commission is as follows:

Chairman Marion M. Caskie, of Alabama, Democrat; Balthazar H. Meyer, Wisconsin, Republican; Clyde B. Aitchison, Oregon, Republican: Joseph B. Eastman, of Massachusetts, Democrat; Frank McManamy, District of Columbia, Democrat; Claude R. Porter, Iowa, Democrat; William E. Lee, Idaho, Republican; Charles D. Mahaffie, District of Columbia, Democrat; Carroll Miller, Pennsylvania, Democrat; Walter M. Splawn, Texas, Democrat; John L. Rogers, Tennessee, Republican. This Commission is a quasi judicial body, and the section of the law requiring that it be bipartisan was written into the statute to prevent it from becoming a political football of the administrative branch of our Govern-

The New Deal leader in the House claimed that Commissioner Eastman is an Independent. Why, he is an old-line Boston Democrat, who was first appointed to the Commission by our Democratic President Woodrow Wilson on December 19, 1918, and confirmed by the Senate on January 24, 1919. He was reappointed by our Republican President Herbert Hoover on December 17, 1929. If you doubt his party affiliations, which were considered when that reappointment was made, I suggest you refer to the New York Times of Wednesday, December 18, 1929, and other great metropolitan newspapers, and you will find that President Hoover reappointed Mr. Eastman as a Democrat.

So right at this very hour, without the appointment of Mr. Amlie, the law has been violated. The Interstate Commerce Commission has been packed, and now it is intended to pack it some more and have eight members from the same political army on the commission.

Beginning with the 1932 election campaign, and through the 1936 and 1938 election campaigns, in and out of Congress, former Congressman Amlie supported actively and openly our New Deal President of the United States. [Applause.]

Should he be confirmed, the letter as well as the spirit of law, which prohibits more than six members of one political party from being members of the quasi judicial Interstate Commerce Commission, will be violated.

In Wisconsin the New Deal political forces have two divisions. We have one division commanded by a Democratic New Deal general and the other commanded by a Progressive New Deal general. The progressive division of the New Deal army, of course, the division in which Mr. Amlie serves, has more members, because it has a company of the Communist brethren and a regiment of Karl Marx Socialist disciples. They are all in the New Deal political army and fly the New Deal political flag. [Laughter and applause.]

Now, I say with all sincerity that there are some other important matters which the Senate of the United States should consider before it confirms the appointment of Mr. Amlie. We have a Federal statute which is called the Logan Act.

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Certainly; I yield to the gentleman while I am looking for my copy of the Logan Act.

Mr. PATRICK. I should like to ask you boys if you would make up your minds whether Amlie is a Democrat or whether he is an un-American alien with communistic tendencies.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. The Democratic Party of Jefferson and Jackson is a thing of the past. You forget all about the principles of the Democratic Party of Jefferson and Jackson until you shake down the Government employees with \$100 Jackson Day dinners and force the economic royalists to purchase \$250 autographed books in order to raise huge campaign funds. Democrats, Communists, Progressives, and Karl Marx Socialists are united in the New Deal political army to advance and put into effect the principles of Karl Marx and the Communist International. I think that will answer the gentleman. [Applause and laughter.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, I refuse to yield further unless I can get some more time.

Mr. PATRICK. Some of these gentlemen who were appointed were good Democrats when appointed, were they not?

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. No doubt they were. However, the New Deal Soviet Frankenstein monster has swallowed the Democratic Party, the Progressive Party, the Communist Party, and the Socialist Party. It may be interesting for the gentleman to know that William D. Carroll, of Wisconsin, the chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, called his Wisconsin Democratic leaders together the other day and they unanimously passed a resolution denouncing the appointment of Mr. Amlie.

Mr. PATRICK. How many of the present commissioners does the gentleman regard as good Democrats?

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. There are now seven members of the Commission who were Democrats when they were appointed. I will name them if the gentleman does not know them. You must not forget, however, that the Democratic forces have united with the progressive, Communist, and Socialist forces, and are in the New Deal army with them now.

Mr. PATRICK. Then appointing one even whom the gentleman calls Democratic would not be packing the Commission.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Oh, yes; because the law says you can only have six from the same political party. The New Deal now has control of the Federal Government, and

should Mr. Amlie be confirmed the New Deal forces will have eight members on the commission.

Mr. PATRICK. But at least you release him from being a

Communist, do you not?

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Oh, no. I am going to put the Communist nightshirt on him right now. [Applause.] The "production for use and not for profit" program is not the original doctrine of our progressive New Dealers. It was stolen almost verbatim from this 72-page Communist program entitled "Why Communism?"

Mr. Speaker, I have a letter dated March 3, 1938, from a former distinguished Member of this House, with whom I have served, Hon. R. Walton Moore, who is now the very able Counselor of the State Department. Let us see what he says:

Counselor of the State Department. Let us see what he says:

In response to your inquiry of March 1, 1938, whether an individual American citizen is prevented by law from communicating directly with representatives of foreign governments and foreign parliaments, you are informed that the so-called Logan Act, which is found in United States Code, title 18, section 5, provides that every citizen of the United States, whether actually resident or abiding within the same, or in any place subject to the jurisdiction thereof, or in any foreign country, who, without the permission or authority of the Government, directly or indirectly commences or carries on any verbal or written correspondence or intercourse with any foreign government or any officer or agent thereof, with an intent to influence the measures or conduct of any foreign government or of any officer or agent thereof, in relation to any disputes or controversies with the United States, or to defeat the measures of the Government of the United States, as well as any person who counsels or assists in such correspondence with such intent, shall be fined not more than \$5,000 and imprisoned not more than 3 years.

Notwithstanding the fact that we passed the neutrality law approved August 31, 1935, a measure to preserve the neutrality of America, and later enacted the Spanish Arms Embargo Act, approved January 8, 1937, to preserve the neutrality of America, Thomas R. Amlie, in violation of the Logan Act, communicated directly with the "red" Communist Government of Spain, the puppet government of the Moscow Soviet Communist gang of thieves and murderers. His communication extended greetings and best wishes, and it certainly cannot be construed as helpful in carrying out the neutrality measures of the United States. I respectfully suggest that instead of presenting Mr. Amlie's name to the Senate for confirmation as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the administration would be rendering better service to the country if the Department of Justice would call the attention of the grand jury to Mr. Amlie's communication to the Spanish Government and ask that it be considered under the provisions of the Logan Act.

There must have been great rejoicing in "red" Communist Spain and Moscow when they received news of Mr. Amlie's appointment to the highly important Interstate Commerce Commission. Our New Deal leaders seem to be very interested in the welfare of the Communist brethren in Spain and Moscow. Why, our New Deal leader, the President of the United States, even sent a cable to Mikhail Kalinin, President of Russia, on November 7, 1938, the twenty-first birthday of Soviet Russia. Our President said:

Upon this national anniversary please accept my felicitations and sincere good wishes for the well-being of the people of your country.

Mr. Speaker, the confirmation of Mr. Amlie as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission will certainly not give encouragement to those who love our American constitutional democracy and are opposed to Soviet Communist autocracy.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. I realize that the Members of the House cannot vote on Mr. Amlie's confirmation. However, since his appointment has been discussed on the floor of the House today, I asked for this time to voice my disapproval of his appointment. In my campaign I promised that

I would not directly or indirectly give any aid or comfort to the bloody red Communist butchers in Moscow, or their puppets in Spain and America, who have been flooding our country with propaganda in favor of repealing our Spanish arms embargo. I know that these Communist forces will rejoice should Mr. Amlie be confirmed. The "red" Communist government in Moscow and its puppet Communist government in Spain have just about repealed the Ten Commandments of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, confiscated private and church property, destroyed the liberties of free men and women, and slaughtered millions, including the clergy and sisters of mercy, in order to shackle their people in bonds of regimented political and economic slavery. These Communist autocracies have effaced in blood every trace of justice, liberty, morality, and individual human and private property rights.

Mr. Speaker, I am very glad that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish], our ranking Republican member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, indicated that we would not swallow the propaganda and join in policing the world in the name of "saving world democracy" the way we swallowed the propaganda about "making the world safe for democracy" under the World War administration of the Democratic Party and the international bankers and munitions makers who controlled it then as they control it now. [Applause.]

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Speaker, if there is nothing further to come before the House, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 27 minutes p. m.) the House, under its previous order, adjourned until Monday, January 30, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

## COMMITTEE HEARINGS

#### COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 a.m. Friday, January 27, 1939. Business to be considered: Continuation of hearing on H. R. 2531—transportation bill. Commissioner Splawn, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, is to be the witness.

## COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Military Affairs in room 1310, New House Office Building, at 10:30 a.m. Friday, January 27, for the continued consideration of the President's message on national defense.

#### COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives on Friday, January 27, 1939, at 10:30 a. m., for the purpose of continuing the consideration of H. R. 2880, "To authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes," carrying out partially the recommendations of the Hepburn report.

## COMMITTEE ON WORLD WAR VETERANS' LEGISLATION

There will be a meeting of the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation at 10:30 a.m. Friday, January 27, 1939.

#### COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, in the committee rooms, Capitol Building, at 10 a. m. Tuesday, January 31, 1939.

#### COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Public hearings will begin Wednesday morning, February 1, 1939, at 10 a.m., on social-security legislation, in the Ways and Means Committee room in the New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

# EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows: 335. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to provide for conveying to the United States the land, buildings, and im-

provements comprising the Choctaw and Chickasaw Sanatorium and General Hospital; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

336. A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to provide and maintain an adequate supply of suitable seed for production of food for the population of Hawaii in time of emergency; to the Committee on Agriculture.

337. A letter from the Postmaster General, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to fix the salaries of Assistant Postmasters General; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

338. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the Commodity Credit Corporation for the fiscal year 1939, amounting to \$1,500,000 (H. Doc. No. 134); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

339. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting three supplemental estimates of appropriation, totaling \$50,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, to remain available until June 30, 1940, for the War Department (H. Doc. No. 135); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

340. A letter from the Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, transmitting a report of its activities and expenditures for the month of December 1938 (H. Doc. No. 136); to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed.

341. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated December 28, 1938, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on reexamination of Mississippi River between Missouri River and Minneapolis, Minn., with view to ascertaining exact damages caused by seepage and backwater at Cochrane, Wis., requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted February 23, 1938 (H. Doc. No. 137); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

342. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated January 17, 1939, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on reexamination of Metlakatla Harbor, Alaska, requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted February 8, 1938 (H. Doc. No. 138); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

343. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated January 11, 1939, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on a preliminary examination and survey of Rochester (Charlotte) Harbor, Genesee River, N. Y., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved August 26, 1937 (H. Doc. No. 139); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

## CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 1851) granting World War veterans' compensation to John Paszczuk; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on War Claims.

A bill (H. R. 3207) granting a pension to Mrs. Carl Rainey; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

## PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

# By Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania:

H. R. 3311. A bill providing that 100 percent of the annual gross receipts, including money-order fees, be credited for the

annual classification of post offices; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. FISH:

H. R. 3312. A bill to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State due process of law and equal protection of the laws, and to prevent the crime of lynching; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DONDERO:

H. R. 3313. A bill to impose a duty on binding twine; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SCHULTE:

H.R. 3314. A bill to provide shorter hours of duty for members of the fire department of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia:

H. R. 3315. A bill to provide a permanent program to maintain the cotton-producing industry on a sound basis; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. CELLER:

H. R. 3316. A bill to authorize equitable compensation for circuit court and district court judges; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FISH:

H.R. 3317. A bill to amend chapter XXII of the act of July 9, 1918 (U. S. C., 1934 edition, title 10, sec. 1091), providing for the appointment of two Negro cadets to the United States Military Academy in each year by the President; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 3318. A bill to amend an act for making further and more effectual provisions for the national defense, as amended; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BOREN:

H.R. 3319. A bill providing for per capita payments to the Seminole Indians in Oklahoma from funds standing to their credit in the Treasury; to the Committee on Indian

By Mr. FADDIS:

H.R. 3320. A bill to provide for the common defense by acquiring stocks of strategic and critical materials essential to the needs of industry for the manufacture of supplies for armed forces and the civilian population in time of national emergency, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HARTER of Ohio:

H. R. 3321. A bill to provide allowances for inactive-status training and for uniforms and equipment for certain officers of the Officers' Reserve Corps; to the Committee on Military

By Mr. RAMSPECK:

H. R. 3322 (by request). A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. REES of Kansas:

H.R. 3323. A bill to reduce the \$10,000 limit on payments under the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act to \$1,500; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DIRKSEN:

H. R. 3324. A bill to authorize a preliminary examination and survey of the Illinois River and its tributary (Ten Mile Creek) in the State of Illinois for flood control, for run-off and water-flow retardation, and for soil-erosion prevention; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. SOMERS of New York: H.R. 3325. A bill to extend the time within which the powers relating to the stabilization fund and alteration of the weight of the dollar may be exercised; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. COSTELLO:

H. R. 3326. A bill prohibiting the importation of the United States flag or emblem from foreign countries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MILLER:

H. R. 3327. A bill to provide for 20-year maturity and a 5-year moratorium on principal on loans hereafter made by the Disaster Loan Corporation; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. STEFAN:

H.R. 3328. A bill to amend section 32 of the act entitled "An act to authorize the construction of certain bridges and to extend the times for commencing and/or completing the construction of other bridges over the navigable waters of the United States, and for other purposes," approved August 30, 1935; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HARTER of Ohio:

H. R. 3329. A bill to amend the National Defense Act of June 30, 1916, as amended, with respect to the pay and allowance of certain Reserve officers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

## By Mr. KOCIALKOWSKI:

H. R. 3330. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands, to provide for the adoption of a constitution and a form of government for the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HEALEY:

H. R. 3331. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide conditions for the purchase of supplies and the making of contracts by the United States, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SHANLEY:

H. R. 3332. A bill to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of the town of Guilford (Guilford Tercentenary); to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and

H. R. 3333. A bill to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of the town of Milford (Milford Tercentenary); to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

H. R. 3334. A bill to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of the town of Branford (Branford Tercentenary); to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Maryland:

H. J. Res. 131. Joint resolution authorizing the restoration and preservation of the frigate Constellation, and making Baltimore, Md., her home port; to the Committee on Naval

By Mr. HENDRICKS:

H. J. Res. 132. Joint resolution to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the founding and in aid of the historical restoration of St. Augustine, Fla., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. McLAUGHLIN:

H. J. Res. 133. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11, 1939, General Pulaski's Memorial Day, for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski: to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PETERSON of Florida:

H. J. Res. 134. Joint resolution designating August 19 of each year as Aviation Day; to the Committee on the Judi-

By Mr. MERRITT:

H. J. Res. 135. Joint resolution to authorize the appropriation of an additional sum of \$1,346,000 for Federal participation in the New York World's Fair 1939; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SHANLEY:

H. J. Res. 136. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States to proclaim October 11 of each year General Pulaski's Memorial Day, for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri:

H. Res. 73. Resolution to create a special committee of the House to investigate labor disputes; to the Committee on Rules.

#### MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Colorado, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their Resolution No. 1 with reference to sale of munitions and war materials to Japan; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ARNOLD:

H.R. 3335. A bill granting a pension to Raymond P. Satterfield; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation

H.R. 3336. A bill for the relief of William J. Fisher; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BARRY:

H. R. 3337 (by request). A bill for the relief of the estate of Arthur Weltner; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BLAND:

H. R. 3338. A bill for the relief of J. S. Taylor & Son; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CLEVENGER:

H. R. 3339. A bill granting a pension to Charles F. Boroff; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. COLE of New York:

H. R. 3340. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ella Sebring: to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3341. A bill granting an increase of pension to Harriet Brownrigg; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FLANNAGAN:

H. R. 3342. A bill granting a pension to Lindsay Powers; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THOMAS F. FORD:

H. R. 3343. A bill granting a pension to Susan McKay Young; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GILLIE:

H. R. 3344. A bill to authorize the presentation of a Distinguished Service Cross to Harry L. Kast; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HARE:

H. R. 3345. A bill for the relief of the Ninety Six Oil Mill, of Ninety Six, S. C.; to the Committee on War Claims.

H.R. 3346. A bill for the relief of Jesse A. Lott; to the Committee on War Claims.

H.R. 3347. A bill for the relief of Jesse A. Lott; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. McGEHEE:

H.R. 3348. A bill for the relief of Lewis T. Case; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McLAUGHLIN:

H. R. 3349. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to present, in the name of Congress, a Medal of Honor to Thomas E. Langdon; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 3350. A bill for the relief of Oscar R. Wolf; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 3351. A bill for the relief of Jean N. Burton and Laura Jones; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3352. A bill granting an annuity to George J. Kleffner; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. MERRITT:

H. R. 3353. A bill for the relief of Charlotte M. Green; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. REED of New York:

H. R. 3354. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ella Jenkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H. R. 3355. A bill granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth R. Fritts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky:

H.R. 3356. A bill to supplement the act entitled "An act conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims of the United States to hear, consider, and render judgment on certain claims of George A. Carden and Anderson T. Herd against the United States," approved June 13, 1934; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SPRINGER:

H. R. 3357. A bill granting a pension to Goly Weese; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. TARVER:

H.R. 3358. A bill for the relief of the widow and minor children of James A. Henderson, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia:

H.R. 3359. A bill for the relief of Lt. Stanley A. Jones, United States Navy, retired; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. VREELAND:

H.R. 3360 (by request). A bill for the relief of Thomas A. McGurk; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. VOORHIS of California:

H.R. 3361. A bill granting a pension to Della Means; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WADSWORTH:

H. R. 3362. A bill granting a pension to Anna M. Fay; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BELL:

H.R. 3363. A bill for the relief of the American Insurance Co. of New Jersey; to the Committee on Claims.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

571. By Mr. ANDERSON of California: Petition of G. B. Hollenbeck, Anna Blohm, and 22 other residents and property owners in territory adjacent to and including the watershed leading into the source or head of the Elkhorn Slough, in the county of Monterey, State of California, urging an appropriation for reclamation and drainage of said project and the construction of a levee across said slough; to the Committee on Appropriations.

572. By Mr. ANGELL: Petition of certain citizens of The Dalles, Oreg., requesting that this country shall adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

573. Also, petition of certain citizens of Portland, Oreg., protesting against the lifting of the so-called Spanish em-

bargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

574. By Mr. CRAWFORD: Petition of Henry J. Rock and 85 city firemen of Saginaw, Mich., requesting that the taxes imposed by the Revenue Act of 1936 shall not be retroactive against firemen employed by States, counties, or municipalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

575. Also, petition of Rev. J. B. Surprenant and approximately 200 residents of Saginaw, Mich., urging the maintenance of the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign

Affairs.

576. Also, petition of Julia Ellsworth and other residents of Wheeler, Mich., requesting that advertising of alcoholic beverages through press, radio, or other agencies be prohibited; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

577. By Mr. EATON of New Jersey: Petition of 79 citizens of New Jersey, urging support of legislation to exempt small pleasure boats from the provisions of Draft Convention No. 53 of the International Labor Conference Treaty of 1936; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

578. Also, resolution of the New Jersey State Grange, requesting repeal of the Federal tax on gasoline; to the Com-

mittee on Ways and Means.

579. By Mr. HANCOCK: Petition submitted by Rev. Martin J. Watley, of Syracuse, N. Y., favoring general policy of neu-

trality as enunciated in the acts of August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

580. By Mr. JOHNS: Petition of Dan Burns and 97 other residents of Green Bay, Wis., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality contained in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle contained in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

581. Also, petition of William Kane and 20 other citizens of Greenleaf and De Pere, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle contained in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Com-

mittee on Foreign Affairs.

582. Also, petition of Rev. H. Vande Castle and 82 other residents of Greenleaf, Brillion, and Forest Junction, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts: to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

583. Also, petition of Ray Benzschawel and 101 other residents of Newton, Valders, and Cleveland, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality contained in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts;

to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

584. Also, petition of Stanley Witczak and 41 other residents of Manitowoc, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality contained in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle contained in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

585. Also, petition of Rev. A. W. Van Dyke and 76 other citizens of Kaukauna and Appleton, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts;

to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

586. Also, petition of Rev. Michael S. Wasniewski and 82 other citizens of Pine Grove, Green Bay, and Denmark, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

587. By Mr. JONES of Ohio: Petition of citizens of the Fourth Congressional District of Ohio; asking that the present neutrality laws be upheld and that we keep the Spanish

embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

588. By Mr. KEAN: Resolution signed by Joseph B. Shugrue, vice president of the Federation of Holy Name Societies of the Archdiocese of Newark, representing 65,000 Catholic men, urging retention of the embargo on the shipment of arms to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

589. Also, resolutions signed by Frank Horwath, president, and Emil Schaefer, secretary, of St. Benedict's-Joseph's Sick Benevolent Society of Newark, urging retention of the embargo on the shipment of arms to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

590. By Mr. KINZER: Petition of citizens of Marietta, Pa., setting forth a declaration of policy on the subject of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

591. By Mr. MERRITT: Resolution of the Mohawk Valley Towns Association of New York State, reaffirming its previous actions which opposed the adoption of a treaty with Canada enabling the use of Government funds to construct the so-called St. Lawrence seaway from the Great Lakes to the ocean, and/or the development of Government water-power projects on the St. Lawrence River; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

592. By Mr. MYERS: Petition of James J. McBride and 24 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively;

to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

593. Also, petition of Martin McGrail and 20 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

594. Also, petition of Charles L. Bunch and 11 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Com-

mittee on Foreign Affairs.

595. Also, petition of John W. Johnston and 11 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

596. Also, petition of Joseph Collins and 41 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Com-

mittee on Foreign Affairs.

597. Also, petition of Katherine G. McBride and 20 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging adherence by the United States to our present neutrality laws; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

598. Also, petition of Hugh Coyle and 21 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

599. Also, petition of Virginia McTigue and 25 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Com-

mittee on Foreign Affairs.

600. Also, petition of Mrs. F. Sawyer and 23 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

601. Also, petition of Margaret Small and 20 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Com-

mittee on Foreign Affairs.

602. By Mr. POLK: Petition of Mrs. C. M. Bookman, president of the Ohio League of Women Voters, urging modification of the neutrality acts to insure greater preservation

of peace; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

603. Also, petition of A. J. Kirskaddon with 46 other members of Ripley Council, No. 2374, Knights of Columbus, and other citizens of Ripley, Brown County, Ohio, urging the Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and amended May 1, 1937, and particularly keep the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

604. By Mr. RISK: Petition of Woonsocket (R. I.) Council, No. 113, Knights of Columbus, opposing the lifting of the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

605. By Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey: Letter from Martin H. Carmody, supreme knight, Knights of Columbus, New Haven, Conn., containing resolution unanimously adopted by the supreme board of directors, Knights of Columbus,

January 14-15, 1939, urging that the Government of the United States adhere strictly to its present policy of absolute neutrality with respect to the war in Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

606. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Hellenic-American Loyal Club, Inc., of New York, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to un-American activities in the United States of America; to the Committee on Rules.

607. Also, petition of Yankee Division Veterans Association, of Boston, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to Public, No. 304, Seventy-fifth Congress, third session, proposing an amendment; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

608. Also, petition of Aurelia Torres, Banco de Ponce, Ponce, R. I., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

609. Also, petition of Josephine W. Johnson, St. Louis, Mo., petitioning consideration of a resolution with reference to the extension through the Farm Security Administration of its rehabilitation project in southeast Missouri; to the Committee on Appropriations.

610. Also, petition of Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Lafayette, La., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to curtailment of the sugarcane crop in the United States; to the Committee on Agriculture.

# SENATE

# FRIDAY, JANUARY 27, 1939

(Legislative day of Tuesday, January 17, 1939)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

#### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Barkley, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Thursday, January 26, 1939, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

# MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Calloway, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 2762) to consolidate and codify the internal-revenue laws of the United States, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

## CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. LEWIS. I note the absence of a quorum and ask for a roll call.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Downey	Lewis	Schwartz
Andrews	Ellender	Lodge	Schwellenbach
Ashurst	Frazier	Logan	Sheppard
Austin	George	Lucas	Shipstead
Bailey	Gerry	Lundeen	Smathers
Bankhead	Gibson	McCarran	Smith
Barbour	Gillette	McKellar	Stewart
Barkley	Glass	McNary	Taft
Bilbo	Green	Maloney	Thomas, Okla.
Bone	Guffey	Mead	Thomas, Utah
Borah	Gurney	Miller	Tobey
Brown	Hale	Minton	Townsend
Bulow	Harrison	Murray	Truman
Burke	Hatch	Neely	Tydings
Byrd	Hayden	Norris	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Herring	Nye	Van Nuvs
Capper	Hill	O'Mahoney	Wagner
Caraway	Holman	Overton	Walsh
Clark, Idaho	Holt	Pepper	Wheeler
Clark, Mo.	Hughes	Pittman	. White
Connally	Johnson, Calif.	Radcliffe	Wiley
Danaher	Johnson, Colo.	Reed	

Reynolds Russell

La Follette

Mr. LEWIS. I announce that the Senator from Utah [Mr. King] is detained from the Senate because of illness. The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez] is detained on important public business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety-three Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

# SUPPLEMENTAL ESTIMATE FOR LEGISLATIVE ESTABLISHMENT (S. DOC. NO. 26)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the legislative establishment, Architect of the Capitol, for the fiscal year 1939, in the amount of \$1,200, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

## DECEMBER 1938 REPORT OF THE R. F. C.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, reporting, pursuant to law, on the activities and expenditures of the Corporation for the month of December 1938, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

### FINANCIAL REPORTS OF THE CHESAPEAKE & POTOMAC TELEPHONE CO.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate letters from the president of the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., transmitting, pursuant to law, a corrected statement of the receipts and expenditures of the company for the full year 1938, together with a comparative general balance sheet of the company for the same year, which, with the accompanying papers, were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

#### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following joint memorial of the House of Representatives of the State of Colorado, which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

Whereas it is to the best interests of the people of the State of Colorado and to the people of the United States that the Congress of the United States liberalize and enlarge the provisions of the Social Security Act to establish increased Federal grants for assistance to aged persons in need; and

for assistance to aged persons in need; and
Whereas said benefits can be accomplished by amendments to
the Social Security Act increasing the allotment of matching funds
to the States to be used for such purpose: Now, therefore, be it

to the States to be used for such purpose: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the house of representatives of the thirty-second
general assembly (the senate concurring herein), That this general assembly memorialize the Congress of the United States to
take such action as will accomplish the purpose of this resolution;
be it further

take such action as will accomplish the purpose of this resolution, be it further

Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives of the State of Colorado in the Congress of the United States be requested to give their support to any measure that will increase the grants-in-aid to the States for the purpose of assistance to aged persons in need, and that copies of this memorial be forwarded to the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States and to the Senators and Representatives of the State of Colorado in the Congress.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate telegrams in the nature of petitions from William H. Shenners, Jr., executive secretary, Wisconsin Democratic State Central Committee, and Maurice Fitzsimons, Jr., chairman, Democratic legislative caucus, both of Madison, Wis., praying for a public hearing on the nomination of Thomas R. Amlie to be a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and also that they be advised thereof so that due opportunity may be had for the presentation of testimony, which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram in the nature of a petition from F. D. Cowdery, of New York City, praying that the proposed reduction in the W. P. A. appropriation be sustained by the Senate, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also laid before the Senate telegrams in the nature of petitions from several citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the appropriation of \$875,000,000 for the W. P. A., as

recommended by the President, which were ordered to lie on

He also laid before the Senate telegrams in the nature of petitions from the Office Staff Teachers Union, Ann Barish, Mable Smith, and other citizens, all of New York City, praying for the appropriation of \$875,000,000 for the W. P. A., as recommended by the President, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also laid before the Senate a letter from Morton Friedman, president, Works Progress Administration Local No. 1, United Federal Workers of America, Washington, D. C., relative to "two telegram forms removed from bulletin boards in W. P. A. administrative building urging W. P. A. administrative employees to petition their Senators by telegram to pass an increased appropriation and remove the ban on civil service," which were published in the RECORD, which were ordered to lie on the table.

#### ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATION FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President-

The VICE PRESIDENT. When the Senate took a recess yesterday evening the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Thomas] had the floor. The Senator from Oklahoma is recognized.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, according to the unanimous-consent agreement, the issue before the Senate is an amendment in line 8 on page 1 of the pending joint resolution. The joint resolution as reported to the Senate proposes to appropriate \$725,000,000. A motion has been made to amend that item by striking out "\$725,000,000" and making it read "\$875,000,000." When the vote comes on the amendment, I shall vote for it, but I do not desire to take the time of the Senate to discuss the particular amendment. I wish to call attention to another phase of this so-called relief issue.

Before I shall enter into the discussion which I contemplate. I desire to submit for the RECORD some extracts from current periodicals. First, I send to the desk and ask that the clerk may read portions of a news article by Roger W. Babson. I will ask that those portions of the article marked may be read by the clerk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the clerk will read, as requested.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Washington Government has spent \$62,000,000,000 in the last 10 years. Barring only the World War, this equals the entire amount spent from the day George Washington became our first Fresident until Herbert Hoover stepped into the White House. Yet, President Roosevelt has just indicated that another \$9,000,000 will be poured out in 1939-40. We are currently spending at the rate of \$18,000 per minute, or approximately \$50,000 since you began reading this article (nearly 3 minutes). I have always considered \$50,000 as a fair-sized estate. How can the Government go on destroying 20 fortunes every hour, 500 every day, 180,000 every year?

# SUPPORTING 25,000,000

Last year, public spending, including not only the Federal but the State, county, and local governments, totaled \$17,000,000,000. This represented more than 25 percent of the national income. Add up the number of individuals getting support from the Government. My figures show 25,000,000. One person out of every six gets his livelihood from the Government. There are only 51,000,000 workers who should be gainfully employed. This means that every private wage earner is not only supporting his family, but another person on the public pay roll.

#### HALF THE BILLS UNPAID

Yet, with all our taxes, we are only paying half the current cost of Government. The other half is being borrowed and left for our children to pay. The Federal Government has borrowed \$24,000,000,000 in the last 10 years. How much money State, county, and local governments have borrowed I cannot say. The interest on this new debt alone is \$500,000,000 a year, or more than the Government spent in any year prior to 1900, except during the Civil War. Yet, there are no convincing signs of a letdown in this wild orgy of spending. Despite the economy talk on Capitol Hill a balanced Budget is further off today than ever.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, on January 8 the Washington Star had an editorial entitled "Our Debts." I send to the desk the editorial referred to and ask that the clerk read that part which is marked.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the clerk will read, as requested.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

When the United States started its dizzy plunge into the economic ill health of 1929, it was estimated as closely as can be done with any accuracy that the total of our outstanding indebtedness of all kinds was about \$250,000,000,000.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I will ask that the remaining portions marked be placed in the RECORD, but I will not ask that they be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the matter will be printed in the RECORD.

The matter referred to is as follows:

At the present time, or at the beginning of the present fiscal ear, the total of indebtedness was at just about this same level of \$250,000,000,000.

of \$250,000,000,000.

In the intervening 8 years, however, important changes had occurred in the character of this debt. For instance, in comparing a few of the major items, it is found that public debt, as represented by outstanding securities of Federal, State, and local governments, rose from \$32,000,000,000 in 1929 to \$53,000,000,000 in 1937; corporate debt rose from \$47,000,000,000 to \$50,000,000,000, and insurance company debts in the form of cash values of outstanding policies moved up from \$12,000,000,000 to \$20,000,000,000. Off-setting these increases, however, was a drop in mortgage indebtedness from \$40,000,000,000 to \$35,000,000,000, and in short-term debts to banks and corporations from \$53,000,000,000,000 to \$30,000,000,000, and a drop from something more than \$5,000,000,000,000 in withdrawable shares of building and loan associations to less in withdrawable shares of building and loan associations to less than \$4,000,000,000. At the same time deposits in commercial and mutual savings banks dipped, but returned to their earlier level of about \$56,000,000,000, and miscellaneous unmeasurable items held at about \$7,000,000,000.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, on January 22 the Dallas Morning News printed an editorial entitled "Thoughts on \$40,000,000,000." I send the editorial to the desk and ask that one paragraph be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the clerk will read, as requested.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

[From the Dallas Morning News of January 22, 1939]

At the present time the national debt threatens to reach \$40,-000,000,000 by the end of this fiscal year. The current year's deficit is estimated at \$9,000,000,000 and the President recommends that this be continued, not curtailed. You remember the A. E. F. story about the doughboy who was told that Pershing intended to take Metz if it cost him 100,000 men. "Huh!" said the doughboy, "liberal so-and-so, ain't he?" The next generation may say that of 1003 20 generation. that of 1933-39 spending.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, recently the United States Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee of experts to consider the Federal debt and expenditures. A report has been made. I have a copy of it. On page 26 I find some figures which I think should be in the RECORD. The figures are in regard to the Federal revenues, expenditures, and deficits. I ask that the printed matter on page 26 may be placed in the RECORD at this point in my address.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The matter referred to is as follows:

Federal revenues, expenditures, and deficits

[In millions]

Fiscal year—	Revenues	Expendi- tures <sup>1</sup>	Deficit 1	Gross debt
1931	\$3, 190	\$3, 671	\$481	\$16, 801
	2, 006	4, 535	2,529	19, 487
	2, 080	3, 864	1,784	22, 539
	3, 116	6, 011	2,895	27, 053
	3, 800	7, 010	3,209	28, 701
	4, 116	8, 666	4,550	33, 779
	5, 294	8, 442	3,149	36, 425
	6, 242	7, 626	1,384	37, 165
	5, 000	8, 985	3,985	40, 650

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Expenditures and deficit columns exclude amounts devoted to debt retirement. <sup>2</sup> 1939 estimated.

Aggregate deficit, 1931-39\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\$23, 967, 000, 000

Annual averages

Auto on many to morney. Principal	Revenues	Expendi- tures 1
1926-30	\$4,069 4,513 4,890	\$3, 182 7, 551 8, 146

<sup>1</sup> Expenditures and deficit columns exclude amounts devoted to debt retirement. <sup>2</sup>1839 estimated.

#### National debt

 Aug. 19, 1919 (war debt peak)
 \$26,596,000,000

 Dec. 30, 1939 (lowest post-war debt)
 16,026,000,000

 June 30, 1939 (estimated)
 40,650,000,000

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, I propose to try to show that the present condition of the country is due to the management of our monetary policy.

In this connection I send to the desk and ask to have read a portion of a report submitted by the Master Cotton Spinners' Association, Ltd., of Manchester, England. I ask that the portion marked on page 4 may be read by the clerk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the clerk will read, as requested.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

It is currency devaluation in commodities, not devaluation in gold, that determines the measure of United States recovery. Gold has increased in commodity value since 1926 by over 100 percent, and by over 20 percent since April 1933. Rigid revaluation of the dollar at 60 percent of the 1926 gold value obviously prevents any further substantial recovery in wholesale prices toward the 1926 level. Clearly, also, the existing price level is far too low for full-scale profitable enterprise in farming and in the staple manufacturing industries. At this price level gold reserves and deposit-bank reserves will remain frozen no matter how high they pile up in amount.

bank reserves will remain from the up in amount.

With adequate devaluation of the dollar in commodities, the Roosevelt government could abandon all N. R. A. restrictions with equanimity and in full confidence that the existing price disequilibrium would be automatically righted, that national finances would be strengthened, and that the unemployed would be rapidly resheared.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, on December 29 an eminent economist, Dr. Lewis H. Haney, of New York University, made an address at Detroit, on the subject Our Great Need of a Standard of Value. I desire to read a few sentences from the address.

On page 3 I find this statement:

But in order to measure anything, we must have a standard.

On the same page I find this sentence:

The most fundamental source of our economic troubles today, is monetary uncertainty.

On page 5 I find these two sentences:

Economic democracy is founded upon a standard of value. By economic democracy, I mean "the price system."

On page 10 I find this paragraph.

In this connection, I desire to go on record as predicting that we will never pay our public debt in full.

This is Dr. Lewis H. Haney, of New York University, speaking—one of the eminent economists of our day and one of the writers in our financial publications.

Dr. Haney says, still further:

It will be paid in terms of dollars, but perhaps in terms of 50-cent dollars. The longer we wait, the greater the waste, and the greater the total loss. The longer we wait, the less possible it will be to settle up without the pressure which comes as a result of a financial collapse.

On page 13 I find the sentence I am about to read. Of course Dr. Haney is referring to and recommending that we return to the old orthodox gold standard. He recommends that we coin dollars in gold of the present weight and fineness, and use our fourteen and a half billion dollars' of gold for this coinage purpose. Then he recommends that we print paper money against the gold and make the paper money convertible into gold at the will of the holder of such

money. So upon that recommendation Dr. Haney makes this statement:

This requires that the paper dollar be kept the same in purchasing power with the gold dollar; and the only way in which that can be done, is to allow and encourage a reasonable freedom of conversion between paper dollars and gold bullion.

Mr. President, it is admitted by those who claim to know that we have two dollars in this country today. We have the domestic dollar, which is the paper dollar. We have the foreign dollar, which is an exchange dollar. The exchange dollar in value a gold dollar. The paper dollar is a commodity dollar in value. These two dollars are not of the same value. Dr. Haney makes that admission in the closing part of his address.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Oklahoma yield to the Senator from West Virginia?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I yield.

Mr. NEELY. What is the difference in value between the commodity dollar and the exchange dollar?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. There is no way to determine the value of the commodity dollar as measured in gold, because it is not convertible into gold. Every exchange dollar is based upon gold. Every exchange dollar is worth exactly 15521 grains of gold nine-tenths fine.

Let me say in passing that the United States has the only unit of money based upon gold, definitely and fixed. There is no other nation in the world that has its monetary unit based upon a fixed quantity of gold. We have that sort of a unit. So today the United States has the hitching post for all the currencies of the world; and today the currency of every nation is valued in terms of dollars, ours being the only definitely valued dollar in the world.

Mr. President, if I am correct, and if Dr. Haney is correct, that we have two dollars in this country—a domestic dollar and an exchange dollar—and these two dollars not of the same value, then we must admit that the commodity dollar is changing in value from time to time. That makes for instability. Dr. Haney argues for stability, and to bring about that result he recommends that we go back to a gold basis.

Mr. President, it is admitted that the present dollar is not a stable dollar. The kind of dollar we have here in the United States changes in value. If that is true, let me ask this question: How may we have stability when the yard-stick—that is, a dollar—by which we measure stability is itself unstable? There is no chance for stability when the thing by which we measure stability is itself unstable; and that is the condition in which we find ourselves today.

Mr. President, the resolution (H. J. Res. 83) now pending before the Senate proposes to make "an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939," in the sum of \$725,000,000.

However much I regret the necessity for my act when the final vote is had, I shall vote for the resolution.

The Congress is the policy-making branch of our Government. Hence, for whatever is in the domain of government we must assume responsibility.

This debate in the Senate has been limited to the issue of the proper amount of money which should be appropriated. Little, if anything, has been said about the governmental policy or policies which have and are making this appropriation necessary.

This depression is now over 9 years of age. Since October 1929 we have increased our national debt from some sixteen to almost forty billion dollars. The States, counties, cities, and other units of government have increased their debts, if not correspondingly, then immensely.

This resolution when passed will provide no remedy for existing conditions. The funds appropriated, admittedly necessary, will do no more than provide a degree of shelter, fuel, and food for a portion of our unfortunate and distressed people.

When this appropriation shall have been made a new demand and a new recommendation will come to the Congress for still further appropriations to meet similar and continuing needs during the next fiscal year.

Mr. President, why does this depression linger on?

Why are economic conditions such as to make this appropriation necessary?

Is there not something that may be done to better existing conditions?

What is the answer?

During the time that I shall impose myself upon the Senate I shall undertake to give my answer. That answer is that our financial policy is out of harmony with economic conditions and the fixed overhead charges now resting upon the backs of our people.

It is reported that we are annually spending for government—Federal, State, counties, cities, and smaller units—a

sum in excess of \$17,000,000,000.

If this is correct, then one-fourth of our total annual national income is being expended for government.

It is estimated that the massed debts of all the people total some \$250,000,000,000.

If this is correct, and should the annual interest rate be 5 percent, then the total annual interest bill is some \$12,500,000,000.

If these reports and estimates are even approximately correct, then we see that the total bill for government and for interest is almost \$30,000,000,000.

It cannot be denied that governmental costs, relief expenses, and interest charges are fixed or near fixed charges upon the taxpayers of the country.

Mr. President, it is utterly impossible for the people to meet the costs of government, the needs for relief, the interest charges, and maturing debts upon the present price level.

When the people cannot meet their fixed charges and maturing debts, it is obvious that they have no money for luxuries or even common necessities.

Such conditions confront millions of our people today.

Again I ask, What is the cause of such conditions?

It will take a little time to make my analysis, give my reply, and to suggest a remedy.

At the outset I assert that the dollar is too highly valued. Measured in commodities and property, the dollar is now worth 130 cents.

Highly valued dollars mean low prices, low incomes, unemployment, and depression.

The burden I assume at this hour is to show the relation between the value of the dollar and prices, income, business, and prosperity.

The dollar is the unit of our monetary system. The dollar is a measure of value and our medium of exchange. The value of the dollar controls prices, and prices control income and prosperity.

Today, having no gold in circulation and silver dollars being only token dollars, the unit of our money is the paper dollar. Gold today is available only to goldsmiths and dentists for commercial purposes and to foreign governments holding balances against the United States.

Today our unit—the paper dollar—being neither based upon nor redeemable in either gold or silver, is in fact a commodity dollar.

## MONEY IN CIRCULATION

We now have in common circulation the following kinds of dollars:

Standard silver dollars worth intrinsically some 35 cents, silver certificates, United States notes, and Federal Reserve notes.

Silver certificates are the only class of our money which may be redeemed. Formerly silver certificates were redeemable in silver dollars, but more recently these certificates state on their face—

That there is on deposit in the Treasury of the United States of America one dollar in silver payable to the bearer on demand.

Literally construed, this promise means that upon presentation of a silver certificate for redemption, the Treasury will weigh out a dollar's worth of silver, which at present prices would be some 2½ ounces of fine silver.

However, under the law our Government redeems dollars with other dollars—probably of the same kind.

Today our monetary system is about 150 years old, and under the present system business is about as chaotic as was business in the Colonies and in the new States prior to the adoption of a definite monetary system in the early days of the new Republic.

#### HISTORY OF THE DOLLAR

Before discussing further the commodity dollar, let me refer briefly to the history of the unit of our currency.

In the colonial days each colony had its own money system. When the war for independence came on it was necessary to have a unit of money which would be accepted by and circulate in and among the Colonies, and the Spanish milled dollar was the unit agreed upon.

On July 6, 1785, the Continental Congress by resolution declared that the money unit of the United States should be a

dollar.

On August 8, 1786, the Continental Congress by resolution fixed the weight of the dollar at 375.64 grains of fine silver.

Upon the adoption of the Constitution it was provided that the Congress should have power to coin money and to regulate the value thereof.

On April 15, 1790, the House of Representatives requested the Secretary of the Treasury to investigate and report on the advisability of the establishment of a mint.

On April 28, 1791, Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, in obedience to the request of the House of Representatives, submitted his report, and in that report the Secretary recommended:

First. That both gold and silver be used as basic primary money:

Second. That the unit in our money of account shall be a dollar:

Third. That the gold dollar "ought to correspond with 24 grains and three-fourths of a grain of pure gold";

Fourth. That the silver dollar ought to correspond with 371 grains and one-fourth grain of pure silver; and

Fifth. That the alloy in each case should be one-twelfth of the total weight, making the gold dollar 27 grains of standard gold and the silver dollar 405 grains of standard silver.

Whatever may be said of Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury, it cannot be said with truth that he did not understand the money question.

As to the importance of the value of the dollar upon prices, income, business, and prosperity, I call as my first witness no other than Alexander Hamilton.

On the establishment of a mint, the creation of a monetary unit, and what the fixing of the value therefor involves, Hamilton said:

The general state of debtor and creditor; all the relations and consequences of price; the essential interests of trade and industry; the value of all property; the whole income, both of the State and of individuals, are liable to be sensibly influenced, beneficially or otherwise, by the judicious or injudicious regulation of this interesting object.

As to the effect upon prices of any considerable change in the amount of real money in circulation, I again call Alexander Hamilton to testify in support of the position I assert and maintain.

I contend that the same economic law which controls the price of corn, wheat, and cotton likewise controls the value of the dollar.

When either corn, wheat, or cotton is plentiful the price of such commodity is low, but when either such commodity is scarce, the price is high. The statement of this economic principle needs neither illustration nor explanation.

In Hamilton's time the trading nations of the world were on bimetallic standards, with 1 ounce of pure gold being equal to the value of some 15 ounces of pure silver, making the ratio approximately 15 to 1.

In the early days, gold and silver coins circulated in the Colonies and in the new States on this approximate ratio. To have denied the coins of either metal recognition as money would have restricted and curtailed the number of money units, with the effects stated by Hamilton as follows:

To annul the use of either of the metals, as money, is to abridge the quantity of circulating medium and is liable to all the objec-tions which arise from a comparison of the benefits of a full, with the evils of a scanty, circulation.

Secretary Hamilton, in his report to the Congress, recommended that the dollar be made the unit of our currency; that we adopt the bimetallic standard of gold and silver; that the value of the dollar controls prices, and that prices control income and prosperity, and, further, he committed himself and his Department to the quantitative theory of money. In this latter commitment he followed the authorities of the

On April 2, 1792, the Congress acted on the Hamilton report and passed legislation defining the-

Dollars, or units, each to be of the value of a Spanish milled dollar, as the same is now current, and to contain 371 grains and four sixteenths parts of a grain of pure or 416 grains of standard

Thus it will be seen that the first legal unit of our currency was the silver dollar, and the weight of such silver dollar has never been changed from the amount of pure silver recommended by Alexander Hamilton.

#### PRESIDENT JACKSON DEVALUED GOLD DOLLAR

The weight of the gold dollar was changed twice during the administration of President Andrew Jackson.

By the act of June 28, 1834, the weight was reduced by 1.2 grains of standard gold, and by the act of January 18, 1837. the pure gold content of the dollar was changed again slightly, the new gold dollar containing 23.22 grains of pure gold, or 25.8 grains, nine-tenths fine, was to become and remain the gold dollar for 100 years, and from the administration of Andrew Jackson to the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

While the weight of the silver dollar has never been changed, the act of Congress of 1873 demonetized silver as one of our two monetary metals.

The passage of the Silver Demonetizing Act of February 12. 1873, had the precise effect upon prices and prosperity as predicted by Secretary Hamilton in his report of 1791.

When silver was demonetized, silver coinage was stopped and the legal-tender privileges were practically annulled, and such curtailment of the supply of money brought on a major panic and depression.

With the demonetizing of silver by the United States, gold soon became the basic and primary monetary metal of the leading trading and commercial nations of the world.

By the act of March 14, 1900, the gold dollar became the single metallic standard for all the currency of the United States. In the meantime all nations came to accept gold as the basis for international exchange.

## GOLD HAS INCREASED IN VALUE

In the 100 years from 1834 to 1933 the production of gold did not keep pace with the demand for gold and as a result the value of gold, in terms of property, increased materially.

The World War brought about, in many nations, a vast increase of debt and, consequently, a vast increase in taxes. In every such country, to meet increased debts and heavier taxes, more money was demanded.

It was soon discovered that the world's supply of gold was inadequate to support the then gold standard currencies at the existing weights of the several national units.

Nation after nation went off gold. Some nations devalued their units and tried to remain on a gold standard but in the end they all failed.

## PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT DEVALUED GOLD DOLLAR

By the act of May 12, 1933, the President was given power to reduce the gold content of the dollar by as much as

On January 31, 1934, acting under the authority granted, the President, by Executive order, reduced the weight of

the gold dollar by some 40 percent, or from 25.8 grains, nine-tenths fine, to 151/21 grains. Hence, today, while we have no gold coins or gold bars in circulation, yet our theoretical gold dollar contains 155/21 grains of gold nine-tenths

All United States dollars used in foreign exchange are, in effect, gold dollars and all dollars used domestically are, in effect, commodity dollars, for the obvious reasons:

First. Exchange dollars are based upon and backed by

Second. Domestic dollars are based upon and supported by commodities; and

Third. Such dollars may be redeemed only in commodities or in some form of property or in other currency dollars.

Under existing law the President has the power further to reduce the weight of the gold dollar from 15 1/21 grains to 12.9 grains. When and should this be done, the new gold dollar will be just one-half as heavy as the old gold dollar which served our Nation for 100 years.

So much for the history of our monetary system.

So far I have been discussing the kind of a dollar we have had from the beginning of our Government to the present

#### KINDS OF MONEY

Two monetary questions still confront us. The firstwhat kind of money do we have today and, second, what kind of money should we have tomorrow?

According to the latest available reports, January 20, 1939, we now have gold in our Treasury to the value of \$14,619,-710,929, and in addition to the gold we have some \$547,-079,218 coined standard silver dollars of which \$40,962,394 are in circulation and some \$1,586,976,416 silver certificates are outstanding.

The silver dollars in circulation, plus the silver certificates in circulation, plus our silver stock, against which no money has been issued, makes a total stock of silver money in the sum of \$1,694,346,685.

By adding the stocks of gold and silver we find we have some \$16,314,057,614 in recognized monetary metals.

Against this stock of monetary metal on January 18, 1939, we had in circulation the sum of \$6,666,000,000; hence, it is seen that we could issue almost \$10,000,000,000 in additional currency and have a dollar's worth of gold or silver back of each dollar now in circulation and back of each new dollar which might be placed in circulation.

## NO INFLATION

During recent years we have heard much about inflation. Inflation is the printing and issuing of irredeemable paper money into circulation.

Under this definition there can be no real inflation in the United States until we have increased our money in circulation to the total sum of \$16,314,057,614.

Under existing law, paper money may be issued upon 40 percent gold and 60 percent of liquid assets and upon this legal basis we have a gold stock sufficient to back over \$35,000,000,000 of paper money.

From this analysis it is clear that there is no danger from

the bugaboo of inflation in the immediate future.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. I wish the Senator from Oklahoma would state the amount of money we could have in circulation without inflation.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I will use January 24 instead of today in giving the figures. On January 24 we had in the Treasury the sum of \$14,625,113,081.74 in gold. Those are the latest available figures.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I yield.

Mr. NEELY. Will the Senator state about what proportion of the gold of the world the \$14,000,000,000 the United States now has in the Treasury represents?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, of course, no one knows how much gold there is in the world. Before devaluation it was estimated we had between eleven and twelve billion dollars. After devaluation the estimate was raised to \$21,000,000,000. If \$21,000,000,000 is a fair estimate of the amount of monetary gold in the world, then we have fourteen and one-half billion of that \$21,000,000,000, or over two-thirds of all the monetary gold in the world.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President-

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Oklahoma yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I yield.

Mr. LEWIS. I wish to interrupt the Senator, from whom I have gathered from time to time much information on the question of money. We observe the distinguished Senator from Nevada [Mr. Pittman] present in the Chamber. We all recall with what incessant labor he has fought to preserve what he felt to be the rights of silver. I now wish to ask the Senator from Oklahoma if he will be good enough, in addition to the definition he made with respect to the gold dollar, to state what he terms a silver dollar to be and what is its value?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Formerly our silver certificates were redeemable in silver dollars. Formerly one could take a silver certificate to the Treasury and it could be redeemed with a standard silver dollar. But since the silver purchase program was passed in 1934 the Treasury Department has changed the wording used on the silver certificate, so today a silver certificate is not redeemable in a silver dollar but in a dollar in silver. I construe that to mean literally that if you should take a silver certificate to the Treasury and ask that it be redeemed, the Treasury would weigh you out \$1 worth of silver, which at present prices would be something like 2½ ounces of silver.

Does that answer the Senator's question?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes; it gives me a viewpoint, Mr. President. I thank the Senator. I was not clear on that particular

point. I wanted to have it clarified.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I wish to state again that under the law the Federal Reserve System is authorized to issue Federal Reserve notes on the basis of 40 percent of gold and 60 percent of commodities—that is, commodities in the form of liquid assets. By "liquid assets" is meant a note, bond, or security that can be converted readily into money.

Mr. LEWIS. Some of my colleagues and myself are still in the dark and should like to ascertain the able Senator's view with respect to a certain matter. What is the difference between a dollar's worth of silver and a silver dollar in

value?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. A silver dollar weighs less than 1 ounce. The weight of the silver dollar has never been changed since the days of the Colonies. In the colonial days a Spanish-milled dollar contained 371½ grains of fine silver. The standard silver dollar today contains exactly that much fine silver. It is not an ounce. An ounce of silver will coin \$1.29. In other words, an ounce of silver will make \$1.29 in silver dollars. That is the monetary value of silver. That is not its commercial value, but its monetary value. So, a silver dollar is not an ounce of silver. Under present prices a silver dollar intrinsically is worth only 35 cents. If silver is worth 43 cents an ounce, it would require some 2½ ounces of silver to be worth \$1. Hence intrinsically 2½ ounces of silver is worth \$1, and a standard silver dollar is worth 35 cents.

Mr. LEWIS. I am very much obliged to the Senator.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I wish to say again that under present law we have enough gold legally to back \$35,000,000,000,000 of paper money. We have enough gold and silver to back 100 percent, dollar for dollar, over \$16,000,000,000 of paper money. The facts are that on yesterday we had in circulation only \$6,623,000,000 of all kinds of money. We have ample gold and silver to back approximately \$10,000,000,000 more of paper money, and then have in the Treasury a dollar's worth of gold—not 40-percent gold and 60-percent liquid assets, but a dollar's worth of gold, or a dollar's worth of silver measured in terms of gold—to back every dollar of that paper money. And yet when someone suggests that we could issue some United States notes, it is said that that would be inflation. We would have to issue \$10,000,000,000,000 of new

United States notes before we reached the time when we could not redeem each of those notes with a dollar's worth of gold or silver.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. When the dollar was devalued to 59 cents, is it not true that under the practices of the Treasury the volume of money was not substantially increased at all? There is relatively about the same amount of money now outstanding as there was formerly.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. When the dollar was cut 40 percent, it was thought we would reduce the value of the dollar by 40 percent. When we took 40 percent of the gold from the dollar, we made it 40 percent lighter; 40 percent smaller. Gold is said to have intrinsic value. Then, by reducing the size of the gold nugget which we call a dollar, it was obvious to the public that we were cheapening the dollar by 40 percent. The results which were anticipated did not follow. At that time we had forty billions of deposits in the banks of the Nation. If by devaluing the dollar by 40 percent we had reduced the value of the dollar by 40 percent, we would by that act have killed, destroyed, and canceled 40 percent of the value of \$40,000,000,000.

After devaluation prices did not rise greatly in the United States, except on world commodities. Prices did rise on world commodities. Wheat jumped up. Wheat is a world commodity. Cotton jumped up in price. Cotton is a world commodity. But how about domestic commodities? Take automobiles for illustration. Before the devaluation one could buy a very good car for a thousand dollars. After devaluation he could buy a better car for a thousand dollars. The prices of cars did not increase. The prices of clothing have not increased. Only the prices of world commodities increased. So the devaluation of the dollar in terms of gold operates effectively only on world commodities and does not operate correspondingly on domestic commodities.

When we passed the monetary legislation in 1933 the dollar had a value of 167 cents in terms of commodities. That meant that a farmer, or miner, or oil producer, or lumberman, or fisherman had to produce and dispose of 167 cents worth of commodities to obtain a dollar to pay a dollar's worth of taxes, or to pay a dollar's worth of debts, or a dollar's worth of interest. They did not do it. They could not do it. Because of such conditions prices were the lowest in generations.

We started to cheapen the dollar, to raise prices. We thought we were doing it. We did cheapen world commodities. After we devalued the gold dollar the foreigner could take \$600 of the old gold dollars and buy a thousand dollars of American currency, and with that thousand dollars he could buy a thousand-dollar car. We did cheapen wheat and things of that character by 40 percent to foreigners, but not here in America.

Two monetary questions still confront us: First, what kind of money do we have today? Second, what kind of money

should we have tomorrow?

During recent years we have heard much about inflation. I have just given a definition of inflation. Inflation is the printing and issuing into circulation of irredeemable paper money. We cannot print and issue into circulation irredeemable paper money until we have printed \$10,000,000,000,000 more and placed that in circulation. So, under the definition of inflation, there can be no inflation until we have printed as much as \$10,000,000,000 new, additional paper money and placed that in circulation. Then if we keep the laws upon the statute books that we now have, and issue paper money on the basis of 40 percent gold and 60 percent liquid assets, there can be no inflation until we have printed and issued into circulation more than \$35,000,000,000 of money.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I yield.

Mr. NEELY. May I inquire of the Senator what, in his opinion, the effect on the credit of the Government would be if it were to issue the \$10,000,000,000 in additional currency to

which the Senator has referred, and with that sum redeem outstanding Government obligations in order to stop the interest thereon?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, that question cannot be answered in one sentence. It is my judgment that if we should issue \$10,000,000,000 of new paper money and place that money in circulation, the buying power of our paper money would be very greatly reduced. When money is plentiful it becomes cheap. Germany has inflated twice, and reduced the value of the German mark to nothing. It is possible to put so much money into circulation that one could not carry enough money to buy his breakfast. No one is in favor of that kind of inflation. The only kind of expansion I am in favor of is the placing of enough money in circulation to get the dollar down and prices up so that we can balance the Budget, so that the people can live, so that they can pay their interest and pay their debts and make some money. That result has not been accomplished in 9 years. It cannot be done on the present value of the dollar.

In 1933 we started to cheapen the dollar. We cut the gold content by 40 percent. If we take 167 cents, the value of the dollar in 1933, and multiply it by 40 percent, we get 67. Subtracting 67 from 167 leaves a 100-cent dollar. Some so-called economists must have thought that by cutting 40 percent of the gold out of the dollar we would reduce the value of the dollar back to 100 cents. What we did did not have that effect. We did start to cheapen the dollar, but the task has not been completed.

It is my judgment that of all the relief programs we have passed in Congress the silver-buying program has brought more relief to the people of America than all the rest of such programs combined. Under that program we have placed more than a billion dollars of new money in circulation. That money is now in circulation. It is not retired. Nobody pays any interest on that money. It is based upon silver, not upon the monetary value of silver, but the real value of silver. There is a dollar's worth of silver, measured in terms of gold, back of each dollar in circulation. So, of all the money in circulation today, the best we have is the silver certificate. It is the only money we have that has something definitely back of it and the only money that may be redeemed.

From this analysis, Mr. President, it is clear that there is no danger from the bugaboo of inflation in the immediate future.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I yield.

Mr. BANKHEAD. If the Government should issue \$10,-000,000,000 additional paper money against the \$10,000,000,000,000 in gold in the Treasury, in order to avoid the effect of that additional money being inflation to that extent, would it be necessary to make that paper money redeemable in gold?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, we could issue greenbacks or Treasury notes, which, of course, are backed by all the property of all the people, plus the earning power of all the people in the United States. So it is my judgment the Treasury notes, greenbacks, so-called, are the best form of currency.

If we should issue some kind of money against this surplus gold, in my judgment, we should only put enough of that money in circulation in the form of certificates to bring the price level up to where it ought to be. I am not in favor of raising prices to the point they were after the World War. There is no occasion at the present time to have wheat selling at \$3 a bushel or cotton at 44 cents a pound. I am not for such a proposal, but I want cotton to sell around 20 cents a pound and wheat around \$1.50 a bushel.

Mr. BANKHEAD. The point concerning which I wish to develop the Senator's idea is whether in issuing additional money against the gold—and I am in accord with that view—it is necessary in any way to tie that new money on to the gold in the vaults?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Not at all. Treasury notes are based upon and backed by all the property of all the

people. All the gold we have is back of our Treasury notes; all the unallocated silver we have is back of our Treasury notes; all the farm lands, all the factories, all the property of America are back of our Treasury notes. We can issue those notes and place them in circulation to make money a little more plentiful, a little cheaper, and that will raise prices to the point where the Nation can survive.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President-

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I yield now to my colleague from Oklahoma.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, the Senator said that he would issue money but did not want inflation. I agree with that; but what barometer would the Senator establish to determine when we had reached the proper level?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Every nation in the world measures value according to a set of statistics. All these years we have measured value in this country according to the index prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. That set of statistics is made up of 784 commodities. Each week the Bureau ascertains the price of a fixed quantity of each of those commodities; the prices of the 784 commodities are added, and then an average is taken. If the average is up, that means the dollar has gone down; if the average is down, that means the dollar has gone up in buying power. We measure the value of money by this system of statistics, and every nation in the world has a similar set of statistics by which it measures the value of its money.

Mr. LEE. That is called the "all-commodity index," is it not?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. That is the proper name for it; yes, sir.

Mr. LEE. And according to that index now, the dollar is worth how much?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. It is worth 130 cents.

Mr. LEE. Then, if we issue sufficient money to bring its value back to 100 cents, that could not possibly be inflation; it would be reflation, would it not, until it reached the 100-percent level?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Exactly so.

Mr. LEE. Then, if the value of the dollar should pass that level, from that point on there would be inflation?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. It could be construed as inflation according to one definition.

Mr. LEE. But it could not be inflation, at least, until the 100-percent mark was reached?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. The inquiry submitted by my colleague suggests the question of what the public believes inflation to be. The public believes inflation to be rising prices. When prices start up the public understands that condition is being brought about by inflation of the dollar, which means cheapening the dollar. As I have said, at the present time we could bring the dollar down to 100 cents, and that would be, to that extent, inflation as the public believes, but it would not be inflation according to the dictionary meaning of inflation.

In 1933 the dollar was at 167 cents. We cheapened the dollar through devaluation and through the broader use of silver, together with the liberalization of credit, and we got the dollar down to 112 cents in March 1937. At that time we thought we were getting out of the depression, and we did not think it would be necessary to make any appropriation for relief to tide us through the next year. We thought that unemployment was being taken care of; business was becoming good; prices were going up slowly; and, of course, the dollar was falling. Then the bond-holding class and the big banking class became alarmed lest prices were going to go too high, lest their dollars were going to become too cheap, and so, obviously, they came to Washington and secured action on the part of somebody or a number of somebodies until that trend was stopped and the dollar did not fall any lower than \$1.12. When the money managers changed the trend the dollar started back up again; when the dollar started up prices began to fall, and we had a second depression beginning in March 1937, when the dollar was worth 112 cents. The dollar has gone back from 112 cents until on the

21st of the present month it was worth 130.5 cents. The dollar is now slowly going up in value.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, will my colleague yield further?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I yield.

Mr. LEE. I am sure that my colleague agrees with me that after it reaches a certain point the Government should then, by the contraction of credit or by one method or another, prevent further movement to cheapen the dollar. Regardless of what definition each person may apply to it, I wish to say that I am in full accord with the distinguished Senator's views as to placing sufficient money in circulation to bring the dollar to the hundred-cent level and hold it there.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I shall cover that in the remainder of my address, but I may say, in passing, that I am in favor of a revaluation of the dollar or an adjustment of its value to 100 cents. That was the value of the dollar in the Coolidge administration, when we had an era of so-called Coolidge prosperity. At that time we had a dollar measured in terms of commodities and property which was valued at 100 cents. At that time we were collecting more money in taxes than we were spending. We were applying the surplus money to the retirement of the national debt. The national debt was reduced from \$26,000,000,000 in 1920 to \$16,000,-000,000 in 1930, and it was done by having good times and high prices. People made money. They paid their taxes. We paid the expenses of the Government and applied the surplus to the retirement of our national debt, so that in 10 years' time we reduced the national debt to the extent of \$1,000,000,000 a year. I want to go back to that time. should like to see the dollar revalued on the same basis that it was valued in that era, namely, at a hundred cents. That would bring wheat back to a price of approximately \$1.50 a bushel; it would bring cotton back to a price, possibly, of 20 cents a pound, and other commodities in proportion. If we can get those prices reestablished in this country, we have ample tax laws to raise all the money that we should spend, and, with a dollar valued at a hundred cents in terms of commodities, we could get rid of this depression; we could get rid of the unemployment situation and raise all the money we need to spend for every necessary purpose.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I am glad to yield to the

Senator from Texas.

Mr. CONNALLY. I thank the Senator. Is it not true that one of the troubles now with our international trade is the difficulty that foreign governments have in buying dollars? Is it not true that they have sent practically all their gold to the United States, which has already been converted into dollars? So, in case we should issue new currency, would not the increased supply facilitate foreign trade by making it easier for foreign nations to acquire American dollars?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. The reason gold is coming to this country is the reason assigned by the distinguished Senator from Texas. Foreigners must have dollars to buy goods in America, and dollars are so scarce and the demand for them is so great that the dollar constantly tends to go up in terms of buying power.

Mr. CONNALLY. Let me ask the Senator one further question, if he will bear with me—

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Certainly.

Mr. CONNALLY. Is it not true that whenever we buy gold—and we are buying all the gold that is tendered, as I understand, and have been for some time—every time we buy gold we have got to pay for it in dollars? In order to get those dollars, the Treasury has been issuing bonds, and we are paying interest on those bonds in order to get the money with which to buy the gold and take it out in the country and bury it? Would it not have been entirely sound, instead of issuing bonds, to have issued money, because for every dollar we have spent for gold we got a dollar's worth of gold in exchange? We could double the volume of the currency now outstanding, and yet have more than a hundred percent of gold in the vaults and pay for every dollar of outstanding paper money and do away with the payment of interest on four or five billion dollars?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I think the Senator's statement is eminently correct. Let me show what this gold policy is doing to the world. All exchange throughout the world is based on gold. When any bank issues a bill of exchange or a draft on some foreign bank there has to be gold back of that draft. So to the extent that exchange is issued there must be gold back of the exchange. Gold is coming to America. We now have more than two-thirds of all the gold of the world. We are draining the gold of the world to America. That makes gold scarcer in foreign countries, and when gold is made scarcer in foreign countries, gold becomes more valuable in those countries. When it comes here, we put the gold in quarantine, so to speak, take it to Kentucky, where it goes back in the ground, and such gold is dead at least for the time being. The gold does us no good, but the scarcity of gold, because of its coming to America, is injuring foreign nations and gold from day to day is increasing in value in terms of property. So long as these policies are continued gold will still keep on going up in terms of property. That will mean that prices will go further down unless the United States further devalues its gold unit and in addition places more currency in circulation.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield once more?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I yield.

Mr. NEELY. Earlier in the Senator's address he stated that the present value of the exchange dollar in terms of commodities is now \$1.30.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. That is correct.

Mr. NEELY. I assume that the Senator means in commodities as of the price of today.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. The present price of commodities based upon the average over many years.

Mr. NEELY. What I wish to know is this: Is the present valuation determined upon the basis of a comparison of the price of commodities in the United States today with the price of commodities in the United States in 1926 or some other year?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Exactly so; that is correct. Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I am glad to yield.

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator speaks of issuing money—gold certificates, we will say—secured by the gold on deposit in Kentucky. In the Senator's judgment, what form would those certificates take? Would they be like our silver certificates? Would a gold \$20 bill, for instance, say that it was payable on demand to the holder of the certificate?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, answering the Senator's question, and referring to the daily statement of the United States Treasury, I find that on the 24th of this month we had the sum of \$688,943,367.53 of gold that was not in any way allocated. Nobody has any claim on that gold excepting the people of the United States. It is in the Treasury with no certificates against it. It is there as free gold. It would be easy to issue a form of money against that unallocated, unclaimed, free gold to the extent of practically \$700,000,000. But answering further, it is my contention that we may issue United States notes backed by this gold, backed by the other gold, backed by all the farms, all the factories, all the railroads, all the people, plus their earning power: and I contend that United States notes constitute a better form of money than even gold certificates backed dollar for dollar by gold.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, may I pursue my question just a little further?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Certainly.

Mr. NORRIS. Suppose the Government should decide to issue gold certificates in lieu of the gold on deposit either in the Treasury or elsewhere, just so the Government has it and has the ownership of it. Would a gold \$20 bill, let us say, provide that upon presentation of the certificate 20 gold dollars would be paid to the bearer?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. That brings up the question whether or not we are to make these certificates convertible or redeemable.

Mr. NORRIS. To my mind that is quite an important question. Could we issue these gold certificates and not provide for their payment in gold upon presentation?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I will say to the Senator from Nebraska that there are different ways in which that could be done. In France, at one time, the authorities ceased to coin gold, but issued gold in bars, and the smallest-sized bar that they issued was a bar that cost about \$8,000. French francs were redeemable in gold, but it was necessary to have \$8,000 of French francs to get the smallest-sized bar used for redemption purposes. We might do the same thing in this country. That would result in having our money based upon gold and convertible, provided a man had, say, \$10,000 worth of gold certificates to get the smallest-sized bar.

Mr. NORRIS. I have always been friendly to the idea of the issuance of money in place of bonds, backed by the gold that we own; but the question arises in my mind—and I think it is a practical one which would have to be solved—whether, if we did that, we should not have to provide for the redemption of the gold certificates in gold dollars; and, if we did, we might by that means lose the gold that the Government now owns.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, from my viewpoint that would be a merest incident of the problem. If we should decide to use the gold in a practical way, there are different ways in which it could be used. We could coin \$10 gold pieces and \$20 gold pieces, as we used to, making them, of course, smaller in size, or we could put out the gold in bars of different size and not coined at all.

Mr. NORRIS. Our object in trying to get all this gold was to prevent the gold from being exported, for instance.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. That is correct.

Mr. NORRIS. If we should issue it in the form of gold coin and put it in circulation, or in the form of gold certificates redeemable in gold, we should frustrate that object. All of it might disappear into foreign countries.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. From the practical standpoint, it is my judgment that it would not be necessary to place in circulation very much new money to raise the price level to the point where I think it should be. It would not take very much new money. It would not take \$10,000,000.000. It would not take \$5,000,000,000. Probably it would not take \$2,000,000,000. I do not know the amount that would be required, but I would place money in circulation until we brought up the price level; and every man in the world who claims to know a thing about the money question must admit that by placing more money in circulation it is made more plentiful, and to the extent that money is made more plentiful it becomes cheaper. To the extent that it becomes cheaper, to that extent prices are raised.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President-

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I yield to the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. NEELY. Will the Senator inform us whether, in his opinion, the Government's \$14,000,000,000 in gold at the present time has any sort of practical value?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Well, I am glad we have it. We can use it to liquidate our national debt; but in my judgment no good use is being made of it, except as a matter of confidence in the minds of people who have money, who have property, and great investments.

Mr. NEELY. If the store of gold down in Kentucky should be stolen and carried out and dumped into the middle of the ocean, and nobody ever were to find it out, what would be the effect on the credit of the United States or on the political economy of the United States?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. We take it for granted that the \$14,500,000,000 is still in Kentucky. If it is not, and nobody should find it out, it would not make any difference. Of course, however, we know the gold is safe, and we can use it at will to reduce our national debt when we see fit to do so.

Mr. President, in this presentation I am contending that notwithstanding our vast hoard of gold and silver, we now have internally and domestically a commodity dollar. Likewise, I am contending that all nations now have commodity units of currency. By this I mean that all nations, save our own, have or are regulating the value of their monetary units in terms of price or value of their domestic products,

Every nation should regulate the value of its money to suit its own domestic economy. This to date we have failed to do.

When the law was passed giving the President the power to cheapen the dollar, and thereby raise prices, our dollar was valued at 167 cents in terms of property.

This meant that in 1932-33 a farmer or any citizen had to give up 167 cents worth of goods or services to secure a dollar. It was because of this fact that prices were so low, budgets were unbalanced, and the most severe depression in history confronted us.

This law gave the President power to reduce the weight of the gold dollar; to issue additional money into circulation, and to expand the currency by a wider use of silver.

To date reducing the weight of the gold dollar has had little effect on prices save the prices of so-called world commodities, such as wheat and cotton.

For devaluation of the gold dollar to have raised domestic prices the gold taken from each dollar should have been either recoined and placed in circulation or paper currency should have been issued and circulated against such surplus gold.

By this process, gold dollars would have become more plentiful, hence cheaper, and prices would have been raised accordingly.

Nevertheless it is certain that had not the gold dollar been devalued and in the absence of our present system of commodity loans, wheat today would be selling for less than 25 cents per bushel and cotton would be selling for less than 4 cents per pound.

## BENEFITS OF SILVER PROGRAM

It is my contention that since 1933 the expansion of the currency, through a wider use of silver, has been more beneficial to farmers, producers, and the people generally than any or even all other enactments or policies combined.

In 1933 we started out deliberately to cheapen the dollar and to raise prices. Through such efforts the value of the dollar was reduced from 167 cents in March 1933 to 112 cents in March 1937.

The cheapening of the dollar raised the price of wheat from some 30 cents to over \$1 per bushel and raised the price of cotton from some 5 cents per pound to some 12 cents per pound.

In March 1937 the money managers decided that the dollar was becoming too cheap and that prices were getting too high, so that steps were taken to check the cheapening of the dollar and stop the rising of prices.

The action taken was effective and a new depression was the result of such action.

## DOLLAR STILL TOO HIGHLY VALUED

Today, notwithstanding the gold dollar has been reduced in weight by some 40 percent, the smaller-sized gold dollar is worth 130 cents in commodities, property, and services.

Coming, as I do, from a farm and producing State and trying to represent the farmers and producers of our country, I am demanding that the dollar be reduced in value from 130 cents, its present value, to 100 cents, the average value from 1921 to 1930, when the bulk of the massed and consolidated debts, some \$250,000,000,000, were contracted and which still rest upon the backs of the people of the United States.

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I yield.

Mr. MINTON. Will the Senator be good enough to state to us the things that were done in the spring of 1937 which reversed the process of cheapening the dollar and started it back up again?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, the amendment which was adopted as a part of the Agricultural Adjustment Act gave the President four powers.

He had the power, first, to issue or provide for the issuance of \$3,000,000,000 of Federal Reserve notes. That is power No. 1.

The amendment authorized the President to issue \$3,000,000,000 of Treasury notes, so-called United States notes, or greenbacks. That was power No. 2.

The amendment authorized the President to cut the gold dollar in two and make two dollars out of one, and had he done that, the new gold dollar would have been worth just one-half as much as the old gold dollar. The President exercised that power only to the extent of 40 percent. He cut 40 percent out of the gold dollar and left 60 percent in.

The fourth power was the power to remonetize silver. Under that power the President can open the mints to the free coinage of silver. Under that power he can fix the weight of the silver dollar at anything he sees proper, and then issue an order that the mints will coin all the silver that is brought to the mints in dollars of the weight to be fixed by him.

Those were the four powers that were given the President. The people thought, evidently, that the President would use some of those powers to bring about a substantial cheapening of the dollar. The people had a right to that opinion, and I will give the reason for that statement.

On May 6, 1933, over a Nation-wide hook-up, President Roosevelt said:

The administration has a definite objective of raising commodity prices to such an extent that those who have borrowed money will, on the average, be able to repay that money in the same kind of dollars which they borrowed.

Again, on July 3, 1933, in a message to the World Economic Conference at London, the President said:

Let me be frank in saying that the United States seeks the kind of dollar which a generation hence will have the same purchasing and debt-paying power as the dollar value we hope to attain in the near future.

On July 5, 1933, in a second message to the World Economic Conference in London, the President said:

The revaluation of the dollar in terms of American commodities is an end from which the Government and the people of the United States cannot be diverted. We wish to make this perfectly clear; we are interested in American commodity prices.

On October 22, 1933, in a Nation-wide radio address, the President stated:

It is the Government's policy to restore the price level first.

Also, in the same address he said:

When we have restored the price level we shall seek to establish and maintain a dollar which will not change its purchasing and debt-paying power during the succeeding generation. I said that in my message to the American delegation in London last July, and I say it now once more.

Mr. President, under the powers given the President, and because of his statements, the dollar became cheaper. It lost value, from 167 cents down to 112 cents. Then a determination was reached not to cheapen the dollar further, but to give the dollar more value, and policies looking to that end were initiated in March 1937. Gold was sterilized. Reserve requirements were raised. Rediscount rates were raised. In other words, restrictive policies on the issuance of money and credit were placed in operation. That had the effect of increasing the value of the dollar, and as the dollar went up prices began to fall, and today we have the dollar worth 130 cents plus, which means that the farmer must raise 130 cents worth of cotton, or wheat, or corn, or what not in order to get a dollar with which to pay his taxes or to pay his interest or to pay his debts. It is not being done; it cannot be done. There is no possible solution of this depression question save through cheapening the dollar.

The dollar must be made cheaper, and there will be no substantial relief to the people of this Nation until the dollar is made cheaper.

RUBBER DOLLAR

During recent years we have heard much about a rubber dollar. What is meant by a rubber dollar? The answer: A dollar of widely varying value or buying power.

When have we had a rubber dollar? Let history answer. From 1789 to 1873 our country was on a bimetallic standard and from 1873 to 1933 we were on a fixed gold standard.

In the first years of the new Republic the dollar varied only slightly from 100 cents as valued in property.

In 1812, because of war, money was placed in circulation, money became more plentiful, money became cheaper, and prices rose accordingly. In 1830 the value of the dollar was 152 cents. President Jackson reduced and held the value to near 100 cents. In 1864 the value of the dollar was 74 cents. That was during the War between the States. The Treasury had no gold and no silver, and Mr. Lincoln had to resort to the issuance of paper money, money called "United States notes," or "greenbacks"; and when those notes were placed in circulation, without either silver or gold back of them, they lost their value; and, measured in terms of gold, the paper dollar was worth only 74 cents, which meant that prices were correspondingly high. In 1896 the value of the dollar was 215 cents. That was when we had 50-cent wheat in Indiana. At that time hogs and cattle were not worth driving to the market.

Let me say to my colleagues on this side of the aisle that history records that no political party has ever succeeded itself on 50-cent wheat and 5-cent cotton. If our party desires to retain control of the Government, things must be done to raise the price level; and if wheat is not selling for more than 50 cents a bushel and cotton for more than 5 cents a pound next year, we may see a radical change in the structure of the next administration.

In 1920 the value of the dollar was 64 cents. After the World War we placed so much money in circulation, we made money so plentiful, that money became cheap; and when money became cheap, prices went up. Then it was that we had the highest prices I have ever seen. In my State wheat sold for \$2.40 a bushel and cotton sold for 44 cents a pound. There were no foreclosures of farms in those days. Everyone wanted to buy farms. For every farm that was for sale there was a buyer at practically any price the owner wanted to ask.

From 1921 to 1929 Governor Strong, of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, so managed our money system as to bring back and keep the dollar at a 100-cent value. With the passing of Governor Strong the dollar value began to rise, until in March of 1933 the value was 167 cents.

In 1933 our administration undertook the task of reducing the value of the dollar in terms of property to 100 cents, or to the 1926 level, but to date the task is incomplete.

## DOLLAR VALUE CAN BE STABILIZED

As stated, Governor Strong, although the United States was on a fixed gold standard, regulated the value of the dollar to 100 cents and stabilized such value during the remainder of his life. I contend that what has been so well done may be done again.

Also, I contend that our money managers have fixed the value of our dollar in terms of commodities, goods, and services at approximately 130 cents and that such dollar is being held at about that value. I contend that this value is entirely too high and that the Budget cannot be balanced on such a valued unit and that we will never work out of this depression until the dollar value is reduced to approximately 100 cents.

## SUMMARY

Before making my recommendation, let me summarize: In the light of history it is obvious that the prosperity of a people depends upon the fairness and stability of their domestic price level.

Progress and prosperity depend upon prices, prices depend upon the value of the dollar, and the extent of prosperity and the level of prices depend upon the amount of money in circulation.

In times past money was limited to gold, silver, or copper metal stamped in the form of coins. Later the term "money" was expanded to include not only metal coins but paper currency as well. Today we define anything as money that has been, by law, declared to be legal tender for the payment of taxes, interest, duties, and debts.

Money exists by law and not by Nature.

Money is not always of the same value.

The dollar, when based upon a given quantity of gold, is of the same value as such quantity of gold; hence, as gold changes in value, the dollar changes in value.

Formerly by money we meant only gold, silver, and copper coins. Today by money we mean legal-tender currency, and by currency we mean gold coin, silver coin, nickel or copper coin, and paper money.

By "currency" I do not mean bank credit. Currency is money. Bank credit is only a substitute for money.

While bank credit serves as a medium of exchange and may be converted into currency, bank credit is not currency.

Currency units or dollars, as herein defined, measure prices. Bank credit or substitute money does not measure prices. The number of currency dollars in circulation, in the main, control the value of the dollar. An increase in the number of currency dollars in circulation means increasing the supply of price-measuring money units.

The same economic law which controls and governs the value of wheat and corn and cotton likewise controls and governs the value of the dollar. When any commodity is plentiful, such commodity is cheap; likewise, when dollars are plentiful, dollars are cheap; and when dollars are cheap, prices are high.

On the other hand, when dollars are scarce dollars are high, and when dollars are high prices are cheap.

The value of the dollar depends, in the main, upon the number of currency dollars in circulation. Scarce money means high-valued dollars, and high-valued dollars means unemployment, low wages, low prices, panics, and depressions. Plentiful money means cheap money and cheap money means employment, high wages, high prices, progress, and prosperity.

If there be those who disagree with the economic principles just stated, then I must leave them to answer, not me but the master financial minds of history.

## MONETARY AUTHORITIES

Let me call a few witnesses, famous monetary economists of the world, to sustain my position.

Ricardo says:

The value of money is determined by the amount existing.

Ruffner says:

Doubling the amount of money tends to double prices.

Again he says

The price level will tend to rise in proportion to the increase in the money supply.

John Locke says:

The value of money in general is the quantity of all the money in the world in proportion to all the trade.

James Mills says:

And again, in whatever degree, therefore, the quantity of money is increased or diminished, other things remaining the same, in that same proportion the value of the whole, and of every part, is reciprocally diminished or increased.

Sir J. Graham says:

The value of money is in the inverse ratio of its quantity, the supply of commodities remaining the same.

John Stuart Mill says:

The value of money—other things being the same—varies inversely as its quantity, every increase of quantity lowering the value and every diminution raising it in a ratio exactly equivalent.

And again he says:

That an increase of the quantity of money raises prices, and a diminution lowers them, is the most elementary proposition in the theory of currency, and without it we should have no key to any of the others.

Modern economists have the following to say: Taussig says:

Double the amount of money and, other things being equal, prices will be twice as high as before and the value of money one-half. Halve the quantity of money and, other things being equal, prices will be one-half what they were before and the value of money double.

Gustav Cassel, one of the greatest living authorities on money, says that the value of money depends upon its supply and the demand therefor.

#### CURRENCY DOLLARS ARE PRICE-MEASURING UNITS

The Wall Street Journal, one of the leading financial publications of the country, in arguing against the payment of the soldiers' bonus with United States notes, used the following language:

The essential thing involved in the issue of more currency is that it increases the supply of price-measuring money units. Therein lies the fundamental difference between currency and bank credit. Both function as media of exchange but only one kind measures prices.

In harmony with these quotations, let me call your attention to the following facts:

In Andrew Jackson's day money was plentiful, prices were high, and prosperity was enjoyed by all.

Following the Civil War, greenbacks, or United States notes, were plentiful, prices were high, prosperity returned, and reconstruction was quickly accomplished.

During and immediately after the World War money was plentiful, prices were high, work was plentiful, wages were good, and America became the leading creditor nation of the world.

History sustains the contention that plentiful money makes good prices, and good prices make good times and general prosperity. Likewise, scarce money makes low prices, and low prices make hard times, panics, and depressions.

In 1873, through the demonetization of silver, one-half of the basic money of our country was struck down and discredited. The destruction of silver, by closing the mints for its coinage, brought about a scarcity of money, causing a fall in prices, deflation, and depression. The demand for more money and higher prices led to the Bryan free-silver campaign in 1896.

In 1921 prices were lowered by the process of taking money out of circulation. Beginning on March 4, 1921, and lasting for 18 months, the party in power deliberately made money scarce by taking out of circulation over \$100,000,000 per month.

Thereafter, in less than 2 years' time, wheat fell in price from \$2.50 to \$1 per bushel, cotton fell from 40 to 20 cents per pound, and other prices were reduced in proportion. This deflation of our currency ruined agriculture first, then livestock, lumber, and mining industries followed the decline. Still later, smaller towns and cities suffered, and with one-half the people impoverished the 1929 crash came.

In 1930 to 1933 money was scarce—so scarce and so valuable that prices were the lowest in generations.

In 1933 the administration at Washington proceeded to raise prices by lowering the value of the dollar. The value of the dollar in foreign exchange was lowered by reducing the gold content of such dollar. The value of the domestic dollar was reduced by making money more plentiful through a wider use of silver.

The contraction of the currency just after the World War reduced prices. The expansion of the currency in 1933 to 1937 increased prices.

By expansion of the currency I mean a planned, orderly, and controlled increase in the number of currency dollars in circulation. Domestically our currency dollars are neither based upon nor redeemable in gold; hence, such dollars are commodity dollars. Not being based upon gold, the value of such dollars depends upon the number placed in circulation.

CONGRESS HAS POWER TO COIN MONEY AND REGULATE VALUE

The Congress has the right and power to increase or decrease the amount of money in circulation; hence, has the

right and power, at will, to increase or decrease the general price level, which includes commodity prices and wages.

This power is constitutional.

The section of the country from which I come demands that prices and wages be increased through an absolutely safe and orderly expansion of the currency.

How may this be accomplished?

Under existing law the Federal Reserve System may expand the currency at will through the policy of open-market operations. Under this policy the Federal Reserve banks may enter the open market and purchase bonds and pay for such bonds with Federal Reserve notes. This policy places new money in circulation and thereby directly expands the currency.

Under existing law, our administrative officials have ample power to raise prices through a safe and orderly expansion of the currency. If this program should be inaugurated, and if money should become too plentiful and prices should rise too high, the Federal Reserve System now holds billions of bonds which could be sold, and thereby any amount of currency may be removed from circulation at will.

Economic laws are as immutable as are the laws of gravity. Expanding the currency will cheapen the value of the dollar. Cheaper dollars mean higher prices. Higher prices mean more profits, higher wages, greater income, and in-

creased prosperity.

#### A REMEDY

Now, we come to the final point—the remedy, or perhaps

The Constitution gives the Congress power to regulate the value of the dollar. Under this power the Congress is responsible for whatever value the dollar has at any given time.

The Congress is responsible for the dollar having a value of 130 cents today.

The Congress has the power to cheapen the dollar and to

raise prices at will.

As a Member of the Congress, I thought we were exercising our constitutional power in 1933. Such power was exercised by conferring discretionary power upon the President. To date the President has not used as much of the power conferred as I think he should.

As I see the picture, the Budget will not be balanced, unemployment will not be decreased, and prosperity will not return until prices are increased, and prices will not be increased until the managers of our money act.

# PROFIT TO TREASURY AND METALLIC MONEY STOCK

Prices of world commodities may be increased by a still further devaluation of the gold dollar. The President has the power under existing law to take some 2½ grains out of the present gold dollar. Should this be done, the amount of gold so removed from each dollar would be profit for our Treasury. This profit would be some \$2,500,000,000, and, when added to the former devaluation profit of some \$2,800,-000,000, would make a grand total gold devaluation profit of some \$5,300,000,000.

Should this legal act be taken, our present \$14,619,000,000

of gold would become over \$17,000,000,000.

Then our new gold stock added to our silver stock would give us almost \$19,000,000,000—gold and silver—in our Treasury.

The immediate effects of such action would be:

First. Increase the price of all world commodities.

Second. To the extent that new currency is placed in circulation, the price of all commodities would be increased.

Third. With increased prices, business will be stimulated and profits will be possible; hence, tax payments will be increased, making possible the balancing of the Budget.

Fourth. Such action will enable our people to pay the present increased national debt with less gold than it would have taken to have paid the smaller national debt in 1933.

Fifth. Such action would reduce the present national debt and all debts in terms of commodities, such as cotton, corn, wheat, livestock, oil, and copper, to a point where our present

debts, interests, taxes, and fixed charges could be paid with less of such commodities than could the smaller debts and charges have been met and paid in 1932.

For example, the President may cheapen the dollar in terms of commodities by ordering additional currency placed in circulation. He has such powers already conferred by law. The Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System has the same power through the exercise of open-market operations, lowering of the discount rate, and liberalizing credit rules and regulations.

#### NO NEW LEGISLATION NECESSARY

It does not absolutely require any new legislation to have done the thing which I think should be done.

The specific thing which I think should be done is set forth in Senate Resolution 216, reported favorably to the Senate on February 9, 1938, and as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the Federal Reserve Board, the Treasury, and the executive agencies of the Government should proceed forthwith to adjust the purchasing power of the dollar by the necessary monetary policies and measures to attain within the next 12 months approximately the 1926 price level of wholesale commodities, including farm products.

The program outlined in the resolution was intended to carry into effect the policy outlined by the President in his May 6, 1933, radio address and his subsequent addresses of July 3, 1933, July 5, 1933, and October 22, 1933.

The President's program was stated clearly in his address of July 5, 1933

To the World Economic Conference in London, he said:

The revaluation of the dollar in terms of American commodities is an end from which the Government and the people of the United States cannot be diverted. We wish to make this perfectly clear; we are interested in American commodity prices.

The Chief Executive is on record in this particular matter. Again permit me to summarize:

I have stated that the value of the dollar controls prices and that prices control income and prosperity. Also I have stated that a highly valued dollar makes a low price level, hence, low prices; and that a cheaply valued dollar makes a high price level; hence, high prices.

It is obvious that increasing the weight of the gold dollar decreases the value of gold in terms of dollars and thereby reduces prices. Also reducing the weight of the gold dollar increases the value of gold per ounce and increases prices.

From the foregoing statement of principles we must conclude that it is all important that the dollar should be properly valued in terms of domestic commodities and property, and that when such dollar value is regulated and adjusted such value should be stabilized and thereafter kept as fixed and unchanged as is humanly possible.

Formerly both gold and silver, on a fixed or definite ratio, formed the base for the moneys of the world. More recently gold has formed the metallic base supporting the monetary units of most of the world's currencies.

By this is meant that most of the nations were on the single gold standard. By the single gold standard is meant that the paper currencies issued into circulation by such countries were redeemable on demand in gold coin or in gold bullion on the basis of a definite weight of gold of a fixed degree of fineness for each unit of such currencies.

Now all nations are off the gold standard, domestically and internally, however, all exchange issued by the banks of the several nations is issued on the basis of so much gold by weight of a certain degree of fineness for each monetary unit of such nation.

The United States has always had a fixed weight of gold for the dollar, although such weight has been changed a number of times. At the present time the weight of the gold dollar is  $15\frac{5}{21}$  grains of gold nine-tenths fine.

The first gold dollar weighed 24¾ grains of pure gold. During the administration of Andrew Jackson the gold dollar was devalued twice and for the 100 years from 1834 to 1933 the gold dollar was fixed and retained at 25.8 grains, ninetenths fine.

For the 100 years prior to 1933 when the gold dollar was fixed at 25.8 grains, nine-tenths fine, an ounce of pure gold was worth \$20.67.

At the present time, with the gold dollar fixed at 15\%1 grains nine-tenths fine, an ounce of fine gold is worth \$35.

An ounce of fine gold, when valued at \$20.67, meant that such quantity of gold could be coined into 20.67 dollars. When we raised the value of gold to \$35 per fine ounce, it meant that the same ounce could be coined into 35 gold dollars.

Since gold at all times, even from day to day or from hour to hour, has a definite or fixed value in terms of monetary units or dollars, it follows that by decreasing the weight or size of the gold dollar decreases its value comparably.

As stated, gold has what is termed intrinsic value. For example, formerly an ounce of fine gold, because it could be coined into twenty and sixty-seven one-hundredths of a dollar, was worth \$20.67, and obviously was, in effect, \$20.67. At the present time, because an ounce of fine gold can be coined into 35 gold dollars, it naturally follows that such ounce of gold is worth \$35 and, in effect, is \$35.

Formerly and now fine gold had and has the same value either coined or uncoined. The only effect coinage has upon gold is to certify that the little nugget of gold stamped "one dollar" contains a certain amount of gold by weight and of a fixed degree of fineness.

Thus it is seen that an ounce of fine gold not only is worth \$35, can be coined into \$35, and, in effect, such ounce, either coined or uncoined, is \$35.

By devaluing the gold dollar we accomplish two definite things. First, we reduced the weight of the gold dollar; and, second, we reduced its value in proportion that the weight was reduced. When the gold ounce was worth \$20.67 each dollar weighed 25.8 grains, nine-tenths fine, and when gold was revalued so as to be worth \$35 per fine ounce, then each dollar weighs only fifteen and five twenty-firsts of a grain of gold nine-tenths fine.

## HOW DEVALUING GOLD DOLLAR RAISES PRICES

Gold has intrinsic value, if not inherently, then by law. Formerly an ounce of fine gold was worth by law \$20.67. To-day an ounce of fine gold is worth by law \$35. Formerly, when gold was worth \$20.67 per fine ounce, each gold dollar contained 25.8 grains nine-tenths fine.

Today, with gold worth \$35 per fine ounce, each gold dollar contains only  $15\frac{5}{21}$  of a grain of gold nine-tenths fine. Thus it is seen that the higher the value of the gold ounce the smaller the size, weight, and value of the gold dollar. By raising the price of gold per ounce we reduce the size, weight, and value of the gold dollar.

Conversely, by lowering the price of the gold ounce we increase the size, weight, and value of the gold dollar.

From the foregoing it is obvious that by increasing the value of gold—thereby cheapening the value of the gold dollar—we raise prices, and that by decreasing the value of gold, thereby raising the value of the gold dollar, we lower prices.

Let me be more specific by giving a concrete illustration: Let us assume that the gold dollar which served us for 100 years has not been devalued but is to be devalued tonight at midnight.

Today an ounce of fine gold is worth \$20.67.

Today an ounce of fine gold is worth 35 bushels of wheat; hence today a bushel of wheat is worth one thirty-fifth of such ounce, valued at \$20.67, or 59 cents per bushel.

Tonight at midnight we reduce the weight of the gold dollar from 25.8 grains to  $15\frac{5}{21}$  grains, which means increasing the price of gold from \$20.67 to \$35 per ounce, so that our price of wheat changes as follows:

At midnight an ounce of fine gold is revalued at \$35.

At midnight an ounce of fine gold is still worth the same 35 bushels of wheat; hence at midnight each bushel of wheat is still worth one thirty-fifth of such ounce, now valued at \$35, or the price of wheat is thereby increased to \$1 per bushel

The illustration might be simplified.

Today a bushel of wheat is worth one gold dollar of 25.8 grains of gold, nine-tenths fine. Tonight at midnight the bushel of wheat is still worth the 25.8 grains of gold, but by devaluation the 25.8 grains of gold becomes \$1.59; so that the bushel of wheat has been increased in price from \$1 per bushel to \$1.59 per bushel.

The foregoing illustration, applicable to wheat, would be applicable to any and all world commodities. By world commodities I mean commodities valued from day to day in terms of gold. Wheat, cotton, corn, and oil are good examples of so-called world commodities.

The price or value of purely domestic commodities, or commodities not having a fixed value in terms of gold at all times, would not be similarly affected by the devaluation of the gold dollar unless, first, gold was actually in circulation, and unless, second, the surplus gold removed from each dollar should be recoined and issued into circulation.

It is my contention that the same economic law controlling the value of corn, wheat, cotton, and oil likewise controls the value of gold. When any commodity such as those mentioned is plentiful such commodity is cheap, and, conversely, when scarce is high.

In the past when new gold fields were discovered and gold was produced faster than the demand for gold increased, then gold itself became cheaper and prices increased.

On the other hand when the demand for gold increased faster than the production, coinage, and circulation of gold, then gold increased in value as measured by commodities and property generally.

Today the demand for gold as the basis for world exchange is great, and the fact that great quantities of gold are coming to the United States where, in effect, such gold is placed back in the quartz, is depleting the world supply of gold so that the value of the available diminishing supply is constantly increasing.

This policy or development is responsible for the value of our gold dollar, although reduced in size and weight by some 40 percent, being 130 cents, or some 30 percent greater than the value of the larger and heavier gold dollar in 1926.

It is obvious that in order for the gold dollar to remain constant in value or buying power, the production, coinage, and circulation of gold must be kept in harmony with the demand for gold.

Such a program is not to be expected, however; when the United States and the leading nations were on the orthodox gold standard we did not have either a stabilized or satisfactory monetary system.

For example, under such gold standard we saw the gold dollar in 1896 worth over 200 cents, as measured in commodities and property, and in 1920 we saw the same size gold dollar worth only 64 cents, as measured in the same class of property. Also in 1926 the gold dollar, before devaluation, was worth 100 cents and in 1932 the same dollar was worth 167 cents, as measured in commodities and property.

Then through devaluation the weight of the gold dollar was reduced from 25.8 grains to 15\%\gamma\_1\$ grains, yet today the smaller sized gold dollar is worth 130 cents when measured in commodities and property; hence I contend that under the old gold-standard plan our monetary system could be and was a managed-money system.

I contend that while gold and silver have been and are considered monetary metals, yet such metals are nothing other than commodities.

Also while we have said by law that 15½1 grains of gold nine-tenths fine would be a dollar, yet the value of such quantity of gold varies and changes with the production of and the demand for such a quantity of gold.

At this point I may say that while we now have in our Treasury over two-thirds of all the monetary gold in the world and about one-fourth of all the monetary silver produced to date. Our resources are such that we could acquire all the monetary gold and silver now available throughout the world.

It is a fact that we have fixed the price or value of both gold and silver and have and are maintaining such price throughout the world. However, no one would contend that it should be our policy to continue to acquire great quantities of either of these so-called monetary metals.

I make these statements not in approval of the suggested policy, but to show the economic power of the people of the United States.

As before stated, domestically or internally we are not on either a gold or a silver standard. Our exchange is based upon gold, but domestically we are on a paper-currency

While we now have over sixteen and one-half billions of gold and over one and one-half billions of silver in our Treasury, our \$6,666,000,000 of currency in circulation is redeemable not in gold but only in other dollars, probably of the same kind

Now to another proposition. I contend that so long as we have our dollar tied to a given and fixed quantity of gold it is possible and should be the policy of our money managers to keep the value of such quantity of gold as stable as is humanly possible with the price of our domestic commodities. By price of domestic commodities I do not mean any given or named product, but, rather, the general price level derived from the average of our commodities making up our general price index.

Let me explain more fully. It must be admitted that we may raise the price level by increasing the amount of currency in circulation. At any time we can raise the price level by permitting or forcing additional currency into circulation.

The raising of the general price level would, as a rule, raise the price of any given commodity. Take wheat, corn, or cotton, for example. We could raise the price of such commodities by increasing the supply of price-measuring units, which would be currency dollars. No one denies but that we can double the price of wheat or corn or cotton by such a policy.

If this is conceded, then we can regulate and adjust the value of gold in terms of commodities at will, and we can do this without the necessity of changing the size or weight of the gold dollar.

For example, today wheat is selling for some 50 cents per bushel. This means that today while an ounce of gold is worth \$35, such ounce is at the same time worth some 70 bushels of wheat.

By increasing the amount of currency in circulation I contend that we can raise the price level to such a point that wheat would be worth \$1 per bushel. Then the ounce of gold. while still being worth \$35, would at the same time be worth only 35 bushels of wheat. Or, in other words, the addition of currency to the circulation would serve to increase the price of wheat without the necessity of changing the size or weight of the gold dollar.

Since we are not on the gold standard or a gold basis from a practical standpoint, it would be very easy to place in practice this policy or plan. However, if we were on the orthodox gold standard, I contend that the policy herein outlined to a degree would work equally as well.

In 1933 our administration deliberately initiated a policy for raising commodity prices. The value of our dollar in terms of property was decreased from 167 cents to 112 cents by March 1937. As the dollar fell in value prices rose correspondingly. In 1937 our money managers stopped the cheapening of the dollar and the consequent rise in prices and reversed the trend. Since March 1937 the dollar has constantly increased in value and prices have fallen correspondingly.

During the past several months the dollar value has been fixed and retained at approximately 130 cents. I contend that the price level could be fixed at any other named point and that such price level could be maintained at such point exactly as the price level is now being maintained on a dollar valued at 130 cents

Again I say that the value or price of domestic commodities is governed by the number of price-measuring units or dollars in circulation.

The executive branches of the Government; having power and control over the coinage and circulation of money, and control over the issuance of credit, have all necessary power to raise the price level to any given point, and such agencies have full knowledge of how to use such power to bring about the end suggested and recommended.

To recapitulate the executive branches may use any or all of the following existing powers to bring about the end herein set forth:

First. Desterilize our surplus gold.

Second. Force into circulation available silver certificates. Third. Lower discount rates.

Fourth. Lower reserve requirements.

Fifth. Open-market operations.

Sixth. Further devalue the gold dollar.

Seventh. Issuance and use of additional Federal Reserve notes and Treasury notes as authorized by existing law.

For almost 10 years we have tried to work out of the depression under a low price level and we have failed. Today I am more convinced than ever that higher prices-hence, a higher price level-are not only advisable but absolutely mandatory before we see substantially better times.

The present dollar is a commodity dollar, but its value is not as yet properly adjusted and regulated.

The new dollar will be a commodity dollar, and a dollar so valued, regulated, and stabilized as to serve the best interests of all classes of our people.

With the new dollar in circulation the price level will be raised, wages and income will be increased, profits will be possible, the national income will be increased, the Budget will be balanced, and prosperity will return again to the people of the United States.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may at this time introduce a bill suggesting a remedy for the evils I am seeking to point out, and that the bill be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The bill (S. 1057) for the regulation and stabilization of agricultural and commodity prices through the regulation and stabilization of the value of the dollar, pursuant to the power conferred on the Congress by paragraph 5 of section 8 of article I of the Constitution, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc.,

# MONETARY POLICY

Section 1. Pursuant to the authority conferred in paragraph 5 of section 8 of article I of the Constitution, wherein the Congress is authorized to coin money and to regulate the value thereof, the Congress does hereby declare that the monetary policy of the United States shall embrace, among others, the following principles:

(a) To coin and keep constantly available an adequate supply

of sound money;

of sound money;

(b) To regulate the value of the dollar so as to best serve the domestic economy of the people; and

(c) To place and keep in circulation a sufficient amount of properly valued money to adequately supply the demands and needs of the people: Provided, That the regulation and stabilization of the value of the dollar shall be a fixed policy and, in order to promote and give stability to agriculture, industry, commerce, manufacturing, mining, forestry, fisheries, employment, and other human activities, the regional Federal Reserve banks and the member banks of the Federal Reserve System, under the supervision and direction of the Monetary Authority, shall cooperate in carrying out the policy and principles herein set forth and as provided in this act. provided in this act

## CREATION OF MONETARY AUTHORITY

SEC. 2. The Congress, in order to vitalize the provisions of the Constitution and to carry into effect the monetary principles and financial policy set forth in section 1 hereof, deems it necessary to, and does hereby, create the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System into a governmental agency to be designated as a Monetary Authority (herein referred to as the Monetary Authority) for the express purpose of regulating the value of money: Provided, That the constitutional clause regulating the value of the dollar to that point which will serve the best interests and best promote the domestic economy of the people: And provided further, That said clause regulating the value of money shall be construed to mean not only the adjustment of the value of money but also the stabilization of such regulated and adjusted value as hereinafter provided. SEC. 2. The Congress, in order to vitalize the provisions of the value as hereinafter provided.

#### DOLLAR-VALUE CONTROL ITEMS

SEC. 3. The Monetary Authority, in regulating, adjusting, and stabilizing the value of the dollar as herein provided, shall take into account and give consideration to, among other things, the

(a) The amount of the annual total tax bills necessary to support

the several units of government;
(b) The amount of the annual total public and private interest

items;

(c) The amount of consolidated or massed debts, public and private, owned by the several units of government, corporations, and the people jointly and severally;

(d) The general price level and the relation of such price level to the tax, interest, and debt burdens resting upon the people;

(e) The interests of taxpayers, mortgagors, debtors, producers, consumers, wage earners, holders of fixed investments, and those

who live on fixed incomes; (f) The relation of the general domestic price level to the general world price level; and

(g) The relation of the value of the dollar to the values of the monetary units of the other governments of the world.

#### STANDARDS AND LIMITATIONS

SEC. 4. Immediately upon the passage and approval of this act, the said Monetary Authority shall assume and exercise the powers herein delegated and conferred according to the standards and within the limitations herein set forth: Provided, That the said Monetary Authority is hereby authorized and directed to proceed, as provided herein, to adjust and regulate the value of the dollar as expressed in terms of wholesale prices to the point of 100 as shown by the Bureau of Labor Statistics: And provided further, That, pending the regulation and adjustment of the value of the dollar to the point of 100 as provided herein, the said Monetary Authority shall proceed to investigate, consider, and determine the proper value of the dollar as provided in section 3 of this act.

## EQUILIBRIUM PRICE LEVEL

SEC. 5. The Monetary Authority, in carrying into effect the principle of monetary policy stated in (b) of section 1 hereof, and after full consideration of said items (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), and (g) in section 3 hereof, shall regulate and adjust the value of the dollar, as provided herein, so as to effectuate, produce, and bring about as nearly as possible an equilibrium price level designed to serve the best interests of the people as mentioned in (e) of sections 3 hereof. tion 3 hereof.

#### STABILIZATION

SEC. 6. Immediately upon the completion of the regulation and SEC. 6. Immediately upon the completion of the regulation and adjustment of the value of the dollar, as provided herein, the Monetary Authority shall proceed to stabilize and thereafter keep stable as nearly as possible the value of said dollar at the point of value so determined as provided herein: Provided, That in the regulation, adjustment, and stabilization of the value of the dollar, the said Monetary Authority shall have all the authority herein delegated and conferred and, in addition, shall have all the power heretofore delegated and conferred upon the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

# SPECIFIC POWERS

SEC. 7. In order to carry into effect the principles of the monetary policy set forth in this act, the Monetary Authority, acting under the powers conferred herein and acting as the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, shall have the following specific

(a) Full and complete control over reserve requirements of mem-

ber banks of the Federal Reserve System;
(b) Full and complete control over the discount rate at each of the regional Federal Reserve banks;

the regional Federal Reserve banks;

(c) Full and complete control over the eligibility of all kinds and classes of collateral to be accepted by the several regional Federal Reserve banks, their branches, and other member banks of the Federal Reserve System; and

(d) Full and complete control over all open-market operations in all regional Federal Reserve banks, both in the buying and selling of securities at home and abroad.

## MONETARY AUTHORITY STATISTICS

Sec. 8. For the purpose of assisting in the regulations, adjustment, and stabilization of the value of the dollar, the said Monetary Authority is hereby authorized to investigate, prepare, and officially adopt a system of statistics to be known as the Monetary Authority statistics: Provided, That in preparing such statistics, the Monetary Authority shall have authority to call upon other departments of the Government for such statistics, data, and information as may be desired and requisitioned: And provided further, That, pending the adoption of such Monetary Authority statistics, the said Monetary Authority shall make use of, and be governed by, the Bureau of Labor Statistics as provided herein.

## OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

SEC. 9. In carrying into effect the provisions of this act, the Monetary Authority shall have power to appoint officers and employees, to define their duties, fix their compensation, require bonds of them, and fix the penalty thereof, and to dismiss at pleasure such officers and employees. The said Monetary Authority is hereby empowered to adopt and promulgate such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

#### INTERPRETATION OF DELEGATED POWERS

SEC. 10. The powers delegated to and conferred upon the Mone-tary Authority herein created shall be construed to be a delegation tary Authority herein created shall be construed to be a delegation of legislative powers conferred upon the Congress by paragraph 5 of section 8 of article I of the Constitution, to regulate the value of money: Provided, That such powers so delegated shall be further interpreted and construed to be a delegation of such specific legislative powers to a governmental agency to carry out a fixed policy of the Congress according to definite and fixed standards, and within definite and fixed limitations, as set forth herein and as provided by this set.

within definite and fixed limitations, as set forth herein and as provided by this act.

SEC. 11. All provisions of the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, with amendments, including title 3 of Public Law No. 10, Seventy-third Congress, and amendments thereof, and other public acts of the Seventy-third, Seventy-fourth, and Seventy-fifth Congresses, when not in conflict and not inconsistent with the provisions of this act, shall be, and are hereby continued in full force and effect.

SEC. 12. There is authorized to be appropriated annually, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary for carrying into effect the provisions of this act.

SEC. 13. If any provision of this act, or the application thereof to any person or circumstance, is held invalid, the remainder of the act, and the application of such provision to other persons or circumstances, shall not be affected thereby.

SEC. 14. The Monetary Authority shall report to the Congress annually such data, report of activities, and statement of policy as may be deemed in the public interest and shall make recommendations to the Congress at its discretion relative to amendments of this act or of existing law.

SEC. 15. The short title of this act shall be the "Monetary Authority Act."

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent that I may place in the RECORD as a part of my remarks a copy of a letter from the senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] to Mr. Edward A. O'Neal, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, which bears on the question I have just discussed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LETTER FROM SENATOR KEY PITTMAN TO MR. EDWARD A. O'NEAL, PRESI-DENT, AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION

UNITED STATES SENATE Washington, D. C., December 8, 1938.

Mr. EDWARD A. O'NEAL,

President, American Farm Bureau Federation,

Hotel Roosevelt, New Orleans, La.
My Dear Mr. O'Neal: It would appear necessary that the farmers My Dear Mr. O'Neal: It would appear necessary that the farmers of the United States take immediate and positive action to relieve the agricultural industry from its tragic condition of continued depression. Ever since the war, to my personal knowledge, the unjust disparity in the price of agricultural commodities by comparison with manufactured commodities, the earnings and standards of farmers by comparison with those engaged in other industries, has been fully realized and admitted. During that entire period of time the farmers have been discussing these conditions and have been making strenuous efforts to remedy them. Efforts have been been making strenuous efforts to remedy them. Efforts have been made by our Government at nearly every session of Congress to establish and maintain the parity of the agricultural industry with the other industries of the country. There has been temporary relief afforded, but no permanent relief has been accomplished. The

the other industries of the country. There has been temporary relief afforded, but no permanent relief has been accomplished. The plans so far tried have largely involved policies depending upon tariffs, commercial manipulations of markets, reduction of production, loans, and payments of bonuses or subsidies. None of these policies or programs have taken into consideration our monetary system and our money supply.

The American Farm Bureau Federation, as far back as 1932, undoubtedly realized that the price of farm products was chiefly affected by money supply. In May 1932, in your testimony before the Committee on Banking and Currency of the United States Senate, when that committee was investigating the purchasing power of the dollar, you presented to that committee and had printed in its records a document published by the American Farm Bureau Federation, Chicago, Ill., January 7, 1932, entitled "Honest Money—An Explanation of the Relation of Money, Prices, and Prosperity." That, in my opinion, is one of the ablest and clearest discussions of our monetary system, particularly in relation to prices. That document should be read not only by every farmer in this country but by every Member of Congress. It is hardly worth while to suggest that those economists whose opinions have been formed at their colleges 30 or 40 years ago, and from reading books that were written by similar economists 30 or 40 years prior thereto, or selfish financiers who through greed, consummate conceit, and vanity insist upon the exclusive right to arbitrarily expand and contract money and credit—to suggest that they read this valuable document. These men, through their power to manage currency and credit, brought about the great inflation of credit and the delirious boom of 1929. They also induced, through their acts, the terrible depression that followed and which has continued ever since. They contend that there is ample power in our monetary

system to expand money and credit. If that be true, then why have they falled to use such power? They contend, and accurately, that the Government since 1929 has been engaged in the process of deflation. Why have they falled to suggest any unselfish monetary plan of reflation?

Let me call to your attention a statement in the Farm Bureau document to which I have referred, found on page 146 of such hearing. It reads as follows:
"The value of every product depends on supply and demand.

"The value of every product depends on supply and demand. That is just as true of money as it is of wheat and hogs. When the price of hogs goes down while other prices are stationary, the reason is that there are too many hogs in proportion to the demand

reason is that there are too many hogs in proportion to the demand for pork.

"But when the average level of all prices goes down, as from 97 to 68 in 2 years, that is not due to the supply and demand of goods. It is hardly possible that there could be such a sudden increase in the production of all goods in 2 years, or such a sudden lessening of the desire of people for goods.

"The cause in such a case is a change in the supply of money and credit. The price of money cannot change, for it is fixed by law. So, when the supply changes, the effect can only be shown by a change in the price of goods. Commodity prices not only must change to compensate for changes in their own supply and demand but also to compensate for changes in the supply of money and demand for it.

"Suppose we think of all the money and bank credit of the coun-

demand for it.

"Suppose we think of all the money and bank credit of the country as being on one end of a pair of balances and all the goods on the other end. Take off part of the goods, and that end of the balance goes up. That is, goods are scarce and prices rise. We are all familiar with that result in the case of individual commodities.

"We are not so familiar with the fact that a change in the supply of money on the other end of the scale will have exactly the same of the read of the money of the money.

of money on the other end of the scale will have exactly the same effect. If we take off some of the money, the money end will go up and the goods end will go down. That is exactly what has happened during the past 2 years. The goods end of the scale has gone down—the average wholesale price level has dropped 29 percent—not because we put too many goods on that end of the scale but because there was not enough money on the other end."

Let us keep in mind that this statement was made in a document prepared by the American Farm Bureau Federation in 1932. That was a warning given 6 years ago. That warning has been ignored for 6 years. We find exactly the same condition existing today in 1938.

Credit is not money. Credit does perform one of the functions of money, and that is as a medium of exchange. It does not, however, have the functions of money as a measure of value and as a reserve for surplus labor and surplus income. It is not legal tender that a debtor can require his creditor to accept. We have in this country two kinds of legal-tender money, namely, non-retirable and retirable. Our silver specie and silver certificates constitute our nonretirable currency. Our retirable currency consists of Federal Reserve notes, and probably some other forms of currencies.

As of October 31, 1938, our circulating currency is given by the Treasury as follows:

Gold certificates	\$76, 081, 139
Standard silver dollars	40, 962, 394
Silver certificates	1, 297, 382, 507
Treasury notes of 1890	
Subsidiary silver	
Minor coin	148, 331, 126
United States notes	286, 800, 867
Federal Reserve notes	4, 282, 000, 795
Federal Reserve bank notes	28, 440, 850
National bank notes	205, 599, 050

Total Oct. 31, 1938\_\_\_ 6, 699, 707, 987

I call your attention to the fact that the total circulating money in this country is only \$6,699,707,987.

in this country is only \$6,699,707,987.

I take it that there is no controversy that legal-tender money is required in the monetary system of every country. Certainly there is some relation between circulating currency and the volume of financial transactions such as production and consumption, domestic and foreign commerce, deposits, debts, and income. It would hardly be asserted that the Philippine Commonwealth requires in its monetary system the same amount of currency as is required in the United States. If we admit, therefore, that such relationship exists, then we must ask ourselves the question: Was there sufficient circulating currency in the United States in 1914? The financiers of the country at that time held that there was sufficient currency in circulation. If that be true, then there is not sufficient currency in circulation today in 1938. in circulation today in 1938.

In circulation today in 1938.

Let us see how much the volume of transactions has increased between 1914 and the present time. In 1914 the national debt was only slightly above \$1,000,000,000. Today it is over \$39,000,000,000. In 1914 the State and local debts were approximately \$4,500,000,000. Today they are approximately \$1,900,000.000.

In 1914 bank deposits were \$21,360,000,000. At this time, June 30, 1938, bank deposits are \$59,380,000,000. In 1914 national income produced, estimated by the Department of Commerce, was \$34,600,000,000. In 1937, the last computations we have, the national income is estimated at \$69,600,000,000. In 1914 our gold holdings were \$1,526,000,000. In 1938 as of October 31, our gold holdings are \$14,064,534,061. In 1914 our silver holdings were \$750,279,000. In 1938, as of October 31, our silver holdings are in money \$1,648,382,507 and 1,086,941,083 ounces. And yet the circulating currency of the

country in 1914 was \$3,459,434,174, while in 1938, as of October 31, it was \$6,699,707,987, an increase of only 93 percent. During that period of time our national debt has increased 3,211 percent; our bank deposits have increased 178 percent; our national income has increased 82 percent; our metallic reserves have increased 606 percent.

I am aware that some of our economists will attempt to answer the foregoing argument for an increase in our circulating currency by asserting that the circulating money per capita in this country is as great as it was—in fact, slightly larger than it has been for a number of years. If this argument has merit in it, then such increase is due chiefly to the increase of sliver coins and silver certificates. I contend, however, that per capita circulation is not the measure of the necessity of circulating currency.

China has possibly a population of four hundred millions of people. The per capita money circulation in that country has rarely exceeded \$2. The Chinese people do not require the same amount of circulating currency as is required by the people of the United States. The commercial and financial transactions in China are far less than they are in the United States. Only an infinitesimal portion of its population engage in any financial or commercial transactions of any extent. It is true that the credit system in China is not highly developed and, therefore, the practice of settling debts often and in cash and dealing in cash transactions is far more prevalent in China than in the United States. And yet the circulating currency in China with its over four hundred millions of people is less than one-twentieth of the per capita circulation in the United States. lation in the United States.

It must be evident that per capita circulation is not the proper measure for the necessity for circulating currency.

Some economists and financiers contend that when commerce and trade require more circulating currency it can be obtained and will be provided through the issue of Federal Reserve notes. This assumption in effect holds that a free circulation of currency is will be provided through the issue of Federal Reserve notes. This assumption in effect holds that a free circulation of currency is not a stimulation to commerce and trade; and yet, when Congress granted President Roosevelt in 1933 the power to issue \$6,000,000,000 in Treasury notes—which, of course, would have been circulating currency if he had issued them—the economists and financiers of the United States expressed great fear and contended that it would give him the greatest power of inflation that any President had ever been granted. At the very time that that proposed act was under consideration, at a conference between executive-legislative officers and outside financial advisers, at which I was present, one of these outside financial advisers proclaimed that if the act were passed and executed every depositor in the country that understood the situation would realize that the value of his money would be depreciated and he would seek instantly to transfer the money into commodities, real estate, or some other kind of physical property. The administration was then seeking to startle banks and depositors out of their fear and to bring money and credit out of hoarding for again starting industry, trade, and commerce. And the predictions of this able financier were verified. Commencing with the passage of the act, the revival of business started, and the upward curve continued rapidly and steadily until July 1933. Then it was announced by the Treasury Department that there would be no inflation. Immediately the curve dipped, leveled out, and stayed comparatively level until business was again stimulated by large Government loans through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and other governmental lending agencies and through expenditures of large sums of money by the Government, under its relief proand other governmental lending agencies and through expenditures of large sums of money by the Government, under its relief program and by the payment of the soldiers' bonus. This, of course, was credit reflation. Unfortunately this credit reflation was not participated in by private institutions. It was credit reflation that the regular private credit institutions of the country were either unable or unwilling to turnible its way to be a country were either unable or unwilling to turnible. unable or unwilling to furnish. It was not a currency refiation. The credit had to be liquidated. Such Federal Reserve notes as were used in the process were interest-burdened money and could be and would be inevitably retired. The \$6,000,000,000 in Treasury notes were not issued. The curve of business continued to rise in "35 and "36 by reason of such governmental credit reflation.

In the letter part of 1936 and early in 1937, the Treasury Depart.

In the latter part of 1936 and early in 1937, the Treasury Department conceived that the country was going into another boom. How such a conception could have originated in view of the fact that industry had not nearly risen to normal, as was clearly proven by the nine or ten millions of unemployed people in the United States, is incomprehensible. However, that was the opinion undoubtedly of the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve Board. The Secretary of the Treasury announced the sterilization of our unallocated gold. While sterilization had no real effect, because the gold might as well have been in the mines as it was not used, still it indicated the intention of the administration to prevent any reflation of our credit or of our currency based upon gold. used, still it indicated the intention of the administration to prevent any reflation of our credit or of our currency based upon gold. It was a warning to all credit institutions in the country to be cautious, if not to restrict credit. About the same time Mr. Eccles, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, doubled the reserve requirements of national and member banks. Some banks were required to liquidate some of their securities so as to comply with the order. The real effect of it was however to excir notify the credit instituto liquidate some of their securities so as to comply with the order. The real effect of it was, however, to again notify the credit institutions of our country that the Government intended to restrict credit. The result was instantaneous. Commodity prices fell. Recession started in and the business curve rapidly descended. And now we are informed that the Treasury Department favors reductions of Government expenditures, while Mr. Eccles contends that expenditures by the Government must not be reduced, at least to any extent or suddenly.

I do not know that the Secretary of the Treasury has been accu-I do not know that the Secretary of the Treasury has been accurately quoted. I have heard no contradiction, however, emanating from the Treasury Department. There has been an improvement recently in certain industries in the country which gives hope that the Government may reduce its expenditures. This hope cannot be realized, however, until the farming industry of this country has to purchasing power restored by providing a market for its products at a compensating price. The farming industry of the country today is faced with bankruptcy. If this condition is not relieved through the adoption of some sound policy, most of the farmers will have to go on relief. go on relief.

Then let us analyze our circulating currency. Federal Reserve notes in circulation amounting to \$4,282,000,795 can be retired. National-bank notes amounting to \$205,599,050 can be retired. It is National-bank notes amounting to \$205,599,050 can be retired. It is not worth while to discuss the legal question as to whether gold certificates amounting to \$76,081,139, United States notes amounting to \$269,800,867, Federal Reserve bank notes amounting to \$28,440,850, and national-bank notes amounting to \$205,599,050 can be retired. No one will deny that the Federal Reserve notes can be retired. Then, if only the Federal Reserve notes are retirable and all the other forms of currency are nonretirable, sixull we only have in circulation \$23,417,707,192 in proporticable circulating currency.

Then, if only the Federal Reserve notes are retirable and all the other forms of currency are nonretirable, still we only have in circulation \$2,417,707,192 in nonretirable circulating currency.

In the first place there are a great many of our economists and financiers who have constantly called attention to the fact that varying from 90 percent to 95 percent of our commercial and financial transactions are conducted through checks and drafts and other evidences of credit. They are, therefore, inconsiderate of the necessity for circulating currency. Our highly developed credit system is a great advantage in facilitating commerce and business. There are, however, an enormous number of transactions that must be conducted in cash. Moving-picture shows, transportation companies, insurance companies, and other similar businesses in nearly every instance require payment in cash, which is currency. A large proportion of the population of the United States have no bank account, never did have, and never will have. They must eat and buy clothes. They, out of necessity of the case, must pay in cash, which is currency. Need I call attention to the fact that the lack of circulating currency during depressions incidental to panics has compelled the supplying of substitutes for currency such as script and all kinds of tokens?

But it will be contended, of course, that the currency will find its way into the banks. Not all of it. Communities that have suffered the closing of all banking institutions have been compelled for considerable periods of time to transact business with the currency that was in the till and safes and in the pockets consisted entirely of small currency which was almost exclusively dollar silver certificates and silver coins. It is true that at the present time our Government issues silver certificates in larger denominations. I doubt the wisdom of this act. I think the people of this country would be better off if they always kept more real money in their tills, their safes, and in their pockets. It is

but banks' inaction.

There are distinguished economists and financiers who contend that the power to issue Federal Reserve notes to banks meets every that the power to issue Federal Reserve notes to banks meets every requirement of circulating currency. It has not met the requirements during depression. Banks do not circulate Federal Reserve notes except when currency is demanded at the time they make loans or when currency is demanded upon a check on a deposit. When they are not making loans and deposits are inactive, there is little necessity for the banks to call upon the Federal Reserve banks for Federal Reserve notes. Again, the bank must borrow these Federal Reserve notes. It must pay interest for the loan of such money, and therefore the tendency is for the banks to obtain as little of this currency as possible. The proven result of the use of the Federal Reserve notes has been that in prosperous and in boom times banks circulate large amounts of such notes, thereby accelerating the boom; while, when the boom breaks and the panic spreads and prices fall without apparent bottom, business stagnates, commerce ceases to move, depositors are afraid to buy, and the commerce ceases to move, depositors are afraid to buy, and the banking business stagnates. The bankers then, not making loans and the depositors having ceased to issue checks and drafts, sur-render their Federal Reserve notes to the Federal Reserve Board, and then the Federal Reserve notes cease to circulate. This is just

and then the Federal Reserve notes cease to circulate. This is just the time when circulation is required.

Now, about the assertion that currency and credit will be supplied when business demands it. Was that true when the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was established and organized under President Hoover? Oh, no. The railroads, the insurance companies, the trust companies were screaming frantically for loans. Would the banks supply the credit and the essential part in currency that would be required by such institutions? Not at all. The United States Government was compelled to meet the failure of our normal credit institutions and to make the loans and to furnish the necessary currency to the railroads, the insurance of our normal credit institutions and to make the loans and to furnish the necessary currency to the railroads, the insurance companies, and the trust companies. Did the banks have plenty of money? In 1933 the clearing-house banks in New York petitioned President Hoover to declare a bank moratorium, stating that all of their gold, practically all of their real money, would be withdrawn and hoarded unless the banks were closed. The Governor of New York proclaimed the moratorium for the State of New York. President Hoover failed to declare the moratorium nationally. President Roosevelt declared the national moratorium

on banks immediately on his inauguration. Could the banks protect themselves if and when the moratorium was ended? The President of the United States had to place the whole credit of the Government back of the banks before they could open. And later on Congress had to provide governmental bank-deposit insurance to maintain confidence in the banks. The only way that I know of that the Government could make good its guaranty of such deposits in case confidence in the Government were shaken and a panic arose and depositors demanded their money would be for the Government to have thirty or forty billions of dollars in Federal Reserve notes issued. That would not be reflation, but real and disastrous inflation. real and disastrous inflation.

real and disastrous inflation.

In the end there is nothing behind all of our deposits, our credits, and our guaranties, save and except the legal-tender money of the United States. I will admit that it is hardly possible, in my opinion, that our people will lose confidence in the credit of the United States; and, therefore, a reasonable amount of actual money will meet the requirements. This confidence has not always been shared by some of our great economists and financiers. We have snared by some of our great economists and manciers. We have no right, however, to base our monetary system entirely upon present conditions. We have no right, in acting for the future, to entirely exclude from our minds the possibility of a threat to our country that may to a certain extent shake the confidence of many people in our country in the soundness of Government and private people in our country in the soundness of Government and private credit. A large supply of gold and silver will, in my opinion, be the strongest support of the credit of our Government and its monetary system. Notwithstanding the fact that many governments have been compelled to resort to a managed currency with no metallic coverage, while others have inadequate metallic coverage, gold and silver will still purchase the necessities of life anywhere in the world. It is still the aspiration of governments to have metallic coverage for their currenties.

where in the world. It is still the aspiration of governments to have metallic coverage for their currencies.

There is nothing behind the Federal Reserve notes today save the power of the Government to pay the gold certificates held by the Federal Reserve bank, and it is undoubtedly its present intention to pay such certificates if it should become necessary to do so to maintain the parity of such Federal Reserve notes. The Federal Reserve notes were only required to have 40-percent gold reserve back of them; therefore, 60 percent of such issues were flat money. Even our silver certificates issued against silver dollars at the present price of silver have 33½ percent actual value behind them.

At this point let me emphatically assert that, in my opinion, every dollar of currency issued should constantly have 100-percent metallic coverage. No one may successfully contend that we have honest money until such coverage is provided and maintained. Prior to the time that we went off the gold standard and the mania for managed currency was forced upon the principal countries of the world, and we contracted the disease all of the gold.

Prior to the time that we went off the gold standard and the mania for managed currency was forced upon the principal countries of the world—and we contracted the disease—all of the gold that had moved into our country, except that which was earmarked or allocated, would have been coined into \$5, \$10, and \$20 gold pieces and would have been in circulation in this country. Now we bury it in the ground while our Government pays interest for somebody else to furnish it with non-legal-tender credit. Professor Warren, I am informed and believe, who advised the bringing up of gold to \$35 an ounce, anticipated as a part of his program that currency would be issued against the increased quantity and value, and thus raise commodity prices in this country. This essential part of Professor Warren's program was never carried out. The purchase of this gold was largely paid for by our exports, and to that extent our people benefited. The same is equally true of our purchase of foreign silver. The silver purchased through London was almost entirely paid for by our exports, as statistics will demonstrate. As our purchases of silver in London increased, our exports to Great Britain and her colonies and dependencies increased. So, as the price of silver increased did the exports increased, so decreased proportionately our exports.

We have not utilized the value of our gold to the fullest extent. We have not utilized the value of our gold to the fullest extent. It is probable, because it is natural, that after the political controversies of the world are adjusted—whether by war or peaceful means—that there will be a readjustment of international exchange. If and when that time takes place, the United States will find it necessary or advisable to part with a large portion of its gold in the process of the international stabilization of exchange and the support of those governments that desire to go upon the dollar exchange basis. To a certain extent this may be true of the Government's silver holdings, to a much smaller extent. S

Our Government has in circulation in the United States \$1,689,-285,938 in silver coins and silver certificates. Each of the silver certificates is redeemable at the Treasury in a standard silver dollar. All of these silver coins and silver certificates are full legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private. The silver in these coins is valued at \$1.29 an ounce for the silver dollars and \$1.38 an ounce for the subsidiary silver coins. The price is arrived at in this way.

this way:
There is approximately seventy-seven one hundredths of an ounce of silver in a dollar. Therefore an ounce of silver is valued at \$1.29. There being less proportions of silver in the subsidiary silver coins, the silver in such coins is valued at \$1.38 an ounce. The Government, in addition to this silver currency, owns 1,086,941,083 ounces of silver in bullion. The Government, in my opinion, has the power to raise and stabilize the world price of silver at \$1.29 an ounce. It would be very advantageous and profitable to the Government to accomplish such an end, in my opinion. There would then be 100 percent intrinsic value behind all of its circulating silver currency. Its 1,086,941,083 ounces of silver bullion, which cost approximately, on the average, 50 cents an ounce, would have an intrinsic value throughout the world of \$1.29 an ounce. The purchasing power of over one-half of the people of the world

would be restored.

A great many of our economists and financiers contend that this Government, acting alone, has not such power; they contend that it can only be accomplished through concurrent international action. I do not believe that this is true. The Government has bid gold up to \$35 an ounce, and has purchased gold very largely with its exports. By reason of such purchases by the United States the price of gold throughout the world is substantially \$35 an ounce. If the Government offers to sell or trade our exports for silver at a price of \$1.29 an ounce, such action will, in my opinion. raise and stabilize the price of silver throughout the world at \$1.29 an ounce

It is contended that all of the silver in the world would flow into the United States because we would have valued the silver higher than other countries. If that were true then all importers would come to our country to buy our products and we would have a monopoly on world export to the extent of our export production. It isn't reasonable, however, that other countries would permit us

this monopoly. They would, of course, meet the competition. That is, they would meet the competition by accepting silver for their

resports at the same price.

The unfortunate part about the program is that our differential would not last long enough. There is not an unlimited quantity of silver in the world. In fact, it is estimated that there are not to exceed 15,000,000,000 ounces in the world. These estimates are based upon the records of production over a period of 400 years. The estimates of depreciation, in my opinion, have been entirely too small. India is estimated to have at least 6,000,000,000 ounces of silver, India is estimated to have at least 6,000,000,000 ounces of sliver, most of this silver, in fact, substantially all of it, being in the possession of the masses of people, held in the form of jewelry. It is their measure of wealth; it is their bank account; it is their hoardings. They reluctantly part with it. In times of distress they take chunks of it in to the market and with it buy food. In 1918, when the treasury of India was unable to redeem its paper rupee notes, the Indians refused to accept gold. Great Britain was compelled to come to the United States and have us, through an act of Congress, furnish them 20,800,000 ounces of silver, derived from the breaking furnish them 208,000,000 ounces of silver, derived from the breaking up of our standard silver dollars, so they could make such redemp-tion. In every effort of the British Government to get the silver out tion. In every effort of the British Government to get the silver out of India through melting up silver coins in the treasury and selling them on the world market as bullion at sacrifice prices and through the imposing of import duties on silver, they have utterly failed. The people of India continue to import and smuggle silver into India. They buy their cotton clothing with silver. The production of silver is decreasing by comparison with gold. For approximately 400 years the production of silver was 16 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold. Today the production is only 7 ounces of silver to 1 of gold. With gold at \$35 an ounce and silver at \$1.29 the ratio would be 27.1 to 1.

It is send that India is on the gold standard. That is not true.

gold. With gold at \$35 an ounce and silver at \$1.29 the ratio would be 27.1 to 1.

It is said that India is on the gold standard. That is not true. The Government of India is on the pound sterling standard, but the people of India still have to buy their cotton clothes with silver. They buy the pound sterling with silver, and with the pound sterling they buy the cotton goods, chiefly from Great Britain, of course. When the price of their silver is high they buy more cotton clothes, and when the price of silver is low they economize, just as you and I do when there is a depression. The people of India are the chief users of cotton goods throughout the world. It is true that the people of India and the people in tropical countries are large users of cotton goods. The spinners of Liverpool, England, have only recently gotten out a pamphlet in which they prove, in my opinion, that the low price of silver is the cause of the loss of demand and the fall in the price of cotton goods.

In July I published through the press of the country an article in which I discussed the hopelessness of the cotton farmer and suggested that our Government trade 10 pounds of cotton for 1 ounce of silver. We have a surplus of over 13,000,000 bales of cotton which we cannot dispose of in the United States. In fact, we cannot dispose of it anywhere in the world at above the market price of around 8 cents a pound. It is probable that if we attempted to dispose of this large quantity at once, we either couldn't find any market for it at all or we would break the world price down to 4 or 5 cents a pound.

We have cotton that we must get rid of. The people that wear

cents a pound.

We have cotton that we must get rid of. The people that wear cotton goods have silver that they are willing to trade for it. We are trying to fix an arbitrary parity price of 12.9 cents a pound for cotton. We should do it. It is the parity price. The wearers of cotton goods in India are unwilling to trade their silver at the value of 43 cents an ounce at any such arbitrary price as 12.9 cents a pound for cotton. Those opposed to the proposition say the cotton will only cost 4 or 5 cents a pound to the foreign importer. How would that affect us in this country? Our cotton producers would receive 12.9 cents a pound. The demand for cotton goods would be enormously enhanced. The incentive to increase the production of cotton abroad and to substitute other fibers would be eliminated. The foreign cotton market for the United States cotton would be restored and the destructive influences destroyed. ences destroyed.

The administration contends that it would lose the seigniorage on silver; that is, the difference between the 43 cents it has to pay for the silver abroad and the \$1.29 an ounce that it would pay for for the silver abroad and the \$1.29 an ounce that it would pay for it in the exchange for cotton. Maybe the loss for this extortion profit would be slightly more than the loss it has already sustained in paying bonuses and lending money to the cotton planters. It may not be as much as the Government will lose if it must continue with the present program. If not, then what? It seems inevitable to me that the present program must result in the absolute destruction of our foreign market for cotton. I believe that I am sustained in this conclusion by the opinion of many experts with regard to the raw-cotton industry.

Certainly, the receiving of such a quantity of silver—which would amount to approximately 800,000,000 ounces, injected into our currency—would not constitute infiation.

Our Government requires in its monetary system, in my opinion, at least \$10,000,000,000 of legal tender, nonretirable currency. The \$4,282,000,795 of Federal Reserve notes can be retired, which would permit a silver currency issue of \$7,582,292,508 before the \$10,000,000,000 in nonretirable currency was issued. It would never reach such an importation of silver, because other countries would accept silver for their exports.

silver for their exports.

I simply took cotton as an example. The same reasons apply to the trading of wheat for silver. In fact, if such program were put in force and effect, and it proved a success, there would be every reason why Congress should authorize such transactions with regard to all of our exports.

to all of our exports.

I delivered an address at the Mining Congress in Los Angeles, Calif., on October 26 dealing briefly with the plan for the exchange of cotton for silver. I am having a number of these speeches delivered to you. It will obviate the necessity of my going further into the discussion of the subject. I have of necessity written this letter hastily, by reason of my desire that it shall reach you before the organization of your annual convention. The American Farm Bureau Federation and the other farm organizations of this country are entitled to have great influence in the Government, and I sincerely hope that you will exert such influence. I know that it is the duty of your convention to speak for those whom you represent, and I do not think you will hesitate.

I wish the convention every success.

With personal regards, I beg to remain,
Sincerely yours,

KEY PITTMAN.

KEY PITTMAN.

Mr. BARKLEY. A parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator will state it. Mr. BARKLEY. Has the time which has been occupied by the Senator from Oklahoma been charged to the proponents of the amendment, and is it the understanding that he having occupied all of that time, no one else may now speak in favor of the McKellar amendment?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It was the view of the Vice President at the time the President pro tempore took the chair that the time would be divided equally between the proponents and the opponents, allowing an hour and a

half to each side.

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, I could not permit the record on the pending amendment to be closed without recording as clearly as I know how the reasons why I shall support the report and recommendations made by the Senate Committee on Appropriations to the Senate.

None will dispute the fact that I have given fullest support to the most liberal relief programs which have been advanced since Congress started appropriating to meet human needs resulting from the production of too much of everything needed. It may be said that, in addition to the production of too much of everything needed, our trouble has been traceable to years of economic propping in the hope and expectation that we could maintain the insane, unnatural, and unbalanced economy which war taught us to like while it lasted.

But, whatever the cause of our economic break-down, we know the price that has been and is being paid—human misery, lost homes and equities, lost hopes. To meet this need I have been willing to and have helped pour out unmeasured resources to alleviate that distress. I have helped pour priming into the national pump in the form of funds for loans and gifts to business, to home owners, to home builders, easy money to a broken banking system. I have given full measure of support to the creation and financing of P. W. A., W. P. A., Farm Security Administration, C. C. C., and every other cause which had as its purpose the restoration of normal opportunity for the people and the meeting of some of the needs of a people without the means to meet their own first needs. I have never questioned the wisdom of the huge amounts asked for these purposes, except as I have questioned whether we were meeting needs as fully as they should be met, as fully as a presumably rich nation ought to be eager to meet them. I have not been one who believed that we were impairing the future of the nation by adding to a national debt, for unlimited debt is still better than millions of hungry, unclothed, and unsheltered human beings. Give, give, help, help, help, has been my very definite purpose through

each of these distressing years.

I have seen some most unhappy results flowing from our spending. I have seen heartless and impatient administrators giving of the help we voted here to those less—and sometimes least-deserving, while proud men and women have been coldly turned away. I have seen chiselers accommodated, but perhaps not more than were to be expected under necessarily hurried administration. I have seen waste. I have seen politics played with relief money and have felt the sting of the lash of relief politics; but this in spite of administration in my State, which did its utmost to prevent an inevitable result under a public relief program. I have seen some proud and courageous men and women drift and drift under relief to a point where it is all too apparent that they have come to assume that they shall always have relief and make no plans or seek no outlet whereby they might provide for themselves. I have seen men in business and operators of farms unable to get help they were ready to hire and needed because those whose help was needed were finding it easier under W. P A., but they were not the many whom we were trying to help.

I have seen all of this, yet have been willing to afford more of relief appropriations, because there seemed no escaping some of these consequences, and because I was sure we must one day find ourselves out of the economic swamp, and upon the road of normal recovery upon which to build a healthy prosperity and abundant opportunity for the millions of honest people who would welcome freedom from dependence upon relief. I insist again that I have given complete and unqualified support to those steps which were to accom-

plish this end.

Mr. President, I shall continue the pouring out of resources so long as there shall be need on the part of people who are helpless to help themselves through no fault of their own.

But when I see how little progress has been made against the conditions which we have been fighting, when I see as much or more unemployment than there was when we started our spending of billions, when I must see as many or more needy people than were in that unfortunate position when we went to the help of their kind with seeming unlimited relief, when I see and acknowledge those facts I swear it is high time to be taking strict and careful inventory of our direction and prospect, however good may have been and might be our purpose.

That inventory should pursue two definite lines. We should have determination of whether there is need for all that is being asked and proposed and if what we give in billions of dollars is being made to reach the largest possible number of people in need. Second, our inventory should be such a one as would let us know whether we are utilizing our resources spent in the name of relief and recovery in a way that accom-

plishes results against the fundamental ills.

There is no better time for that inventory than between now and next spring. We can best do this job by accepting, as a first step, the amount and provisions embodied in the pending relief bill as reported by the Appropriations Committee. And we can take this first step without inflicting any more suffering upon people than would be inflicted in February and March under the larger amount being asked for in the pending amendment to the deficiency relief appropriation

What is the situation? In the last session of Congress we appropriated such sums for relief as were recommended, as necessary up to the time when Congress would be reconvened. Upon convening we confront the fact that while Farm Security Administration and other agencies assisting in meeting the needs of people have balances to carry on operations to the end of the present fiscal year on June 30, the W. P. A. has only such funds as are necessary to carry

on until February 4 or 7. A deficiency appropriation for a little less than 5 months of continued W. P. A. operation is asked. The President recommended an appropriation for this purpose of \$875,000,000. The House of Representatives by a considerable majority voted to reduce this amount to \$725,000,000, a reduction of about 17 percent. The Senate Appropriations Committee concurred in the House figure after writing into the measure provisions which would prevent any reduction of the W. P. A. rolls of more than 5 percent in the bitter winter months of February and March, and leaving the door wide open for additional appropriation in the event the President should see an emergency requiring more than would be left of the \$725,000,000 for use in W. P. A. in April, May, and June. The committee had no thought of drastically departing from meeting proven needs under W. P. A. Now comes an amendment to the committee figure proposing restoration of the full amount recommended by the President.

What was the consideration which prompted the House and the Senate committee to adopt the lower figure? As a member of the committee, I can answer that question.

First in consideration was the determination not abruptly to force people off W. P. A. rolls in February and March. To have done otherwise would have been criminal. The committee had every right to believe that April, May, and June would bring conditions that would afford employment for many on relief and afford chance to reduce the W. P. A. rolls by June to at least a point approximating the number who were on the rolls a year ago this month when the employment problem was desperate throughout the country. What might be expected to make such reduction of numbers on W. P. A. possible? First, the natural opportunity for employment which comes with spring; second, employment resulting from the huge contemplated expenditures by reason of the emergency armament program involving several hundred million dollars; finally, there must come great opportunity for employment in March, April, and May and following months by reason of the tremendous public-works program which will get under way in full blast as soon as building weather arrives.

That, briefly, was the consideration which prompted the adoption of the lower figure of appropriation necessary to carry W. P. A. through to July 1, with, mind you, the promise of more if the President should report need for it as we approached those months when reduction of W. P. A. rolls is normally expected. What can be wrong, unfair, or unsafe about such a consideration?

Will it be said that we ought to appropriate definitely and finally for 5 months now and avoid the necessity of dealing with this question again? True, more time of the Congress might be required; but is it not certain that we can do a much more creditable job of measuring April, May, and June relief needs as we approach those months than by doing the longer range of guessing? Of course we can. We are going to have to be here. We are going to have to be determining the W. P. A. needs for the new year, beginning July 1, also during the same time. I think it is good sense to take advantage of the opportunity to do appropriating when we are nearer to what may be discovered to be the needs of the unemployed than we are now.

I have another, and, I believe, an equally sound, reason for wanting this chance for inventory of human needs.

Speaking only of the State I know best, and its neighbor States in the Northwest, I know the need for help by the people is greater today than has been true at any time in the past. That need will largely continue until there can be the harvesting of another crop in that section this fall. I would be the last to argue against probable need for more relief appropriation than is now being provided for unless I knew other sections of the Nation were showing larger prospect of early improvement than is true of my section. And frankness compels me to doubt how much of improvement is in store in the employment problem by reason of the W. P. A. and armament spending.

This brings me directly to the conclusion that this Congress must pause, take its inventory, and determine where we are going from here.

If we are going to have to conclude during this session that in spite of all we have done in a legislative way, in spite of all our spending, that we are where we were when we started this program, or worse off, then it is obviously our duty to change our direction of effort and go after our problem in a fundamental way.

I do not take the time now to argue in detail what I think we ought to do. I only want to say that, starting 18 years ago, I urged the thought shared by many more, namely, that no country could be long prosperous or could long escape quite complete economic decay if it permitted denial of an income to that third or fourth of our population at work and at home on the farms of America, such an income as would give a large part of our population the kind of buying power that would let them patronize American business and American labor. We all watched for years this denial to the farmer, even during years when other people, watching the stockmarket barometer, kidded themselves into believing that our Nation was enjoying a great prosperity. We all witnessed, finally, the crumbling of the whole structure builded upon a decaying agricultural industry.

Let us face the facts. We have tried to rebuild the structure. We have talked about and tried almost every plan suggested to rebuild, every plan but one as respects agriculture. For 10 years we have followed leadership in Congress, a leadership that was certainly sincere, yet a leadership that would hardly tolerate any plan that was not their own. Yet every plan tried, including the one now in operation, finds the farmer at the bottom of the heap, his obligations mounting, his lands getting away from him, prices for his product that do not even pay the cost of producing it.

This Government will come, must come, to adopt that farm program which guarantees the farmer an American price for that part of his product consumed in America—the American price of which I speak being the price that represents an average cost of producing the products plus a profit, with cost and profit to be determined on as sound a basis as that used by any successful businessman in determining his prices.

A large step in accomplishment of this purpose is found in the introduction of Senate bill 570, sponsored by 18 Members of the Senate. To its passage in this session I shall devote the most earnest effort of my life in Congress. Because the way for this legislation to become law will be made easier thereby, I hope this Congress may be confronted by an acknowledgment that we have really made no headway during these years of depression battling. That acknowledgment might be in the form of a request for more relief money to meet as large or a larger unemployment problem than we have found it necessary to meet in the late spring or summer of any one of these bad years. And when that kind of acknowledgment comes in the form of a request for more relief money than is provided in the pending measure, I am ready to appropriate as much more as is found necessary to meet the needs of the people, and then to become one of many, I hope, demanding that we go to the heart of this farm problem and make an American price possible for the farmers' products. Doing that is certain to afford more employment than all our relief bills combined, and do it within a very few months.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, I have voted for W. P. A. bills and for relief bills since 1932. I intend to vote for the pending measure. However, I wish to reiterate what I have said on many occasions of this kind, that I cannot agree with the philosophy and the theory of economics which holds that spending for relief has anything to do with the permanent economic recovery of this country.

We must feed hungry people. We must vote for funds to feed hungry people. However, a permanent recovery cannot come from this form of expenditure of public money. We are treating the symptoms of a disease instead of the disease itself. Until we change the policy of treating the symptoms of disease instead of curing the cause of disease, I do not see any hope for permanent recovery.

When the time comes to consider the question of distribution of relief money I shall be in favor, as I always have been, of turning the distribution of that money over to local communities. Those in the local communities know who the needy are and will see that they are fed, and will see that chiselers are kept off the rolls, because the people in the community know who the chiselers are.

Although it is necessary to spend money for relief, I do not believe that form of spending is any more effective in bringing about permanent recovery than for a man to think he can drink himself sober.

I intend to vote to sustain the committee, because I feel that there is plenty of money to take care of all the needy, at least until the 1st of April or 1st of May. If by that time it becomes necessary to make further appropriations to carry on the activities until the 1st of July, I shall vote to provide funds to keep the needy from hunger and suffering.

Mr. BYRNES obtained the floor.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Brown in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Downey	Lewis	Schwartz
Andrews	Ellender	Lodge	Schwellenbach
Ashurst	Frazier	Logan	Sheppard
Austin	George	Lucas	Shipstead
Bailey	Gerry	Lundeen	Smathers
Bankhead	Gibson	McCarran	Smith
Barbour	Gillette	McKellar	Stewart
Barkley	Glass	Ma Nary	Taft
Bilbo	Green	Maloney	Thomas, Okla.
Bone	Guffey	Mead	Thomas, Utah
Borah	Gurney	Miller	Tobey
Brown	Hale	Minton	Townsend
Bulow	Harrison	Murray	Truman
Burke	Hatch	Neely	Tydings
Byrd	Hayden	Norris	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Herring	Nye	Van Nuys
Capper	Hill	O'Mahoney	Wagner
Caraway	Holman	Overton	Walsh
Clark, Idaho	Holt	Pepper	Wheeler
Clark, Mo.	Hughes	Pittman	White
Connally	Johnson, Calif.	Radcliffe	Wiley
Danaher	Johnson, Colo.	Reed	17203
Davis	La Follette	Reynolds	
Donahev	Lee	Russell	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Ninety-three Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, during the debate on the committee amendment the time has been consumed in the discussion of what is known as the McKellar amendment. The Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives, after careful investigation, recommended an appropriation of \$725,000,000 as being adequate for W. P. A. until June 30. The House of Representatives, after debating the question, determined that that amount was sufficient. The subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, after holding hearings for several days, concluded that \$725,000,000 was a sufficient amount. By a vote of 17 to 7, the Appropriations Committee of the Senate agreed to it. Now that it is proposed to increase by \$150,000,000 the amount that had been agreed upon by the House committee, by the House of Representatives, and by the Senate committee, certainly the burden of proof is upon those who seek to authorize the expenditure of the additional \$150,000,000.

One argument made after the House acted was that during the cold weather, while snow was on the ground, men would be thrown out of jobs. Now, under the language of the amendment reported by the Appropriations Committee, that argument must be abandoned, because whereas under the McKellar amendment without the language of the Appropriations Committee amendment, the Administrator might reduce the number of persons on W. P. A. rolls from 3,000,000 to 2,500,000, or any other figure. Under the language of the committee report the Administrator cannot reduce the number more than 5 percent. It does not provide that he must

reduce the number 5 percent, but it provides that he cannot reduce the number more than 5 percent. So, under the language of the joint resolution as it is presented to the Senate, every Senator knows when he casts his vote for it that, under no circumstances, could more than 5 percent of the people now working on W .P. A. projects be removed from their jobs prior to April 1.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President-

Mr. BYRNES. I yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. The committee amendment, to which there is no opposition, would apply equally to the \$875,000,000 appropriation as it would to the \$725,000,000 appropriation.

Mr. BYRNES. I am glad to hear the Senator from Tennessee say that there is no opposition to it, because up to this moment I judged from the debate that it was opposed. Therefore there can be no question on that issue, and regardless of whether Senators accept the Senate committee report or adopt the McKellar amendment not more than 5 percent of those working for W. P. A. can be removed prior to April 1. So by action of the Appropriations Committee that assurance is given to those who believe there should be no reduction in

the rolls prior to that date.

The next clause in the committee amendment provides that if prior to the end of the fiscal year the President concludes that an emergency exists justifying the appropriation of an additional amount he may submit such an estimate to the Congress and accompany it with a statement of the facts constituting the emergency. Members of the Senate have said the President could do that, anyway, but there should be no objection to our including in the pending measure the same language that is carried in the existing law. The law which is in existence today provides that should the President conclude additional appropriations are necessary he may come to the Congress and ask for them and submit a statement of

When Senators say there is no justification for such a provision, let me call their attention to the fact that last June the President believed that \$1,425,000,000 would be sufficient to carry W. P. A. until March 1. Here, in January, the President concludes that that is not sufficient, and he submits an estimate for money to be appropriated prior to March 1,

beginning February 7.

The purpose of this amendment is to tell the world that, under the language of the Appropriations Committee report, the President on June 1 can do exactly what he did on January 3. On January 3 he submitted a request for an additional appropriation which, in his opinion, is necessary under the conditions now existing. Under the language of the committee report, nothing can stop him from doing on June 1, 30 days before the expiration of the time for the expenditure of this money, exactly what he has done this January, a few weeks before the expiration of the time for the expenditure of the \$1,425,000,000.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRNES. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. It is only recently, is it not, that the President has been required to make two separate requests of the Congress in order to get the annual relief-work appropria-

Mr. BYRNES. The President has never been "required," but the President submitted an estimate of \$1,425,000,000 to the Congress. That was his estimate and not one dollar was deducted from it. He submitted the estimate without any action by Congress. The Congress then acted upon the estimate and provided the funds until March 1.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for another question?

Mr. BYRNES. Yes. Mr. PEPPER. If it is the present practice to require at least two recommendations by the President to make up the appropriation for the entire fiscal year, does the Senator propose that the President shall have to make three requests in order to complete the appropriation for the present fiscal

Mr. BYRNES. I do not think there is any need to answer the question. The President submitted in good faith what

he thought in June was going to be sufficient until the middle of March. The President has found that it was not sufficient, and in the same good faith he has come to Congress and said, "The money given me is not sufficient, and I want additional funds from February 7 to March 1"; and the Congress is giving it to him.

There is one other phase of the committee amendment to which I wish to call attention. The third is that there will be an investigation of the rolls of the W. P. A. throughout the country in order to determine whether there can be eliminated from those rolls persons who are not in actual need. During the discussion one Member of the Senate said that might be inconsistent with the provision that not more than 5 percent should be reduced prior to April 1. That is not so. I offered the amendment. I want such an investigation made. I know it cannot be done in a few days or a few weeks; I know it would be fortunate if it could be done in a few months, but I believe it should be done, even in a small way.

I call the attention of the Senate to the fact that some weeks ago I wrote to the Administrator and asked him for a statement as to the number of persons on the rolls of W. P. A. who at the same time had husband or wife employed in one of the executive departments. I would not enter into a discussion such as we have had in the past as to whether or not a husband or a wife should be on the rolls of the Federal Government when the spouse of one or the other is working; but I think that when it comes to a relief agency, organized for the purpose of providing employment for persons who are in need, it is in a different situation from that of any other department of the Government. Certainly in an organization which seeks to provide jobs for people who are in need we should not provide jobs for husband and wife in the same organization, but rather if a man is at work in the W. P. A. organization, his wife should not also be given a job so long as there are thousands and thousands of people in this country without any work at all.

The Administrator responded to me with the statement that there are 46 persons employed in an administrative capacity who have husband or wife employed by the Works Progress Administration. In other words, here in Washington there are 46 persons employed by the W. P. A. in an administrative capacity, husbands and wives, in the same

organization.

My other question was as to the number employed who had husband or wife in any other department of the Government. The answer was that 211 of their employees here have a husband or wife employed in other departments of the Government.

I then asked for a statement as to the situation throughout the Nation in the field. Though I made the request on November 19, 1938, and though I know the Administrator made an effort to secure the information, up until a few days ago he had been unable to secure the information except from some of the States. He has sent me the list up to this date, showing that 128 of the employees in the field have husband or wife employed in other branches of the Federal Government. I judge from the list that most of the States have not been heard from.

I know that in every community in which I have visited and discussed Works Progress projects, I have been toldoften, I think, erroneously-of just such things that have caused the people to inquire of me as to what could be done. I believe the Administrator can make an investigation throughout the country of those who are on projects, and in many instances find it possible to reduce the number. I may say, too, that when this matter was discussed with the Administrator before the Appropriations Committee and he was asked as to his procedure in case we should adopt a provision of this kind, he said he would be glad to cooperate. I am satisfied that when he does, it will be reflected in a reduction of the rolls.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. BYRNES. I yield.

Mr. DAVIS. The committee amendment does not provide for dismissing any persons from the rolls during the

months of February or March, does it?

Mr. BYRNES. During February and March, during the cold weather, not more than 5 percent may be discharged by administrative act. A man may leave. The amendment does not say that 5 percent must be dismissed, but says that in no case shall the number dismissed be more than 5 percent. Then in May, in June, or in April, if some emergency shall arise, or if the President shall conclude, as he has concluded now, that more money should be appropriated, he may ask the Congress for it. The Senator from Pennsylvania knows, as I know, that there never has been a time when the Congress has not provided him with appropriations for this purpose.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President-

Mr. BYRNES. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. DAVIS. The President is not limited to asking for the difference of \$150,000,000. He may ask for \$250,000,000 or \$500,000,000 in April or May, may he not, if he wishes to do so?

Mr. BYRNES. He may ask for any amount that he deems necessary, whether it is \$100,000,000 or \$500,000,000.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President-

Mr. BYRNES. One minute. The President may come to the Congress then in the light of the conditions which then exist.

What is the reason for the action of the committee? Let me say to the Senator from Pennsylvania that there is a reason for its action. There should be no substantial reduction until April 1: but when April 1 comes, and agricultural operations are resumed in the country, when the farmers of the West and the farmers of the South and East want agricultural workers back on the farm. I do not agree with gentlemen who say there should be no reduction. I say the rolls then should be examined, and the authorities should be encouraged to remove from the rolls men who have been placed on the rolls recently, when there was some question as to their need, and the farmers should be given some chance to get agricultural workers back on the farms of the country. If the rolls are not reduced, we shall be put in the position of paying men fixed wages, based on an hourly wage, working not more than 120 hours a month; and no farmer growing wheat and no farmer growing cotton can compete with W. P. A. for such employment.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRNES. Let me go on because my time is limited.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRNES. I yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.
Mr. DAVIS. Looking at the matter from a practical point of view, then, this is just an appropriation, so to speak, for 2 or 3 months. The President may use it all if he desires to do so, and then come back and ask for additional funds?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. BYRNES. One minute; one at a time.

There is this provision: The amount is appropriated for the fiscal year. The President may come back on April 1, if he desires to do so, just as he has come back now in January when the amount was appropriated until March 1. There is not any reason why he may not come here for more money, and he will never come here with an appeal of this kind for money if there is no demand throughout the country for it.

Let us be fair. I do not have to go to a mayors' conference. There is not a mayor in the United States who is not going to send a telegram here asking us to vote for an increased appropriation for this purpose. We are not children. Look at the minority views and at the answers of the mayors. A mayor says, "I need money here." "I need so much in Wisconsin." "I need so much in Columbia, S. C." The mayor says, "I need it." He would be a fool if he did not say so, because when he gets a telegram from the authorities here asking him to send a message of that kind, if he says he does not need the money, he will stand a fat chance of getting allotments for projects hereafter; so he has to say, "I need

the money." When the mayors talk to us personally, they say, "Well, you did not expect us to say anything else; did you?" We know that some of the mayors have been here; and this is the vicious circle: After sending such a telegram, I see the mayor of Columbia, S. C., when he comes here again. He will walk into headquarters and say, "When you were in trouble, and you needed money, I got a telegram asking me to say I needed money, and I sent the telegram. You used me. Now I do not want any crumbs from the table. I am a telegraph man. I want big money. I am tired of your handing me any \$50,000 or \$75,000."

I do not care whether it is the mayor of Squedunk or of Columbia or of New York; the attitude is the same; and why not? Because the mayors have to stand for reelection. Their success is dependent upon the monuments they can show around their cities. I have never been able to interest a mayor on the question of relief; it is the question of projects they can get that interests them. That is human nature. It always will be so.

Some of us must remember what I heard the late Champ Clark say when I first came to the House of Representatives, long, long ago. He said:

You will often get telegrams, you will get letters, and you will think everybody in the world is writing you; but, after all, the duty of a legislator is to remember the man who never wires him, who never writes him, but who has confidence in his integrity, and relies upon the legislator remembering him and his interests instead of the special interests that have his ear and can present their pleas to him.

I always think not only of the 3,000,000 employed on W. P. A. projects, but I think, in addition, of the 127,000,000 people of this country. How many gainfully employed men are there? There are now thirty-two million and a fraction who are gainfully employed. As they go to work today, they go to work knowing that if they buy a package of cigarettes on the way they are going to pay a tax, and we are going to take that tax and use it to employ persons on W. P. A. They say, "If you do it, be sure that the man who gets the money is actually in need. Be sure that the money is wisely spent. Do not tax me 1 cent a gallon on every gallon of gasoline I buy, do not tax every cigarette I smoke, and then take the money and spend it unwisely." It is our duty always to remember the 127,000,000 who send us no telegrams, but whose interests are just as important as the interests of those who are employed on W. P. A. jobs.

Let me tell the Senate something. One million nine hundred thousand men were employed on W. P. A. projects in January 1938. Who does not recall the condition in January 1938? At that time the automobile industry was prostrate. The textile industry was closed down over the entire Nation. In January 1938 the farmers were out of work. All over the country there was gloom. At that time Congress thought it was generous when it provided for an appropriation of \$1,900,000. Today we have increased the number of employed persons in the country by 1,000,000; and at the same time, instead of reducing the number of W. P. A. workers below 1,900,000, we have added 1,000,000 to the number in January 1938.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, does the Senator decline to yield?

Mr. BYRNES. I will yield to the Senator from Florida for a question.

Mr. PEPPER. The Senator said that if an emergency should present itself, the President could come back to Congress and ask for more funds. I should like to ask the Senator if he is not aware of the testimony of Colonel Harrington, the Administrator, that the W. P. A. is taking care of only 27 percent of the 11,000,000 unemployed persons?

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, if there is anyone aware of it, the Senator from South Carolina is.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRNES. I yield.

Mr. ADAMS. In view of some questions which have been asked, I wish to recall the Senator's attention to a verification of his statement as to the occasion for the appropriation for a limited time. On April 14, 1938, the President in

his message on relief and unemployment recommendation said:

I recommend an appropriation of \$1,250,000,000 for the Works Progress Administration, to be used during the first 7 months of the next fiscal year. Such a grant is ammunition of the highest grade for attack on recession. It will not greatly increase the present rate of expenditure, but ought to be sufficient to care for the additional men and women who have come or are coming to an end of their unemployment insurance payments.

Mr. BYRNES. Of course, that is true, Mr. President. That was the figure the President submitted, and I voted for it, and all the Members of the Senate, as I recall, voted for it, certainly with very few exceptions, if any. We voted for it because we believed that appropriation was essential. And just in the same way the President can come back in April, May, or June next and present his request for more money.

The Senator from Florida asks about the 27 percent. I have had to give considerable study to that question, and I hope the time has not come when the Senate is going to believe that we can ever regard the Works Progress Administration as the first line of defense against unemployment in this country. The very statement he makes is proof that we cannot. The figures as to the number of unemployed in this country will vary as the estimators vary it, but let us say that out of 10,000,000, only 3,000,000 today are on the rolls of W. P. A.

What about the unemployed? Where must they look for help? The unemployment compensation insurance covers 60 percent of the gainfully employed people of this country. If of the 10,000,000 unemployed 60 percent, or 6,000,000, can be covered by unemployment insurance, it must be recalled that that does not include agricultural workers, domestic servants, or those who have been on the unemployment-insurance rolls for more than 13 weeks. But there are only 4,000,000 of those. Therefore, we can see that we must look to unemployment-insurance compensation to take care of the people who are out of work among the 60 percent of the

Where are we to get the money to take care of these people? We have already collected it from the people of this country, and it is in the Treasury. On January 1, 23 States entered upon unemployment compensation programs. They will take care of that class from now until June 1 to an extent that we have not done heretofore. Then there are other factors.

Then there are other factors.

gainfully employed people of this country.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRNES. I yield.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Does the Senator know how many of these 10,000,000 are eligible for unemployment compensation during the next 5 months?

Mr. BYRNES. I was just saying to the Senate that it is 60 percent, according to the unemployment insurance people and their estimators—and it is only an estimate—or perhaps 62 percent.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Sixty percent of the 10,000,000? Mr. BYRNES. They say 60 percent of the gainfully employed people.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. What percentage of the 10,000,-000 have been gainfully employed long enough to be eligible within the next 5 months?

Mr. BYRNES. It would be, of course, impossible to estimate that. I suppose it would vary from day to day. Every man knows that since 23 States will now have unemployment insurance which did not have it before, we are better fixed financially to take care of this situation.

We are urged to spend the money. We made an appropriation for P. W. A. of \$965,000,000 in the closing days of the last Congress. How much of that has been spent? I asked the Treasury this morning to give me the figures as to how much had been spent to date, and I find that of the \$965,000,000 only \$170,000,000 has been spent, on the basis of checks issued.

Let us see how this money is allocated. Thirty-five million dollars is allocated for administration, \$200,000,000 for Fed-

eral projects, \$667,000,000 for grants. When \$667,000,000 is allocated for grants it means that every sponsor has to put up 55 percent against 45 percent, so it means that there is available for expenditure \$1,482,000,000.

On the question of public spending, if we have \$1,482,-000,000, plus the \$725,000,000, plus all the other amounts, who can say that we are turning our backs upon a program because we do not increase the appropriation \$150,000,000 over

what the House put in the bill?

Let me tell the Senate another thing: The sponsors of the proposed increase say: "Yes; but those sponsoring the contributions are not able to contribute." Not able to contribute? I would demand that the local governments put up this year what they put up last year, and if I did, I would have about \$32,000,000 more. Last year we had sponsoring contributions by local governments to the extent of 22 percent, and this year we have approximately 17 and a fraction, 5 percent less. We can take the 5 percent additional if the States, counties, and cities put it up. But it is said they cannot put it up. Why? Who is putting up this money for P. W. A. down in one corner of this city? The States, counties, and cities put up a hundred and some million dollars, and are clamoring, from California to the Carolinas, for the privilege of putting up 55 percent more for every dollar they can get from the Federal Government-clamoring from the State of every Senator here. Therefore they cannot come and say, "If you cut the W. P. A. appropriation, we cannot put up more than 17 percent."

Of course, if we give it to them, we cannot blame them for not putting up more than they have to. I would require them to do just what they were doing last year, and if we did that,

there would be no quarrel about money at all.

Only one thing more, Mr. President, because the Senator from Colorado is to close the debate.

I wish to call attention to what the House of Representatives did. The House passed the bill by 100 majority, as I recall or approximately that. It put \$725,000,000 in the bill. Today is Friday. Next Wednesday will be the 1st of the month. There has been much talk about not having money. There is nothing to that. Every bit of the testimony shows that the Administrator has money to run until February 7.

But I know what is going to occur. If we change the joint resolution as it passed the House, if we say that because the mayor of Squedunk has telegraphed here we will not stand by the action of the House and the Senate Committee on Appropriations, and increase the amount, we know that tomorrow the Government Printing Office will not be working, and after we have gotten through with the bill, even if we passed it tonight, it would be printed and sent to the House Monday morning, and when it goes to the House the House will determine whether to agree with the Senate amendments or to send the bill to conference. The bill will be sent to conference. On one side the House will stand for \$725,000,-000, and the Senate for another amount, and we will stay in conference. The Senate conferees, no matter who they are, will finally say, "You must go back to the House for a vote." It will go back to the House, and, under the rules of the House, must lie over another day. Some time at the end of next week, as we approach February 7, this matter will be hung up in conference. Those in charge of W. P. A. cannot know any better than we know whether it will come out by February 7 or not, the two Houses being in disagreement. They will be in disagreement about what? About absolutely nothing, for, after all, as men of common sense, we know that when we have appropriated money to keep every man on the rolls during the cold weather, and to carry them to June, and have provided that not only shall the existing law be carried out, but have invited the President to ask for anything more that is needed, why should we tie up this bill, send it to conference, incur the delay, and leave the uncertainty in regard to W. P. A. that is certain to exist?

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRNES. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. It would not be absolutely necessary that the bill go to conference. The House never had a roll-call vote on the amount. They could have one if the bill went back containing the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. BYRNES. They could have it on any question. The bill has other items in it, amendments which we know are controversial, which we are going to find controversial, and which will occasion a great deal of debate after the pending amendment is voted on. I have not the slightest idea we could get through with the bill today, from the number of Senators I know who desire to talk about other amendments. We will be fortunate if we get a vote on it Monday night, when the bill will start on its long trail to conference, and then come out; and all for what? For nothing. If Colonel Harrington says it should be \$875,000,000, it must not be \$874,000,000.

We do not want any such situation. All legislation is a compromise. There is no great moral issue involved in this matter. It is solely a question of method and procedure. Congress is going to afford whatever appropriations are essential. I hope the Senate will sustain the Committee on Appropriations and sustain the House of Representatives in this matter.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes] stated that there was not much involved in the difference between the two sums. I have rather come to a different view after listening to the argument. I discover that \$150,000,000, according to the stories which are told on the floor of the Senate, will employ 2,000,000 men, while the \$725,000,000 will employ only 1,000,000; that if we can add \$150,000,000 to the \$725,000,000 we can add 2,000,000 people to the rolls. If we could get another \$150,000,000 as potent as that \$150,000,000, we would need but \$300,000,000 to do the whole job. The difference between the sum included in the McKellar amendment and that carried in the House amendment is 17 percent, but we find all through the country, all through the Senate, and all through the Capitol, that statements are being made that if the appropriation is cut 17 percent employment will be cut 67 percent.

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. Gladly.

Mr. FRAZIER. The figures show that in North Daketa, from October 29 to January 14-

Mr. ADAMS. May I ask whose figures?

Mr. FRAZIER. W. P. A. figures. Figures given by the Administration. We have to take their figures if we take anyone's figures. Those figures show that the cut in W. P. A. workers was 19 percent from October 29 to January 14. In North Dakota the number of W. P. A. workers has been cut down by 19 percent in that period because of lack of money. That was during the cold weather.

Mr. ADAMS. The two differing views started from the same point. They started with the present basis of employment. The question is as to what can be done with the respective sums of money and what ought to be done. The Appropriations Committee gave very careful consideration to the problem. The committee came to agreement with the House that \$725,000,000, in addition to the moneys available, would be adequate to meet the situation, but, out of precaution, the committee added in its amendment the suggestion that if the committee's judgment was erroneous additional appropriations could and would be made.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President-

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Colorado vield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. A moment ago the Senator referred rather facetiously to what was suggested might occur in the event of a 17-percent cut.

Mr. ADAMS. No; I was not facetious.

Mr. BARKLEY. I withdraw the "facetiosity." [Laugh-

Mr. ADAMS. I was very much in earnest.

Mr. BARKLEY. We are likely to be misled, unintentionally, by the suggestion that a 17-percent cut in the amount reflects a certain figure in the number of men em-

ployed, but in order for the 17-percent cut in the amount to be reflected in employment, the entire 17 percent would have to be eliminated at once. But no one proposes that. No one proposes that we cut off 17 percent on the 1st day of February, and continue that 17-percent cut until the 1st day of July. In order for the 17 percent in money to be reflected by 17 percent in employment it is necessary to eliminate 17 percent at once. No one proposes that, and because no one proposes it the unemployment list, the dismissals, must be stretched over a period. When the time comes, be it April or May or June, it will be necessary to dismiss many more than 17 percent, because that many have not been dismissed in February and March and probably in April. Has the Senator given consideration to that?

Mr. ADAMS. Very much consideration. Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator admits, though, that 17 percent, if it is reflected in employment, must take effect at once.

Mr. ADAMS. The Senator is dealing with the same two sums. The Senator is dealing with the same decline in employment, and the Senator finds a 17-percent difference.

Mr. BARKLEY. The 17 percent cut in money takes effect at once, so that if it is to be a criterion by which we are to go, the 17 percent in the cut of employment must take effect at once.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I have noticed that the most ardent, the most vigorous, the most vociferous supporters of the recovery program have the least confidence in it. Some of us who have not had the fullest confidence in the recovery program have more confidence in it than have those who have more vigorously asserted their confidence. Why do I say that? We are dealing with the question of names on the rolls. Colonel Harrington has said to us that if we give him the money he asks for, he will have a reduction in the employment rolls of only 300,000 between the 1st of January and the 1st of July, notwithstanding all of the tremendous expenditures made by the Government in public works, for farm relief, and in a hundred other ways. Notwithstanding the coming on of the agricultural season, notwithstanding an upraise in business conditions, the colonel sees a decline in the work-relief rolls of only 300,000. He does not have much confidence in the recovery program, and those who are supporting his high figure have the same lack of confidence he has.

Let me give the Senate some figures. In 1936, from February to July, the relief rolls dropped 786,000. In 1937 the relief rolls dropped 576,000. We have had a drop in relief rolls from the end of October 1938 until the 31st of December, 2 months, of 256,000, almost as many in 2 months in the wintertime as the Administrator figures will be dropped from January until July, through increasing private employment due to agricultural and industrial activities. The majority of the committee have confidence in the recovery program. We look to see men put to work.

Let us take the other side of it. In 1938, from January to July, there was an increase in the relief rolls of 1,066,000. Yet when we talk of a decrease in the employment rolls of 600,000 or 700,000 under favorable conditions, it is said that that is preposterous. Back in 1929 we saw from 10,000,000 to 12,000,00 men go out of employment in almost a day, and yet it is said to us that it is not possible to put a million men to work off the relief rolls in 6 months. I think it is. I think it will be done.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. Certainly.

Mr. BARKLEY. The hearings show that 27 percent, or practically 1 out of 4-the other day I said 1 out of 5, and I was evidently mistaken, but 1 out of 4-of those on relief are employed every time private industry takes people back to work. In other words, in order to employ a million of those now on the rolls of the W. P. A. it would be necessary to have 3,000,000 outside of the rolls reemployed, making a total of 4,000,000, on the basis of 1 to 4. Does the Senator or anyone believe that from now to July there will be 4,000,000 persons taken back in private employment?

Mr. ADAMS. I say to the able Senator that, following his leadership, following the leadership of the head of our administration, I do believe we shall see such an increase in employment in the next 6 months.

Mr. BARKLEY. In other words, the Senator believes that in the next 5 months-it is not 6 months-

Mr. ADAMS. Five months; yes.

Mr. BARKLEY. That private industry will take back four times as many men as were taken back in the year 1938?

Mr. ADAMS. Yes.

Mr. BARKLEY. I should devoutly hope that that would occur, but I am not optimistic enough to believe that it will

Mr. ADAMS. As I have said, I have far greater confidence in the recovery program than has the Senator from Kentucky. I believe when we have put a billion and a half dollars into the Public Works program, when we have paid to the farmers \$750,000,000, when, in almost endless quantity, we have poured out money throughout the land, that it is going to result in great reemployment, and I think that business conditions are on the upgrade. I am sure that if Congress gives encouragement to the country, if the country believes that Congress is going to act with some discretion, that Congress is going to put the brakes on a program of spending and borrowing, we will encourage industry, and we will be surprised and amazed at the reemployment in our land.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. ADAMS. I am sorry, but I do not have sufficient time

left to yield.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Colorado declines to yield.

Mr. ADAMS. The \$150,000,000 is but a part of this problem. The far greater question is, What is the judgment of the American people of their Congress? What is in the heart and mind of the people themselves? If the people of the United States, those who have the opportunity to employ others, feel that there is a chance to go ahead, that there is a chance to do business, a chance to make a profit, then we shall find business making use of the idle billions accumulated in our banks. Men will go to work. On the other hand, if the people of this country who are in a position to become employers think that Congress has only to be asked by any group to grant any sum, and it will do so, then the hearts of businessmen become chilled and unemployment will continue. We at this point are going to signal to the business of this country as to what is the purpose, what is the intent, what is the character of the American Government and its Congress.

That is what makes this vote important. So far as relief is concerned, so far as being hungry or cold is concerned, it will not make a particle of difference to any man, woman, or child in America whether we vote for \$875,000,000 or \$725,000,000, because the Congress will not permit the people to suffer from cold or hunger. However, it makes a vast difference in the attitude of mind that we create throughout the length and breadth of the land. There are some in this body and elsewhere who may well have read the signs in

I wish to say a few words about the three letters which were put into the RECORD yesterday. The first was a letter from Colonel Harrington. He stated that I had made an error in saying that he had made an error of \$11,000,000. He said I was wrong, and that his error was only \$5,500,000. I am willing to be corrected, and concede that the colonel was wrong only to the extent indicated.

Through this letter he calls my attention to the fact that there is another error. He said that he had been accused of being wrong in saying that \$45,000,000 was available which he had not included in his figures. I was wrong again. There was available \$90,000,000 and not \$45,000,000. Colonel Harrington points it out by inference in his letter.

So the colonel and I have both been wrong. Nevertheless, there is left available for expenditure a net amount of \$85,-000,000 which was not included in the colonel's figures.

We are told about the lapse of appropriations, and how there must be what the genial and distinguished majority leader, in his innocence, called a "hang-over." Senators know that under the law an appropriation is made for a fiscal period. A 1938 appropriation may not be spent in 1939 without the consent of Congress, and a 1939 appropriation may not be spent in 1938. Yet we are told that there is an apparent discrepancy in the Budget.

The Bureau of the Budget made an unusual provision. They recommended for the current fiscal year an appropriation of \$875,000,000, and provided that they were going to spend \$750,000,000, leaving a gap of \$125,000,000 between what they were going to spend and what they asked for. Coupled with that statement was a recommendation as to 1940. The Bureau of the Budget recommended for 1940 an appropriation of \$1,740,000,000 to cover an expenditure of \$1,740,000,-000. Different treatment was given to 1939 than to 1940. What did the Administration say? They said, "We shall have to spend the \$750,000,000 during 1939, but we want \$125,-000,000 as a sort of working balance."

A working balance is necessary, but it can be spent only for obligations of 1939. To illustrate, if a contract for a bridge to be built is made in the latter part of 1939, it may not be paid for with moneys appropriated for 1940, but it may be paid for in 1940 with moneys appropriated for 1939. It is the date when the obligation was incurred which governs, and not the date when the payment is made. In other words, at the beginning of 1939 there was inevitably substantially the same amount of money hanging over to pay preceding bills as at the end. However, no allowance is made for that

Mr. President, the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes | mentioned the city situation. Much pressure has been sought to be exerted upon us by the cities of the country. I do not blame the cities at all. Why? The cities of the country have profited from the W. P. A. What have the cities, counties, and States received? On an average, they are putting up \$17 in 1939 and receiving four times that much. In other words, W. P. A. money is being spent for improvements in cities, counties, and States. One hundred percent of the expenditures goes into the city, the county, or the State, and the city, county, or State puts up only \$17. Our cities are being filled with new structures. Their sewers, water plants, streets, highways, and bridges are being built with Government money. I do not blame them. They say they cannot put up any more. Why do they say it? They say, "We have statutory limits on our taxing power or borrowing capacity."

The depression has continued for 9 years. The W. P A. has been in existence since 1935. It never seems to have occurred to any of the local authorities that they could go to the legislatures or the people and obtain permission to raise their taxing rate or their bonding power. So I do not blame them for coming to the Federal Government.

I am reminded of the notice which was put upon the bulletin board at W. P. A. headquarters. What did it say? Did it evidence an interest in the people who were hungiy? No. It said:

Spend 25 cents. Send a telegram to your Senator today. Pro-est W. P. A. appropriation cuts. Protest civil-service ban on W. P. A. employees. Protect your job.

In other words, the employees, whoever they were, were interested in their jobs. They did not want to lose the chance of their jobs being made permanent. They wanted their jobs, and they were not thinking of the public.

Mr. President, time does not permit me to say many, many things; so I merely wish to add that in my judgment the country is justly looking at the Congress to determine what is the mind of the Congress, whether we are looking forward or whether we are merely looking at what is immediately under our eyes.

We have an indebtedness of more than \$40,000,000,000. We have a deficit which will be \$4,000,000,000 next year. We have been very generous in the past years in providing for relief. But with whose money have we been generous? With our own? Have we raised the taxes from ourselves and our constituents to pay the cost? No. We have been liberal with the money of those who are coming after us. We have not spent any of our own money for relief. We have used all the money which we have raised by taxes in the payment of the ordinary running expenses of the Government, and in a few incidentals. All the relief money which we have spent with such alleged generosity has come from borrowings, which will have to be paid by those who come after us.

Some have been very, very critical of those of us who are interested in the Public Treasury and in the public credit. We have a choice in the matter. Are we interested in the United States of America as it will be tomorrow and the day after? Are we interested in the Constitution and institutions of the United States of America, under which we hope that our children and our grandchildren will live? Or do we propose to go on spending endlessly and thoughtlessly, being comfortable today because we protect ourselves temporarily against uncomfortable sights? No. We are seeking to bridge over the depression and the unpleasant things by using the credit of the United States, and we are passing on to those who are to come after us the cost of doing the things for which we claim so much.

I have a personal interest in this problem. I have children of my own. I am more interested in them than I am in myself. I have stood here day by day fighting the battle, not that I might be popular with those who are eating public money, not that I might receive the acclaim of those who would benefit, but in my fervent hope that I might help to pass on a sound, stable government to those for whom I have more regard than for myself, that my children and my grand-children might live under the Constitution and institutions of this Nation, and that those institutions may not be broken down by loose fiscal policies and spending beyond our means. Mr. BARKLEY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Downey	Lee	Russell
Andrews	Ellender	Lewis	Schwartz
Ashurst	Frazier	Lodge	Schwellenbach
Austin	George	Logan	Sheppard
Bailey	Gerry	Lucas	Shipstead
Bankhead	Gibson	Lundeen	Smathers
Barbour	Gillette	McCarran	Smith
Barkley	Glass	McKellar	Stewart
Bilbo	Green	McNary	Taft
Bone	Guffey	Maloney	Thomas, Okla.
Borah	Gurney	Mead	Thomas, Utah
Brown	Hale	Miller	Tobey
Bulow	Harrison	Minton	Townsend
Burke	Hatch	Murray	Truman
Byrd	Hayden	Neely	Tydings
Byrnes	Herring	Norris	Vandenberg
Capper	Hill	Nye	Van Nuys
Caraway	Holman	O'Mahoney	Wagner
Clark, Idaho	Holt	Overton	Walsh
Clark, Mo.	Hughes	Pepper	Wheeler
Connally	Johnson, Calif.	Pittman	White
Danaher	Johnson, Colo.	Radcliffe	Wiley
Davis	King	Reed	
Donahey	La Follette	Reynolds	

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I again announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez] is detained from the Senate on important public business.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Ninety-four Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present. The clerk will read the unanimous-consent agreement entered into yesterday which governs the proceedings at this time.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Ordered, by unanimous consent, that at not later than 3 o'clock p. m., Friday, January 27, 1939, the Senate proceed to vote upon the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Mc-Kellar] to H. J. Res. 83, a joint resolution making additional appropriations for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will now state the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee, which is under consideration. The Legislative Clerk. On page 1, line 8, it is proposed to strike out "\$725,000,000" and in lieu thereof to insert "\$875,000,000."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the adoption of the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKellar].

Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. McKELLAR asked for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Bridges] who is detained from the Senate because of illness in his family. If I were permitted to vote, I should vote "yea," and if the Senator from New Hampshire were permitted to vote he would vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. LEWIS. I announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez], if present, would vote "nay."

Mr. BYRNES. I may say that the Senator from New Mexico is absent but could not obtain a pair.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I may say in connection with the absence of my colleague [Mr. Chavez] that he advised me by wire that he understood that he had a pair. He regrets very much that he does not have a pair. If present, he would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 46, nays 47, as follows:

		110 10	
Andrews Ashurst Barkley Bilbo Bone Borah Brown Caraway Clark, Idaho Connally Donahey Downey	Ellender Frazier Green Guffey Hayden Hill Hughes Johnson, Colo. La Follette Lee Lewis Logan	Lundeen McKellar Maloney Mead Miller Minton Murray Neely Norris O'Mahoney Overton Pepper	Pittman Schwartz Schwellenbach Sheppard Smathers Stewart Thomas, Okla. Wagner Walsh Wheeler
Downey		YS-47	
Adams Austin Balley Bankhead Barbour Bulow Burke Byrd Byrnes Capper Clark, Mo. Danaher	Davis George Gerry Gibson Gillette Glass Gurney Hale Harrison Hatch Herring Holman	Holt Johnson, Calif. King Lodge Lucas McCarran McNary Nye Radcliffe Reed Reynolds Russell	Shipstead Smith Taft Tobey Townsend Truman Tydings Vandenberg Van Nuys White Wiley
	NOT V	OTING-3	
Bridges	Chavez	Thomas, Utah	

So Mr. McKellar's amendment was rejected.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote which has just been taken.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Clark] to lay on the table the motion of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes] to reconsider the vote just taken.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, on account of the limitation of the time for debate, and the fact that I had no opportunity to speak on the subject, I should like to have printed in the Record, in connection with the debate, a statement giving the reasons for my vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Massachusetts? The Chair hears none, and the statement may be printed in the Record.

The statement is as follows:

## STATEMENT BY SENATOR WALSH

The uppermost consideration with respect to the resolution before the Senate to provide funds, in view of the present deficiency, to carry on the W. P. A. for the remainder of the current fiscal year, namely, to next June 30, is the question of the necessities of the needy and avoidance of suffering. There are other questions—as to methods of administration, as to scales of work-relief wages and differentials, as to the extent of the States' contribution to relief, as to politics in relief, and many other phases of the subject. All of these are important. All of them must be dealt with by the Congress in the general W. P. A. appropriation bill for the fiscal year beginning July 1. But the paramount question now is how rapidly the present relief rolls may be reduced without excessive distress and suffering.

Those Senators who are able to reach the conclusion that the relief rolls may be progressively reduced in large numbers during the coming months without turning loose thousands of men and women genuinely in need of the relief, and who are able to reach

women genuinely in need of the relief, and who are able to reach the conclusion that the States and the cities will be able to take care of such as are dropped, and also who are able to persuade themselves that under the spur of necessity large economies and reduction in administrative expenses of the W. P. A. can be put into effect, may thereby justify their support of the \$725,000,000 reported by the Appropriations Committee of the Senate.

Such Senators as entertain the opposite views, namely, that an appropriation of less than \$875,000,000, the amount requested by the President, will necessarily result in far greater reductions in the relief rolls and far more rapidly than conditions will safely permit, and that the States and municipalities are utterly unable to take over the care and maintenance of additional quotas of needy unemployed, which, I am advised by the mayors, is the condition in Massachusetts, have no alternative but to vote for the amount of money now requested by the President. A telegram from a Massachusetts mayor, and which is similar to many others I have received, illustrates the situation which might follow any reduction: "City of Lynn expenditures for relief in 1936, outside of Federal aid for old-age assistance and aid to dependent children, was:

"City of Lynn expenditures for relief in 1936, outside of Federal aid for old-age assistance and aid to dependent children, was: Welfare, \$670,799.49; dependent children, \$92,075.36; old-age assistance, \$437,813.91; soldiers' relief, \$77,536.73; materials for W. P. A., \$400,000; a total of \$1,678,225.39, or \$12.14 on the tax rate. We have about 2,500 families on welfare and 2,600 on W. P. A. Every city and town in Massachusetts faces an increased tax rate this year from \$2 to \$6 on the thousand of valuation. Any reduction on W. P. A. such as is contemplated will mean a further increase in tax rates. It is impossible for us to carry a greater burden."

city and town in Massachusetts faces an increased tax rate this year from \$2 to \$6 on the thousand of valuation. Any reduction on W. P. A. such as is contemplated will mean a further increase in tax rates. It is impossible for us to carry a greater burden."

And so I find myself in the latter group of Senators. I intend to vote for appropriation of \$875,000,000. I shall do so regretfully—regret that it is not possible, in my judgment, to lighten now, at once, this drain upon the Federal Treasury; regret that it is not possible now, at once, to improve the administration of relief, to remove the injustices, and to make two relief dollars do the work of three. But it seems to me that we are face to face with facts and stern realities that admit of only one answer.

It is true that the resolution in the form reported by the committee while retaining the reduced amount of \$725,000,000 seeks to escape the ensuing penalty of wholesale reductions in the relief rolls prior to April 1 by limiting the reduction prior to that date to 150,000. It is in effect an admission that no large cut in the rolls during the remainder of the winter is feasible.

It is self-evident that to carry the relief rolls through February and March at substantially the present level of 3,000,000 on the rolls will so far deplete the new fund now to be appropriated (if the in the amount of \$725,000,000) as to leave available an obviously entirely inadequate amount of money for the remaining 3 months of April, May, and June. It would, in effect, require the dropping of more than a million persons from the rolls promptly at the 1st of April, a course which I am confident no one would now contend is likely to be humanly possible.

In my judgment, such an arrangement does not meet the present issue, but merely postpones it. If we are not going to require sharp, progressive reductions in the relief rolls—if we conclude that such a policy is inexpedient and inhumane—then we may as well vote now the sum which those charged with the administration of reli

percent everywhere?

Furthermore, in administering relief we should make a clear distinction between the employables and the unemployables and have separate classifications and a much clearer picture than has been heretofore presented of exactly where we stand in what may be regarded as the permanent relief load and the temporary relief

load.

I believe that we should apply the brakes to Government spending. I do not share the view that continued deficit financing is the road to recovery and prosperity. But when we start to economize we may better-begin with dubious ventures, such as the Florida ship canal, Quoddy, and the St. Lawrence seaway, and the large subsidies to agriculturalists amounting to almost half a billion dollars and the half billion dollars appropriated

for highways and P. W. A. grants, rather than with the meal tickets of the needy unemployed.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the New York Evening Post. It relates to the subject now under consideration by the Senate. It was my purpose to comment upon it, but I was unable to get the floor before the vote. I must content myself by putting it in the RECORD. I hope it will be read.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"THERE, BUT FOR THE GRACE OF GOD \* \* \*"

To the United States Senate.

GENTLEMEN: On your way to Capitol Hill most of you drive past a W. P. A. project. Maybe several. Did you ever watch a gang on a sewer job, see several men obviously unused to swinging a pick, and \* \* \* \*

Did you ever have the same thought we've had, the thought John Bradford had when a criminal passed him on the way to the gallows:

"There, but for the grace of God, go I"?
That man hacking away at the ice-encrusted street—he might have been you.

There aren't two kinds of real Americans. Only one kind.
And among them all, how many feel so secure, either in their jobs or in their resources, as to dare murmur smugly to themselves, That couldn't happen to me"?

It could. It has.

On W. P. A. today are many men who, by slim margins, missed sitting, if not in the United States Senate, at least in legislative chambers of several States; men who recently held high posts in

some of our large cities; men whose names—once—were known to more thousands perhaps than some of yours.

"Foxy Grandpa's" creator died the other day. He was famous. Of late W. P. A. kept him alive. Three winners of Guggenheim fellowships were found on W. P. A. Likewise several prominent writers, former college professors, quite a few distinguished engi-

Comb the lists further. You'll find businessmen who only yesterday were leaders in their communities, men who once asked favors of none, men who remember that after the depression, after their savings were gone \* \* \* W. P. A. let them carry on.

Bright men. Smart men. Many, Senators, are men like you. They just missed the same train.

And those others, perhaps not so smart or so well educated—they're Americans none the less. They don't regard a W. P. A. job as charity. They don't want charity. They want work, consider their job is work.

they're Americans none the less. They don't regard a W. P. A. job as charity. They don't want charity. They want work, consider their job is work.

They're proud of the parks they build, the schools they repair, the sewers they construct; proud of the reclamation of swamp areas, of the fights they've waged against soil erosion, for flood control.

The voice of those men may not reach the Senate floor. But it is the voice of men who work and sweat in jobs which not a Senator covets, despite the legend that W. P. A. work is one long and lazy picnic. picnic.

Loafers among them? Of course. There are loafers in every business, every factory, even in Congress. But you don't burn a ship to get rid of its barnacles.

And better that some men loaf than that worthy men starve. Remember, any of them might have been you or yours. So, gentlemen, before you act on the proposal to cut down the W. P. A., bear in mind that you won't just cut off dollars. You'll abolish livelihood.

Yes; we hear one of you say, "But we must stop spending."
If it means a million men stop working? A million families stop

If it means a million men stop working? A million families stop eating, stop buying?

The answer is, "No!" And again, "No!"

Let no one say that jobs in private industry are waiting. They're not. It's only been a short while since 700 men waited in line all night to apply for a few porters' jobs in New York City—with the crowd of applicants swelling to 5,000 by morning. Do you remember that right in Washington, shortly before Thanksgiving, 25,000 women stormed a police station for 2,000 jobs as charwomen?

Gentlemen of the Senate, your job isn't to destroy the jobs of others. It ought to be to create new jobs, enough jobs so that every man who wants work can have work—at least, enough work to care for his family.

People must eat.

People must eat.

If that means an unbalanced Budget, then it means an unbalanced Budget.

Or if that means we must tax, to balance the Budget, so as to please the conservatives

Then we must tax.

Starvation won't balance any budget. It didn't in 1932. It didn't again in 1937. It won't now.

Before you vote, Senators, try to put yourself in a W. P. A. worker's place. Imagine, if you can, the fear in his heart as he watches your debates over a proposal to abolish his job and a million more. Try to understand that his voice, faint in the clamor, asks not for gifts, for largess, but only for a chance—to

The chance to which every free-born American ought to be entitled.

As you watch the pick swing, listen to the scrape of shovels and clang of crowbars, remember the words of John Bradford; "There, but for the grace of God, go I!"

#### ADDITIONAL PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Mr. SHEPPARD presented a petition of 23 citizens of Texas, praying for the granting of increased compensation to parents on account of the death of sons in the military service during the World War, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. LODGE presented petitions, numerously signed, of sundry citizens of the State of Massachusetts, praying that the United States adhere to the principle of neutrality as contained in existing law, and the extension of the law so as to include civil as well as international conflicts, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. CAPPER presented resolutions of the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions of Hazelton and North Branch, Kans., favoring the enactment of legislation to prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages by the press and radio, which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. MINTON presented a resolution adopted by the Vigo County (Ind.) Alliance, opposing the appropriation of \$750,-000,000 for the W. P. A. and favoring an increased appropriation program for the W. P. A. as proposed by the Workers Alliance of America, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. REED presented a memorial of 71 citizens of Rolla, Kans., remonstrating against the operation of the landbuying program of the land-utilization project in Morton County, Kans., which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented a petition of 36 citizens of Walnut, Kans., praying that the United States adhere to the principle of neutrality as contained in existing law and extend the law so as to include civil as well as international conflicts, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented petitions of 23 citizens of Franklin County and 62 citizens of Manhattan, Riley County, in the State of Kansas, praying that the United States stop the shipment of all war materials and products that may be used by the Japanese Army in their Chinese operations, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. MALONEY presented a resolution adopted at a Lenin memorial meeting held by the Communist Party at Waterbury, Conn., favoring the dissolution of the so-called Dies committee, being the Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities (House of Representatives), which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented the petition of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hubon and nine other citizens of New Haven, Conn., praying for the preservation of peace, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a resolution adopted at a Lenin memorial meeting held by the Communist Party at Waterbury, Conn., favoring lifting of the Spanish embargo, and also the supplying of surplus food in America to the Spanish people, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented resolutions adopted by Silver City Council, No. 2, Knights of Columbus, of Meriden, Conn., favoring retention of the existing Spanish embargo and opposing the repeal of the neutrality law, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a letter from Martin H. Carmody, supreme knight, Knights of Columbus, embodying a resolution adopted by the supreme board of directors of the Knights of Columbus, at New York City, favoring strict adherence by the United States to the policy of neutrality in the Spanish war, and also that the embargo upon the shipment of munitions to either party in the Spanish conflict be maintained, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented memorials of the Catholic Ladies of Columbus, of Manchester and New London; the Connecticut Council of Catholic Women, of Hartford; Joseph Fiorelli and 149 other citizens of Stamford; Stephen L. Chase and 11 other citizens of South Norwalk; the Rosary Society of the St. Thomas Church, Jerome P. Jermain and 20 other citizens, Raymond Gorman and 98 other citizens, John Russo and 146 other citizens, and Joseph T. Palladino and 35 other citizens, all of Waterbury; Antoinette Ciarlo and 54 other citizens, Joseph W. Lenz and 18 other citizens, and Anna Stemmer and 147 other citizens, all in the State of Connecticut, praying for the retention of the existing neutrality law and remonstrating against lifting the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mrs. CARAWAY presented the following concurrent resolutions of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas, which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

#### Senate Concurrent Resolution 9

Whereas cotton is the outstanding crop of the southern region of the United States, in which Arkansas is included; and Whereas the economy of this region is based largely on this

Whereas due to local and world economic conditions huge sur-pluses of cotton have accumulated; and

Whereas there is urgent need of the discovery of new uses for cotton in order that more of this staple commodity may find its way into consumptive channels: Therefore be it

Resolved by the senate of the fifty-second general assembly (the house concurring), That the United States Department of Agriculture be urged to investigate the practicability of cotton usage in bagging and ties, road construction, bags and containers, roofing, plastics, and other discoveries in which cotton and cottonseed products may be treated and processed, particularly the new method perfected whereby cotton fabrics treated with emulsified asphalt can be used effectively in the above-named products.

#### Senate Concurrent Resolution 10

Whereas the General Assembly of the State of Arkansas enacted

a soil-conservation law, which provides for controlling soil erosion in this State, and designated as Act 197 of said session; and Whereas it has been ascertained that more than 1,000,000 acres of Arkansas farm lands are severely eroded, 850,600 acres have been abandoned because of severe erosion. About 15,000,000 additional

acres are so seriously affected with erosion that immediate action should be taken to conserve our soils; and
Whereas the preservation of these lands is necessary to protect and promote the health, safety, and general welfare of our people;

whereas the landowners are unable to put into effect soil-conserving and erosion-control practices on such a large area without assistance from the Federal Government; and

Whereas the consequences of soil erosion in the form of washing ditches on the farm lands, causing an immediate and rapid run-off of the waters after each rain, thereby filling the stream channels, dams, and ditches with silt and by washing and materially damaging our State highway, county highway, and railroad systems, thereby not only further destroying the natural resources of our State but destroying our transportation systems; and

Whereas soil-conservation districts have been formed, or are in the process of being formed, touching all or a portion of 60 counties in the State; and

Whereas farm plans have been completed on more than 1,000,000 acres of land in said districts and plans are in progress covering thousands of additional acres of farm lands; and

Whereas a large percent of the men now on W. P. A. in Arkansas were formerly farmers, and cannot be reestablished as such until a proper soil-conservation program has been put into effect: Therefore be it

fore be it

Resolved by the Senate of the General Assembly of Arkansas (the house of representatives concurring therein):

SECTION I. That the General Assembly of Arkansas hereby respectfully requests the Congress of the United States to recognize, by appropriate legislation, resolutions, rules, or regulations, the public benefit to be derived from the use of W. P. A. labor in the soil-conservation program in this State.

SEC. 2. That a copy of this resolution be spread on the journals of the senate, a copy mailed to the President of the United States, Representatives and Senators in the National Congress from Arkansas, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., and Dr. H. H. Bennett, Chief of the Soil Conservation Service, and Col. C. F. Harrington, Works Progress Administrator.

Mrs. CARAWAY also presented the following resolution of the House of Representatives of the State of Arkansas, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

## House Resolution 3

Whereas a proposal has been made by Representative Edmiston, of West Virginia, member of the United States House of Representatives Military Affairs Committee, that 100,000,000 tons of coal be stored in the swamps along the Atlantic coast as an emergency

supply in the event of war as a part of the national defense

program; and
Whereas it is reliably reported that this proposal is endorsed by
high officers of the War Department and the Coal Commission; and
Whereas Arkansas has vast supplies of coal suitable for storage:

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Fifty-second General Assembly of the State of Arkansas, That if such measure is introduced that our Senators and Representatives in Congress be urged to guard the interests of the coal sections of Arkansas, that they share equitably in any such storage and that the chief clerk of this house be directed to send a copy of this resolution to our

Senators and Representatives in Congress

Mrs. CARAWAY also presented the following concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads:

#### Senate Concurrent Resolution 7

Whereas, through the efforts of our beloved late Senator Joe T. Robinson, ex-Congressman John L. McClellan, Senator Hattie W. Caraway, and all members of the Arkansas congressional delegation, the Federal Government has for the past few years seen fit to permit Arkansas to receive Federal-aid highway funds without matching same from State funds, since under provisions of existing laws Arkansas is prohibited from appropriating funds for this purpose; and

Whereas, under the provisions of the Hayden-Cartwright and subsequent acts of Congress, Arkansas has been permitted to re-ceive these funds without matching, due to the fact that no reve-nues received from taxes paid by owners and operators of motor vehicles were diverted to nonhighway uses, and further, since at least 90 percent of all revenues so collected were devoted entirely

least 90 percent of all revenues so collected were devoted entirely and exclusively to the State highway system: Now, therefore, be it Resolved by the senate of the fifty-second general assembly (the house of representatives concurring therein), That Senator Hattie W. Caraway, Senator John E. Miller, and all Members of Congress from Arkansas be requested and urged to continue their efforts to permit Arkansas to continue to receive Federal-aid road funds without matching by the State until the provisions of Act No. 11 without matching by the State until the provisions of Act No. 11 of 1934 are amended or modified in such a way as to permit Arkansas to legally appropriate funds for this purpose; and be it further Resolved, That both Arkansas United States Senators and all Members of Congress be commended and sincerely thanked for this

unselfish and most patriotic piece of constructive legislation they have caused to be enacted by the Congress of the United States.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY—STATUE OF THE LATE WILL ROGERS

Mr. BARKLEY, from the Committee on the Library, to which was referred the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 1) authorizing the holding of ceremonies in the rotunda in connection with the presentation of a statue of the late Will Rogers, reported it without amendment.

# BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. McNARY:

S. 1038. A bill for the relief of L. M. Bell and M. M. Bell; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BYRD:

S. 1039. A bill granting a pension to Neva Dobbins;

S. 1040. A bill granting a pension to William Turner; and S. 1041. A bill granting a pension to Edna P. Welsh; to the Committee on Pensions.

S. 1042. A bill for the relief of the Epes Transportation Corporation; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MALONEY:

S. 1043. A bill granting a pension to Ann M. Callery; to the Committee on Pensions.

S. 1044. A bill for the relief of Carl Garbich; to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. GILLETTE:

S. 1045. A bill to give effect to the International Agreement for the Regulation of Whaling, signed at London, June 8, 1937, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mrs. CARAWAY:

S. 1046. A bill to liberalize effective date of claim for reimbursement for burial and funeral expenses contained in Veterans' Regulations; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. BONE:

S. 1047. A bill for the relief of Emerson J. French; and

S. 1048. A bill to provide for a flag for the funeral of any honorably discharged veteran, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McCARRAN:

S.1049. A bill authorizing the conveyance of the mint building and the land upon which it is situated in Carson City., Nev., to the State of Nevada; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. ASHURST:

S. 1050. A bill for the relief of Albert H. Gilpin (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1051. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lettie Powell Miller Putnam (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GUFFEY:

S. 1052. A bill for the relief of the Allegheny Forging Co.;

S. 1053. A bill for the relief of the Allegheny Forging Co.; S. 1054. A bill for the relief of the Allegheny Forging Co.; and

S. 1055. A bill for the relief of the Allegheny Forging Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. NEELY:

S. 1056. A bill granting a pension to Pearl Dyke Carder; to the Committee on Pensions.

(Mr. Thomas of Oklahoma introduced Senate bill 1057, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. WHEELER:

S. 1058. A bill providing for the advancement on the retired list of the Army of Arthur Glenn; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1059. A bill granting a pension to Waumdi Duba (Red Eagle):

S. 1060. A bill granting a pension to Daniel S. J. Leif;

S. 1061. A bill granting an increase of pension to Catherine A. Riley;

S. 1062. A bill granting an increase of pension to Dora White:

S. 1063. A bill granting a pension to Joseph E. Williams;

S. 1064. A bill granting a pension to John Yuhas; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SCHWELLENBACH:

S. 1065. A bill to authorize an appropriation for payment of the cost of providing additional water for the Wapato Indian irrigation project, Washington; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. GEORGE:

S. 1066. A bill for the relief of Samuel L. Rakusin; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

S. 1067. A bill granting the consent of Congress to the Highway Department of Davidson County, of the State of Tennessee, to construct a bridge across Cumberland River at a point approximately 13/4 miles below Clees Ferry, connecting a belt-line highway in Davidson County, State of Tennessee, known as the Old Hickory Boulevard; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. MINTON:

S. 1068. A bill for the relief of Bruce G. Cox; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1069. A bill for the relief of George Edelman (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Military Affairs. S. 1070. A bill granting a pension to Thomas Brown;

S. 1071. A bill granting a pension to Gertrude Claypool;

S. 1072. A bill granting a pension to Katie Glenn;

S. 1073. A bill granting an increase of pension to Nora A. Kitchen;

S. 1074. A bill granting a pension to Stephen Sowinski;

S. 1075. A bill granting a pension to Blanche Walker; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. REYNOLDS:

S. 1076. A bill for the relief of the widow of the late William J. Cocke; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1077. A bill for the relief of Victor S. Banks; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

S. 1078. A bill to amend volume 39, page 375, section 17, subsection E, United States Statutes at Large, to provide for free examination of joint-stock land banks now in liquidation: to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 1079. A bill for the relief of Francisco R. Acosta; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1080. A bill for the relief of Joseph Clasby;

S. 1081. A bill for the relief of John B. Jones;

S. 1082. A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to provide for the sale of aviation supplies and services to aircraft operated by foreign military and air attachés accredited to the United States, and for other purposes; and

S. 1083. A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to exchange obsolete, unsuitable, and unserviceable machines and tools pertaining to the manufacture or repair of ordnance matériel for new machines and tools; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WAGNER:

S. 1084. A bill to continue the functions of the Commodity Credit Corporation and the Export-Import Bank of Washington, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BONE:

S. J. Res. 52. Joint resolution relating to the sale of souvenirs in public buildings and parks, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. PEPPER:

S. J. Res. 53. Joint resolution recognizing August 19 of each year as Aviation Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H. R. 2762) to consolidate and codify the internalrevenue laws of the United States was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Finance.

## FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION-AMENDMENT

Mr. BARBOUR submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to House bill 2868, the first deficiency appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed, as follows:

On page 4, line 8, insert the following:

'Dutch elm disease eradication: For an additional amount for Dutch elm disease eradication, including the same objects and conditions specified under this heading in the Agricultural Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1939 (5 U. S. C. 511, 512; 7 U. S. C. 151-167; 52 Stat. 732), \$200,000."

#### ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATION FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF-AMENDMENT

Mr. CLARK of Missouri submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed, as follows:

At the end of the bill add the following new section:

"Sec. 8. None of the funds appropriated by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or by this joint resolution shall be used for the manufacture, purchase, or construction of any naval vessel, armament, munitions, or implement of war, or for the construction of quarters for military or naval forces."

# TEMPORARY JOINT COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL DEFENSE

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, I ask consent to submit a concurrent resolution, which I request be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. I also ask consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point the concurrent resolution and two articles in reference thereto which appeared in the Washington Daily News.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the resolution of the Senator from Washington will be received and referred as requested by him and the articles will be printed in the body of the RECORD.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 2) was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there is hereby established a joint congressional committee (hereinafter referred to as the "joint committee"), to be known as the Temporary Joint Committee on National Defense. The joint committee shall be composed of the chairman and the ranking minority member of each of the following committees and subcommittees: The Senate Committee on Military Affairs, the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the subcommittees on military and naval appropriations of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, the Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, and the subcommittees on military and naval appropriations of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives, and the subcommittees on the House of Representatives, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, and the subcommittees on the House of Representatives, and the subcommittees on the Joint committee shall not affect the power of the remaining members to execute the functions of the Joint committee. The joint committee shall select a chairman from among its members.

SEC. 2. (a) It shall be the duty of the joint committee to make a thorough study and investigation with respect to the national-defense problems of the United States, with a particular view to (1) determining the policy which should be followed with respect to the national defense, (2) determining the most effective means and methods for carrying out such policy, and (3) coordinating the activities of the various agencies of the Government dealing with matters relating to the national defense.

(b) The joint committee shall from time to time submit recommendations and reports to the committees of the Congress herein-Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concur-

(b) The joint committee shall from time to time submit recommendations and reports to the committees of the Congress herein-

before designated.

SEC. 3. The joint committee shall have power to hold hearings and to sit and act at such places and times, to require by subpena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, to have such printing and binding done, and to make such expenditures as it deems advisable. Subpenas shall be issued under the signature of the chairman of the joint committee and shall be served by any person designated by him.

mittee and shall be served by any person designated by him.

The expenses of the said investigation, which shall not exceed

\$ , shall be paid out of the contingent funds of the Senate and House of Representatives, one-half to be disbursed by the Secretary of the Senate and one-half by the Clerk of the House of

Representatives.

SEC. 4. The joint committee shall have power to employ and fix the compensation of such officers, experts, and employees as it deems necessary in the performance of its duties, but the compensation so fixed shall not exceed the compensation fixed under the sation so fixed shall not exceed the compensation fixed under the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, for comparable duties. The joint committee is authorized to request the use of the services, information, facilities, and personnel of the departments and agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

SEC. 5. All authority conferred by this concurrent resolution shall expire on February 1, 1941.

The articles above referred to are as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News, December 22, 1938]

DEFENSE PROBLEMS

(By Raymond Clapper)

Recent world changes have thrust so many considerations into the problem of national defense that Congress would be justified in resorting to special procedure. The most practical method would be to set up a joint House and Senate committee on national defense.

This would be a special, temporary committee. It would be obligated to survey the whole field. It would ascertain what we proposed to defend. First of all, it would define the problem. Are we going to protect merely the shores of the United States, or the

posed to defend. First of all, it would define the problem. Are we going to protect merely the shores of the United States, or the hemisphere? Then it would prepare a rounded program to support the policy, covering Army, Navy, aircraft, industrial preparedness, and the methods of financing. It all goes together.

In this situation it would be criminal to deal with the problem of national defense in the old piecemeal way. Can we do the job properly by working through some 10 House and Senate committees, each jealously going its own way and the others be damned?

Under standard procedure you have the House Military Affairs Committee holding hearings, running its own show. The House Naval Affairs Committee runs its own show. Neither knows nor cares what the other is doing. How can you relate air strength and the Navy, or Army coast defense and the Navy, without considering them together and in relation to each other? How can you decide how many Army airplanes are needed until you know what the Navy is going to consist of? These matters are all tied together and they should be considered together.

You can't have properly balanced national defense when you cut the job up into small pieces and distribute it among some 10 different committees each working independently. The working out of the defense program would be scattered piecemeal among the standing House committees on Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, Appropriations, and Ways and Means, and among the Senate committees on Appropriations, Foreign Relations, Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, Naval Affairs, and Finance. Duplicate hearings would be held,

and there would result a long time-consuming scramble in which Army, Navy, and aviation each would grab as much as possible. A joint committee would know where the emphasis was to be put—whether on the Army, aircraft, or Navy, and in what reconstructions.

proportions.

The joint House and Senate committee should contain repre-The joint House and Senate committees should contain representation from all of these committees just named, plus perhaps that of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, which, while of little consequence ordinarily, does have jurisdiction over neutrality legislation, which must be considered in connection with the whole national-defense problem.

Take two members from each of these standing committees, the chairmen and the top Republican and make up a special temporary.

Take two members from each of these standing committees, the chairman and the top Republican, and make up a special temporary joint committee of perhaps 20 members. That would be a smaller committee than most of the regular major House and Senate committees, and therefore not unwieldly. It would represent both Houses, both parties, and every standing committee concerned in the problem. By taking the top members you assemble the most experienced House and Senate members, each well-informed in his particular field.

particular field.

particular field.

Put such a committee to work; first, on a carefully organized program of hearings to gather expert testimony, and, second, on the drafting of a balanced, unified program. Then Congress will know what it is doing. Bring such a program before the full membership of the House and the Senate, under the auspices of such a special joint committee, and it would be entitled to respect. Because of the men on it, such a committee would be powerful enough to protect the program from raiding on the floor.

Such a special joint committee as is here suggested quelt to

Such a special joint committee as is here suggested ought to produce the best program that is possible under our system—one that provides enough, but not too much, balanced and proportioned adequately to the needs of America at this hour.

## [From the Washington Daily News, December 28, 1938] OUR WEAKNESS (By Raymond Clapper)

Each day makes it more clear that we haven't any reliable idea of what we need for adequate national defense. Every man is his own strategist now, and arriving legislators have their pockets stuffed with defense plans and requests from local chambers of commerce for new airplane factories, new Army posts, training schools, and other choice cuts of political defense pork.

They are already showing the Florida ship canal at us again. The

They are already snoving the Florida snip canal at us again. The last time it was offered as a gigantic work relief project, but Congress objected. Now it is being dressed up as a national defense scheme. Only a matter of time and we will have the Passama-quoddy tide-harnessing scheme revived as a national-defense project. Don't be surprised to wake up and find that a drive is on for a big naval base on the upper Mississippi. Why not? It would help business and provide the fleet with an inland base immune from

attack.

Not only laymen but the experts are confused. They hear rumors that Hitler has 10,000 planes, and promptly demand the same for us. You will find one crowd of experts saying our air force needs but little expansion, and that the important thing is experimental progress in designing faster models, together with industrial preparations for quick enlargement of production capacity when required. A rival school of experts says that scheme is inadequate, that with the air force, as with the Navy, initial striking power is what counts; and that we must be prepared at all times to overcome any surprise attack because once war has come it is too late to build planes and ships.

come any surprise attack because once war has come it is too late to build planes and ships.

So you have experts taking various stances all the way from no more planes to 13,500 planes and up.

One group wants the Western Hemisphere encased in a ring of United States battleships. Others say we need only to concentrate decisive strength in the Caribbean, as that is the bottleneck of hemisphere defense. Then there are the experts who want a Nicarauguan canal and those who say that if the Panama Canal was good enough for the first Roosevelt it's good enough for this one.

All of which says pointedly that we need a general inquiry by a joint congressional committee to consider all aspects and to sift out a balanced conclusion. Demand for such a joint committee is growing. It is recommended by a committee on national defense in a report to the National Peace Conference. Such a committee would combine within its membership Democratic and Republican

in a report to the National Peace Conference. Such a committee would combine within its membership Democratic and Republican members of the regular House and Senate committees which have to do with Army, Navy, aviation, foreign policy, and financing.

Mainly, the purpose would be to bring all phases of the defense problem into one inquiry instead of scattering them about among separate committees, into watertight compartments, as it were, where it would be almost impossible to dovetail a balanced program covering land, air, and sea. Recommendations from such a joint committee would be entitled to, and would receive, the confidence of the public.

committee would be entitled to, and would receive, the confidence of the public.

On this kind of question few of us can have an intelligent opinion. So much of it is technical that the layman must trust mainly to the judgment of a group of careful and well-balanced experts. A joint committee of seasoned and informed legislators would serve as a jury and, when it was through digesting the testimony of experts, its conclusions would be as sound and safe as is possible under our

Without doubt the country wants adequate defense. Everyone in Congress wants it. The only argument is as to what constitutes adequate defense. Strong opposition exists to unwarranted expense. Republicans and peace organizations are ready to pounce on any

crackpot or hysterical schemes that come up wearing the false whiskers of national defense.

The administration, for its own protection and for the protection of the country, needs to have a program that has been carefully combed over and put together. A joint congressional committee is the best protection the administration can have against the twin mistakes of inadequate defense and wasteful expenditure.

#### PROPERTY RIGHTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS IN MEXICO

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to submit for appropriate reference a resolution which I should like to have the privilege of reading to the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the resolution will be received.

Mr. REYNOLDS read the resolution (S. Res. 72), as follows:

Whereas it has been stated and generally believed that a condition exists in our neighboring Republic of Mexico which if true, makes the Government of that country a violator of international law as well as of the natural rights of man; and Whereas it has been stated and believed to be true that millions of dollars worth of property belonging under the laws of Mexico and of international law to citizens of the United States has been

confiscated by the Mexican Government; and
Whereas at the time of the confiscation of such property so
belonging to American citizens the Government of Mexico was

belonging to American citizens the Government of Mexico was wholly unable to make compensation therefor nor have they made restitution to the rightful owners of the property so taken; and Whereas the present Government in Mexico, according to widely published newspaper articles is using certain property that it has confiscated from American citizens to enter into commercial and economic relations with countries in Europe and Asia and that if the establishment of these relations with these countries is true, as stated, would make the Government of Mexico subservient to the governments that are said to be acquiring such economic and financial control as to enable these foreign governments to control the political affairs of Mexico, as a mere colony, in violation of that policy of the United States enunciated to safeguard the republics of this hemisphere; and

policy of the United States enunciated to safeguard the republics of this hemisphere; and Whereas it has been repeatedly stated in the press that a revolutionary from Europe is now in Mexico and that the un-American policy of government that he aided in establishing in Russia has now been adopted by Mexico; and Whereas it has been stated that the Government of the United States is the principal purchaser of silver, a chief product of Mexico, making a profitable market for that product, which if true, is an indirect subsidy to the present Government of Mexico and a support of its policies: and

whereas it is necessary that the Senate, in the exercise of its constitutional right and the performance of its constitutional duty, be provided with all the pertinent facts referred to in the preamble to this resolution and such other facts as an investigation may dis-

close: Therefore be it

close: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the President of the Senate appoint a committee
of seven Members thereof to institute and carry out such an investigation as will provide the Senate with a comprehensive and trustworthy exposition of the facts and conditions referred to in the
foregoing preamble, and such other pertinent facts and conditions
as they exist in Mexico and report the same to the Senate during
this session of Congress.

Resolved further That for the present of the facts that

this session of Congress.

Resolved further, That for the purposes of the investigation proposed by the foregoing resolution that the committee be empowered to sit and act either as a whole or by subcommittee at such time and location in the United States as it shall consider suitable; and to employ such stenographic, expert, and other assistance as it shall deem necessary; to fix the compensation; and to administer the necessary oaths; to compel witnesses to attend; and to do all other things which in its judgment shall be required for the proper execution of its task. cution of its task.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

# NATIONAL DEFENSE-ADDRESS BY STEPHEN F. CHADWICK

[Mr. PITTMAN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered on January 24, 1939, by Stephen F. Chadwick, national commander of the American Legion, before the Fourteenth Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense, at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., January 24, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

# FARM BUYING POWER

[Mr. MINTON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address by John Napier Dyer, made recently before the Rotary Club at Vincennes, Ind., on the subject Farm Buying Power, a Prelude to Industrial Prosperity, which appears in the Appendix.]

AVIATION AND NATIONAL DEFENSE-ARTICLE FROM COLLIER'S

IMr. LUNDEEN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from Collier's of January 28, 1939, on the subject Aviation and the National Defense, which appears in the Appendix.]

ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATION FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The first committee amendment will be stated.

The first amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, in section 1, page 2, line 15, after "1939", to insert

Provided further, That prior to April 1 there shall be no administrative reduction of more than 5 percent in the number of employees upon Works Progress projects and that the funds available for the remainder of the fiscal year shall be apportioned in the discretion of the Administrator: Provided further, That should there arise an emergency which in the opinion of the President would require the submission of an estimate for an additional appropriation, the President would require the submission of an estimate for an additional appropriation, the President dent, in submitting such estimate, shall submit a statement as to the facts constituting such emergency: Provided further, That the Administrator shall immediately cause to be made an investigation of the rolls of employees on work projects and eliminate from such rolls those not in actual need.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3, line 17, after "1939". to strike out "but this proviso shall not apply to positions the compensation of which is payable from the appropriations made in subsections (5), (6), (7), and (8) of section 1 of the said Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938."

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, in view of the fact that the pending joint resolution provides for a number of our citizens who are unfortunate, which unfortunate condition I attribute largely to the fact that this country has many millions of aliens who no doubt has usurped the jobs that rightfully belong to American citizens, I desire at this time to bring to the attention of the Members of this body the fact that we never shall be able to ascertain the number of aliens within the confines of the United States until we shall have enacted some sort of legislation which would provide for the mandatory registration and fingerprinting thereof.

To that end, last year I introduced a bill calling for the registration and fingerprinting of aliens. At that time the bill was before the Immigration Committee of the Senate; and my recollection is that a similar bill was introduced in the House by my colleague, Hon. Joe Starnes, of Alabama. This year, during the first session of the Seventy-sixth Congress, I introduced a similar bill, which would require mandatorily that aliens within our borders register and be fingerprinted in order that we may ascertain the number within our borders. I am very happy at this time to bring to the attention of the Members of this body a poll which was conducted by Dr. Gallup.

I have before me a clipping from the New York Times of Friday, January 27, 1939, reading as follows:

Plan to register aliens backed in survey conducted by institute on pending United States bill.

Mr. President, I am more than happy to state to this body that 84 percent of the American people favor the registration and fingerprinting of aliens. That is evidenced by the poll conducted by Dr. Gallup and his associates. I read from the article just mentioned:

In the wake of the recent trial of German spies in this country several bills are pending in Congress to require all aliens living in the United States to be fingerprinted and registered with the Federal Government

Sponsored in the Senate by Senator Robert R. Reynolds, of North Carolina, and in the House by Representative Joseph Starnes, of Alabama, this plan meets with widespread popular approval in a national survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion, it was reported by Dr. George Gallup, director of the institute.

A cross section of voters in all sections and in all income levels was asked by the institute: "Do you think all persons living in this country who are not citizens should be fingerprinted and registered with the Federal Government?"

with the Federal Government?"

The vote was: "Yes," 84 percent; "no," 16 percent.

The survey likewise reveals that the majority of voters favor fingerprinting not only of aliens but also of everybody in the Nation, Dr. Gallup said.

The following question was put to a cross section of voters: "Do you think everybody in this country should be fingerprinted by the Federal Government?"

The vote was: "Yes," 71 percent.

Mr. President, I desire to state that when I first brought this subject to the attention of the Congress of the United States many Members thereof forthwith objected, for the reason that they stated that if we wanted to bring about the mandatory registration and fingerprinting of aliens within our midst, in their opinion, that would call for the eventual registration of the citizens of America. I am indeed happy that the citizens of America, through this poll, have evidenced to their respective Members in the Congress of the United States that it is their desire that all American citizens be registered for their particular personal benefit from the standpoint of protection.

In that connection I desire to avail myself of the opportunity of bringing again to the front my State of North Carolina, which always leads in matters of progress of every sort and kind, and particularly in this instance, since in my State there is a great and flourishing city, one of the most prosperous in the entire South, Charlotte, N. C., which is known as the Queen City of the Carolinas. It has a population of more than 100,000. There, about 2 years ago, all the girls and boys of high-school age voluntarily submitted to fingerprinting. I then might traverse this section of the North American Continent and mention Berkeley, Calif., where more than 25,000 citizens voluntarily came to a station where they were fingerprinted. All of this goes to show that the American people are not only anxious that aliens be registered and fingerprinted in order that we may know how many of them are in the country at the present time but, in addition thereto, they are desirous of bringing about the registration and fingerprinting of all American citizens for the protection of the American citizens themselves.

At this time, Mr. President, particularly in view of the fact that next week we will give serious consideration to the national-defense program which has been proposed by the President of the United States, we shall want to give more consideration than ever to the question of aliens and undesirable foreigners who have not filed their applications for citizenship in this country, because we know that that subject interests itself materially in the mammoth question of national defense, since we recognize the fact that were America to become involved in mortal combat tomorrow, every single alien in the country today would be deemed to be a potential enemy, a spy, perhaps, within our borders. I repeat, it would be useless for us to make expenditure of billions of dollars for the purpose of fighting enemies without who might perchance endeavor to make an invasion of this country without at the same time, in considering our national-defense program, taking into consideration the fact that if war were to come, our greatest enemies would be the potential spies and the potential enemies within our midst, and that those boring from within would do more damage to our defense than would those who were firing from without.

## DENISON-DURANT DAM ON RED RIVER

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, I wish to quote from the inaugural speech of Gov. Leon C. Phillips, the new Governor of Oklahoma. About one-third of his inaugural speech was devoted to opposition to the construction of the Denison-Durant Dam on Red River, a flood-control and power project which was authorized by the flood-control bill of 1938. The Governor says:

So far as I have been able to ascertain, neither the views, concerns, objections, nor advice of the sovereign State of Oklahoma have been invited or heard by either branches of Congress or by any committee thereof on this vital and far-reaching act, but on the contrary, it was passed in the closing days and hours of the last session of Congress without opportunity on the part of our State to be bear. State to be heard.

In answer to that, I wish to read from the hearings on the 1938 flood-control bill which included Denison Dam:

STATEMENT OF DR. HENRY G. BENNETT, CHAIRMAN, OKLAHOMA RESERVOIR PLANNING BOARD, AND PRESIDENT OF THE OKLAHOMA AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Chairman, my name is Henry G. Bennett. I am chairman of the Oklahoma Reservoir Planning Board and president of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.
The CHAIRMAN. You are chairman of the Oklahoma Planning

Mr. BENNETT. Yes, sir.

The Charman. And you are president of what institution? Mr. Bennett. Of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Oklahoma.

The Charman. If you desire to make a general statement, we will be glad to hear you.

## PLANNING BOARD FAVORS DAM

Mr. Bennett. Just a brief statement, Mr. Chairman, as to the attitude of our board and the people of the State toward the projects presented.

The Charrman. Are you advocating those projects?

Mr. Bennett. I am advocating the projects as presented by the rmy engineers, and we are in accord with their recomendations \* \* \*. Army engineer mendations \*

STATEMENT OF W. C. BURNHAM, ENGINEER FOR THE WATER RESOURCES DIVISION OF THE OKLAHOMA PLANNING AND RESOURCES BOARD

The CHARMAN. Mr. Burnham, will you kindly state your name,

your occupation or profession.

Mr. Burnham. My name is W. C. Burnham, engineer for the water-resources division of the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a board that exists by virtue of a statute in the State of Oklahoma?

Mr. BURNHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been engaged in your pro-fession as engineer?

Mr. Burnham. Since 1910.

JOHN TOUR . The CHAIRMAN. What is your position with respect to the construction of the Denison Reservoir?

STRUCTION of the Denison Reservoir?

Mr. BURNHAM. My personal opinion as an engineer?

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us your views, whether personal feeling or otherwise, as a witness, are you advocating the Denison Dam as reported by the Chief of Engineers?

Mr. BURNHAM. I am supporting the construction of the Denison Reservoir. Just exactly how it is reported I have not seen the report. I did see part of it in Little Rock in the preparation, but we are supporting the Denison Reservoir.

STATEMENT OF W. C. AUSTIN, OF ALTUS, OKLA.

The Charman. What is your name? Mr. Austin. W. C. Austin. The Charman. And your official position or occupation or profession?

Mr. Austin. I am a lawyer by profession, and a member of the Mr. Austin. I am a lawye.
Oklahoma Resources Board.
The Chairman. You live where?
Mr. Austin. At Altus, Okla.

The CHARMAN. What is the position of your board with respect to the Denison project?

Mr. Austin. We look upon that project with favor.

The following members of the Oklahoma delegation testified: Hon. Lyle Boren, Hon. WILBURN CARTWRIGHT, Hon. WESLEY DISNEY, Hon. JED JOHNSON, Hon. SAM MASSINGALE, Hon. Jack Nichols, and myself. Hon. Phil Ferguson, of Oklahoma, was a member of the committee and was present during the entire hearing. Congressman Gomer Smith was also present. Mr. G. W. Archibald, member of Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board and editor of the Durant Daily Democrat, was also present at the hearings. I quote only extracts from their testimony bearing on this subject.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. SAM C. MASSINGALE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. Massingale. Mr. Chairman, I represent that part of Oklahoma through which the Washita River in Oklahoma runs. I appear here this morning in behalf of that project and in behalf of other rivers in Oklahoma. The Planning Board of the State of Oklahoma are all for the Denison Dam project. Their main concern is to preserve and protect the rights of the people of the State of Oklahoma in the waters that flow down these rivers into the Red River, and the witnesses that have been requested to be here will make statements in reference to that matter. \* \* \* statements in reference to that matter.

STATEMENT OF HON. WILBURN CARTWRIGHT, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CON-GRESS FROM THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. Cartwright. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I would be presumptious indeed should I try to discuss this in detail, because these engineers know it from the ground up. I am just returned from the location of this project area, and two-thirds to three-fourths of it is in my district. Of course, I am deeply concerned about it. People down there are fearful that their rights will not be protected. Of course, it is reasonably safe to expect that they will be protected, as they have at other places under similar conditions. I have been for this all the time, whole soul, heart, and body, and mind, and have made several trips with Sam Rayburn down to the different departments to see these engineers, and now this entire delegation is up here looking for water. The Lord knows they need it in Oklahoma at certain times of the year. \* \*

STATEMENT OF HON. JED JOHNSON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. Johnson, I had the honor of serving on this committee several years ago, and at that time some of us were advocating these

dams and reservoirs on the tributaries of the Mississippi, and at that time it seemed to fall on the deaf ears of the Army engineers. I congratulate the chairman on the complete change of front within the past 10 years on this proposition, in that the engineers now recognize the fact that if you are going to be safe from the floods on the lower Mississippi that we must impound the water somewhere near where it falls. \* \* \*

STATEMENT OF HON. LYLE H. BOREN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. Boren. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I simply want to say a word in agreement with the discussion on this project, a word of support for the general project. It has been well spoken that Oklahoma needs this water and States farther down spoken that Oklahoma needs this water and States farther down the line need protection from our water. Specifically I would like permission to extend my remarks in connection with the Manford project, in my district, which completely impounds water from the Cimarron River in this Arkansas watershed.

STATEMENT OF HON. WESLEY E. DISNEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. DISNEY. Mr. Chairman, I am, of course, interested in this whole Mississippi Basin. \* \*

Mr. DISNEY's testimony did not deal with the Denison Dam directly.

I now quote from my own statement, as follows:

Senator Lee. I will make just a brief statement, Mr. Chairman. I heartily agree with everything that Congressman RAYBURN has

The question has been raised in my State as to prior water rights, and we are desirous of having that protection written into the law. For instance, in the case of Lugert Dam, on one of the tributaries For instance, in the case of Lugert Dam, on one of the tributaries of the Red River, there is a reclamation project under way providing for irrigation over a large territory. The legal question has been raised that if this water is once used for the generation of power below, there is thereby established a right to it, and that this water cannot be diverted above afterward for useful purposes of irrigation or any other purpose; that they have established, by once using this water for generation of power, the right to it.

Therefore I urge the committee to get the language in the bill that will protect the water rights above. I recall talking to the President on this very question, and he said that brings up the important thing of making your plan to cover the whole basin at one time.

one time.

I do not want the Denison Dam to be delayed until the upstream projects can all be completed, and I do not think that is necessary. It is further along than some of the others. But netther do I later want to be helpless in working out other projects after they have used all this water. If this were flood control only, the question might not arise, but since it is power development also, there certainly is a question that, in my opinion, should be asked now and decided before the project is started.

## OKLAHOMA RIGHTS PROTECTED

The amendment finally included in the bill which gave Oklahoma this protection is (Public, 761, p. 5):

Provided, That in the consideration of benefits in connection with the Denison Reservoir all benefits that can be assigned to the proposed Altus project and other such projects in Oklahoma shall be reserved for said projects.

(Public, 761, p. 6:)

The Government of the United States acknowledges the right The Government of the United States acknowledges the right of the States of Oklahoma and Texas to continue to exercise all existing proprietary or other rights of supervision of and jurisdiction over the waters of all tributaries of Red River within their borders above Denison Dam site and above said dam, if and when constructed, in the same manner and to the same extent as is now or may hereafter be provided by the laws of said States, respectively, and all of said laws as they now exist or as same may be hereafter amended or enacted and all rights thereunder, including the rights to impound or authorize the retardation or imbe hereafter amended or enacted and all rights thereunder, including the rights to impound or authorize the retardation or impounding thereof for flood control above the said Denison Dam and to divert the same for municipal purposes, domestic uses, and for irrigation, power generation, and other beneficial uses, shall be and remain unaffected by or as a result hereof. All such rights are hereby saved and reserved for and to the said States and the people and the municipalities thereof, and the impounding of any such waters for any and all beneficial uses by said States or under their authority may be as freely done after the passage hereof as the same may now be done.

In addition to these who testified directly concerning the Denison Dam there was F. L. Vaughn, director, Water Resources Board of Oklahoma, and Oklahoma Planning Board, who testified in the hearings, but since no question of opposition to the construction of the Denison Dam had been raised or suggested, the question was neither directly asked nor answered in his testimony, it being so unquestionably assumed that his purpose in coming to Washington and appearing before the committee was to further the whole floodcontrol program. He states in his testimony that he is not

opposing any projects.

In addition to that, there were others who were present or available who were then and are now strongly in favor of the construction of the Denison Dam, such as Representative WILL ROGERS and Senator Thomas, who attended the hearing but did not testify, as it seemed unnecessary to duplicate the testimony because not even a suspicion of opposition to the construction of the dam had been raised.

I now wish to read in part from an article in the Tulsa World of January 22, 1939, under the headlines:

Governor gains support in fight on Denison Dam.

Second headline:

NICHOLS says engineer report shows project impractical.

Oklahoma City (A. P.) -

The Governor was assured of aid in his fight against the dam by Representative Jack Nichols (Democrat, Oklahoma), who conferred with Phillips here today.

Nichols said he opposed the Denison project and has spoken against it on the floor of the House because it would deny the State other projects above the dam.

Phillips said Nichols had seen an engineers' report showing the project to be impractical. \* \* \*

project to be impractical.

First. I suggest that Representative Nichols have the Congressional Index corrected. I have searched through it but do not find that it contains a reference to any speech made by Representative Nichols on the floor of the House during discussion of the flood-control bill in the Seventy-fifth Congress in which he opposed the construction of Denison

Second. Congressman Nichols testified before the Flood Control Committee last year, during the open hearings on the flood-control bill, which included Denison Dam, but nowhere in his testimony did he offer even so much as a suggestion of opposition to the construction of Denison Dam. He devoted his testimony to the desirability of constructing the Tenkiller Ferry Reservoir, which is in his own district.

I now wish to read a statement from Gen. M. C. Tyler, Acting Chief of Engineers, January 25, 1939:

The flood-control possibilities of the Denison Reservoir were the subject of a special report dated October 1, 1930, which is published as annex 18 of the Report on Control of Floods in the Alluvial Valley of the Lower Mississippi River. It was found that the Denison Reservoir would contribute to flood control on the lower Mississippi River. (H. Dec. No. 798, 71st Cong. 2d coss.) sippi River. (H. Doc. No. 798, 71st Cong., 3d sess.)

The next consideration was during the first session of the Seventy-fourth Congress, as evidenced in House Document No. 259:

The Denison Reservoir was considered as one reservoir in a comprehensive reservoir plan for Mississippi River Basin flood control. The reservoir would contribute to flood control on the lower Mississippi River.

Next, during the second session of the Seventy-fourth Congress-House Document No. 378:

The Denison Reservoir project was considered in the Department's report on the Red River, La., Ark., Okla., and Tex. In this report the Chief of Engineers stated that the Denison Reservoir is the key project of the system of reservoirs for control of floods in the Red River Basin and that its construction appeared to be warranted at Federal expense.

During the first session of the Seventy-fifth Congress House of Representatives, Committee on Flood Control, Document No. 1:

In his report of April 6, 1937, presenting a comprehensive flood-control plan on the Ohio and lower Mississippi Rivers, the Chief of Engineers recommended construction of the Denison Reservoir to remove the threat of the coincidence of a large flood from the Red River with a flood on the Missispipi River. The Denison Reservoir would also afford highly desirable protection to the fertile bottom lands in the lower Red River Valley.

And last, during the third session of the Seventy-fifth Congress (H. Doc. No. 541), the latest report covering the Denison Reservoir was made:

The investigations on which the report was based were much more extensive than any previous investigations and permitted a detailed plan for developing the project to be made. The report recommends that the Denison project be constructed as a multiple purpose project for flood control and power development. The Federal Power Commission has reported that the power to be developed can be disposed of to advantage.

#### NINE YEARS STUDY VERIFIES DAM PRACTICABILITY

In connection with the foregoing reports, the Denison project has been under practically constant study by the Department for the last 9 years. In addition to its own engineers, the Department has employed a number of the most outstanding engineering specialists in the United States as consultants to work with the Department's staff in connection with the design of the dam and appurtenant structures. None of them have expressed any doubt as to the practicability of constructing a safe and satisfactory dam at the Denison site.

I now wish to read into the RECORD half of the editorial column from the Oklahoma City Times of January 20 under the caption of "The Tiny Times":

There is too much heat and not enough light on this dam business. Two years ago the Denison project was accepted as a unit in the New Deal's astronomical flood-prevention and hydroelectric program. Overnight it appears that the United States is to destroy Oklahoma with a wholly reprehensible piece of Federal villainy. What is the score?

Revert to the August primary for a moment. There were three principal candidates for the governorship. Phillips and Murray spoke openly against the Red River measure. Key favored it. Key carried more of the Red River tier of counties than both other candidates. The conclusion is logical that the dam was not the most important thing in the election or that the works. the most important thing in the election, or that the voters were not informed, or that they didn't care.

Look at the situation in the congressional delegation. Carr-

wright, Congressman in whose district the dam is located, has been and is for it strong. The two Senators have been for it consistently, Boren is wavering and the baby Representative, Monroner, is on the fence pending the adjourned hearing when the committee from the seventeenth legislature will have a hearing.

the seventeenth legislature will have a hearing.

Governor Phillips is carrying the ball. He went into the line-up a brief fortnight ago. Washington's New Deal champions, fatigued from years of line play, showed signs of fatigue. The opposition pushed in a mob of fresh athletes in November. In New England a wing-back formation, composed of six Republican Governors, swung around the end with a play against the dam. The signal was States' rights. There Vermont demanded that the Government pay the sovereign State for invasions and loss of property before the work progressed. Captain Roosevelt said the project would be withdrawn if Vermont doesn't want it. First down.

When "Red" Phillips hit the line with his inaugural message he devoted more space to the Denison Dam than any other State problem. The splendid six-column argument was based on material prepared by the research department of the Oklahoma Gas & Electric Co. This fact does not damn the statistics. Oklahoma Gas &

tric Co. This fact does not damn the statistics. Oklahoma Gas & Electric has a capable research department. But the origin of the carefully documented logic might point to an alinement of basic importance.

## WHY DO THEY OPPOSE THE DAM?

Some of Oklahoma's leaders lament the fact that other States have advantageous freight rates which discriminate against Oklahoma. Texas is one of the States, and these gentlemen say they oppose the Denison-Durant \$54,000,000 dam on Red River for the reason that Dallas and Fort Worth will build a canal from the body of water which the dam creates, which will give Texas further advantages.

Harlow's Weekly, a political magazine published at Oklahoma City by Harlow Publishing Corporation, has carried several articles with this claim, and several metropolitan papers have followed suit. In their last issue of December 31 they use very little argument in an article against the project, simply saying:

"Oklahoma is to say that the project is not for the best interest of the State and its citizens; that it will not be effective as a water-

"Oklanoma is to say that the project is not for the best interest of the State and its citizens; that it will not be effective as a water-conservation or flood-control project; that it will submerge and remove from taxation thousands of acres of the State's best river bottom land; that it is not practical, not a necessity, and is calculated to be injurious to the State as a whole."

Then they undertake to outline the proceedings which the State

Then they undertake to outline the proceedings which the State may take to enjoin the project, and suggest to Governor Phillips that if necessary he may resort to the National Guard and military rule. Probably the editors have investigated and found how silly their Dallas-Fort Worth canal argument was, so have adopted the above poor excuses. Why the dam is not for the best interest of Oklahoma and its citizens we cannot understand. Fact is it is for the best interests of Oklahoma and its citizens, although it may not be to the best interest of Harlow's and its friends. They state that it will not be effective as a water-conservation or flood-control project. project

The Democrat would like to know how and why they arrived at this conclusion. The best engineers in the United States emphatically disagree with this statement, and if the editors of Harlow's will study the report of the Federal engineers on the project, which is a public record, they may read for themselves. It is the key project to control of floods from Durant to New Orleans.

Their pext statement regarding the invadation of some of the

Their next statement regarding the inundation of some of the State's best river bottom land has some truth in it. The lake will

cover some good land, but the greater part of land covered is submarginal, and much of it is not in cultivation and is so unproductive that it should never be put in cultivation. And they fall to mention the fact that the project will save and reclaim three times as much land below the dam as it inundates above, and, while we do not know it to be a fact, we would think the reclaimed land below the dam would be rich bottom land. The closing criticism, "and is calculated to be injurious to the State as a whole," should have said injurious to the "few."

have said injurious to the "few."

There are a few people in this State who will suffer from the huge project. Progress always works a hardship on the few. Some schools, towns, and communities will suffer, but the lake cannot be built on stilts and Oklahoma cannot afford to block this huge project because of the opposition of the few people it injures.

While the Army engineers in their report state that navigation is not practical, it is probable that within a few years boats will be plying up and down Red River, and when that comes to pass Oklahoma will receive the benefit of water rates, which will benefit every citizen in the State.

The Democrat is unable to understand why Governor Philling and

The Democrat is unable to understand why Governor Phillips and other people, such as editors of Harlow's Weekly and metropolitan dailies, object to the dam on Red River. The Federal Government is not asking Oklahoma to share one dime of the cost, and the flimsy excuses offered by these individuals so far are downright silly. In fact, they surely must realize they are not arguments against it. Local communities affected may have reason for being against the dam, but big-business men outside the affected area must have reasons they have never presented for their opposition. Surely the Governor and the legislature of this State should not

object to the Government's spending the major part of \$56,000,000 in

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at this point as a part of my remarks an editorial by Mr. Walter Archibald which appeared in the Durant Daily Democrat, and other articles which appeared in other papers, but which were quoted from editorials by Mr. Archibald.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARGUMENTS AGAINST DAM CALLED WEAK-ARCHIEALD INVITES GOVERNOR "TO SEEK OUT THE FACTS"

Gov. Leon C. Phillips is "following highly prejudiced advice" in his attacks on the Red River Dam, G. W. Archibald, Daily Democrat publisher and vice chairman of the State planning and resources

board, asserted today.

Mentioned in a criticism of the power and flood-control project in Phillips' message to the legislature, Archibald said that he "sought out the facts" about the project and invited Phillips to "do the same"

"do the same."

He described reasons which Phillips gave against the dam a "weak."

"When he (Phillips) talks of inundating land, he does not tell you that three times as much land is reclaimed below the dam as is inundated above," Archibald asserted.

inundated above," Archibaid asserted.

Archibald's statement:
"Governor Phillips' real objection to the Denison-Durant Dam of Red River has never been made public. Although he devoted one-third of his legislative message to this project, reasons assigned against its construction are so weak that I am amazed that a man of his intelligence would present them. It convinces me the Governor is following highly prejudiced advice of the opposition and is not seeking facts. not seeking facts.

"When he talks of inundating land, he does not tell you that three times as much land is reclaimed below the dam as is inundated above. The land below the dam is in Oklahoma just the same as that above. When he states that we wait until the waters leave the State to utilize them, he misleads, because it is more than 200 miles by river from the dam to the Arkansas line on the

"Oklahoma should receive even more benefit than Texas, but Governor Phillips does not seem to know that Louisiana is the State that will receive the greatest benefits. That State suffers from such disastrous floods that this Government realizes the need

for relief, which this dam will provide.

"When navigation is established, if ever, Texas will lose her advantageous freight rates over Oklahoma, and every citizen in this

State will benefit.

"State roads and bridges, railroads, communication lines, power lines, pipe lines, etc., will be relocated at Government expense, and probably in a better condition and better location than at present.

"I mailed Governor Phillips a statement under date of December 31, 1938, which said in part: "To get the waters from this proposed reservoir to Dallas and Fort Worth would require an engineering feat that would make the building of the Panama Canal child's play, and the cost would be so much more than the Panama Canal that it has never been considered."

"This statement was made after I had the technical advice of 2 private engineering companies of reputation and probably 20 of the Army engineers.
"I have also been advised that the Federal Constitution prohibits

"I have also been advised that the Federal Constitution prohibits diversion of water from one stream into another, which would make it illegal to divert the waters of the Red River into the Trinity.

"But this need be no argument—facts can easily be secured; I sought them out, and I invite the Governor to do the same. I have

never talked to an engineer, private or otherwise, who had given study to the matter, that has not 'spoofed' at the talk about diversion.

The same unprejudiced investigation will reveal to any reason-The same unprejudiced investigation will reveal to any reasonable man that this project will produce both flood control and power. Governor Phillips' statement, in effect, that it must be empty for flood control and full for power generation, is not true, although that statement appears sound, especially to the layman. Its explanation requires too much space, but I believe I can consider a suppose. vince anyone.

"This State has no option as to spending our portion of the money for tenant farmers or smaller dams upstream—this is a Federal flood-control plan, along with power, conservation, irrigation, and reclamation, affecting four States, and Oklahoma cannot choose to take her share, whatever it is, to do with as we think best. I wish the Federal Government would acquire the 600,000 acres of

land reclaimed below the dam and use it for the tenant farmers, which should satisfy this desire of the Governor.

"As a member of the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board, my every act is open to the public. If Phillips thinks the board has not taken every possible means of protecting this State, especially as pertains to the Denison-Durant project, he is mistaken. It is possible I had little to do with this—other members deserving the credit-but Oklahoma's rights have been protected; and gret that any citizen, especially the Governor, would feel that I would knowingly waive or abandon, or permit it to be done if in my power to prevent, any of the rights of this State or any of its

"This board has not sold out, nor has it traded out. I have served in good faith, always considering Oklahoma as a whole, to the very best of my judgment and ability, pioneering a program of planning and conservation for my State.

"Reports of every department I have represented are in the hands of the Governor. They are too long to be reviewed here. Suffice it to say that our State received Federal authorization for \$108,000,000 worth of Government projects out of a total of \$375,000,000 in the United States, much of which is now under construction; and on account of executive opposition, the State is now faced with the danger of losing those not already under construction."

IMPOSSIBLE, ENGINEER SAYS OF CANAL PLAN-ARGUMENT AGAINST RED RIVER DAM DENOUNCED AS A "CRAZY IDEA"

Diversion of water from the Red River to the Trinity to make navigation of the Trinity possible for the benefit of Dallas and Fort Worth was described Tuesday by O. N. Floyd, of Dallas, as "one of the craziest ideas ever advanced."

Mr. Floyd has been consultant on several important Federal flood-control and power projects in the South as well as engineer

nood-control and power projects in the South as well as engineer on Ohio River flood control and on Panama Canal Zone work several years ago. He was engineer for the Red River Improvement Association in its preparation of data which finally led to adoption by Congress of the \$56,000,000 Denison Dam on Red River.

Proponents of the dam pointed out a number of inconsistencies in the arguments of Gov. Leon Phillips against construction of the \$56,000,000 project as contained in the text of his first message to the Oklahoma Legislature, Tuesday. The concensus is that the Governor has been misinformed on many of his points.

He attacked, for instance, the recent statement of G. W. Archi-

He attacked, for instance, the recent statement of G. W. Archibald, Daily Democrat publisher, that a canal connecting the Trinity River and the proposed reservoir would be highly impractical. The project would surpass the building of the Panama Canal, Archibald maintained. Phillips terms this statement preposterous. "It is regrettable that a man who pretends to be a responsible public official (Archibald is vice chairman of the State planning and resources board) would issue such a preposterous statement," the Governor declared. the Governor declared.

the Governor declared.

Archibald's statement was based upon the report of every engineer who has ever investigated such a proposal. In support of it Floyd, who is better acquainted with the situation than anyone outside the Army engineering staff now at work on the dam, said Tuesday afternoon following Phillips' message to the legislature:

"Turning water from the Red River to the Trinity is absolutely impossible and undestrable," he said in discussing the report that one of the objects of the Red River Dam is to benefit Dallas and Fort Worth by this diversion. "You cannot be too strong in denouncing the idea as impractical.

"I do not know who started the idea, but it must have been

"I do not know who started the idea, but it must have been handed down from generation to generation. Answering requests for my opinion, I have repeatedly told various parties that the plan was impossible and other engineers have done the same. But the idea still persists somehow."

Asked whether a channel might be dug to connect the two rivers, he said it was possible, but the cost would be more than that spent on the Panama Canal. "It would require a channel 10 or 12 miles long, from 150 to 200 feet deep, and a considerable width," he continued. "And that would cost several times more than the Denison Dam.

"The idea never has been thought through, or it would have been rejected as impossible."

Mr. LEE. I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at this point, as a part of my remarks, a telegram which was sent to both Senators from Oklahoma by Don Welch, speaker of the Oklahoma House of Representatives.

and a reply which was sent to him by the senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Thomas].

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JANUARY 20, 1939.

Senator Elmer Thomas,

Senate Office Building.

Dear Senator Thomas: If you mean to say that because the State of Oklahoma does not want one Federal project, which is definitely objectionable to the State of Oklahoma, it cannot get any at all, you are indicting the Federal Government for the worst tyranny. It occurs to me that a United States Senator ought to respect the opinion of the Oklahoma State Legislature expressed by the vote of 83 to 21 in the house and 28 to 10 in the senate.

Speaker, House of Representatives.

JANUARY 20, 1939.

Hon. Don Weich,

Speaker, House of Representatives,

State Capitol, Oklahoma City, Okla.:

Replying message this date, advise that I attended conference of States delegates with Oklahoma delegation this morning, and in such conference I specifically and positively pledged the States delegates that, as chairman of the Senate subcommittee having charge of War Department military and nonmilitary activities, the latter including appropriations for river, harbor, and flood control purposes, that I would see to it that the State of Oklahoma had every possible opportunity to prepare and submit any argument against an appropriation for the construction of the Denison Dam project. In all probability this bill will not reach the Senate until late in spring or early summer, probably as late as June, so that the State will have 3 to 5 months in which to investigate and prepare arguments against Congress making an appropriation for construction this project. I am advised that legislature has pending bill proposing repeal of consent herectofregiven Federal Government to secure by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise lands for public or governmental purposes. In conference this morning I cautioned all parties in authority to consider well all statements and acts for fear that repeal of such section might be considered here to be an unfriendly act and might result disastrously to Oklahoma. If this law is repealed and Government is unable to secure lands then such projects as Grand River, Fort Supply, Great Sait Plains, Lugert, Canton, Eufaula, Markhams Ferry, Mannford, Fort Gibson, Wister, Bramen, Colagah, Tenkiller, Optima, Kenton, Huls, and others will be blocked and stopped. Such repeal would have the further effect of preventing acquisition of land to be added to Fort Supply, military reservations, also submarginal land projects at Stillwater and Cookson Hills, and the one at Roger Mills County likewise would be interfered with. Such action would probably forestail any further activity looking to navigation of Arkansas Riv Oklahoma.

Chairman, Senate Subcommittee on Appropriations Having Control of War Department, River, Harbor, and Flood Control Appropriations.

ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATION FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I desire to call particularly to the attention of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Adams] the matter of which I am about to speak.

LXXXIV-57

I have been advised by the Works Progress Administration and by others that there has already been a reduction in the rolls, particularly in the case of many who are on the so-called art and professional projects. The Administration therefore takes the position that if there are to be further cuts in the personnel of the W. P. A. the class to which I refer should not be among those receiving cuts until there has been a pro rata diminution in the entire roll. I wonder if the fairness of that position is in accord with the sentiments of the chairman of the subcommittee.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I think it is an entirely fair suggestion. The only thing I said to the Senator from Florida was that I thought it was a matter to appeal to the fairness of the Administrator rather than to be included in the law as a definite amendment or provision.

Mr. PEPPER. If the Administrator were to follow the course suggested, it would not be contrary to the intentions of the subcommittee?

Mr. ADAMS. I think it would be in accord with the intentions of the subcommittee.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, one other matter. I desire to offer an amendment to the joint resolution. At the appropriate place I propose to insert the following provision-

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SCHWELLENBACH in the chair). The Chair will inform the Senator from Florida that at the present time the Senate is considering committee amendments, and any other amendment would not be appropriate at this time.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I take advantage of this occasion to give notice, for the consideration of the committee, so that it may be brought up at the proper time, that I shall propose an amendment to the effect that the receipt by any person of social-security benefits, and the receipt of loans or assistance from any Federal agency other than the Works Progress Administration, in an amount less than the minimum W. P. A. wage in the community in which such person may reside, shall not prohibit any person found otherwise eligible for W. P. A. employment from receiving enough W. P. A. work to bring his total compensation on an annual basis or on a quarterly basis up to the minimum W. P. A. wage for such period.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I rise to suggest that we should make some progress in the consideration of the committee amendments. I think most of them will arouse no controversy. I wish we could make some progress this afternoon on the committee amendments. It is obvious that we cannot finish the consideration of the joint resolution today. and that fact necessitates a session tomorrow. I should like very much to dispose of as many of the committee amendments as possible this afternoon. If we can finish the consideration of the joint resolution tomorrow, I see no reason why we cannot then recess until Wednesday. However, I am anxious to get the joint resolution out of the way.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment commencing in line 17 on page 3, which will be again stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 3, line 17, after the date "January 10, 1939", it is proposed to strike out "but this proviso shall not apply to positions the compensation of which is payable from the appropriations made in subsections (5), (6), (7), and (8) of section 1 of the said Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938."

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the next committee amendment.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 3, line 21, after the amendment last agreed to, it is proposed to strike out-

Provided further, That no money herein appropriated shall be available to pay salary, remuneration, or benefit to any person who shall hereafter in any way attempt to influence the vote of any person or persons receiving any salary, remuneration, or benefits

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3, line 25, after the amendment last agreed to, to strike out—

Provided further, That the appropriations herein made shall not be available unless and until rates of pay of employees of the Works Progress Administration are so fixed by appropriate administrative order as to eliminate differentials in rates of pay of workers of the same general class exceeding 25 percent of the maximum rates as between workers employed in different States or different areas of the same general type in the several States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I inquire what disposition has been made of the committee amendment, commencing in line 25, page 3, and ending in line 8, page 4? That is the amendment which affects the hourly rate of wage.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That amendment was just agreed to.

Mr. RUSSELL. I did not understand that the amendment had been agreed to. I understood that another amendment had been agreed to. I was endeavoring to watch that amendment. I ask unanimous consent that the vote by which the amendment was agreed to be reconsidered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the vote whereby the amendment was agreed to is reconsidered, and the amendment will be passed over.

The next amendment was, on page 4, line 8, after the word "States", to strike out—

Provided further, That no part of the money herein appropriated shall be paid to anyone who is not a citizen of the United States of America.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 4, line 15, after the word "children", to strike out—

Provided further, That no money herein appropriated shall be used to pay the compensation of any supervisor, foreman, or other official who attempts to influence the political opinions of workers under his direction or supervision.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 4, line 19, after the amendment last agreed to, to strike out—

And provided further, That no funds herein appropriated shall be used by the Farm Security Administration or any other Federal agency, to establish hosiery mills on homestead, or other projects in competition with existing industries

## and insert-

Provided further, That no funds herein appropriated shall be used by any Federal agency, to establish mills or factories which would sell articles or materials in competition with existing industries.

Mr. RUSSELL. What disposition was made of the committee amendment to which I referred?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That will be recurred to later. Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. President, I offer an amendment to the pending committee amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The Legislative Clerk. In the committee amendment on page 4, line 23, after the word "appropriated", it is proposed to insert "or appropriated in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938", and on page 5, line 1, after the word "would", it is proposed to strike out the word "sell" and insert "manufacture for sale."

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, from the standpoint of the committee, I think that is an amendment which would conform to the intention of the committee in preparing the amendment reported to the bill.

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, let the clerk read the amendment as it would stand as proposed to be perfected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The committee amendment will be stated as it would read if the amendment of the Senator from New Jersey were adopted.

The Legislative Clerk. Beginning on page 4, line 22, the committee amendment, if amended as proposed, would read as follows:

Provided further, That no funds herein appropriated or appropriated in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 shall be

used by any Federal agency to establish mills or factories which would manufacture for sale articles or materials in competition with existing industries.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Jersey yield for a question?

Mr. BARBOUR. Certainly. I yield gladly.

Mr. PEPPER. Do the words "or sell" in the latter part of the proposed amendment relate to goods manufactured by the W. P. A.?

Mr. BARBOUR. I will say to the Senator from Florida that the words I propose to insert are "manufacture for sale" not "or sell"—"manufacture for sale."

Mr. PEPPER. I have another question I should like to ask the Senator.

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield gladly to the Senator from Florida. Mr. PEPPER. What I had in mind, for example, was, say, mattress factories. Some of the W. P. A. workers in my State are engaged in certain kinds of mattress making. I suppose, of course, there are instances where such mattresses made by W. P. A. would come in competition with mattresses manufactured by regular manufacturers. Would the Senator's amendment prohibit that sort of W. P. A. work?

Mr. BARBOUR. I will say to the Senator that if the product he refers to comes in competition with the products of private industries the appropriation could not be used for that purpose, and I feel it should not be.

Mr. PEPPER. I will ask the Senator another question, if I may.

Mr. BARBOUR. Certainly.

Mr. PEPPER. The sewing rooms of all W. P. A. projects make some kind of garments; so far as I know, every sewing room in America which the W. P. A. is conducting makes some kind of garment. They may be given away to the needy, but there are instances perhaps of a certain amount of remuneration being obtained for them. I suppose that would all be prohibited if the Senator's amendment were adopted?

Mr. BARBOUR. If I understand the Senator correctly, I cannot agree with the statement of the Senator from Florida in that the situation he speaks of would be covered by the amendment. I presume that this clothing is not manufactured for sale by W. P. A. in competition with industry any more than clothing and other articles made in certain penal institutions are intended so to compete. They are manufactured for their own use in the institution, not for competition with private industry. The amendment I propose, I repeat, uses not the words "or sell" but the words "manufacture for sale."

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, may I add that the amendment merely prohibits the establishment of mills or factories to manufacture goods for sale?

Mr. BARBOUR. Exactly; that is the whole point.

Mr. PEPPER. If in W. P. A. sewing rooms women make garments, although similar garments may be made in private factories, the Senator does not intend to include that kind of a case, does he?

Mr. BARBOUR. If I understand the Senator correctly, I do not. Not, anyway, if the articles are not to be sold in competition with private industry.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, may we have the amendment stated again? Is it an amendment to the committee amendment?

Mr. BARBOUR. It is.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment to the committee amendment will again be stated.

The Legislative Clerk. The committee amendment as proposed to be perfected would read as follows:

Provided further, That no funds herein appropriated or appropriated in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 shall be used by any Federal agency to establish mills or factories which would manufacture for sale articles or materials in competition with existing industries.

Mr. BARKLEY. Where does that come in?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will indicate where the amendment occurs.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. In the committee amendment, on page 4, line 23, after the word "appropriated", it is proposed

to insert "or appropriated by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938", and on page 5, after the word "would", to strike out the word "sell" and insert the words "manufacture for sale."

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not see much difference between that language and the language now contained in the joint resolution.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, the only effect of that amendment, of course, would be to tie up the funds that were appropriated by the last Emergency Relief Act to the Farm Security Administration, under which, as I understand, plans have been made for some manufacturing plants. I note the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Bankhead] is now present. I was going to suggest the absence of a quorum, because I know that he is interested in the matter; but since he is on the floor, I have no further statement to make.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from New Jersey to the amendment reported by the committee.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, the discussion seems to have reference to an amendment in which the Senator from Alabama is interested. I am not sure whether or not it covers the situation.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I was not present when the discussion began.

Mr. HATCH. The amendment under discussion comes in on page 4 and applies to funds appropriated by the 1938 Emergency Relief Act. It is suggested by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell] that this amendment will cover all the Farm Security money. I do not care to delay the Senate on the question. I merely thought the Senator from Alabama might be interested.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, I do not see any occasion in this relief measure of taking action concerning the distribution of money that has no application to what is being appropriated for here. I did not hear the statement of the Senator from New Jersey, being absent from the floor temporarily; but, as I understand, the amendment proposes to prevent the use of money appropriated for a specific purpose by the relief act of 1938. Is that correct?

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. President, if the Senator will be good enough to let me interject a word on that subject, I think I will make it clear to him.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I yield.

Mr. BARBOUR. If the amendment reported by the committee applied only to the deficiency appropriation contained in the pending joint resolution, of course it would have not as much effect as if it applied to the preceding measure, the 1938 relief appropriation. It was for that reason that I included the 1938 act itself to which the appropriation contained in the pending measure is an addition. The amendment to the amendment simply means that the funds provided for relief will not be used for the establishment or creation of factories and mills to manufacture for sale in competition with private industry. That is the precise purpose of the amendment.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, I should like to have the amendment offered by the Senator from New Jersey read again.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will again state the amendment.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. In the committee amendment, on page 4, line 23, after the word "appropriated", it is proposed to insert the words "or appropriated in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1933", so as to read:

Provided further, That no funds herein appropriated or appropriated in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 shall be used by any Federal agency—

And so forth. The second amendment to the committee amendment is, on page 5, line 1, after the word "would", to strike out the word "sell" and insert the words "manufacture for sale", so as to read, "which would manufacture for sale articles or materials in competition with existing industries."

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, that is a very unusual course to take on a relief measure of this kind. The Senator, of course, must have some specific purpose in mind. I am not sure that the amendment is not legislation. The amendment offered by the Senator from New Jersey does not seek to apply a limitation to the money to be appropriated by the pending joint resolution but goes back to a previous legislative declaration, as I understand, regarding a fund that is not covered by the pending measure. So, first, I make a point of order against the amendment to the committee amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is advised by the parliamentarian that the pending measure not being a general appropriation bill, rule XVI does not apply, and the point of order is not well taken.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, this subject was first dealt with in the House.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator for just a moment? I desire to make a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey will state it.

Mr. BARBOUR. Have I lost the floor? I had not intended to do so.

Mr. BANKHEAD. My attention was called to the matter, and I assumed that the Senator from New Jersey had relinquished the floor. I do not care to take him off the floor. I am perfectly willing to have him proceed if he has not finished.

Mr. BARBOUR. No; under the circumstances, I feel it more fair that I yield the floor to the Senator from Alabama, and I will ask for recognition later.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Go ahead. I would rather hear what the Senator from New Jersey has to say.

Mr. BARBOUR. No; I shall be glad to hear further the Senator from Alabama now. I shall resume my own discussion when the Senator is through.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, this amendment involves some program of the administration. I think it is an improvident time for the Senate to go into the consideration of a matter of that sort. I think many questions of fact may be involved which ought to have the consideration of some committee before the subject is brought before the Senate, in view of the fact that the amendment offered is not limited to the future, is not limited to the use of money appropriated under this joint resolution, but, as I understand, seeks the elimination or condemnation, or whatever appropriate term may be used, of some activity of some agency of the Government under a previous appropriation bill.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me? Mr. BANKHEAD. I yield to the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. HATCH. I am trying to ascertain the effect of the amendment. I read in the newspapers that the Farm Security Administration had established some hosiery mills somewhere, and some question arose from the General Accounting Office that perhaps funds had been allocated for that purpose. Perhaps part of the work has been done, and an amendment of this sort would stop a project perhaps three-fourths or seven-eighths completed. I do not know whether or not that is the case. I am just wondering.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President-

Mr. BANKHEAD. I yield to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. RUSSELL. I should like to point out to the Senator from Alabama that this proposal was not submitted to the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, which held extensive hearings on the pending joint resolution, nor to the full Committee on Appropriations. The effect of it is very obvious. It would apply to the \$175,000,000 that was appropriated to the Farm Security Administration in the Work Relief Act of 1938, as well as to the funds that were appropriated to the National Youth Administration. No witness appeared before the committee to give us any idea where this alleged competition was taking place, the effect of the amendment, the kind of project at which it is aimed, or

whether the project is designed to finance in part some cooperative project or some nonprofit organization. In fact, the committee had the benefit of no facts in considering this

The National Youth Administration expends funds to assist the underprivileged children of the country in securing a high-school education and to assist college students in obtaining work by which they may attempt to earn their way through college. The National Youth Administration might have a little manufacturing industry producing some kind of specialty which would assist young men and young women in completing their education. If we adopt this amendment blindly, without knowing at what it is aimed and the full scope of it, when the committee had absolutely no opportunity to consider it, we may do a very great injustice and dislocate the program of the Farm Security Administration or the National Youth Administration.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I thank the Senator from Georgia very much for that contribution.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for just a moment?

Mr. BANKHEAD. Yes; I yield. Mr. BARBOUR. I thank the Senator. I may point out that the amendment which I sent to the desk, and which has been discussed, is a perfecting or clarifying amendment to the committee amendment. In other words, this general subject was included in the joint resolution, and must therefore have been passed on by the committee, because the general subject is in the committee amendment.

Mr. RUSSELL. If the Senator from Alabama will pardon me, it so happens that I was on the subcommittee when this matter was considered; and it was considered only with reference to the funds appropriated in the pending joint resolution. There was no discussion of seeking to reach back and put limitations on funds already appropriated.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. President, if I have the permission of the Senator from Alabama to interrupt again-

Mr. BANKHEAD. Yes; go ahead.

Mr. BARBOUR. Would it meet the objections of Senators who doubt the wisdom of this amendment if it should be confined to the money appropriated in the pending measure, and should not embrace the Relief Act of 1938 itself?

Mr. BANKHEAD. That provision is already in the committee amendment.

Mr. BARBOUR. No; not in the same language, Mr.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I have no objection to an amendment that is not ex post facto, that does not go back of this appropriation. I am on the Appropriations Committee. I did not object to the amendment as it appears in the joint resolution as reported; but I very strenuously object to legislating now, without careful consideration, about the use of money which was appropriated a year ago, under which action has been taken.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. BANKHEAD. Yes.

Mr. BARKLEY. The language which would eliminate the ex post facto part of the amendment simply amends existing language in the joint resolution by putting in, on page 5, the words "manufacture or."

Mr. BANKHEAD. There is no objection to that.

Mr. BARKLEY. I really do not see any need for any additional language. It seems to me the committee amendment is clear.

Mr. BANKHEAD. That is what the committee thought. Mr. BARKLEY. It applies to factories which would, if established, sell articles or materials in competition with private industry. Of course, they would either have to manufacture them or buy them from somebody else if they should sell them. When we prohibit the sale of such articles or materials in competition, it seems to me we go about as far as we need to go in protecting the industries.

Mr. BANKHEAD. We have already worked that out and have written into the joint resolution language to prohibit the use for any such activity in the future of the money appropriated by the joint resolution.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for another moment?

Mr. BANKHEAD. Yes,

Mr. BARBOUR. I do not want to delay the Senate unduly. I am convinced that the language I suggest is a better way of putting the matter; but I have already said that I will strike out, if necessary, on line 2, after the word "appropriated", the words "or appropriated in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938." I want, most of all, by my amendment to establish the principle involved.

Mr. BANKHEAD. The Senator from New Jersey is will-

ing to strike out those words?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes, under the circumstances, for otherwise I fear I shall lose my whole amendment, and thus the principle involved.

Mr. BANKHEAD. That is all right. I shall have no objection if those words are stricken out, just so that the amendment does not go back behind this joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment offered by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BARBOUR] as it has been perfected by him.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. As perfected, the whole amendment reads as follows:

Provided further, That no funds herein appropriated shall be used by any Federal agency to establish mills or factories which would manufacture for sale articles or materials in competition with existing industries.

Mr. BANKHEAD. That is all right. I have no objection to that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the perfected amendment of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Barbour] to the amendment reported by the committee.

The modified amendment to the amendment was agreed to. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee as amended.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. President, I offer a further amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from New Jersey to the amendment reported by the committee, as amended, will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 5, line 2, before the period, it is proposed to insert a colon and the following:

Provided further, That all building and construction under the Works Progress Administration shall be done on a contract basis under contracts which provide that the contractors shall pay the prevailing rate of wages.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, this amendment would entirely destroy the program of the Works Progress Administration, which is founded upon the fact that employment is to be given by the Works Progress Administration to needy persons. The amendment would involve letting contracts for everything, and the employment then would be by the contractor.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. President, at this late hour, and after all the discussion that has taken place these several days on the joint resolution, which must be enacted immediately, I do not want to delay the Senate. I feel that the amendment is not only justified but absolutely necessary. Organized labor is very much interested in it, and should be. So am I. Moreover, if the amendment shall not be adopted now, the subject will have to be gone into again at some time in the future, either when some other method of administering relief is before the Senate or otherwise; but, anyway, I beg to insist that the amendment be voted on.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BARBOUR] to the amendment reported by the committee, as amended.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee, as amended. The amendment, as amended, was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will now revert to the amendment objected to by the Senator from Georgia

[Mr. Russell], which will be stated.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I had intended to address myself to this amendment, as well as to the general relief program, for some little time, perhaps an hour or more. If it is agreeable to the Senator in charge of the bill and to the majority leader, I should like to have a recess taken at this time.

Mr. BARKLEY. Have all amendments except this one been disposed of?

Mr. RUSSELL. No.

Mr. BARKLEY. Why can we not go on with the others, and pass over this one?

Mr. RUSSELL. I suggest that it be passed over.

Mr. BARKLEY. Let us finish the committee amendments. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment to which reference has been made will be passed over until tomorrow. The clerk will state the next amendment of the committee.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 5, after line 2, it is proposed to insert the following new section:

SEC. 2. No alien illegally within the limits of the United States, and no alien who has not, prior to June 21, 1938, filed a declaration of intention to become an American citizen which is valid and has not expired, shall knowingly be given employment or continued in employment on any project prosecuted under the appropriations contained in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution: Provided, That preference in employment on such projects shall be given in the following order: (1) Veterans of the World War and the Spanish-American War and veterans of any campaign or expedition in which the United States has been engaged (as determined on the basis of the laws administered by the Veterans' Administration) who are in need and are American citizens; (2) other American citizens, Indians, and other persons owing allegiance to the United States who are in need; and (3) those altens in need whose declarations of intention to become American citizens were filed prior to June 21, 1938, and are valid and have not expired.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I desire to offer an amendment to the amendment. On line 17, following the word "Indians", I move to strike out the comma which follows that word, so that the phrase would read "Indians and other persons owing allegiance to the United States." The Works Progress Administration called this to my attention and stated that the original 1938 act did not contain the comma; that under the language as drawn, with the comma included, any foreign Indian would be entitled to preference. The committee has no objection to striking out the comma.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment suggested by the Senator from New Mexico.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 5, line 17, after the word "Indians", it is proposed to strike out the comma.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I wish to ask some member of the committee about a provision on page 3, line 6. Why was the limitation of \$60,000,000 as the amount which can be allocated to Federal departments raised to \$83,000,000?

Mr. ADAMS. That was done in the House of Representatives.

Mr. CONNALLY. Why was it done? I do not care where it was done.

Mr. ADAMS. I will make an effort to state why it was done in the other House. The bill originally called for an appropriation for 8 months. The \$60,000,000 would carry the work for the 8 months. The \$83,000,000 is the sum required to carry the same work for the whole term, including the 4 months ensuing.

Mr. CONNALLY. I thank the Senator, but I really see no reason why the departments should go to the W. P. A. to get money for their projects. Congress appropriates money for all the departments. They come here and get what Congress says they ought to have, and then they go to the W. P. A. and get projects approved.

Mr. ADAMS. Will the Senator from Texas permit me to make a cautionary suggestion? In the committee an amendment was offered by the very distinguished Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden] in an effort to raise the amount. We did pretty well to hold the figure at the amount which now appears in the bill against his persuasiveness.

Mr. CONNALLY. If it was the junior Senator from Ari-

zona, I do not see how the committee resisted him.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, what deceives the Senator-

Mr. CONNALLY. I hope I am not deceived.

Mr. HAYDEN. The Senator is deceived by the word "allocated." It would appear on the face of the text as though 60,000,000, or 83,000,000, as the case may be, was being taken away from the W. P. A. and given to the various Federal departments to be spent as they saw fit, without reference to providing work for the unemployed. Let me illustrate how, as a matter of fact, the provision operates. The War Department, for instance, has an Army post adjacent to a city, and money is allocated from this fund to the War Department. Certain work is to be performed by common labor. If there are in the immediate vicinity unemployed men on the W. P. A. rolls who otherwise would be employed by the State, county, or municipality, the War Department can set up a W. P. A. project in its Army post and those very men will be employed there. That is all there is to the provision. In other words, we improve Government property by the labor of men who are being hired anyway, and the money is going to be expended anyway. So it is a very desirable arrangement. Wherever an Army post, or park, or forest, or anything like that, belongs to the United States, if there are unemployed people in the vicinity who are on the W. P. A. roll, and who have to be paid anyway, the department can set up a W. P. A. project, and the Government of the United States or a particular department will sponsor the project.

Mr. CONNALLY. I thought that was the way it operated, but it results in the departments getting more money than Congress appropriates for their use, and it results in depriving the States, the municipalities, and local authorities of

what people in other places are getting.

Mr. HAYDEN. No. The Senator will agree with me that there is no saving of money. The men are in the community, they are on the W. P. A. roll, and they are going to be employed anyway. The money will go out of the Treasury anyway.

Mr. CONNALLY. I am not talking about that; I am talking about the beneficiaries.

Mr. HAYDEN. Is it not better for the Congress of the United States, if a wise expenditure can be made on Government property, to benefit the property of the Government, rather than give it to a State or county or municipality?

Mr. CONNALLY. If the War Department has appropriations for this kind of work, it can hire the people itself; it does not have to set up a W. P. A. project. Some instances have been called to my attention. One department says, "We are going to try to do this. We are going to get a W. P. A. project." In other words, it is another way of chiseling more money out of the Treasury which they do not get from the committees.

Mr. HAYDEN. The money goes out, anyway.

Mr. CONNALLY. Of course, the money goes out; but we ought to have some concern with what is going to result from its going out.

Mr. HAYDEN. The appropriating committees of the House and the Senate do have concern. Each time when a regular appropriation comes before them they diligently inquire what is being done with W. P. A. funds. In a case, for instance, such as the appropriation for the eradication of the chestnut blight, with which the Senator is familiar, because he is a member of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, that is an ideal project for this kind of labor, which can go out and cut down trees affected with the blight. We cut down the appropriation heretofore made for the eradication of the chestnut blight, and have it taken care of in this way. In that way we provide the proper kind of employment in the neighborhood doing a very desirable Federal work.

Mr. CONNALLY. I think the Senator from Arizona has put the best possible face on the matter that could be placed

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I think the Senator from Texas is correct in his suggestion for another and a differ-

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator from Texas is happy to be right for any reason at any time.

Mr. McKELLAR. Sometimes when we have even a great many reasons we doubt that we are right.

Appropriating money for one department and allowing it to be given or allotted to another department is a bad method of doing the Government's business. The War Department has the right to come before us with its budget and with its recommendations. The committee hears it, and then, after the Department has gotten all it can, it goes to the W. P. A. and gets a project approved. I call the attention of the Senator from Arizona to the matter he mentioned a while ago, the question of the chestnut blight. We reduced the Department's appropriation for that, and it was made up in this way. I have been on the Committee on Appropriations a long time and I have never known of a regular appropriation being reduced because the W. P. A. or any other organization might add to it. It may have occurred, but I have no recollection of it, and it is not a natural occurrence.

In my judgment, appropriating for one department and having the money turned over at the will of the head of that department to yet another department is not the right way to legislate. It is a bad method of legislation, and I hope it will not be indulged in any more.

Mr. CONNALLY. I thank the Senator from Tennessee for giving much better reasons than the Senator from Texas gave. It is doing indirectly what Congress has refused to do directly. It has refused this money, but they go around and get it from the W. P. A., thereby reducing the amount available for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the next amendment of the committee.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 5, after line 21, it is proposed to insert the following new section:

SEC. 3. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person, directly or indi-

SEC. 3. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person, directly or indirectly, to offer or promise any employment, position, work, compensation, or other benefit, provided for or made possible by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution, to any person as consideration, favor, or reward for any political activity or for the support of or opposition to any candidate or any political party in any election.

(b) It shall be unlawful for any person employed in any administrative or supervisory capacity by any agency of the Federal Government, whose compensation or any part thereof is paid from funds authorized or appropriated by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution, to deprive, attempt to deprive, or threaten to deprive, by any means, any person of any employment, position, work, compensation, or other benefit, provided for or made possible by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution, on account of any political activity, support of, or opposition to any candidate or any political party in any election.

(c) Any person who knowingly violates any provision of this section shall be guilty of a felony and, upon conviction, shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than 1 year, or both.

1 year, or both.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I desire to offer some perfecting amendments to this amendment of the committee. In section (b), on page 6, line 6, I ask that there be stricken out the words "employed in any administrative or supervising capacity by any agency of the Federal Government, whose compensation or any part thereof is paid from funds authorized or appropriated by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution."

In explanation I will say, Mr. President, that the committee in considering certain amendments which I had offered misconstrued the amendment set forth as section (b), and sought to limit it to only employees of the Works Progress Administration. That was not the intention of the amendment, and the words I have proposed to strike out are merely the words added by the committee. The amendment with those words stricken out will remain just as it was originally drafted and submitted by me. I have explained the situation to the members of the committee, and I understand they do not object to my proposal.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I am afraid I am one of the committee members who is not entirely in accord with that. It seemed to me, as we studied the matter before the committee, that what we were trying to do was to prevent the abuse of any power given to anyone by the W. P. A. acts or any of the appropriation acts. We tried to prevent the use of such power to influence anyone politically. If we strike out the language which the Senator from New Mexico seeks to strike out, it is my impression that we would go too far. That is, it would not be limited in its effect to those who were in Government employment, but it would apply to any person who threatened or attempted to deprive anyone of employment by any means. I mean that any individual who was not a Government employee or agent, who would threaten someone if he did not vote this way, or if he voted the other way, would be guilty of a felony. A Senator might be making a speech on a public platform, and proceed to announce that if W. P. A. workers took any part in politics they would be discharged. It seems to me that under the terms of the proposed language that Senator would be guilty of a felony because he had attempted to influence political action on the part of W. P. A. workers. One would influence the workers' action as much by saying that they must not do something as by saying they must do something. So I feel that the language of the committee amendment is correct. I am fearful that it will be dangerous to go as far as the Senator from New Mexico suggests.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, this is a very important matter, which I discussed with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes], who I thought was the author of the language. That is why I said I thought the committee would not object to my proposal. The Senator from South Carolina told me he would not object to it, and that so far as he was concerned there would not be any discussion of it. If there is to be discussion of it, and if we are to enter into debate on this subject, I certainly would not want to do it at this time, under the circumstances that exist in the Chamber. I should like to have the full membership of the Senate in the Chamber, and go into a thorough discussion of the matter.

If we leave in the measure the words the committee have inserted, they practically destroy the effect of the amendment. I have never taken the position that I was trying to legislate with any particular situation in view, nor have I had in mind certain things, or individuals whose actions I was trying to correct. In the arguments which I have made on the floor concerning this subject I have tried to present the matter from a general standpoint, in view of conditions which might exist, and which I hope do not exist.

The fact is, however, that any politics which has come into relief-if there has been politics in relief-do not, in my opinion, come from the officials of the Works Progress Administration. The evil, if there has been evil, comes from others. They are the ones whose political actions would be prohibited, under the amendment as I originally drafted it.

As I have said, if there is to be discussion, or objection to the amendment which I have proposed, I much prefer to have it go over.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HATCH. I yield. Mr. BARKLEY. I have discussed with the Senator from New Mexico and other Senators the possibility of more comprehensive legislation than is provided for in the pending joint resolution. Not all the harm done by efforts to coerce and intimidate and influence Government employees would be prevented by language we may write into the pending joint resolution. We have passed legislation providing for social security, old-age pension benefits, unemployment insurance. Congress has very generously appropriated half the money not only for the payment of the pensions but for the payment of the salaries of all those who were to administer those laws in the States, and has retained no jurisdiction whatever either to approve or disapprove those who are appointed to administer the laws.

In connection with unemployment insurance, the Federal Government pays all the salaries and benefits, and the States shall make no contribution whatever; yet all those who are appointed to administer the act are appointed by the States, and not by the Federal Government.

The same thing is true in connection with Federal aid for highways. Outside of a few engineers who are Federal engineers, all the administrative work is done by employees of the States. The language of the pending measure does not in any way cover them, and it does not in any way penalize those who administer those funds in the States for promising jobs or punishing people who have jobs because of their political activity.

While I realize that the Senator from New Mexico and all of us are hoping to work out something on the subject of a permanent nature and which will be comprehensive, I have been very seriously considering the possibility of amending the language in the pending measure so as not only to include money appropriated in this joint resolution and the act of 1938, but all other acts of Congress making appropriations in aid of any activity within the States. I think if it is not reasonably certain that a comprehensive general law on the subject is to be enacted at this session, while we are on the subject, we ought to make the provisions of the pending measure a little broader.

Mr. HATCH. I am very glad the Senator from Kentucky interrupted me, and he is entirely correct when he states that he has conferred not only with me but with other Senators with respect to this subject. I see the Senator from Texas [Mr. Sheppard] on the floor. We have all at various times conferred about this matter and about permanent legislation along the lines the Senator from Kentucky has been discussing. I am quite sure we are all in accord that we should have permanent legislation which would not only reach the activities which the Senator from Kentucky mentions but would also prevent the necessity of writing legislation of this type into appropriation measures from year to year and time to time. We should have general comprehensive legislation along the lines the Sheppard committee recommended.

I myself have already introduced two measures looking toward that, and I am hopeful that the Senator from Texas will follow up the recommendations of his committee and introduce a bill and that we can all get together and work it out, and at this session of Congress enact broad, comprehensive legislation which will take care of the situation to which the Senator from Kentucky has referred and which he has discussed before on the floor of the Senate, and pointed out the vice of the situation.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, the particular activities I mentioned awhile ago are not all those which should be included. The ones I mentioned were those which occurred to me at the moment. There are many instances of the Federal Government making appropriations but having no check whatever over the personnel. No law applies to those people. They are not Government employees; they are not Federal employees; they are not responsible to the Federal Government in any way. And certainly, when Congress is appropriating money to aid communities, counties, cities, and States, leaving to such communities the power to appoint those who are to expend the money and administer the law, there ought to be some check over the political activities of those local officials as well as those who are on the Federal pay roll.

Mr. HATCH. I quite agree with the Senator from Kentucky. The only reason I did not suggest legislation to cover other activities is because it should be very carefully drawn and worked out, and I did not have it worked out. I have spent some time on the amendments I offered, and I believe that the amendments which I offered cover the situation so far as this particular activity is concerned.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator further vield?

Mr. HATCH. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. Section 3 of the committee amendment provides:

It shall be unlawful for any person, directly or indirectly, to offer or promise any employment, position, work, compensation, or other benefit, provided for or made possible by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution—

What would the Senator think of inserting at that point the words "or any other act of the Congress," so that it would cover efforts to bribe voters or promise them positions in return for their support, not only in a Federal election but in any other sort of an election?

Mr. HATCH. I do not see how anyone could object to that. If the Senator will observe the amendments, he will find they are directed at two things: One, the giving of a bribe, in effect-we are all opposed to anyone giving a bribeand the other is coercion.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course, the insertion of such language in this measure would not in any way interfere with the general and permanent law on the subject.

Mr. HATCH. If the Senator from Kentucky will state the

language, I shall gladly accept it.

Mr. BARKLEY. I would simply suggest that after the words "joint resolution", on page 6, line 2, there be inserted the words "or any other act of the Congress", so that it would apply not only to the appropriations in the Emergency Act of 1939 but to this joint resolution, or any other appropriation bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from New Mexico to the committee amendment.

Mr. HATCH. I am willing to withdraw my amendment and let the amendment suggested by the Senator from Kentucky be acted upon.

Mr. BARKLEY. On page 6, line 2, after the words "joint resolution", I move to insert the words "or any other act of the Congress." Those words should also be inserted wherever the words "joint resolution" are used in section 3.

Mr. HATCH. That is correct.

Mr. BARKLEY. After the words "joint resolution," wherever they appear, I move to have inserted the words "or any other act of the Congress."

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I may ask the Senator whether or not his language would go far enough to make it an offense for the Senator from Kentucky to employ someone as his secretary or take charge of his headquarters in a campaign simply because that person promised to vote for the Senator? Or would it be unlawful for anyone to offer employment to another as a reward for political activity or for his support? In other words, if the Senator hired somebody to conduct his headquarters, would he be violating this section?

Mr. BARKLEY. No; I do not think so. It would simply make it unlawful for any person in authority to offer another person a position in consideration of his vote. If I could not prove that I had employed a secretary to do my work instead of as an inducement to vote for me, I probably ought to be convicted.

Mr. ADAMS. I will say to the Senator from Kentucky that that is not what the amendment says. The Senator has not read it clearly. It provides that it shall be unlawful for any person-that is, not merely anybody in authority, but anybody-to offer any work to anyone for the support of or opposition to any candidate or any political party.

Mr. HATCH. Not any work.

Mr. BARKLEY. That is already the law, as a matter of fact, in the Corrupt Practices Act. It is unlawful for any of us, as candidates, to offer anybody a job, or money, or work, or any other thing of value.

Mr. ADAMS. The Senator does not mean that he cannot hire a publicity agent?

Mr. BARKLEY. No; of course not.

Mr. ADAMS. The proposed amendment would make it an offense to hire a publicity agent to go out and work for the Senator.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course not.

Mr. ADAMS. I suggest that the Senator read the proposed amendment with some care.

Mr. BARKLEY. If it would do that with respect to any other appropriation, then it would do it with respect to this one. All I am trying to do is to make the same law apply to other appropriations which it is sought to apply to this one. Of course, it would not have any effect on a publicity employee or any other campaign employee, because they are not paid out of public money. This amendment applies only to money which is paid out of appropriations passed by Congress.

Mr. HATCH. As the provision is now drawn, it applies only to money paid out of this appropriation; but with the Senator's amendment it would apply to appropriations made by any other act.

Mr. BARKLEY. That is true.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments offered by the Senator from Kentucky to the amendment reported by the committee will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 6, line 2, after the words "joint resolution", it is proposed to insert the words "or any other act of the Congress"; the same amendment, in line 11, after the word "resolution"; and the same amendment in line 15, after the word "resolution."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendments offered by the Senator from Kentucky to the amendment reported by the committee.

The amendments to the amendment were agreed to.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment to the committee amendment, which I ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Arizona to the amendment reported by the committee will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 6, line 15, after the words "on account of", it is proposed to insert the words "race, creed, color, or."

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, in the original act appropriating funds for the employment of W. P. A. workers there is a provision that no one shall be excluded on account of race, creed, or color. We have the same provision in the act with respect to the Civilian Conservation Corps. It seems to me it is logical that if no one shall be denied employment because of race, creed, or color, the same situation should apply with respect to discharge from employment. For that reason I offer the amendment to the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment offered by the Senator from Arizona to the amendment reported by the committee is agreed to.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I desire to reoffer the amendment to the amendment which I offered a moment ago, which I now modify so as to include the perfecting amendment offered by the Senator from Kentucky.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from New Mexico to the amendment reported by the committee will be stated.

The Legislative Clerk. On page 6, line 6, after the word "person", it is proposed to strike out down to and including the words "act of the Congress", in line 11, so as to make the subsection read:

(b) It shall be unlawful for any person to deprive, attempt to deprive, or threaten to deprive, etc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the amendment to the amendment offered by the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I should like to have the amendment go over until we can really study it. As I see it, the Senator from New Mexico could not hire as a secretary for his office in the Senate Office Building, without violating this provision, a person who worked for his election.

I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that the consideration of this particular amendment be deferred until tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado asks unanimous consent that consideration of the amendment offered by the Senator from New Mexico be deferred until tomorrow. Is there objection?

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I ought not to be permitted to hire a secretary and say, "I am giving you this job to go out and support me."

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. HATCH. I yield.

Mr. BYRNES. As I understand the language of this particular subsection, there is no difference between the Senator from New Mexico and the Senator from Colorado. It is simply a question of the proper wording to accomplish the object. The Senator from New Mexico and the Senator from Colorado would not want to offer a job as an inducement to a person.

Mr. HATCH. That is what we say.

Mr. BYRNES. But we do not use that wording. I think an agreement can be brought about between the Senator from New Mexico and the Senator from Colorado. We have the same objective.

It might be well to defer consideration of this particular section so that we may sit down and consider the language which would accomplish the purpose. I ask the Senator from New Mexico if he will not agree to pass over this particular subsection. I think we can get together on language which we all have in mind.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from New Mexico a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Mexico yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. HATCH. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. A number of years ago our beloved President thought he could change human nature perhaps more quickly than it developed that he could change it. The Senator must have had very little experience in the practical world whence we all came if he expects that a man can live in politics and not try to help his friends to the limit of his ability. In my observation very few persons have stayed in politics who did not follow that principle. If the Senator is trying to introduce a provision to the effect that I must hire as my secretary the man who fought me in the election, and a provision which prohibits me from telling my friends who have helped toward my election, "I will try to get you a job if I can," it will make us all ridiculous.

Such a provision would compel me to recommend for appointment as United States marshal a man who went out and fought me, for he is paid with Federal money. We might just as well admit that that would be ridiculous and would achieve something so utterly ridiculous that it is foolish to try it.

Mr. HATCH. The Senator from New Mexico has lived probably as long as has the Senator from Florida. I surmise that the Senator from New Mexico has had as much experience, practical and impractical, as has the Senator from Florida. I know something about politicians, and I know something about how party organizations are built up and maintained. I have never adopted, on the floor of the Senate or anywhere else, a hypocritical attitude about the matter. I hope I have not adopted a ridiculous attitude. The amendment in no manner attempts to tell the Senator from Florida or any other Senator that he shall hire his political enemies. It does not attempt to do away with party politics. However, it is an attempt in a measure to prevent anyone from promising jobs and benefits under an act appropriating money for the relief of human beings, and to prevent that appropriation from being used for political purposes. If that attitude is ridiculous, then I am ridiculous.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. HATCH. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. I wish to say to the Senator that I understood that he proposed to amend the amendment reported by the committee to the joint resolution which limited that provision only to relief appropriations, so as to make it applicable to all Federal funds. Did I correctly understand the Senator?

Mr. HATCH. The Senator from New Mexico did not offer that amendment. The Senator from Kentucky did. However, the Senator from New Mexico is entirely in accord with the amendment offered by the Senator from Kentucky, which

has been agreed to.

Mr. PEPPER. So far as the relief appropriation is concerned, and so far as concerns any reasonable extension of the application which may be made of that principle, I am in favor of it. However, I am not in favor of it to the extent the Senator indicated a moment ago, when I understood the Senator to say that even his secretary could not be given an inducement.

Mr. HATCH. I did not say that.

Mr. PEPPER. Then I misunderstood the Senator.

Mr. HATCH. I said that I should not be permitted to say to anybody, "If you will go out and do so-and-so for me, I will give you a job." Such action is already prohibited by an act of Congress.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HATCH. I yield.

Mr. BYRNES. What the Senator from New Mexico means is that no Senator or any other man should be permitted to hire a secretary with the condition that "If I hire you, you must support me."

Mr. HATCH. That is what I mean.

Mr. BYRNES. That is all the Senator means.

Mr. HATCH. Yes.

Mr. BYRNES. I do not believe there is a man in the United States Senate or anywhere else who has any objection to that position.

Mr. HATCH. I do not think there is; and I do not think the Senator from Florida has any objection to it.

Mr. BYRNES. If a man promises someone a job under those circumstances it is the same thing.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a suggestion from another angle?

Mr. HATCH. Certainly.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. The Senator's amendment would read like this:

It shall be unlawful for any person to deprive any person of employment on account of any political activity.

That is simpler. Mr. HATCH. Yes.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. That would mean that when we recommend that a United States marshal be displaced by some-body else, we do not do it because the incumbent happens not to belong to our party, but we always do it because we think our man is a much better man.

Mr. HATCH. The Senator understands what I meant by the amendment. I applied to the relief bill the principle, which I urge with all the earnestness I have, that no man—I do not care who he is, what his politics is, whom he voted for or whom he did not vote for—no man, and I say it inclusive of everybody, has any right to say, "You cannot have this relief job." That is what my amendment does.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I know; but the Senator from New Mexico has accepted the amendment of the Senator from Kentucky, which broadens the original amendment. Does not the Senator think we would be better off if we should adopt his original suggestion—

Mr. HATCH. I thought so.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. And let the matter go over until tomorrow?

Mr. HATCH. I am perfectly willing to have that done. I have said that I am willing to let the matter go over, but I also say there really is not any difference at all between us on this fundamental proposition. I will say to the Senator from Wyoming that the reason why I did not extend these amendments beyond the relief measure was to avoid just such complications as he has mentioned. I thought the matter should be the subject of general legislation, carefully worked out, so that no inconsistencies or hypocrisies, if we may call them such, would be included in legislation; but I knew the interest of the Senator from Kentucky, and he manifested

it during the debate last year. He mentioned then the condition which existed in his State and was very anxious to cover those things; and, if he wants to do so, I am perfectly willing.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. But, without commenting on the merits of the original proposal, we have now gotten entirely away from it by reason of this amendment. That is not what the Senator from New Mexico originally had in mind. It has been broadened out, so I think we had better wait until tomorrow and see if the Senator from New Mexico and the other members of the committee cannot get together on some language which will cover the subject.

Mr. HATCH. I am perfectly willing to have the matter

go over

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, in view of the fact that the Senator from New Mexico and I misunderstood each other a moment ago, I do not want the session to close without mak-

ing my position plain.

I am willing to vote for civil service for every single Federal employee. Nobody recognizes more than I do the virtual impossibility of Members of the United States Senate performing their senatorial duties by reason of the terrific demands made upon them with respect to petty patronage or political demands of one sort or another. I am heartily in favor of the original amendment, known as the Hatch amendment, which the Senator from New Mexico has so well pushed in this body for at least the past 2 or 3 years; and I will vote for the amendment known as the Hatch amendment which has just come out of the subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee. But I do not want, and I meant that I did not approve of, a measure which would put all of us in a position which I did not think we would sincerely carry out. I did not think the Members of this body were going to change the political rules under which we have lived, whereby, when it came to making appointments, Senators would recommend those who had been their friends in a political way. I thought the proposed amendment would forbid that sort of thing, and that we would be put in a hypocritical position if we should pass a law to that effect without actually intending to conform to it.

I want to make it clear that I am for the amendment relative to the relief appropriation. Nobody desires more than I do that every vestige of politics shall be eradicated from that appropriation.

# IMPROVEMENT OF HARBOR AT RED WING, MINN.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, on January 17 I requested that a report from the Secretary of War pertaining to a re-examination of the Mississippi River between the Missouri River and Minneapolis, with a view to improvement of a harbor at Red Wing, Minn., be published as a Senate document. I have since ascertained that the report has been published as a House document, and I therefore withdraw the request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the request is withdrawn.

## EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

# EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Schwelleneach in the chair) laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations in the Army, and a convention, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received see the end of Senate proceedings.)

# EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMITTEE

Mr. WHEELER, from the Committee on Interstate Commerce, reported favorably the following nominations:

George A. Cook, of Illinois, to be a member of the National Mediation Board for the term expiring February 1, 1942 (reappointment); and M. Roland Reed, of Pennsylvania, to be a member of the Railroad Retirement Board for a term of 5 years from August 29, 1938, the office to which he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice James A. Dailey, term expired.

Mr. DONAHEY, from the Committee on Interstate Commerce, reported favorably the nomination of Robert E. Freer, of Ohio, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner for a term of 7 years from September 26, 1938, the office to which he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate. (Reappointment.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The reports will be placed on the Executive Calendar.

If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will state in their order the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

#### TERRITORY OF ALASKA

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Edward L. Bartlett, of Alaska, to be secretary of the Territory of Alaska. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

#### POSTMASTERS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of postmasters.

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask that the nominations of postmasters be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations of postmasters are confirmed en bloc.

#### COAST GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Coast Guard of the United States.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I ask that the Coast Guard nominations be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Coast Guard nominations are confirmed en bloc.

# IN THE ARMY

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations for promotions in the Regular Army.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I ask that the Army nominations be

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Army nominations are confirmed en bloc.

# IN THE NAVY

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations for promotions in the Navy.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask that the nominations in the Navy be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations in the Navy are confirmed en bloc.

# COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of William H. Burke, of Little River, Kans., to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Kansas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, I ask the attention of the leaders of the respective parties. I hope the President may be immediately notified of the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Burke, of Kansas, as collector of internal revenue for the district of Kansas. There are exceptional reasons why it should be done.

I ask unanimous consent that the President may be notified of the confirmation of that nomination.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the President will be notified.

That completes the calendar.

## RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, as in legislative session, I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Saturday, January 28, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

# NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 27 (legislative day January 17), 1939

APPOINTMENT, BY TRANSFER, IN THE REGULAR ARMY

#### TO CAVALRY

First Lt. Raymond Clarence Adkisson, Infantry, with rank from June 12, 1938.

#### PROMOTIONS IN THE REGULAR ARMY

#### MEDICAL CORPS

## To be captains

First Lt. Santino Joseph Lerro, Medical Corps, from February 10, 1939.

First Lt. Charles Olin Bruce, Jr., Medical Corps, from February 17, 1939.

#### DENTAL CORPS

Maj. William Joseph Adlington, Dental Corps, to be lieutenant colonel from February 12, 1939.

#### CHAPLAIN

Chaplain Louis Curtis Tiernan (captain), United States Army, to be chaplain, with the rank of major, from February 7, 1939.

# CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 27 (legislative day of January 17), 1939

SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY OF ALASKA

Edward L. Bartlett to be secretary of the Territory of Alaska.

### COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE

William H. Burke to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Kansas.

COAST GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES TO BE LIEUTENANTS (JUNIOR GRADE)

John Montrello
Gilbert F. Schumacher
Charles Tighe
Fred L. Westbrook
Richard Baxter
Oscar D. Weed, Jr.
Ralph D. Dean
Joseph R. Scullion
William J. Conley, Jr.

Richard L. Mellen Glenn L. Rollins Ernest A. Cascini Frank V. Helmer Robert F. Shunk Donald W. Weller Justus P. White William J. Lawrence

# PROMOTIONS IN THE REGULAR ARMY

Walter Alexander Pashley to be lieutenant colonel, Quartermaster Corps,

James Edward Dooley to be major, Infantry, John Max Lentz to be major, Field Artillery,

## PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY

John H. Magruder, Jr., to be captain. Jerome L. Allen to be commander. Joseph N. Wenger to be lieutenant commander. Paul F. Dugan to be lieutenant commander. Murr E. Arnold to be lieutenant commander. Valentine L. Pottle to be lieutenant commander. George K. MacKenzie, Jr., to be lieutenant. Roger M. Keithly to be lieutenant (junior grade). Sam C. Loomis, Jr., to be lieutenant (junior grade). Edward F. Ritter, Jr., to be assistant surgeon. John S. Shaver to be assistant surgeon. Leslie G. Seebach to be assistant surgeon. Richard A. Rasmussen to be assistant surgeon. John T. Cangelosi to be assistant surgeon. Wallace E. Allen to be assistant surgeon. Lewis S. Sims, Jr., to be assistant surgeon. Robert C. Ray to be assistant surgeon. Arthur F. Huntington to be pay director. Ralph M. Warfield to be civil engineer. John Lickwar to be chief boatswain. Charles A. Coombs to be chief gunner. Louis G. Giard to be chief electrician.

POSTMASTERS PENNSYLVANIA

Ann M. Noblick, Coverdale.
Mildred E. Stumpff, Middle Creek.
Eli B. Weaver, Ruffs Dale.

# SENATE

# SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1939

(Legislative day of Tuesday, January 17, 1939)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

#### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Barkley, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Friday, January 27, 1939, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States submitting nominations were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

## CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. BARKLEY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Davis	Johnson, Colo.	Radcliffe
Andrews	Donahey	La Follette	Reed
Ashurst	Downey	Lee	Reynolds
Austin	Ellender	Lewis	Russell
Bailey	Frazier	Logan	Schwartz
Bankhead	George	Lucas	Schwellenbach
Barbour	Gerry	Lundeen	Sheppard
Barkley	Gibson	McCarran	Shipstead
Bilbo	Gillette	McKellar	Smathers
Bone	Glass	McNary	Smith
Borah	Green	Maloney	Stewart
Brown	Gurney	Mead	Taft
Bulow	Hale	Miller	Thomas, Okla.
Burke	Harrison	Minton	Thomas, Utah
Byrd	Hatch	Murray	Tobey
Byrnes	Hayden	Neely	Truman
Capper	Herring	Norris	Tydings
Caraway	Hill	Nye	Van Nuvs
Clark, Idaho	Holman	O'Mahoney	Walsh
Clark, Mo.	Holt	Overton	Wheeler
Connally	Hughes	Pepper	White
Danaher	Johnson, Calif.	Pittman	Wiley

Mr. LEWIS. I announce that the Senator from Utah [Mr. King] is absent because of illness, and that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Guffey], and the Senator from New York [Mr. Wagner] are detained from the Senate on important public business.

Mr. McNARY. I announce that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Lodge], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. Townsend], and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Vandenberg] are necessarily absent.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-eight Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

# REPORT ON SCIENTIFIC AND OTHER NAVAL CONTRACTS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting, pursuant to law, lists of contractors and subcontractors who have been granted exemption by the Secretary of the Navy from the limitation of profit under existing law to December 31, 1938, owing to the contracts being for scientific equipment and of a confidential nature; also report of a confidential contract entered into during the year ended December 31, 1937, and not previously reported upon, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

# COLLECTION OF DATA ON PRISON-MADE GOODS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Bureau of Labor Statistics to collect information as to the amount and value of all goods produced in State and Federal prisons, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor. EMPLOYMENT, WAGES, AND VALUE OF MATERIALS ON PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to require reports to the Department of Labor by contractors and subcontractors on public buildings and public works concerning employment, wages, and value of materials, and for other purposes, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

# REPORT OF UNITED STATES HOUSING AUTHORITY

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Administrator of the United States Housing Authority, submitting, pursuant to law, the First Annual Report of that Authority for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, with supplementary data on activities to December 31, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

### ALIENS EMPLOYED UNDER GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate letters from the executive director of the National Emergency Council and the secretary of the International Boundary Commission, United States, Alaska, and Canada (United States section), responding to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938, and stating that there are no aliens employed by the Council or the Commission, which were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

# PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of Idaho, which was referred to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation:

### House Joint Memorial 2

Joint memorial to the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled

We, your memorialists, the Legislature of the State of Idaho, do hereby respectfully represent that

Whereas the application of water to the fertile desert soils in this northwestern part of the United States is of most importance in the matter of sustaining lives and homes and in the cultivation and growth of agricultural products, and without which most of the tillable soil in Idaho would be unproductive. That each year there flows to the sea numberless acre-feet of water which is lost to the use of man in the irrigation of land. That by the storage of said water during the run-off seasons of the year, when much devastation and damage is done by floodwaters, such waters are not only saved for the beneficent purpose of application to the soil but the great damage by flood is averted; and

Whereas the Mississippi River and its tributaries have become the source of great activity and study on the part of the Government for flood control, and that the Yellowstone Lake through the Yellowstone River drains into the said Mississippi River; and

Whereas it appears from engineering studies of the project that one of the most feasible plans for diversion of floodwaters from the said Mississippi drainage is by the diversion of the said floodwaters and natural flow from the Yellowstone Lake, situated in the Yellowstone National Park, through a tunnel and into the headwaters of the Snake River, thereby not only controlling that portion of the floodwater source from the Mississippi Valley but also diverting said water to a beneficial use by augmenting the natural flow of the Snake River drainage; and

Whereas the said diversion of the natural flow of the said Yellowstone Lake into Snake River would not in any way destroy or impair the scenic value now existent, but would permit complete control of said waters for the enhancing of the present scenic value of the lake and the rivers and channels thereof: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Idaho (the senate concurring), That we most respectfully urge upon the Congress of the United States of America and upon the Reclamation Department of the United States Government the favorable consideration of such legislation and appropriations as are necessary to carry to completion a project that will divert the natural flow of the Yellowstone Lake in Yellowstone National Park into the headwaters of the Snake River; be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state of the State of Idaho be authorized, and he is hereby directed, to immediately forward certified copies of this resolution to the Secretary of the Interior, to the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America, and to the Senators and the Representatives in Congress from this State.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate the following joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of Idaho, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads:

#### House Joint Memorial 1

Joint memorial to the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled

We, your memorialists, the Legislature of the State of Idaho,

respectfully represent that—
Whereas the Yellowstone National Park is bounded by three intermountain States, namely, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming, with three entrances from Montana, two from Wyoming, and none from Idaho; by reason of the reputation and popularity of the said Yellowstone National Park as a national playground thousands of people from the Nation and the world visit said park each year, and as a result thereof great publicity of a beneficial nature and of great value accrues to these two States, namely, Montana and Wyoming, and the gateway communities of said States; that

Whereas due to said travel the greatly increasing traffic in said national park is producing, and will continue to produce, unless relieved, great traffic congestion at said entrances and in the so-called "Bottle Neck" at Old Faithful in said park; and Whereas there now exists a State highway in the State of Idaho

for an Idaho entrance via the Bechler ranger station and Bechler River the Yellowstone National Park line which would require an additional construction of highway by the Government of approximately 22 miles to extend such highway to the Yellowstone Loop Highway at Old Faithful and produce an Idaho entrance which would relieve said point and its traffic congestion and open up a highly scenic area within the said Yellowstone National Park not now accessible to the motorist, and would provide great additional

benefits to the State of Idaho and to communities along said entrance: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Idaho (the senate concurring), That we most respectfully urge upon the Congress of the United States that the said Congress favorably consider such legislation and passage and make such necessary appropriations to provide for and carry to completion the highway above mentioned from the Yellowstone Park line to the loop highway of said Yellowstone National Park at Old Faithful, and that the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior of the United States be authorized to begin immediately on the construc-

tion of said highway; be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state of the State of Idaho be authorized, and he is hereby directed, to immediately forward certified copies of this joint memorial to the Secretary of the Interior, to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, and to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Civil Rights Federation, of Detroit, Mich., favoring the allotment of additional funds to the subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor investigating violations of civil liberties, etc., which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

He also laid before the Senate a petition of sundry citizens of Porterville, Calif., praying for the enactment of general welfare legislation providing for old-age assistance, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by E. Butler Division, No. 507, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in the State of Missouri, protesting against the enactment of legislation to regulate the mileage of train service employees, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram in the nature of a petition from Frank J. Lusiak, financial secretary of Gentlemen Boot and Shoe Workers Local Union No. 170, of Milwaukee, Wis., praying for confirmation of the nomination of Thomas R. Amlie as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate telegrams in the nature of memorials from James L. Roddy, of Milwaukee, Wis., and Walter H. Farmer, Frank A. Beers and others, of Grand Rapids, Mich., remonstrating against confirmation of the nomination of Thomas R. Amlie as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Fourth National Convention of the International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians,

at New York City, favoring an investigation of the operations of the so-called Dies committee, being the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities (House of Representatives), which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. WHEELER:

S. 1085. A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. SCHWELLENBACH:

S. 1086. A bill to extend the promotion procedure provided for immigrant inspectors in section 24 of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, to other employees of the Immigration and Naturalization Service: to the Committee on Immi-

By Mr. NEELY:

S. 1087. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act for the relief of Harry Bryan and Alda Duffield Mullins, and others"; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GEORGE:

S. 1088. A bill to authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to exchange certain property located at Veterans' Administration Facility, Tuskegee, Ala., title to which is now vested in the United States, for certain property of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. SHIPSTEAD:

S. 1089. A bill relating to the payment of the remaining installments of the Government life insurance secured by Philip Hermann; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 1090 (by request). A bill to provide for the liquidation of the trust funds on deposit to the credit of the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

S. 1091. A bill for the relief of Rev. C. G. Eidnes;

S. 1092. A bill for the relief of Sigvard C. Foro; and

S. 1093. A bill for the relief of Mike Chetkovich; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1094. A bill granting a pension to Mrs. Henry F. Otis; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

S. 1095. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 (U. S. C., 1934 edition, title 47, sec. 303), and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. BONE:

S. 1096. A bill to amend section 8c of the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended, to make its provisions applicable to Pacific Northwest boxed apples: to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. BANKHEAD:

S. 1097. A bill to amend the National Housing Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. WHEELER:

S. 1098. A bill to amend section 12 of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended, by authorizing advances for crop insurance; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. McCARRAN:

S. 1099. A bill to provide for the use of 10 percent of the receipts from national forests for the making of range improvements within such forests; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

AMENDMENT TO FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. Nye, Mr. La Follette, Mr. Murray, Mr. O'Mahoney, Mr. Schwartz, Mr. Gillette, Mr. Johnson of Colorado, Mr. FRAZIER, Mr. GURNEY, Mr. BULOW, Mrs. CARAWAY, Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma, Mr. Lee, Mr. Norris, Mr. Wiley, Mr. Reed, Mr. McNary, Mr. Capper, Mr. Lundeen, and Mr. Shipstead jointly submitted an amendment proposing to increase the appropriation for the control of incipient and emergency outbreaks of insect pests and plant diseases from \$2,000,000 to \$6,000,-000, intended to be proposed by them to House bill 2868,

the first deficiency appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

THE FUNCTION OF LAW IN SOCIETY (S. DOC. NO. 27)

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I ask to have printed as a Senate document an interesting lecture delivered last evening at the Catholic University of America by Daniel J. Lyne, Esq., vice president of the Boston Bar Association, entitled "The Function of Law in Society Today."

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so

ordered.

REPORTS ON COLUMBIA RIVER (ARLINGTON), OREG., AND MILWAUKEE HARBOR, WIS.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I present two reports from the Chief of Engineers of the Army on river and harbor matters and ask that they may be printed, with illustrations, as Senate documents.

One report is on a reexamination of Columbia River at Arlington, Oreg. (S. Doc. No. 28); and

The other is a report on reexamination of Milwaukee Harbor, Wis. (S. Doc. No. 29).

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ALIENS EMPLOYED BY GOVERNMENTAL DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

On motion by Mr. McKellar, it was

Ordered, That the communications from the various governmental departments and agencies, transmitted to the Senate in response to Senate Resolution No. 285, Seventy-fifth Congress, and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, containing lists relative to aliens employed and the reason for such employment, be printed as a Senate document.

# DR. EDMUND A. BABLER STATE MEMORIAL PARK—ADDRESS BY SECRETARY ICKES

[Mr. Clark of Missouri asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered by Hon. Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, on the occasion of the unveiling of a bronze statue of Dr. Edmund A. Babler near St. Louis, Mo., on October 10, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

DENISON-DURANT DAM ON RED RIVER—EDITORIAL FROM OKLAHOMA CITY TIMES

[Mr. Lee asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a portion of an editorial published in the Oklahoma City Times of January 24, 1934, on the subject of the Denison-Durant Dam on the Red River, which appears in the Appendix.]

TRAINING FOR AVIATION DEFENSE-ADDRESS BY COL. J. E. MYERS

[Mr. Reynolds asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a radio address on the subject of the education of youth in aviation, delivered by Col. J. E. Myers, United States Army, retired, at St. Petersburg, Fla., which appears in the Appendix.]

# AVIATION DAY

[Mr. Reynolds asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an article from the Independent of St. Petersburg, Fla., of January 12, 1939, on the subject of making August 19 each year Aviation Day, which appears in the Appendix.]

# ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATION FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.

The VICE PRESIDENT. When the Senate took a recess yesterday afternoon it was considering the amendment offered by the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Hatch] to a committee amendment. The Chair thinks probably it would be well to have the amendment stated by the clerk.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 6, line 6, after the word "person," Mr. Harch's amendment proposes to strike out the following words:

Employed in any administrative or supervisory capacity by any agency of the Federal Government, whose compensation or any part thereof is paid from funds authorized or appropriated by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution.

And including the amendment agreed to on motion of Mr. BARKLEY, reading as follows:

Or any other act of Congress.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, the amendment just read relates to subsection (b) on page 6. The amendment offered yesterday by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Barkley], and adopted, really does not apply to that subsection. I discussed the matter this morning with the Senator; and before voting on the pending amendment, if the Senator is agreeable, I ask that the vote by which his amendment was adopted yesterday be reconsidered, in the hope that the Senator from Kentucky will withdraw his amendment as to all except subsection (a).

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator that that was my original purpose. I offered the amendment only to subsection (a). It was rather automatically inserted at other places in the joint resolution, probably without proper consideration. I desire to withdraw the amendment insofar as it applies to the subsections other than subsection (a).

I ask unanimous consent that the vote by which the amendment offered by me yesterday was agreed to, applicable to all other subsections than (a), be reconsidered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BARKLEY. I now withdraw the amendment as to the other subsections, and leave it in subsection (a).

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee, as amended.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, there are some other amendments to that amendment.

On yesterday a little discussion between the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Adams] and myself seemed to point to some differences. This morning we have further discussed the question; and the point raised by the Senator from Colorado can be met by striking from the joint resolution on page 5, line 23, the words "offer or". Striking out those words will make no material difference in the main amendment.

I now offer the amendment, and ask that those words be stricken out.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I could not distinctly hear the request.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will state for the information of the Senate the amendment offered by the Senator from New Mexico to the amendment reported by the committee, as amended.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 5, line 23, it is proposed to strike out the words "offer or", so that, if amended, the section will read:

It shall be unlawful for any person, directly or indirectly, to promise any employment, etc.

Mr. HATCH. In my opinion, those words really are surplusage. The amendment will remove a fear that the Senator from Colorado had, and I do not think it will change the main amendment in any way at all.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment to the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I have still another amendment.

I am informed by officials of the Department of Justice that probably there should be a saving clause after each of these sections to protect against, perhaps, some conflict in laws. Therefore, to this section, in line 21, page 6, I offer the following amendment:

The provisions of this section shall be in addition to, not in substitution for, any other section of existing law, or of this act.

That is merely a saving clause suggested, as I understand, by the Department of Justice.

Mr. McNARY. Let the amendment be stated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment to the amendment will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 6, line 21, after the word "both", it is proposed to insert:

The provisions of this section shall be in addition to, not in substitution for, any other section of existing law, or of this act.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment to the amendment is agreed to; and, without objection, the amendment of the committee, as amended, is agreed to. The Chair hears no objection.

The clerk will state the next amendment of the committee. The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 6, after line 21, it is proposed to insert the following new section:

SEC. 4. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person employed in any administrative or supervisory capacity by any agency of the Federal Government, whose compensation or any part thereof is paid from funds authorized or appropriated by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution, to use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or affecting the results thereof. All such persons shall retain

tion or affecting the results thereof. All such persons shall retain the right to vote as they please and to express privately their opinions on all political subjects, but they shall take no active part in political management or in political campaigns.

(b) Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be immediately removed from the position or office held by him, and thereafter no part of the funds appropriated by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution shall be used to pay the compensation of such person.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, again it is suggested by the Department of Justice that the saving clause added to the other section be added to this section. I offer it, therefore, as an amendment to this section.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, does that amendment take care of the suggestion made by the President in his message with reference to political activities?

Mr. HATCH. I think all these amendments are in exact

accord with the message of the President.

Mr. BARKLEY. Does the Senator think the whole set of amendments, as amended, will carry out the intention indicated in the President's message, and will not take away from these persons any of the ordinary civil rights to which they are entitled as American citizens?

Mr. HATCH. Quite right. We tried very hard to protect

against that.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment offered to the committee amendment by the Senator from New Mexico is agreed to; and, without objection, the amendment reported by the committee, as amended, is agreed to.

The clerk will state the next amendment reported by the committee.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 7, after line 13, it is proposed to insert the following new section:

SEC. 5. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person knowingly to solicit, or knowingly be in any manner concerned in soliciting, any liett, or knowingly be in any manner concerned in soliciting, any assessment, subscription, or contribution for the campaign expenses of any individual or political party from any person entitled to or receiving compensation or employment provided for by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution.

(b) Any person who knowingly violates any provision of this section shall be guilty of a felony and, upon conviction, shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned for not more than 1 year, or both

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, the amendment which I offered yesterday, and which has again been adopted this morning to subsection (a) of section 3, applies to any person who, directly or indirectly, promises any employment, position, work, compensation, or other benefit provided for or made possible by this measure, or by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, or any other act. We eliminated that provision from subsections (b) and (c). It strikes me that the same provision might be applicable to section 5, subsection (a), because it provides that "it shall be unlawful for any person knowingly to solicit, or knowingly be in any manner concerned in soliciting, any assessment, subscription, or contribution for the campaign expenses of any individual or political party from any person entitled to or receiving compensation or employment provided for" by this joint resolution or by the act of 1938. The same situation applies to a vast number of other employees all over the Nation who are not appointed under the Federal Government or by the Federal Government, but whose compensation is, either in whole or in part, paid by the Federal Government. Ought not this prohibition against assessments to apply to those persons as well as to those who are paid out of this appropriation?

Mr. HATCH. I will say frankly to the Senator from Kentucky that I think it should.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am going to offer the same amendment, then, to insert, at the end of line 20, the words "or any other act of the Congress", so that as amended subsection (a) will

It shall be unlawful for any person knowingly to solicit, or knowingly be in any manner concerned in soliciting, any assessment, subscription, or contribution for the campaign expenses of any individual or political party from any person entitled to or receiving compensation or employment provided for by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution, or any other act of the Congress

I offer that amendment.

Mr. McNARY. Let the amendment be stated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment offered by the Senator from Kentucky to the amendment reported by the committee will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 7, line 20, after the words "joint resolution", it is proposed to insert the words: "or any other act of the Congress."

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment offered by the Senator from Kentucky to the amendment reported by the committee is agreed to.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, again I offer the savingclause amendment to this section, following the word "both."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from New Mexico offers the same amendment that he offered to the other sections. Without objection, the amendment to the amendment is agreed to; and, without objection, the amendment reported by the committee, as amended, is agreed to.

The clerk will state the next amendment reported by the committee.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 8, beginning in line 1, it is proposed to insert the following new section:

SEC. 6. Section 21 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 038 is hereby amended by striking out the word "projects." 1938 is hereby amended by striking out the word '

The amendment was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The next amendment will be

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 8, after line 3, it is proposed to insert the following new section:

SEC. 7. No person in need who refuses a bona fide offer of private employment under reasonable working conditions which pays the prevailing wage for such work in the community where he resides and who is capable of performing such work shall be employed or retained in employment on work projects under the funds appropriated in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution for the period such private employment would be available: Provided, That any person who takes such private employment shall at the expiration thereof be entitled to immediate resumption of his previous employment status with the Works Progress Administration if he is still in need and if he has lost the private employment through no fault of his own.

The amendment was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That concludes the committee amendments, with the exception of one passed over at the instance of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell], which will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 3, beginning with the word "Provided" in line 25, it is proposed by the committee to strike out the following words-

Provided further, That the appropriations herein made shall not be available unless and until rates of pay of employees of the Works Progress Administration are so fixed by appropriate administrative order as to eliminate differentials in rates of pay of workers of the same general class exceeding 25 percent of the maximum rates as between workers employed in different States or different areas of the same general type in the several States.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I hope the Senate will see fit to reject the committee amendment which strikes from the joint resolution the provision which has just been read.

The purpose of the provision in the House measure is to eliminate the tremendous discrepancy in the rate of hourly compensation paid to persons employed upon projects of the Works Progress Administration who are doing similar work. If the Members of the Senate will turn to page 259 of the hearings before the subcommittee on this measure, they will

find a table prepared by the Works Progress Administration which sets forth the variations in the hourly rate of compensation paid to all of the 3,000,000 persons who are employed upon these projects, divided into the several classes into which the various employees are apportioned.

There are four recognized types of employment—the unskilled, the intermediate, the skilled, and the professional or technical. Within each of these several general classes of employment there are any number of different types of employment for which varying scales of compensation have been fixed. A study of this table will disclose that the hourly compensation paid to the unskilled laborer ranges from 18 cents per hour as the low in the State of Tennessee to the high of \$1.02½ cents an hour for unskilled laborers in certain sections of the State of Illinois.

In other words, for the performance of labor of the same general type in these two States a laborer in Tennessee will receive 18 cents per hour compared with \$1.02½ an hour in certain sections of the State of Illinois.

Passing to the intermediate grade, we find in this classification that the rate of hourly compensation varies from 23 cents an hour, the low, also in the State of Tennessee, to a high of \$1.57 an hour in the State of New York.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, may I inquire of the Senator where my State of North Carolina stands in the list?

Mr. RUSSELL. In the State of North Carolina, according to the chart that was furnished by the Works Progress Administration, the minimum rate paid unskilled labor is 20 cents per hour, the maximum rate is 29 cents per hour, as compared with a maximum rate in the State of Illinois of  $1.02\frac{1}{2}$  per hour.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President-

Mr. RUSSELL. I shall be glad to yield further as soon as I have gone through these various classifications of employment.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. RUSSELL. The pay of skilled labor varies from a low of 31 cents per hour in the States of Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia to a high of \$2.25 per hour in the State of New Jersey.

When we come to those who are classified as professional or technical employees we find that the scale of hourly compensation ranges from \$3.03 per hour in the State of Pennsylvania to a low of 34 cents per hour, paid in the States of Alabama, Kentucky, and Virginia.

Mr. President, I assert that there is no way by which it is possible to justify any such tremendous discrimination, amounting to almost 10 times as much per hour in the State of Pennsylvania as compared with what is paid persons engaged in the same type of work in other States, when these funds have been appropriated out of the common Treasury with the purpose not only of relieving the distress incident to unemployment but with the hope, on the part of some of us, at least, that the appropriations might equalize the incomes and the purchasing power of the people of the United States.

Mr. President, it has been asserted that the provision proposed to be stricken out would strike down the prevailing wage scale, and that for that reason the amendment should be agreed to. I do not concede that this provision would strike down the prevailing hourly rate of wages anywhere within the United States. There is written into the basic law guiding the administration of the Works Progress Administration this provision, found in section 9 of the Work Relief Act of 1938:

The rates of pay for persons engaged upon projects under the appropriations in this title shall be not less than the prevailing rates of pay for work of a similar nature in the same locality as determined by the Works Progress Administration.

The effect of the House provision would not necessarily be to repeal the prevailing-wage provision of the existing law; but the effect would be a declaration by the Congress of the United States, when facts are presented for its consideration showing that the rates of pay vary by as much as the difference between \$3.03 in one State to a low of 34 cents in another State for doing an hour's work of the same general

type, that that discrimination or difference cannot be justified in the expenditure of public funds, and that a greater differential or margin than 25 percent shall not exist.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. How would it be possible, then, to put into effect the differential provision contained in the language of the House text without reducing the prevailing rate of wages when that prevailing rate was 25 percent in excess of the prevailing rate for similar work in a low-pay community?

Mr. RUSSEIL. Mr. President, I hear Senators refer to the prevailing wage as if it were something as fixed and as definite as the Ten Commandments. How on earth was it possible for the Works Progress Administration to arrive at what was the prevailing wage for professional and technical workers? What yardstick did the Works Progress Administration use in arriving at the prevailing wage for lawyers who are out of employment, and who are engaged upon Works Progress Administration projects? There is no standard of which I am advised which could have guided them, save in the skilled-craft classifications, where there were union organizations, and where they could adopt the scale of union wages.

What is the "prevailing wage"? The Senator from Wyoming infers that it is something which has been arrived at after an investigation, or which has been fixed by the Congress. I should like to read to him some of the testimony of Colonel Harrington before the subcommittee on this subject. Of course, Colonel Harrington was very much opposed to this provision in the bill. After 6 years of service on the Committee on Appropriations, and on the subcommittees which have handled these relief measures, I have found that the officials of the Works Progress Administration oppose any change in any relief bill, even though it be the dotting of an "1" or the crossing of a "t," which does not originate with the Works Progress Administration itself.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield again?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The question which I addressed to the Senator a moment ago was intended to develop the facts, not particularly the argument. I think there can be no question that it would be a very difficult thing to say what the prevailing rate of wages was with respect to compensation for lawyers. I am not concerned about that. What I am asking the Senator is, what would be the effect of the proposal which came from the House? Could it be other than to effect a reduction in the hourly rate, or, upon the other hand, an increase in the hourly rate?

Mr. RUSSELL. It could be handled in such a manner as to eliminate these differentials without reducing the higher rates which are now being paid, if the compensation of those who are receiving the lower rates were brought up in proportion.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. What I am concerned about, briefly, is the rate which is paid to the unskilled worker—the person who is at the very bottom of the economic scale. As the Senator well knows, the rates for those people vary from one end of the country to the other. It is too bad that they do vary. I regret very much that in some communities a very low scale of hourly wages is paid, and I should be glad to do everything in my power to raise it. But if such a provision as that contained in the House text were enacted into law. the inevitable effect would be, not to raise the wages of those who were at the bottom of the scale but to tear down the wages of those who were at the top of the scale; and the whole purpose of the basic law which the Senator read just a moment ago, and which he was largely instrumental in writing into the statutes when the work-relief appropriation was first under consideration, is to prevent the administration of relief from tearing down the established scale of wages for workers, not the professional worker but the man who works with his hands, the unskilled worker, and the man who follows a trade. I cannot for the life of me see how the effect of the provision which came from the House would be anything else than what I have described.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, if the Senator from Wyoming is correct, the Congress of the United States stands impotent and helpless to rectify the condition under which one man will be paid \$3.03 per hour for doing professional and technical work in one State, and another man perhaps rendering service of the same general character in another State will be paid 44 cents an hour. At least this provision seeks to bring those margins within 25 percent of each other; and I say that when we are spending \$10,000,000,000 out of a common Treasury, money raised by taxation from all of the people, or by pledging the credit of all the people of the United States, I, for one, will not admit that the Congress shall stand idly by, because of some imaginary threat of repealing the prevailing wage, and say that we will permit such tremendous discriminations to exist.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator again yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. That could be very simply handled, it seems to me, if the concern of the Senator is with the professional rate of wages, by providing that the proposal be limited to the professional workers' wage scale. The professional workers who are on the relief rolls are not so numerous as the unskilled workers. It is the unskilled worker with whom I am primarily concerned. I would not hesitate to say that the Senator is absolutely correct in the declaration that a professional worker should not in any State of the Union receive 25 percent more than a professional worker doing the same kind of work in any other State. There is no justification for such a difference. That situation could be cured. But the House provision, while curing that situation, would bring ruin to the unskilled workers of the Nation. Those are the persons whom we ought to be concerned in protecting.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I am not willing to assume as an established fact that the Works Progress Administration wage scale, as reflected in the report which was submitted by the Works Progress Administration, does set forth what is the actual prevailing vage rate. I do not believe that within the State of Illinois there is any such difference in the rates of pay to unskilled workers as is disclosed by this report, which shows that within the State the W. P. A. is paying to one man working upon a highway or digging a ditch 31 cents an hour, and paying to another man working upon a highway or digging a ditch a dollar and two and a half cents an hour. I do not believe that within the State of Illinois there is any difference so great between the prevailing wages as to justify the great difference in wages paid by W. P. A. between the several sections of the State, that in one section the prevailing wage rate for unskilled labor will be a dollar and two and a half cents an hour, and in another section of the same State it will be 31 cents an hour.

How is this prevailing wage arrived at? I will give the Senate Colonel Harrington's own testimony on that subject:

It was an administrative problem and a big one which was presented suddenly, to determine the prevailing rates of wages throughout the United States. Therefore the determination of those rates had to be decentralized and as comprehensive a letter of instructions as could be devised was sent out to our State administrative officers telling them to determine those hourly rates by considering P. W. A. wage scales, wages of other Government agencies; State and county agencies; private employment—anything they could lay their hands on—and then to determine what the prevailing hourly rate in county A was for a carpenter.

hourly rate in county A was for a carpenter.

Senator Russell. That is, the local representative of the W.P.A. made that determination and finding?

Colonel Harrington. Yes, sir. Now, they did the best job they could of it, but it was a pretty tough job and a pretty big one and had to be done right away. I do not believe they did a perfect job.

Yet when we seek to wipe out differentials within the same State, in which one man engaged in the work of digging a ditch is paid 31 cents an hour, and another man engaged in the work of digging a ditch in another part of the State is paid \$1.025 an hour, the Senator says it means striking down the prevailing wage standard.

What is the standard? It is the opinion of 3,000 county W. P. A. administrators in 3,000 counties in the States as to what is the prevailing rate of wages for hourly employment. It has never been fixed by any central body in Washington. There has been no survey made. The law does not say that the Administrator shall pay exactly the prevailing wage. It says he shall pay not less than the prevailing wage. In some sections it is entirely possible that more than the prevailing wage per hour is paid; whereas in others, below the prevailing wage can be paid. There is nothing that is sacrosanct and sacred about the rates as fixed in a given community. The prevailing wage is fixed, as disclosed by the hearings, by the local administrators. I for one do not believe there should be any such great variation in the prevailing wages paid per hour between the various sections of the country and sections within the same State, as is reflected by the differences to be found in the State of Illinois.

Mr. President, I am as much concerned about the man who is actually working with his hands as is the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I know that that is true. I sat beside the Senator from Georgia in the Appropriations Committee and I know that he is actuated by the highest motives.

Mr. RUSSELL. I thank the Senator.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. REYNOLDS. A moment ago the Senator was kind enough to provide me with information to the effect that in my State of North Carolina those who are on W. P. A. get about 18 or 20 cents per hour, and in the State of New York they receive about \$1.29 an hour. I wish the Senator would explain to me why there is such discrepancy. I want the Senator to tell me why the people of North Carolina are not entitled to the same consideration from the standpoint of receiving substantial remuneration as are those who reside in the State of New York. Can it be, I ask the Senator from Georgia, that the people of North Carolina do not contribute their just share to the necessary expenditures on the part of the Government? Can it be that the people of North Carolina are not just as patriotic as are the people of New York? What can it be, I should like to be advised, what causes this situation, in order that I may tell the people of North Carolina why we are getting only 20 cents an hour and in New York workers are receiving \$1.29? Will the Senator be good enough to enlighten me on that point?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, the Senator from North Carolina has all the data and information which is at my disposal in this connection. I do not know why the difference is so great. It is not quite as great as the Senator has suggested. The high in New York is 93 cents for unskilled labor, whereas the hourly rate of pay goes to as low as 20 cents in North Carolina.

Mr. REYNOLDS. The highest rate of pay in New York for unskilled labor is 93 cents an hour?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. REYNOLDS. In New York they get as high as 93 cents an hour? Is that correct?

Mr. RUSSELL. From 93 cents to 461/2 cents an hour.

Mr. REYNOLDS. The high in New York is 93 cents, whereas in North Carolina workers get 20 cents an hour. Is that correct, I ask the Senator?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is the minimum. The rate is from 30 cents to 20 cents.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Is it the fact that they consider ordinary labor in New York better than ordinary labor in North Carolina?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, the Senator from North Carolina must draw his own conclusions from the difference in the wage scales. If the Senator from North Carolina will support the provision which I am defending, the House provision, the measure will provide that there cannot be a greater differential than 25 percent with respect to persons doing the same type of work in the several States.

I wish to be candid with the Senator from North Carolina. That will not bring all of his people who are working as unskilled laborers to within 25 percent of all those who are employed as unskilled laborers in New York.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Why not?

Mr. RUSSELL. Because the provision would break the work down by types. It is impossible to provide, with respect to all of the different scales, that there shall not be a difference of more than 25 percent. This provision does not undertake to say that you must pay a plumber or a skilled laborer within 25 percent of as much as you would pay a title setter in New York. It does say that you must pay a plumber in Illinois within 25 percent of what you pay a plumber in New York, and that you must pay a tile setter in California within 25 percent of what you pay a tile setter in the State of New York or any other State. It is merely an effort to bring within a differential of 25 percent those who are doing work of the same type.

Mr. REYNOLDS. In other words, it provides that there cannot be a difference in excess of 25 percent. May I ask the Senator another question? What was the pro rata ex-

penditure of funds to persons in North Carolina?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I am prepared to launch into a discussion of that subject, and I should prefer to take it up in its proper sequence.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Very well. I shall be glad to receive

that information.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I am glad to yield to the Senator from

Mr. MILLER. Assuming that there would be no reduction in the rate of pay in those States that are now enjoying a higher rate of pay, there would necessarily, of course, have to be a raise in the rate of pay of those engaged in similar classes of work in other States in the Union?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is correct.
Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I am always interested in what the able Senator from Arkansas has to say. Will he

speak louder, please?

Mr. MILLER. I shall be delighted to. The question was this: Assuming that there shall be no reduction in the rate of pay in the more-favored States, there would necessarily be a raise then in the rate of pay in certain other States. Among them are the State which I have the honor in part to represent. Does the Senator know what additional expense would entail to the W. P. A., or what increase would there be in the expense of carrying on work relief? Is there any way of determining that?

Mr. RUSSELL. I know of no method of determining any

such facts. Mr. President.

Mr. MILLER. In other words, the W. P. A. has not gone into the question of determining the number of employees in, we will say, the Southern States or other States, who are receiving lower pay, compared with the number of employees in other States like New York and Pennsylvania, who are receiving higher rates of pay?

Mr. RUSSELL. The Administrator did say that within the classification of those who are receiving \$2.50 an hour, the majority of them were in the larger cities of the country.

Mr. MILLER. The reason I am submitting the question is that frankly I see no reason why a man working on a road in Arkansas or Georgia should not receive the same amount of pay that the man working on a road in the State of New York or elsewhere receives from Federal funds, especially in view of the legislation which has been enacted by the Congress-for example, the wage and hour law, and other laws of that nature. We are making fish of one and fowl of the other. If the policy of the Congress is to be that we are to have a uniform rate of pay in industry, it appears to me, unless there is some good reason to the contrary unknown to me, that the Government ought to meet the situation.

Mr. RUSSELL. I thoroughly agree with the Senator from Arkansas. The Senator from Arkansas, of course, will recall that when the labor-standards bill was pending in the Senate and in the House any suggestion of a differential based on freight rates or any other consideration was attacked as an effort to beat down wages. The American Federation of Labor, through its president, Mr. William Green, wrote a letter to a Member of the House of Representatives, which appears in the Congressional Record for the third session of the Seventy-fifth Congress, in which he stated that it was the position of the American Federation of Labor that on W. P. A. projects, and in every other kind of employment, every man should be paid identically the same wage scale for the same type of work throughout the United States of America.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield to the Senator from Oklahoma. Mr. LEE. Does the Senator believe that the effect of this provision would be to lower the wages of the workers in the Eastern States?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, there would be at least three ways of applying the provision. One would be to reduce the wage scale of those who are now enjoying the highest compensation per hour. Another way would be to increase the wage scale of those who are now being paid the lowest compensation per hour. A third way would be to start at the bottom and at the top, increasing the bottom and decreasing the top, in an effort to bring them closer together.

Mr. LEE. If the effect is not to reduce the highest wages paid, then it obviously must increase the lowest wages paid: and if that is done with the same amount of money, would not the effect be to employ fewer people, and therefore turn off some?

Mr. RUSSELL. Not at all, Mr. President, because the hourly rate of pay has nothing whatever to do with the total amount that can be paid within a State. In Pennsylvania, the man who is paid \$3.03 an hour is allowed a maximum of \$94 a month. He is permitted to work only 31 hours to earn the compensation of \$94. In the State of Tennessee the man who is working with a pick and shovel at 18 cents an hour is limited to \$26 a month, and he must work 144 hours to earn \$26, whereas the man who is working in Pennsylvania has to work only 30 hours to earn \$94, out of funds which are being paid out of the common Treasury of the United States.

While I am on that subject, we have heard much said about the 750,000 people who have been certified for the W. P. A. rolls, and who cannot find employment. I think it would be the fairer way, the American way, to say that we are going to divide the work and let each worker work a certain number of hours, and let all of them receive some benefit out of the funds which are raised either through taxation or the use of the national credit.

Mr. LEE. Let me say to the Senator that I am very much in sympathy with the fair distribution of wages, and giving the people in our section of the country the same relative income as those in other sections. I do not want to be a party to any provision the effect of which would be to turn some off, and I appreciate the explanation given by the Senator.

Mr. RUSSELL. The amendment can be used on a sharethe-work basis by the Works Progress Administration, giving some employment to all the 750,000 of whom we have heard so much in the discussion preceding the vote on the Mc-Kellar amendment.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield just a moment for an observation?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield to the Senator from North

Mr. REYNOLDS. In speaking of taxation, I wish to remind the Senator that North Carolina contributes more to

the Federal Treasury than any State in the Union with the exception of New York and Pennsylvania. Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I must confess that I have

never been impressed by figures which show the exact amount a State contributes to the National Treasury.

Mr. REYNOLDS. The reason I mentioned it is that we down in North Carolina are receiving so little of it back.

Mr. RUSSELL. I consider that the constituents of the Senator from North Carolina have been greatly discriminated against, not only in the hourly rate of pay, but in the total amount per capita expended in the State of North Carolina, using any conceivable standard that fair men might seek to apply. However, I do say that the question of how much a State pays into the National Treasury is often-times inisleading and deceiving. Take the amount which is paid by the State of North Carolina. I use cigarettes, and every time I buy a package of cigarettes I contribute to the internal-revenue collections of the State of North Carolina, because the great cigarette manufacturing plants are located there. We talk about the amount contributed to the National Treasury by the State of New York. Almost every dollar which finds its way into the channels of trade and commerce in the entire United States must at one time or another pass through the city of New York and New York State; and necessarily some little residue is left there which will go into the National Treasury.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. McCARRAN. Apropos of the Senator's responses to the Senator from Oklahoma in answer to his inquiry, is it not true that the effect of the Senator's suggestion will be to tear down the wage structure of this country by attacking the top wages in the skilled crafts?

Mr. RUSSELL. Not necessarily.

Mr. McCARRAN. I do not mean necessarily; but is it not

a fact that that would be the effect?

Mr. RUSSELL. I do not think it should. If such a thing is done, it will be done in violation of the law, which says that not less than the prevailing wage shall be paid. This provision does not repeal the prevailing-wage requirement. If wages are torn down, the Administrator will not be following the existing law, which was passed to guide him in his administration of these funds. The effect will be to wipe out a discrepancy which no one can possibly justify by any known facts, a discrepancy which results in a man in one section being paid 10 times as much per hour for doing exactly the same tasks that another man does in another State in another section.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for another question?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. McCARRAN. Is it not true that, in wiping out the discrepancy upon which the Senator dwells, there will be a tearing down from the top as well as a raising from the bottom?

Mr. RUSSELL. The Senator from Nevada was probably not in the Chamber when I answered a question of similar import, if not in the same terms, asked by the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Lee]. The provision could be applied in one of three ways. One would be to tear down the high wage scale, as the Senator from Nevada apprehends. A second way would be to increase the wage scale of those who are now receiving the lowest compensation of any persons on the Works Progress Administration rolls. A third way would be to take some from the top and add it to the bottom, and thereby bring the two extremes closer together. I think the Administrator would have any one of those three options, were it not for the prevailing-wage provision in the act of 1938.

Mr. McCARRAN. I notice that the Senator's analysis carries throughout the thought of taking from the top in order to augment the bottom.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, the statement of the Senator from Nevada cannot possibly be justified by any statement which I have made. I will say now, however, for his benefit, that in my opinion it would be nearer the American way to handle this situation, if it had to be done, to take some off the top, than to say we are going to pay one man 10 times as much per hour as we are going to pay another for doing a given job. Of course, the whole question of the Senator from Nevada is predicated upon the idea that wages which are now being paid on all these projects are the prevailing wages. I say that theory cannot be sustained, because these wages were fixed in each county by the county administrator of that county. There are just as many viewpoints as to what the prevailing wage is as there are differences in temperament and manner of thinking among 3,000

county administrators. Perhaps an administrator in one county, when he came to fix the prevailing wage, did not make an exhaustive investigation, and asked only two or three people, whose viewpoint on the wage question was inclined toward lower wages. That county would have a lower wage, whereas in the adjoining county the administrator might march right down to the offices of the labor organizations of that county and take the prevailing wage as given him by the labor organizations, and add 10 percent to it. The law does not provide that the prevailing wage must be paid. The language of the law is that not less than the prevailing wage must be paid.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. As I indicated a moment ago, I know from my own association with the Senator that his objective is to do away with discrimination.

Mr. RUSSELL. Exactly, and that shall be my theme as I go into the manner in which these funds have been distributed

throughout the country.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I appreciate that, and I am very much impressed by everything the Senator says and by what he said in the committee. But we are confronted with the fact that the gentleman upon whom the responsibility of administering this provision will be placed has already told us what his interpretation is. The Senator will recall that when Colonel Harrington appeared before the subcommittee on this very subject he declared—and his declaration is to be found on page 258 of the Senate hearings—in response to an inquiry by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKellar]:

To summarize that, to some extent, that amendment as written, in my judgment, repeals the prevailing-wage scale, and also imposes on me an administrative decision as to how I will apply it.

Confronted with that specific statement on the part of Colonel Harrington that he regards this language as a repeal of the prevailing-wage scale, the Senator will realize how difficult it is for those of us who sympathize with his point of view, and who cooperated with him in writing into the basic act the provision that not less than the prevailing wage shall be paid, now to follow him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, the Senator from Wyoming is correct in his statement of Colonel Harrington's position before the committee. Colonel Harrington appeared before the committee in opposition to the amendment, and naturally Colonel Harrington's testimony was framed to place the provision which he was opposing in the most unfavorable light. But Colonel Harrington has no judicial power. Colonel Harrington cannot decide finally as to whether or not a certain section in an act passed by the Congress is repealed. If his construction is in error, the court can set him right.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. But the Senator well knows that the relief clients will not be able to go to court to determine the question. We cannot say to the relief clients who are drawing the miserable security wage, "Your remedy against the activity of an administrator is to take your case to court for

an interpretation of the language."

Mr. RUSSELL. Of course, the Senator from Wyoming knows that the sponsors of projects would be interested in this matter; that there would be large organizations of great financial responsibility and means that would have a very great interest in it and who would make a test case of it. Not only that, but, as I understand, these payments all must be cleared through the Comptroller General's office, and the construction the Comptroller General might put on it might really have more influence than the construction of the Administrator.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Would it be proper for me now to address to the Senator an inquiry as to the amendment which I have presented? I do not desire to interrupt his discourse. Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I have no planned discourse,

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I have no planned discourse, and I will be very happy to yield to the Senator from Wyoming at this time.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I desire to address an inquiry to the Senator. Inasmuch as the provision which he is now defending is in the joint resolution, though it was rejected by the Appropriations Committee, and the Appropriations Com-

mittee now recommend that the Senate approve its action and strike out the House provision, would it not be a desirable and an effective procedure for the Senate now to adopt the amendment which I proposed in the committee and which is here pending, so that my amendment, together with the amendment which the Senator is defending would go to the conference committee and there be worked out by the conferees upon the basis of doing away with the differential. The desire of the House was to decrease the amount of the differential. We all sympathize with that. But some of us insist—and I think that is the sentiment of the Senate and also the sentiment of the other House—that the prevailing rate of wages should not be threatened. The amendment which I offer will not affect the hourly rate of pay, but it will equalize the monthly security wage.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, the Senator from Wyoming, of course, knows that we are proceeding in order in the consideration of this amendment as the question has arisen. In the event that the Senate shall sustain the committee, and strike this provision from the House joint resolution, I shall support the amendment offered by the Senator from Wyoming. I shall support the amendment offered by him in any event, because, while I do not think it will be very effective in assisting those who are now receiving the lowest hourly rate and the lowest monthly rate, it is, at least, a step toward equalization. So I intend to support the amendment offered by the Senator from Wyoming. I hope, however, that, merely because the Senator from Wyoming has an amendment that bears upon the question, the Senate will not reject the House provision because the two relate to different subjects.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I am just thinking of the parliamentary status. If I should now move my amendment as a substitute for the language eliminated by the committee, the parliamentary status would be such that if the Senate should adopt my amendment as a substitute, the conferees would have both amendments before them.

Mr. RUSSELL. I shall have to give some consideration to that question as I proceed with my remarks. I am not entirely clear about it. In that event, the Senate, of course, would have no opportunity whatever to pass upon the language of the House provision.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. That is correct; and if the Senator desires to have a direct division of the Senate upon the House provision, of course, that would not be the proper way to proceed.

Mr. RUSSELL. I will consider the proposal made by the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BARKLEY in the chair). Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. BILBO. God knows, I have no objection, and I am sure the Senator has not, to any adequate wage-hour scale the laborers of this country should receive, but I am sure the Senator agrees that something should be done in an effective way to raise the wage scale of the common laborer in the different sections of the country. There is a discrimination that should not be tolerated by the Congress. It seems to me that the only objection to the amendment the Senator from Georgia is urging, which is the House provision, is the possible effect it might have on the prevailing wage scale throughout the country.

I desire to submit to the Senator from Georgia a suggested amendment to the House provision which might be agreeable to the Senators who are fighting against the Senator's contention. At the end of the provision I propose to insert the following words:

And provided further, That any order issued to eliminate the differentials herein set out shall not have the effect of reducing any hourly wage now prevailing under the W. P. A.

With that suggested amendment the provision could not affect the higher wage paid in other States, and the only thing the Administration could do to bring about the 25-percent differential would be to boost the lower wage paid in the

States that are now discriminated against. I ask the Senator what he thinks about such a provision?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, the provision suggested by the Senator from Mississippi would be helpful. I think, however, that it should not freeze the rate of the present wages, because there may be cases where the present hourly wage that is paid is above the prevailing rate, and particularly in some instances, such as that of the man who receives \$3.03 an hour in the State of Pennsylvania. I do not think that there is such a thing as the prevailing wage for professional and technical workers. However, I should be willing to consider the proposal. I think the Senator, however, would improve his amendment if he should say that the rate of wage should not be reduced below the prevailing wage—not the present wage but the prevailing wage.

Mr. BILBO. That suggestion appeals to me, because the only purpose I have in offering the amendment is to remove any objections some of our friends seem to have that it would interfere with the prevailing wage scale in different sections of the country. But if in some sections the W. P. A. rate is above the prevailing wage rate, then certainly our friends should not object if there was a reduction in the wages being paid by the W. P. A.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, if the Senate rejects the committee amendment, of course, the amendment offered by the Senator from Mississippi will be in order.

Mr. BILBO. I will offer this amendment to the House provision before the Senate votes on that provision, in the hope that it will be adopted and may go to conference, so the matter may be worked out to the satisfaction of everyone.

Mr. RUSSELL. I have no authority to accept any such suggestion, because the language which the Senator from Mississippi seeks to amend has been stricken from the joint resolution by the Senate committee, and the first question will have to be on the House provision. If the committee's action shall be rejected, I shall be happy to accept the amendment suggested by the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. PEPPER and Mr. CONNALLY addressed the Chair. Mr. RUSSELL. I first yield to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, the Senator from Georgia knows I am vitally interested in the same objective he is trying to reach. Now I desire to lay before him for consideration in the course of his discussion the amendment that I am going to offer at the appropriate time, as follows:

Provided further, That it being the sense of the Congress that minimum wages paid by the Works Progress Administration should not be less than the minimum wages required to be paid under the Labor Standards Act of 1938, it is hereby provided that the minimum wages to be paid under this appropriation or the emergency relief appropriation of 1938 shall not be less than the minimum wages fixed by the Labor Standards Act of 1938, and no security wage, provision, or limitation on the hours of work shall defeat the purpose of this provision.

I ask the Senator whether that would not have the effect of bringing the prevailing wage in any territory in America up to the same minimum fixed by the National Congress and the National Government in the Labor Standards Act of 1938, and if that would not eliminate the question of reducing from the top, and simply say that the Government is not going to make a man work at a figure less than it requires private industry to pay.

Mr. RUSSELL. If I understand the amendment offered by the Senator from Florida, the effect of it would be to increase the wage scales which are now less than 25 cents per hour—there being many of 18, 19, and 20 cents per hour—to a minimum of 25 cents per hour for the year 1939, 30 cents per hour for the year 1940, and 40 cents per hour for the year 1941.

Mr. PEPPER. That is correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. I shall be very happy to support the amendment offered by the Senator from Florida. The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes] last year offered an amendment to the relief bill similar to one which I had offered, which attempted to fix the wage scale of the Works Progress Administration projects at at least the minimum wage, the lowest wage under the Wage-Hour or Labor Standards Act. However, the Administrator has found that that amendment did not apply.

Mr. PEPPER. I was going to say that it was the Senator from Georgia who, on page 78 of the hearings before the subcommittee, brought out the very fact that the amendment originally sponsored by the Senator from Georgia, and later by the Senator from South Carolina, was never effectuated.

Mr. RUSSELL. It has never been applied, though it is in

the act.

Mr. CONNALLY and Mr. TYDINGS addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Brown in the chair). Does the Senator from Georgia yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield first to the Senator from Texas. Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, the Senator from Georgia was discussing a minute ago certain amendments to this section. Since the motion to strike out is the pending question, the text of the House bill would have to be amended before that motion is voted upon, because an amendment to the House text would be a perfecting amendment. I am not interested in the matter, but I thought I would suggest to the Senator that anyone who wants to amend the House text must offer his amendment before the motion to strike out is voted upon. Otherwise, if the motion to strike out should prevail, that would be the end of the matter. I say that for the benefit of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Bilbo] and other Senators.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President-

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. TYDINGS. I should like to suggest to the Senator from Georgia that if the provision which he is seeking to have restored should be restored, I believe it would be advisable to strike out the word "citizen" and insert the word "national," so that no money could be paid to anyone except a national of the United States of America.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, the Senator from Maryland evidently has just entered the Chamber. We are not now discussing the question of aliens. We are discussing the rates

of hourly pay.

Mr. TYDINGS. I know; but that is a part of the differential amendment to which the Senator is addressing himself, at the top of page 4. The last three lines provide that none of this money shall be paid except to citizens, and I am not taking issue with the principle involved in that. What I wanted to point out to the Senator was-

Mr. RUSSELL. I should like to point out to the Senator from Maryland that the latter part of the committee amendment, commencing with the word "That" on line 8, has already been agreed to, and that language has been stricken from the

joint resolution by the Senate.

Mr. TYDINGS. In other words, the existing law prevails? Mr. RUSSELL. That is correct.

Mr. TYDINGS. In order to make the record clear, I will state that my only purpose in pointing out this matter was that we have in the United States persons who are not citizens but who are nationals, like the Filipinos in California, Nevada, and through there, and many other places scattered around, who are eligible to receive these funds, but who would not be eligible if we should use the word "citizen"; and with that word stricken out, the old law stands.

Mr. RUSSELL. That entire provision has been stricken from the joint resolution.

Mr. President, the newspapers have carried articles stating that the fight which has been made in the Senate committee and which is being made on the floor of the Senate, to retain the House language, was a fight which had been waged in behalf of the South and those who might be employed upon Works Progress rolls in the South. I never like to make an argument that is based upon local or sectional considerations. I have, however, made a study of the administration of the various relief and recovery agencies which has led me to the conclusion that I could no longer justify the confidence which the people of my State have shown in me by sending me to this body did I not protest against the many very evident discriminations against the South in the administration of these various funds.

I have always considered myself a liberal and progressive Democrat. In times past in my own State I have been charged with being a radical because I have never hesitated to espouse principles and legislation to change the existing order when the general welfare demands it.

During my service here I have fought shoulder to shoulder with the liberal thinkers in the effort to bring about an increase in the income and purchasing power of the underprivileged people of the Nation. I have tried earnestly to bring about the adoption of any plan which would provide a wider distribution of our national income. It should be manifest to all that we cannot cure our economic ills and relieve distress and suffering without a more equitable distribution of the national income. The vast concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a few, permitting them to bear down and oppress the helpless and underprivileged many, is the cause of our difficulties and is the greatest threat to our form of government.

I believe in employing the power of our Government to bring about a fairer distribution of the good things of our modernday civilization by breaking down the enormous concentration of wealth in this country which enables 1 percent of the people of the United States to control 66 percent of all of the wealth of the United States.

This does not mean that I have any faith in some of the plans which have been suggested and the schemes which have been devised to share the wealth of the United States. We will not remedy our economic ills by any such terrific dislocation as would be involved in seeking to apportion at one time all of the wealth of the United States equally among all of the people of the United States. But the power of a democratic government can be properly employed to force the few who have much to share a reasonable part of that much to prevent deprivation and suffering among the many who have nothing.

This position merely involves an acceptance of the timehonored democratic doctrine of taxation in accordance with ability to pay, and recognition of the fact that a democracy cannot let its people starve in the midst of plenty, but has a duty to strive constantly for equal rights to earn a livelihood

and equality of opportunity for its citizens.

I have supported every bill which has been brought forward making appropriations for relief in this country. I conceive that at least one purpose of those bills was to employ the power of the National Government in bringing together in the National Treasury funds from those most able to contribute them, and then redistributing them throughout the United States in such a manner as to decrease the disproportion of the income of those who are at the bottom of our economic structure, and also to increase the buying power of those in the United States who have the least buying power. My study of this question has convinced me, if charts and tables prepared by the Works Progress Administration are to be believed, that instead of equalizing the income of the people of the United States, instead of equalizing the purchasing power of the people of the United States, the manner in which these funds have been distributed to date has a tendency to make the rich States richer, and to make the poor States and the poor people of those States poorer.

SOUTHERN WORKER GETS LOWEST PAY

The table to which I have already referred shows that the lowest hourly wage in all of the various classifications of employment on Works Progress projects is paid in the Southern States. In many instances, the hourly pay to a W. P. A. worker in a rich State like New York or Illinois is as much as five times more for pushing a wheelbarrow or swinging a pick than a worker on a project in a Southern State receives for an hour's identical work. Both are paid out of the Treasury of the United States, and both must contribute equally in taxes to replenish the Treasury and repay the national debt.

Almost as great a discrimination or difference is maintained through all of the skilled occupations. In the professional and technical classes, where the hourly rate is often \$2.50 to \$3.03 per hour in the richer States, the citizen of one of those States receives as much as 8 or 10 times more compensation for an hour's work as his unfortunate fellow American in one of the Southern States.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the table supplied by the Works Progress Administration showing the maximum and minimum hourly wage rates paid in the several States to workers on W. P. A. projects.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. No objection being heard, the table will be printed in the RECORD.

The table is as follows:

Maximum and minimum hourly wage rates paid to workers on W. P. A. projects in the several States

	Unsl	cilled	Intern	nediate	Ski	lled		ssional chnica
network tools	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Inited States:								
Alabama	\$0.40	\$0.19	\$0.60	\$0. 24	\$1.50	\$0.31	\$1.11	\$0.34
Arizona	. 50	. 36	.75	. 41	1.00	. 56	1. 25	. 62
Arkansas		.20	. 55	. 25	1. 25	. 33	1.67	. 36
California	81	. 33	. 55 1. 45	. 38	1. 25 1. 75	. 46	1. 67	. 51
Colorado	.72	. 30	1.00	.41	1, 50	. 50	1.07	. 56
Connecticut	. 50	.40	1.05	. 45	1.65	. 57	1,30	. 63
Delaware	. 411/4	. 24	.90	. 28	1.50	.34	1.36	. 60
Florida	.30	19	. 73	. 24	1.75	. 32	1.05	. 35
Georgia	. 30	. 20	. 43	. 25	1. 25	. 33	1.50	.36
Idaho		. 281/2	621/6	.32	. 781/2	.39	. 86	. 431
Illinois	1.021/6	.31	1.371/2	. 33	1.95	.391/2	1.50	.44
Indiana		.40	1, 10	. 41	1.50	. 46	1.66	. 50
Iowa	. 673/2	.31	1, 20	. 35	1.50	. 43	1.50	.47
Kansas		. 27	. 85	.32	1.37	.37	. 81	. 41
Kentucky	. 50	. 25	1.371/2	.35	1.75	.31	1. 171/6	. 34
Louisiana	. 35	. 20	1,00	. 25	1.38	. 32	1.50	.35
Maine	.40	. 31	.70	.35	1, 35	. 45	1,60	. 49
Maine Maryland	. 44	. 25	. 55	.32	1, 50	.38	1.10	. 48
Massachusetts	. 85	. 35	1, 50	. 39	1.6634	. 48	1.60	. 53
Michigan	.60	. 33	1.00	. 371/6	1. 581/2		1.47	. 501
Minnesota	. 683/4	.32	1, 15	.41	1.50	. 46	1, 79	. 55
Mississippi	.40	.19	.90	. 25	1.50	.311/6	2.50	.40
Missouri	. 50	. 25	.68	.30	. 88	. 34	. 82	. 38
Montana		. 451/2	1.12	. 41	1.771/2	. 50	. 96	. 55!
Nebraska	.47	.30	.70	. 33	1. 3712	. 40	1.00	.46
Nevada	. 621/2	.481/2	1,50	. 55	2,00	. 67	2,00	. 741
New Hampshire		. 35	. 66	. 43	1.30	. 53	1.00	. 51
New Jersey	.50	. 25	1, 3056	.35	2, 25	. 39	1.50	. 44
New Jersey New Mexico	.40	.29	1.00	. 35	1.50	. 43	. 86	. 68
New York 1	. 621/2	.26	1. 25	.33	2,00	. 391/2	1.41	. 433
North Carolina	. 29	.20	. 64	. 25	1.00	. 34	01	.60
North Dakota	.48	.40	. 55	.45	1, 35	. 55	.77	. 61
Ohio		.31	1. 25	.35	2.00	. 43	2.50	. 473
Oklahoma		. 25	.73	. 35	1.50	. 43	1.00	.47
Oregon	.50	.34	.80	.38	1.50	.46	1. 25	. 51
Oregon Pennsylvania	. 65	.50	1. 241/2	. 57	2.00	. 651/2	3, 03	.713 .673 .343
Rhode Island	. 50	.40	. 591/2	. 461/2	1, 50	. 61	.781/2	. 671
South Carolina	. 271/2	.19	.48	. 24	1. 25	. 32	. 521/2	. 34
South Dakota	40	.37	.42	.38	1.371/2	. 46	. 58	. 55
Tennessee	.30	.18	.43	. 23	1.62	.31	. 64	. 35
Texas	.35	.20	. 55	. 26	1.50	.32	1, 22	. 35
Utah		.41	.75	. 50	1. 50	. 63	1.00	.70
Vermont	.40	.32	.50	.35	1, 25	. 43	1, 10	.48
Virginia	.40	.19	. 57	. 24	1.50	.31	1. 50	.34
Washington	. 58	.34	.99	.38	1. 67	.46	1. 44	. 44
West Virginia	. 45	.40	. 58	.47	.84	. 54	.90	. 84
Wisconsin	1.00	.331/2	1.22	.371/4	1.66	. 391/4	1.51	. 431
Wyoming.	. 42	. 42	. 48	.37½ .47½	.611/2	. 58	. 66	. 64
New York City	.42	.461/2	1.57	.48	2, 21	. 589	1.518	.70
District of Colum-	. 00	. 2072		. 10			10000	
bia	. 50	.33	1.15	. 43	2,00	. 67	1. 22	.76

Exclusive of New York City.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, not only is this rank discrimination against the South practiced in the matter of hourly wages, but a difference almost as great is observed in the monthly earnings of workers employed on projects in the more favored States and workers in the South. The 11 Southern States have been set apart in region No. 3, and in every classification of work the monthly wage in the southern region is far below that which is paid in any other part of the

In addition to the figures shown by the table, it was testified before the committee that an even higher wage scale than the highest figure shown in region 1 was paid to workers on projects in New York City and perhaps other large cities outside of the South. Unskilled or common labor in New York City receives \$60.50 per month from W. P. A. funds, and from the same funds workers in many areas in the Southern States are paid \$26 per month for doing identically the same work, and are required to work more hours per month to earn the smaller amount.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the schedule of monthly earnings on Works Progress Administration projects as furnished the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. No objection being heard, the table will be printed in the RECORD.

The table is as follows: Schedule of monthly earnings on Works Progress Administration

	Counties in which the 1930 population of the largest municipality was—								
Wage rate region <sup>1</sup>	Over 100,000 (A)	50,000 to 100,000 (B)	25,000 to 50,000 (C)	5,000 to 25,000 (D)	Under 5,000 (E)				
Unskilled work: Region I Region II Region III ntermediate work:	\$55	\$52	\$43	\$44	\$40				
	45	42	40	35	32				
	40	38	36	30	26				
Region I	65	60	55	50	45				
	58	54	50	44	38				
	57	53	47	40	33				
Region I	85	75	70	63	55				
	72	66	60	52	44				
	72	66	60	52	44				
Region II	94	83	77	69	61				
	79	73	66	57	48				
	79	73	66	57	48				

1 Exclusive of adjustments up to 10 percent that are in effect in a limited number of

1 Exclusive of adjustments up to 10 percent areas.

2 Wage rate regions include the following States:
2 Wage rate regions include the following States:
Region I: Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, parts of Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, parts of Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.
Region II: Delaware, District of Columbia, Kansas, parts of Kentucky, Maryand, parts of Missouri, Oklahoma, parts of Texas, and West Virginia.
Region III: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louislana, Mississisppl, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, parts of Texas, and Virginia.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, the South and the W. P. A. workers in the Southern States have the lowest hourly compensation and the lowest monthly compensation. I believe that a break-down of the relief rolls will show that the Southern States also have the smallest proportion of their population on the rolls of the W. P. A. and receiving their support from the National Treasury.

# UNEQUAL DIVISION UNFAIR TO SOUTH

Not only do these tables show an indefensible discrimination against workers employed upon projects, but it operates to the injury of every line of business in the less favored States, and penalizes every class of people of those States. It is discrimination against the merchant in the Southern States, because he cannot sell as much of his products as the merchants in the States where these funds have been poured out with such a lavish hand. It is discrimination against the farmer, who is penalized by discriminatory freight rates when he has to ship his product to the more favored sections, on account of the lower buying power of his neighbor. It is a discrimination against every line of business and against every individual citizen of the States that are thus penalized and imposed upon, because every line of business and every individual citizen of these States has been compelled to pay his fair share of the taxes collected, and assume his equal proportion of the debt incurred to raise these enormous relief funds.

I have here a table which shows the expenditures made by all the relief agencies in the United States since 1933. I should like to invite the attention of the Senate to a comparison of that chart with a chart giving the per capita national income of the people of the United States by States. A study of those tables will reveal that the per capita proportion of the expenditures from these funds in the States having the highest income has been almost in direct proportion to the income of the States having the lowest income. In other words, in a State that has about the average national income-about \$432 per year in 1935, the last year for which I have been able to gather statistics—there has been approximately an expenditure of \$72.80 per capita from emergency funds, which is the per capita national expenditure out of the almost \$10,000,000,000 that have been handled by these emergency agencies.

Mr. President, I am not as much an evangel of this philosophy of government which is in the ascendency at present, which holds that we can spend our way out of a depression, as some of my colleagues appear to be. I do not pose as an economist. I have had no palliative or remedy which I thought would cure some of the economic ills from which we have been suffering, and inasmuch as I have been unable to suggest a better plan, I have been willing to go along and support a spending program, if the funds were to be expended equally and fairly among all the people of the United States. I do not know of any case in point in history where any nation has embarked on a spending program with the idea that through increasing government expenditures it could so increase the national income that the debt incurred would be self-liquidating. But we are today confronted with a condition the like of which has never before made such a program necessary on the part of any people. As a result of the increasing use of machinery in industry, and improved methods of production on the farms, we have an unemployment problem today, a problem of underprivileged people unable to help themselves, with the like of which no other country has been compelled to deal. For that reason I have been willing to support a program which sought a nice balance between national income that was subject to taxation, and the use of the public credit in borrowing funds for expenditures to build up that income and by spending money to increase income to the extent existing tax laws would enable us to liquidate the debt.

Mr. President, there are some facts which must be clear to everyone in relation to such a program. If such a program be tried and all of the financial resources of the Nation are brought together through the use of the taxing power or the borrowing power of the National Government, and if those funds be expended fairly throughout the entire United States to purchase recovery, and then recovery comes, it will be shared equally by all the people of the United States.

My second proposition is that if we pursue such a policy of public expenditure to bring about recovery and our calculations do not come out right and the public credit of the Nation is exhausted and we are plunged into confusion, and have a great catastrophe because of the fact that our plans have gone awry; in that case, if the funds have been equitably expended, every section of the country and every part of the people will pay exactly the same price for the failure or the miscarriage of our plans.

If, however, we follow a spending program to purchase prosperity and distribute the funds unfairly, in the event the plan succeeds, we will have increased the advantage of the section which receives its unfair part of the funds at the expense of the poorer sections of the Nation. If we follow a spending program such as we are now embarked upon, and funds are distributed unfairly, and we fail, then the favored sections of the country will have the benefit of the expenditures in the way of permanent improvements and will pay no larger part of the cost than the unfavored sections which did not receive their just share.

It is therefore important that these funds be expended upon an equal basis. I hear Senators refer to the need of various people for work upon the rolls of the Works Progress Administration as if there were a standard that was applied equally in every section of the United States. As a matter of fact, there are 48 different standards of need,

one in every State of the Union. In some States a person who owns any realty whatever is, by virtue of that fact, ineligible for employment on W. P. A. In others the deciding factor is the matter of income. But at least one objective of this program should have been to equalize the opportunities of the people of the United States. It should have been to increase the purchasing power of those who had the lowest purchasing power today and to seek to narrow the margin between those having the highest annual incomes and those who have the lowest annual incomes.

# TO HIM WHO HATH IS GIVEN

Mr. President, the chart I hold in my hand, showing the expenditures of the Works Progress Administration in the several States, discloses that in the State of North Carolina, the State with the lowest per capita figure, the Works Progress Administration has expended the sum of \$13.60 per capita. The average per capita income in the State of North Carolina for the year 1935, the last year for which figures are available, was \$252. In the State of New York the average annual income was \$700 per capita, but in the expenditures of the Works Progress Administration \$69.40 per capita has been paid out for every person in New York State.

These charts may be studied State by State, and it will be found that it almost always follows that the State having the lowest income has received the lowest per capita expenditure of these funds through which we seek to help the underprivileged, and to equalize buying power, whereas in the States where there is the highest average annual income, and therefore the largest purchasing power, a larger amount per capita has been expended.

In looking over the expenditures of the Works Progress Administration I happened to notice that the State of Vermont had received a much lower per capita expenditure of the funds than had the States around it, and I thought that there must be something wrong, that the rule which I regarded as so true would not work out in the case of Vermont, where the Works Progress Administration has spent \$23.50 per capita. But when I turned to the chart which showed the average annual incomes by States, it disclosed that the per capita income in Vermont was \$365, as compared with an average of \$528 for the New England States, and even in that instance it has followed that the per capita expenditure has been lowest in the State in which the people had the lowest annual incomes.

Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the Record the two tables which show the total and per capita emergency relief expenditures as of November 30, 1938, broken down to show the amount spent by the Works Progress Administration, the Civil Works Administration, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and also the total expenditure of \$9,419,000,000 by all of these emergency agencies. I also ask to have printed in the Record the table which shows the per capita income of the people of the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?
There being no objection, the tables were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, total and per capita emergency relief expenditures as of Nov. 30, 1938

A - the street of the second with the second	impografi	DO VIDUOTI			Expend	litures <sup>2</sup>			
Angel allowing out that doubt has	Population 1	Population Works Progress Administration		Civil Wor Administra		Federal Emer Relief Adminis	Total	Total	
for a product of the service of a service		Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita
United States	129, 257, 000	\$5, 636, 078, 000	\$43.60	\$833, 199, 000	\$6.40	\$2, 950, 390, 000	\$22, 80	\$9, 419, 667, 000	\$72.8
Alabama Arizona Arkansas California Colorado Connecticut Delaware District of Columbia	2, 895, 000 412, 000 2, 048, 000 6, 154, 000 1, 071, 000 261, 000 627, 000	59, 743, 000 21, 235, 000 51, 870, 000 290, 056, 000 64, 758, 000 61, 289, 000 5, 938, 000 19, 671, 000 57, 586, 000	20. 60 51. 50 25. 30 47. 10 60. 40 35. 20 22. 70 31. 40	16, 110, 000 4, 786, 000 12, 220, 000 41, 469, 000 7, 433, 000 9, 884, 000 580, 000 5, 604, 000 16, 838, 000	5. 60 11. 60 5. 90 6. 70 6. 90 5. 70 2. 20 8. 90 10. 10	45, 162, 000 16, 570, 000 40, 833, 000 159, 715, 000 39, 432, 000 24, 154, 000 2, 221, 000 15, 317, 000 41, 755, 000	15. 60 40. 10 19. 90 25. 90 36. 80 13. 80 8. 50 24. 40 25. 00	121, 015, 000 42, 591, 000 104, 923, 000 491, 240, 000 111, 623, 000 95, 327, 000 8, 739, 000 40, 592, 000	41. 8 103. 2 51. 1 79. 7 104. 1 54. 7 33. 4 64. 7

J. S. Burcau of the Census estimate as of July 1, 1937.
 U. S. Senate, Committee on Appropriations, hearings on H. J. Res. 83, 76th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 115-118.

Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, total and per capita emergency relief expenditures as of Nov. 30, 1938-Continued

nie sam ist milane himilani					Expendi	tures			54(5.11)
	Population	Works Prog Administra	ress tion	Civil Woj Administra		Federal Emer Relief Adminis	rgency	Total	V= .
		Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita
	\$3, 085, 000	\$65, 310, 000	en en	A14 000 000	*****	#40 090 000	est 00	\$100 A41 000	\$40.70
Georgia	493, 000		\$21. 20	\$14, 092, 000	\$4.60	\$46, 039, 000	\$14.90	\$125, 441, 000	
Idaho		19, 127, 000	38. 80	5, 440, 000	11.10	13, 577, 000	27. 50	38, 144, 000	77.40
Illinois	7, 878, 000	406, 968, 000	51.70	57, 601, 000	7.30	233, 975, 000	29.70	698, 544, 000	88.70
Indiana	3, 474, 000	172, 585, 000	49.70	23, 056, 000	6, 60	53, 125, 000	15, 30	248, 766, 000	71, 60
Iowa	2, 552, 000	56, 505, 000	22, 10	14, 712, 000	5, 80	25, 108, 000	9.80	96, 325, 000	37.70
Kansas	1,864,000	72, 692, 000	39.00	12, 247, 000	6.60	40, 150, 000	21, 50	125, 089, 000	67.10
	2, 920, 000	81, 387, 000						130, 626, 000	
Kentucky		81, 887, 000	27.80	10, 087, 000	3, 50	39, 152, 000	13. 40		44.70
Louisiana	2, 132, 000	67, 255, 000	31.50	13, 203, 000	6. 20	52, 164, 000	24.50	132, 622, 000	62. 20
Maine	856,000	18, 111, 000	21. 20	4, 648, 000	5, 40	11, 841, 000	13.80	34, 600, 000	40.40
Maryland	1,679,000	34, 260, 000	20.40	9, 043, 000	5. 40	33, 409, 000	19, 90	76, 712, 000	45, 70
Massachusetts	4, 426, 000	264, 179, 000	59, 70	29, 699, 000	6, 70	115, 947, 000	26. 20	409, 825, 000	92, 60
Michigan	4, 830, 000	227, 870, 000	47. 20	44, 417, 000	9. 20	127, 569, 000	26, 40	399, 856, 000	82, 80
	2, 652, 000	134, 810, 000				127, 309, 000		399, 850, 000	
Minnesota	2, 602, 000		50.80	19, 547, 000	7.40	68, 627, 000	25. 90	222, 984, 000	84.10
Mississippi	2, 023, 000	45, 450, 000	22. 50	9, 799, 000	4.80	31, 193, 000	15. 40	86, 442, 000	42.70
Missouri	3, 989, 000	160, 175, 000	40, 10	19, 983, 000	5, 00	65, 411, 000	16.40	245, 569, 000	61.50
Montana	539,000	39, 641, 000	73. 50	6, 309, 000	11.70	22, 546, 000	41.80	68, 496, 000	127, 00
Nebraska	1, 364, 000	51, 100, C00	37.40	6, 179, 000	4, 50	22, 789, 000	16, 70	80, 068, 000	58, 60
Nevada	101,000	5, 052, 000	50, 00	1, 300, 000	12.90	5, 225, 000	51.70	11, 577, 000	114.60
New Hampshire	510,000	17, 646, 000	34.60	3, 028, 000		7 050 000		27, 777, 000	54, 30
New Hampshire					5.90	7, 056, 000	13.80	27, 730, 000	
New Jersey	4, 343, 000	221, 504, 000	51.00	27, 732, 000	6.40	90, 135, 000	20.70	339, 371, 000	78. 10
New Mexico	422,000	22, 831, 000	54. 10	2, 352, 000	5. 60	15, 069, 000	35. 70	40, 252, 000	95, 40
New York	12, 959, 000	899, 127, 000	69, 40	86, 835, 000	6,70	397, 786, 000	30.70	1, 383, 748, 000	106, 80
North Carolina	3, 492, 000	47, 621, 000	13.60	12, 942, 000	3.70	38, 745, 000	11.10	99, 308, 000	28, 40
North Dakota	706, 000	34, 893, 000	49. 50	5, 102, 000	7. 20	26, 239, 000	37. 20	66, 234, 000	93, 90
Ohio	6, 733, 000	414, 020, 000	61. 50	58, 434, 000	8, 70	175, 075, 000		647, 529, 000	96. 20
	2, 548, 000	96, 820, 000					26.00		
Oklahoma		10, 820, 000	37, 90	17, 820, 000	7.00	45, 493, 000	17.80	160, 133, 000	62.70
Oregon	1, 027, 000	40, 072, 000	39. 00	6, 501, 000	6.30	22, 354, 000	21, 80	68, 927, 000	67. 10
Pennsylvania	10, 176, 000	600, 091, 000	58. 90	46, 242, 000	4, 50	322, 778, 000	31, 70	969, 111, 000	95, 10
Rhode Island	631,000	31, 532, 000	46, 30	3, 823, 000	5, 60	7, 809, 000	11, 50	43, 164, 000	63, 40
South Carolina	1, 875, 000	43, 883, 000	23, 40	10, 349, 000	5, 50	36, 905, 000	19.70	91, 137, 000	48, 60
South Dakota	692, 000	40, 354, 000	58, 20	6, 843, 000	9.90	32, 440, 000	46, 90	79, 637, 000	115.00
Tennessee	2, 893, 000	54, 963, 000						19, 037, 000	
			19.00	13, 226, 000	4. 60	35, 350, 000	12. 20	103, 539, 000	35. 80
Texas.	6, 172, 000	120, 644, 000	19. 50	33, 706, 000	5, 50	78, 333, 000	12.70	232, 683, 000	37.70
Utah	519, 000	25, 146, 000	43. 40	4, 524, 000	8.70	18, 604, 000	35. 80	48, 274, 000	92.90
Vermont	383, 000	9, 018, 000	23, 50	1, 778, 000	4, 60	3, 578, 000	9, 40	14, 374, 000	37, 50
Virginia	2, 706, 000	41, 775, 000	15, 40	12, 155, 000	4. 50	24, 280, 000	9.00	78, 210, 000	28, 90
Washington	1, 658, 000	84, 520, 000	51, 00	13, 557, 000	8. 20	40, 287, 000	24, 30	138, 364, 000	83, 50
West Virginia	1, 865, 000	81, 415, 000							
West Andming	2, 926, 000		43. 60	13, 014, 000	7.00	50, 899, 000	27.30	145, 328, 000	77. 90
Wisconsin		144, 173, 000	49. 30	34, 489, 000	11.80	81, 025, 000	27.70	259, 687, 000	88. 80
Wyoming	235, 000	9, 428, 000	40.10	2, 461, 000	10.50	7, 144, 000	30.40	19, 033, 000	81.00

TABLE 5.—Per capita accountable income received, 1929-35

Geographic regions and States	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
United States	\$652	\$557	\$485	\$372	\$353	\$399	\$432
New England	776	727	644	498	471	503	528
Maine	588	540	470	368	370	378	415
New Hampshire	592	570	507	378	375	412	438
Vermont	577	546	450	340	309	328	365
Massachusetts		764	688	537	500	533	539
Rhode Island	773	710	636	499	483	509	561
Connecticut	892	816	700	532	507	553	607
Middle Atlantic		845	717	545	503	548	589
New York	1 080	1,005	863	654	605	650	700
New Jersey	801	760	655	513	462	486	517
Pennsylvania		673	554	417	388	443	478
East North Central	728	627	496	374	353	424	467
Ohio	690	595	484	357	349	414	460
Indiana		477	386	287	278	343	402
		759	581	430	405	457	500
- Illinois		606	488	393	347	459	473
Michigan Wisconsin	643	559	440	337	323	397	467
West North Central	539	496	392	292	276	325	366
			435	335	308	365	416
Minnesota		522		248	237	290	370
Iowa	498	466	345	339	320	350	366
Missouri		545 348	445 218		198	240	260
North Dakota	479			202			
South Dakota		401	311	188	180	244	275
Nebraska	550	523	400	282	274	330	361
Kansas	532	471	379	275	258 268	325	365 322
South Atlantic	1,022	874 874	791	272 559	530		596
						571	
Maryland.	677	646	572	465	432	481	473
District of Columbia		1, 166	1,090	958	797	895	966
Virginia	402	383	333	262	254	285	305
West Virginia	450	408	332	252	250	302	318
North Carolina	306	280	225	177	203	240	252
South Carolina	263	251	202	163	184	213	224
Georgia	327	297	242	188	197	232	253
Florida	510	478	392	317	289	328	352
East South Central	324	275	217	172	174	202	211
Kentucky	363	323	257	207	200	224	240
Tennessee	350	307	244	190	197	223	232
Alabama	303	258	199	153	160	188	189
Mississippi	268	194	152	127	129	164	170
West South Central	415	353	293	234	235	257	281
Arkansas	294	215	184	147	148	174	182
Louisiana	386	344	293	237	233	268	300
Oklahoma	432	351	271	211	222	236	259
Texas	457	400	338	270	268	289	316
Mountain	593	523	408	317	300	361	402
Montana	638	524	391	321	307	418	482
Idaho	551	455	317	245	247	310	345

Table 5.—Per capita accountable income received, 1929-35—Con.

Geographic regions and States	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1933	1935
Mountain—Continued.					21		367
Wyoming	\$706	\$639	\$515	\$108	\$385	\$155	\$526
Colorado	621	580	459	356	328	371	406
New Mexico	413	373	322	247	242	312	321
Arizona.	618	524	407	314	298	359	402
Utah	549	497	388	290	274	310	348
Nevada	879	768	616	454	397	474	545
Pacific	862	760	617	488	467	505	548
Washington	709	619	466	362	352	402	434
- Oregon	643	557	431	333	322	368	394
California	942	833	690	549	523	556	605

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, not only has the per capita expenditure been lowest in the States where the people have the lowest average incomes, but the average earnings per worker per month have been much lower in the States where they have had the lowest average incomes than in the States where the average incomes were higher. I have a table, prepared by the Works Progress Administration, showing that for the months of September, October, and November 1938, the average monthly income of people employed on projects throughout the entire United States was \$52.74. When we come to find the lowest rate of pay per month in the entire United States we discover that it was in the State of North Carolina, where it is \$32 a month, where the average income is \$252, whereas in New York City there is the highest pay, \$73.16 per month, where the average income is the highest, or \$700 per year. So, Mr. President, the result of the policies which we have been pursuing up till now in the distribution of these funds has been to widen the difference between the poor people in the poorer sections of this country and those in other sections, instead of bringing the underprivileged up nearer to the American standard of living.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a table showing the average earnings per worker per month in the several States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Average earnings per worker per month on W. P. A. State programs, September, October, November, 1938

Inited States	3
Mabama	
Arizona	
Arkansas	
California	
Colorado	
Connecticut	
Delaware	
District of Columbia	
Florida	
Georgia	
[daho	
Illinois	
Indiana	
lowa	
Kansas	
Kentucky	
Louisiana	
Maine 1	
Maryland	
Massachusetts	
Minnesota	
Mississippi	
Missouri	
Montana	
Vebraska	
Vevada	
New Hampshire 1	
New Jersey	
New Mexico	
New York, total	
New York City	
New York, upstate	
North Carolina	
North Dakota	
Ohio	
Oklahoma	
Oregon	
Pennsylvania	
Rhole Island 1	
South Carolina	
South Dakota	
Tennessee	
Texas	
Utah	
Vermont 1	
Virginia	
Washington	
West Virginia	
Wisconsin	

hurricane and flood damage.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, a few months ago, last summer, in fact, the National Economic Council, at the request of the President of the United States, conducted an economic survey of the Southern States. A report was made based upon that survey, and was widely publicized throughout the entire length and breadth of the country. When that survey was issued and publicity was given to it the President of the United States stated that the South was the Nation's No. 1 economic problem. I have read the findings of the National Economic Council and its committees on that survey. At the time it was given publicity it provoked a great deal of discussion. A great many people in the South, and some of my colleagues in this body, took offense at some of the statements which were made

I was not offended by that report. The truth is oftentimes unpleasant, but the truth should never offend. I think some portions of that report were exaggerated, but I know that the Southern States have the lowest per capita income of any section of the country. Where a low-income section of the country is found there will nearly always be found unfavorable conditions as to education, as to health, and as to housing as compared with sections where the general wealth is greater.

SOUTHERN PROGRESS A MIRACLE

Mr. President, the South has nothing to be ashamed of by reason of the things which were stated in that report. The people of the South were compelled to start at the ground and rebuild their economy upon the ruins of an old economy within the lifetime of people who are living today. They have had to do that under a great handicap. The southern people have struggled under a great handicap, borne down by unfair tariff discrimination, confronted with an internal tariff in the form of a freight differential amounting to 39 percent in the case of first-class freight when compared with the more favored sections of the country. When all that is considered it must be admitted that the recovery of the South has been a marvelous one.

We have in some respects accomplished the impossible. We have pulled ourselves up by our boot straps. With these handicaps of freight rates and tariffs and other discriminatory legislation, and action on the part of those in whose hands were concentrated the greater part of the wealth of this Nation, we have made a start at least toward the national average in living standards and in income.

#### CANNOT STAND ADDITIONAL HANDICAPS

Mr. President, we cannot pull ourselves up, however, if in addition to the handicap of tariffs and freight rates and other discriminatory legislation we are to be further burdened by this unfair discrimination in respect to the expenditure of public funds. The average per capita expenditure by the Works Progress Administration is \$43.60. The average for the 11 Southern States is \$22.40 per capita. We have not been permitted to share equally in the distribution of these funds. We have an equal share only in the national debt which has been created.

This policy will have the inevitable result of freezing the poor and underprivileged workers of the South at a lower standard of living than American citizens have a right to expect, and than those of other sections enjoy. In all fairness, it is evident that some sections of the country have profited more than others, and these profits accrue at the expense of less favored sections.

If we are to pursue a spending program on any such basis of unfair distribution of funds, it matters not whether we arrive at national bankruptcy or succeed in increasing the national income, the South stands to lose in either event. If national bankruptcy, the South will be compelled to pay its proportionate part, without having an opportunity to enjoy the good effects of the spending. If the national income be increased to 85 billions, it will still be centralized in the wealthier States, and the South's position in our national economy will still be at the bottom of the heap.

The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS] made some reference to the amount of internal revenue that was collected in his State, the inference being that if a certain State collected a greater amount of taxes than another State. the State collecting the greater amount should receive special favors at the hands of the Congress or the National Government.

If the amount of internal revenue collected within a State was an indication of the wealth or per capita income of the people of that State, then to the contrary that would be a reason why that State should not receive special favors from the National Treasury, if our purpose be to aid in the equalization of social standards. But, as I have stated, the fact that a State collects a large amount of taxes through its internal revenue office does not mean that they are paid only by the people of that State. Only about 35 percent to 40 percent of our total national income is derived from income taxes. Income taxes are passed on, and are paid by people who purchase all over the United States, and who do business with those paying the taxes.

Many of our other sources of income are not levied with any regard to ability to pay, and fall directly and in the first instance as heavily on the poor as on the rich.

POOR ARE ALSO TAXED

Let us consider the special taxes which bear equally on all of the people, such as, for example, the 1 cent additional tax provided by increased cost of postage. When some poor devil of a sharecropper or tenant farmer in Texas, with a cash income perhaps of \$200 per year, steps up to the postoffice window to buy a postage stamp, they do not tell him, "You can get your postage stamp for 2 cents, because your State's per capita W. P. A. expenditures are only \$15.40, a low

average when compared to the higher national average." The same man would receive no special consideration in the payment of all the other special taxes—taxes on gasoline, on automobiles, and all of the other special taxes from which the

major portion of our revenue is derived.

Mr. President, it could have been fairly thought that when the Works Progress Administration came to make allocation of these funds between the several States that they should have taken into consideration the ability of the people of a State to contribute to the specific projects which were inaugurated in the States. The chart before me discloses that the poorer States—discriminated against as they are in the matter of per capita expenditure, in monthly wage and in hourly wage—are, in addition, required to contribute more from their poverty toward sponsored projects than the wealthier States are. Not only is the per capita expenditure shown to be high where the per capita income is high, but the requirements of sponsors for contributions to projects is lower in the rich States and is higher in the poor States, and has been throughout the administration of this program.

We discussed this question on the floor of the Senate at a time when the national average of sponsors' contributions was about 24 percent. As I recall, the sponsors' contribution in New York City at that time was about 7 percent.

Some of us endeavored to equalize it at 25 percent all over the United States, fixing the same scale for rich States and poor States alike. The Congress saw fit to reject that proposal, as it has heretofore always rejected amendments seeking to equalize these injustices. As a substitute a provision was written in the measure which provided that the Works Progress Administration's expenditures for other than labor costs should not exceed \$7 per month per employee. The result of that, Mr. President, has been to bring down somewhat the sponsors' contributions in the poorer States. But it is noteworthy that as of November 30, 1938, New York and Pennsylvania still were making the lowest contributions of sponsors of projects in the entire United States.

For the benefit of those who do not understand the term, sponsors' contributions means the amount of money or material which is required of a city, county, or State before its application for a W. P. A. project will be approved.

# REQUIREMENTS OF SPONSORS DOUBLY UNJUST

The policy of requiring a higher percentage of contributions toward these projects from the poorer communities has been doubly unjust. It is not only a discrimination in favor of the wealthier communities, but it has taken funds from the poorer communities that were sadly needed to provide direct relief for unemployables, and which were needed to match Federal contributions for old-age assistance, for health purposes, and for crippled and dependent children.

Mr. President, I ask that there be printed in the Record a table showing the total amount of Federal funds and sponsors' funds, and the percentage of funds contributed by the sponsors of projects in the several States, cumulative through the 30th of November, 1938.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The table is as follows:

Table 8.—Expenditures on Works Progress Administration operated projects, by States and by sources of funds, through Nov. 30, 1938

	Cumulative through Nov. 30, 1938							
NAME OF THE PARTY		Andylin agency	Sponsors' funds					
State	Total expenditures	Federal funds	Amount	Percent of total expendi- tures				
Total	\$6, 195, 050, 364	\$5, 206, 312, 670	\$988, 737, 694	16.0				
Alabama Arizona. Arkansas California Colorado. Connecticut Delaware District of Columbia Florida	67, 946, 931 26, 006, 875 54, 032, 946 319, 970, 376 71, 885, 189 69, 334, 885 5, 968, 386 20, 139, 667 62, 751, 844	53, 744, 645 19, 243, 186 44, 622, 390 268, 857, 632 58, 672, 590 56, 732, 834 5, 184, 750 17, 370, 617 50, 555, 122	14, 202, 286 6, 763, 689 9, 410, 556 51, 112, 744 13, 212, 599 12, 602, 051 783, 636 2, 769, 050 12, 196, 722	20.9 26.0 17.4 16.0 18.4 18.2 13.1 13.7 19.4				

Table 8.—Expenditures on Works Progress Administration operated projects, by States and by sources of funds, etc.—Continued

	Cumulative through Nov. 30, 1938								
State			Sponsors'	Funds					
on to out out to sout office to the worst parameter	Total expenditures	Federal funds	Amount	Percent of total expendi- tures					
Georgia	\$69, 684, 688	\$56, 327, 417	\$13, 357, 271	\$19. 2					
Idaho	22, 899, 371	16, 411, 498	6, 487, 873	28.3					
Illinois	462, 489, 908	384, 307, 671	78, 182, 237	16.9					
Indiana	191, 693, 147	162, 740, 041	28, 953, 106	15. 1					
Iowa	68, 984, 079	51, 953, 223	17, 030, 856	24.7					
Kansas	83, 391, 354	65, 063, 008	17, 328, 346	21, 0					
Kentucky		71, 022, 357	18, 404, 327	20.6					
Louisiana	74, 443, 909	60, 989, 887	13, 454, 022	18.1					
Maine	18, 706, 403	14, 948, 800	3, 757, 603	20. 1					
Maryland Massachusetts	36, 183, 300 266, 762, 260	30, 598, 393 249, 006, 370	5, 584, 907 37, 755, 890	15. 4 13. 2					
Michigan	257, 036, 733	214, 437, 947	42, 598, 786	16. 6					
Minnesota	151, 872, 055	125, 146, 242	26, 725, 813	17.6					
Mississippi	53, 421, 627	40, 104, 091	13, 317, 536	24.9					
Missouri		148, 643, 807	23, 960, 305	13. 9					
Montana		34, 411, 245	6, 866, 291	16, 6					
Nebraska	59, 681, 807	46, 272, 250	13, 409, 557	22.5					
Nevada	6, 501, 457	4, 534, 309	1, 967, 148	30.3					
New Hampshire	19, 805, 649	16, 044, 870	3, 760, 779	19.0					
New Jersey	249, 746, 408	208, 701, 496	41, 044, 912	16. 4					
New Mexico	24, 036, 235	19, 863, 932	4, 172, 303	17.4					
New York	957, 897, 170	846, 489, 627	111, 407, 543	11.6					
North Carolina	52, 730, 411	40, 347, 484	12, 382, 927	23. 5					
North Dakota	37, 914, 201	30, 428, 436	7, 485, 765	19.7					
OhioOklahoma	452, 033, 485	393, 923, 650	58, 109, 835	12.9 21.8					
Oregon.	108, 321, 802 44, 858, 092	84, 719, 322 36, 363, 621	23, 602, 480 8, 494, 471	18.9					
Pennsylvania.	628, 514, 369	565, 058, 086	63, 456, 283	10. 1					
Rhode Island	35, 248, 891	29, 181, 329	6, 067, 562	17. 2					
South Carolina	47, 172, 123	37, 345, 357	9, 826, 766	20.8					
South Dakota	42, 263, 313	35, 141, 026	7, 122, 287	16.9					
Tennessee	70, 026, 648	46, 791, 125	23, 235, 523	33, 2					
Texas	140, 242, 552	105, 513, 240	34, 729, 312	24.8					
Utah		22, 034, 972	7, 538, 314	25. 5					
Vermont	10, 579, 012	8, 018, 757	2, 560, 255	24. 2					
Virginia		34, 930, 027	9, 680, 863	21.7					
Washington	92, 253, 260	77, 044, 955	15, 208, 305	16.5					
West Virginia Wisconsin	88, 011, 258 160, 317, 091	74, 520, 200	13, 491, 058	15. 3 17. 2					
Wyoming	11, 709, 374	132, 811, 632 8, 283, 691	27, 505, 459 3, 425, 683	29.3					
Alaska	20, 743	20, 743	0, 120, 053	29. 0					
Hawaii	7, 349, 554	5, 115, 752	2, 233, 802	30, 4					
Virgin Islands	4,015	4, 015	2, 200, 002	00. 1					
Central office	4, 944, 808	4, 944, 808							
Central textile account	-9, 231, 805	-9, 231, 805							

Source: Federal funds represent voucher payments reported by the Treasury Department, sponsors' funds based on Works Progress Administration State office reports of sponsors' certifications.

Mr. RUSSELL. I invite the attention of the Senate to a study of that chart in connection with the other charts, showing that in every administrative policy which has been adopted by the Works Progress Administration favoritism has been shown to States in which the per capita income was the highest, to the detriment of the States in which the per capita income and the purchasing power were the lowest. I say, Mr. President, that if we embark on a spending program in which the funds are distributed on any such basis as that, to buy prosperity, spending \$3 in the State of New York for every dollar spent in the State of North Carolina, when New York already has practically three times the average income the State of North Carolina possesses, we will eventually widen the difference to a ratio of 9 to 1 as to purchasing power and as to per capita income, thus aggravating the already appalling maldistribution of our national income and national wealth.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. In connection with what the Senator is saying about the system of W. P. A. discrimination, I should like to call his attention to a circumstance which came under my observation a few months ago, in the case of a project which concerned both the State of Missouri and the State of Illinois. The project was a dam across the Mississippi River, one end of the dam being in Illinois and the other end in Missouri. The men were to be engaged in doing precisely the same work, that is, clearing timber on precisely the same project, except that part of them happened to be on the Illinois end of the dam, and the other part on the Missouri end of the dam. A discriminatory ratio was set up of 64 cents an hour on the Illinois side, as against 40

cents an hour on the Missouri side, on the same project, for doing precisely the same work. Does the Senator think there is any justification or any rhyme or reason in such discrimination as that?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, for the past 35 or 40 minutes I have been protesting with all the earnestness of my soul against just such manifest discriminations. There is no way on earth to justify such discriminations as have just been illustrated by the Senator from Missouri in the administration and expenditure of funds from the common Treasury, in which every citizen should have an equal interest. Such discrimination cannot be justified upon any difference in the cost of living.

The Senator from Missouri, who has just recited an instance, knows that there is no such difference in the cost of living that must be borne by those men who reside across the river from one another.

### COST OF LIVING NO EXCUSE

The hourly rates in some instances are 10 times as great, as they were in the case of those who received \$3.03 an hour in Pennsylvania, as compared to 34 cents an hour for doing the same type of work in other States. The difference in the cost of living in the several sections of the United States does not exceed 10 percent.

I was interested to read some statistics which were prepared by the Labor Bureau on the subject of the cost of living. In case anyone might think that these rank injustices in dividing the funds among the people in the several States can be justified on the basis of the cost of living, I ask unanimous consent to have these tables printed in the RECORD. They are the result of a survey of 31 American cities. They show, for example, that the difference in the cost of living for a four-person manual worker's family as between the city of Atlanta and the city of New York is only \$85.94 per annum. The estimated cost of living for such a family in Atlanta is \$1,300 per annum. In New York it is \$1,385.94 per annum; and yet when it comes to the question of distributing funds from the Treasury for people who are in need, or supposed to be in need, three times as much per capita is paid in New York City as is paid in Georgia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator to have the tables referred to printed in the Record? The Chair hears none, and the tables may be printed in the Record.

The tables are as follows:

Table 1.—Estimated cost of living for a 4-person manual worker's family at maintenance level, as defined by the Works Progress Administration, in 31 large cities, as of Sept. 15, 1938 1

City	Total	Food	Clothing	Hous- ing	Fuel and light	Furniture, furnish- ings, household equip- ment	Mis- cella- neous
Atlanta	\$1, 300. 68	\$432, 34	\$153.69	\$287.30	\$62.90	\$33, 11	\$331, 34
Baltimore	1, 339. 95	463. 55	152.10	248. 17	70.13	34. 05	371.95
Birmingham	1, 235. 50	435.64	156.64	227.36	56. 12	31.16	328. 58
Boston	1, 350. 50	465, 90	168. 54	260. 45	86.94	34. 12	334. 55
Buffalo	1, 283. 81	423.06	171.19	241.19	76.42	35, 40	336. 55
Chicago	1, 419. 46	452. 83	172.81	292, 13	96.69	32.75	372. 25
Cincinnati	1, 331. 88	429.35	168.05	273.09	57.88	35, 68	367.83
Cleveland	1, 427. 65	451.40	194.60	284.65	71.01	34.66	391. 33
Denver	1, 273. 94	415. 22	162.63	237.04	70. 16	34, 38	354. 51
Detroit	1, 427. 58	435. 75	179.92	312.14	84. 53	33.88	381. 36
Houston	1, 250. 43	429, 22	164. 46	244.05	41.95	36.41	334. 34
Indianapolis	1, 244. 72	423.06	161.15	237. 18	68.32	32.61	322. 40
Jacksonville	1, 260, 44	480.02	155. 51	218. 28	75.92	33.44	297, 27
Kansas City		439, 43	170, 24	210. 25	63. 28	30. 58	353, 43
Los Angeles		411, 46	191, 98	247, 03	60.01	36, 40	407, 28
Memphis	1, 252, 77	413, 13	154. 67	263. 21	59.83	34. 68	327. 2
Minneapolis	1, 433. 33	427. 26	182, 24	302.81	123.99	35. 48	361. 55
Mobile	1, 134. 11	426. 12		173.75	58.84	34. 17	294. 48
New Orleans		432.99		202. 59	55. 97	33. 68	369. 86
New York		478.70	149.77	307. 67	81.08	29.66	339.06
Norfolk	1, 250. 35	1 438. 36	159.87	245.00	73. 12	31.63	302.37

¹ Computed by applying, by groups of items, the Bureau of Labor Statistics' indexes of the cost of goods purchased by wage earners and lower-salaried workers, which show changes in cost from time to time in each of the cities, to the data of differences in costs from city, presented by the Works Progress Administration in its publication, Intercity Differences in Costs of Living in March 1935, 59 Cities, Research Monograph XIL

Table 1.—Estimated cost of living for a 4-person manual workers' family at maintenance level, as defined by the Works Progress Administration, in 31 large cities, as of Sept. 15, 1938—Continued

City	Total	Food	Cloth- ing	Hous- ing	Fuel and light	Furniture, furnish- ings, household equip- ment	Mis- cella- ousne
Philadelphia	\$1,330.15	\$446. 17	\$162.38	\$254. 53	\$70.89	\$32.24	\$363.94
Pittsburgh Portland, Maine	1, 367. 64 1, 272. 30	451.59 454.92	169.88 176.44	284.74	56.35 94.15	32. 61 34. 23	372.47
Portland, Oreg	1, 285. 14	439, 13	187.69	193. 27	68. 98	34.05	362. 02
Richmond	1, 278. 94	426. 19	180. 79	251.90	74. 49	35.86	309.71
St. Louis	1, 370. 26	450. 21	163.70	285.79	55.93	31.78	382, 85
San Francisco	1, 441. 53	447.87	193. 79	284.52	63.83	37. 21	414.31
Scranton	1, 286. 17	431. 52	169.70	267. 29	63.69	32.74	321. 23
Seattle	1, 292. 70	430. 79	181.60	196. 64	77. 11	34.98	371.58
Washington, D. C.	1, 439. 95	465. 28	167. 91	355.06	73. 59	34.17	343.9

Table 2.—Estimated indexes of cost of living for a 4-person manual worker's family at maintenance level, as defined by the Works Progress Administration, in 31 large cities, as of Sept. 15, 1938, on a base of the cost in Washington, D. C., as of that date as 100 <sup>1</sup>

City	Total	Food	Cloth- ing	Hous- ing	Fuel and light	Furniture, furnish- ings, household equipment	Mis- cella- neous
Atlanta	90.3	92.9	91. 5	80.9	85. 5	96.9	96, 3
Baltimore	93. 1	99.6	90.6	69.9	95. 3	99.6	108. 1
Birmingham	85.8	93. 6	93. 3	64.0	76. 3	91. 2	95. 5
Boston	93. 8	100.1	100.4	73. 4	118.1	99.9	97.3
Buffalo	89. 2	90.9	102.0	67.9	103.8	103.6	97.9
Chicago	98.6	97.3	102.9	82.3	131.4	95.8	108. 2
Cincinnati	92.5	92.3	100.1	76.9	78.7	104.4	106.9
Cleveland	99.1	97.0	115.9	80. 2	96.5	101.4	113.8
Denver	88. 5	89. 2	96.9	66.8	95.3	100.6	103. 1
Detroit.	99.1	93.7	107. 2	87.9	114.9	99. 2	110.9
Houston	86. 8	92.2	97.9	68.7	57.0	106.6	97.2
Indianapolis	86. 4	90.9	96.0	66.8	92.8	95.4	93. 7
Jacksonville	87.5	103. 2	92.6	61.5	103. 2	97.9	86, 4
Kansas City	88.0	94.4	101.4	59. 2	86.0	89.5	102.8
Los Angeles	94.0	88.4	114.3	69.6	81.5	106.5	118.4
Memphis	87.0	88.8	92.1	74.1	81.3	101.5	95, 1
Minnespolis	99.5	91.8	108.5	85. 3	168. 5	103.8	105, 1
Mobile	78.8	91.6	87.4	48.9	80.0	100.0	85. €
New Orleans	87. 2	93. 1	95.8	57.1	76, 1	98.6	107. 5
New York	96. 2	102.9	89. 2	86.7	110.2	86.8	98. 6
Norfolk	86.8	94. 2	95. 2	69.0	99.4	92.6	87.9
Philadelphia	92.4	95.9	96.7	71.7	96.3	94.4	105.8
Pittsburgh	95.0	97.1	101.2	80.2	76.6	95.4	108.3
Portland, Maine	88. 4	97.8	105.1	56.5	127. 9	100.2	90.7
Portland, Oreg	89. 2	94.4	111.8	54.4	93.7	99.6	105. 8
Richmond	88.8	91.6	107.7	70.9	101. 2	104.9	90.0
St. Louis		96.8	97.5	80.5	76.0	93.0	111.3
San Francisco	100.1	96.3	115.4	80.1	86.7	108.9	120.
Scranton	89.3	92.7	101.1	75.3	86.5	95.8	93.4
Seattle	89.8	92.6	108. 2	55.4	104.8	102, 4	108.0
Washington, D. C	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

<sup>1</sup> Computing by applying, by groups of items, the Bureau of Labor Statistics' indexes of the cost of goods purchased by wage earners and lower-salaried workers, which show changes in costs from time to time in each of the cities, to the data on differences in costs from city to city, presented by the Works Progress Administration in its publication, Intercity Differences in Costs of Living in March 1935, 59 Cities, Research Monograph XII.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I wish to invite the attention of the Senate to one other comparison. I do not like to make comparisons between States, but I do not know of any other way clearly to illustrate the disproportion and the injustice in the distribution of these funds than by choosing States which are comparable in population and area. For this illustration I have selected the State of Georgia and the State of Wisconsin. I have chosen Wisconsin because it has more nearly the same population and area as Georgia than any other State of the Union which is not a Southern State.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. BORAH. I wish to say that I thoroughly agree with the principle which the Senator announces. The only thing that disturbs me is whether or not the provision suggested would accomplish the object sought; that is to say, whether or not it may have the effect of pulling down wages.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I have been very loath to suggest any restrictions or limitations on the power of the Administrator of these funds. I realize that the Administration is dealing with a very unusual problem, one that varies

from day to day. However, after seeing the results of expenditures that were made without any restrictions or limitations, I am convinced that the time has come when the Congress should take cognizance of these injustices and should seek to correct them.

#### LOW INCOME FARMERS DENIED

The situation was brought to my attention very forcibly last December, just before I came to Washington. From time to time I have protested to the Works Progress Administration, at that time presided over by Mr. Hopkins, against the method employed in the distribution of these funds. I have pointed out to him that people who would be considered in need in one State would be considered relatively well off if they happened to live in my State. Their neighbors would think that they had a very good standard of living. Finally, last year Mr. Hopkins announced that he was going to provide employment on Works Progress Administration rolls for tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and farmers whose annual income was less than \$300. I hope Senators will bear that figure in mind. These funds have been poured out in a golden stream from the Treasury. These people, whose annual income was less than \$300, had never been able to get on the rolls. Mr. Hopkins did not propose to increase their income above \$300, but he did propose to put them on the rolls and keep them there until the income of these heads of families amounted to as much as \$300 per annum.

Thousands and thousands of sharecroppers and tenant farmers throughout the length and breadth of the South, whose annual income was less than \$300 a year-many of them as low as \$100 a year in cash-were certified for the relief rolls. I have not investigated the matter, but I suspect that if the 750,000 who are said to be awaiting placement on the relief rolls were looked into, or a break-down by States were made, it would be found that thousands of them are

sharecroppers and tenant farmers.

I rejoiced when I heard that Mr. Hopkins was going to help in bringing up the income of several thousand heads of families in my State to the magnificent level of \$300 per annum. I was delighted to know that they would be permitted to get on the relief rolls. What happened? Only a very small proportion of them were ever actually employed. After they were actually employed and had worked 4 or 5 weeks practically all of them were laid off. I examined Colonel Harrington when he was before the subcommittee to find out why these people were not permitted to earn this great income of \$300 per year, when we were spending \$10,000,000,000 on people who were supposed to be in need. The colonel said they had an emergency somewhere else and they had to put these people off the rolls so that they could attend to an emergency in some other section of the country.

I submit, Mr. President, that that is but another illustration of the discrimination against the Southern States, which has appeared in almost every part of this program. A man who has a cash income of only \$150 a year, or, in any event, less than \$300 a year, is living in an emergency from day to day. Every day is an emergency to him, to keep body and soul together. Talk about an emergency somewhere else, and putting people who are making \$150 a year off the rolls to go somewhere else to provide for an emergency! That is what happened in the expenditure of these funds by the Works Progress Administration.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. May I ask the able and distinguished Senator from Georgia if he has any figures to show the average monthly income over the United States as compared with the highest figures?

Mr. RUSSELL. I have already offered for the RECORD, Mr. President, a table showing the average monthly income from W. P. A., as well as a break-down showing the per capita income within the States.

Mr. CONNALLY. In other words, the figures which the Senator has put in the RECORD will show, for example, the rate of W. P. A. pay in the State of New York?

Mr. RUSSELL. I had been using the States of North Carolina and New York for an illustration, and I had already called attention to the fact that the per capita expenditure in New York was over three times as much as it was in North Carolina, and that the average wage in New York was \$73.16, as compared with the average wage in North Carolina of \$32.

Mr. CONNALLY. Exactly. I am glad the Senator is putting that in. Hunger in North Carolina is not controlled by the climate or by the location. A man who is hungry in North Carolina requires just as many calories, just as many vitamins, to keep him until the next day as are required by

a man in New York. Is not that correct?

Mr. RUSSELL. In answer to the question, I just stated that no chart or figure or survey that I have been able to find discloses that there is more than a 10-percent difference in the cost of living between any two sections of the country, however extreme the conditions may be. We may as well be frank. The differential has not been based on any difference in the cost of living. Mr. Hopkins was frank enough before the committee when I raised this issue 2 years ago-and I have been carrying on as best I could to correct it since then-to admit that it was based on a difference in the standard of living. In other words, this money that is borrowed against the future of every person in the United States is being expended so as to maintain, if not increase, the wide discrepancy in the standard of living of people in the United States. That is exactly what the result They are not only freezing conditions at the present level but are, if anything, pulling down those who have the lowest living standard today. In the case of the farmer, the tenant, and the sharecropper, who earns less than \$300 a year, they put him off the pay rolls; or they would not let him get on W. P. A. at all after they had agreed to bring him up to \$300 a year, because, they said, there was an emergency somewhere else where they had to pay the higher wages. That poor fellow could not have earned over \$26 a month if he had got on the rolls, and he would have felt as rich as Cræsus if they had kept him long enough to get his income up to \$300 a year.

So the whole basis of my argument is that instead of contributing to the equalization of purchasing power and of living standards and the distribution of the income of all the people of the United States by the expenditure of these funds, they have been so handled that they have made the rich States richer and the poor States poorer. There is no way on earth to escape that conclusion if the facts in rela-

tion to these expenditures be examined.

Mr. OVERTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield. Mr. OVERTON. In the practical application of this provision, if it is adopted, is the equalization and uniformity to be attained by raising the wages up to the maximum all over the United States, or is it to be attained by decreasing the wages down to the minimum, or is it to be reached by undertaking to strike a happy average?

Mr. RUSSELL. In all candor, the Administrator stated that he intended to follow the latter course suggested by the Senator, of striking a happy average. He will have, however, three avenues open; one to reach down from the bottom and pull the bottom up toward the top; another to take the top and pull it down toward the bottom; and the other to arrive at some form of average.

Mr. OVERTON. Assuming that there will be continued upon the pay rolls during the months of February and March the same number who are now on the rolls, with a minimum reduction of 5 percent, how much will that increase the amount of pay roll that W. P. A. will have to distribute?

Mr. RUSSELL. Not at all, because the provision relates to hourly compensation and not to monthly compensation. As it is now, the W. P. A. have a different monthly compensation for the four different classes of laborers, and then they have hundreds, literally thousands, of different hourly compensations for laborers within those classes.

Mr. OVERTON. The ordinary laborer in the South gets \$26 a month and works 13 days?

Mr. RUSSELL. It is ridiculous to say that a man with a family should get the same as the man who has no such obligations. Generally those in the South have larger families than those in any other section of the United States. That is another discrimination, that the people who are getting the lowest wage scale have the largest families.

Mr. OVERTON. As I understand, in the South the ordinary laborer under W. P. A. is employed for a period of 13 days at \$2 per day, thus giving him an income of \$26 per month so long as he is on the W. P. A. pay roll. Am I correct in that?

Mr. RUSSELL. It depends on the section in which he

Mr. OVERTON. Suppose under this provision his hourly wage is increased to such an amount that he would get, say, \$52 a month, being employed for a period of 13 days he would get \$4 a day. What I should like to know of the Senator is, how much money will be required to keep the same number of W. P. A. employees on the rolls?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I should like to explain to the Senator from Louisiana that this provision has absolutely no effect on the monthly compensation. For example, in the Senator's State of Louisiana-

Mr. OVERTON. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator again at that point?

Mr. RUSSELL. Certainly.

Mr. OVERTON. Then, is it the Senator's thought that they will be employed fewer hours and get the same monthly

Mr. RUSSELL. That is correct. In other words, I am hoping that it will contribute toward a wider distribution of work, that more people will be placed on the rolls, and that the funds will be divided more fairly. We cannot justify saying to 750,000. "You shall not work at all," and to another 3,000,000, "You will be paid anywhere from \$98 a month to

Mr. OVERTON. I did not know that the provision inserted in the joint resolution by the other House would be so administered as to carry out that thought unless there was something else added to the language of the provision.

Mr. RUSSELL. I do not agree with the Senator. I think that the provision will help a great deal in removing inequalities, and, if it will not, if the Senator will prepare an amendment, with that objective, I can assure him of my wholehearted support.

# THE DEADLY PARALLEL

Now, Mr. President, I wish to proceed to give the illustration between the States of Georgia and Wisconsin. As I have stated, those States are very similar in area and in population. Wisconsin stands thirteenth in population, according to the last official census, and Georgia stands fourteenth. They are so nearly of the same size in area that Georgia's 12.9 acres per inhabitant compare with Wisconsin's 12 acres per inhabitant. The percentage of total population of the two States is the same; both Georgia and Wisconsin have approximately 2.4 percent of the total population of the United States. I may say further that Georgia is about on an average with the other 10 States of the South in its security wage as well as its hourly rate of pay.

A study of the income and per capita wealth of the two States would lead one to conclude that there is far greater necessity for the expenditure of Federal funds in the State of Georgia than in the State of Wisconsin. The per capita accountable income received by the people of Georgia for the year 1935, the last year for which figures are available, amounted to the sum of \$253 for each person within the State. In the same year the per capita income in the State of Wisconsin was \$467, which was slightly above the national average.

In the calendar year 1937 the cash farm income of Wisconsin was \$332,013,000, compared to the cash farm income in Georgia for the same year of \$154,127,000.

The total estimated wealth of the State of Georgia in the year 1932 was \$3,247,000,000 as compared with \$7,329,000,000

the total estimated wealth of the State of Wisconsin. Both as to income, estimated wealth, and assessed taxable values the State of Wisconsin has approximately twice the financial resources that the State of Georgia has to support the same number of persons.

Now, let us consider the distribution of these funds. They should be so distributed as to equalize income and purchasing power and relieve need. We find, as I have stated before. that the funds have been distributed in practically the same proportion that the per capita income and the per capita wealth of Wisconsin bear to the per capita wealth and the per capita income of the State of Georgia. That is to say, every time a dollar was spent in Georgia by the emergency agencies, \$2 was expended in the State of Wisconsin, with over twice the income and over twice the resources. For every man, woman, and child living in the State of Georgia, the Works Progress Administration up to November 30, 1938, had expended the sum of \$21.20 as compared with a national average of \$43.60, whereas in the State of Wisconsin, where the average income per capita was slightly above the national average, the expenditure amounted to \$49.30, which was slightly above the national average of expenditures by the Works Progress Administration.

When we add all the expenditures of the various relief agencies—the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Civil Works Administration, and the Works Progress Administration, these three agencies which have spent \$10,000,000,000when we add them all together, and break down the expenditure on a per capita basis, we find that the expenditure in the State of Georgia amounts to \$40.70 per person; the national average is \$72.80 per person; while the expenditure in the State of Wisconsin, with slightly more than the average of the national per capita income, is \$88.80 per capita, slightly above the average per capita expenditure by these

emergency agencies.

Mr. President, to complete the picture, the contributions required of the sponsors-commonly called the sponsors' contributions-in the two States are practically the same, despite the difference in their resources and in the Federal expenditures. In Georgia the total sponsors' contribution as of November 30, 1938, was 19 percent of the total funds expended in that State, whereas in Wisconsin it was 17.2 percent. The national average through November 30 was 16 percent. The general rule follows on through. The poorer the State and the smaller the amount that the Federal Government spends there of the emergency funds, the larger the proportion of sponsors' contributions are required.

The average total security wage per worker per month on the W. P. A. program for the quarter ending November 1938 amounted to \$34.13 per worker in the State of Georgia as

compared with \$55.61 in the State of Wisconsin.

Mr. President, the entire pattern of this picture, which deals with the manner in which these funds have been distributed as between the several States, is very disappointing to one who has supported every one of these emergency appropriations, believing that he was contributing to a fairer distribution of our national income and to an increase in the purchasing power of those who had the smallest purchasing power. It is disappointing to find that the funds have been so administered that the greater proportion has been expended in the States where the need, by all reasonable standards, would have been less, and that the tendency is, if followed on through a long period of years in a spending program, to make the poor people poorer until they will be more impoverished and more underprivileged than they are at present, and to stimulate the business and increase the income in the States already possessing the most in wealth and the highest average of income.

I have never until recently been able to see the slightest merit in the contention which is ofttimes advanced that each State should care for its own unemployed; that each State should seek to relieve the needs of those within its borders who are in distress. It seemed to me that distribution of the national income was a national question. I had thought that unemployment was a national problem. I did not see how it would be possible to increase the purchasing power of those who had less of it unless it was dealt with from a national standpoint; but I must regretfully conclude that unless there is some change in the policies which have obtained to this good hour in the distribution of these funds, the poorer States would have been better off if they had gone along with their own poverty-stricken people and endeavored to take care of them, rather than being compelled to contribute to relief through national taxation, to assume a share amounting to \$287.50 per person in the national debt, and not to receive their fair proportionate share in the distribution of these funds.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. RUSSELL. I yield to the Senator from North Carolina. Mr. REYNOLDS. Unfortunately for me, I happened to be out of the Chamber on some official matters while the Senator from Georgia was discussing this all-important subject. I should like to inquire whether or not the Senator has arrived at the point in his speech where he deems it advisable to inform the Senate as to the pro rata amount of money

inform the Senate as to the pro rata amount of money provided each of the States in the distribution of funds. I will state to the Senator that I am anxious about that, because I recall that somebody told me that my State, North Carolina, received only about \$13.60, whereas the State of New York received \$69.80. I could not believe it, and I will not believe it unless the Senator tells me that those are the facts; and I should like to hear the figures on that subject.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I regret that the Senator from North Carolina was called from the floor. It so happens that I used his State as an illustration showing how the expenditures per capita have paralleled the per capita income, being smaller in proportion in the States where the lower income obtains, and higher in the States where the higher income obtains. I can assure the Senator from North Carolina that if—when he gets up in the morning—if he does arise on Sunday morning [laughter]—

Mr. REYNOLDS. I will say to the Senator that I am up every morning at 6:30, including Sundays.

Mr. RUSSELL. If the Senator will get the Record for today, he will find a comparison and analysis of the expenditures, comparing the States of North Carolina and New York. I used them for some of my illustrations.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator very much.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I know of no way whereby this condition can be remedied save through a more equitable administration of these funds. I have from time to time discussed with the Administrator of the funds the injustices that were resulting. I have offered amendment after amendment on the floor of the Senate, and all of them have been voted down by the representatives of States that were in most instances more favored.

Mr. President, I desire to complete this picture by placing in the Record some statistics and charts relating to the farm income.

There has been expended by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration as of June 30, 1938, the sum of \$2,212,000,000. I hope Senators who have proposed that we should reduce farm expenditures before starting a reduction in relief appropriations will notice that only \$2,212,000,000 has been expended on the entire farm program, including the sums expended for the purchase of the pigs that we are told were killed, and the plowing up of the cotton that was plowed up. That was the total of all forms of payment to a population of 31,-800,000 who live on the farm and are dependent upon agriculture, who have the lowest per capita income of any class of persons in the United States and undoubtedly the lowest standards of living, because they are farther removed from the great centers of population; whereas we have spent about \$10,000,000,000 on various forms of relief, and I do not think the W. P. A. rolls have averaged 2,750,000 persons from the time they were first established.

## COTTON FARMERS PENALIZED

I desire to show that the thread of discrimination which I have followed through all the policies and ramifications of the Works Progress Administration will also be found in the

expenditures which have been made by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration; that is to say, that the largest expenditures per capita of farm population have been made in the States where the farm income per capita is the highest. Of course, conversely, the lowest per capita payments by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration have been made in the States where the average annual farm income was the lowest. That, of course, means, Mr. President, that the cotton farmer has not received his equal share on a per capita farm basis in the distribution of the \$2,212,000,000 which has been expended by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, despite the fact that he produced a commodity which is sold in the world market, a commodity which has been our chief export through all the years, in such amounts that the total favorable trade balance of the entire United States is approximately the same amount as our exports of cotton, which has been produced beneath the broiling sun by the toiling cotton farmers of this country, in competition with the world, and they have the lowest average farm income in the entire United States.

I offer for the Record a table I have been able to obtain which shows the gross cash farm income per farm person in the United States for the prosperous year of 1929, showing that in the State of Georgia the cash farm income per farm person for that prosperous year was \$146.28, as compared with the national average of \$499.40.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Schwartz in the chair). Is there objection?

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Gross cash farm income per farm person, United States, 1929

Maine\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_ Rhode Island
Connecticut
New York 575.76 764.30 New Jersey\_\_\_\_\_ Pennsylvania\_\_\_\_\_ Ohio.\_\_\_\_\_Indiana.\_\_\_\_\_ 510.61 Michigan \_\_\_\_\_\_ Wisconsin \_\_\_\_\_ Minnesota Iowa 456.61 701.20 477.47 716.75 Maryland \_\_\_\_\_\_\_Virginia\_\_\_\_\_\_ 144.38 Georgia Florida Kentucky 146, 28 146. 11 Tennessee\_\_\_\_\_ 132, 54 Mississippi Arkansas Louisiana 170.68 Oklahoma\_\_\_\_\_Texas\_\_\_\_\_ Idaho Wyoling
Colorado
New Mexico
Arizona
Utah
Nevada
Weshirates

United States 1 342.15

<sup>1</sup> Adjusted for interstate shipments and including minor products not estimated by States.

California 1, 174. 86

Oregon \_\_\_\_\_

Washington\_\_\_\_\_

Source: Gross cash income from production, Bureau of Agricultural Economics; farm population, Bureau of the Census as of April 1930.

A. A., Division of Program Planning, Agricultural-Industrial Relations Section. Per capita cash farm income in the South and in the remainder of the United States, 1929

South 1 \$183.74 Other States 499.40

<sup>1</sup> Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas.

A. A. A. Division of Program Planning, Agricultural-Industrial Relations Section.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Is the Senator convinced that these figures have been accurately computed? I ask the question because I have been checking over the Senator's table as to the per capita relief expenditures, from which he was reading a moment ago, and, to take an example, I find that this table shows that in the State of Georgia the per capita expenditure for the Works Progress Administration was \$21.20, for the Civil Works Administration in Georgia the per capita expenditure was \$4.60, and for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration the per capita expenditure was \$14.90; but the total per capita is represented as being \$40.70.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is correct. Odd cents were not used.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. This is an addition and not an average?

Mr. RUSSELL. The break-down is by various steps of the Works Progress Administration. It was born as the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and when it grew up it was changed to the Civil Works Administration. Now, it is Works Progress Administration.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. These are not averages; these are totals?

Mr. RUSSELL. They are totals, but the table shows per capita expenditures and totals. It has a break-down per capita for each agency.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I was reading the totals, but not the averages.

Mr. RUSSELL. If the figures are not correct, it is because the Works Progress Administration has not kept accurate books. The totals appear in the report of the Senate hearings as the figures of the W. P. A. The break-down is the work of the statisticians.

Now, I will advert again to the question of farm income. I have also broken down the expenditures of the funds to farmers by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration by taking the three States which have the largest production of corn, the three States which have the largest production of wheat, and the three States which have the largest production of cotton. It shows in the three States having the largest production of corn, namely, Iowa, Illinois, and Indiana, that the average payment per farm person has been \$117.01.

In the three States having the largest production of wheat, namely, Kansas, North Dakota, and Oklahoma, the per capita agricultural population expenditure is \$184.49.

In the three States having the largest production of cotton, namely, Texas, Mississippi, and Arkansas, the average is \$77.51, and would be much lower but for the fact that Texas produces both wheat and corn, which are included in their receipts in this table.

In the State of Georgia, just by way of illustration, the expenditure per capita of farm population by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration amounts to only \$45.82. So not only has the policy been followed by the emergency agencies of making the largest payment per capita in the States with the highest income, but the same rule, though to a less marked extent, will be found followed in the expenditures by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. I offer this table for the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Expenditures of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration as of June 30, 1938, showing per capita distribution among farm population as shown by United States Census of Agriculture, 1935

3 STATES HAVING LARGEST PRODUCTION OF CORN

The State of the S	Farm pop- ulation	Expendi- tures	Per capita (farm pop- ulation)
Iowa Illinois Indiana	967, 979 1, 017, 650 852, 992	\$164, 026, 315 110, 480, 626 62, 302, 524	\$169. 45 108. 56 73. 04
Average			117.01
3 STATES HAVING LARGEST	PRODUCTION	OF WHEAT	
Kansas North Dakota Oklahoma	703, 743 385, 614 1, 015, 562	\$155. 247, 196 87, 518, 406 107, 570, 463	\$220, 60 226, 96 105, 92
Average			184, 49
3 STATES HAVING LARGEST F	PEODUCTION	OF COTTON	The State of
Texas	2, 332, 693 1, 332, 981 1, 180, 238	\$269, 589, 974 73, 501, 033 72, 946, 064	\$115. 87 55. 14 61. 81
Average			77. 51
Georgia	1, 405, 944	64, 415, 678	45, 85

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. SMITH. I have been interested in the analysis the Senator has made of the wealth and population which showed that Wisconsin and Georgia were so nearly equal in those features. I wondered whether the Senator had any way of ascertaining the political aspect in those two States.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I had not intended to touch upon any political aspects of this question.

Mr. SMITH. Why not? The Senator knows that is all there is to it.

Mr. RUSSELL. It is very difficult in examining these figures to avoid wondering whether the fact that the States which have received the lowest percent of these expenditures have voted the Democratic ticket in both fair weather and foul so consistently that in many cases their needs are overlooked.

Mr. SMITH. Yes; yet there is no politics in it.

Mr. RUSSELL. But I do not attribute political motives to anyone. I am presenting these facts for the benefit of the Senate; and while it has been very tedious to make this study, I have been startled by the results, and from henceforth I shall certainly give voice to my feeling about these injustices on every occasion when legislation of the kind we are now considering is pending in the Senate.

Mr. President, I also have here a summary of allotments by the Public Works Administration. I regret that I have not been able, having received this information only a short time before I came on the floor this afternoon, to break down these figures into per capita calculations. I observe, however, by some comparisons that the discriminations I noted in the Works Progress Administration are almost as marked, sometimes more so, in the Public Works Administration.

I used the State of North Carolina in speaking of the Works Progress Administration, and I will take that State for illustration in connection with the Public Works Administration. The total grants to that State by the Public Works Administration—and a grant is what they give a State, not a loan, that is the part the State gets out of the National Treasury without any responsibility for repayment—was \$25,459,000. I observe in the figure as to the State of New York, which I also used as an illustration, a State which contains approximately four times the population of North Carolina, I believe, though I have not the figures before me, the grant was \$196,800,000, which is, on the dollar basis, approximately eight times what North Carolina received.

I offer for the RECORD a summary of expenditures by the Public Works Administration to which I have just referred.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Summary of allotments for non-Federal projects-All programs as of Dec. 21, 1938

	Number	Public Wor	Estimated			
State	of proj- ects	Loan	Grant	Total	cost	
Total	16, 712	\$629, 433, 263	\$1, 513, 075, 257	\$2, 142, 508, 520	\$3, 995, 883, 622	
Alabama	330	14, 930, 826	17, 889, 310	32, 820, 136	47, 352, 366	
Arizona	122	5, 102, 210	6, 849, 301	11, 951, 511	17, 711, 706	
Arkansas		12, 163, 922	10, 861, 981	23, 025, 903	29, 853, 119	
California	809		83, 240, 543	103, 290, 631	223, 150, 842	
Colorado	207	1, 379, 395	19, 265, 351	20, 644, 746	46, 200, 740	
Connecticut	261	50,000	27, 829, 465		69, 592, 199	
Delaware	43			3, 072, 991	8, 131, 280	
Florida	232	18, 033, 330	14, 245, 619	32, 278, 949	40, 150, 522	
Georgia	523	3, 251, 789		20, 049, 377	39, 250, 862	
Idaho	160	1, 540, 335				
Illinois	811	61, 875, 324	119, 648, 746	181, 524, 070	317, 928, 761	
Illinois Indiana	481	6, 323, 694	39, 580, 598	45, 904, 292	97, 910, 051	
Iowa Kansas	598	1, 926, 930	22, 306, 707	24, 233, 637	54, 732, 460	
Kansas	451	5, 542, 750	21, 359, 608	26, 902, 358	53, 861, 785	
Kentucky	300	5, 204, 206	20, 430, 553	25, 634, 759	50, 846, 521	
Louisiana		4, 167, 492	19, 809, 534	23, 977, 026	51, 567, 072	
Maine	89	97, 700	4, 426, 127	4, 523, 827	10, 464, 844	
Maryland	142	4, 358, 570	27, 391, 979	31, 750, 549	69, 806, 326	
Maryland Massachusetts	393	537, 280	50, 481, 187	51, 018, 467	131, 395, 751	
Michigan	466	15, 877, 864	47, 020, 838	62, 898, 702	111, 494, 640	
Minnesota	569	2, 960, 760	31, 405, 920	24, 366, 680	87, 348, 679	
M 1881881DDL	231	4, 419, 789	29, 660, 560	34, 080, 349	67, 383, 738	
Missouri	564	4, 863, 838	42, 252, 225	47, 116, 063	120, 492, 244	
Montana	161	9, 429, 278	10, 353, 793	19, 783, 071	26, 591, 742	
Nebraska		40, 411, 180	32, 824, 365	73, 235, 545	85, 513, 622	
Nevada	42	506, 200	1, 379, 344	1, 885, 544	3, 535, 909	
New Hampshire.	112	589, 185	6, 261, 805	6, 850, 990	15, 949, 431	
New Jersey	322	16, 920, 160	41, 667, 979	58, 588, 139	102, 880, 669	
New Mexico	97	2, 962, 420	4, 868, 854	7, 831, 274	11, 752, 574	
New York	762	163, 117, 883	196, 800, 600	359, 918, 483	614, 442, 602	
North Carolina	- 352	12, 842, 770	25, 459, 128	38, 301, 898	61, 585, 548	
North Dakota	194	1, 161, 185	5, 317, 343	6, 478, 528	13, 917, 408	
Ohio	1,065	20, 970, 348	81, 844, 197	102, 814, 545	209, 592, 995	
Oklahoma		\$17, 154, 218	\$21, 388, 077	\$38, 542, 295	\$51, 854, 075	
Oregon	295	4, 610, 335	12, 272, 877	16, 883, 212	30, 353, 967	
Pennsylvania	789	7, 968, 095	117, 190, 900	125, 158, 995	368, 020, 845	
Rhode Island	87	1, 358, 953	14, 664, 254	16, 023, 207	36, 750, 682	
South Carolina		29, 570, 992	29, 280, 519	58, 851, 511	75, 042, 270	
South Dakota	169		4, 399, 519	7, 581, 028	12, 300, 493	
Tennessee	280		26, 306, 422	36, 410, 215	67, 777, 340	
Texas	915	46, 603, 559	59, 919, 112	109, 522, 671	161, 644, 669	
TexasUtah	182		6, 598, 197	9, 066, 051	17, 061, 589	
Vermont	105	155, 375	3, 399, 014	3, 554, 389	8, 444, 110	
Virginia	350		23, 060, 603	30, 638, 833	57, 181, 837	
Washington			32, 244, 707	34, 082, 813	80, 502, 592	
West Virginia	150	4, 106, 000	15, 380, 102	19, 486, 102	38, 157, 169	
Wisconsin	464	953, 900	34, 195, 997	35, 149, 897	84, 033, 956	
Wyoming	58	1, 489, 000	3, 160, 017	4, 649, 017	7, 960, 535	
District of Co-			AND STATE OF STATE		The state of the s	
lumbia Alaska	14	14, 445, 350	10, 208, 650	24, 654, 000	24, 811, 500	
Alaska	33	881, 400	1,099,459	1, 980, 859	2, 764, 315	
Hawaii	57	440, 800	4, 399, 623	4, 840, 423	11, 171, 630	
Puerto Rico	59		6, 741, 377	14, 547, 290	16, 987, 221	
Virgin Islands	3		142, 212	142, 212	203, 656	

Note.—Does not include loans to railroads amounting to \$200,974,500.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I also offer for the RECORD an interesting table, showing the amount of the farm income of the several States, which gives the cash farm income for the calendar years 1937 and 1936, and which also shows the Government payments in all of the States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

# CASH FARM INCOME IN 1937

Total cash income from the sale of farm products and from Government payments in the calendar year 1937 is estimated by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics at \$8,500,000,000 compared with \$7,918,000,000 in 1936 and with \$4,328,000,000 in 1932, the low point in cash farm income since estimates were first begun in 1924. The peak of farm income during this period was reached in 1929, when it amounted to \$10,479,000,000. The estimate of \$8,500,000,000 for 1937 displaces the preliminary estimate of \$9,000,000,000 made by the Bureau in August.

by the Bureau in August.

The greater portion of the increase in income from 1936 to 1937 was due to the increase in income from crops. Total income from 78 different crops increased from \$3,460,000,000 in 1936 to \$3,840,000,000 in 1937, an increase of 11 percent. Income from livestock and livestock products increased from \$4,171,000,000 in 1936 to \$4,280,000,000 in 1937, an increase of less than 3 percent. Governments in 1937 are expected to approximate \$380,000,000 ment payments in 1937 are expected to approximate \$380,000,000 compared with \$287,000,000 in 1936. Comparable estimates of income from the principal crops and from all crops, livestock, and livestock products from 1924 to 1935 and Government payments since 1933 are given in a separate table of this report.

SUBSTITUTE FOR FARM-VALUE FIGURES

For the first time preliminary estimates of cash income from each of the principal crops and from livestock and livestock products

as a group are presented with the December crop report. income estimates cover the calendar year to permit coordination with national income estimates which are made on a calendar-year basis. Estimates of cash income from each of the several classes of livestock and livestock products will be issued in February, when the annual January 1 estimate of livestock numbers is released.

Estimates of gross income from crops and livestock by calendar years and estimates of net income from agriculture will be issued as soon as the estimates of expenses of production can be completed.

soon as the estimates of expenses of production can be completed. The estimates of cash income, which are a summation of the monthly estimates of cash income made during the calendar year, include estimates of cash income from marketings and from Government payments. Forecasts of marketings and prices during December 1937 are included to complete the calendar year. The estimates of cash income are designed to eliminate duplications that occur where crops and livestock products are valued separately and no allowance is made for crops used for seed, or fed to livestock, or used for food on farms where produced. These income estimates do not include income from sales of livestock, feed, and seed products by one farmer to another within the same State. by one farmer to another within the same State.

The estimates of cash income from agriculture indicate the amount of money available to farmers for paying taxes and interest and for purchasing commodities and services used in operating their farms and in supporting their families. The value of products produced and consumed on the farm as food or fuel is an addition to the cash income, and the total from these is included in gross income. The analysis of income, however, is not complete until expenses of production are subtracted from gross income to obtain the farmer's pet income. the farmer's net income.

In the past, crop-value estimates have been presented in connection with the December crop report. These estimates were computed from total production, using a forecast of average prices for the marketing season. Cash income estimates, on the other hand, are estimates of marketings month by month at prices prevailing when the marketings were sold.

In the case of some cash crops there is little difference between the crop-value figures and cash income. In the case of cotton, the value of the crop in a marketing season may be the same as the cash income from cotton in that season, provided farm carry-over is practically constant from year to year. But the value of cottonseed production estimated in the same way is not cash income. Some of the cottonseed is used in planting, for fertilizer, and occasionally for feed. Crops that are used largely for feed, such as corn, may show very little cash income for the year in which they are produced, but will eventually appear as income in subsequent years through the sale of livestock and livestock products. Changes in the value of the corn crop therefore are often not an accurate indication of changes in income to farmers from the production of corn. Consequently the changes in the values of some crops are directly related to changes in income, and, in the case of other crops, not so related. In the case of some cash crops there is little difference between

In analyzing the income from or outlook for any particular farm product it may be desirable to construct estimates of income for the marketing season of that product, or to estimate total crop value, but these should be treated as particular problems without reference to the national income estimates from agriculture. Also, it may be desirable to determine the total value of feed crops produced. For such purposes seasonal average prices will be made available for use in converting production or marketings into crop-year estimates of value or income.

# BIG INCREASES IN WHEAT, TOBACCO, FRUITS

The greatest increases in cash farm income from 1936 to 1937 were received from the sale of wheat, tobacco, and the more important fruit crops, particularly cherries, peaches, grapes, apples, and straw-

berries.

Income from the sales of wheat during 1937 amounted to \$667,-000,000, compared with \$408,000,000 in 1936. The larger tobacco crop this year sold at prices higher than a year ago, and returned \$318,000,000 to farmers, compared with \$235,000,000 in 1936. In spite of the near-record crop of cherries, prices were higher than a year ago, and income amounted to \$13,000,000, compared with \$7,000,000 last year. Income from peaches was 40 percent, from grapes 34 percent, from apples 32 percent, and from strawberries 28 percent higher than a year ago. Many other fruit and nut crops recorded large gains for the year, and the total income from all fruits and nuts increased from \$481,000,000 in 1936 to \$552,000,000 in 1937. in 1937.

There were several important crops for which income was smaller this year than last, partly due to small sales early in the year and partly to materially lower prices in the later months of 1937 than in the same period of 1936. Although the cotton crop is the largest on record, sales of cottonseed and lint during 1937 returned to farmers only \$821,000,000, compared with \$905,000,000 in 1936. The returns to farmers from potatoes amounted to only \$198,000,000 in 1937, compared with \$214,000,000 a year previous. Income from sweetpotatoes was also lower in 1937. Other important commodities for which income was smaller in 1937 than in 1936 were corn, barley, buckwheat, peanuts, sugar beets, and some of the legume. barley, buckwheat, peanuts, sugar beets, and some of the legume

# TEN STATES HAVE SMALLER INCOME

The States showing the greatest increase in income from 1936 to 1937 are Oklahoma, Florida, Idaho, Kentucky, and Kansas, where crop output was considerably larger than a year ago. Income from sales of farm products in 38 States was as large or larger in 1937 than in 1936.

Of the 10 States recording smaller income in 1937 than a year earlier, the declines of 14 percent in Mississippi and 10 percent in Georgia and South Dakota were most pronounced. All States in the West North Central area, except North Dakota, Kansas, and Missouri, received less cash income in 1937 than a year earlier, despite the increased receipts from the sale of crops; the shortage of feed in this area during most of 1937 greatly restricted the output of livestock and livestock products.

The estimated Government payments, which include actual payments for the first 10 months of the year and estimated payments for November and December, were 32 percent larger than payments a year ago. The larger payments in 1937 contributed to the increase in income in several States, but the increase was not sufficient in the 10 States where income from marketings was below the level of a year ago to bring the 1937 total cash income to farmers in those States up to the level of 1936.

Cash farm income

State	Income from crops	Income from livestock and livestock products	Cash farm income	Government payments	Cash income and Govern- ment payments
Taine	\$36, 500, 000	\$22, 150, 000	\$58, 650, 000	\$427,000	\$59, 077, 00
ew Hampshire	5, 050, 000	14, 850, 000	19, 900, 000	161,000	20, 061, 00
ermont_ lassachusetts	6, 975, 000 26, 625, 000	30, 825, 000 38, 675, 000	37, 800, 000 65, 300, 000	373, 000 283, 000	38, 173, 00 65, 583, 00
node Island	26, 625, 000 2, 850, 000	6, 225 000 1	9, 075, 000	39,000	9, 114, 0
opposition	18, 775, 000 102, 200, 000	30, 175, 000 208, 250, 000	48, 950, 000	469, 000	49, 419, 0
ew York ew Jersey ennsylvania.	41, 100, 000	49, 475, 000	310, 450, 000 90, 575, 000	3, 199, 000 318, 000	313, 649, 00 90, 893, 00
ennsylvania	85, 125, 000 109, 250, 000	189, 300, 000	274, 425, 000	2, 586, 000 8, 820, 000	277, 011, 0
hio diana diana diana dia na dia n	109, 250, 000	225, 600, 000	334, 850, 000	8, 820, 000	343, 670, 0
linois	81, 325, 000 204, 300, 000	209, 525, 000 302, 300, 000	290, 850, 000 506, 600, 000	9, 712, 000 15, 401, 000	300, 562, 00 522, 001, 00
lichigan	. 97, 000, 000	142, 200, 000	239, 200, 000	6, 998, 000	246, 198, 0
isconsin	42, 400, 000 88, 750, 000	278, 750, 000	321, 150, 000	10, 863, 000	332, 013, 0
linnesota wa lissouri orth Dakota	79, 500, 000	252, 750, 000 418, 050, 000	341, 500, 000 497, 550, 000 271, 225, 000 95, 100, 000	17, 407, 000 24, 806, 000	358, 907, 00 522, 356, 00
lissouri	74, 100, 000	197, 125, 000	271, 225, 000	13, 376, 000	284, 601, 0
orth Dakota	46, 600, 000	48, 500, 000	95, 100, 000	23, 196, 000	118, 296, 0
outh Dakotaebraska	19, 275, 000 61, 500, 000	68, 525, 000 173, 675, 000	87, 800, 000 235, 175, 000 324, 050, 000	15, 108, 000	102, 908, 0 252, 600, 0
	145, 150, 000	178, 900, 000	324, 050, 000	17, 425, 000 19, 094, 000	343, 144, 0
elaware	8, 725, 000 38, 050, 000	8, 725, 000	17, 450, 000	255, 000	17, 705, 0
[aryland	38, 050, 000 69, 750, 000	37, 125, 000 50, 650, 000	75, 175, 000 120, 400, 000	1, 517, 000	76, 692, 0
Irginia ost Virginia	11, 825, 000	28, 550, 000	40, 375, 000	3, 374, 000 758, 000	123, 774, 0 41, 133, 0
orth Carolina	232, 850, 000	26, 000, 000	258, 850, 000	12 282 000	271, 132, 0
ansas elaware aryland irginia est Virginia orth Carolina outh Carolina eorgia lorida	82, 975, 000	12, 225, 000	95, 200, 000	7, 972, 000	103, 172, 0 154, 127, 0
eorgialorida	118, 250, 000 118, 100, 000	25, 500, 000 19, 575, 000	143, 750, 000 137, 675, 000	10, 377, 000 1, 344, 000	154, 127, 0 139, 019, 0
	83, 350, 000	67, 500, 000	150, 850, 000	11, 347, 000	162, 197, 0
ennessee	70, 850, 000	57, 850, 000	128, 700, 000	8, 404, 000	162, 197, 0 137, 104, 0
labama	101, 700, 000 130, 150, 000	21, 350, 000 26, 275, 000	123, 050, 000 156, 425, 000	10, 779, 000 11, 611, 000	133, 829, 0
rkansas	100, 300, 000	26, 750, 000	127, 050, 000	11, 463, 000	168, 036, 0 138, 513, 0
ouisiana	97, 575, 000	22, 375, 000	119, 950, 000	7,664,000	127, 614, 0
klahomaexas	83, 300, 000 317, 600, 000	89, 925, 000 188, 350, 000	173, 225, 000 505, 950, 000	16, 096, 000	189, 321, 0
fontana	27, 475, 000	52, 925, 000	80, 400, 000	38, 226, 000 7, 963, 000	544, 176, 0 88, 363, 0
laho	27, 475, 000 52, 475, 000	54, 425, 000	106, 900, 000	3, 850, 000	110, 750, 0
yoming	10, 760, 000 56, 650, 000	40, 625, 000 84, 350, 000	51, 385, 000	1, 365, 000	52, 750, 0 145, 974, 0
oloradoew Mexico	13, 125, 000	34, 225, 000	141, 000, 000 47, 350, 000	4, 974, 000 3, 292, 000	145, 974, 0 50, 642, 0
rizona	30, 375, 000	26, 375, 000	56, 750, 000	1, 299, 000	58, 049, 0
Ttah	13, 525, 000	32, 725, 000	46, 250, 000	1, 161, 000	47, 411, 0
Vashington	1, 400, 000 99, 975, 000	11, 600, 000 64, 875, 000	13, 000, 000	214, 000 3, 490, 000	13, 214, 0
regon	64, 700, 000	60, 125, 000	164, 850, 000 124, 825, 000	2, 686, 000	168, 340, 0 127, 511, 0
United States	429, 875, 000 3, 840, 035, 000	4, 280, 000, 000	654, 150, 000 8, 120, 035, 000	6, 082, 000	660, 232, 0
action country rather at sold per aut		4, 200, 000, 000	0, 120, 033, 000	379, 906, 000	8, 499, 941, 0
the supply spent and first on what pulled to see that spent were	NDAR YEAR 1936			marks Africa	I book and
faine	\$33, 150, 000 3, 800, 000	\$22, 200, 000 14, 900, 000	\$55, 350, 000 18, 700, 000	\$184,000 50,000	\$55, 534, 0 18, 750, 0
ermont	6, 000, 000	30, 800, 000	36, 800, 000	168, 000	36, 968, 0
	05 050,000	00,000,000	44 480 000		
	25, 650, 000 1	38, 500, 000	64, 150, 000	467,000	64, 617,
	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000	1,000	9, 376,
	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 91, 300, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 28, 300, 000 208, 300, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 299, 600, 000	1,000 760,000 1,567,000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167,
	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 91, 300, 000 43, 550, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 28, 300, 000 208, 300, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 299, 600, 000 90, 500, 000	1,000 760,000 1,567,000 313,000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813,
hode island ponecticut ew York ew Jersey mnsylvania	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 91, 300, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 25, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 46, 959, 000 171, 000, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 299, 600, 000	1,000 760,000 1,567,000 313,000 2,427,000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977,
hode Island onnecticut ew York ew Jersey ennsylvania hio diana	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 990, 000 91, 300, 000 43, 559, 000 67, 559, 000 101, 150, 000 71, 300, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 28, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 46, 950, 000 171, 000, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 299, 600, 000 90, 500, 000 238, 550, 000 307, 150, 000 270, 130, 000	1, 000 760, 000 1, 567, 000 313, 000 2, 427, 000 8, 004, 000 9, 079, 000	64, 617, 9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209,
hode Island connecticut ew York ew Jersey annsylvania hio dlana linois	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 91, 300, 000 43, 559, 000 67, 559, 000 101, 150, 000 71, 300, 000 176, 500, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 25, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 46, 950, 000 171, 000, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 296, 000, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 299, 600, 000 90, 500, 000 238, 550, 000 307, 150, 000 270, 130, 000 472, 500, 000	1,000 760,000 1,567,000 313,000 2,427,000 8,004,000 9,079,000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 869,
hode Island  pomeeticut  ew York  ew Jersey  annsylvania  hio  dilana  linois  lichigan  "isconsin	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 91, 300, 600 43, 550, 000 67, 550, 000 101, 150, 000 71, 300, 000 176, 500, 000 83, 450, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 28, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 46, 950, 000 171, 000, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 296, 000, 000 129, 800, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 299, 600, 000 90, 500, 000 238, 550, 000 307, 150, 000 270, 130, 000 472, 500, 000	1,000 760,000 1,567,000 313,000 2,427,000 8,004,000 9,079,000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 869, 215, 807,
hode Island connecticut ew York ew York annsylvania hio dilana liinois lichigan 'Isconsin	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 91, 300, 000 43, 559, 000 67, 559, 000 101, 150, 000 71, 300, 000 176, 500, 000 83, 450, 000 40, 800, 000 85, 800, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 25, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 46, 950, 000 171, 000, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 296, 000, 000 129, 800, 000 265, 800, 000 265, 800, 000 265, 100, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 290, 600, 000 90, 500, 000 238, 550, 000 270, 150, 000 270, 130, 000 472, 500, 000 213, 250, 000 306, 600, 600 350, 900, 000	1, 000 760, 000 1, 567, 000 313, 000 2, 427, 000 8, 004, 000 9, 079, 600 16, 369, 000 2, 557, 000 3, 536, 600 9, 204, 000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 869, 215, 807, 310, 136, 360, 104,
hode Island nnecticut ew York ew Jersey smsylvania hio diana linois lichigan Isconsin linnesota	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 91, 300, 600 43, 550, 000 67, 550, 000 71, 300, 600 176, 500, 000 83, 450, 000 40, 800, 000 85, 800, 000 73, 500, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 25, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 46, 950, 000 171, 000, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 296, 000, 000 129, 800, 000 285, 800, 000 285, 800, 000 470, 450, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 290, 600, 000 90, 500, 000 238, 550, 000 307, 150, 000 472, 500, 000 213, 250, 000 316, 600, 000 350, 960, 000 543, 950, 000	1,000 760,000 1,567,000 2,427,000 8,004,000 9,079,000 16,369,000 2,557,000 3,536,000 9,204,000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 869, 215, 807, 310, 136, 360, 104, 569, 377,
hode Island  pomeeticut  ew York  ew Jersey  annsylvania  hio  didiana  linois  lichigan  Tisconsin  Linnesota  wa  Tissouri	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 91, 300, 000 43, 550, 000 67, 550, 000 71, 300, 000 176, 500, 000 176, 500, 000 83, 450, 000 40, 800, 000 85, 800, 000 68, 150, 000 68, 150, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 25, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 46, 950, 000 171, 000, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 296, 000, 000 129, 800, 000 265, 800, 000 265, 800, 000 265, 100, 000 270, 450, 000 201, 100, 000 201, 100, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 290, 600, 000 90, 500, 000 238, 550, 000 270, 130, 000 472, 500, 000 213, 250, 000 350, 600, 000 350, 960, 000 543, 950, 000 259, 250, 000	1,000 760,000 1,567,000 313,000 2,427,000 8,004,000 9,079,000 16,369,000 2,557,000 3,538,000 9,204,000 25,427,000 11,314,000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 869, 215, 807, 310, 136, 360, 104, 569, 377, 270, 564,
hode Island nnecticut ew York ew Jersey smsylvania hio dilana linois lichigan Isconsin Linnesota wa aissourl orth Dakota	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 91, 300, 600 43, 550, 000 67, 550, 000 71, 300, 600 176, 500, 000 83, 450, 000 40, 800, 000 85, 800, 000 73, 500, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 25, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 46, 950, 000 171, 090, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 296, 000, 000 129, 800, 000 265, 800, 000 265, 100, 000 470, 450, 000 201, 100, 000 53, 000, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 290, 600, 000 90, 500, 000 238, 550, 000 270, 130, 000 472, 500, 000 213, 250, 000 306, 600, 000 350, 900, 000 543, 950, 000 259, 250, 000 84, 700, 000	1,000 760,000 1,567,000 313,000 2,427,000 8,004,000 9,079,000 16,369,000 2,557,000 3,536,000 9,204,000 25,427,000 11,314,000 12,379,000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 869, 215, 807, 310, 136, 360, 104, 869, 377, 270, 564, 97, 079,
hode Island nnecticut ew York ew Jersey empsylvania hio diana linois leibigan isconsin linnesota wa lissouri orth Dakota uth Dakota ebraska	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 17, 900, 000 43, 550, 000 67, 550, 000 101, 150, 000 71, 300, 000 176, 500, 000 40, 800, 000 85, 800, 000 73, 500, 000 68, 150, 070 31, 700, 000 51, 100, 000 51, 100, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 25, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 46, 950, 000 171, 000, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 296, 000, 000 285, 800, 000 265, 100, 000 470, 450, 000 201, 100, 000 53, 000, 000 81, 000, 000 208, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 208, 300, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 290, 600, 000 238, 550, 000 307, 150, 000 270, 130, 000 472, 500, 000 306, 600, 000 350, 900, 000 543, 950, 000 250, 250, 000 94, 700, 000 97, 950, 000 259, 250, 000 259, 250, 000 259, 250, 000 259, 250, 000 259, 250, 000 259, 250, 000 259, 250, 000 259, 250, 000 259, 250, 000 259, 250, 000 259, 250, 000	1, 000 760, 000 1, 567, 000 313, 000 2, 427, 000 8, 004, 000 9, 079, 000 16, 369, 000 2, 557, 000 3, 536, 000 9, 204, 000 25, 427, 000 11, 314, 000 12, 379, 600 17, 294, 000 17, 294, 000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 869, 215, 807, 210, 136, 360, 104, 569, 377, 270, 564, 97, 679, 107, 736, 276, 694,
hode Island nnnecticut ew York ew Jersey smsylvania hio diana linois lichigan isconsin linnesota wa issouri outh Dakota outh Dakota ebraska ansas	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 91, 300, 000 43, 550, 000 67, 550, 000 71, 300, 000 77, 300, 000 176, 500, 000 83, 450, 000 40, 800, 000 85, 800, 000 73, 500, 000 68, 150, 000 16, 950, 000 16, 950, 000 88, 900, 000 89, 900, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 25, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 46, 950, 000 171, 000, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 296, 000, 000 129, 800, 000 265, 800, 000 265, 100, 000 270, 450, 000 270, 450, 000 81, 000, 000 181, 400, 000 181, 400, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 299, 600, 000 90, 500, 000 387, 150, 000 270, 130, 000 472, 500, 000 213, 250, 000 306, 600, 000 350, 900, 000 543, 950, 000 259, 250, 000 97, 950, 000 259, 250, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000	1,000 760,000 1,567,000 2,427,000 8,004,000 9,079,000 16,369,000 2,557,000 3,536,000 9,204,000 25,427,000 11,314,000 12,379,600 9,786,000 17,294,000 34,718,000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 869, 215, 807, 310, 136, 360, 104, 97, 079, 107, 736, 2276, 694, 306, 018, 360, 618,
hode Island nnnecticut ew York ew York ew Jersey smsylvania hio dilana linois lichigan 'isconsin linnesota wa 'issouri orth Dakota outh Dakota ebraska ansas eiaware arryland	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 17, 900, 000 43, 550, 000 67, 550, 000 101, 150, 000 71, 300, 000 176, 500, 000 40, 800, 000 85, 800, 000 73, 500, 000 68, 150, 070 31, 700, 000 51, 100, 000 51, 100, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 25, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 46, 950, 000 171, 000, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 296, 000, 000 295, 000, 000 285, 800, 000 285, 800, 000 285, 100, 000 470, 450, 000 201, 100, 000 53, 000, 000 81, 000, 000 81, 000, 000 181, 400, 000 7, 475, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 290, 600, 000 90, 500, 000 238, 550, 000 270, 130, 000 472, 500, 000 213, 250, 000 350, 960, 000 543, 950, 000 543, 950, 000 259, 250, 000 97, 950, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000	1,000 760,000 1,567,000 313,000 2,427,000 8,004,000 9,079,000 16,389,000 2,557,000 3,536,000 9,204,000 25,427,000 11,314,000 12,379,000 9,786,000 17,294,000 24,718,000 24,718,000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 869, 215, 807, 310, 136, 360, 104, 569, 377, 270, 564, 97, 079, 107, 736, 276, 694, 300, 018, 16, 249,
hode Island nnnecticut ew York ew Jersey sunsylvania hio diana linois lechigan isconsin linnesota wa Lissouri orth Dakota uuth Dakota ebraska ansas eiaware aryland irginia	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 91, 300, 000 43, 550, 000 67, 559, 000 101, 150, 000 71, 300, 000 176, 500, 000 40, 800, 000 40, 800, 000 73, 500, 000 68, 150, 000 16, 950, 000 16, 950, 000 81, 700, 000 81, 100, 000 89, 900, 000 88, 500, 000 88, 500, 000 87, 000 88, 500, 000 71, 000, 000 71, 000, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 25, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 171, 000, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 296, 000, 000 296, 000, 000 205, 800, 000 205, 800, 000 205, 100, 000 470, 450, 000 201, 100, 000 53, 000, 000 81, 000, 000 211, 400, 000 27, 475, 000 33, 550, 000 44, 400, 000 44, 400, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 290, 600, 000 90, 500, 000 238, 550, 000 270, 130, 000 472, 500, 000 213, 250, 000 350, 600, 000 350, 900, 000 543, 950, 000 259, 950, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 15, 975, 000 69, 050, 000 115, 400, 000	1,000 760,000 1,567,000 2,427,000 8,004,000 9,079,000 16,369,000 2,557,000 3,536,000 9,204,000 25,427,000 11,314,000 12,379,000 9,786,000 17,294,000 24,478,000 274,000 24,478,000 17,294,000 24,788,000 17,294,000 24,788,000 17,294,000 34,718,000 1,138,000 1,138,000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 869, 215, 807, 310, 136, 360, 104, 569, 377, 270, 564, 97, 679, 107, 736, 276, 694, 306, 018, 16, 249, 70, 188, 117, 056,
hode Island nnnecticut ew York ew Jersey sunsylvania hio diana linois lechigan isconsin linnesota wa Lissouri orth Dakota uuth Dakota ebraska ansas eiaware aryland irginia	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 17, 900, 000 91, 300, 000 43, 550, 000 67, 550, 000 101, 150, 000 71, 300, 000 176, 500, 000 83, 450, 000 40, 800, 000 85, 800, 000 73, 500, 000 58, 150, 000 16, 950, 000 16, 950, 000 11, 100, 000 88, 500, 000 98, 500, 000 98, 500, 000 98, 500, 000 99, 975, 000 99, 975, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 25, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 46, 950, 000 171, 000, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 296, 000, 000 285, 800, 000 265, 800, 000 470, 450, 000 201, 100, 000 81, 000, 000 208, 300, 000 181, 400, 000 7, 475, 000 24, 450, 000 27, 350, 000 44, 400, 000 27, 350, 000 47, 475, 000 27, 350, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 299, 600, 000 299, 600, 000 238, 550, 000 270, 150, 000 270, 150, 000 271, 150, 000 263, 250, 000 366, 600, 000 350, 900, 000 543, 950, 000 259, 250, 000 259, 250, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 115, 975, 000 115, 400, 000 36, 425, 000	1,000 760,000 1,687,000 313,000 2,427,000 8,004,000 9,079,000 16,369,000 2,557,000 3,536,600 9,204,000 25,427,000 11,314,000 12,379,000 17,294,000 274,000 274,000 1,388,000 1,388,000 1,388,000 1,388,000 1,388,000 1,388,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 869, 215, 807, 270, 564, 97, 079, 107, 736, 226, 694, 306, 018, 16, 249, 70, 188, 117, 056, 36, 618, 17, 056, 36, 618, 17, 056, 36, 618, 17, 056, 36, 618, 17, 056, 36, 618, 17, 056, 36, 618, 18, 197, 058, 117, 056, 36, 618, 36, 36, 36, 36, 36, 36, 36, 36, 36, 36
hode Island nomecticut ew York ew York ew Jersey snnsylvania hio didana linois lichigan Isconsin linnesota wa tissouri oorth Dakota puth Dakota puth Dakota ebraska ansas elaware laryland irginia fest Virginia orth Carolina	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 91, 300, 000 91, 300, 000 43, 550, 000 67, 550, 000 171, 300, 000 176, 500, 000 83, 450, 000 40, 800, 000 85, 800, 000 73, 800, 000 68, 150, 000 16, 950, 000 51, 100, 000 88, 500, 000 98, 500, 000 71, 000 98, 500, 000 171, 000, 000 88, 500, 000 98, 500, 000 99, 0075, 000 193, 1700, 000 193, 1750, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 25, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 46, 950, 000 171, 000, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 296, 000, 000 129, 800, 000 265, 800, 000 205, 100, 000 470, 450, 000 201, 100, 000 53, 000, 000 81, 000, 000 81, 000, 000 2181, 400, 000 27, 475, 000 27, 475, 000 27, 475, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 290, 600, 000 90, 500, 000 238, 550, 000 270, 130, 000 472, 500, 000 213, 250, 000 306, 600, 000 306, 600, 000 350, 900, 000 350, 900, 000 350, 900, 000 259, 400, 000 259, 400, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 15, 975, 000 69, 050, 000 115, 400, 000 38, 425, 000 219, 950, 000	1,000 760,000 1,567,000 2,427,000 8,004,000 9,079,000 16,389,000 2,557,000 3,536,000 9,204,000 25,427,000 11,314,000 12,379,000 9,786,000 17,294,000 24,718,000 274,000 1,138,000 1,656,000 193,000 4,302,000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 889, 215, 807, 310, 136, 669, 377, 270, 564, 97, 079, 107, 736, 276, 694, 70, 188, 117, 056, 36, 618, 223, 352, 233, 52
hode Island nomecticut ew York ew York ew Jersey smsylvania hio dilana dilana linois lichigan lisconsin limiseota wa lissouri orth Dakota outh Dakota outh Dakota ebraska ansas elaware laryland irginia rest Virginia orth Carolina outh Carolina	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 91, 300, 000 43, 550, 000 67, 550, 000 101, 150, 000 71, 300, 000 176, 500, 000 83, 450, 000 40, 800, 000 85, 800, 000 73, 500, 000 16, 950, 000 16, 950, 000 16, 950, 000 51, 100, 000 89, 900, 000 8, 500, 000 99, 000 90, 000 193, 150, 000 193, 150, 000 193, 150, 000 193, 150, 000 193, 150, 000 193, 150, 000 193, 150, 000 193, 150, 000 193, 150, 000 193, 150, 000 193, 150, 000 193, 150, 000 193, 150, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 25, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 46, 959, 000 171, 090, 090 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 296, 000, 000 129, 800, 000 205, 800, 000 205, 100, 000 205, 100, 000 53, 000, 000 53, 000, 000 53, 000, 000 21, 100, 000 53, 000, 000 21, 400, 000 21, 400, 000 22, 350, 000 24, 400, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 350, 000 27, 900, 000 28, 900, 0	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 299, 600, 000 299, 600, 000 238, 550, 000 270, 150, 000 270, 150, 000 271, 150, 000 263, 250, 000 366, 600, 000 350, 900, 000 543, 950, 000 259, 250, 000 259, 250, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 115, 975, 000 115, 400, 000 36, 425, 000	1,000 760,000 1,687,000 313,000 2,427,000 8,004,000 9,079,000 16,369,000 2,557,000 3,536,600 9,204,000 25,427,000 11,314,000 12,379,000 17,294,000 274,000 274,000 1,388,000 1,388,000 1,388,000 1,388,000 1,388,000 1,388,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000 1,988,000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 869, 215, 807, 270, 564, 97, 679, 107, 736, 276, 694, 306, 018, 16, 249, 70, 188, 117, 056, 36, 618, 223, 352, 104, 935, 104,
hode Island connecticut ew York ew York ew Jersey ennsylvania bio dilana dilana dilana linois lichigan 'isconsin finnesota wa	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 990, 000 91, 300, 000 43, 550, 000 67, 550, 000 101, 150, 000 71, 300, 000 176, 500, 000 83, 450, 000 40, 800, 000 85, 800, 000 73, 500, 000 58, 150, 000 16, 990, 000 8, 500, 000 16, 990, 000 8, 500, 000 9, 000 8, 500, 000 9, 000 8, 500, 000 17, 000, 000 18, 500, 000 19, 100, 000 19, 100, 000 19, 100, 000 193, 150, 000 193, 150, 000 188, 770, 000 188, 770, 000 185, 500, 000 193, 150, 000 185, 500, 000 193, 150, 000 195, 500, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 25, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 46, 950, 000 171, 000, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 296, 000, 000 295, 000, 000 205, 100, 000 201, 100, 000 201, 100, 000 53, 000, 000 81, 000, 000 81, 000, 000 181, 400, 000 7, 475, 000 27, 350, 000 44, 400, 000 27, 350, 000 24, 000, 000 12, 600, 000 11, 600, 000 27, 350, 000 24, 000, 000 12, 600, 000 12, 600, 000 12, 600, 000 12, 600, 000 19, 000, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 290, 600, 000 90, 500, 000 238, 550, 000 270, 130, 000 472, 500, 000 213, 250, 000 350, 960, 000 543, 950, 000 543, 950, 000 259, 250, 000 97, 950, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 115, 975, 000 115, 400, 000 219, 050, 000 115, 000 111, 350, 000 112, 350, 000 112, 550, 000 112, 550, 000	1, 000 760, 000 1, 567, 000 2, 427, 000 8, 004, 000 9, 079, 000 16, 369, 000 2, 557, 000 3, 536, 006 9, 204, 000 25, 427, 000 11, 314, 000 12, 379, 000 9, 786, 000 17, 294, 000 24, 18, 000 274, 000 1, 138, 000 1, 138, 000 1, 656, 000 4, 302, 006 4, 302, 006 6, 787, 000 828, 000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 869, 215, 807, 310, 136, 360, 104, 569, 377, 270, 564, 97, 679, 107, 736, 276, 694, 70, 188, 117, 056, 36, 618, 146, 249, 70, 188, 117, 056, 36, 618, 117, 056, 36, 618, 117, 056, 36, 618, 117, 056, 36, 618, 117, 056, 36, 618, 117, 056, 36, 618, 117, 056, 36, 618, 117, 056, 36, 618, 117, 056, 36, 618, 117, 056, 36, 618, 117, 056, 36, 618, 117, 056, 36, 618, 117, 056, 36, 618, 117, 056, 36, 618, 117, 056, 36, 618, 117, 056, 36, 618, 37, 113, 378, 113, 378,
hode Island onnecticut ew York ew York ew Jersey ennsylvania hio didana dilana linois lichigan /isconsin finnesota wa fissouri orth Dakota outh Dakota ebraska ansas elsaware faryland irginia rest Virginia orth Carolina outh Carolina eorgia lorida eorgia lorida eorgia lorida entucky enuekye	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 17, 900, 000 91, 300, 000 43, 550, 000 67, 550, 000 101, 150, 000 71, 300, 000 176, 500, 000 83, 450, 000 40, 800, 000 85, 800, 000 73, 500, 000 58, 150, 000 16, 950, 000 16, 950, 000 51, 100, 000 88, 500, 000 98, 500, 000 98, 500, 000 171, 000, 000 99, 075, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 550, 000 183, 550, 000 184, 550, 000 185, 550, 000 185, 550, 000 185, 550, 000 185, 550, 000 185, 550, 000 185, 550, 000 185, 550, 000 186, 400, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 208, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 46, 950, 000 171, 000, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 296, 000, 000 205, 100, 000 205, 100, 000 205, 100, 000 201, 100, 000 53, 000, 000 53, 000, 000 51, 000, 000 51, 000, 000 208, 300, 000 181, 400, 000 7, 475, 000 33, 550, 000 44, 400, 000 27, 350, 000 25, 900, 000 12, 000, 000 12, 000, 000 12, 000, 000 12, 000, 000 12, 000, 000 12, 000, 000 13, 000, 000 14, 000, 000 19, 000, 000 19, 000, 000 63, 800, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 299, 600, 000 299, 600, 000 238, 550, 000 307, 150, 000 270, 130, 000 472, 500, 000 306, 600, 000 350, 900, 000 543, 950, 000 259, 250, 000 97, 950, 000 259, 250, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 115, 900, 000 215, 975, 000 215, 975, 000 215, 975, 000 215, 950, 000 215, 950, 000 215, 950, 000 215, 950, 000 215, 950, 000 215, 950, 000 215, 950, 000 115, 500, 000 112, 550, 000 112, 550, 000 112, 550, 000 112, 550, 000	1,000 760,000 1,567,000 2,427,000 8,004,000 9,079,000 16,369,000 2,557,000 2,557,000 2,557,000 11,314,000 11,314,000 12,379,000 17,294,000 274,000 1,380,000 1,380,000 1,380,000 1,666,000 1,388,000 4,302,000 3,885,000 6,787,000 828,000 4,508,000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 869, 215, 807, 310, 136, 360, 104, 97, 079, 107, 736, 276, 694, 306, 018, 16, 249, 70, 188, 117, 056, 26, 618, 223, 352, 104, 93, 117, 056, 26, 117, 056, 26, 118, 117, 056, 26, 118, 117, 056, 26, 118, 117, 056, 26, 118, 117, 056, 26, 118, 117, 056, 26, 118, 117, 056, 26, 118, 117, 056, 26, 118, 117, 056, 26, 118, 117, 056, 26, 118, 117, 056, 26, 118, 117, 056, 26, 118, 118, 118, 118, 118, 118, 118, 11
hode Island onnecticut ew York ew York ew Jersey ennsylvania hio didana dilana linois lichigan /isconsin finnesota wa fissouri orth Dakota outh Dakota ebraska ansas elsaware faryland irginia rest Virginia orth Carolina outh Carolina eorgia lorida eorgia lorida eorgia lorida entucky enuekye	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 17, 900, 000 91, 300, 000 43, 550, 000 67, 550, 000 101, 150, 000 176, 500, 000 176, 500, 000 83, 450, 000 40, 800, 000 85, 800, 000 85, 800, 000 68, 150, 000 16, 950, 000 16, 950, 000 17, 000, 000 18, 150, 000 19, 150, 000 19, 150, 000 19, 150, 000 19, 150, 000 19, 150, 000 19, 150, 000 19, 150, 000 19, 150, 000 19, 150, 000 19, 150, 000 19, 150, 000 19, 150, 000 19, 150, 000 19, 150, 000 19, 150, 000 19, 150, 000 19, 150, 000 19, 150, 000 100, 950, 000 100, 950, 000 100, 950, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 208, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 46, 950, 000 171, 000, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 296, 000, 000 205, 100, 000 205, 100, 000 201, 100, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 290, 600, 000 90, 500, 000 238, 550, 000 270, 130, 000 472, 500, 000 213, 250, 000 350, 600, 000 350, 900, 000 543, 950, 000 259, 250, 000 97, 950, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 15, 975, 000 115, 400, 000 115, 500, 000 115, 500, 000 115, 500, 000 1125, 500, 000 1125, 200, 000 1125, 200, 000 1125, 200, 000 1125, 200, 000 1126, 650, 000 1126, 650, 000 1126, 650, 000 1126, 650, 000 1126, 650, 000 1126, 650, 000 1126, 650, 000 1126, 650, 000 1126, 650, 000	1,000 760,000 1,567,000 2,427,000 8,004,000 9,079,000 16,329,000 2,557,000 3,538,000 9,204,000 25,427,000 11,314,000 12,379,000 9,786,000 17,294,000 274,000 24,138,000 1,138,000 1,138,000 1,138,000 1,566,000 4,302,000 6,787,000 828,000 4,508,000 3,715,000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 869, 215, 807, 310, 136, 360, 104, 97, 079, 107, 736, 276, 694, 97, 798, 16, 249, 70, 188, 117, 056, 36, 618, 129, 104, 935, 165, 837, 113, 378, 129, 708,
hode Island onnecticut ew York ew York ew Jersey ennsylvania hio didana dilana linois lichigan /isconsin finnesota wa fissouri orth Dakota outh Dakota ebraska ansas elsaware faryland irginia rest Virginia orth Carolina outh Carolina eorgia lorida eorgia lorida eorgia lorida entucky enuekye	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 91, 300, 000 43, 550, 000 67, 559, 000 101, 150, 000 71, 300, 000 176, 500, 000 83, 450, 000 40, 800, 000 73, 500, 000 68, 150, 000 68, 150, 000 16, 950, 000 89, 900, 000 88, 500, 000 90, 000 151, 100, 000 88, 500, 000 171, 000, 000 88, 500, 000 171, 000, 000 88, 500, 000 171, 000, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 550, 000 183, 550, 000 183, 550, 000 183, 550, 000 184, 350, 000 185, 350, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 25, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 171, 000, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 296, 000, 000 296, 000, 000 205, 800, 000 205, 800, 000 201, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 221, 350, 000 24, 000, 000 24, 000, 000 24, 000, 000 25, 300, 000 26, 300, 000 26, 300, 000 27, 350, 000 28, 300, 000 29, 300, 000 21, 000, 000 21, 000, 000 22, 3750, 000 23, 750, 000 23, 750, 000 23, 750, 000 23, 750, 000 23, 750, 000 23, 750, 000 23, 750, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 290, 600, 000 90, 500, 000 238, 550, 000 270, 130, 000 472, 500, 000 213, 250, 000 350, 600, 000 350, 900, 000 543, 950, 000 259, 250, 000 259, 400, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 15, 975, 000 115, 975, 000 115, 975, 000 115, 975, 000 115, 200, 000 115, 200, 000 115, 200, 000 112, 550, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 113, 500, 000 114, 500, 000 115, 500, 000	1,000 760,000 1,567,000 2,427,000 8,004,000 9,079,000 16,369,000 2,557,000 3,536,000 9,204,000 25,427,000 11,314,000 12,379,600 9,786,000 17,294,000 24,718,000 274,000 1,138,000 1,566,000 1,33,000 4,508,000 3,585,000 6,787,000 4,508,000 3,715,000 7,164,000 7,164,000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 869, 215, 807, 310, 136, 360, 104, 97, 079, 107, 736, 226, 694, 97, 079, 107, 736, 216, 694, 117, 056, 36, 618, 122, 362, 144, 935, 145, 837, 113, 378, 129, 708, 120, 365, 122, 506, 189, 014,
hode Island onnecticut ew York ew York ew Jersey ennsylvania hio adiana linois fichigan /Isconsin finnesota wa lissouri oorth Dakota outh Dakota ebraska ansas  Deisware laryland irginia /est Virginia forth Carolina outh Carolina eteorgia llorida etentucky ennessee labama fissisppi rkansas	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 990, 000 91, 300, 000 43, 550, 000 67, 550, 000 101, 150, 000 71, 300, 000 176, 500, 000 40, 800, 000 85, 450, 000 73, 500, 000 68, 150, 000 16, 950, 000 16, 950, 000 16, 950, 000 17, 000, 000 18, 150, 000 18, 150, 000 18, 150, 000 18, 150, 000 18, 150, 000 18, 150, 000 18, 150, 000 18, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 185, 150, 000 185, 500, 000 185, 500, 000 185, 500, 000 185, 500, 000 185, 500, 000 185, 100, 000 185, 100, 000 185, 100, 000 185, 100, 000 185, 100, 000 185, 100, 000 185, 100, 000 185, 100, 000 185, 100, 000 185, 100, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 25, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 46, 950, 000 171, 000, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 206, 000, 000 205, 100, 000 205, 100, 000 205, 100, 000 201, 100, 000 201, 100, 000 33, 000, 000 181, 400, 000 7, 475, 000 33, 550, 000 44, 400, 000 27, 350, 000 28, 300, 000 21, 000, 000 28, 300, 000 21, 000, 000 24, 000, 000 24, 000, 000 24, 000, 000 24, 000, 000 25, 300, 000 26, 300, 000 27, 350, 000 21, 000, 000 23, 300, 000 20, 100, 000 20, 100, 000 23, 750, 000 26, 425, 000 26, 425, 000 26, 425, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 299, 600, 000 299, 600, 000 238, 550, 000 307, 150, 000 270, 130, 000 472, 500, 000 213, 250, 000 350, 900, 000 543, 950, 000 259, 250, 000 259, 250, 000 259, 250, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 15, 975, 000 215, 940, 000 215, 940, 000 215, 950, 000 115, 400, 000 216, 050, 000 115, 500, 000 112, 550, 000 112, 550, 000 1125, 500, 000 1125, 500, 000 1125, 500, 000 1125, 500, 000 1125, 500, 000 1126, 600, 000 1127, 500, 000 1128, 550, 000 1127, 500, 000 1128, 550, 000 1127, 500, 000 1128, 550, 000 1127, 500, 000 1128, 550, 000 1127, 500, 000 1127, 500, 000 1127, 500, 000 1127, 500, 000 1127, 500, 000 1127, 500, 000 1127, 500, 000 1127, 500, 000 1127, 500, 000 1127, 500, 000 1127, 500, 000 1127, 500, 000 1127, 500, 000 1127, 500, 000 1127, 500, 000 1127, 500, 000 1127, 500, 000	1, 000 760, 000 1, 567, 600 313, 000 2, 427, 000 8, 004, 000 9, 079, 600 16, 369, 000 2, 557, 000 3, 538, 600 9, 204, 000 9, 786, 000 11, 314, 000 12, 379, 600 17, 294, 600 17, 294, 600 17, 294, 600 17, 294, 600 17, 188, 000 1, 188, 000 1, 188, 000 4, 302, 000 3, 555, 000 6, 787, 000 828, 000 4, 508, 000 7, 164, 600 5, 261, 000 5, 261, 000 5, 261, 000 5, 261, 000 5, 261, 000 5, 261, 000 5, 261, 000 5, 261, 000 5, 261, 000 5, 261, 000 5, 261, 000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 869, 215, 807, 270, 564, 97, 679, 107, 736, 266, 918, 117, 056, 36, 618, 223, 352, 104, 935, 113, 378, 1129, 708, 120, 365, 127, 596, 188, 117, 113, 378, 129, 708, 120, 365, 127, 596, 188, 014, 142, 336, 018, 189, 014, 142, 336, 104, 188, 117, 113, 378, 129, 708, 120, 365, 127, 596, 189, 014, 142, 336, 018, 101, 164, 164, 164, 164, 164, 164, 164, 16
hode Island onnecticut ew York ew York ew Jersey ennsylvania hio didana dilana linois lichigan /isconsin finnesota wa fissouri orth Dakota outh Dakota ebraska ansas elsaware faryland irginia rest Virginia orth Carolina outh Carolina eorgia lorida eorgia lorida eorgia lorida entucky enuekye	25, 650, 000 3, 200, 000 17, 900, 000 91, 300, 000 43, 550, 000 67, 559, 000 101, 150, 000 71, 300, 000 176, 500, 000 83, 450, 000 40, 800, 000 73, 500, 000 68, 150, 000 68, 150, 000 16, 950, 000 89, 900, 000 88, 500, 000 90, 000 151, 100, 000 88, 500, 000 171, 000, 000 88, 500, 000 171, 000, 000 88, 500, 000 171, 000, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 150, 000 183, 550, 000 183, 550, 000 183, 550, 000 183, 550, 000 184, 350, 000 185, 350, 000	38, 500, 000 6, 175, 000 25, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 208, 300, 000 171, 000, 000 206, 000, 000 198, 830, 000 296, 000, 000 296, 000, 000 205, 800, 000 205, 800, 000 201, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 211, 100, 000 221, 350, 000 24, 000, 000 24, 000, 000 24, 000, 000 25, 300, 000 26, 300, 000 26, 300, 000 27, 350, 000 28, 300, 000 29, 300, 000 21, 000, 000 21, 000, 000 22, 3750, 000 23, 750, 000 23, 750, 000 23, 750, 000 23, 750, 000 23, 750, 000 23, 750, 000 23, 750, 000	64, 150, 000 9, 375, 000 46, 290, 000 290, 600, 000 90, 500, 000 238, 550, 000 270, 130, 000 472, 500, 000 213, 250, 000 350, 600, 000 350, 900, 000 543, 950, 000 259, 250, 000 259, 400, 000 271, 300, 000 271, 300, 000 15, 975, 000 115, 975, 000 115, 975, 000 115, 975, 000 115, 200, 000 115, 200, 000 115, 200, 000 112, 550, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 112, 500, 000 113, 500, 000 114, 500, 000 115, 500, 000	1,000 760,000 1,567,000 2,427,000 8,004,000 9,079,000 16,369,000 2,557,000 3,536,000 9,204,000 25,427,000 11,314,000 12,379,600 9,786,000 17,294,000 24,718,000 274,000 1,138,000 1,566,000 1,33,000 4,508,000 3,585,000 6,787,000 4,508,000 3,715,000 7,164,000 7,164,000	9, 376, 46, 960, 301, 167, 90, 813, 240, 977, 315, 154, 279, 209, 488, 869, 215, 807, 310, 136, 360, 104, 669, 377, 270, 564, 97, 679, 107, 736, 276, 694, 97, 179, 107, 736, 113, 378, 114, 336, 114, 935, 127, 596, 127, 596, 138, 144, 233, 127, 596, 127, 596, 127, 596, 127, 596, 127, 596, 127, 596, 127, 596, 127, 596, 127, 596, 127, 596, 127, 596, 127, 596, 127, 596, 127, 596, 127, 596, 127, 596, 127, 596, 127, 596, 129, 138, 129, 183, 129, 183,

<sup>1</sup> United States' total does not equal sum of the States because of adjustment for interstate shipments of livestock for feeding and breeding.

Cash farm income-Continued CALENDAR YEAR 1936-continued

State	Income from crops	Income from livestock and livestock products	Cash farm income	Government payments	Cash income and Govern- ment payments
Idaho	\$40, 600, 000 9, 600, 600 42, 900, 000 14, 500, 000 25, 950, 000 13, 200, 600 1, 250, 000 83, 250, 000 53, 550, 000 410, 500, 000	\$46, 900, 000 36, 450, 000 72, 950, 000 30, 750, 000 22, 500, 000 28, 100, 000 10, 325, 000 62, 850, 000 53, 000, 000 202, 250, 000	\$87, 500, 000 46, 050, 000 122, 850, 000 45, 250, 000 48, 450, 000 41, 300, 000 11, 575, 000 146, 100, 000 106, 550, 000 612, 750, 000	\$3, 531, 000 1, 018, 000 4, 665, 000 1, 185, 000 376, 000 1, 142, 000 44, 000 5, 526, 000 2, 815, 000 3, 477, 000	\$91, 031, 000 47, 068, 000 127, 515, 600 46, 435, 000 48, 826, 000 42, 442, 000 11, 619, 600 109, 365, 000 616, 227, 000
United States	3, 462, 425, 000	1 4, 171, 000, 000	17, 633, 425, 000	2 287, 000, 000	1 7, 920, 425, 000

<sup>1</sup> United States' total does not equal sum of the States because of adjustment for interstate shipments of livestock for feeding and breeding.
<sup>3</sup> Includes \$480,965 in canceled checks undistributed by States.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I also offer for the Record a statement which shows the estimated physical wealth of the several States, and all taxable property values in the

several States as of the year 1932. I have been unable to secure figures for later years.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TABLE II.-Wealth by States,1 1932

Division and State	Total wealth,	Total taxable wealth, 1932 1	
United States	\$290, 616, 000, 000	\$271, 600, 000, 000	
New England	21, 146, 000, 000	19, 445, 000, 000	
Moine	1, 691, 000, 000	1, 578, 000, 000	
New Hampshire	1, 108, 000, 000	1, 578, 000, 000 1, 017, 000, 000 757, 000, 000	
Vermont	808, 000, 000	757, 000, 000	
Massachusetts	11, 340, 000, 000	10, 391, 000, 00	
Rhode Island	1, 719, 000, 000 4, 480, 000, 000	1, 618, 000, 000	
Connecticut			
Middle Atlantic	76, 067, 000, 000	70, 554, 000, 00	
New York		36, 238, 000, 000 10, 580, 000, 000	
New Jersey Pennsylvania		23, 736, 000, 00	
East North Central	64, 585, 000, 000	61, 500, 000, 00	
Ohio		15, 853, 000, 000	
Indiana	7, 642, 000, 000	7, 187, 000, 00	
Illinois.	21, 566, 000, 000	20, 613, 000, 00	
Michigan	11, 349, 000, 000	10, 842, 000, 00	
Wisconsin	7, 329, 000, 000	7, 005, 000, 00	
West North Central	37, 803, 000, 000	35, 911, 000, 000	
Minnesota	7, 066, 000, 000	6, 722, 000, 000	
Iowa.	8, 074, 000, 000 8, 457, 000, 000	7, 760, 000, 000	
Missouri North Dakota		1, 756, 000, 000	
South Dakota		1, 756, 000, 00 2, 042, 000, 00	
Nebraska	4, 629, 000, 000	4, 449, 000, 00	
Kansas	5, 365, 000, 000	5, 117, 000, 00	
South Atlantic	23, 899, 000, 000	22, 050, 000, 00	
Delaware	580, 000, 000	541, 000, 00	
Maryland. District of Columbia	3, 759, 000, 000	3, 518, 000, 009	
District of Columbia	1, 618, 000, 000	1, 230, 000, 00	
Virginia West Virginia	4, 020, 000, 000 3, 035, 000, 000	3, 694, 000, 00 2, 798, 000, 00	
North Carolina	3, 685, 000, 000	3, 497, 000, 00	
South Carolina	1, 848, 000, 000	1, 716, 000, 00	
Georgia	3, 247, 000, 000	3, 057, 000, 000	
Florida	2, 107, 000, 000	1, 999, 000, 000	
East South Central	11, 145, 000, 000	10, 483, 000, 000	
Kentucky	3, 481, 000, 000	3, 284, 000, 000	
Tennessee.	3, 363, 000, 000	3, 095, 000, 000	
Alabama Mississippi	2, 592, 000, 000 1, 709, 000, 000	2, 485, 000, 000 1, 619, 000, 000	
West South Central		19, 184, 000, 000	
		1, 785, 000, 000	
ArkansasLouisiana	1,870,000,000 3,166,000,000	2, 922, 000, 000	
Oklahoma	4, 505, 000, 000	4, 180, 000, 000	
Texas	10, 726, 000, 000	10, 297, 000, 000	
Mountain	10, 891, 000, 000	9, 356, 000, 000	
Montana	1, 906, 000, 000	1, 697, 000, 000	
Idaho_ Wyoming	1, 355, 000, 000 1, 019, 000, 000	1, 116, 000, 000	
Wyoming.	1,019,000,000	744, 000, 000	
Colorado	2, 916, 000, 000	2, 601, 000, 000	
New Mexico	831, 000, 000 959, 000, 000	724, 000, 000 816, 000, 000	
Utah	1, 385, 000, 000	1 230 000 000	
Nevada	520, 000, 000	1, 230, 000, 000 428, 000, 000	
Pacific	24, 813, 000, 000	23, 207, 000, 000	
Washington	4, 146, 000, 000	3, 754, 000, 000	
Oregon		2,537,000,000	
California	17, 807, 000, 000	16, 916, 000, 000	

<sup>1</sup> Wealth distributed by States excludes 4.109,000,000 dollars of gold and silver coin and bullion and 1,000 million dollars value of ships belonging to U. S. Navy.

<sup>2</sup> Total wealth less 16,484 million dollars value of tax-exempt property and 2, 442 million dollars value of highways. LXXXIV-59

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, the provision which I rose to support will not, of course, correct all the injustices which I have exposed and discussed, but it is a step toward equalizing these manifest discriminations as between the several sections of the country and the different people who are employed upon the relief rolls in those sections, as well as in the total distribution of these funds. I hope the Senate will see fit to reject the committee amendment and retain the House provision.

# SOUTH DEMANDS EQUALITY

The South does not ask, and has never sought special favors at the hands of our Federal Government. The South does demand fair and equal treatment with any other section of

If southern industry, southern labor, and the South receive fair and equal treatment in such matters as freight rates and in the division of moneys collected into the common treasury from all of the people, we ask no odds of any section. We only ask for common justice, and I for one will never be content until this reasonable request is heard and granted.

Equal rights to all and special privileges to none is a hollow mockery to States which have so long been treated as conquered colonies. The Southern States and their people have done nothing to deserve this unfair treatment. We have contributed our full part and more to the greatness of these United States. We are as loyal, as patriotic, and as devoted to the institutions of our common Government as are the American citizens of any other section.

If our forebears were mistaken in their assertion of the rights of the States to secede in 1860, they paid a terrible price for their mistake, not only in blood, but in the destruction of their property and economy. Their descendants through all of the almost eight decades which have passed have patiently struggled to rebuild the South in the face of obstacles deliberately imposed, and burdened down with economic disadvantages and legislative discriminations which would have destroyed a less courageous people.

While thus handicapped, the South has contributed its share to the national progress, and her sons have given liberally of blood and sacrifice in the wars in which the Republic has been engaged. Longer patience in the face of such injustice cannot be a virtue. It will only contribute to the feeling that the South should be grateful for such crumbs as she may receive, and will inculcate a sense of inferiority in the minds of the southern people, which will mean defeat in the struggle for equality which has been so long waged.

Under our scheme of government any American citizen has a right to demand equality and fair treatment at the hands of his Government without regard to which party be in power at the moment. For many years the injustices against the South were attributed to the fact that the Republican Party was in power, and that the injustices were imposed because the South had been solidly Democratic. In those lean years when the Democratic Party had no other place of refuge it was nourished and kept alive in the Southern States.

Now that the Democratic Party has come into its own, and has taken over the reins of Government, the just demands for equal treatment and equality of opportunity to the South should be heard and granted.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, before the Senator takes his seat, I now renew the inquiry I made of him during the course of the debate, and propound the same inquiry to the chairman of the subcommittee in charge of the joint resolution. The inquiry was whether the amendment of which I gave notice several days ago, which deals with the same general subject as the so-called Tarver provision, concerning which the Senator has been speaking, but which has to do with the monthly security wage rather than with the hourly rate of compensation, which is the subject matter of the Tarver provision, may not now be offered, and the two go to conference, there is such a wide discrepancy between

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, I wish to ask a question as to the parliamentary situation. We are dealing with language that was stricken from the measure, or which was not adopted by the Committee on Appropriations. We are dealing therefore with a committee amendment. Not being sufficiently conversant with the rule, I am wondering if the arrangement suggested by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY] can have a parliamentary standing.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Oh, yes, Mr. President, it could, because then, if it is agreeable to the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell] and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS], I should offer it as a substitute for the language which is in the measure, and which the committee proposes to strike out. It would therefore be in the nature of a perfecting amendment, and would be proper from the parliamentary point of view. I shall make the parliamentary inquiry of the Chair, if that is not so.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I suggest that the only way, as I see it, that the Tarver amendment can go to conference is by sustaining the action of the committee.

Mr. McCARRAN. That is my view of the situation. Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I address a parliamentary inquiry to the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I desire to ask, if I now offer as a substitute for the committee amendment, which is to strike out certain language, the language contained in the amendment which I previously offered, will that be within the rule?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SCHWARTZ in the chair). The Chair will state that that offer would be in order at this

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I thank the Chair for the ruling. Does that satisfy the chairman of the subcommittee? The Chair ruled that it would be in order.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, has the Senator from Wyoming the floor?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Yes, I was recognized and have the

Mr. McCARRAN. I certainly shall resist to the best of my ability such an arrangement, because I contend that the Senate should pass on the action of the Appropriations Committee, whose action was to reject the Tarver amendment,

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I have no desire to provoke a controversy upon that phase of the matter, and I made the suggestion only with the thought that it would expedite the consideration of the measure. I would make the request only upon the basis of unanimous consent, and if the Senator from Nevada feels-

Mr. McCARRAN. I would resist.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I may point out to the Senator that it will make no difference whatsoever whether the committee amendment is adopted directly or by way of the amendment which I offer, because the language of the Tarver amendment will be before the conferees no matter what we do

Mr. McCARRAN. That may be true, but the limitations on a conference committee are entirely different from those which the Senator contemplates in his proposal. I know the Senator has served on conference committees, and I know that he realizes the limitations on a conference committee. I do not wish to take the Senator's time, and I hope

the Senator will pardon me if in place of asking a question I make a statement.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. That will be entirely agreeable, because I want to have the matter cleared up. I think the Senator is laboring under a misapprehension.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I yield.

Mr. RUSSELL. If the unanimous-consent request of the Senator from Wyoming were agreed to, it would mean that the Senate would not have an opportunity to vote the socalled Tarver amendment up or down.

Mr. McCARRAN. Yes.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. That is correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. I hope the Senator from Wyoming will be as generous with me as I am with him. I assured the Senator from Wyoming that I intended to support his amendment in any event. There is no conflict between the two amendments, and I do hope that he will vote with me to defeat the committee amendment.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The Senator from Georgia was good enough to indicate in the course of his speech, when I first proposed this method, that he would consider it. I knew that he had a very nimble mind, and that he would be able to consider it in the process of his discourse. If he has so considered it and feels that he wants to have a direct decision up or down upon the Tarver amendment, why, of course, I withdraw the request.

Mr. RUSSELL. There is no conflict in the amendments. The amendment of the Senator from Wyoming relates to the total monthly wage. The Tarver amendment relates to the hourly wage. Those of us who feel there should be a fair distribution of W. P. A. funds would have two bites at the cherry if we voted on both amendments.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, a parliamentary in-

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Do I understand correctly that if I do not now offer my amendment as a perfecting amendment it will be in order after the committee amendment shall have been disposed of?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. With the understanding then that my amendment will be in order for presentation later, I shall not pursue my request.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, I do not intend to take the time of the Senate to any great extent in reply to the able, studious, and diligent efforts of the Senator from Georgia. I believe that he is sincere, honest, and determined in his views. But, Mr. President, some 4 years ago we undertook to establish a principle in this country, through the action of the Congress, which would be in line with the principle for which a great battle extending over half a century has been waged by the toilers of America. We proposed to establish that principle in the most essential legislation the Congress has enacted, that which deals with human misery growing out of unemployment. We proposed to write a provision into an appropriation measure so that the Government of the United States would not go into competition with individual toilers in their respective walks of life.

We proposed to go further than that. By legislation that has created the W. P. A. we proposed to recognize the efforts of those of the toiling class who have worked and established prevailing wage scales in the respective sections of this country, and to provide that their efforts shall not be in vain. I wish for a moment to dwell upon that subject.

For half a century-it is that and more-the toilers of this country have given of their effort, their zeal, their diligence, yea, more, their blood, to establish wages in the respective sections of this country in keeping with American standards of living in those sections. And now, if I read the effort aright, it is proposed to tear down the wage structure of one section of the country or another section of the country, because, forsooth, that wage structure has reached a point which other sections cannot reach. It is proposed to tear

down the higher wage structure in order to build up the lower wage structure. The building up of the lower wage structures of this country is a Utopian idea. The building up of the wage structure from underneath, building it up to a higher standard, is my ideal all the way through. I would go along with such a plan everywhere, every day, every time. But I do not propose to tear down that which toil has built, that which zeal and effort have constructed, in order to build up from the bottom, and if I read the effort of the able Senator from Georgia correctly, that would be the result of his proposal, regardless of how he may now construe it.

I can find no better construction of what I am trying to say than the answer of the able Acting Administrator of W. P. A. when in the committee he said that the Tarver amendment would abrogate and set aside the prevailing wage

rule as it existed in the law today.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARRAN. I yield.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I was merely going to remind the distinguished Senator from Nevada of the fact that Colonel Harrington did so testify; that if this amendment were adopted he would interpret it as repealing the prevailing rate

Mr. McCARRAN. I thank the Senator from Wyoming for the reminder. I want to go just a little further, if I may, following my idea of statutory construction. If the Senate of the United States, with that expression before it, adopts the motion of the Senator from Georgia now, it will adopt it with the construction which the Acting Administrator placed upon it, and will put its stamp of approval upon the abrogation of the prevailing-wage rule which was made part of the W. P. A. legislation after long and tedious efforts on the part of Members of this body.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARRAN. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. If I correctly understand the position of the Senator, I think I am very sympathetic with it. As I understand, the Senator has no objection to the minimum wage, for example, throughout the South, being raised to a fair level.

Mr. McCARRAN. None whatever.

Mr. PEPPER. As, for example, the level prescribed by the Labor Standards Act of 1938. The Senator merely does not want to destroy any other good wages which may have been provided for labor anywhere else in the country.

Mr. McCARRAN. The Senator correctly construes my attitude. In order to emphasize it without speaking too much, personally, I will say that for three sessions of Congress I have had pending before this body a bill to establish a minimum wage for the very lowest paid wage earners of this

country, and I propose to persist in that effort.

To answer the Senator from Florida a little further, it is my desire to raise the lowest standard of wages in this country so that a living wage may prevail at all times, but in order to do that I do not propose to tear down the higher structure of wages which has been established by the efforts of men and women throughout this country for over half a

The American Government is the greatest employer of labor in all the world. If the greatest employer of labor in the world today sets an example of tearing down its own wage structure, then private industry will be justified in saying, "We have the right to follow the example set by the Government," and we will find a tumbling down of the wage structure throughout American industry. That is why day after day and time after time we have resisted any effort to tear down the wage structure, and thus to tear down the living standards of American labor.

Mr. President, in my judgment the present law is good enough. It may not be perfect, but no law that I have ever seen enacted is perfect. It all depends, after all, on administration. It may be that the objection raised by the able Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] has some degree of cogency in it; it may be that certain administrators go too far one way or the other. However, none of us has ever been able to devise a gage and measure for human conduct. The spirit of the law as written by the Congress of the United States should, nevertheless, prevail. After all, the prevailing wage in the respective communities is the thing that should operate. Why? Because the prevailing rate in the respective communities has been established by those who have had experience in those communities. The prevailing wage in the respective communities has been established by the zeal, diligence, and struggle of the toilers in those communities; and to tear it down now by an act of Congress would, in my judgment, be an unjustifiable and unwarranted act. If we set the example here, then I do not know where it is going to stop. Let us say, for instance, that some administrator in some section of the country has violated the rule. That is not to say that the Congress of the United States or the Senate of the United States should violate the rule. As was suggested by the able Senator from Georgia, where a higher wage scale has been adopted it certainly did no harm. Where a lower wage scale was adopted it could be rectified. In every such instance hearings have been conducted, examinations have been made, and an established wage scale for the community in keeping with the prevailing wage of that community has been adopted by the Works Progress Administration so far as we have been able to determine.

Let us not write into the law the construction of the Acting Administrator of the W. P. A. Let us not say, by adopting the Tarver amendment, that we therefore abrogate and set aside the rule that has been established by this body after a long struggle, after years of study, which is the rule that the prevailing wage in the respective communities shall

prevail.

I hope the action of the Appropriations Committee may be approved by this body.

Mr. ADAMS obtained the floor.

Mr. BROWN. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll. The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Davis	Johnson, Colo.	Radcliffe
Andrews	Donahey	La Follette	Reed
Ashurst	Downey	Lee	Reynolds
Austin	Ellender	Lewis	Russell
Bailey	Frazier	Logan	Schwartz
Bankhead	George	Lucas	Schwellenbach
Barbour	Gerry	Lundeen	Sheppard
Barkley	Gibson	McCarran	Shipstead
Bilbo	Gillette	McKellar	Smathers
Bone	Glass	McNary	Smith
Borah	Green	Maloney	Stewart
Brown	Gurney	Mead	Taft
Bulow	Hale	Miller	Thomas, Okla.
Burke	Harrison	Minton	Thomas, Utah
Byrd	Hatch	Murray	Tobey
Byrnes	Hayden	Neely	Truman
Capper	Herring	Norris	Tydings
Caraway	Hill	Nye	Van Nuys
Clark, Idaho	Holman	O'Mahoney	Walsh
Clark, Mo.	Holt	Overton	Wheeler
Connally	Hughes	Pepper	White
Danaher	Johnson, Calif.	Pittman	Wiley

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Eighty-eight Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I have listened attentively to the arguments of the Senator from Georgia. As a member of the Appropriations Committee I have listened to the arguments before that committee. This matter was gone over with much care, and I believe that it would be a serious mistake for the Senate to fail to support the committee in this matter.

The Tarver amendment, which was adopted on the floor of the House of Representatives, provides that there shall not be a differential in excess of 25 percent in the maximum rate as between workers employed in different States or different areas of the same general type.

The Congress in 1936, after debate and consideration, established the prevailing wage as a basis of the hourly wage to be paid by the W. P. A. There has been difficulty in working it out; it is an intricate problem; but it has been worked out fairly well. Studies have been made and the hourly rates of pay throughout the country are fixed on the prevailing wage in the locality and in the craft or trade or occupation in which the W. P. A. worker is employed.

This amendment strikes down that provision. The provision, as all Senators know who were here at that time, was inserted primarily because unless the prevailing wages were established there was danger that the prevailing wage scales in industry, particularly in the skilled crafts, would fall by reason of the influence of the lower scales paid by the W. P. A.

This amendment wipes out, repeals, the prevailing-wage provision, for it says that there cannot be a differential. It establishes an entirely different basis. If it be said that the prevailing wage would be used at one point, then that point becomes a determining factor, regardless of wages elsewhere. If the Administrator decides that the wage paid upon a public project in the marble quarries of Vermont should be accepted, and quarrymen in Vermont are being paid at the rate of perhaps \$12 per day, it would mean then that wages in a quarry with a far lower wage scale must be raised up to the Vermont level, or, to state it in reverse, in the mountain areas, where living costs are high, particularly in the mining regions, it means either that those high costs of living and high wage scales must come down to lower levels which exist in other sections of the country or that the wages of the other sections of the country must come up. So obviously the effort made by the Congress to avoid wage controversies would be destroyed.

This change in the method of fixing the hourly rates wage would not affect the pay of a single W. P. A. worker in the United States. The Senator from Georgia has argued somewhat extensively as to the distribution of the wealth of the country being unequal, but this amendment has no relation whatever to that. It is determinative of just one thing: How many hours shall the worker work in order to get his security wage? If the security wage is \$50, he works the number of hours at the rate fixed during the month until he is credited with \$50. It does not propose to increase the monthly wage of a single worker in the United States, but merely involves a readjustment of the hourly rate. So the only real result would be that one man's hourage might be changed from 130 to 140 and another man's from 140 to 130, or it might vary far more than that.

This particular amendment provides that the appropriations herein made shall not be available until the rates of pay in accordance with it have been established. We are dealing with an emergency measure; the moneys available for relief will be exhausted on the 7th of February; yet we are asked to adopt an amendment which provides that none of this money may be used until there has been worked out an adjustment so that there is no differential of more than 25 percent. It is utterly impossible to do that within the period. I doubt if it could be done within the period before the 1st of July. A tremendously intricate problem is involved. It would be necessary to go into every area and into every occupation. The Administrator would have to establish some base, and then, all throughout the country that base would have to be applied, so that there would be no differential of more than 25 percent. I think it is utterly impossible of administration, even if time were unlimited, but we are dealing with an appropriation which lasts only 43/4 months and certainly it could not be accomplished within that time. The amendment provides that not a dollar of the money may be used until this intricate computation shall have been made.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. ADAMS. Certainly.

Mr. BARKLEY. The question of what is the prevailing wage is a question of fact, as I understand, in every separate community; there is no universal prevailing wage in the country, but the prevailing wage is established by conditions which exist in the community. It may be one thing in one town and another thing in a place 25 or 30 miles away. I

know that in the determination of what is the prevailing wage in the communities in my State under the W. P. A., and also the P. W. A., which is supposed to pay the prevailing wage, there has been a different wage scale for the same sort of labor in communities within 25 or 30 miles of each other.

It is always difficult, I presume, to work out scientifically what is really the prevailing wage. In the town where I live, for instance—a town of 40,000 people—less was paid to W.P.A. workers than was paid across the river in Illinois in a town of 12,000 people. In the Illinois town the W. P. A. paid 40 cents an hour, while 30 cents an hour was the amount paid in my home town. If Senators do not think it is difficult to explain to my constituents why it is that they got 10 cents an hour less on the south side of the river than those on the north side of the river get, let them go down there and try it. It is almost an impossibility. For months and months an effort was made to adjust the wage scale in the community where I live so at least to make it equal to that in smaller communities across the river which happened to be a different region the standard for which was different. Therefore, when the W. P. A. undertook to work it out, instead of increasing the hourly wage, they simply permitted the men receiving the lower rate to work more hours at the same wage in order to make as much per month as was being made by workers across the river in other communities. It was not, I will say to the Senator, a very satisfactory arrangement. But I realize how difficult it is to adjust all these matters throughout a country so large as this so as to satisfy everybody.

What I am wondering is if the House language is retained in the joint resolution, which language has been stricken out by the committee, and assuming that there would have to be a lowering of the wage at the top or a heightening of the wage at the bottom, or both, whether it would affect materially the number of men who could still continue to work on the W. P. A. program under the appropriation for the remainder of the fiscal year?

I suppose there will be a possibility of scaling down from the top and working up from the bottom to a general average so that there will be no effect on the number of men employed; but suppose in any community the W. P. A. undertook to adjust that—and if they are obeying the law they can do so—by providing the prevailing wage in all these communities, would it not result in paying less than the prevailing wage in some communities and more than the prevailing wage in other communities if they undertook to strike a dead level or within 25 percent of a dead level? What is the situation as to that?

Mr. ADAMS. The wage paid in a certain locality has been fixed as the result of many years of development in that community. The demand for labor, the supply of labor, living conditions, the presence or absence of unionization have all entered into the equation in order to fix the wage in the community. To illustrate, we had before the Banking and Currency Committee, as the Senator will recall when we were discussing the housing bill, the wage rate in Chicago, a highly organized community, and in some of the communities outside Chicago within 40 or 50 miles.

There was being pointed out to us the effect upon the housing program of the variation; but in Chicago a scale which did not exist elsewhere was developed by conditions within the city. If we attempt to say that there is a scale, say, of \$14 a day in Chicago for certain work, and \$7 a day outside, one of two things must be done; either the \$14 scale must come down within 25 percent of the \$7 scale, or the \$7 scale must go up, or else there must be an adjustment. In any event, one group or the other will be penalized for the wage structure. For instance, if we drop the top scale, we open the way to the disruption of the wage scales in the community for people employed not under W. P. A. If we raise the level outside, we put the W. P. A. worker on a higher scale per hour than those who are not on W. P. A., and have a tendency to induce everybody to get on W. P. A.,

where he will be getting more than the wage which prevails in the community.

Mr. BARKLEY. Will the Senator inform us, if he knows, whether in any communities more than the prevailing wage scale is now being paid? The law provides that the wage paid shall not be less than the prevailing wage scale, but, as a matter of fact, is more than the prevailing wage scale being paid in any community, any city?

Mr. ADAMS. I cannot answer that question. I take it for granted that it is not possible in every community absolutely to fix an exact point and say that that is the prevailing wage. Necessarily, it is a little above here and a little below there, but as the result of a great deal of research and a great deal of investigation the authorities have endeavored to fix the point. It may be said as to certain classes of work that one man in a group may have more skill than another, and there may be a variation of wage as to that. As between two men doing the same work, one more skilled than the other, what is the prevailing wage?

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course the prevailing wages are not fixed by the W. P. A. They are not fixed by the Federal Government. They are fixed in the communities where they

Mr. ADAMS. They are fixed by the community, and ascertained by the W. P. A.

Mr. BARKLEY. And they are supposed to have some relationship to the cost of living, the expenses, and the standard of living which has been established in the community. So it is not the fault of the Federal Government if in one community the prevailing wage is higher or lower than it is in some other community, even though only a few miles away, or a thousand miles away.

So in providing for the prevailing wage in the law which has been in existence, it was my understanding that Congress desired that the W. P. A. and the P. W. A. and all the other agencies should follow the standards which had been fixed in the communities rather than to set a new standard and compel the communities to abide by it, because there would be no prevailing wage at all unless a standard had been fixed in the community, unless an average were struck of all the wages paid for similar work and that were arbitrarily established as the prevailing scale.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I should like to make it clear that the argument of the Senator from Kentucky depends upon the correctness of his surmise that none of the W. P. A. administrators made any mistakes in fixing the wages.

Mr. BARKLEY. No; I am not assuming that. Mr. RUSSELL. Colonel Harrington testifie Mr. RUSSELL. Colonel Harrington testified that the wages were determined by the local W. P. A. officials in each subdivision of government of the United States.

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes; they had to be. Mr. RUSSELL. They were determined in 3,000 counties by 3,000 different men ascertaining what was the prevailing wage in the community, and the Congress accepting all of that, showing the disparities and differences I have pointed out and those that were pointed out by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Clark] and others. The Congress must rely absolutely upon that; and I say the Congress believes that there should not be a discrimination of more than 25 per-

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course somebody has to act in a way that may be regarded as arbitrary, because Congress itself cannot make these surveys. It cannot determine what the prevailing wage is anywhere. I do not know, and I suppose nobody here knows, what the prevailing wage for carpenters or bricklayers or ditch diggers or plumbers or road hands is in any county in the country, unless he happens to live in it and has made some investigation. I would not know. offhand, what the prevailing wage is in my own county for road hands. I understand that the State highway department paid 35 cents an hour for road hands on the Statehighway program, and the W. P. A. tried to follow suit and established a similar wage scale, because nobody except the State was building highways: and, they having fixed a wage for ordinary day labor on the roads, there was no other standard by which the W. P. A. could fix their own rate.

I realize how difficult it is to strike an average of all the wages paid in a community. The law does not say whether it shall be a union scale or a nonunion scale. In many communities where there are labor organizations the scale of wages paid to their members is higher than the nonunion scale; yet I suppose technically any administrator might have the right to strike an average between the two figures and say that is the prevailing wage, although I imagine Congress had more in its mind adopting the higher rate as the standard of living to be paid to organized workers than the rate paid to those who are more or less unorganized. The law itself, however, does not make any discrimination between them.

I realize that it is possible that there may be injustices. Arbitrary action may have been taken; but if there is more than a 25 percent difference between the wage scales in any two communities, it is not because of any act of Congress. It is not because of the W. P. A. It is because the wage scale in a given community presumably has been established over a long period of time as a result of the community's own efforts to standardize wages and base them upon the conditions, the environment, the standards of life, and the cost of living. I do not know how we can establish a 25 percent arbitrary rule that may not even make it necessary to pay W. P. A. workers more than the prevailing wage somewhere, and less than the prevailing wage elsewhere.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I do not think we can wash our hands of the matter that easily, just by saying that the Congress did not do it, but that the persons whom Congress appropriated funds to pay are doing it. As I pointed out, we have a condition under which in one instance a man in the State of Pennsylvania has been paid \$3.03 an hour for technical and professional work. I should like to have the ideas of the Senator from Kentucky as to how we are going to arrive at the prevailing wage for professional and technical work when we give a good many lawyers employment on the program, as has been done in some instances. I should like to have the Senator from Kentucky give me some idea as to that. I have not been able to think of any way in which we could arrive at a prevailing wage for technical employees and for lawyers.

When there is a labor organization in a town, it is a relatively easy matter to ascertain what we call the prevailing wage. Of course, usually it is a little higher than the wage which is actually paid, but we should quite properly accept it as the prevailing wage when the labor organization and the skilled crafts have set it. But at both ends of the line-for unskilled labor at the bottom, and for professional and technical employees at the top—we have the greatest discriminations, and naturally we would have the most unreliable method of arriving at the prevailing wage. For unskilled labor the discrimination is greatest between various sections in the same State, just as it is for professional and technical employees. The wages of skilled laborers and those in the intermediate grades are reasonably well fixed by labor unions.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not know what the facts are about the Pennsylvania case, where somebody got three dollars and something per hour.

Mr. ADAMS. There was just one man-one man.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not know whether that was the prevailing wage for that kind of work or not. I do not know whether any other kind of work was being done in that community. It would be a little astonishing to me to discover that lawyers were rendering professional or technical services under the W. P. A. for \$3 an hour, or for any other hourly wage.

They are not paid by the week, the month, or according to the amount of work they do; or, in private practice, frequently upon the basis of a contingent fee, which the Irishman described as being a basis whereby if you lost your case your lawyer got nothing, and if you won your case you got

nothing. [Laughter.] But I do not know of any situation anywhere in the country in which there would be a standard of \$3 an hour for technical employees of the W. P. A. in any

very large numbers.

I do not know what the situation was in the case to which reference has been made. The Senator from Colorado says only one man was employed at that particular place at that rate. If that was the only man employed in that community at that rate, I suppose that fixed the prevailing wage if nobody else was working in the same line or getting anything, I do not know what the facts are about that. We can hardly judge of the situation throughout the entire country by what one man got in an isolated case in Pennsylvania.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I might state to the Senator that there were any number of cases of men engaged in special and technical work where the compensation amounted to

\$2.50 an hour.

Mr. BARKLEY. Through the W. P. A.?

Mr. RUSSELL. Through the W. P. A., to those on the relief roll.

Mr. BARKLEY. Are they on the relief roll or are they a part of the 5 percent?

Mr. RUSSELL. They are not a part of the 5 percent. They are those who are spoken of as being certified as in need of relief, and their compensation is \$2.50 an hour.

Mr. BARKLEY. I supposed that was a special kind of work, which only a limited number of men were qualified to do.

Mr. RUSSELL. Colonel Harrington intimated before the committee that there were a number, and, as a matter of fact, the wage-scale figures show it, because there are a number of instances of the wage scale running from \$2.50 to lower amounts for professional and technical work.

Mr. BARKLEY. If for similar work in private industry that was the wage scale, the W. P. A. would have to pay it. They could not pay less.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I wish to conclude what little I have to say with what Colonel Harrington stated before the committee with reference to the amendment. He said:

I have construed the provision as now worded as to all intents and purposes abolishing the prevailing rate clause in the main act because it would be practically impossible to readjust hourly rates of pay on the basis of the highest rates which obtain. We are now required by law to pay the prevailing wage rate as nearly as we can ascertain it. Therefore, I feel that this provision as now worded does in effect repeal the prevailing-rate clause in the act. I am opposed to this provision for the reason that it disregards the general wage structure now obtaining in this country both in public and private employment.

That sentiment was repeated in two or three places in the hearing.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. RUSSELL. I hope the Senator will permit me to express my astonishment that he now gives Colonel Harrington's statement as a reason why this provision should be stricken out.

Mr. ADAMS. I rather apprehended that comment.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, let me express my approbation of the Senator from Colorado in now approving Colonel Harrington's views.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, Colonel Harrington is like the Senator from Tennessee; he has one weakness. The Senator from Tennessee says he knows nothing about percentages. He is a master of all other branches of mathematics, politics, philosophy, sociology, and all other things, but he is weak on percentages. Colonel Harrington was weak in the ascertainment of facts from Government records. No one has raised any question—I raised no question—as to his efficiency on his capacity or his knowledge in the administration of the

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, as I understand the Senator, he thinks that Colonel Harrington is better informed about prevailing wages than about the duties of his own office and the amount of funds it takes to look after the unemployed in this country.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I think I stated my view as to that.

The provision under discussion presents some difficulties. It is said it is difficult to determine the prevailing wage, and it is. What is the Administrator required to do to determine it? He is required to locate workers of the same general type in order to fix it, and there is a difficulty there. Then he has to provide a definition as between different areas of the same general type. Anyone who goes about the United States and endeavors to map accurately different areas of the same general type has his work cut out for him, if he seeks to do it before the 7th of February or the 1st of July, and then to apply in those different areas the wages of men in the same general class, comparing one area with another.

There may be in the woods of the Northwest highly organized working conditions. In another section of the country, where men are doing similar work in the woods, there may be an oversupply of labor, no organization, and living conditions may be easier. We cannot in fairness bring the wage scales within 25 percent without disrupting the conditions either in

one or both of those areas.

It seems to me that after we have gone ahead for 3 years upon the prevailing wage basis, to seek at the last third of a fiscal year to set up a new scale, and provide that no money appropriated shall be used until new computations have been made which must take in the whole country—that is, it is necessary to compare the wage scale in Florida with that in the State of Washington if there is any similarity in employment and in area—is a task utterly beyond the capacity of the present organization of the W. P. A. I do not know how many additional people would be required to do the work; and it must be remembered that for every additional man put on the W. P. A. staff two or three men have to be taken off the relief rolls.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, I wish to make a personal statement before submitting any observations on the

pending joint resolution.

In the Washington Herald this morning there appeared an article by Mr. John O'Donnell and Doris Fleeson purporting to give a news account of the action of the Senate on the question of the amount of money to be appropriated, and the activities of some Senators and others referred to in the article.

There is one statement about me to which I wish to make reference. Near the conclusion of the article it is stated:

No one could say why REYNOLDS and BANKHEAD had switched.

Speaking for myself, I am at a loss to understand the basis for that statement. I assume, of course, that the newspaper writers have acted in good faith, and it is not made clear whether the reference is to my vote as switching from an administration supporter to the other side, or whether it has reference to switching my position on the question of the amount of money involved in the appropriation.

Permit me to say that in neither instance is there any sort of justification for the statement. It is well known that in the main, and wherever it has been possible for me to do so consistently with my mature judgment, I have been a supporter of the present Democratic administration and of President Roosevelt. A few times upon fundamental questions I have been unable to go along with the Democratic leader, and in those cases my position has been made known by my votes in this body; but, generally speaking, I am a Democrat. I am a believer in responsible party government; I believe in following authorized party leadership whenever it can be done consistently with one's judgment and conscience. I have no explanation and no excuse for that position, which has been held by me all of my mature life.

I am a friend of President Roosevelt. I admire him. I think history will record him as one of the few great Presidents of the United States.

It seems to me an absurd position for any intelligent person or for any newspaper to assume that how a Senator votes upon the question of the amount of money that shall be appropriated in this measure is a test of loyalty to the administration and to the President.

Mr. President, I have not switched my general loyalty to the Democratic Party, nor to its leadership, nor to our President. I shall vote, when I can, with him. When I cannot, in accordance with my best judgment, of course I will do as I have done heretofore—I will not vote with him. That, however, does not carry with it any unkind feeling upon my part.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, as a member of the Appropriations Committee who served with the Senator from Alabama, I wonder if it would not be proper at this time for those of us who are on the Appropriations Committee to testify that in his vote in the Appropriations Committee the Senator did not switch from his position.

Mr. BANKHEAD. That is true, of course.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BANKHEAD. I yield.

Mr. RUSSELL. It so happens that I was sitting with the Senator from Alabama in the Committee on Appropriations when this question was under discussion. The Senator from Alabama stated to me at that time that he had a very important engagement, but that he wished to remain in the committee meeting and to cast his vote in favor of the position of the majority of the committee.

Mr. BANKHEAD. The position taken by the House?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes; to vote for the House figure. There was no switch in his position by the Senator from Alabama. When, on account of the protracted discussion in the committee, the Senator from Alabama finally was compelled to leave, he asked me to cast his vote for him in favor of upholding the House figure, and in the vote that was taken in the committee the Senator from Alabama was recorded as voting to support the figure carried in the House bill.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, the statement in the newspaper article that the Senator from Alabama did not stand by his associates, but switched his position, carries with it the imputation that that Senator cannot be depended upon in his attitude. I have been disturbed by that statement. I am not a political fence jumper. I pride myself, and have done so all my life, upon the fact that when I am voluntarily hitched I stay hitched. My friends in this body with whom I have associated for some years, members of the committee with whom I have worked, understand that instead of being a switcher, I am rather determined when I take a position.

Regardless of all that, Mr. President, from the day the House took action on this measure I was in favor of the reduced amount. I shall not at this time undertake a discussion of my reason for taking that position. I considered, among other facts, the fact that Mr. Hopkins, who had been dealing with this problem for years, had not given consideration to the subject of the amount asked to be appropriated. We know that for some weeks, possibly months, his line of thought had been in other directions. We knew that Mr. Aubrey Williams, who had been most closely associated with him in the administration of this program, had been removed from the W. P. A. picture and a military officer brought in to make the recommendation as to the amount of money required.

Mr. President, the House of Representatives, fresh from the people, its Members having gone among the people in every district of the United States familiarizing themselves with the needs and requirements of the people of this country on the subject of relief, voted upon the question of the amount, and with their recent contact with needs and conditions and, forsooth, sentiment in their districts, they voted for the amount contained in the measure now before us.

My beloved friend, my old schoolmate, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKellar], who offered the amendment to increase the appropriation, knew my position upon this question before the vote was taken in the Senate Committee on Appropriations. Other Members of the Senate who had interest enough to inquire knew it. As stated here by two of my colleagues on the committee, my position was known there. My vote was recorded. For the information of the newspaper correspondent who wrote the story, the action of the committee was published in his own newspaper on Sunday morning, the morning after the vote on Saturday, and my name was included in the list of 17 members of the Com-

mittee on Appropriations who voted for the reduced amount. So I say it is rather difficult to understand why this imputation has been made.

I have no regret over my vote. I shall not go into a statement of the reason for it. I took into consideration the improvement in business. I have confidence in business improving. I took into consideration that we were approaching the spring and summer months, when there would be less need for relief money. I took into consideration that many who are now upon the relief rolls would doubtless go back to farm work as the new crops were being planted. I took into consideration a fact which was given very little consideration in the debate of the question, and that was that under the authority of the Congress, the Public Works Administration is dispensing this year throughout the United States more than a billion dollars, in addition to the relief money carried in the work relief appropriation. That billion dollars was in addition to the amount appropriated to the W. P. A. The expenditure of that \$1,000,000,000 is just beginning. I took that into account and considered it. It was perfectly clear to me that, notwithstanding improvement in business conditions, notwithstanding the season of the year we are approaching, there is available for work purposes much more money during the 5 months ahead of us in this year than was available during the same 5 months last year.

So I submit there is no principle involved in the amount of money to be appropriated. It is merely a matter of policy based upon opinion as to the amount of money that may be needed for the next 5 months.

I am at a loss to understand why some of the newspapers assert that there was an issue here upon this question between the President and the Vice President. It may be true, but I have seen no evidence of it. I have been here all the time. I have not heard the Vice President at any time express his opinion upon this subject. In circulating around the cloakrooms and on the floor and in the lobbies, he certainly has not in any way, when I have been present, made any open effort to line up or to induce or to persuade any Member of this body to vote any particular number of dollars into the relief measure. I cannot conceive that the President of the United States regards this question as an issue of principle, or as a line of demarcation between supporters of his administration and those who feel unkindly to him.

I refer those who may be interested in my trend of thought back to the time when the last relief measure was pending before the Senate. I was 1 of about 20 Members who voted to strike from that bill the entire authority for the P. W. A. to spend a billion dollars. That indicated my view then. I do not believe in spending merely for spending's sake. I have always been willing, and shall continue to be willing adequately to appropriate to relieve distress and provide for the needs of our people. But I have stated the trend of my thought. That accounts for my vote in the Appropriations Committee and on the floor.

We know, of course, that pay day is coming. We know also that of necessity the levying of additional taxes is ahead of us. So it has been my judgment that we should properly trim our sails, and, where we could do so, without grave injury, injustice, and hardship, reduce the amount of money that some day must be collected from the people through taxation. It has been my judgment that it is the part of wisdom to take that course not only for the benefit of the country at large but for the people who are now needy. I felt that we should not be extravagant, and not appropriate merely to have the money spent, but should proceed along careful, conservative lines, along frugal lines, doing what is necessary to avoid suffering, holding back when we could consistently and properly do so, even though we must at a later date appropriate more money for the needy.

Mr. President, I shall not now undertake to enter upon a discussion of the subject which has occupied the Senate for some time. The subject is too complicated to try to deal with it in any adequate way at this time of the day and of the week.

In the debate not only today and yesterday, but at previous times, I think too much importance has been given to the subject of the prevailing wage scale. That means the amount of pay per hour. It does not mean nor does not include any consideration of the number of hours a week which may be worked, or the number of hours a month which may be worked, but merely how much shall be paid per hour for the time that is worked.

I do not criticize those who wish to maintain the prevailing wage scale or rate of pay per hour. It has been built up in the manner so eloquently explained by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCarran]. I am not in conflict with his views. However, I think that in a relief program—not primarily a building or construction program but a relief program—we ought to give more attention and more consideration to the subject of how much money a family on relief will be paid in a given week or a given month, rather than how much will be paid per hour. We should consider both aspects, Mr. President; but very little consideration has been given to the subject of how much will be paid during a week or a month. Great inequalities have crept into the program. I should be glad to see the committee amendment defeated, and the House provision brought before the Senate, and to have the Senate adjourn until next Monday, so that we may go into this subject in a full, adequate, and just way. We have nothing else pressing on the calendar. We must consider the question sooner or later. We might put it off until the regular relief bill comes in, but we shall then be in a hurry. We shall be pressed at that time with other important legislation.

However, we must deal with the problem sooner or later. Everyone who has heard the masterly address by the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] knows that the situation is inequitable. It is unjust, not only to sections and communities, but most of all, to individuals and to families. The situation must be rectified. An unfair, unjust condition of that sort cannot continue indefinitely. If it does, it will break down of its own weight.

I shall not go into details. I wish to commend the junior Senator from Georgia for the great research he has made. I have been cooperating with the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Byrnes] and the junior Senator from Georgia. We three, as members of the Appropriations Committee, have been working in accord on this subject for the past 3 years. Whenever the oportunity presented itself in connection with relief bills we have been trying to persuade the Congress to adopt some formula which would be more fair, more just, and more equitable than merely the declaration as to paying the prevailing wage rate per hour.

That declaration is all we have. We have no formula for the allocation or allotment of the money to different States based upon needs. We have no formula for the allocation based upon the number who need relief.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BANKHEAD. I yield.

Mr. McCARRAN. In the light of one of the last expressions by the Senator from Alabama, I am wondering if that is why, for the past 4 years, I have been confronted with such an able opposition on the part of the triumvirate of Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina. I take it it is because of that allied and cooperative force, which has always been against me.

Mr. BANKHEAD. We have informed ourselves upon the great system of inequality, injustice, and oppression to so many poor people. The Senator knows that we have been hammering to get this matter straightened out. All the members of the committee know that we three especially concentrated our efforts upon trying to work out something. The junior Senator from Georgia sponsored the amendment year before last. Last year the junior Senator from South Carolina sponsored the amendment. Finally the amendment went into the law. I wish to read it to the Senator and see whether it has been observed. This is the amendment which has in it the prevailing wage scale. I read section 9 of the Relief Act of 1938:

The rates of pay for persons engaged upon projects under the appropriations in this title shall be not less than the prevailing rates of pay for work of a similar nature in the same locality-

That does not mean wages, or the amount of money, but the rate per hour-

not less than the prevailing rates of pay for work of a similar nature in the same locality as determined by the Works Progress Administration.

Now, listen to the Byrnes amendment. It has been referred to, but it has not been read. It is in the law. I read:

Provided, That if minimum rates of pay for persons employed by private employers in any occupation are established by or pursuant to the authority conferred by any Labor Standards Act enacted at the third session of the Seventy-fifth Congress, not less than the minimum rates of pay so established shall be paid to persons in similar occupations in the same locality employed on projects under the appropriation in subsection 1 of section 1 of this title.

In other words, there is a positive mandate by the Congress to the Administrator of the Public Works Administration that wherever the minimum rate and minimum hours had been set up by law, or in the administration of the wage and hour law, that same rate should apply to these poor distressed workers under the W. P. A.

What has been done about the matter? Today I asked the Senator from South Carolina, the author of the amendment, if he had heard of any wages of W. P. A. workers in his State being put upon a level with the minimum fixed by Congress at the instance of Senators who said that wages in the South were too low. Those wages were fixed and are being paid. The law says that W. P. A. workers should be paid at the same rate. It has not been done, Senators, in the State of Alabama. The junior Senator from South Carolina-and I am sure the senior Senator will confirm itstated that it is not being done in South Carolina. That is the situation.

So I say we must review the whole thing and try to do right about it, and be just. I have just read the Byrnes amendment, and have stated that the Senator from South Carolina has told me that the law is not being observed in South Carolina. It is not being observed in Alabama.

Mr. McCARRAN and Mr. PEPPER addressed the Chair. The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Alabama yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. BANKHEAD. I yield to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I will ask the Senator from Alabama whether the amendment to which he has just referred was in recognition of the principle that it was not fair for the Government to pay a less wage for the same kind of work than it required private industry to pay?

Mr. BANKHEAD. Absolutely. Who can dispute that statement? Are we to pay the prevailing wage scale simply because the labor unions have established it, and ignore the prevailing wage scale because the representatives of the people in Congress assembled have established it? That is the question.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. BANKHEAD. I yield to the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. McCARRAN. In all fairness, would the Senator from Alabama think it would be at all possible between now and the 7th of February to establish the proper differential?

Mr. BANKHEAD. I will say frankly to the Senator that I do not think it can be adequately done.

Mr. McCARRAN. I do not think so.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I think the question should be studied and that we should go as far as we can before we enter upon the full program.

Mr. McCARRAN. I think that is correct. May I ask one more question? I do not wish to interrupt the Senator.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I have no prepared speech. Mr. McCARRAN. I think the Senator believes that we are both sincere and candid in this matter.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I have no doubt about that. I know the Senator's sincerity.

Mr. McCARRAN. And I know the Senator is sincere. I wish the Senator to know that at all times I desire to raise the lower scales of wages in every line, but I do not wish to tear down the upper scales.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I am not trying to tear them down. I do not think any Member of the Senate is trying to tear them down.

Mr. McCARRAN. With that thought in mind, I respectfully suggest that, inasmuch as this is only a deficiency appropriation—

Mr. BANKHEAD. However, it is for nearly half a year.

Mr. McCARRAN. The whole question should be submitted to the proper committee for consideration in connection with the regular appropriation.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I do not concede that we ought to put off for 5 months some effort to regulate a situation which is as unfair, inequitable, and unjust as the present one. If the Senator had sat here and heard the facts presented by the junior Senator from Georgia, he would be shocked to learn the condition which now prevails.

Mr. McCARRAN. I wish to say to the Senator from Alabama that I have had even more intimate conversation with the Senator from Georgia, because sometimes he gives me

the best of his views when we are alone.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I know that at the proper time the Senator will be ready to remedy in the proper way this horribly inequitable situation once he understands it. If the Senate is not willing to grapple with the question, that is one thing; but if it is, I think the only thing to do at this time is to vote down the committee amendment and let stand the House provision on this subject. The House provision would then be subject, as an independent part of the bill, to any amendments that might be offered—curative, correctional, additional, or otherwise.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Vote!

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I am wondering whether it would be possible at this junction to enter into a unanimous-consent agreement to limit debate. We had all hoped to finish the joint resolution today. I understand there is not going to be any demand for a yea-and-nay vote on the committee amendment on which we have taken up considerable time today. I understand that there are probably three or four amendments to be offered, but I do not know how lengthy the discussion will be. I had in mind to suggest that during the remainder of the consideration of the pending measure no Senator shall speak more than once nor longer than 15 minutes on any amendment.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, we have had some recent experience with regard to agreements limiting the time for

debate. There was such an instance yesterday,

Mr. BARKLEY. That was an agreement fixing a time when a vote was to be taken, not a limitation on debate. Probably we would have been better off if we had had it the other way.

Mr. BORAH. I have an amendment to offer which, if it is not agreeable to those in charge of the joint resolution, will take some time for debate. I do not wish to be limited in time and will have to object to a limitation of time.

Mr. BARKLEY. Then if we cannot enter into any agreement about the limitation of time, it is obvious that we cannot complete consideration of the joint resolution today.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does not the Senator desire to dispose of the pending amendment?

Mr. BARKLEY. I will inquire if we can vote on the pending amendment and get it out of the way. Is there to be any further discussion on the pending amendment?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee, which will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 3, line 25, after the word "hereunder", it is proposed to strike out the following proviso:

Provided further, That the appropriations herein made shall not be available unless and until rates of pay of employees of the Works Progress Administration are so fixed by appropriate administrative order as to eliminate differentials in rates of pay of workers of the same general class exceeding 25 percent of the maximum rates as between workers employed in different States or different areas of the same general type in the several States.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment. [Putting the question.] By the sound the noes appear to have it. Mr. McCARRAN. I ask for a division.

On a division, the amendment of the committee was agreed to.

Mr. BORAH. I ask leave to present an amendment and request that it lie on the table and be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Idaho that he be permitted to offer an amendment and have it printed in the RECORD and lie on the table?

There being no objection, the amendment was received, ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On page 2, line 10, after the colon, to insert the following: "Provided, That notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Works Progress Administrator is authorized, from time to time, out of the funds appropriated in this joint resolution, to use such amount or amounts not to exceed in the aggregate \$15,000,000 as may be determined by the Administrator to be necessary, for the purpose of providing direct relief for needy persons."

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I now offer the amendment which lies on the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will state the amendment offered by the Senator from Wyoming.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 2, line 15, after the date 1939, it is proposed to insert the following:

Provided further, That not later than 30 days following the approval of this joint resolution, the Works Progress Administration shall determine and fix the number of hours per month of workers employed upon Works Progress projects that the monthly security wage for workers shall not be lower in any area than that paid to workers in that same occupation in areas of the same general type within the same security wage region regardless of variation in county population.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, in line 4 of the printed amendment there is a typographical error, the word "so" having been left out. I desire that correction to be made, so as to read, "shall so determine and fix the number of hours," and so forth.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be modified as suggested by the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, let me very briefly explain the proposed amendment. The provision in the House joint resolution which we have just been discussing, and which has now been disposed of by rejection, was an attempt to do away with certain discriminations throughout the United States by providing for a narrowing of the differential of 25 percent in the hourly rate of pay. The difficulty about that provision, altogether apart from the question of the prevailing rate of wages, which is measured in the hourly rate, is that there is no uniformity throughout the United States with respect to wages. That discriminations have taken place no one can doubt. Such discriminations have taken place even within the regions which have been created by administrative order of the Works Progress Administration. When that Administration was set up several years ago there were four different wage regions in the United States. The number of States within those regions has been changed from time to time. Today there are three separate wage regions. Region No. 3 includes the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, and a part of Texas. Region No. 2 includes the States of Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, with a part of Texas, that part which is in the Panhandle. The remainder of the States of the Union are in region No. 1.

Now, Mr. President, let me speak briefly about the schedules of the security wage. The security wage is the monthly compensation which is received by the workers. It has nothing whatever to do with the prevailing rate of wage. So, for example, in region No. 1 the unskilled worker receives from \$40 to \$55 per month. Whether he receives \$40 or \$45 or \$55 per month depends upon conditions within the region which are altogether independent of the prevailing rate of wage or any other wage, and are dependent solely upon the population.

These schedules are based upon the population of the counties, and nothing else in the world. An altogether arbitrary standard has been established. If the county has a population of 5,000 or less, the monthly amount to be paid is a certain amount. If the population is between 5,000 and 20,000, or some such figure, a different monthly wage is paid. If it is between 25,000 and 50,000, there is a different schedule, and the schedules run up until 100,000 is reached, and in counties having a population of over 100,000 the highest schedule is paid.

The facts are that the cost of living in a county with a population of 5,000 may be, and frequently is, as great as the cost of living in a county with a population of 100,000 or more; and there is no sense or reason in an aribtrary division of that kind. The amendment which I propose simply does away with the population measure, and says that in determining and fixing the monthly wage to be received by workers upon works-progress projects the wage in any area shall not be lower than that paid to workers in the same occupation in areas of the same general type within the same security-wage region, regardless of variations in county population.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?
Mr. O'MAHONEY. I gladly yield to the Senator from

Mr. WHEELER. I desire to call attention to a specific instance of just what the Senator says.

For instance, the coal miners in Red Lodge, Mont., receive a lower rate of monthly wage than the coal miners in Belt, Mont., because Belt is in a county having, say, 30,000 or 40,000 population, whereas the coal miners in Red Lodge are in a small county; but they are all engaged in identically the same work, and the cost of living is fully as high in Red Lodge, Mont., as it is in Belt, Mont. The town of Belt is a much smaller town than the town of Red Lodge; but the security wage received by the miners in one is considerably higher, or vice versa, than in the other, which is absolutely unfair. The miners, for instance, in Red Lodge and the miners in Roundup cannot understand why they receive a lower monthly rate than that received by the miners in the other community.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Not only can they not understand it, but nobody can understand it, because there is no reason for it.

Mr. WHEELER. There is absolutely no rhyme or reason for it, unless we say that, of course, in the larger counties there are more votes.

Mr. SMITH. Now the Senator has said something.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. But I know instances in which it can be pointed out that the higher monthly wage is paid in communities with the lower cost of living.

I hope the chairman of the subcommittee, without further talk on my part, will be good enough to indicate that he will accept the amendment and take it to conference.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator if it is the uniform practice that in the sparsely populated communities the monthly wage is lower, and, as the population increases, the monthly wage rises.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. That is the rule. That is the way it is done.

Mr. SMITH. The Senator said there was no rhyme or reason in it. The Senator knows there are more votes in the more congested population.

What is the use of our standing here as sensible men and absolutely catering to that sort of thing? The other evening I heard a Senator here actually apologize for using his brain. Yes, I did. Have we come to the point in the United States Senate that a man must absolutely prostitute his intellectual processes in discharging his obligations as a Senator for fear he may run counter to the will of some other man? I honor the Senator from Alabama for exercising his judgment.

I shall have more to say about that subject, Mr. President, when I have a little more time and the conditions are more auspicious than they now are. I desire to call the attention

of the Senate and the public to the fact that our efficiency and our ability as Senators are measured by the manner in which we truckle to somebody else.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I am always interested in the contributions of the very distinguished Senator from South Carolina, but I wish briefly to finish the description of my amendment, and I hope I may have the attention of the chairman of the subcommittee.

I desire to add just another word, and drop it softly into the ear of my distinguished friend from Colorado [Mr. Adams]. Let me take one example, which is the schedule of monthly wages paid to unskilled workers in region No. 1.

This schedule runs from \$40 to \$55 a month. That is the total sum paid in a month to those who are employed upon works-progress projects. It is the security wage in Region No. 1 for unskilled workers. This region having been described by the Works Progress Administration as a single unit in which the occupations and the work are practically identical, there is no explanation whatever for such a differentiation in the monthly pay to be given to workers in different parts of the region.

If it be said—and I suspect this is what would concern the Senator from Colorado—that the effect of adopting this amendment would be to increase the expenditure, that does not at all follow, because the total wage which is paid depends upon the number of hours that are worked; and I think it would be very simple for the Works Progress Administration so to administer this amendment as to do away with the discrimination, for which, in my opinion, there can be no justification.

I hope the Senator from Colorado will take the amendment to conference.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wyoming yield for a question by way of clarification?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Certainly.

Mr. McCARRAN. I understand the principle and object and spirit of the amendment offered by the Senator from Wyoming to be that it will not affect the higher scale of wages

Mr. O'MAHONEY. It is not intended to affect the higher scale of wages, and does not affect it.

Mr. McCARRAN. But it may affect the lower scale, to raise it toward a higher point?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. That is correct. The amendment provides that the monthly security wage shall not be lower for persons in the same occupation in one part of the wage region than that paid in another part.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, for several days we have had a discussion on the floor of the Senate in an effort to see what could be done for those in distress. We have argued as to how many could be cared for. If this amendment is adopted, it means there will be less persons on the relief rolls than if it is not adopted, because it affects the monthly wage payment—not the hourly rate, but the monthly wage payment. It provides that in every area every monthly pay shall be raised up to the highest. That is, it provides for an increase of every monthly pay up to the highest point within that area. Inevitably, it will involve the Government in very great increase in expense in the way of increased wages to those now on the pay rolls, with a consequent inevitable reduction in the number of those who may be put and kept upon the relief rolls.

I think it would be a great misfortune to adopt the amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY]. [Putting the question.] By the sound the noes appear to have it.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I call for a division.

On a division, the amendment was rejected.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The Legislative Clerk. On page 4, line 15, after the word "children", it is proposed to insert the following proviso:

Provided further, That it being the sense of the Congress that the minimum wages paid by the Works Progress Administration should not be less than the minimum wages required by the Labor Standards Act of 1938, it is hereby provided that the minimum wages to be paid under this appropriation or the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 shall not be less than the wages fixed by the Labor Standards Act of 1938, and no security wage provision or limitation of hours of work shall defeat the purpose of this provision.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Bankhead] a little while ago very clearly pointed out to the Senate that he and the Senator from Georgia and the Senator from South Carolina had been laboring for some time in an effort to fix the same minimum wage to be paid for work of a given kind by the W. P. A. at what was required by the Labor Standards Act of 1938 to be paid for that kind of work in private industry.

My amendment does not propose to tear down any higher wage scale, to which procedure the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCarran] was a little while ago properly objecting. It merely proposes to put a floor under the wages paid by the Works Progress Administration, which is the same floor that Congress put under wages paid in private industry.

Colonel Harrington in his testimony before the Senate committee stated that there were two reasons why the amendment of the Senator from South Carolina, adopted last year, was not effectuated. One of them was that the Wage and Hour Act applies only to wages in commerce, and the W. P. A. was not engaged in commerce; furthermore, that the W. P. A. had a security wage which limited the number of dollars per week and month the workers could receive, and therefore, even if they did pay them a fairly high hourly rate, it limited them in hours of work, so that they did not get actually the number of dollars it was contemplated by the Byrnes amendment last year they should get. I therefore urge this amendment.

It will be noted that at the end of it I provide that the minimum wage to be paid by the Works Progress Administration shall be the minimum wage provided by the Labor Standards Act of 1938, and no security-wage provision for a limitation of hours shall operate to defeat the declared purpose of the Congress in 1938, as reiterated by the amendment.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, does that mean that the wages of those who are working now under a limitation of hours or days per month, so that they draw a certain amount per month, under those limitations, would have to be increased so that their monthly allowance would be as great as that of anyone in any other occupation of the same kind under the Wage and Hour Act?

Mr. PEPPER. That is correct?

Mr. BARKLEY. What effect would that have on the number of those who could be employed? If in any community they are working only half time now, we will say 14 days in some communities, at a certain wage per hour or day, of course, in 14 days, at the minimum wages provided in the Wage and Hour Act, no man could make as much money as another one in private industry or other occupation working a full month. So that if by compulsion the W. P. A. have to increase the employment to full time instead of 14 days, or whatever it is they are now allowed to work per month, would that not automatically reduce the number who could be on the roll by that amount, and if all of them had to have their time doubled it would mean that only half as many men might work as are now working. That is what I am worried about.

Mr. PEPPER. In the first place, Mr. President, I think Congress made it clear in 1938 by the Byrnes amendment that we expected the Government to pay even a monthly rate that was as much as we required private industry to pay, and that we did not anticipate the defeat of that objective by the fixing of the number of hours people could work so as to prevent it.

Mr. BARKLEY. I doubt very much whether Congress intended that, although that would be a very desirable thing. But the work is staggered so many days per month in order to allow a larger number of men to work during the month. If we insert in the pending measure a provision which practically requires the W. P. A. to put them on at full time, with the number of projects and the amount of money available, we will have a very much larger decrease in the pay roll than we otherwise would have.

Mr. PEPPER. I am getting at the same problem about which the Senator from Alabama spoke, and which the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell] clearly set forth. In the northern section of the country the security wage is something like \$50 or \$60 a month, whereas in the South, in my State, for instance, it is only \$26 a month. I desire to fix the minimum security wage everywhere in the United States at not less than \$44 a month instead of \$26 a month, as it is fixed in the South at this time.

Mr. BARKLEY. I should like to see that done, but if we are going to do it, we might as well do it with our eyes open.
Mr. PEPPER. That is exactly what I am saying.

Mr. BARKLEY. If we should increase the wage from \$26 to \$44 a month, with the same number of employees, we would be almost doubling the amount paid in wages, and with a limitation by Congress on the amount, we cannot do that. Therefore, we would have to reduce the number in order that the increased wage per month for all these employees could come within the appropriation provided by Congress.

The wage and hour law provides, of course, a minimum hourly wage and a minimum wage based upon full-time occupation and not upon part-time occupation, such as now prevails in the W. P. A., and if we should increase the security wage, desirable as that is, I am afraid we would automatically decrease the number who would draw any wages at all.

Mr. PEPPER. That matter would be adjusted in terms of dollars and cents, of course, when and if the President should find it necessary to make a further request for an appropriation from Congress.

I am glad the Senator from Kentucky presented the issue clearly to the Senate. I do not desire to conceal it; but I wish to ask whether it is fair for the security wage to be fixed in the Southern States at \$26 a month and in other States of the Union at \$40 or \$50 a month? I protest against that provision, and so in order to fix a floor under the bottom of wages, and not to pull down the wages of anybody from the top, I have offered this amendment providing that the minimum wage to be paid shall be the same as that fixed by the Wage and Hour Act.

Mr. RUSSELL and Mr. McCARRAN addressed the Chair. The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Florida yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield first to the Senator from Georgia; then I will yield to the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. RUSSELL. I should like to point out to the Senator from Florida and to the Senate that, as I recall, the average monthly wage of all persons employed upon the Works Progress Administration projects is \$52.90; it is something over \$52. The average wage, with the exception of the Southern States, is infinitely higher than that. I do not see how, with any appearance of fairness whatever, it can be said we are going to keep these wages in the South at \$26 a month in the face of a national average of \$52.90 a month and an average outside of the South, which, I imagine, will approximate \$70 a month.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President-

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, when the Senator from Georgia shall have concluded, I wish to interrupt the Senator from Florida.

Mr. RUSSELL. I did not hear what the Senator said.

Mr. McCARRAN. The Senator from Florida said that he would yield to the Senator from Nevada after the Senator from Georgia had concluded. I wondered whether the Senator from Georgia had concluded.

Mr. RUSSELL. I will conclude in my own good time, when I have completed my statement, or when the Senator from Florida asks me to infringe on his time no longer.

Mr. President, I do not see how any person could take the position that Congress should pass a law which fixed a minimum wage for people employed in industry in this country at a certain rate and then say that a much lower rate should obtain in a specific section of the country when it comes to the distribution of works progress funds. I had not intended either to disconcert or annoy the Senator from Nevada by making a statement, and I appreciate the Senator from Florida yielding, but I certainly think what I have said casts some light on this very amendment, when we consider that the average monthly wage throughout the United States is fifty-two dollars and some cents a month, as compared with the minimum wage in the South of \$26 a month.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Georgia immensely for his valuable contribution.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. O'Mahoney in the chair). Does the Senator from Florida yield to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. PEPPER. Gladly.

Mr. McCARRAN. First of all I wish to express my appreciation to the Senator from Georgia for his rather personal remark. I thought I had always been courteous to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. RUSSELL. The Senator from Georgia did not intend to be discourteous to the Senator from Nevada. Nothing was further from his mind.

Mr. McCARRAN. I did not think the Senator would be, but the Senator from Florida said he would yield to me after the Senator from Georgia had concluded, and the Senator from Alabama started to speak.

What I desired to refer to concerning the remark of the Senator from Florida was that, regardless of how we may look upon this matter, does the Senator from Florida believe that this intricate problem, which has now engaged the attention of Federal administrators for the past 4 years, and, indeed, engaged the attention of the Senate for the past 4 years, could be solved between now and the 7th of February, at which time the whole deficiency appropriation must go into effect?

Let me bring to the attention of the Senator from Florida a thought which he may consider in answering my question.

This is a deficiency appropriation and not a regular appropriation, and we are attempting to legislate into a deficiency appropriation a provision which must go into effect between now and the 7th day of February. Assuming that there is cogency in his argument and in the amendment which he has offered, does the Senator believe that the thing could be worked out with any degree of equity between now and the time the measure must go into effect? I may say now that I do not believe it possible. I think the whole proposition is out of the question in a deficiency appropriation. I think it belongs to a regular appropriation.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I am glad to answer the pertinent inquiry of the Senator from Nevada. The amendment I have offered does not have the stringency about it that the House provision contains. All my amendment requires is that the W. P. A. immediately establish a minimum wage scale for the lowest class of its work, of the same number of dollars per week, and month, and hour as required by the Labor Standards Act of 1938. It does not require any adjustment, except the prescription of a higher wage than they have heretofore been paying to the lowest class of their workers.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. Let us assume there is a project in Florida, or in Georgia, or in Kentucky, on which a hundred men are being employed. By limiting the number of days per month during which they may work, those 100 men are allowed employment, let us say, at \$26 a month. If the amendment pro-

posed by the Senator from Florida is agreed to, the W. P. A. must provide whole-time work for as many of them as are needed on the project at a minimum of, we will say, \$44 a month. Let us say that 60 of the 100 who are now working on the \$26 rate would be needed if they are working on a whole-time basis. The other 40 must go off the rolls. What happens to them? We will say there are no other projects in the community on which they could be employed.

Mr. PEPPER. I answer the Senator's query by putting a counterquestion in this general way: Is it fair for the lower-paid workers on the W. P. A. in the South to bear the brunt of it all; that the whole burden should fall upon them by reason of the tragic limitation on the funds which have been appropriated by the Congress?

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not understand that the limitation of hours is applicable exclusively to any section of the country. I understand it is applicable all over the country.

Mr. PEPPER. No; I mean that the security wage in the South is only \$26 a month, while the security wage in the North is at least \$50 a month, and I am endeavoring to bring the security wage in the South up to at least \$44 a month. It would still be considerably below the security wage paid in other sections of the country.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am as anxious to raise the security wage in the South as the Senator from Florida is, and to raise it elsewhere also. I have always voted for legislation along that line. But I think we are bound to admit that it cannot be done without more money. It cannot be done with the amount of money which will be available under this appropriation between now and the 1st day of July, and it cannot be done at all, it seems to me, without throwing out of employment a great number of those now on the rolls. I am wondering whether we are really fair in attempting to raise the wages of 60 percent, I will say, of those now on the rolls, and discharge altogether the other 40 percent.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, in reply to that suggestion I will ask this question: Is it fair for a minimum wage of \$50 a month to prevail in other parts of the country and let them get their proportion of the available funds, and then say, "We are sorry for you \$26-a-month workers down there in the South. We should be very glad to help you, but we have no money available." Is that fair? Is it fair for the worker in the North to get \$50 or \$60 a month as a security wage and for the worker in the South to get only \$26 a month as a security wage, and to say, "We are sorry, but we have to give the money to the worker in the North in order to pay him his security wage"?

Between now and March 1 all of us anticipate that the President, by the invitation contained in the committee amendment, will have to lay the problem again before the Congress and be obliged to ask for more money. If it does require more money to make a fair distribution of funds among the relief workers of America, the money should be provided. It is not fair to continue the discrimination that now exists. I know that the Congress, with knowledge of that fact, wants to correct that situation as soon as possible, and not have the abuse continued. Now is the time to begin correcting it, and when the President comes before us, between now and the 1st of March, he can lay before us the experience that has been had.

Mr. BARKLEY. If the President comes back on the 1st of March, he will not come back asking for \$150,000,000. He will come back asking for a considerably increased amount, for if we cannot keep employed even the number of men now employed, or who are available for employment under an appropriation of \$725,000,000 or of \$875,000,000, we shall have to make a larger appropriation based upon full-time employment for all of them, or we shall have to reduce the rolls much more than they will be reduced even in the measure as it now stands before the Senate.

Mr. PEPPER. I do not believe that any Senator would want to say to the workers of his State, "I am going to give you only a half day's work so that the men and the women who are needy in the rest of the country may have a whole

day's work." There certainly is some fair ratio by which they would all have their proper share.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from Georgia, and then I shall yield the floor.

Mr. RUSSELL. I wish to express an opinion, not directly on what the Senator from Florida has discussed, but, in my judgment, we should either appropriate sufficient money to equalize the expenditure in some sort of proper ratio among the several States, or else we should abolish it altogether and let all the suffering that would ensue be ratably distributed throughout the United States. I think up until now it has been shown that most of the money has gone to the richest States. As I understand the proposal of the Senator from Florida, the only effect of his amendment would be to increase the hourly compensation for this year to 25 cents per hour, in addition to the other effect it would have on the number of hours of work in Florida.

Mr. PEPPER. That is correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. There are only 12 States in the Union where minimum wage for any class of labor is less than 25 cents an hour. That embraces the 11 Southern States and the State of Delaware, where it is 24 cents an hour. So, on the hourly basis strictly it should not involve a tremendous amount of money, because I think it is shown that those States have fewer persons on the rolls in proportion to their population than have the other States, where the wages are higher. So, as I have said, it should not involve an enormous amount of money.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I went home and made the wage and hour bill the issue in the campaign. I would not have had any opposition in my State if I had not believed in my heart in that legislation and fought for it. As the result of my position on that legislation I had a strenuous campaign. How can I look my people in the face and say to them that I supported in the National Congress a law which provided that private industry must pay a minimum wage of 25 cents an hour, and must authorize, where possible, a 44-hour week, and then admit that the Works Progress Administration, distributing money of the Federal Government, pays the relief worker doing a given kind of work \$26 a month, whereas in the State of New York it pays a worker doing the same kind of work \$50 or \$60 a month? How can I justify to my constituency that kind of governmental discrimination?

We have tried to lift the wage scale in the South by the wage and hour method, and now we are merely asking the cooperation of the Congress in another sphere, so that we may have the influence of W. P. A. in our effort to accomplish the laudable objective of increasing that wage scale and increasing the purchasing power in the way we tried to do in the Labor Standards Act of 1938.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, I am wondering if those who are discussing the wage and hour bill in connection with the pending measure realize the fact that throughout the length and breadth of this country today there is a decided discord, and a decided dissatisfaction with the wage and hour bill? I am wondering if those who are using the wage and hour bill as an example of legislation in this country realize the fact that labor throughout the entire extent of America today is dissatisfied with the wage and hour bill for the very reason that I have set forth here today, against the tearing down of the wage structure of America? Why do I make that expression? I am going to use some very homely illustrations, and those who come from the great sections of the West, if they have been out in the West during the campaign that has just passed, will be in entire accord with my views.

Perhaps we should not deal with sectionalism, although I am sorry to say that sectionalism grows out of the very kindly and emphatic expressions of the Senator from Florida. I am sorry it has grown into this joint resolution, because it does not belong in the joint resolution.

The wage and hour law in America has created a sectionalism which will destroy the wage and hour law unless the

law is modified. It will destroy the law in no uncertain terms. Why? Because the pay check of the fellow who delves 5,000 feet below the surface of the earth in my section of the country has been reduced under the wage and hour law. Today he is up in arms, and during the campaign he challenged me because I supported the wage and hour bill. He said to me, "Because you supported the wage and hour bill, I am going to vote against you, because to me it meant \$30 off my pay check last month." Some who have not gone through the campaign may think about the question for the next campaign.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. McCARRAN. I yield to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. PEPPER. The Senator from Nevada has said that the source of objection to the wage and hour law was the limitation of the maximum number of hours, and therefore of earnings, which that law imposed. The objection did not arise from the minimum wage which was prescribed by the wage and hour law, did it?

Mr. McCARRAN. If I correctly understand the Senator's question—and I mean to understand it correctly; I do not mean to be captious—

Mr. PEPPER. I am sure of that.

Mr. McCARRAN. If I correctly understand the question, the objection to the wage and hour law is that it tears down the monthly earnings of the higher-paid skilled and semi-skilled workers of the country.

Mr. PEPPER. In what way, may I ask the Senator?

Mr. McCARRAN. It tears it down, because it limits the hours and limits the wage to be paid per hour.

Mr. PEPPER. If the Senator will observe my amendment he will see that there is no element of that kind in my amendment. Let me refresh the Senator's recollection by reading part of my amendment:

It being the sense of the Congress that the minimum wages paid by the Works Progress Administration should not be less than the minimum wages required by the Labor Standards Act of 1938, it is hereby provided that the minimum wages to be paid under this appropriation or the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 shall not be less than the wages fixed by the Labor Standards Act of 1938.

In no way does my amendment tear down any wage scale.

It builds it up.

Mr. McCarran. May I reply to the Senator from Florida that the same argument was used in connection with the wage and hour bill? I voted for the wage and hour bill, and I voted to send the wage and hour bill back to the committee so that those very objections might be corrected. However, they were not corrected. The bill was sent to the House. It was then sent back from the floor of the House to the committee. It was brought out of the committee of the House and passed. The very things the Senator has in mind are the things with which those who run for office in 1940 will be confronted.

Mr. President, I voted for the wage and hour bill, and I would again vote for the wage and hour bill. We should not tear down the wage structure of the country by the wage and hour law. The administration of the wage and hour law has torn down the wage structure of America. Unless we modify or amend the wage and hour law, we shall destroy the living structure and the wage structure of the country.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?
The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HATCH in the chair). Does
the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. McCARRAN. I yield.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I am seeking information. Does the Senator mean that the wage and hour law has reduced the rate of pay per hour, the wage scale, or the total amount of money earned during the month?

Mr. McCARRAN. I will answer the last part of the Senator's question first. It has reduced the total amount earned per month.

Mr. BANKHEAD. By a limitation of hours.

Mr. McCARRAN. That is one element that enters into the question. However, there is another element.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARRAN. Will the Senator kindly permit me to finish my answer to the question addressed to me by the Senator from Alabama, and then direct his question to me? I wish now to answer the last part of the question of the Senator from Alabama, if I may, while I have it in mind.

During the consideration of the wage and hour bill, I urged consideration of the matter to which I have referred. In other words, when we fix the minimum of wages, the minimum may, and in all probability will, become the maximum. The minimum has become the maximum, and is becoming the maximum throughout the country through the operation of Administration.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. McCARRAN. I promised to yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. I was attracted by what the Senator said a moment ago about the miners in his State. There having been no reduction in wages per hour or per day under the wage and hour law, in instances in which there has been any change it has been an increase, so as to bring those below the 25-cents-an-hour minimum up to 25 cents. The loss in monthly compensation is due to the fact that at the same wage per hour or per day the men are not permitted to work as many hours as they were prior to the enactment of the law. Is not that true?

Mr. McCARRAN. That is correct in part. I want to be fair with the Senator. However, it is also true from another angle. The minimum has been utilized as an avenue or a lever to enable the employer to say: "This is the minimum and we are going to resort to the minimum."

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course, under the law, wherever industries were already paying above the minimum of 25 cents, I do not understand there has been any reduction, because the law made no change in their status. The only change in wages with which I am familiar is in those cases in which less than 25 cents was paid, and the wage had to be brought up to the minimum.

There would not be any inducement for a man who is paying more than 25 cents to come down to 25, because he voluntarily pays more than 25 cents. He would not come down to 25 cents because he is compelled to pay at least 25 cents. So, I think it is very largely true that whenever there has been a loss in the total monthly compensation it has resulted in cases in which men worked more than 44 hours per week, and had their working week reduced to 44 hours. So they have been denied the additional compensation which they would have received if they had been permitted to work 50 hours instead of 44.

Mr. McCARRAN. Of course, the Senator's views do not fit exactly the conditions I have in mind. Let me say that the minimum pay in the metalliferous mines of the country is approximately 50 cents an hour. It runs higher than that in some sections. The employers in certain localities have taken advantage of the provisions of the wage and hour law to reduce the pay checks of the miners.

Mr. BARKLEY. What was formerly the number of hours per day?

Mr. McCARRAN. Eight hours always. Mr. BARKLEY. So that a 6-day week would mean that the men were working 48 hours a week.

Mr. McCARRAN. Forty-eight hours if they worked a 6-day week.

Mr. BARKLEY. They now work only 44 hours.

Mr. McCARRAN. That is true.

Mr. BARKLEY. So they have been reduced 4 hours per week. At 50 cents an hour that makes \$2 a week, or about \$8 a month. The amount of the reduction would depend on the hourly wage they received.

Mr. McCARRAN. That would be correct under certain conditions. However, I do not think the Senator grasps the whole situation. We have miners who work 6 days a week 8 hours a day. Suppose those miners are working 100 miles from some center. They do not want to have their hours limited, but their hours are limited by force of law. They do not want those hours limited, because they have nothing to do with the hours of idleness. They cannot go anywhere. They cannot do anything. They are simply idle. What is more than that, our metalliferous mines work three shifts of 8 hours, which means continuous operation throughout the entire 24 hours of the day. We have destroyed that whole program and we have reduced the pay check of the miner.

Mr. BARKLEY. The mining communities referred to are not as active and attractive as they used to be, according to my understanding, if at the present time the miners cannot find anywhere to go or anything to do during the idle hours.

Mr. McCARRAN. That is very true.

Mr. BARKLEY. It may be that life has simmered down to a dull affair, so that there is nothing to attract them.

Mr. McCARRAN. There is nothing to attract them except \$20 gold pieces.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. McCARRAN. I yield to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. WHEELER. I do not know that I have anything to say. However, I think the Senator from Nevada is correct. The same complaint has been made to me by miners and smelter men in my State. The wage and hour law has upset the whole standard by which they were employed, and there has been much confusion. I am told that in some instances the loss has amounted to as much as \$25 or \$30 a month.

Mr. McCARRAN. That is correct.

Now, Mr. President, to continue with this matter-

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for just a moment?

Mr. McCARRAN. I yield for a question.

Mr. PEPPER. The principle that the minimum brings down the maximum has not worked out in the W. P. A., has it? The minimum in the South is \$26 a month, and the maximum in other parts of the country is immensely higher.

Mr. McCARRAN. Of course, Mr. President, if I may say so to the Senator from Florida, if we are going to deal with sectionalism in this relief measure, we are simply lost.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, does not the Senator think the relief measure does that very thing, judging from what the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell] developed here today? We are trying to get away from it, not trying to get into it. We are trying to get out of it.

Mr. McCARRAN. I realize that, but I think we are dealing with a legislative principle if it is legislation at all. As a matter of fact, without meaning to be captious in this expression-I hope I shall not be construed as being captious-I think you are dealing with your whole history now and that you are working out of it.

Mr. President, if this amendment is to come to a vote this afternoon, it not having been printed, I shall hope to hold the Senate for a discussion of the matter at length. As I understand—and I hope the Senator from Florida will correct me if I am wrong—the amendment has not been printed. Am I wrong in that?

Mr. PEPPER. It has not been printed.

SEVERAL SENATORS. It will be voted down.

Mr. McCARRAN. If it is to be voted down, very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER ].

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. I should like to have settled the point which the Senator from Nevada has raised. Is it necessary for an amendment to be printed before it may be voted on?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is not necessary.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I never heard that statement made before, but I wanted to be satisfied about it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is unnecessary.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, I submit the following unanimous-consent request:

I ask unanimous consent that with the exception of the amendment which is to be offered by the able Senator from Idaho [Mr. Borah], from now—5 o'clock—until midnight no Senator shall speak more than five times or more than 1 hour on any amendment or any subject, and that all speeches from now until midnight shall have some relation to the subject matter of the joint resolution. [Laughter.]

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, on the precedent of the record made by the Senator from West Virginia, I object.

[Laughter.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Florida [Mr. Pepper.] [Putting the question.] By the sound the noes seem to have it.

Mr. PEPPER. I call for a division.

On a division, the amendment was rejected.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, may I inquire the status of amendments, with a view to trying to decide whether we shall continue with the session tonight or go over until Monday?

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I have a brief amendment

which I should like to offer.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator from Arizona has one, and the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Borah] has one which I understand will be accepted by the committee.

Mr. DAVIS. I have one.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I have an amendment which, I am in-

formed, will be accepted by the committee.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator from Washington [Mr. Schwellenbach] has one, and so has the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Clark]. If all these amendments are to be offered, and will involve as much discussion as the others, the Senate might as well go over until Monday.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Kentucky yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. BORAH. I understood that the Senator in charge of the bill had no objection to the amendment I desire to offer. I doubt if there will be any objection to it. Therefore, I should like to offer it at this time. If it leads to debate, of course I shall not push it tonight.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Ken-

tucky yield for that purpose?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield; yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Idaho will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 2, line 10, after the colon, it is proposed to insert the following:

Provided, That notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Works Progress Administrator is authorized from time to time, out of the funds appropriated in this joint resolution, to use such amount or amounts, not to exceed in the aggregate \$15,000,000, as may be determined by the Administrator to be necessary for the purpose of providing direct relief for needy persons.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Idaho.

Mr. BYRNES. I hope the Senator from Colorado will accept the amendment.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, as one member of the committee, I think the amendment is entirely acceptable.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Idaho whether this money is to be allocated in accordance with the number of persons on relief in each State or at the discretion of the Administrator?

Mr. BORAH. At the discretion of the Administrator, to

take care of needy persons.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment offered by the Senator from Idaho is agreed to.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, if we can finish the consideration of the joint resolution tonight the Senate can recess or adjourn until next Wednesday. Otherwise we shall have to come back here on Monday. There is nothing on the calendar. Are Senators willing to stay here, if possible,

an hour or so and finish the joint resolution, or would they rather have it go over until Monday?

Mr. NEELY (and other Senators). Let us finish it.

Mr. BARKLEY. The consensus seems to be that we should finish the consideration of the measure tonight.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment, which I ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Washington will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 3, line 17, after the figures "1939", it is proposed to insert the following:

But this provise shall not apply to administrative positions the compensation of which is payable from the allocations made under section 3 of said Emergency Relief Act in those instances where the incumbents of such positions subsequent to February 28, 1939, will not be compensated from emergency relief funds.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, if I may explain this rather unimportant amendment for just a minute, it involves only about 100 persons employed by the Public Health Service.

Last year the Public Health Service started a national health survey. They employed, as a W. P. A. project, several thousand persons. Last year they realized that they were going to finish the general work of survey, and that in February of this year they could start the definite work of tabulating the results of their investigations throughout the country.

The Public Health Service prepared and submitted to the President an Executive order blanketing these 100 persons into the civil service. They were the ones who had been chosen from the corps of several thousand throughout the country as being the most efficient. Instead of issuing that Executive order the President issued the general Executive order which is eliminated by the provisions of the joint resolution.

Now, we find that the Public Health Service, which wants to go ahead with its own funds appropriated by the Congress last year for this work as a regular part of the work of the Service, is in such a position that on the 1st of February these persons must be put off, because they are through with their W. P. A. project. They will not be employed as W. P. A. employees at all. They will be employed as regular employees of the Public Health Service; and they cannot be employed, because they are not under civil service. The answer may be made that they could take examinations, and so forth; but that would mean a delay, and it would also mean the possibility that the persons who have been chosen because of the fact that they have shown particular ability on the W. P. A. project—100 out of several thousand—would be deprived of their work.

The amendment does not involve the expenditure of any money. It merely involves the question of whether or not this work shall be finished by the Public Health Service.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Washington.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, I have another amendment.

Mr. BARKLEY. Let us vote on this one first.

Mr. McCARRAN. I may offer my amendment as an amendment to that offered by the Senator from Washington. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada is recognized.

Mr. McCARRAN. I ask that my amendment be read and inserted in the proper place.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Nevada to the amendment of the Senator from Washington will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 3, line 6, it is proposed to strike out "\$83,000,000" and to substitute therefor the following:

\$86,000,000 of which \$3,000,000 shall be allocated for the purpose of operating projects for the employment of unemployed workers with suitable railroad and express company clerical experience (actual need to be considered established by the fact of unemployment) for the transcription and compilation of records of railroad employment and compensation prior to January 1, 1937.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington will state it.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Is it possible for the Senator from Nevada to offer that as an amendment to my amendment? My amendment is on page 3, line 17, on an entirely different subject. Now the Senator from Nevada offers an amendment to line 6 on the same page and seeks to attach it to my amendment.

Mr. McCARRAN. May I address myself to that subject? The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada is recognized, although the Chair will state that so far as the Chair is advised at this time it does not appear that the amendment of the Senator from Nevada is a proper amendment to the amendment of the Senator from Washington.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, addressing myself to the general subject, the amendment offered by the Senator from Washington is, to use the common parlance, an earmarking amendment. In other words, it proposes to earmark certain moneys to be applied along certain lines by the W. P. A. Administrator.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, will the Senator vield?

Mr. McCARRAN. I yield.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I assure the Senator it does not involve earmarking funds. It involves funds appropriated in the regular appropriation bill last year for the Public Health Service. It is not a question of earmarking funds at all.

Service. It is not a question of earmarking funds at all. Mr. McCARRAN. That is correct, and my amendment applies in the same direction. In other words, \$60,000,000 was appropriated last year for the identical line of work, that appropriation was considered by the Committee on Appropriations, and the Senator from Arizona offered an amendment along the lines of my amendment which was voted down in the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. President, I now address myself to the proposed amendment to the amendment. There are today in this country some 25,000 who are out of employment who were formerly employed in the railroad service of the United States. In other words, they were in clerical positions in the rail service of this country. All we want to do is to see to it that they may, perchance, under this appropriation be given an opportunity of working, because they are skilled in certain lines.

If I may designate, they were clerks, they were station agents, they were telegraphers. They were engaged in a classified service in which they had put in their entire time up to the date when the rail service of this country was cut down. Today they cannot find employment in America because the best years of their lives have been devoted to their particular vocation.

In view of the fact that the Railway Retirement Board finds it necessary to employ a skilled class along that very line, but have not money with which to employ this class, this amendment would provide that the Railway Retirement Board might employ so many of that particular class as was necessary to bring together the statistics required by the Railway Retirement Board so that it might determine who was entitled to be kept on the retirement list. That is all the amendment provides.

It is an earmarking amendment, I am willing to admit, but if we are going to earmark at all, let us earmark along the lines where men have no chance at all to get occupation or employment because they have put in their whole lives at this vocation, and have not a chance to go into the harvest fields or into clerical positions, save and except those clerical positions to which they have devoted their entire lives. There are 25,000 or more of this class in this country. Let us employ them.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair rules that the amendment offered by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Mc-Carran] cannot be attached to the amendment of the Senator from Washington [Mr. Schwellenbach]. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Washington.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I wish to ask the Senator from Washington a question. This amendment has nothing on earth to do with relief work, has it?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. No; but-

Mr. CONNALLY. Why does he offer it at this time?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Because of the fact that conditions require this action by Congress.

Mr. CONNALLY. Why should we pick out this group and prefer them above all others in a measure with which the amendment has nothing on earth to do?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. This joint resolution is the measure which makes it impossible for this work to be continued. This is the natural and logical place to make this provision.

Mr. CONNALLY. They can continue the work.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. They cannot continue the work after the 1st of February because of the fact that, in order for the Treasury Department to pay them, they must have the status of civil-service employees.

Mr. CONNALLY. Is it not true that there are thousands on the civil-service list capable of doing this work? What the Senator wants to do is to legislate this particular group into the civil service.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. The Senator can call it legislating this particular group into the civil service if he cares to, but that is not correct. The fact is that a hundred of these people were chosen out of a group of several thousand because of their ability and diligence. The Public Health Service wanted to keep them. A special Executive order was prepared, but because of the fact that last June the President issued a general Executive order he did not sign the special order, and they have been proceeding under that condition until this measure came in.

Congress will wipe out the general Executive order, and as a result these people will not be able to continue in that work. It is not merely a matter of these individuals; it is a matter of the work of the Public Health Service being discontinued for a month or two until the examinations could be prepared. It is the pending measure which makes it necessary, in order to have the people brought in under civil service at this particular time. There is no intention to single out anybody except as conditions have made it necessary.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I do not know anything about these individuals, and I am not hostile to the Senator's intention, but this is palpably an effort to pick out a hundred people who have already had the benefit of W. P. A. It is not a W. P. A. matter at all; it has nothing on earth to do with it. I might as well offer an amendment to cover into the civil service a block of fellows under the War Department. These persons have not a civil-service status. We are asked to legislate them in ahead of everybody else who has gone through the regular routine and has waited perhaps for 6 months or a year to get a job. We are asked to pick these people out and say, "You are to be preferred ahead of everybody else. We are going to put you into the civil service." It is not right.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. But these people would have been under civil service last June if the special Executive order had been signed.

Mr. CONNALLY. All that is necessary is for the President to sign that little Executive order. He could sign that just as easily as he can sign this joint resolution. I think the Senator ought not at this late hour, when we are trying to adjourn, bring in a matter which has no relation on earth to relief or W. P. A., seeking to put these people in a preferred status. I am opposed to the amendment for that reason, and for that reason alone.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Washington [Mr. Schwellenbach].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I offer an amendment, which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. It is proposed, on page 3, line 6, to strike out "\$83,000,000" and to insert in lieu thereof "\$93,000,000."

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I can very briefly explain the proposed amendment. It is merely to correct a clerical

mistake made in the House of Representatives.

Last year we appropriated \$1,350,000,000, of which we provided that \$60,000,000 might be used on Federal projects. In submitting the Budget estimate for \$875,000,000, the Budget recommended that \$40,000,000 be likewise set aside.

In making the reduction the House committee reduced the \$875,000,000 by 17 percent. Instead of cutting 17 percent off of \$40,000,000, as estimated by the Budget, they cut 17 percent off a hundred million. That is how we get the figure \$83,000,000 in the bill. It was by taking 17 percent off a hundred million dollars.

I want this reduction made proportionate to the reduction in other Budget estimates. The Budget estimate for the whole appropriation was \$875,000,000. The Budget estimate for this purpose was \$40,000,000, and so the figure should be \$93,000,000, and I therefore offer this amendment.

I shall not go into the merits of the use of this money. I think the Senate understands thoroughly that it is used in the employment of W. P. A. laborers in various Federal projects.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, I now offer my amendment to the amendment of the Senator from Arizona.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 3, line 6, where it is proposed to strike out "\$83,000,000" and to insert "\$93,000,000", it is proposed to add the following:

Of which \$3,000,000 shall be allocated for the purpose of operating projects for the employment of unemployed workers with suitable railroad and express company clerical experience (actual need to be considered established by the fact of unemployment) for the transcription and compilation of records of railroad employment and compensation prior to January 1, 1937.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I am sorry I cannot agree to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Nevada. To my mind it is not germane. It is an independent matter. The Senator from Nevada desires to earmark \$3,000,000 of the money that may be allocated to Federal projects, and to use it to employ persons elsewhere, and not in general W. P. A. work. If the Senator wishes to take \$3,000,000 from the general W. P. A. fund and employ certain persons on W. P. A. projects, that would be legitimate. Why does the Senator wish to take the money away from Federal projects? It is quite clear to me that his amendment should not be attached to the provision to which the Senator wishes to attach it.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona not agree that the project to which the Senator from Nevada is addressing himself is a Federal project? Of course, it is a Federal project. It cannot be anything else. I am seeking to allocate \$3,000,000 for the purposes set forth in the amendment.

Mr. HAYDEN. Then there is the general objection of earmarking, in addition to what I have said.

Mr. McCARRAN. The Senator is earmarking.

Mr. HAYDEN. No; I am not. I merely propose to continue a project that has heretofore been carried on.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCarran] to the amendment of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN].

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, I wish to be heard. I do not want unduly to take up the time of the Senate, but I say that the amendment I have offered is germane to the amendment of the Senator from Arizona. The amendment simply proposes to allocate \$3,000,000 of the \$93,000,000, which the Senator from Arizona earmarks in his amendment, to the employment of a certain class of labor.

The amendment of the Senator from Arizona provides for employment of a certain class of Federal labor under a Federal project. It has been going on during the entire time that W. P. A. has been going on. What I seek by my amendment is to have the Railway Retirement Board employ certain persons whom they desire to employ, and who are entirely qualified to carry on the work; a certain number of persons who have been forced out of employment by reason of being discharged from the railway service. That is all there is to it.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, under the amendment I have offered not one man would be employed to work for any department of the Government in a clerical capacity such as the Senator from Nevada suggests. My amendment simply provides for the employment of common labor which otherwise would be employed by a county or city or town doing ordinary laboring work on a Government project. It provides for the employment of common labor available in some community on a nearby Federal project.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, why does not the Senator from Nevada offer his amendment as a separate, individual

amendment?

Mr. McCARRAN. I shall do that later.

Mr. BARKLEY. It certainly is not germane to the pending

Mr. McCARRAN. Very well.
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nevada withdraw his amendment to the amendment?

Mr. McCARRAN. I withdraw the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], on page 3, line 6, to strike out "\$83,000,000" and to insert in lieu thereof "\$93,000,000."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. DAVIS rose.

Mr. McCARRAN. Now, Mr. President, I offer my amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment, which I ask to have stated.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, the Senator from Nevada has offered an amendment which has been pending for an hour. Two or three times it has been sidetracked in order that we might vote on some other amendment. I am friendly to my friend upon the other side of the aisle [Mr. Davis], but I submit that the amendment proposed by the Senator from Nevada is entitled to a vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that the Chair has been trying to recognize the Senators as their names appear on the list which is before the Chair.

Mr. BARKLEY. I understand that the Senator from Pennsylvania does not intend to discuss his amendment. He simply desire a vote upon it. I hope the Chair will recognize the Senator from Nevada when action has been had upon the amendment proposed by the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Pennsylvania will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. At the end of the joint resolution it is proposed to insert the following new section:

SEC. 8. That there is hereby appropriated to the Works Progress Administration, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and in addition to any other sum appropriated in this joint resolution, the sum of \$150,000,000, but such sum of \$150,-000,000 shall not be paid out of the Treasury unless and until there is filed with the Secretary of the Treasury, by the special committee hereinafter provided for, a certificate certifying that in the opinion of the committee (1) a full and complete investigation has been made, under the supervision of such committee, of the abuses which have occurred at any time in the administration of the Works Progress Administration; (2) there have been removed from the rolls of the Works Progress Administration the names of all persons who are not eligible for, and entitled to, employment by the Works Progress Administration; and (3) the expenditure of such additional sum is necessary in order to provide adequate work relief and relief: sum is necessary in order to provide adequate work rener and rener: Provided further, That such investigation shall include, but shall not be limited to, an investigation of any alleged instances of (1) pernicious political activity by any person whose compensation, or any part thereof, has been paid from funds appropriated or allocated to the Works Progress Administration; (2) granting employment with such funds to persons who were not eligible for and entitled thereto; (3) refusal, because of any partisan political or any personal reasons, to grant employment with such funds to persons who were eligible for and entitled thereto; and (4) padding of the relief rolls with the names of relatives, personal friends, or political allies of any employee of the Works Progress Administration or any other person: Provided further, That the President is hereby authorized to appoint, with the advice and consent of the Senate, five persons (not more than three of whom shall be members of the same political party), who shall compose the membership of the special committee heretofore referred to and who shall serve without compensation, other than reimbursement for necessary traveling expenses incurred by them in the perform-ance of their duties as members of such committee: Provided further, That for the purpose of conducting such investigation the special committee is authorized to expend not in excess of \$250,000 of the sum of \$725,000,000 appropriated by this joint resolution, and for the purpose of conducting such investigation may employ and fix the compensation of such persons as it may deem neces-sary, and may accept, from States and political subdivisions thereof sary, and may accept, from States and political subdivisions thereof and from private individuals, contributions of funds and uncompensated services: Provided further, That the investigation in each State shall be carried on under the supervision of a board to be composed of five nonpartisan residents of such State, and the investigation to be carried on in any political subdivision of such State which the committee may designate as a unit for the purposes of such investigation shall be carried on under the supervision of a board to be composed of five nonpartisan residents of such political subdivision: Provided further, That the members of any such board for any State or political subdivision thereof shall be appointed by the committee from two lists of 10 eligible persons, one of which shall be submitted to such committee by each of the one of which shall be submitted to such committee by each of the members of the Senate from such State, but not more than 3 persons shall be selected from the list submitted by any such Senator: Provided further, That no officer or employee of the United States, a State, or a political subdivision of a State shall be appointed to, or serve on, any such board: Provided further, That the members of such boards shall receive no compensation for their services other than reimbursement for traveling expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties as members of such boards: *Provided further*, That the special committee shall make a report to Congress not later than January 1, 1940, with respect to the investigation herein provided for."

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, there are three essential parts of the plan I have suggested for the improvement of work relief administration. I wish briefly to explain these three factors as shown in my amendment.

In the first place, provision is made for an additional \$150,-000,000 for work relief to accord with the amount asked in the Budget. There has been much discussion as to how much may be required, and great difference of opinion has developed on this point. In view of the fact that this is relatively a small amount compared to the vast sums which have already been expended, I hold that the further appropriation of \$150,000,000 is not in itself the major consideration at the present time. I should be willing to vote for this additional appropriation, although some question still persists with respect to it, if by my vote I could make sure we have started down the road of the nonpartisan administration of work relief, with the savings we have a right to expect from nonpartisan administration.

I should not wish to give anyone occasion to say that the reorganization of work relief on a thoroughly nonpartisan basis had been handicapped or made impossible simply because of the lack of a sufficient appropriation. Surely \$150 .-000,000 is not a large sum to spend in the light of the many billion dollars already spent in a partisan way. We who desire and have long desired the nonpartisan administration of work relief and all forms of public spending should not now suffer defeat simply for lack of \$150,000,000 asked for in the Budget. With proper provision made for this sum, in addition to that already voted by the House and confirmed by the Senate, would there be anyone who could justifiably say that the orderly reorganization of work relief on a nonpartisan basis is not then the first order of business among us?

My amendment provides that the \$150,000,000 asked to conform with the Budget shall be made available upon the completion of a nonpartisan investigation of past and present abuses in W. P. A. If Congress should take prompt action in this matter, I see no reason why this investigation cannot be completed within 3 months. There is no real reason for delay. I am willing to do my part. I am confident that tens of thousands of public-spirited citizens throughout the Nation stand willing to do their part. The chief responsibility for action now rests with the President. I want to

make it clear beyond all question that if the President shall continue to take no positive action looking to the removal of waste resulting from the administration of work relief through selfish partisan politics, as shown in Pennsylvania, he should be held responsible for the pitiful plight of the unemployed worker driven off W. P. A. rolls. If every State in the Union, in proportion to the number of its unemployed, is subject to as much partisanship and needless waste in work-relief administration as is Pennsylvania, I am confident we should have no difficulty in soon saving \$150,000,000 through the use of nonpartisan boards to replace the unfair and expensive partisan administration which now prevails.

Mr. President, I do not favor and I have never favored the appointment of political partisans for the administration of relief or work relief. It is a well-known fact that in Pennsylvania we have had a partisan administration of relief and work relief which is thoroughly disgusting to any fairminded citizen. Petty partisans have been placed in fat political jobs, who did not need them, and never would have had them except for their partisan connections. At the same time, business executives who have been accustomed in ordinary times to earn \$10,000 and more through their own abilities have been reduced to penury. These very men, with sound administrative ability, are now available for the administration of work relief on a nonpartisan basis. They are available in every locality. They could be found for this service in any number required, and their services could be secured without paying them the princely sums now being extracted by highly paid partisans. My amendment looks to the purging of the rolls of those who are not entitled to relief and to the savings of administrative cost. Competent administrative personnel can now be found from relief rolls in a large percentage of cases. The waste and the partisanship which now prevail have produced an intolerable condition. Until this condition is improved and until partisanship is removed from the administraton of work relief, the primary responsibility for the break-down of W. P. A. will rest, in my judgment, on the President.

Mr. President, during the last election campaign I made the partisan political administration of work relief one of the major issues in my campaign for reelection in Pennsylvania. The Republican candidate for Governor and I asked for the restoration of the antimacing law which the Earle administration had wiped out. The first bill to be drawn by the attorney general of the present State administration in Pennsylvania for assembly enactment is an antimacing bill.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks an editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer of today entitled the "Antimacing Bill Must Be Passed."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer of January 25, 1939] ANTIMACING BILL MUST BE PASSED

The antimacing bill introduced in the legislature with the sponsorship of the James administration is intended to eradicate an evil practice that has disgraced this State: The political exploitation of

those forced by poverty to accept public aid.

It would outlaw the solicitation of contributions by any party organization from relief recipients, a method of enriching campaign chests that actually means the bludgeoning of money from these pitifully needy persons, under direct or implied threat of withdrawn relief.

It is difficult to see how anyone would dare stand in the way of a measure of this kind. Governor James made antimacing legislation

one of his principal preelection pledges to the people of Pennsylvania. It is to his credit that he has made this bill the first to be drawn by his attorney general for assembly enactment.

The measure replaces spikes in State election laws that were extracted 2 years ago on orders from the Democratic State organization. The amended election code then passed by the legislature excluded without any fanfare provisions previously in force pro-

tion. The amended election code then passed by the legislature excluded, without any fanfare, provisions previously in force prohibiting the levying of political assessments upon those in the employ of the State government or any of its subdivisions.

The effect of this politically revised statute was to leave the door wide open for campaign exactions on a scale never before possible. What was much worse it paved the way for forced contributions to the dominant party organization from those on relief, both direct relief and work relief.

For political jobholders, given places on public pay rolls as rewards for political services, to contribute to the support of the party organizations which made their jobs possible has been taken more or less for granted. Such payment of campaign funds, however, is presumed to be voluntary. The clubbing of jobholders into line to fork over their contributions to party war chests has not, one may safely assume, been necessary in most

But forcing relief recipients to hand over to political overlords their tribute in the form of dollars they desperately need for the sustenance of their families is vicious and unjustifiable. An ordinary political jobholder may regard it as the accepted thing to share in some way in the campaign expenses of his party. But there is no reason to believe that those depending upon the dole, or earning their daily bread by working for the W. P. A., would contribute to any party campaign except under duress.

These unfortunates are receiving public assistance because they imperatively need it, because they are unable to find employment. The money for their relief comes from all the taxpayers, regardless of political affiliation. No party organization is putting up the funds for the W. P. A. or the State dole. Certainly no relief recipient should have to pay tribute to any partisan organization through the medium of forced contributions.

But it is a sad fact that they have had to do precisely that. We have seen W. P. A. workers welded into a political machine. We have seen political leaders treating relief workers as just so many potential votes, to be lined up at election time. We have seen needy reliefers subjected to wholesale political maching, with pressure applied not only to register and vote a certain way, but to yield some portion of their meager allowance to assist and sustain a partisan cause. But forcing relief recipients to hand over to political overlords

partisan cause.
Flagrantly as this abuse has existed in the last year or two, of

more importance is the danger of its further expansion. Unless curbed, the practice of political extortion directed at the poor could become an accepted technique of election campaigning, with the party organization that has the power of life and death over relief disbursements forcing the unemployed to come across with votes

and money—or else.

The bill now before the house at Harrisburg, if enacted, would The bill now before the house at harrisburg, it enacted, would effectively bar relief macing. It provides a fine of \$1,000 or imprisonment for 1 year, or both, for any political committee or any person demanding money for political purposes from anyone receiving relief; from any State, county, or city employee; or from any person or corporation having a contract, license, or permit from the State or its subdivisions.

To become effective of course, such a law must be rigidly en-

To become effective, of course, such a law must be rigidly enforced. Governor James' well-known attitude on the macing question is a guaranty that the present State administration will do its utmost to make the antimacing measure mean what it says. It

should be promptly approved.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, during the heat of the last campaign and election the press of the Nation carried an extended account of the President's belief in the use of local nonpartisan supervisory boards in the administration of relief and work relief. Since the election is over we have heard nothing more about it. Nothing has been done to remove the highly paid political appointees from W. P. A. rolls. We still have them in Pennsylvania. It is obvious beyond all contradiction that the American people do not desire any needy person to go without adequate relief. The American people believe that relief should be provided for those who need it and are entitled to it, and jobs should be provided for those who want them. The American people want the unemployed to have a fair deal, but they are now in rebellion against highly paid partisans who profit at the expense of the hungry.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks the article by Dr. George Gallup on Politics in Relief published in the Pittsburg Press for January 21, 1939.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Pittsburgh Press of January 22, 1939]

AMERICA SPEAKS—VOTERS HIT POLITICS IN RELIEF—SHEPPARD COM-MITTEE REPORT WINS PRAISE FROM BOTH PARTIES—RANK AND FILE DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS JOIN IN FIGHT ON CAPITOL HILL— SEVERAL PLANS ARE FAVORED BY PUBLIC IN SURVEYS

(By Dr. George Gallup, Director, American Institute of Public Opinion)

New York, January 21.—The determined drive in Congress to take politics out of relief—a drive which began the very first day of the session—is overwhelmingly approved by the Nation's voters, the majority of whom have never been wholly satisfied with the administration of relief under the New Deal.

Those facts are revealed in a series of more than 15 public-opinion surveys on the relief question conducted in recent months by the American Institute of Public Opinion. The latest soundings, as well as earlier surveys, indicate a widespread desire for changes in the technique of relief administration, a belief in strong laws and policies to stamp politics out of relief, and a conviction that relief must be looked upon as a permanent Government problem. The campaign in Congress for reform of the relief administration finds the public

in a most receptive mood.

in a most receptive mood.

The testimony of Harry Hopkins, the reports of the Sheppard and Byrnes committees on relief abuses, and the revival of the Hatch amendment have all focused attention on the relief issue in recent weeks. Actually, however, public dissatisfaction with relief methods dates back for many months. Almost a year ago an Institute survey found that a large majority of voters—about 8 in every 10—had become convinced that politics colored the handling of relief in their communities. There was a virtually unanimous vote that such abuses should be eliminated.

In the course of testing opinion on the relief issue, the Institute collected the public's views on many specific plans for eliminating

collected the public's views on many specific plans for eliminating politics from the W. P. A. Its latest study, just completed, measured sentiment on a number of the proposals made by the Shepard committee which investigated abuses in the last election. Other surveys have covered the principle of the Hatch amendment reintroduced at this session, as well as other aspects of the problem.

problem.

From all these studies a composite picture of public sentiment can be drawn about as follows:

1. A large majority of voters believe that all relief officials should be put under civil service as a means of eliminating politics and favoritism in appointments. This vote is a reflection of widespread public faith, often noted in institute surveys, in the civil-service system as conceed to the spoils system.

public faith, often noted in institute surveys, in the civil-service system as opposed to the spoils system.

2. Nearly 9 in every 10 voters favor a drastic law against allowing anybody to influence the vote of persons on relief, either through coercion or promise of reward. The Hatch amendment, which failed to pass in the last session, sought to accomplish this reform.

3. By a vote of more than 7 to 3 the public believes that neither persons on relief nor relief officials should be allowed to contribute more at a publical campaign—two of the recommendations of

persons on relief nor relief officials should be allowed to contribute money to a political campaign—two of the recommendations of the Sheppard committee. The voters also support 6 to 4 the committee's proposal that all Federal employees be prohibited from contributing money to campaigns.

4. A large majority of voters—73 percent—feel that relief would be better administered by a bipartisan board than by a single administrator, as at present. This plan, sponsored by Senator Balley, of North Carolina, is favored by voters chiefly because they think that control by a bipartisan board will help to eliminate graft and political preference. Even Democratic voters approve the

plan.

One fact emphasized by the survey results in that attitudes on the relief question cut across party lines. The pattern is not one where the rank and file of Democrats think one way and the Republicans another. Instead the surveys find that both camps are equally anxious to see politics and graft purged from relief.

For example, large majorities of both Democrats and Republicans think it should be considered a crime for a relief official to try to influence the vote of persons on relief. Bringing relief officials under civil service is favored by more than 70 percent of both Republicans and Democrats, who also agree that reliefers should not contribute money to political campaigns and that relief funds should be administered by a bipartisan board.

Thus there is every indication that New Deal Senators and Congressmen who advocate reforms in relief are carrying out the wishes of their own party members, in addition to forestalling criticism from their Republican foes.

In the early days of the New Deal there was much debate as to

from their Republican foes.

In the early days of the New Deal there was much debate as to whether it was the Government's responsibility to take care of needy persons out of work. Recent Institute studies show that this principle is now a definite part of the social philosophy of our times. Approximately 70 percent of voters declare that the Government should take responsibility for the jobless. About the same number think that the relief problem is no temporary phenomenon, but that relief appropriations will have to continue permanently.

The majority also feel, however, that the Government is doing enough for the unemployed. When the institute asked voters recently, "Do you think that people on relief in your community are getting as much as they should?" a majority of 71 percent said "Yes." And other surveys indicate that the dominant pull of public opinion at the moment is more in the direction of reducing relief appropriations than in the direction of raising them.

WHAT THE PUBLIC THINKS

#### WHAT THE PUBLIC THINKS

WHAT THE PUBLIC THINKS

Following is a summary of Institute surveys touching various aspects of the politics-in-relief issue:

1. (a) Would you favor a law prohibiting any person on relief from contributing money to a political campaign?

Yes, 78 percent.

(b) Would you favor a law prohibiting any relief official from contributing money to a political campaign?

Yes, 70 percent.

Yes, 70 percent. No, 30 percent.

2. Should employees of the Federal Government be prohibited from contributing money to political campaigns?

Yes, 62 percent.

No. 38 percent.

3. Would you favor a law making it a crime for a relief official to attempt to influence the vote of persons on relief? (Survey taken May 1938.)

Yes, 86 percent. No, 14 percent.

4. Do you think officials in charge of relief should be under civil ervice? (Survey taken November 1938.)
Yes, 75 percent.
No. 25 percent.
How large a part does politics play in giving relief in your service?

5. How large a part does politics play in giving relief in your community—none, a little, or quite a bit? (Survey taken May

A little, 31 percent. Quite a bit, 53 percent.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, Pennsylvania is a great industrial State. Our industrial leaders have been criticized from time to time, and some have said they are hard-boiled in regard to relief. But I wish to make clear that I know of no industrial leader who wants to cut off work-relief funds now so as to deprive low-paid workers of their jobs and their daily bread. Many industrial leaders have informed me they have no quarrel with the low-paid worker, and many of them know that he is frequently underpaid. But like all fairminded citizens, they justly resent the expenditure of large sums of money for the partisan political administration of W. P. A.

My amendment looks to the creation at the hands of the Vice President of a national nonpartisan work relief board of five members for the purpose of coordinating the findings of similar State and local boards throughout the Nation. The national board, assisted by State and local boards, will conduct the investigation which is suggested in my amendment. All members will serve without pay, other than reimbursement for necessary traveling expenses which they may incur in the performance of their duties. It will be for them a patriotic duty. It is expected that their appointment will be nonpartisan and that all of their activities will be carried on in that spirit and for the public welfare.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I am urging the adoption of this amendment in behalf of the worthy unemployed, hoping to end partisan administration of relief, and to help effect substantial savings for the taxpayers of the Nation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIST.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, I now offer my amendment. I think perhaps the language will have to be changed, and I ask that it be changed appropriately.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 3, line 6, after the figures "\$93,000,000", it is proposed to add the following language:

Of which \$3,000,000 shall be allocated for the purpose of operating or which \$3,000,000 shall be allocated for the purpose of operating projects for the employment of unemployed workers with suitable railroad and express company clerical experience (actual need to be considered established by the fact of unemployment) for the transcription and compilation of records of railroad employment and compensation prior to January 1, 1937.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, I am not going to detain the Senate further. I shall submit the amendment on the statements I have heretofore made.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I wish to ask the Senator from Nevada if the language of his amendment would not change the requirement as to the expenditure of all other funds. Is it his intention that the money should be used for the carrying on of work on a project just as all other projects are, with persons certified from the relief rolls?

Mr. McCARRAN. Yes.

Mr. BYRNES. I think the language of the amendment is different, and it would write a new principle into the relief measure. The language says "unemployed," and not only in need, as the measure provides.

Mr. McCARRAN. We have in this country today some 25,000 or 30,000 persons who have given their entire lives and careers to railroad work, in clerical positions. There is not a place in W. P. A. where they fit in. They are not pick-and-shovel fellows and they are not of the higher class. They simply are those who could fit into a place that is now available by reason of the necessity that is attendant upon the work of the Railroad Retirement Board. The Railway Retirement Board finds that they need a large group of cleri-

cal assistants to determine who is entitled to retirement. Those who have been dismissed or discharged from clerical positions in the railway service are available, and they are skilled and classified along that line. The Railway Retirement Board wishes to employ them under this appropriation and with this money, and that is all that my amendment provides for. I hope I have sufficiently answered the Senator.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I have great sympathy with the objective of the Senator from Nevada, but I think the Senate should know that while allocations to departments have been made in other measures, and are made in the pending measure, that money can be used only for the purpose of giving employment to persons who are entitled to employment by reason of their certification on the relief rolls. Many of the other departments received allocations of money. and they used W. P. A. employees. However, this amendment proposes to use relief money for an entirely different purpose, for the employment of persons who are not certified from the relief rolls. I should much prefer to vote for whatever amount of money is needed for the Railroad Retirement Board to carry on this work, and to see included in any bill whatever amount is necessary rather than to establish the principle of using this money for the employment of persons in an entirely different classification.

Mr. McCARRAN. I understand the situation. However, the Senator realizes that the Railroad Retirement Board works in accordance with the general law requiring that those whom they employ come in under the relief certification and under unemployment certification.

The Senator says he would be glad to vote for this appropriation under a different caption. I have heard that statement made time and time again, and yet when we get to that caption the Senator finds another excuse.

Mr. BYRNES. I will say to the Senator that I have never heard of this proposal before, and therefore the Senator has not heard me oppose it.

Mr. McCARRAN. No; I have not heard the Senator from South Carolina opposing it.

Let me again clarify the situation, if I may. Today we have unemployed and on relief, or in need of relief, those who have been employed in clerical positions in the rail service of America throughout the entire length and breadth of the country, but who can find no employment elsewhere. other words, they do not fit in.

Mr. BYRNES. Would the Senator have any objection to having the same rule apply that applies to all other departments employing persons and paying them out of these funds?

Mr. McCARRAN. The same rule now applies, because today we have \$60,000,000 appropriated under the existing law.

Mr. BYRNES. What I am saying to the Senator is that I should urge the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS], as chairman of the subcommittee, to accept the amendment if it were framed in the same language that applies to the other Federal Departments.

Mr. McCARRAN. That is all I want. That is the reason why I tried to tie my amendment to the amendment of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN].

Mr. BYRNES. I think the Senator from Arizona understands what I am referring to. The language of the amendment makes it an entirely different classification.

Mr. HAYDEN. It does indeed.

Mr. BYRNES. If the Senator from Nevada has no objection to putting such employees on the same footing with all others, I think we can get together.

Mr. McCARRAN. Very well. With that understanding, let the amendment be accepted by the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. BYRNES. I will say to the Senator from Colorado that it might be well to accept the amendment and change it in conference, if necessary. We know what the Senator from Nevada has in mind.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is upon agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Nevada. [Putting the question.] The Chair is in doubt.

Mr. NEELY. I ask for a division.

On a division, the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, I offer an amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Alabama will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 3, line 17, after the words "January 10, 1939", it is proposed to insert a comma and the following:

Provided further, That this proviso shall not apply to positions the compensation of which is payable from the appropriation made in subsection (3) of section 1 of said Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, unless such proviso is made applicable to positions the compensation of which is payable from the appropriations made in subsections (5), (6), (7), and (8) of such section 1.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, that amendment is intended to put employees under subsection (3) on the same basis as those under subsections (5), (6), (7), and (8). I have conferred with the Senator from Colorado. He realizes the situation, and I understand that he agrees to let the amendment go to conference.

Mr. ADAMS. That is the understanding. The amendment puts the group referred to in exactly the same situation as the groups under subsections (5), (6), (7), and (8). We have stricken out those groups, and unless they are reinstated this group also will go out.

Mr. BANKHEAD. That is correct. It is so provided in the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Alabama.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment, which I ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. At the end of the bill it is pro-

SEC. 8. None of the funds appropriated by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or by this joint resolution shall be used for the manufacture, purchase, or construction of any naval vessel, any armament, munitions, or implement of war, or for the construction of quarters for military or naval forces; and no funds herein appropriated or authorized shall be diverted or allocated to any other department or bureau for such purpose.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, the purpose of this amendment is to require that the funds appropriated by this measure shall be devoted to the purposes of relief and reemployment, and shall not be diverted for purposes of armament, appropriations for which purposes should be contained in other appropriation bills, namely, the Army appropriation bill and the Navy appropriation bill.

At first blush it might seem that such an amendment as this would not be necessary. However, I call to the attention of the Senate the fact that the first P. W. A. Act was passed in 1933 containing an appropriation of \$3,300,000,000, which, I think, was the largest appropriation which up to that time had ever been made by any country in the history of the world, either in wartime or in peacetime.

That appropriation was made on the theory that we were appropriating for the purpose of reemployment so large a sum that we would hit unemployment a staggering blow. Before that money was even turned over to the P. W. A. Administrator for the purposes set forth in the act—namely, unemployment—nearly \$300,000,000 was diverted for naval construction. Two years later, so far from having contributed anything to the handling of the unemployment situation, out of all the money appropriated and allocated in such a way not one keel had been laid, not one rivet had been tapped, and I am sure it is almost correct to say that not one man had been employed.

Mr. President, from time to time throughout all the P. W. A. appropriations and all the W. P. A. appropriations funds have been used from those appropriations for projects which should be contained in the Army appropriation bill or the Navy appropriation bill.

Since 1933 we have gone on year after year at an increasing ratio of expenditures for the Army and Navy. Last year we appropriated, on the surface of the matter, over \$1,200,000,000

for the support of the Army and Navy; and in devious ways, from W. P. A. appropriations and in other ways, expenditures to the extent of many, many million dollars more were made. Yet we are told, at the end of all those expenditures, that the country is completely unprepared, and that there has been a shameful lack of appropriations.

Mr. President, I think Congress ought to determine what the needs of the Army and Navy are, and that those needs ought to be met by proper appropriation bills, so that we may all look at them and see how much has been spent and is being spent on the national-defense program. If funds are appropriated for relief and for the unemployment situation, they should not be diverted to any other purpose.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, the Senator is quite correct in that very substantial sums were allocated from the first relief appropriations for naval construction and for other purposes. My recollection is that afterward a number of those allocations were drawn down and actually used for relief purposes; but the sum involved was very large, as the Senator has said. For that reason the Committee on Appropriations put in the joint resolution a limitation as to the amount of money which should be expended on Federal projects, so that neither \$300,000,000 nor any like sum could be used out of this appropriation for other purposes.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I understand that, and I think that is a meritorious provision. I am entirely in sympathy with the position of the committee on that subject; but my proposition is that none of the funds appropriated in this act should be used for national-defense purposes or for the Army or Navy, and that such appropriations ought to be contained in the two appropriation bills having to do with the subject, so that we may see what we are spending.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I desire to ask the Senator a question about the text of the amendment. I see no harm in prohibiting the manufacture, purchase, or construction of any naval vessel, any armament, munitions, or implement of war; but when the Senator says "for the construction of quarters," I desire to ask him a practical question.

If there is an Army post adjacent to a great city, and the buildings are old—

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I have one in my town.

Mr. HAYDEN. And it is known that they need repairs, is there any possible reason why we should not employ some men on the W. P. A. to dig the foundations, or do some common labor at the post?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The possible reason is that the expenditures for the Army and Navy ought to be set out in the Army and Navy appropriation bills, so that we may see what we are spending on the Army and Navy. I should have no great objection to modifying my amendment by removing the reference to quarters.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President-

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I yield to the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. BYRNES. I was about to suggest that the Senator strike out the words "or for the construction of quarters for military or naval forces." If he will do that, I shall have no objection to the amendment.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I will modify my amendment accordingly.

Mr. ADAMS. Then I shall be very glad, so far as I can, to agree to the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is modified as suggested. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri, as modified.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, may the amendment, as modified, be read?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment, as modified, will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. The amendment has been modified, on line 5, by striking out "or for the construction of quarters", so as to read:

SEC. 8. None of the funds appropriated by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or by this joint resolution shall be used for the manufacture, purchase, or construction of any naval vessel, any armament, munitions, or implement of war for military or

naval forces; and no funds herein appropriated or authorized shall be diverted or allocated to any other department or bureau for

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK], as modified.

The amendment, as modified, was agreed to.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I desire to offer an amendment, and I shall make only about a minute's comment on it. I offer the following amendment:

No person shall be held ineligible for work under this appropriation because such person receives a loan from any Federal agency, or because such person receives payments by way of assistance under any State or Federal program, provided such assistance pay-ments are not in excess of the minimum wages provided for those employed under this appropriation or the Appropriation Act of 1938.

The amendment simply means this: In many of the States the social-security wage is only \$6 or \$7 a month; and persons receiving that wage, no matter how severe their need may be, are not eligible for a single hour of W. P. A. work under the existing rules of the W. P. A. If they are found otherwise eligible, I do not think they should be denied enough work on the W. P. A. to bring their total income to the minimum W. P. A. wages.

The other part of the amendment means this: If a farmer borrows \$30 to replace a dead mule, no matter what his need may become, the fact that he made a loan of even that pittance from any Federal agency disqualifies him, under the existing law, from an hour of W. P. A. work. I do not think that is fair, and I offer the amendment to correct those evils.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, does the Senator say positively that that cannot be done under the law, or is it a matter of regulation?

Mr. PEPPER. I mean under the rules of the W. P. A. Mr. ADAMS. Not law.

Mr. PEPPER. It is true under the rules of the W. P. A.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, it depends upon the laws of the States. All persons are certified as eligible for employment under the Works Progress Administration by the State authorities; and I think what the Senator complains of is some provision in the State statutes. I have a case of this kind in my own State, where, if a person owns any property, he cannot be certified as eligible for relief. I know persons who own vacant lots somewhere; and, although they have not paid any taxes on the lots for years, they cannot be certified for relief under the State statute.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, the rule I am talking about is a rule promulgated by the W. P. A. If persons have made any borrowings from the Commodity Credit Corporation or other agencies, they are ineligible for W. P. A. relief.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I do not think the Senator is correct with reference to that matter, for the simple reason that I happen to know some cases where persons have borrowed money from the Farm Credit Administration and other farm agencies, and they are on the W. P. A. I am quite sure the Senator from Florida is wrong in stating that there is any such rule of the W. P. A.; but there are State statutes on the subject.

Mr. PEPPER. My authority is the W. P. A. Administrator. When I propounded the question, the Works Progress Administration gave me the figures of the number that were barred from W. P. A. relief on that account; and I know that I have had an experience of that kind in my own State. At least, if there is such a prohibition under the rules it should not exist, and that is what the amendment provides.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER 1.

The amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution is still before the Senate and open to amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment of the amendments and the third reading of the joint resolution.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the joint resolution to be read a third time.

The joint resolution was read the third time and passed. Mr. ADAMS. I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments, ask for a conference with the House thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. Adams, Mr. Glass, Mr. McKellar, Mr. Hayden, Mr. Byrnes, Mr. Hale, and Mr. Townsend conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, in view of the fact that perhaps there will be an adjournment until Wednesday, I ask that the joint resolution may be printed with the Senate amendments numbered, so that it may be available for conference purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so

#### AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO FILE REPORTS

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, in that connection I ask unanimous consent that all committees of the Senate may be permitted, during the adjournment of the Senate, to file reports on bills or nominations.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I have no objection to that. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the request of the Senator from Kentucky is agreed to.

#### ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT TO WEDNESDAY

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate concludes its session today it stand in adjournment until Wednesday next.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

# EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HATCH in the chair) laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting several nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

#### THE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Reports of committees are

If there be no reports of committees, the clerk will state in their order the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

## FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Robert E. Freer, of Ohio, to be Federal Trade Commissioner.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

#### NATIONAL MEDIATION BOARD

The legislative clerk read the nomination of George A. Cook, of Illinois, to be a member of the National Mediation Board.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

#### RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

The legislative clerk read the nomination of M. Roland Reed, of Pennsylvania, to be a member of the Railroad Retirement Board.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

That concludes the calendar.

#### ADJOURNMENT TO WEDNESDAY

Mr. BARKLEY. As in legislative session, I move that the Senate adjourn, under the previous order, until Wednesday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 48 minutes p. m.) the Senate, under the order previously entered, adjourned until Wednesday, February 1, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 28 (legislative day of January 17) 1939

Appointment in the National Guard of the United States
GENERAL OFFICER

Maj. Gen. Irving Andrew Fish, Wisconsin National Guard, to be major general, National Guard of the United States.

#### APPOINTMENTS IN THE NAVY

#### MARINE CORPS

Col. Edward A. Ostermann to be the Adjutant and Inspector of the Marine Corps, with the rank of brigadier general, for a period of 4 years from the 1st day of February 1939.

Col. Emile P. Moses to be a brigadier general in the Marine

Corps from the 1st day of February 1939.

Col. Clayton B. Vogel to be a brigadier general in the Marine Corps from the 1st day of February 1939.

## CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 28 (legislative day of January 17), 1939

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

Robert E. Freer to be a Federal Trade Commissioner.

NATIONAL MEDIATION BOARD

George A. Cook to be a member of the National Mediation Board.

RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

M. Roland Reed to be a member of the Railroad Retirement Board.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1939

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Thou who art one God, Maker and Ruler of all and Father of all mercy, we come before Thy presence with thanksgiving; we worship and bow down before the Lord our God. Let Thy spirit be upon us, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, of counsel and might. We praise Thee for life. It is a divine gift and to be used for noble ends, to increase in value as the years go by and to grow richer as it nears the skies. Father in Heaven, teach us the great art of working together in peace and in harmony in all the affairs of state. Oh, blessed is everyone that feareth the Lord, that walketh in His ways. As watchers of our land, let Thy hand be upon us. More and more stir in us the supreme realities of the soul. Through Christ our Saviour. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, January 26, 1939, was read and approved.

# MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments, in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

House Joint Resolution 83

Joint resolution making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the foregoing joint resolution, requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. Adams, Mr. Glass, Mr. McKellar, Mr. Hayden, Mr. Byrnes, Mr. Hale, and Mr. Townsend to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

# APPROPRIATIONS FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table House Joint Resolution 83, making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, with

Senate amendments, disagree to the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference asked for by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Woodrum]?

There was no objection, and the Chair appointed the following conferees: Mr. Taylor of Colorado, Mr. Woodrum of Virginia, Mr. Cannon of Missouri, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Thomas S. McMillan, Mr. Snyder, Mr. O'Neal, Mr. Johnson of West Virginia, Mr. Taber, Mr. Wigglesworth, Mr. Lambertson, and Mr. Ditter.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein two brief tables just issued by the Department of Commerce relative to our exports and imports for the year 1938.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cochran]?

There was no objection.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include an address I delivered before the Conservation Flood Congress at Huntington, W. Va., on Friday, January 27.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Whittington]?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMAS S. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein an address delivered by Hon. Francis B. Sayre, Assistant Secretary of State, before the Agricultural Society of South Carolina on January 26 last.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. McMillan]?

There was no objection.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. PACE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, after the disposition of matters on the Speaker's table and at the conclusion of the legislative business in order for the day, the gentleman from Kentucky, Mr. May, chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, may be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Pace]?

There was no objection.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE WITHDRAWN

Mr. PACE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the permission heretofore granted me to address the House today may be withdrawn.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Pace]?

There was no objection.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON WORLD WAR VETERANS' LEGISLATION

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, some time ago the House authorized the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation, of which I am chairman, to make a survey of the veterans' hospitals throughout the country and allotted \$5,000 for expenses. We have completed this survey, having visited practically all the veterans' hospitals in the United States, and I am pleased to be able to report a return to the Treasury out of that \$5,000 an unexpended sum of \$2,812.69. [Applause.]

I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record at this point and to insert this report.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN]?

There was no objection.

The matter referred to is as follows:

SURVEY AND INSPECTION OF SOLDIERS' HOSPITALS AND OTHER VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION FACILITIES. INCLUDING HOSPITALS WITH WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HAS A CONTRACT FOR EX-SERVICE MEN OF ANY WAR, IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES WAS ENGAGED

Mr. Rankin, chairman, Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation, submitted the following report (pursuant to H. Res. 325

and H. Res. 408); In accordance with House Resolutions 325 and 408, Seventy-fifth Congress, first and second sessions, the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation has completed a survey of United States Vet-Administration hospitals and facilities.

I have the honor to report that \$5,000 was appropriated for this survey which consisted of the survey of 81 Veterans' Administration hospitals and facilities, which extended from coast to coast and that 72 surveys have been made by individual members of the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation, and after the completion of this survey \$2,812.69 is being returned to the Federal

I wish to congratulate the committee on its honest and diligent efforts in accomplishing such an exhaustive survey with so little expense to the Federal Government.

The survey generally consisted of a one-man committee. However, service organizations in several States cooperated with the member of the Veterans' Committee, and their efforts and assist-

ance are greatly appreciated.

The committee reports that the Veterans' Administration is maintaining a high standard in care and treatment of beneficiaries and are continually studying new diagnostic and treatment methods which may benefit the disabled American veteran.

In all hospitals that were surveyed careful inspection was made

In all hospitals that were surveyed careful inspection was made of the wards and the operating rooms, and wherever practicable the veterans themselves were given an opportunity to express their opinion as to the treatment accorded them. The kitchens and meals were thoroughly inspected, and in practically every inspection at least one meal was eaten at the hospital, the same as furnished the patients, and the menus covering a certain period were requested, and are now on file by the committee.

Of the 50,670 veterans under treatment at the end of last year, 47,285 were in facilities controlled by the Veterans' Administration; 2,512 in other Government hospitals; and 873 in State or civil institutions. Over 63 percent of these veterans in all hospitals are receiving treatment in the facilities in the State of their reported home addresses. Since March 3, 1919, when the aquisition of the Government hospitals was first authorized for the treatment of veterans of the World War, there have been 1,863,289 admissions of veterans of the United States to hospitals, of which 152,966 were

veterans of the World War, there have been 1,863,289 admissions of veterans of the United States to hospitals, of which 152,966 were made during last year. This load has been increasing since 1919.

Certain recommendations made by members of the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation in their reports have been referred to the Federal Board of Hospitalization for consideration, and recommendations, insofar as practicable, have been complied with. Recommendations regarding personnel problems are also being studied by officials of the Veterans' Administration.

The chairman takes this opportunity on behalf of the members of this committee to thank the officials of the Veterans' Administration for their cooperation and assistance in conducting their surveys.

surveys.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, on January 20 I asked and received unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an inaugural address of Governor Olsen, of California. I have been informed by letter from the Printing Office that the address will take three pages of the RECORD, and I therefore ask unanimous consent to include this address, notwithstanding the estimate of the Public Printer.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California [Mr. VoorHIS]?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein senate joint memorial No. 1, a resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States for the passage of legislation prohibiting the importation of foreign manufactured United States flags and other national insignia sufficient to protect their manufacture in the United States, passed by the Senate of Montana.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana [Mr. O'CONNOR]?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I also ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include in the RECORD at this point a memorial to the Congress of the United States of America protesting the reduction of the \$875,000,000 asked by President Franklin D. Roosevelt for Works Progress Administration purposes to \$725,000,000. This memorial was

passed by the house of representatives in the State of Montana.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, did I correctly understand the gentleman to request that the memorial be inserted at this point in the RECORD?

Mr. O'CONNOR. It will be all right if it is placed in the Appendix.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I have no objection to its being placed in the Appendix, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Montana modifies his request so as to incorporate the remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by including in the RECORD a letter from a leading citizen of Puerto Rico regarding trade statistics. The letter is not very long.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maine?

There was no objection.

#### COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution, which I send to the Clerk's desk, and ask for its immediate adoption.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### House Resolution 74

Resolved, That J. Francis Harter, of New York, be, and he is hereby, elected to the Committee on Education of the House of Representatives.

The resolution was agreed to

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Thursday, February 2, after the reading of the Journal and the disposition of business on the Speaker's desk, and following the legislative program of the day, I may be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, and I shall not object, I simply take this opportunity to find out if the majority leader has any further knowledge of the program for the week?

Mr. RAYBURN. I believe there will be some reports this week from the Committee on Rules, and the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Smith] is going to ask unanimous consent this morning to bring up a report which has to do with the Robertson Committee on Wildlife Conservation.

No appropriation bill will be ready for consideration this week. It is hoped by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] and those who are working with him, that the conference report on the relief bill may be in for consideration on Wednesday, certainly not later than Thursday. As I said last week, the Committee on Ways and Means is hopingand whether that hope will be justified I do not know-to bring in proposed legislation in response to the President's message with reference to prohibiting the retroactive taxing of State salaries.

I believe that is about all that may come up this week. The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. Bryson and Mr. Hinshaw asked and were given permission to extend their own remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include therein an address by the Honorable Frank Knox, publisher of the Chicago Daily News, delivered at Pierre, S. Dak., on January 12.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. CANNON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include therein two telegrams recently received by me from Belleglade, Fla.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. SHANLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Thursday next, after the reading of the Journal and the disposition of business on the Speaker's table, and following the clearance of the legislative calendar and any prior special orders, I may be permitted to address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

#### UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of title 34, section 1081, United States Code, the Chair appoints as members of the Board of Visitors to the United States Naval Academy the following Members of the House: Mr. Fernandez, of Louisiana; Mr. Secrest, of Ohio; Mr. Darden, of Virginia; Mr. Maas, of Minnesota; and Mr. Allen of Illinois.

WASHINGTON-LINCOLN MEMORIAL-GETTYSBURG BOULEVARD

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of Public Resolution 19, Seventy-fourth Congress, the Chair appoints as members of the United States Commission for the construction of a Washington-Lincoln Memorial-Gettysburg Boulevard the following Members of the House: Mr. Cole of Maryland, and Mr. Flannery, of Pennsylvania.

# OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES DEVISE

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of Public Resolution 124, Seventy-fifth Congress, the Chair appoints as members of the special committee on the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise the following Members of the House: Mr. Keller, of Illinois; Mr. McCormack, of Massachusetts; and Mr. Wigglesworth, of Massachusetts.

ADDITIONAL COPIES OF REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, from the Committee on Printing I report favorably without amendment a privileged resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of House Report No. 2, on the investigation of un-American activities and propaganda, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

Mr. MICHENER. Reserving the right to object, Mr.

Speaker-

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry. Is

not this a privileged report?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state in reply to the parliamentary inquiry of the gentleman from Mississippi that all reports from the Committee on Printing under the rules are privileged reports if they provide for the printing of documents for the use of the two Houses. This matter is governed by clause 45 of rule XI:

The following-named committees shall have leave to report at any time on the matters herein stated, namely: The Committee on Rules, on rules, joint rules, and order of business; the Committee on Elections, on the right of a Member to his seat, etc.; \* \* \* the Committee on Printing, on all matters referred to them of printing for the use of the House or two Houses.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry. The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MICHENER. As I understand, under this resolution this Dies committee report will be distributed through the document room rather than the folding room.

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman from Michigan suspend for a moment in order that the resolution may be read for the information of the Members?

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

# House Concurrent Resolution 5

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there be printed 25,000 additional copies of House Report No. 2, current Congress, entitled "Investigation of Un-American Activities and Propaganda," of which 3,000 copies shall be for the use of the Senate document room and 22,000 copies shall be for the use of the House document room. Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry. The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MICHENER. This means, does it not, Mr. Speaker, that this report will be distributed through the document room and that each Member will not be entitled to an equal quota?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will request the chairman of the committee to answer that inquiry of fact.

Mr. JARMAN. I will say to the gentleman there will be no general distribution, as the gentleman will observe from the reading of the resolution.

Mr. MICHENER. That is sufficient answer. If there is to be no general distribution, it means that all of these copies go to the document room, and the first fellows there get them, and the rest of the Members will not get them. There is a great demand for these copies all over the country by those in favor of the Dies committee and those opposed to the Dies committee. If the Congress is going to print these copies, it seems to me each Member of Congress should be given his proportionate share. Our constituents have like interests. If they are distributed as the gentleman has asked in his resolution, I shall not be able to get any unless I get there quick. The gentleman will not be able to get any unless he gets there quick, because the man in charge of the document room has no discretion as long as the books are there and they are asked for by Members, because the Members are entitled to have them. This type of distribution is embarrassing to the document room. The very efficient Mr. Lewis has a hard enough job at best.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MICHENER. Yes; to the members of the Printing Committee.

Mr. RICH. I may say to my colleague from Michigan that the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Jarman] and I discussed this matter quite thoroughly, with the idea of trying to have the Members of the House who want these documents receive them. We find that in the folding room, when we make the distribution in that way, there are many Members of the House who do not take their quota. They are left in the document room, and eventually they go to the bonfire.

Mr. MICHENER. If the gentleman will permit right

here

Mr. RICH. Let me interject this remark.

Mr. MICHENER. I do not yield further. I did not yield for a speech.

Mr. RICH. I am trying to answer the gentleman's question.

Mr. MICHENER. I can answer the question very readily, and the gentleman knows the answer if he stops to think a minute. There is quite a difference whether you are publishing or printing a document which is desired by all Members of the House or whether you are printing some technical report of some commission on the price of cabbage in Boston, in which no one is interested except a few Members from Boston. Here is a report in which the entire country is interested. Every Member is being asked for copies. seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that an opportunity at least should be given to the House to vote on whether or not these reports are to be distributed through the document room, which means that you as a Member of Congress are not entitled to a single copy unless you get there before they are all gone or whether they are to be distributed through the folding room, where all Members will get an equal number. I realize that the gentleman from Pennsylvania, who is on the Printing Committee, will have no trouble about getting all the copies he wants, regardless of how the distribution is made, but we are not all on the Printing Committee.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further? Mr. MICHENER. Yes.

Mr. RICH. I will say to my colleague that it was only the desire of the Committee on Printing to try to make a distribution in a fair way and an economical way, not with the idea that anyone was going to get all he wanted to the dissatisfaction of some Members who would get none. That was not our

point. Our only object was to try to save the Government money by permitting those who did want them to have them, and it is not the idea that the gentleman from Pennsylvania is going to get more than his share. If it were a costly document, I should want it distributed through the folding room. I want each Member to secure all he wants consistent with wise distribution.

Mr. MICHENER. This resolution can be made to assure the use of all of these reports and at the same time protect those Members by an amendment that these reports be distributed through the folding room, and providing further that any Member's allotment not drawn out within 60 days shall revert to the account of the document room for general distribution. Then there will be no waste. If this resolution passes, the reports are going to be printed, anyway. The method of distribution has nothing to do with the cost.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. Yes.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I rise to ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich], who is a member of this committee, a question. As I understand, the gentleman's committee has reported out a resolution to print 25,000 copies of the Dies report.

Mr. RICH. Yes.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Where is the gentleman going to get the money?

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Alabama vield?

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, if we were to print the number of reports that some of the membership of the House want, some of them asking for 1,000 copies, we would, we felt, be printing entirely too many. It is the desire of the committee to try to print 25,000 copies, the minimum we felt we could get away with, and then permit them to go to the document room, and we would instruct those in charge there not to give any Member more than 200 copies at the most. In that way we felt we would utilize all of these copies we are printing, and if it was necessary in the future to print additional copies, we could reprint them, but our whole thought was with the idea of economy, and endeavoring to make distribution so that the membership of the House would get what they wanted, and then they would not be carried in the folding room with the result that in 2 or 3 years from now we would have had to destroy them or dispose of them for junk paper. If we are wrong, we would be glad to be corrected, but we think that is the wise way to handle this distribution so that they will be used for the ultimate advantage of the membership of the House, and with a view to justice to the Members and economy to the Government.

Mr. DOWELL. And where does the gentleman get his authority to limit this to 100 or 200 copies to each Member?

Mr. RICH. We were going to do that by requesting each Member not to take too many. We are not trying to drive anybody to do it, but we want to do it in an orderly procedure, for the best advantage of the membership.

Mr. DOWELL. But the gentleman has already stated that some of the Members want even 1,000 copies, and that would not make even distribution throughout the membership of the House. I think the gentleman ought to agree to an amendment

Mr. RICH. Oh, nobody will get a thousand copies.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thoroughly agree with the statement of my colleague on the committee, the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich]. It is not the disposition of the Committee on Printing to deny any Member of this House the printing that he needs and desires, and, further, if the House will follow the Committee on Printing, we will try to see to it that each Member finally gets as many of these reports as he wishes.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. JARMAN. Yes.

Mr. MICHENER. The gentleman concedes the justice of my inquiry, but he says "leave it to the committee and we will try to see that you get as many as you want." The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich] indicates that his committee might allow us 200 copies each. Let us make this thing definite; let us do that which the House wants to do. Will the chairman of the committee yield to me for the purpose of offering an amendment striking out the words "document room" and inserting the words "folding room"?

Mr. JARMAN. No.

Mr. MICHENER. If the gentleman will not yield for an amendment, then there is just one recourse open to the House, and that is to vote down the previous question when it comes up. If the previous question is voted down, then the House will have an opportunity to amend the resolution. I do not want to do that, but sometimes one has to invoke parliamentary tactics in order to get justice—to get what a majority of the House wants. Why should the House be denied the right to amend this resolution?

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am not yielding for a further speech. I do not agree with the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Michener] that the House should authorize the printing of great volumes of documents to lie down in the folding room and perhaps not be called for by the Members to whom they are assigned.

Mr. MICHENER. Oh, they will be called for.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Printing has gone into this matter very carefully, with two ideas—with the idea of seeing that each Member of the House has as many of these documents as he needs and with the further idea of economy. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The SPEAKER. The question is on ordering the previous question.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Jarman) there were—ayes 83, noes 100.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present, and I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia objects to the vote upon the ground that there is no quorum present and makes the point of order that there is no quorum present. Evidently there is not a quorum present. The question is on ordering the previous question, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 184, nays 169, answered "present" 2, not voting 77, as follows:

# [Roll No. 8]

**YEAS-184** McMillan, John L. McMillan, Thos. S. Connery Cooley Allen, La. Gossett Allen, Pa. Anderson, Mo. Arnold Grant, Ala Mahon Gregory Maloney Massingale Costello Griffith Ashbrook Barden Cox Crosser Hare Harrington Merritt Barnes Bates, Ky Crowe Harter, Ohio Mills, Ark. Hobbs Mills, La Beckworth Cummings Houston Monroney Bell Delaney Hunter Moser Bland Dempsey Izac Murdock, Ariz. Bloom Boehne DeRouen Jacobsen Nelson Jarman Nichols Norrell O'Connor O'Day O'Leary O'Neal Owen Dingell Johnson, Lyndon Johnson, W. Va. Boland Boren Boykin Disney Doughton Jones, Tex. Doxey Duncan Kee Keogh Brooks Brown, Ga. Bryson Buck Dunn Kerr Edmiston Kilday Pace Kitchens Bulwinkle Elliott Parsons Ellis Kleberg Kocialkowski Burch Patman Byrne, N. Y. Byrns, Tenn. Caldwell Cannon, Mo. Faddis Patrick Kramer Lanham Larrabee Fay Ferguson Patton Pearson Fernandez Peterson, Fla. Lea Leavy Cartwright Fitzpatrick Pfeifer Pierce, Oreg. Chandler Flannagan Poage Polk Ramspeck Randolph Lesinski Chapman Clark Ford. Miss. Fries Garrett Gathings Lewis, Colo. Ludlow Claypool Cochran Coffee, Nebr. McAndrews Gibbs Goldsborough McCormack Rankin Collins McGehee Rayburn McLaughlin

Elston

Engel

Richards
Robertson
Robinson, Utah
Rogers, Okla.
Romjue
Evan
Satterfield
Schaefer, Ill.
Schulte
Scrugham
Secrest

Shanley Sirovich Smith, Conn. Smith, Va. Smith, Wash. Smith, W. Va. Snyder South Sparkman Spence Starnes, Ala.

Steagall Sullivan Sumners, Tex. Sutphin Tarver Tenerowicz Thomas, Tex. Thomason Tolan Turner Vinson, Ga.

Wallgren Walter Warren Weaver West Whelchel Whittington Williams, Mo. Winter Woodrum, Va. Zimmerman

Rodgers, Pa. Rogers, Ma

Rutherford

Sandager Schafer, Wis.

Shafer, Mich. Shannon

Smith, Maine Smith, Ohio

Stearns, N. H.

Talle Taylor, Tenn.

Sumner, Ill.

Schiffler Seccombe

Simpson

Springer

Stefan

Sweeney

Thill Thorkelson

Tibbott

Tinkham

Treadway

Vreeland

Van Zandt

Vincent, Ky. Voorhis, Calif.

Wadsworth Wheat White, Ohio

Wigglesworth Williams, Del.

Wolcott Wolfenden, Pa

Youngdahl

Risk

Wolverton, N. J. Woodruff, Mich.

Smith, Ill.

#### NAYS-169

Kean Keefe Alexander Allen, Ill. Fenton Fish Andersen, H. Carl Anderson, Calif. Ford, Leland M. Keller Ford, Thomas F. Kelly Kennedy, Martin Kennedy, Md. Andresen, A. H. Andrews Fulmer Gamble Kinzer Angell Gartner Gearhart Gehrmann Kirwan Knutson Arends Austin Bates, Mass. Gerlach Landis Geyer, Calif. LeCompte Beam Blackney Gifford Lemke Bolles Gilchrist Lewis, Ohio Lord Bolton Gillie Luce McKeough Brewster Graham Brown, Ohio Buckler, Minn. Grant, Ind. Griswold Guyer, Kans. McLeod Burdick Cannon, Fla. Gwynne Hall Mapes Marshall Martin, Colo. Martin, Iowa Martin, Mass. Carlson Halleck Carter Case, S. Dak. Hancock Chiperfield Church Harness Mason Harter, N. Y. Michener Clason Clevenger Hawks Miller Heinke Monkiewicz Cluett Mott Cole, Md. Cole, N. Y. Hess Hill Mundt Murdock, Utah Corbett Crawford Hoffman Holmes Murray Norton Crowther Hook Hope Horton Culkin O'Brien Oliver Curtis Pittenger Hull Jarrett Plumley Dondero Douglas **Jeffries** Powers Jenkins, Ohio Jenks, N. H. Rabaut Reece, Tenn. Dowell Dworshak Eaton, Calif. Reed, Ill. Reed, N. Y. Robsion, Ky. Johns Johnson, Ill. Eaton, N. J.

# ANSWERED "PRESENT"-2

Rockefeller

Coffee, Wash. Marcantonio

# NOT VOTING-77

Kunkel Durham Ball Eberharter Englebright Lambertson Barry McArdle Barton McDowell Evans Flaherty Bender Bradley, Mich. Bradley, Pa. Buckley, N. Y. McGranery McLean Flannery Folger Gavagan McReynolds Maciejewski Burgin Green Magnuson Byron Gross Mansfield Casey, Mass. Celler Martin, Ill. Hartley Havenner May Mitchell Creal Curley Healev Hendricks Mouton D'Alesandro Myers Daly Darden Hennings Hinshaw Osmers O'Toole Darrow Dickstein Jensen Johnson, Luther A. Peterson, Ga. Johnson, Okla. Pierce, N. Y. Kennedy, Michael Rees, Kans. Ditter

Johnson, Ind. Jones, Ohio

> Routzohn Sabath Sacks Schuetz Schwert Seger Sheppard Short Somers, N. Y. Taylor, Colo. Thomas, N. J. Vorys, Ohio Welch White, Idaho

So the previous question was ordered. The Clerk announced the following pairs: On this vote:

Mr. Henning (for) with Mr. Ditter (against).
Mr. Peterson of Georgia (for) with Mr. Short (against).
Mr. Barry (for) with Mr. Hartley (against).
Mr. Somers of New York (for) with Mr. Jensen (against).
Mr. Schwert (for) with Mr. Lambertson (against).
Mr. Schwert (for) with Mr. Vorys of Ohio (against).
Mr. Evans (for) with Mr. Darrow (against).
Mr. Buckley of New York (for) with Mr. Gross (against).
Mr. Byrne of New York (for) with Mr. Welch (against).
Mr. Curley (for) with Mr. Kunkel (against).
Mr. Michael J. Kennedy (for) with Mr. McLean (against).
Mr. G'Toole (for) with Mr. Pierce of New York (against).
Mr. O'Toole (for) with Mr. Barton (against).
Mr. Drewry (for) with Mr. Barton (against).
Mr. Dickstein (for) with Mr. Englebright (against).

Mr. Dickstein (for) with Mr. Englebright (against).

#### General pairs:

General pairs:

Mr. Mansfield with Mr. Hinshaw.
Mr. Casey of Massachusetts with Mr. Osmers.
Mr. Johnson of Oklahoma with Mr. Thomas of New Jersey.
Mr. May with Mr. Ball.
Mr. Luther A. Johnson with Mr. Rees of Kansas.
Mr. Schuetz with Mr. Bender.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado with Mr. Risk.
Mr. Green with Mr. McDowell.
Mr. Hendricks with Mr. Bradley of Michigan.
Mr. McReynolds with Mr. Brutzohn.
Mr. Daly with Mr. Durham.
Mr. Bradley of Pennsylvania with Mr. Mitchell.
Mr. McArdle with Mr. White of Idaho.
Mr. Havenner with Mr. McGranery.
Mr. Eberharter with Mr. Martin of Illinois.
Mr. Mouton with Mr. D'Alesandro.
Mr. Sachs with Mr. Maciejewski.
Mr. Folger with Mr. Maciejewski.
Mr. Folger with Mr. Magnuson.
Mr. Creal with Mr. Myers.
Mr. Burgin with Mr. Flaherty.
Mr. Flannery with Mr. Darden.

Mr. Crosser changed his vote from "no" to "aye." Mr. Crosser changed his vote from "no" to "aye."

Mrs. O'Day changed her vote from "no" to "aye."

Mr. O'CONNOR changed his vote from "no" to "aye."

Mr. Beckworth changed his vote from "no" to "aye."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the reso-

The resolution was agreed to, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON CONSERVATION OF WILDLIFE RESOURCES

Mr. SMITH of Virginia, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following privileged report on the resolution (H. Res. 65) for printing in the RECORD:

#### House Resolution 65

Resolved, That the special committee to investigate all matters pertaining to the replacement and conservation of wildlife is authorized to continue the investigation begun under authority of House Resolution 237 of the Seventy-third Congress, continued under authority of House Resolution 44, of the Seventy-fourth Congress, and House Resolution 11, of the Seventy-fifth Congress, and for such purposes said committee shall have the same power and authority as that conferred upon it by said House Resolution 237, of the Seventy-third Congress, and shall report to the House as soon as practicable, but not later than January 3, 1941, the results of its investigations, together with its recommendations, for necessary legislation. for necessary legislation.

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution (H. Res. 65)

The Clerk read the resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the

gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH]?

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to objectand I do not intend to object—but last week the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], chairman of the Committee on Conservation of Wildlife, asked unanimous consent to have the Committee on Rules discharged from further consideration of this resolution and for its immediate consideration on the floor. I reserved the right to object to his request at that time, and later the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Accounts [Mr. WARREN], because, as I understand, of a provision in it which invaded the jurisdiction of the Committee on Accounts, objected to the request of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON].

As far as I know, every Member of the House is in favor of the work that the distinguished chairman of this Committee on the Conservation of Wildlife and the committee have been doing. I think they have done a very commendable and worth-while piece of work, and I favor the continuation of the committee. I reserved the right to object to his request last week because, in the first place, I felt it was irregular to discharge the Committee on Rules from the consideration of the resolution; and, secondly, because I desired to call attention generally to some features of the resolution for the continuance of the work of different special committees of the last Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I have some questions about the form of the resolution, which I raised in the Committee on Rules; but because of the rather unanimous support of the work of this Committee on Wildlife Conservation, I waive that question at this time.

There are, however, several special committees of the last Congress, the work of which I understand is to be continued. There are some questions in regard to them to which I desire to call the attention of the House in the consideration of this resolution, although I shall not press them at this time.

One question is the question of membership. Of course, there are several more Members on the Republican side of the House in this Congress than there were in the last Congress, and it seems as though the membership of the Republicans on some of the special committees should be increased. The Committee on Rules intends tomorrow, for example, to hold hearings on a resolution offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cochran] to continue the Select Committee on Government Reorganization. In the last Congress the membership of that committee consisted of seven Democrats and two Republicans. It seems as though that proportion ought to be changed in this Congress. Later other resolutions will be considered for the purpose of continuing the work of other select committees of the last Congress.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. MAPES. I yield.

Mr. WARREN. I do not recall just now, but did the original Cochran resolution, passed 2 years ago, contain anything as to the division between the parties or not?

Mr. MAPES. I will say to the gentleman from North Carolina that I do not have a copy of the resolution before me and cannot answer his question.

Mr. WARREN. I just do not recall.

Mr. TABER. If the gentleman will yield, it did not. The set-up was fixed by the Speaker when the appointments were made.

Mr. WARREN. That was my impression. Therefore what the gentleman is now saying is a matter to be determined solely by the Speaker of the House.

Mr. MAPES. I understand that unless the House itself sees fit to fix the proportion in the passage of a resolution continuing the work of any committee.

As far as this particular committee is concerned, the resolution did specify the membership between the two parties. It provided for the appointment of a special committee of 15, to be composed of the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture; the chairman of the Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio, and Fisheries; the 2 House members of the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission; 7 Members of the House of Representatives from the majority political party; and 4 Members of the House of Representatives from the minority political party. The membership was determined by the resolution, as far as this particular committee is concerned.

I am raising the question now so as to call it to the attention of the Speaker and the House, with a view to having the matter adjusted in some equitable and fair way. Of course, we all have perfect confidence in the Speaker and realize that whatever he does will be fair and just, but it seems as though some of these committees ought to have a larger representation of Republicans on them in this Congress than they had in the last one.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. MAPES. I yield.

Mr. DINGELL. May I ask, in the interest of fairness, is the gentleman from Michigan questioning the fairness of the representation, 7 to 4, as being unfair to the minority?

I understood the gentleman to say that it provides for seven Members of the majority party and four Members of the minority party, in addition to certain specified individuals, such as the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and the chairman of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Mr. MAPES. I am afraid my friend did not follow me closely. I am raising no question as to the membership of this committee, although it does consist of 10 Democrats and 5 Republicans.

Mr. DINGELL. I think that is about right.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I ask the gentleman from Michigan if it is not a fact that this particular Committee on the Conservation of Wildlife Resources is probably the least political of any committee that has been appointed by Congress, and that all its reports have been unanimous? In other words, partisanship does not enter into it.

Mr. MAPES. There is no question about that. I repeat what I said at the beginning—as far as I know, every Member of the House is in favor of a continuance of the work of this committee. I think it has done a wonderful work.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCK. I yield.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. The committee being nonpartisan in character, is not this the greater reason why we should have our proportionate share in the membership?

Mr. BUCK. I am not talking about proportion, so far as that is concerned.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record at this point to give a bird's-eye view of the picture of wildlife conservation in the United States.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

## A NEW DAY FOR WILDLIFE

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, the Bible tells us that the children of Israel wandered for 40 years in the desert before being permitted to view the Promised Land. Some 10,000,000 sportsmen and at least that many others definitely interested in the conservation of our natural resources have wandered almost as long in the unplanned and undirected wilderness of wildlife conservation, apparently unable to stop or even check the wasteful dissipation of our valuable wildlife and renewable natural resources. The fisherman has seen his favorite stream either turned into an open sewer or filled with mud and silt from erosion. The big game hunter has seen our best timber areas laid waste by fire and ax. The migratory bird hunter has seen our supply of ducks reduced from hundreds of millions to a bare 15,000,000. The upland game hunter has seen at least 100,000,000 acres of previously fertile farm land eroded to the point where it furnishes neither food nor cover for game. He has seen the remaining privately owned farms, comprising about 1,000,000,000 acres, or over one-half of the land area of the continent, so depleted of upland game that there is scarcely any good shooting left except on a limited number of private preserves. Nineteen hundred and thirtythree found us in even more of a wilderness than the children of Israel, because they at least had plenty of Egyptian quail.

Then was commenced the greatest organized effort for the conservation and restoration of these natural resources our country has ever witnessed. That program has spread from a limited number of enthusiastic sportsmen and nature lovers to the rank and file of the people of the Nation with such rapidity that a recent Gallup poll showed that next to oldage pensions conservation is now the leading interest of the American people.

Time will prevent me from enumerating the splendid achievements of the past 5 years of the regular conservation agencies of the Federal Government, including the work of the Bureau of Biological Survey, the Bureau of Fisheries, the United States Forest Service, and the National Park Service. Those interested in the programs of those regular agencies can find the complete story told in the 1938 hearings of the House Committee on Wildlife Conservation. I desire to tell you at this time something of the conservation activities of our emergency agencies in order that you may have a better conception of the vast scale upon which this conservation work is being done and the splendid results that are being accomplished.

The Works Progress Administration, from April 8, 1935, to March 31, 1938, expended for conservation purposes a total of \$227,888,687. Among the conservation accomplishments of W. P. A. have been the construction of 134 fish hatcheries, with a fingerling capacity of 308,154,800 fish; the building of 3,330 storage dams and 15,855 flood and erosion dams; the construction of 328 sewage treatment plants; the development of 825 bird and game sanctuaries; the construction of 1,196 miles of firebreaks to protect forest areas; and the planting of 9,789,184 trees on 21,131 acres.

The emergency agency closest to my heart and the one, I believe, that holds the warmest place in the affection of all is the C. C. C. camps. Thirty-two of those camps with 6,000 men have been operating exclusively under the Biological Survey in the development of migratory bird breeding and feeding refuges. The C. C. C. camps have built for the Bureau of Fisheries a brook-trout hatchery in the White Mountain National Forest with a capacity of 20,000,000 brook-trout eggs, enough to supply all of the brook-trout hatcheries of the Government east of the Mississippi. The C. C. C. camps have constructed 4,087 fish rearing ponds; have engaged in food and cover planting and seeding for wildlife on 54,251 acres; have devoted 518,770,542 man-days to lake and pond development—that is a lot of man-days, considering that there have been only some 700,000 days since the birth of Christ-have planted 462,770,542 fish in streams and ponds; have improved fishing conditions in 6,135.2 miles of fishing waters; have reforested 1,300,000 acres; have devoted 4,043,000 man-days to fighting forest fires, 64,332 man-days to feeding wildlife, 2,176 man-days to building shelters for wildlife, and 595,647 man-days to other wildlife activities. There is not a section of the United States that has not felt the influence of that conservation activity, and naturally I take a pride in it because the first C. C. C. camp in the United States was built in the Seventh Congressional District; the first lake with C. C. C. labor was built in that district; and the general movement to stop the C. C. C. boys from cutting trees and shrubs valuable to wildlife and directing their energies into a national conservation program, in addition to improving the timber stand in State and National forests, was initiated by the House Conservation Committee, of which I have the honor to be the chairman.

Another emergency agency making a splendid contribution to wildlife conservation is the Farm Security Administration, previously called the Resettlement Administration. The Farm Security Administration has acquired 9,200,000 acres of submarginal farming land, at an average price of \$4.50 per acre, for what is termed multiple use-the three factors of the multiple use being forests, grazing, and wildlife. Of that total acreage, 724,000 acres have been set aside entirely for wildlife, 350,000 acres have been turned over to the Biological Survey for exclusive wildlife purposes, and 259,000 acres to the Biological Survey for custodial service and administration. Other areas will shortly be turned over to the United States Forest Service, which will include the 21,600-acre tract in Appomattox and Buckingham Counties, which contains two fine fishing lakes; a 5,800-acre tract in Prince Edward County, which contains one lake; and 14,500 acres in Cumberland County, to be developed primarily for forestry purposes. There is no State in the Union that does not contain one or more of these projects, on which there has so far been spent between forty and fifty million dollars for land acquisition and about \$47,000,000 in its development.

The Soil Conservation Service is another emergency agency, which has operated 526 demonstration projects in 45 States,

with 57,003 farm owners cooperating. These farm owners have agreed to carry out a 5-year plan, involving the retirement from soil-depleting crops of 683,497 acres, and to engage in strip cropping on 1,084,812 acres and hillside terracing to the extent of 74,249 miles. In addition, these cooperating farmers will do contour farming on 2,264,696 acres and increase winter cover crops on 335,065 acres. The Soil Conservation Service has built, largely through the use of C. C. C. camps, 3,707 dams, impounded 80,000 acre-feet of water, built 221,648 permanent gully-control dams, and 2,577,232 temporary check dams. In its further efforts to check soil erosion and reclaim the habitat for upland game, the Soil Conservation Service has planted 2,374,245 trees and shrubs.

These Federal activities go to the root of our problem, which is the necessity for the improvement of food, cover, and water conditions. Until that problem has been successfully solved, no other conservation activity will bring substantial results.

Testifying before our committee last spring, Hon. Jay N. Darling, former Chief of the Biological Survey, said:

Not less than 3,000,000 people of the present unemployed population could exist and find sustaining employment on those portions of our natural resources which have been wantonly wasted and destroyed during the last two generations.

Florida is now engaged in the expenditure of \$500,000 in planting seed oysters between Pensacola and Fort Myers, an area once better planted by nature. Our Chesapeake Bay oyster area has frequently been referred to as a \$100,000,000 industry, but capitalized at 6 percent it would be a \$1,000,000,000 industry. The employment of thousands of men in that area is definitely threatened by the present Chesapeake Bay pollution. The fisheries of the Great Lakes once furnished employment for thousands. It is a thing of the past. Go to Bacova in Bath County, Va., or to Bastian if you want to shed tears over a ghost lumber town. They can be duplicated in thousands of once rich timber areas of the Nation. Go to Pennsylvania, or any other industrial State, if you want to see rivers once beautiful that have been turned into open sewers.

A witness before our committee last spring testified that the bottoms of most of our rivers and lakes, once productive of fish food, now compare very favorably with the soil conditions in the Dust Bowl. And I do not have to enlarge upon those conditions so bad in the summer of 1936 that the soil from the Dust Bowl reached our Capital City and to such an extent that one could not see the Washington Monument from Capitol Hill.

But when I think of the accomplishments of the regular and emergency agencies of the Federal Government during the past 5 years, supplemented by a similar quickening of activity of all of the State conservation agencies, I feel that we are at least on top of Mt. Nebo if we have not yet actually possessed the Promised Land.

The whole world has been passing through troublesome times—an international headache, if you please—from the killing of 10,000,000 men, the wounding of 20,000,000 more, the direct destruction of \$400,000,000,000 worth of property, and the indirect destruction of many more billions, through a senseless and useless conflict known as the World War. Since we suffered less, both in the loss of men and in the loss of property, than the other participating nations, the headache was later reaching us than in Europe, but by the summer of 1932 we had our full share of it. Ever since we have been busily engaged in the business of recovering from that headache. A part of our recovery plans has been to put men back to work. I have indicated what the loss of certain natural resources has meant in unemployment and how their restoration can contribute to employment. A part of our recovery plans has been an increased and better distributed national income. The development of our timber resources, the development of better hunting and fishing, and the development of out-of-doors recreational opportunities in general will certainly help to distribute the national income, and I

likewise believe will definitely increase it. And while some of the people of this Nation may be desperately poor, the majority of them are not poor but just unhappy. Therefore, at this stage in our recovery plans I deem it advisable to be giving some consideration to the ways and means of finding peace, happiness, and contentment. A business executive who thinks everything is going wrong may be just suffering from a case of nerves and indigestion. Let him whip a trout stream all day, let him follow the elusive grouse in our mountain ranges all day, and I will guarantee he will sleep well that night, and that he will view the world the next day through clearer eyes.

A man inclined to be a Communist will not long be a Communist in this country if you give him good hunting and fishing. Russia is a land of vast natural resources. It could have been a land of peace and plenty, but a limited few held more than they could use and enjoy, while the serfs and peasants had practically nothing and the kulacks, or small farmers, were limited to their meager acres. And so we find in 1918 a bloodly uprising in which millions were killed and other millions sent into exile in the frozen wastes of Siberia, where "the only softness under their feet was that of snow." Of them it has been said that "only in future years when their sins have taught them charity and their despair has taught them hope, and their loneliness has led them to faith, they shall listen again to the sound of bells coming across the field and comprehend and reverence the symbolism of the cross." Twenty years later a certain European dictator threatens to involve the world in another great war. I frankly feel that if he could be induced to spend a few quiet days on a trout stream where he could commune with nature and with nature's God he would realize that man's prosperity and happiness cannot be achieved through war. "He leadeth us beside still waters" will always be symbolic

That brings me to the observation that wildlife conservation, like all Gaul, is divided into three parts-economic, involving utilization for commercial purposes; scientific, involving a knowledge of nature and of nature's children, on which must be based scientific management; and the esthetic, which, of course, involves our love and appreciation of nature and the enjoyment we can get from it. As the poet says, "To him who in the love of Nature holds communion with her visible form, she speaks a varied language." She can "glide into his darker musings with a mild and healing sympathy that steals away their sharpness ere he is

A man does not have to kill game or fish to enjoy the out-of-doors and to get inspiration from it. I love nothing better than to tramp through a boundary of virgin timber, such as I visited last June in the Pisgah National Forest. It is an inspiration to me to stand beneath an oak or a hemlock that is three or four hundred years old and to realize that it has withstood the vicissitudes of the centuries. From such an uncrowned monarch of the forest man can learn how to clasp with tougher roots the inspiring earth.

To me, any phase of conservation is worth while-the economic, the scientific, or the esthetic-but of the three I feel the esthetic could be made the most valuable. As I look forward to the coming years, I am not worried nearly so much about the economic and scientific future of our country as I am about the possibility that through nervous disorders and a growing spirit of unrest and of unhappiness some group may turn the sword on another group and thus destroy civilization in a land more richly endowed in natural resources than any other, and better suited than any other I know for brethren to dwell in peace and unity.

We can undoubtedly learn to make the inventions of a machine age our servants rather than our masters; we can undoubtedly solve the problems of unemployment and find means to properly distribute the abundance of good things with which we are endowed; we undoubtedly have the form of government under which there can be the greatest security of life and the maximum of personal liberty. But Jeffer-

son correctly enumerated the pursuit of happiness as one of the innate longings of the Anglo-Saxon disposition. I am personally convinced that the people of this Nation have become satiated with the type of happiness to be derived from the possession of mechanical devices. There is a need in our lives that automobiles, radios, picture shows, and other mechanical devices for happiness are not filling. Our pioneering forefathers were happy without one-tenth of our wealth or our material advantages. But they lived close to nature and that will be our way back to a land of plenty over which peace hath spread her white wings and contentment hath found a home in every heart.

I am glad, Mr. Speaker, that the House fully appreciates the importance of this work and has unanimously voted to continue this Conservation Committee.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday night the National Press Club, which is by all odds the largest and most influential organization of newspapermen in the world, held its annual inauguration ceremonies. Mr. Arthur Hachten was inducted as president. Strickland Gillilan, garbed in the robe and wig of a chief justice, administered an ironbound, copper-riveted oath of office to the new president of the club. It was a very happy and successful inauguration.

I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an article of my own, descriptive of the occasion, with the privilege of also including some brief extracts from two speeches that were delivered on that occasion.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I

could not hear the request.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana asks unanimous consent to extend in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by himself with reference to the meeting of the National Press Club on Saturday in the city of Washington. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks on a bill which I have introduced

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. PETERSON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorow, after the disposition of business on the Speaker's desk and such other special orders as may have been entered, I may address the House for 20 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include therein an article written by my colleague the gentleman from California [Mr. Voornis].

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Under the previous order of the House the gentleman from Montana [Mr. Thorkelson] is recognized for 30 minutes.

# CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

Mr. THORKELSON. Mr. Speaker, I intimated in my previous discourse that Congress had been imposed upon and stampeded into acquiescence. It occurs in the following manner. A proposition is delivered to the House, similar to the one on socialized medicine, for the House to consider and pass upon. Congress may not be receptive to such proposal, but it embodies gifts to the people-in this case at the expense of the medical profession—and in a subtle manner is used as a club to force Congress to consent to the proposal. I call this a tearful, sympathetic appeal to the people to hammer Congress into submission and to relinquish its constitutional power.

Mr. Speaker, I want to warn Congress of the danger that lies in such appeals. It is not the will of the majority of the people, as someone may want Congress to believe. Congress will find that Representatives who adhere strictly to the Constitution and the rights of the people will survive when those who have ignored such rights will be forgotten.

My work has to a great extent been predicated upon certain well-recognized principles: In navigation, upon triangulation, calculated from known points for position, which becomes the premise or point of departure; in medicine, upon recognized postulates, which must be proved by proper procedure; and, in business, upon certain recognized principles of earnings and the use of such earnings for expansion.

Our wealth, soundness, and security are derived from successful operation of business. Business to remain sound must earn money and be able to operate so it can meet competition. When our business people fail to meet competition, markets are lost, sales decrease, and idleness begins. The Federal Government blames business for the present chaotic condition, and business, having lost courage, remains mute.

Our people realize that we cannot go on as we have in the past 6 years without disaster. The question is, Who is to blame? Spokesmen for the Government would have the people believe that business is on a strike, which, of course, is not true. Idle factories and idle business return no income and are, therefore, undesirable to business people. Business wants to operate, earn money, and employ people. But its hands are tied by too much interference from those who have no money invested in such business and who do not understand it.

A golden opportunity presents itself to any Federal bureaucrat who can finance himself with private capital and who believes he can operate private industry so as to steadily employ any number of our idle people. Such person is needed in private business to aid in restoring prosperity. However, those who are satisfied to remain on the Federal or taxpayers' pay roll should keep quiet. We need workers with sound minds instead of prophets with queer ideas.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to discuss the constitutional rights of industry, commerce, business, labor, agriculture, and all earning groups to operate unmolested and free from high-jacking by incompetent Federal advisers. The purpose of the Constitution is to protect the people's rights from exploitation by their own Government and political parties. It delegates certain powers to Congress, to the President, and to the Supreme Court, but the people reserve the greater power to themselves.

To remind Congress of the people's power, I quote the tenth amendment:

The powers not delegated to the United States in the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people.

The builders of this wonderful instrument realized, because of their experience, that at some time political parties or enemies of the people might attempt to misconstrue the meaning of the Constitution, so, in order to further protect themselves from invasion of and loss of rights, they said, in amendment IX:

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

It is therefore clear that it is not within the right of Congress, or the Executive, or the Supreme Court to interpret lightly or interpose their own views in regard to the meaning of certain words used in the Constitution. If there is any question, the benefit of the doubt must be given to the people, its owners.

The people are composed of those employed in industry, commerce, business, labor, agriculture, and all earning groups; and this group, which from now on I shall call "business," reserves the right to itself to conduct and operate all business within the United States of America and its

possessions. It follows, therefore, that if the Federal or State Governments are now operating in competition with private business in any sense whatsoever it is in clear violation of the tenth amendment of the Constitution, and it is not "for the general welfare of the United States," but is instead destructive.

To promote general welfare as spoken of in the preamble of the Constitution and as again mentioned in article I, section 8, of the Constitution means exactly what it says—the general welfare of the United States, not the welfare of any particular group, business or political organization, but for the benefit of all the States and Territories, and for all the people within such States and Territories.

For a number of years appeals have been made to the people for their support in a program which is bent upon socializing business and centralizing power. The mode of operation is subtle—a painless procedure to deprive the people of their constitutional rights with their consent. It is a flendish plan to build centralized power on the ruins of public liberty.

It is not good form, nor is it my desire, to discuss the President of the United States; and it serves no purpose, because without "the advice and consent of the Senate" his power is limited to "grant reprieves and pardons." "He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and the most important law is the Constitution of the United States.

But when he fails to play the game, no alternative is left for me, under my oath of obligation to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States," but to take issue with him.

In order to expose the methods used to undermine the people's rights I shall cite the President's message to Congress, January 23, 1939. The article is a well-camouflaged attempt to obtain public approval for Federal supervision of the most efficient and beneficial organization in the United States. I quote:

The health of the people is a public concern; ill health is a major cause of suffering, economic loss, and dependency; good health is essential to the security and progress of the Nation.

This is a bid for approval and support of a plan to place medical care under Federal supervision by public demand. It is not only unconstitutional but it will in the end destroy the medical profession and the ambitions of men who have unselfishly given everything within them to aid suffering humankind.

If the health of the people is a public concern and not their own, the Federal Government should bear in mind that the now popular attempt to destroy private business makes people ill. As a matter of fact, more illness, suicides, and murders are committed from unsound Federal administrative orgies than from actual illness itself. So I say, before the President takes the shaving out of his brother's eye, let him remove the plank from the eyes of his administration.

The Federal Government is responsible for the stagnant industries, commerce, and business and for the idle people who are walking our streets today, and this deplorable condition is responsible for more illness and suffering than disease itself, and it is a condition the doctors cannot eradicate as they have other ills. It can only be eradicated by the people by voting unfit officials out of office and restoring constitutional government within the United States.

The doctors of medicine in the past 125 years have increased the span of life from an average of 20 to between 50 and 60 years. This has been accomplished without Federal aid or advice, and the doctors, having become more familiar with the present problems, need no Federal advice now from bureaucratic experts. Over half of the earnings of medical men are given to those in need free of charge in uncollectible bills and no charge accounts. Few doctors of medicine have ever denied medical care to anyone, and particularly to those in need, for they usually get the first consideration because of their dependent position. Medical work has been directed toward the elimination of illness in preventive medicine and immunization, which is an entirely

different attitude from that of other professions-let us say the legal profession.

The legal profession is constantly enacting new legislation, and old laws are rarely repealed. In this procedure the legal profession creates more work and need for its advice. The medical profession constantly works to eliminate illness by prophylaxis, prevention, and immunization, so that people will not become sick, and in such manner decreases illness and the need for its services.

I am not willing as a doctor to have medicine socialized, but if it is I want the legal profession socialized, too, for misery loves company. When this unconstitutional act is consummated, it is only a short span to socialization of other business, with the final and unhappy ending that labor will be included. That is something for all of us to think about. But the handwriting is on the wall. In other words, I want labor to know that when business is socialized and run by the Federal Government, labor will also be socialized and subject to Federal regulation. That, of course, will terminate the right of organized labor for self-regulation.

We must not be misled by mischievous propaganda, but must, instead, endeavor to understand the fundamental

theories of our Government.

There seems to be some movement on foot to dismember the highly organized industrial bodies whose services are a public necessity. Medicine is one of them and utilities another. Free or cheap service from these two highly organized groups is offered to the people as compensation for aid in the destruction of them. The final outcome, if the New Deal is successful, will be in Federal control of both. After having acquired such control, other business not so well organized becomes an easy prey to the same force. This is socialism or communism in its true aspect, and it is operating in the United States now.

In this transition remember Russia and the wholesale destruction of life of the so-called intelligentsia. The Communists will reap a harvest here, for we have a larger number of intelligent people. Will it happen? Yes; if we do not stop it now. After business is destroyed the Federal Government must assume its place and earn its own living. That is something the Federal Government has never been able to do before. Labor will be conscripted, chained to its work, and guarded by what? By militia, of course. There will be no collective bargaining. It will, instead, be machine-gun coercion. Will they like it? No. Will we realize our loss? Yes; but it will be too late. Then history will repeat itself, and so upon the ruins of public liberties and suffering will arise a purified people who will believe in constitutional government.

We must not be deceived, because any plan which destroys highly organized and efficient industries and business is not only un-American, it is also a direct attack upon the liberties and rights of the people. If these crying prophets and soothsayers in reality feel so badly for those who are ill-clothed, ill-housed, ill-fed, and who lack adequate medical care, the gates to charity are held open by hope, and if they have faith with them and are sincere, they may donate their private fortunes to those they are crying for. I have not been informed of or seen any evidence of such private donations to those in need from any one of them. Instead, it is charged to the taxpayers of the United States.

The taxpayers of the United States are charged with salaries of \$20,000 a year and \$20,000 a year pension to the judges on the Supreme Court and \$10,000 salaries and pensions to other Federal judges and proportionate pensions to other Federal employees. Yet these poor taxpayers who pay these pensions are unable and helpless to provide pensions and reasonable comforts for themselves. The taxpayers of the United States also pay for fishing trips, special trains, special service, that may cost millions of dollars. Why not save some of these expenses for those who are in need? I am speaking for the low-earning group, the American worker.

I have given my life and work to aid those who suffer and are ill. I do not believe anyone understands the needs of the people better than I. My advice to my people is to safeguard

their constitutional rights, so that their children may live in freedom instead of in slavery.

It should be perfectly obvious that it is not for the general welfare of the United States to dismember and destroy the medical profession, a profession that has not asked for Federal aid. It is not for the general welfare of the United States to destroy utilities. It is not for the general welfare of the United States to import farm products and leave our own farmers sitting on the plowed-up furrows of their crops waiting for help. And it is not for the general welfare of the United States to import cattle, meat products, wool, butter, fruit, grain, sugar, and many other farm commodities, which can be raised on the farms in the United States, to supply our own people with food. It is not for the general welfare of the United States to import silver, manganese, and other metals at the expense of our own production, and leave our own mines idle and people unemployed. Such imports are destructive to all the industries which are forced to compete with such influx, no matter what it may be. I believe the people should protect business and protect themselves by insisting that Congress place a protective tariff on such imported products, so that our own producers may again feel proud to be farmers, miners, and citizens of the richest country.

It is for the general welfare of the United States to destroy communism, socialism, and all other un-American activities now so prevalent throughout the country. Anyone who indulges in such activity is not a friend of the United States or the people, but is instead an enemy. The Constitution defines such enemies in the following manner:

Treason shall consist in making war against the United States, adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

It is for the general welfare of the United States to adhere to the Constitution as it was given to us by the founders of our country, who were much more familiar with despotic governments than we are today.

Fear exists in many States for the loss of States' rights. I shall now quote a paragraph from a letter I received from the attorney general's office in Montana.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to read this paragraph from the letter of the attorney general of Montana.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Ford of California). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it. Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Does the gentleman from Montana have to ask unanimous consent to read matters as a part of his remarks?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. He does.

Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana?

There was no objection.

Mr. THORKELSON. I read the following statement:

Together with most of the other attorneys general, and other responsible officers of the States and municipalities throughout the country, I have been deeply concerned with the recent proposals emanating from the Treasury Department, that would seem to have for their object the breaking down of the sovereignty and integrity of the several States. That we do not exaggerate this tendency is indicated by the feet that in recent guide issued by the Depart indicated by the fact that in a recent study issued by the Department of Justice, reference is made to an asserted "supreme power of the Central Government to tax the States." (The Immunity

Rule and the Sixteenth Amendment, a Study Made by the Department of Justice of June 24, 1938, p. 10.)

These contentions have reached such serious proportions that the State and municipal officers referred to above have organized a conference on State defense. Among those participating are the attorneys general of no less than 40 States.

This shows clearly the anxiety felt by 40 States in our Union, which are in fear of losing States' rights by Federal usurpation. It is, indeed, a serious problem and one that must be clarified now.

Mr. Speaker, the sixteenth amendment reads:

Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes upon income from whatever source derived.

This amendment refers to taxes on income and not on salaries.

Income from any source may be legal or illegal income. It might be income from foreign or domestic investments, or from annuities or trust funds. Income may be derived from many sources. It is acquired by investing in any paying enterprise. It "comes in" without labor, and is in reality a luxury.

Salary is not income, but is instead a fixed and steady pay for work performed. It might be paid by the year, by the month, or week. Usually, when paid daily, it is referred to as "wages." Salary is paid to one person and for service or labor. Salary is, therefore, equal to work or labor. It is not a luxury, but it is a necessity as compared to income. Salary is earned and fixed compensation, while income is an unearned variable compensation. Salary, not being the same as income, is not taxable according to the sixteenth amendment. We must remember that the benefit of the doubt must be given to the people and not to the Treasury Department, as provided for in amendment IX.

We should read the Constitution as it is; each article, section, and paragraph by itself. For example, "Coin money and regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin," can only mean regulate the value of money. Gold is the only recognized standard of value in all money which lends itself to regulation. When gold is removed, the value of money is

also removed and nothing is left to regulate.

The Constitution further provides that the Federal Government shall not allow any State to "make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debt," and shall not pass laws "impairing the obligation of contracts." Of course, the Federal Government is not immune to this provision, but should instead set an example for the States to follow, and the President "should take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

Now, let us see about this one: "To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States and with the Indian tribes." In this paragraph of the Constitution, "regulate \* \* \* with foreign nations" fixes the intent, which is movement of trade with or in agreement with foreign nations, as to exchange and credit; regulation in the privilege of ports; regulation of ships and safety while on the ocean, such as in navigation; and regulation in respect to loading, and all for the general welfare and safety of the passengers and cargoes aboard such ships.

The same paragraph says "among the States" because the Constitution recognizes States' rights. So it refers to movement of commerce among the States, but no power is granted to regulate any business structure or business within these

States under the pretense that it is "commerce."

The Indians were not recognized as having States' rights, for they were tribes, or roving bands of people, so the Constitution provides for "with [not "among"] the Indian tribes," which, of course, is a power given to the Federal Government by all the States to negotiate with the Indian tribes similar to the power given to negotiate with foreign nations.

In other words, the States delegated power to the Federal Government to regulate commerce with foreign governments and with the Indian tribes, but only among themselves, because the States give the power to the Federal Government, and each State is a sovereign government within itself. This observes the clause "for the general welfare of the United States," or all the States, instead of with one.

It follows, therefore, that the Federal Government has no right to regulate business and prescribe rules of conduct for the capital structure, but only for movement of commerce, or transportation, for the general welfare of the United States. How? In regulation of safety devices, roadbeds, and safe transportation, but nothing else. Certainly not to establish selling and buying power, and not in regulation of the capital structure. Such powers are reserved by the people who are in business to themselves—amendment X. I mention this because the gradual usurpation of States' and private rights is wrecking business, closing factories, creating idleness, and leading our country toward revolution. I want the Congress

and our people to give this serious thought. I might be a little antiquated in my ideas, but the Constitution reserves the right for each State to regulate its own affairs and to regulate business as provided by State laws for the general welfare of the United States. This is the better way, for responsibility is then shared by 48 States on a competitive basis, and so the most economic and efficiently operated State should be the most prosperous.

This allows the Federal Government full time to devote its attention to the greater interest and general welfare of all

the States, and all the United States.

My Democratic colleagues have challenged the Republican Party to present a plan superior to the bureaucratic plan now in use, and I believe this challenge is fair. I concede that destructive criticism serves no useful purpose, and criticism without a remedy is useless. I hold to this; and inasmuch as I have possibly attempted to criticize, I now propose a plan.

First. I quote:

The United States shall guarantee to every State a republican form of government.

Not a bureaucratic, not a socialistic, not a communistic, and not a "liberal" form of government, whatever that may be, but a republican form of government, as the Constitution provides.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. THORKELSON. My second proposal is that Congress resume its rightful position in its relation to the people it represents.

My third step is to replace the money in circulation with gold-secured currency, and set aside a gold reserve, as security for all money. This will give a standard, stable value to the dollar, just as it was in 1926. We have two types of money today, something that we have never had before. One is the international money which is used in foreign transactions and in payment of interest and principal in foreign investments—the dollar which is used to balance international credit. The foreign dollar contains 15.521 grains of gold, nine-tenths fine, but all transactions are still based upon the old valuation of 25.8, the generally recognized international standard.

The money we use at home, you and I, has no gold value. It is not secured by gold or silver, and is therefore a commodity or managed dollar that may collapse at any time. It is a dollar which has deprived the American Nation of its character and has destroyed public confidence in the Government. I ask Congress to restore sound money as the third step toward recovery.

I cannot but warn Congress that if this is done an embargo must be placed upon the gold in the United States Treasury until such time as it is again accepted as a liquid monetary medium of exchange by international agreement.

For Congress to regain its power to coin money and regulate the value thereof I believe it must repeal the Gold Reserve Act. This presents a peculiar situation because the President might veto such repeal and that would necessitate a two-thirds majority vote of this body to retrieve its own power. I mention this so that Congress may realize how dangerous it is to relinquish to anyone its constitutional power as given to us by our people.

Congress may call for liquidation of the \$2,000,000,000 gold stabilization fund because I believe the emergency expires in June. Congress may then call for an accounting of the fund, and this should be done. The account should be closed and receipts and expenditures published so that the people

may understand.

Fourth, Congress should demand that the Federal Government cease and desist from competing with private industries which destroys the earning power of the people. I believe there are about 47 corporations created by special acts of

Congress. Some of these corporations are incorporated under the laws of the State of Delaware, of Maryland, the District of Columbia, Tennessee, and other States. There is no power delegated to Congress in the Constitution which gives it the right to create such private corporations, and there is no reason why the taxpayers of the United States should support them. They are directly competitive and destructive to the very people who are taxed for their support. I therefore recommend, as the fourth step, that appraisal and sale be made of all such corporations, not hurriedly but one by one, until business is restored to its rightful channel.

These are a few of my proposals but I believe they are enough for a beginning.

If Congress will again resume its rightful position it will establish courage in business and confidence in Congress. We cannot be wrong when we face the Constitution, but we are wrong when we turn our backs upon it. [Applause.]

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THORKELSON. I yield.

Mr. FISH. The President of the United States has told the American people that one-third of the people are illhoused, ill-clothed, and ill-fed.

Will the gentleman kindly give me his views as to what use this gold that we have hidden away in Kentucky insofar as feeding the people, clothing the people, or housing the people is concerned?

Mr. THORKELSON. Those questions would have to be answered separately. The gentleman refers to the gold reserve that is stored in the vaults in Kentucky?

Mr. FISH. Yes; the gold that is buried in the ground in Kentucky.

Mr. THORKELSON. I will answer that first. Gold of course is the recognized standard which secures the value of all money. The gold is stored in vaults because it cannot be handled conveniently by the people. It is too heavy. Of course it still retains its value. As against this gold there are about thirteen and one-half billion dollars of gold certificates issued to the Governor of the Federal Reserve banks and to other interests without the Treasury Department, which includes the \$2,000,000,000 stabilization fund now held by the President. While the gold should secure the money we are using today, it does not secure our money at all, but does secure the money that is in the control and under the supervision of the Governor of the Federal Reserve banks and interests outside the Treasury. It is for the benefit of foreign people and for foreign nations in international transactions to balance international trade balance. It is used for the benefit of those people who do not live in the United States, and interest and principal is payable to those people in gold. We have been deprived of gold security. We are deprived of holding gold-secured investments and of having the principal and interest paid to us in gold. But these rights are granted to foreigners and credited to foreign nations. In other words, we have become peons and serfs in our own land.

[Here the gavel fell.]

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. Boren asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein a radio address of the Honorable Marriner F. Eccles, Chairman of the Federal Reserve.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO]?

There was no objection.

## PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 10 minutes and to read a brief newspaper item as a part of my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. MARTIN]?

There was no objection.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I hold in my hand a clipping taken from the Washington Star of January 26, 1939, headed "Homeless and Jobless, Two Men Smash Window to Get Fed." Under the above heading is the picture of two young men photographed by the Washington Star through bars of the city jail in Washington.

Undernearth the picture of these two young men in jail appears the following:

Arvid Schmiedburg, 28, left, and Warren Hagen, photographed in the cell block at police court this morning awaiting sentence for breaking a window.

The article reads as follows:

Two unemployed New Englanders here yesterday decided that jail is a better place for hungry, half-frozen men than freedom

with no place to go.

Arvid Schmiedburg, 28, and Warren Hagen, 29, told their story from a warm cell at police court today just before they went up for 90 days for smashing a plate-glass window in a barber shop.

The two said they came here from Massachusetts several days

ago because they could find no work there. They hunted jobs, they said, and only found they grew hungrier and colder. Finally, desperate, they said, they decided upon jail to get food, warmth, and shelter. The two panhandled, but could find no one to arrest them. Then they went to No. 1 precinct station and reported the offense. The officers responded by giving them a place to sleep overnight.

Early yesterday the pair noticed a policeman on his beat in the 400 block of Pennsylvania Avenue NW. They searched the gutter for a couple of stones, waited until they thought the officer had his eye on them, and tossed the missiles through the nearest

The policeman, however, had not seen them. The pair then went to the precinct and reported their offense. "If you don't believe us, go and see," they said. The officers checked their story and arrested them.

In court today Schmiedburg told Judge Hobart Newman he and Hagen wanted 6-month jail sentences. The court obliged with half

that time.

"I'm no bum," Schmiedburg told reporters, "but I was hungry, and they have food in jail. It means nothing to be free to roam when you've got no place to go. We two have lost hope, and when you get right down to it there's not much else to this business of living except eating, and I'm hungry as hell."

Mr. Speaker, when I read that article my inclination was, first, to go down and talk to these two boys, apprehending that perhaps if a situation of this kind was brought before the House some gentleman would get up and say these fellows were just Communists or were notoriety seekers who wanted to get their pictures in the paper by smashing a plate-glass window. Then I decided not to go down, because I recalled a corroborative instance of this character which I mentioned here not long ago in the House about the case of a little girl 10 years old in the city of Washington. The police matron told my wife who has a habit of nosing around in these God-forsaken places, that a little girl had been arrested a second time for a trivial offense, and the police matron asked her why she kept coming back to jail. She said, "Well, it is warm in jail and they eat there." So she had learned by herself, very young in life, too young to be a Communist, the same technique displayed by these two young men.

Mr. Speaker, these things occurred right here in the city of Washington, the Capital of the richest Nation on earth, a city in which there is more money spent every night on a thousand booze orgies, public and private throughout the District of Columbia, than it would take to feed all the hungry people in the District.

Such things as these happening right here in the city of Washington ought to temper the victorious shouts of the economy forces which succeeded in cutting the work-relief appropriation \$150,000,000. The situation reminds me of the humane command of Captain Philip, of the battleship Texas, to his men at the Battle of Santiago, after the last Spanish warship had been driven ashore, "Don't cheer, boys, the poor devils are dying." So do not cheer, boys, the poor devils are starving. They are among the "hundreds of thousands" whom a distinguished Republican leader in the other body said "are living like beasts."

Mr. SIROVICH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SIROVICH. Throughout the length and breadth of our country thousands of young men and women are being graduated from colleges and universities. They are given diplomas upon which it stated that they are entitled to all the rights, privileges, prerogatives, and immunities belonging to a diploma. What are these boys and girls to do if they cannot find work? Does the National Youth Administration look after them?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I may say to the gentleman they have university educations, but they have lost their heritage. They have degrees but no jobs. They are being turned out by the tens of thousands every year and it is no wonder they are having to investigate radicalism in the colleges today.

Mr. SIROVICH. What would the gentleman suggest as a

treatment for this problem?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. It would take a lot of time to go into that subject. We have made some headway in the last 6 years in treating the problem, and we may make more headway. It is true the National Youth Administration is limited to helping boys and girls get an education, and they ought to get it whether there is any job for them or not, and keeping them out of the ranks of the unemployed for the time being; but the Public Works Acts, the Social Security, the Wage and Hour, the Labor Relations Acts, the Civilian Conservation Corps camps, and many other acts for the past 6 years are attacks on this problem. There will be other attacks on it unless the people go to sleep and let the Government slip back into the hands of the forces which are more interested in profits than in humanity.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I do not have time.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I was going to give he gentleman a solu-

tion for the problem.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I will give the gentleman mine. In connection with this discussion, I want to refer you to something I said before the Committee on the District of Columbia when it was holding hearings on the proposed repeal of the "red rider" amendment. I said:

If you will go down the street and offer a job to the first 10 so-called Communists you meet, you will corrupt 9 of them. They will take the job. The tenth fellow may be incurable.

I have no more use for that tenth one than has any "red" baiter in Congress, but it is my opinion the best cure for communism and radicalism and any other "ism" that is disturbing the people of this country today is jobs.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Then why did not the Communists let the men work in Detroit and in Flint, Mich.? Several hundred thousand men were kept from work by the Communists. Victor Roy, Walter Reuther, and Bob Travis, and wellknown Communists, would not let them work when the jobs were there waiting for them.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I know very well a situation developed in the organization of that great industry in which the workers had never had any voice, that was more or less uncontrollable, but that would eventually work itself out. I wish above all things that the great forces of labor in this country would bury their differences and get together on a common program. I think I will admit to the gentleman from Michigan that 1938 ought to be a lesson to them. If the New Deal took a licking in 1938, in my opinion labor took a licking, with the Spanish type of warfare that is being carried on in this country between the two great forces of labor. I want to predict right here and now that if they do not get together voluntarily they are going to be driven together when the party of the gentleman from Michigan comes into power, because the gentleman's party intends to deprive labor of all the benefits and rights that have been given it by law in the past 6 years.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. It was not the Republican Party that was in control in Michigan in 1937 and 1938. Practically all laws benefiting labor have been enacted under Republican administration. Does not the gentleman know very well that for 44 days, at a loss of a million dollars a day, those men were not permitted to work?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. And Governor Murphy stood back of them?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I know all about that just as well as the gentleman does.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Then it was not the Republican Party.
Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I know, too, of the damnable
effort that was made to smear Governor Murphy with communism as a result of his actions there.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Did not the Communists endorse him in

the November campaign?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I know that he was completely exonerated and justified before the Senate committee. After what Governor Murphy brought out before the Senate committee, it is no wonder some people did not want him to appear there and that he was quickly and overwhelmingly confirmed by the Senate as the chief law officer of the Nation. When a man who has been smeared as a Communist is confirmed by the Senate as the chief law officer of the Nation, it is a fair question who is exempt from these wild, unfounded charges.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Did they not endorse him officially in Michigan and support him?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Who? Mr. HOFFMAN. The Communists. Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Well—

Mr. HOFFMAN. Well, what?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I suppose, then, if the Communists said that meat and bread and butter were good to eat, the gentleman from Michigan would starve himself to death. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. HOFFMAN. No; but did he not accept their support? Did he not welcome it? Did he ever publicly denounce their unlawful activities? He did not need to welcome their support and ask for more of it, did he?

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. In just a moment. I want to say a word more about Governor Murphy. It is unjust to Governor Murphy to say that he exonerated himself before the Senate commissee. He justified himself on every ground. He showed that he had exercised wisdom and common sense instead of shedding blood in Michigan. A lot of the gentlemen on this floor and some at the other end of the Capitol wanted Governor Murphy to call out the National Guard in Michigan and shoot down workingmen. The very same gentlemen at both ends of the Capitol who condemned Governor Murphy for not doing that, a few months before condemned the President of the United States for not doing it. They wanted President Roosevelt to call out the Federal troops and send them into Michigan to shoot down workingmen. They wanted to see the blood of workingmen flow at the hands of a Democratic administration.

A Republican President might have done this, since the last one called out the troops to drive the hungry veterans out of Washington with bayonets and gas bombs. When the veterans came in on Roosevelt he established a camp for them and gave them jobs.

This is not all about Governor Murphy. It was brought out before the Senate committee not only that Governor Murphy acted wisely and successfully and composed the difficulty over there without bloodshed, and was responsible for laying the ground work for the peaceful settlement that was made, but he was thanked orally and in writing by the great captains of industry heading the automobile companies which were involved in the troubles in Michigan. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. Hobbs and Mr. Cartwright asked and were given permission to extend their own remarks in the Record.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Recorp and include therein a speech

I delivered on the floor of the House several years ago on The Curse of Opium.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. Mansfield (at the request of Mr. DeRouen), for 4 days, on account of illness.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BULWINKLE. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 3 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, January 31, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

## COMMITTEE HEARINGS

#### COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 a.m. Tuesday, January 31, 1939. Business to be considered: Continuation of hearing on H. R. 2531—transportation bill. Carl Gray will be the witness.

#### COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Military Affairs in room 1310, New House Office Building, at 10:30 a.m. Tuesday, January 31, 1939, for the continued consideration of the President's message on national defense.

#### COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives on Tuesday, January 31, 1939, at 10:30 a. m., for the purpose of continuing the consideration of H. R. 2880, "To authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes," carrying out partially the recommendations of the Hepburn report.

# COMMITTEE ON WORLD WAR VETERANS' LEGISLATION

There will be a meeting of the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation at 10:30 a.m. Tuesday, January 31, 1939.

# COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the committee rooms, Capitol Building, at 10 a.m. Tuesday, January 31, 1939.

## COMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS

The Committee on Rivers and Harbors will meet Tuesday, January 31, 1939, at 10:30 a.m., to hold hearings on the reports on Green Bay Harbor, Wis., and Abbapoola Creek, S.C.

The Committee on Rivers and Harbors will meet Wednesday, February 1, 1939, at 10:30 a.m., to hold hearings on the reports on Oswego Harbor, N. Y., Chowan River and Blackwater River, Va., and Shark River, N. J.

## COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Public hearings will begin Wednesday morning, February 1, 1939, at 10 a.m., on social-security legislation in the Ways and Means Committee room in the New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

## EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

344. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated January 3, 1939, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination and survey of Illinois and Mississippi Canal., Ill., from Illinois River at Bureau Junction to Mississippi River at Rock Island, with a view to securing a navigable channel 9 feet in depth and of

suitable width by dredging and enlarging the locks; also with a view to devising a plan which will reduce the number of locks in this waterway, authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved July 3, 1930; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

345. A letter from the Veterans of Foreign Wars, transmitting reports of the national officers of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, and a copy of the books of its quartermaster general; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

346. A letter from the Secretary of State, transmitting a request for certain amendments to the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

347. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the Secretary of War to exchange obsolete, unsuitable, and unserviceable machinery and tools: to the Committee on Military Affairs.

348. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to provide for the reimbursement of certain enlisted men or former enlisted men of the United States Navy for the value of personal effects lost in the hurricane at the submarine base, New London, Conn., September 21, 1938; to the Committee on Claims.

349. A letter from the Acting Postmaster General, transmitting a report of the facts in connection with the loss of Joseph N. Thiele, postmaster, Whitewater, Wis.; to the Committee on Claims.

350. A letter from the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., transmitting a comparative general balance sheet of the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co. for the year 1938; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

351. A letter from the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., transmitting a statement of receipts and expenditures of the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co. for the year 1938; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

352. A letter from the president of the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize and empower the Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia to limit the number of public vehicles to be licensed and operated as taxicabs in the District; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

353. A letter from the president of the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend paragraph 57 of section 8 of the act making appropriations for the District of Columbia, as amended; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

354. A letter from the president of the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to provide for appointment of research assistants in the public schools of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

355. A letter from the president of the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend paragraphs 31 and 33 of an act making appropriations for the District of Columbia, as amended; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

356. A letter from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to require a stipulation on all contracts for Government construction work; to the Committee on Labor.

357. A letter from the Acting Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill amending section 8 of the act approved August 24, 1912 (37 Stat. 487); to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

358. A letter from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the Bureau of Labor Statistics to collect information of value on all goods produced in State and Federal prisons; to the Committee on Labor

359. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a report of the names of contractors who have been granted exemption by the Secretary of the Navy from the limitation of profit under the acts owing to the contracts being for scientific equipment; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

360. A letter from the Administrator of the United States Housing Authority, transmitting its report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938, with supplementary data on activities to December 31, 1938 (H. Doc. No. 140); to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed.

361. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting three supplemental estimates of appropriation for the Department of Agriculture, totaling \$280,000 for the fiscal year 1939 and \$400,000 for the fiscal year 1940, in all, \$680,000 (H. Doc. No. 143); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

362. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a deficiency estimate of appropriation for the fiscal year 1934, in the sum of \$380.15 for the Department of Labor (H. Doc. No. 142); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

363. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting four supplemental estimates of appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, to remain available until June 30, 1940, for the War Department, totaling \$945,000 (H. Doc. No. 141); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

364. A letter from the president of the Capital Transit Co., transmitting a report covering the operations of the Capital Transit Co. for the year 1938; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

365. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend paragraph (a) of section 602½ of the Revenue Act of 1934, as amended; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

366. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend the Canal Zone Code; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

#### CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 2271) granting a pension to Kenneth A. Cranmer; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 3274) for the relief of Thomas L. Boren; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (H. R. 1743) granting a pension to Bertha R. Ettner; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 3268) granting a pension to Charles J. Fuhrer; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 3357) granting a pension to Goly Weese; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

# PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CHANDLER:

H.R. 3364. A bill to transfer the control and jurisdiction of the Park Field Military Reservation, Shelby County, Tenn., from the War Department to the Department of Agriculture; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CALDWELL:

H. R. 3365. A bill for the relief of certain residents of the village of Warrington, State of Florida; to the Committee on Claims.

# By Mr. COFFEE of Nebraska:

H. R. 3366. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in seeds; to require labeling and to prevent misrepresentation of seeds in interstate commerce; to require certain standards with respect to certain imported seeds; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. COLLINS:

H.R. 3367. A bill to define the status of certain lands purchased for the Choctaw Indians, Mississippi; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H.R. 3368. A bill to prohibit the use of traps, weirs, and pound nets for fishing in the waters of the Territory of Alaska, to limit certain types of salmon fishing to residents of the Territory, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. BRYSON:

H. R. 3369. A bill to amend sections 3, 15, and 15a of part I of the Interstate Commerce Act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LEMKE:

H.R. 3370. A bill to liquidate and refinance existing mortgages on homes in cities and towns at a reduced rate of interest by establishing an efficient credit system through the Home Owners' Loan Corporation and the Federal Reserve Banking System; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. O'CONNOR:

H.R. 3371. A bill to empower the President of the United States to create new national forest units and make additions to existing national forests in the State of Montana; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. SCHIFFLER:

H.R. 3372. A bill to amend section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, so as to require every foreign-trade agreement concluded pursuant thereto be submitted to and ratified by the Senate of the United States before the same shall become effective; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 3373. A bill to repeal the authority to enter into certain foreign trade agreements and to terminate agreements heretofore concluded; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SHANLEY:

H. R. 3374. A bill to reestablish the longevity pay of warrant officers of the National Guard of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SECREST:

H.R. 3375. A bill to authorize M. H. Gildow to construct a free, movable, pontoon footbridge across Muskingum River Canal, at or near Beverly, Ohio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia:

H.R. 3376. A bill to provide for the naval defense by acquiring stocks of strategic and critical raw materials, concentrates, and alloys essential to the needs of industry for the manufacture of supplies for the naval forces and the civilian population in time of a national emergency, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. KNUTSON:

H. R. 3377. A bill to increase the processing tax on certain oils, to impose a tax upon imported soybean oil, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 3378. A bill to amend sections 811 (b) and 907 (c) of the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 3379. A bill amending "An act authorizing the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota to submit claims to the Court of Claims"; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. MILLER:

H.R. 3380. A bill for the relief of certain farmers whose farm buildings were destroyed in the hurricane of September 21, 1938; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. SIROVICH:

H. R. 3381. A bill to amend the United States Code, title 46, section 239 (R. S. 4450, Mar. 3, 1911, ch. 231, sec. 291, 36 Stat. 1167, as amended May 27, 1936, ch. 463, sec. 4, 49 Stat. 1381; July 29, 1937, ch. 536, 50 Stat. 544), an act entitled "Investigation of marine casualties"; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 3382. A bill to amend paragraph (h), section 672, title 46, United States Code; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. STEAGALL:

H.R. 3383. A bill to continue the functions of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan:

H.R. 3384. A bill to provide for payments to counties to reimburse them for loss of tax receipts on account of the use of certain land by the United States; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. BELL:

H. R. 3385. A bill to liberalize the provisions of the Medal of Honor Roll Act of April 27, 1916; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CANNON of Missouri:

H.R. 3386. A bill to amend Public Law No. 190 of the Sixty-sixth Congress; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H. R. 3387. A bill for the relief of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Maryland:

H. R. 3388. A bill to regulate the election of delegates representing the District of Columbia to national political conventions; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SHANLEY:

H. R. 3389. A bill to provide benefits for dependents of World War veterans who were members of a combat unit which saw service in an engagement with the enemy; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. BOYKIN:

H.R. 3390. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to regulate the importation of nursery stock and other plants and plant products; to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to establish and maintain quarantine districts for plant diseases and insect pests; to permit and regulate the movement of fruits, plants, and vegetables therefrom; and for other purposes," approved August 20, 1912 (37 Stat. 315); to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DEMPSEY:

H. R. 3391. A bill providing payment to employees, Bureau of Reclamation, for mileage traveled in privately owned automobiles; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. STARNES of Alabama:

H. R. 3392. A bill to provide for the national defense by the registration of aliens in the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. WELCH:

H. R. 3393. A bill to extend the time for applying for and receiving benefits under the act entitled "An act to provide means by which certain Filipinos can emigrate from the United States," approved July 10, 1935; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BOLAND:

H. R. 3394. A bill to increase the efficiency of the United States Navy, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Utah:

H.R. 3395. A bill to promote business and economic research in the United States by establishing and maintaining, in connection with State university schools of business administration, research stations to cooperate with the Department of Commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LEWIS of Ohio:

H. R. 3396. A bill to provide a quota for earthenware, crockeryware, china, porcelain, and other vitrified wares imported into the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 3397. A bill to repeal the authority to enter into certain foreign-trade agreements and to terminate agreements heretofore concluded; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BLAND:

H. R. 3398. A bill to amend section 509 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, regarding the down payment for the construction of new vessels; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. CHANDLER:

H. R. 3399. A bill to make certain crimes committed on interstate carriers offenses against the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LEA:

H.R. 3400. A bill to amend section 15 of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, in relation to through routes, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HILL:

H. R. 3401. A bill to amend section 8c of the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1937, as amended, to make its provisions applicable to Pacific Northwest boxed apples; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 3402. A bill to authorize the appropriation for the payment of the cost of providing additional water for the Wapato Indian irrigation project, Washington; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H.R. 3403 (by request). A bill to validate, ratify, approve, and confirm bonds and other instruments or obligations here-tofore issued by public bodies of the Territory of Alaska for public-works projects; to the Committee on the Territories.

By Mr. ELSTON:

H.R. 3404. A bill to authorize the coinage of silver 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of former Senator George Hunt Pendleton; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Illinois:

H. R. 3405. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products; to prevent unfair competition; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to promote the general welfare by assuring an abundant and permanent supply of such products by securing to the producers a minimum price of not less than cost of production, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. LEA:

H.R. 3406. A bill for forest protection against the whitepine blister rust, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. LEWIS of Ohio:

H.R. 3407. A bill to amend an act known as an act to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 (Public, No. 316, 73d Cong.), approved June 12, 1934, as extended by Public Resolution No. 10, Seventy-fifth Congress, approved March 1, 1937, by withdrawing from the President power to decrease existing rates of duty or transferring any article from the dutiable to free lists; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MERRITT:

H. R. 3408. A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to terminate certain leases of the Long Island Railroad Co.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. NORRELL:

H. R. 3409. A bill to amend the act of June 15, 1936 (49 Stat. 1516), authorizing the extension of the boundaries of the Hot Springs National Park, in the State of Arkansas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H. R. 3410. A bill to amend section 9 of the act of May 22, 1928, authorizing and directing a national survey of forest resources; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. RANKIN:

H. R. 3411. A bill to amend the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933 so as to provide for distribution of certain proceeds of power sales to the State of Mississippi and Tishomingo County in the State of Mississippi; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. REECE of Tennessee:

H. R. 3412. A bill for the payment of full disability compensation to World War veterans retired from the Government service for disability; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. SCHULTE:

H. R. 3413. A bill to extend the promotion procedure provided for immigrant inspectors in section 24 of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, to other employees of the Immigration and Naturalization Service; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. SCRUGHAM:

H. R. 3414. A bill authorizing the conveyance of the mint building in Carson City, Nev., to the State of Nevada; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SHANLEY:

H. R. 3415. A bill to amend Public Law No. 514 to provide for widows of veterans of the World War who were members of a combat unit which saw active service in an engagement with the enemy; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. SMITH of Washington:

H. R. 3416. A bill to provide for the construction of a post-office and Federal building at Vancouver, Wash.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

H. R. 3417. A bill to provide for the construction of a post-office building at Stevenson, Wash.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee:

H. R. 3418. A bill granting the consent of Congress to the Highway Department of Davidson County, of the State of Tennessee, to construct a bridge across the Cumberland River at a point approximately 1¾ miles below Clees Ferry, connecting a belt-line highway in Davidson County, State of Tennessee, known as the Old Hickory Boulevard; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FISH:

H. R. 3419. A bill to prohibit the exportation of pig iron, scrap iron, and scrap steel to China and Japan; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

H.R. 3420. A bill for the relief of the sufferers from the earthquake in Chile; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HILL:

H. R. 3421. A bill to establish the Department of Military Defense, to limit the activities of the Military Establishments to defense purposes only, to make such establishments instruments of national peace, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. LANDIS:

H. R. 3422. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products; to prevent unfair competition; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to promote the general welfare by assuring an abundant and permanent supply of such products by securing to the producers a minimum price of not less than cost of production; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. LEWIS of Ohio:

H. R. 3423. A bill to amend section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, so as to require every foreign trade agreement concluded pursuant thereto to be submitted to and ratified by the Senate of the United States before the same shall become effective; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PETERSON of Florida:

H. R. 3424. A bill amending subsection "A" of section 202 of the Sugar Act of 1937; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. PLUMLEY:

H. R. 3425. A bill for the relief of families of Reserve officers of the Army who die while on active duty with the Civilian Conservation Corps; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RANKIN:

H. R. 3426. A bill for the regulation and stabilization of agricultural and commodity prices through the regulation

and stabilization of the value of the dollar, pursuant to the power conferred on the Congress by paragraph 5 of section 8 of article I of the Constitution, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. SIROVICH:

H. R. 3427. A bill to amend title 18, section 484, United States Code (Criminal Code, sec. 293), an act entitled "Revolt or mutiny on shipboard"; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 3428. A bill to amend title 18, section 483, United States Code (Criminal Code, sec. 292), an act entitled "Inciting revolt or mutiny on shipboard"; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. STEAGALL:

H. R. 3429. A bill to continue the functions of the Commodity Credit Corporation and the Export-Import Bank of Washington, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. LEMKE:

H. J. Res. 137. Joint resolution staying mortgage foreclosures by the Farm Credit Administration, the Federal land banks, the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, and other Government and Government-controlled institutions holding mortgages on farms and homes for a period of 2 years; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. J. Res. 138. Joint resolution making provisions for the refund of the processing tax on hogs marketed for slaughter by the raisers and producers who in fact bore all or part of the burden of such tax; to the Committee on Agriculture,

By Mr. RANKIN:

H. Res. 75. Resolution to provide a messenger to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation; to the Committee on Accounts.

# MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Colorado, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their House Joint Memorial No. 1, with reference to the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Idaho, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their House Joint Memorial No. 1, with reference to Loop Highway, Yellowstone National Park, at Old Faithful; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of North Dakota, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 31, with reference to farm loans; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of North Dakota, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 18, with reference to Townsend recovery plan; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Colorado, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their Senate Joint Memorial No. 3, with reference to the Works Progress Administration; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Montana, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their Senate Joint Memorial No. 1, with reference to imports; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their resolution with reference to relief; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their Resolution No. 4, with reference to Senate bill 570, concerning interstate and foreign commerce; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Oregon, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their resolution with reference to Townsend national recovery plan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BELL:

H.R. 3430. A bill for the relief of Jesse Claude Branson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BLOOM:

H.R. 3431. A bill for the relief of Jacob Langsan; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. BOYKIN:

H. R. 3432. A bill for the relief of Francis B. Cunningham; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BULWINKLE:

H. R. 3433. A bill granting an increase of pension to Guss Hughes; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 3434. A bill granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Shelton; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 3435. A bill for the relief of Joe McIntosh; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3436. A bill granting an increase of pension to William E. Norton; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CANNON of Florida:

H.R. 3437. A bill for the relief of M. W. Hutchinson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CHANDLER:

H. R. 3438. A bill for the relief of the estate of W. M. Gilbert; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. COLE of New York:

H. R. 3439. A bill granting an increase of pension to Eliza M. Bagley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3440. A bill granting a pension to Lenus R. Rush; to the Committee on Pensions,

By Mr. DEMPSEY:

H.R. 3441. A bill for the relief of John L. Henderson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3442. A bill for the relief of Frank W. Prather; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DOUGLAS:

H.R. 3443. A bill granting a pension to Charles Fischer; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DWORSHAK:

H. R. 3444. A bill to authorize a refund to the American Market, Inc., of Buhl, Idaho, of processing taxes paid under the provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as amended; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. EDMISTON:

H. R. 3445. A bill granting a pension to Rachel Melvina Ann Campbell Frum; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 3446. A bill for the relief of James F. Allen and others; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 3447. A bill granting an increase of pension to Frank C. Nelson; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 3448. A bill granting an increase of pension to Martha E. Watts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 3449. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lelia M. Marple; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 3450. A bill granting an increase of pension to Anzina L. Harper; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3451. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah M. Waugh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FERGUSON:

H. R. 3452. A bill for the relief of J. W. Dutton; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HESS:

H. R. 3453. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lizzie Straley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. IZAC:

H.R.3454. A bill granting a pension to Robert Fuller; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MICHAEL J. KENNEDY:

H.R.3455. A bill for the relief of Frank Surian; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. KILDAY:

H. R. 3456. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to summon Sam Alexander before an Army retiring board, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KNUTSON:

H.R. 3457. A bill for the relief of Leo Roble; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LARRABEE:

H. R. 3458. A bill for the relief of Arthur Witte; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3459. A bill for the relief of Thomas B. Wikoff; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3460. A bill for the relief of Thomas A. Ryland, also known as Thomas Ryland; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3461. A bill for the relief of John Oto Albright; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 3462. A bill granting a pension to Hannah Lawson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3463. A bill granting a pension to Charles H. Mattingly; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 3464. A bill granting a pension to Jessie Baker Pearson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3465. A bill granting a pension to Mary Roberts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 3466. A bill granting a pension to Nellie M. Taylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 3467. A bill for the relief of Ruth Bronnenberg; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3468. A bill for the relief of George R. Brown; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3469. A bill granting an increase of pension to Catherine J. Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3470. A bill granting a pension to Mary M. Osborn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R.3471. A bill for the relief cf Samuel T. Monroe; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3472. A bill for the relief of Robert E. Wallace; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 3473. A bill granting an increase of pension to John G. Heck; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 3474. A bill granting an increase of pension to Frances A. Bruce; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LEA:

H. R. 3475. A bill granting a pension to Thomas J. Davis; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McLEOD:

H. R. 3476. A bill for the relief of Gustav Edmund Starke; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JOHN L. McMILLAN:

H.R. 3477. A bill for the relief of Francisco R. Acosta; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. THOMAS S. McMILLAN:

H. R. 3478. A bill to adjust the status of Lt. Comdr. Mortimer T. Clement, Medical Corps, United States Navy, retired, on the retired list of the Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. O'CONNOR:

H. R. 3479. A bill relating to the citizenship of Harry Ray Smith; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H.R. 3480. A bill for the relief of Major M. Reynolds; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PACE:

H.R. 3431. A bill for the relief of C. Z. Bush and W. D. Kennedy; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PIERCE of New York:

H. R. 3482. A bill granting an increase of pension to Agnes C. Johnson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PITTENGER:

H. R. 3483. A bill for the relief of Loyd J. Palmer; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. POLK:

H. R. 3484. A bill granting an increase of pension to Rebecca J. Armacost; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H. R. 3485. A bill granting a pension to Arminta Hill Mc-Carty; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. REECE of Tennessee:

H. R. 3486. A bill for the relief of Bob Hardin; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3487. A bill for the relief of J. W. Howell; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 3488. A bill for the relief of William Cosgrove; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R.3489. A bill for the relief of Lorinda Gunter; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 3490. A bill granting a pension to Sallie Phelps; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 3491. A bill for the relief of Dr. R. N. Harwood; to the

H. R. 3492. A bill for the relief of James A. Mills; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3493. A bill extending the benefits of the Emergency Officers' Retirement Act to Walter J. Boggs; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3494. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lee Street; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 3495. A bill granting a pension to David C. Norris; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 3496. A bill for the relief of Joy Montgomery; to the

Committee on Claims.
H.R. 3497. A bill granting a pension to Blanche Pharr; to

the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. REED of Illinois:

H. R. 3498. A bill for the relief of Eva C. Netzley, William G. Stuff, Lois Stuff, and Harry E. Ridley; and the estates of Clyde C. Netzley and Sarah C. Stuff; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3499. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims of the United States to hear, consider, and render judgment on the claims of Joliet National Bank, of Joliet, Ill., and Commercial Trust & Savings Bank, of Joliet, Ill., arising out of loans to the Joliet Forge Co., of Joliet, Ill., for the providing of additional plant facilities and material for the construction of steel forgings during the World War; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin:

H. R. 3500. A bill granting a pension to Kathryn Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SECREST:

H.R. 3501. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth Walker; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 3502. A bill granting a pension to Mary J. Miracle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SHANLEY:

H.R. 3503. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to promote Col. John Henry Parker, retired, as a major general, retired, in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHORT:

H. R. 3504. A bill granting a pension to Lexie Baxter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH of Washington:

H.R. 3505. A bill for the relief of Edward J. Ross; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SNYDER:

H. R. 3506. A bill granting an increase of pension to Melissa D. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SOUTH:

H. R. 3507. A bill authorizing the President to order Harry B. Berry before a retiring board for a hearing of his case, and upon the findings of such board determine whether or not he be placed on the retired list with the rank and pay held by him at the time of his separation; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SPRINGER:

H.R. 3508. A bill granting a pension to Marshall Long; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. TENEROWICZ:

H.R. 3509. A bill for the relief of Earl A. Moore; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TREADWAY:

H. R. 3510. A bill for the relief of Charles Lawrence; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 3511. A bill granting a pension to Abbie C. Day; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions,

By Mr. WELCH:

H. R. 3512. A bill granting an increase of pension to Deborah Hunter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of Missouri:

H. R. 3513. A bill granting a pension to Ona Gross; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan:

H. R. 3514. A bill for the relief of Albert Hoy; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia:

H.R. 3515. A bill granting a pension to Warren Norris Jernegan; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 3516. A bill to confer the Congressional Medal of Honor on Lt. Jack R. Younger; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

611. By Mr. ANGELL: Petition signed by 1,000 citizens of Oregon and members of Townsend Club, No. 31, Portland, Oreg.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

612. By Mr. CHIPERFIELD: Petition of residents of Quincy, Ill., protesting against the lifting of the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

613. By Mr. CORBETT: Petition of certain number of voters of the Thirtieth District of Pennsylvania, protesting against lifting the embargo on Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

614. Also, petition of certain number of voters of the Thirtieth District of Pennsylvania, protesting against lifting the embargo on Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

615. Also, petition of certain number of voters of the Thirtieth District of Pennsylvania, protesting against the lifting the embargo on Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

616. By Mr. HOUSTON: Petition, signed by certain citizens of Wichita, Kans., to take every practicable means, direct or indirect, in accordance with the principle of the good-neighbor policy and in the interests of the people of the United States, China, and Japan, to bring to an end a traffic from our country which is compelling us to be a partner in the destruction of the Chinese people; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

617. Also, petition of certain citizens of Wellington, Kans., and vicinity, urging the introduction of a bill that will limit all railroad employees to not more than 208 hours, or equivalent thereof, in 1 month, and an immediate Federal investigation of the subject; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

618. By Mr. JOHNS: Petition of Rev. P. J. Nilles and 119 other residents of Two Rivers, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and as amended May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include

civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

619. Also, petition of Rev. M. P. Smits and 66 other residents of New Franken, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and amended May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

620. Also, petition of John R. Bruckner and 34 other residents of Black Creek, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and as amended May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

621. Also, petition of Rev. D. Szopinski and 31 other citizens of Niagara, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and as amended May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts: to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

622. Also, petition of Rev. Horace Schroeder and 85 other residents of Kaukauna, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

623. Also, petition of Rev. L. A. Dobbelsteen and 18 other citizens of Luxemburg and New Franken, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1. 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

624. Also, petition of William Fontaine and 16 other citizens from Luxemburg, Brussels, and Forestville, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

625. Also, petition of William F. Moeller and 164 other residents of Sturgeon Bay, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

626. Also, petition of Ed. Lippart and 19 other residents of Hortonville, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

627. Also, petition of Norbert Van Egeren and 20 other residents of Green Bay, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

628. Also, petition of Dr. H. F. O'Brien and 44 other residents of Appleton, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the

act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

629. Also, petition of Rev. F. J. Svatek and 14 other citizens of Kewaunee, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

630. Also, petition of Norbert H. Driller and 186 other residents of Kiel, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

631. Also, petition of George F. Cisler and 39 other residents of Luxemburg, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and as amended May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

632. Also, petition of Anton J. Tennessen and 289 other residents of Kaukauna, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

633. Also, petition of Francis Farrell and 34 other citizens of Porterfield and Marinette, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and as amended May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

634. Also, petition of Joseph Nilles and 21 other residents of Green Bay, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and as amended May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

635. Also, petition of Mrs. T. E. Gough and 27 other residents of Bear Creek, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and as amended May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

636. Also, petition of Robert F. McGillan and 22 other residents of Appleton, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and as amended May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

637. Also, petition of Rev. H. J. DeKort and 103 other residents of Casco and Algoma, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and as amended May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

638. Also, petition of Rev. John Gehl and 325 other residents of Denmark, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

639. By Mr. KEOGH: Petition of 100 citizens of the Greater City of New York, concerning the Patman chain-store bill (H. R. 1); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

640. Also, petition of the New York & New Jersey Lubricant Co., New York City, concerning the proposed additional preferences on imported sugar; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

641. Also, petition of the Guild of Catholic Lawyers, New York City, concerning the present neutrality laws; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

642. Also, petition of Dr. Francis E. Fronczak, health commissioner, city of Buffalo, N. Y., concerning the original appropriation for venereal-disease control work by the Venereal Disease Control Act of 1938; to the Committee on Appropriations.

643. Also, petition of W. Kuhnle, United States Sea Post Service, to amend House bill 991, for postal employees' longevity, to include the United States Sea Post Service; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

644. By Mr. MARSHALL: Petition of the Good Will Class of Bigelow Methodist Episcopal Sunday School, Portsmouth, Ohio, requesting the stopping of shipping war materials to Japan as it is inconsistent to express our deep sympathy with the Chinese and at the same time make possible the continuance of the warfare against them; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

645. By Mr. MARTIN of Illinois: Resolution of 49 social workers of Chicago, urging the lifting of the embargo on Loyalist Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

646. By Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts: Petition of William C. McDonough and sundry residents of Massachusetts, urging adherence to the general policy of neutrality enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and to retain the further and corollary principle in the act of May 1, 1937, to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

647. By Mr. MERRITT: Resolution of the Queen Division of Community Councils of the City of New York, urging that the Federal Communications Commission give the application of station WWRL for additional time serious and immediate consideration, and that station WWRL be permitted to expand its worth-while work by additional time; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

648. By Mr. MONKIEWICZ: Petition of citizens of Norwich and Putnam, Conn., requesting that for as long as we shall adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

649. Also, petition of St. Mary's Men's Club of East Hartford, Conn., requesting that for as long as we shall adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

650. Also, resolution of the Bridgeport Council of Catholic Men, of Bridgeport, Conn., opposing any termination of our present position of neutrality and any alleviation of the so-called Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

651. Also, petition of citizens of Middletown, Conn., requesting that the Spanish embargo be lifted; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

652. By Mrs. NORTON: Petition of 3,220 citizens residing in St. Bridget's Parish, Jersey City, N. J., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

653. By Mr. PFEIFER: Petition of the Bohack Realty Corporation, Brooklyn, N. Y., concerning the Patman anti-chain-store bill (H. R. 1); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

654. Also, petition of the Department of Health of Buffalo, N. Y., urging full appropriation for venereal disease control work; to the Committee on Appropriations.

655. Also, petition of the Guild of Catholic Lawyers, New York City, opposing any repeal of the neutrality acts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

656. Also, petition of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, Brooklyn, N. Y., urging full appropriation for the Works Progress Administration; to the Committee on Appropriations.

657. Also, petition of Cooks, Countermen, and Assistants' Union, Local No. 325, of Brooklyn and Queens, Brooklyn, N. Y., concerning the Dies committee; to the Committee on Appropriations.

658. By Mr. PIERCE of Oregon: Memorial of the Oregon State Legislature regarding the Townsend national recovery plan; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

659. By Mr. PLUMLEY: Petition of James Christie, secretary, Washington County, Vt., unit, Labor's Non-Partisan League, opposing any further appropriation for the so-called Dies committee, investigating subversive activities; to the Committee on Appropriations.

660. By Mr. POLK: Petition of the Commissioners of Scioto County, Ohio, signed by Mr. Kuhn, Mr. Schwamburger, and Mr. Fitch, and certified by the clerk, James T. Phillips, urging Congress to provide funds to continue work relief for the benefit of the many women released from Works Progress Administration sewing circles and who have not been able to secure relief from the Ohio division of aid to dependent children; to the Committee on Appropriations.

661. By Mr. REED of Illinois: Petition of Doris Zelenach and 14 interested persons, of Aurora, Ill., recommending the adherence to the general policy of the Neutrality Act of 1935; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

662. Also, petition of Frank Adams and 19 interested persons, of Aurora, Ill., recommending the adherence to the Neutrality Act of 1935; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

663. Also, petition of Rev. Victor Dux and certain interested persons, of Aurora, Ill., recommending the adherence to the Neutrality Act of 1935; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

664. By Mr. RISK: Resolution of Providence (R. I.) Real Estate Board, protesting against the so-called Patman bill enactment; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

665. Also, resolution passed by the National Association of Real Estate Boards at its thirty-first convention in Milwaukee, Wis., November 12, 1938, and concurred in by the Providence (R. I.) Real Estate Board, urging the modification of the National Housing Act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

666. By Mr. SECCOMBE: Petition of E. W. Gardner and certain other citizens of Doylestown, Ohio, and vicinity, urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

667. Also, petition of Rev. E. P. Graham, pastor, the Rev. Gordon G. Gutman and Glenn W. Holdbrook, assistant pastors, St. John's Church, and sundry residents of Canton, Ohio, urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

663. Also, petition of Father Kothmeier, pastor of St. Josephs' Church and sundry citizens of Canton, Ohio, urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935 and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

669. Also, petition of Joseph M. Leahy and sundry residents of Canton, Ohio, urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935 and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

670. Also, petition of Florence Schneider and certain other residents of North Canton, Ohio, and vicinity, urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed

by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

671. Also, petition of Mrs. Lucy Bressom, president, and other members of the National Council of Catholic Women, of Louisville, Ohio, urging the adherence of the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

672. Also, petition of Rev. Adolph J. Bernas and other residents of Canton, Ohio, urging the adherence of the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

673. Also, petition of Rev. John T. Farrell, pastor, and members of St. Ann's Catholic Church, of Rittman, Ohio, urging the adherence of the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

674. Also, petition of Rev. John A. Weber and other residents of Canton, Ohio, and vicinity, urging the adherence by the United States to the neutrality acts passed by the Congress on August 31, 1935 and May 1, 1937, respectively; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

675. By Mr. STEARNS of New Hampshire: Letter, in the form of a petition, from the New Hampshire League of Women Voters, urging certain modifications to the present neutrality act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

676. Also, petition of 75 voters of Hinsdale, N. H., urging action on House bill 2, providing for liberalized old-age pensions endorsed by the Townsend organization; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

677. Also, petition of certain people of Bellingham, Wash., favoring the continuance of the work of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

678. By Mr. TREADWAY: Petition of Katherine Knightly and other residents of Holyoke, Mass., urging the retention on the statute books of the Neutrality Act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

679. Also, petition of Thomas J. Brown and other residents of Lenox Dale, Mass., favoring retention on the statute books of the Neutrality Acts of August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

680. By Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan: Resolution, adopted by the members of the Bay County, Mich., Farm Bureau, protesting against reduction in tariff on sugar and urging passage of legislation which will allow production of sugar beets in accordance with sugar-consumption demands in this country; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

681. By the Speaker: Petition of the Wheel and Wagon Workers' Union, Local No. 18549, Peru, Ill., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Wagner Act; to the Committee on Labor.

682. Also, petition of the International Union United Automobile Workers of America, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the La Follette investigating committee; to the Committee on Rules.

683. Also, petition of Rev. Efigenio Rodriguy, Sabana Grande, P. R., petitioning consideration of the resolution with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

684. Also, petition of Jose Luis Conde, Molina 71, Ponce, P. R., petitioning consideration of the resolution with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

685. Also, petition of Francisca Archevor, Ponce, P. R., petitioning consideration of the resolution with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

686. Also, petition of Margaret M. Helmer and others, of Collingswood, N. J., petitioning consideration of the resolution with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

687. Also, petition of the International Association of Machinists, San Francisco, Lodge No. 68, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to House bills 1005 and 1011 concerning shipbuilding; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

688. Also, petition of Mrs. Francis Osborne Collas, Northport, Long Island, N. Y., petitioning consideration of the resolution with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

689. Also, petition of the Women's State Republican Club of New Jersey, Inc., Trenton, N. J., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

690. Also, petition of Ventura Hernandas and others, of Cuba, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

691. Also, petition of an American citizen, Stuttgart, urging consideration of his petition with reference to foreign relations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

692. Also, petition of the Board of Supervisors of Milwaukee, Wis., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Works Progress Administration program; to the Committee on Appropriations.

693. Also, petition of certain citizens of the State of California, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the General Welfare Act (H. R. 2 and S. 3); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

694. Also, petition of the Abe Lincoln Republican Club, Beechhurst, Long Island, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

695. Also, petition of Joseph T. Campbell, Oconomowoc, Wis., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

696. Also, petition of the Inland Boatmen's Division, National Maritime Union, St. Louis, Mo., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

697. Also, petition of the American Turners, Detroit, Mich., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to national defense; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

698. Also, petition of Joseph S. Decker Camp, No. 20, United Spanish War Veterans, New York, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

699. Also, petition of Hilding-Anderson Lodge, No. 65, Chicago (Ill.) Steel Workers, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, JANUARY 31, 1939

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. G. Ellis Williams, D. D., district superintendent of the Washington district, Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

Our gracious Heavenly Father, Thou who art the source of light and life, we come this morning seeking Thy forgiveness and the enduement of Thy spirit so that we may have the mastery of our own lives. Let Thy blessing rest upon all nations of the earth and especially upon our Nation, Let Thy blessing rest upon those who lead and direct in the executive, judicial, and legislative branches of our Government. In this confused and confusing world, may they and all Thy people apply the principles of the Prince of Peace. May we love Thee supremely, love mercy, and ever walk humbly with Thee. We ask it in the name of Christ, our Saviour and Redeemer. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

# WILLIAM DUKE JONES

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution from the Committee on Accounts and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Resolution 71

Resolved, That there shall be paid, out of the contingent fund of the House, to William Duke Jones, son of Howard F. Jones, late an employee of the House, a sum equal to 6 months' compensation, and an additional sum not to exceed \$250 to defray funeral expenses of the said Howard F. Jones.

The resolution was agreed to.

#### GRACE E. RIPPON

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a further resolution from the Committee on Accounts.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### House Resolution 46

Resolved, That there shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House to Grace E. Rippon, widow of Matthew J. Rippon, late an employee of the House, an amount equal to 6 months' salary compensation, and an additional amount not to exceed \$250 to defray funeral expenses of the said Matthew J. Rippon.

The resolution was agreed to.

#### CONSERVATION OF WILDLIFE RESOURCES

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a further resolution from the Committee on Accounts.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### House Resolution 66

Resolved, That the expenses of conducting the investigation authorized by House Resolution 237 of the Seventy-third Congress, continued under authority of House Resolution 44, of the Seventy-fourth Congress, and House Resolution 11, of the Seventy-fifth Congress, incurred by the special committee appointed to investigate the conservation of the wildlife resources of the United States and related questions, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, not to exceed \$7,500 including expenditures for the employment of experts, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, shall be paid out of the constenographic, and other assistance, said to be the order tringent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by such committee, signed by the chairman thereof, and approved by the Committee on Accounts.

SEC. 2. That the official committee reporters shall serve said committee at its meetings in the District of Columbia.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of the RECORD it should be stated that every 2 years since this Committee on Conservation of Wild Life Resources has been authorized by the House, they have been given a sum of \$7,500 for the 2-year period. At the end of every 2-year period this committee has turned back into the Treasury almost one-half of the appropriation. This time they have turned back \$3,300 and we are now giving them the usual amount of \$7,500 and I predict that at least half of it will be turned back 2 years from now.

The Clerk will report the committee The SPEAKER.

amendments.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendments:

Strike out, in line 4, the word "and", and in line 5, after the word "Congress", add the words "and House Resolution 65 of the Seventy-sixth Congress."

In line 15, after the word "Columbia", change the period to a comma and add the words "unless otherwise officially engaged."

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gen-

tleman explain the committee amendments?

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Speaker, when the gentleman from Virginia introduced this particular resolution he failed to refer to the resolution passed yesterday authorizing the continuance of the committee, and the other amendment is that we permit them to have the committee stenographers while holding sessions here in the District of Columbia, provided they are not otherwise engaged with other committees.

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The resolution was agreed to.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, and to include therein an opinion of Justice Roberts, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of the Power Trust against the Tennessee Valley Authority.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, and to include a radio speech delivered last week.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

#### CORRECTION OF RECORD

Mr. HOFFMAN rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Michigan rise?

Mr. HOFFMAN. To make a correction in the RECORD or in connection with a question of privilege.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman desire to present a question of privilege?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I think so.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his question of privilege.

Mr. HOFFMAN. On the 24th or 25th, when the gentleman from New York [Mr. DICKSTEIN] had the floor, he yielded, and on showing him a sheet entitled "Notice," which I held in my hand, I asked him the question:

Is that provision in our law now?

This is found on page 734 of the RECORD. Then the answer goes on and Mr. DICKSTEIN says:

The 1918 act, from which that phrase was taken, is complex and ambiguous.

This is from the printed RECORD, but what actually happened was that Mr. DICKSTEIN said, according to the stenographer's report:

No; not in that language. As I said at the beginning of my

And then he continues.

I would like to have the record of the remarks of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Dickstein] corrected to show the facts

The SPEAKER. The Chair is clearly of the opinion that the matter presented does not present a question of privilege of the House or of a Member of the House.

Is there objection to the correction of the RECORD as presented by the gentleman from Michigan? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

#### UN-AMERICANISM

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, in the course of a few days there will be before this House a resolution to continue what is known as the Dies committee. I shall propose an amendment to that resolution which will provide that in connection with the investigation that is to be made by the committee, the scope of the inquiry be broadened to the extent that the basic causes of the propaganda and the effort of communism in this country be inquired into.

The resolution passed by the third session of the Seventyfifth Congress empowers the investigating committee to first study the "extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States"; second, to study the "diffusion of domestic and foreign propaganda against our form of government"; and, third, to study "all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation."

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Not now. I shall be glad to yield later on if I can have a little extra time.

Fellow Members, we are empowering this committee to make a study of the effects of subversive propaganda campaigns without investigating the cause of the obvious wave of un-American propaganda. Not one Member of this House would deny the existence of scores of demoralizing anti-American campaigns. It occurs to me that the only valuable service that this investigating committee could possibly do for humanity would be to unearth the why, how, when, and where questions in these un-American campaigns. If this

investigating committee is to be continued, a complete study of this situation should be made.

My amendment to the resolution empowers the committee to "conduct an exhaustive study of the basic causes of the aforementioned un-American propaganda activities."

Let me remind you once again that national honor is national property of the highest and most sacred value. Over the world we have seen examples of the axiom that "when a government fails to meet the needs of its people the government falls."

I stand firmly against communism, against any other type of "ism," excepting Americanism. Americans today are not in want of a definition of liberty but in want of a definition of American life, where communism and other incipient forms of "isms" have no room to bedground.

Members of the House, we cannot, under any flight of our most hopeful imaginations, believe that we can squelch un-American activities by extensive and superfluous studies of the already known effects of such anti-American programs.

The House and Senate, in slashing the amount Colonel Harrington said was necessary to carry the relief rolls, did not help the situation if, by reason thereof, we are to have a greater number of underfed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed families in the United States. As the result of that slash, the Government by necessity will fail to meet the needs of hundreds of families in my home State of Montana and every other State in the Union.

We must kill the germ, we must drain the spawning pond of "isms," which are tearing down the bulwark of our national life and routing destructive detours from the American way.

A father, the head of a family of three children, is hungry. Failing to find employment in private industry, he returns home to his wan-faced wife, his starving, innocent children. Do you blame him for momentarily straying from the usual course desired by the majority of our national life? No; your sympathies are with that man. But are your sympathies with that man when he follows another course which he thinks will provide food, shelter, and clothing for his family?

In Great Falls, Mont., last year a district court jury would not convict a group of hungry, needy persons charged with breaking into a store and obtaining food.

Our sole hope of upbuilding our national honor, enhancing our national life is to first of all study the underlying causes of destructive agencies cloaked in "isms." The situation must be corrected from that point.

And, knowing the causes, Congress then will be able to pass the necessary remedial legislation. We will never know what steps to take if this committee absorbs its time with an investigation of the sundry effects of the basic causes. But once the underlying causes are known, then Congress will have the opportunity to take the necessary steps toward remedial legislation.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Montana has expired.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman be extended for 2 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. The gentleman from Montana says that he wants to investigate what is behind all of this movement to inject subversive influences into American life.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. I suppose the gentleman has in mind the real power behind these movements, and that is the inter-

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is one influence. The gentleman is correct to a certain extent.

Mr. RANKIN. Today they are squeezing the currency, driving commodity prices down, and attempting to throw us into a foreign war that we do not want. They seem to think it would be to their financial interest. If that is what the gentleman is after investigating, I shall be glad to go with him 100 percent. We are not ready to shed the blood of a million

of our young men on foreign soil in order to gratify the cupidity of the international money changers.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Montana has again expired.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record by including a radio address on National Defense delivered by our colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Van Zandt], over the National Broadcasting Co.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by including an address by myself before the Woman's Patriotic Conference on National Defense, in Washington, on the 25th day of January.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

#### GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

Mr. SABATH, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following privileged report for printing under the rule:

House Resolution 60 (Rept. No. 14)

Resolved, That the Select Committee on Government Organiza-tion is authorized to continue its work begun under authority of House Resolution 60 of the Seventy-fifth Congress, as amended by House Resolution 106, Seventy-fifth Congress, and for such purposes said committee shall have the same power, authority, and jurisdiction as that conferred upon it by said House Resolution 60 and House Resolution 106 of the Seventy-fifth Congress: Provided, however, That any bills or resolutions reported by said committee shall have a privileged status and it shall be in order to consider any such bills or resolutions so reported without the intervention of any point of order as provided in clause 4 of rule XXI.

The SPEAKER. Referred to the House Calendar and ordered printed.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF FIRST CONGRESS

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of House Concurrent Resolution No. 4, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

## House Concurrent Resolution 4

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That in commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the First Congress of the United States under the Constitution, begun and held at the city of New York on Wednesday, the 4th of March 1789, the two Houses of Congress shall assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives at 11 o'clock a. m., on Saturday, March 4, 1939.

a. m., on Saturday, March 4, 1939.

That a joint committee consisting of five Members of the House of Representatives and five Members of the Senate shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate, respectively, which is empowered to make suitable arrangements for fitting and proper exercises for the joint session of Congress herein authorized.

That invitations to attend the exercises be extended to the President of the United States and the members of his Cabinet, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Diplomatic Corps (through the Secretary of State), the General of the Armies, the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Naval Operations, the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps, and the Commandant of the Coast Guard, and such other persons as the joint committee on arrangements shall such other persons as the joint committee on arrangements shall

deem proper.

That the President of the United States is hereby invited to address the American people at the joint session of the Congress in commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the First Congress of the United States under the Constitution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolu-

The resolution was agreed to, and a motion to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to was laid on the table.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE

The SPEAKER. Under special order heretofore made, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. May] for 30 minutes.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, within a very few days your Committee on Military Affairs will bring to the floor of the House legislation necessary to put into effect the recommendations of the President of the United States on the subject of national defense as set forth in his message of January 12. During the past several days there has been considerable discussion on the floor of the House, in the public press, and over the radio of the questions and issues involved in the President's recommendations. Therefore, it will not be necessary for me at this time to make any extended remarks upon the subject of national defense. However, I feel that as chairman of your Committee on Military Affairs, it is just and fair to the House of Representatives that you may have some hint, at least, or some suggestion, of the things that we propose to present to you in the form of legislation, and for that purpose I come here this morning to discuss with you rather briefly the proposed legislation.

Unfortunately, and as I regard it, it is really deplorable, there have been some utterances on the floor of the House tinged in a degree with partisanship, and, to me, when we come to the vital question of the defense of our country and its people, their property and lives, no political consideration or partisanship should ever come into the picture. However, some gentlemen on the floor of the House, as they have a right to do, have inquired to some extent and have propounded inquiries as to what the foreign policy of the administration really is. I do not think the question of foreign policy particularly affects the question of national defense. Of course, they are allied in a way that in any consideration of either the other may come in for some thought.

I have not consulted the President of the United States or the Secretary of State, but I am making this statement on my own account and on my own responsibility, and without any authority whatever from any other source; but I would say that the President's foreign policy is bound up and included in the one significant phrase from Washington's Farewell Address:

Peace with all nations and entangling alliances with none.

That policy I am willing to sponsor and defend.

In line with that idea and with that great fundamental principle of foreign policy, the President sent to the Congress on the 12th of this month a message in detail dealing with our needs for national defense. In the course of that message he made a statement which I desire to read from the message, so that I may not be suspected of having improperly quoted it:

Every American is aware of the peaceful intentions of the Government and of the people. Every American knows that we have no thought of aggression, no desire for further territory.

At another point in the message which he sent to the Congress he made this statement:

We are thinking in the terms of necessary defenses, and the conclusion is inevitable that our existing forces are so utterly inadequate that they must be immediately strengthened.

Now, I need not deal with the subject of ancient history, medieval history, nor need I go further back than current events to emphasize the situation as it exists throughout the world today, which, to my mind, and I think to the minds of all thoughtful men, indicates that it is essential that this country should be prepared for its own defense. And, let me get it over to you now, not preparation for aggressive war or for meddling in other people's affairs.

When we bring to this House a bill providing for the things that have been recommended in the President's message on national defense, we shall present a measure that will provide for the rebuilding, you might say, from the ground up, of our Air Corps. I do not mean by that that we do not have several units of the best equipment in the world. Neither do I mean

by that that we are hopelessly inadequately supplied with some arms of defense. It has been stated in testimony before our committee, by those who know, that the best bombing plane upon the face of the earth, the most effective speed plane known to modern science, is what is known today as the American "flying fortress." We have only a few of those, but it is the purpose of the committee to bring to you a bill that will authorize the War Department, around the nucleus which we now have, to provide for the necessary procurement which will stimulate private industries, which are peculiarly qualified and situated to provide the Government, the War Department, with the necessary equipment in case of emergency. The program will not provide that we shall build a huge quantity of airplanes at this particluar time or in any short period of time, but it will provide that when the War Department is given the money that is proposed to be appropriated, they will at once begin to place what is known as educational orders with strategic industries, spreading them as widely as possible throughout all the industries, that will enable those industries to equip themselves with the necessary tools, jigs, and dies for the production of the needed equipment to build these great airplanes in mass quantities when they are needed in case of a national emergency.

In that way we hope to bring to you a program of economy. In that way we propose to bring to you a program that will be a steady, consistent building up of our defenses in such a way as will not burden the country either with a large unnecessary air force or a large unnecessary personnel. Of course, you heard in the message the President's statement that it was hoped we would be able to train approximately 20,000 air pilots each year for the next few years. Of course, that does not mean Army air pilots, military air pilots, but it does mean preliminary training for the youth throughout the country, in the colleges and universities of this country that have the facilities, with the aid of the War Department, that we may have a background reserve of the youth of this country from which to draw in case of emergency. After these youths are then trained in our civil schools, of course they will be taken for what you might call postgraduate courses in training, both in mechanical handling of the planes and the mechanical understanding of planes as well as in the operation of the planes. In that way we hope to be able to have a great reservoir from which to draw for personnel necessary to man an adequate, sound, and substantial air force.

On the subject of our Army and the personnel of the Army, it is well known to all of you and known to people throughout the world that it was the policy of the Government from the days of George Washington to this very hour that our people were opposed to a powerful, unnecessary standing army. They have been opposed to large standing armies.

In keeping with that policy today, the total force of officers and men in the regular initial protective organizations of our defense forces is around 165,000. In addition to that, we have in our National Guard organized units approximating 200,000, or near about, perhaps 203,000, which it is expected will be increased to approximately 210,000. All told, we will have in the Regular Army and in the National Guard, available, a well trained, highly skilled, and well prepared nucleus of approximately 400,000 men. This in line with our own historic peaceable attitude toward all nations and all peoples; and yet we look to other parts of the world today and behold undeclared war being waged with relentless and murderous force in many unfortunate lands. Our own policy of peace with all nations is exemplified by the ideal situation north of us where an unguarded international boundary of more than 2,000 miles, without a gun to man it, separates us from our good neighbor, Canada.

We shall continue to trust our neighbors and cultivate our cordial relations and hence there is little need of a great standing Army.

Back of this we have the R. O. T. C. and the C. M. T. C., and ultimately we may have legislation proposing the training of our C. C. boys while they are out there in the camps with ample time to receive it—but that is not a part of the program as outlined in the President's message.

I think it is not necessary for me to urge upon the floor of this House the fact that we need an adequate Air Corps for the defense of our coast, and adequate coast defense equipment. I think I am safe in saying here today-and without revealing any Army secrets-that our coast defenses need like improvement and like equipment. When we bring to you this program that proposes within the sums of money recommended in the President's message a plan that will give us this well skilled, highly trained, small, Regular Army, an air force with equipment not exceeding 6,000 planes at any time-that is the sky limit so far as the number is concerned under the legislation that we will bring you and that includes those that we already have on hand-when we bring to you that plan along with that which will increase the facilities of our coast defenses, we shall have presented to you a program that covers the needs, the normal needs and the strategic needs, of our Army in time of national emergency.

Then with the other legislation which we shall have along with it that will authorize the training of our R. O. T. C. units and those that will come into our service under the provisions of what is known as the Thomason Act, we shall be able to mobilize on short notice under the plan which we passed at the last session of Congress for an Enlisted Reserve of approximately 1,000,000 men in case of a national emergency. Let it be understood that in presenting this program we present it to you as the necessary program of the defense of this country without any attempt whatever to build a great Military Establishment. Let me say also that I am happy to have the distinction and the honor of being the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of this House, which committee I feel is made up of men of great capacity, and on which committee is not a single warmonger. They are all men of peace, but they believe in the doctrine that adequate preparation for war is the surest guaranty of peace. This is my creed, and upon this principle and this principle alone we will bring you this program within a few days; and we hope that with a proper study and understanding of the legislation and a careful reading of the extended hearings which we have had that the Members of the House will be prepared to go along with us.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. MAY. I yield.

Mr. DIRKSEN. The gentleman stated in the fore part of his speech that foreign policy had no particular material effect upon the policy of national defense. Surely the gentleman does not mean this; because, in my judgment, the two are wholly inseparable, and I cannot envision a policy of national defense that can be laid out without proper regard for the foreign policy. To give an example, the matter of the fortification of the island of Guam comes within the jurisdiction of our foreign policy-whatever it is and such as it is-covered by the treaty of 1922, when we solemnly agreed not to extend the fortifications beyond the status quo. Here is involved a question of foreign policy with respect to this island that is only 1,400 miles from Yokohama and 5,100 miles from San Francisco. What we may do in the whole structure of national defense must first be determined after we determine what our foreign policy is going to be in the Pacific. Other illustrations might be taken to show that the two are wholly inseparable.

Mr. MAY. I may say to my friend and colleague from Illinois that at the time the treaty of 1922 was entered into—and I am sure the gentleman has reference to Japan when he raises the question of Guam—Guam was located exactly where it is now. When we entered into that treaty and agreed to disarm and to preserve the open door in China, we agreed at the same time that we would show our good faith in disarmament by sinking, and did sink, hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of battleships, cruisers, and other equipment in our Navy. We certainly showed we meant what we said when we provided in the treaty for the open door in China for business with all nations, 14 of which—including Japan—signed the same treaty. I may say further that we have a right to fortify Guam if we have a notion to do it, and I think we are clearly within our own rights,

because it is our own territory. If we go over there and establish an air base and provide for the landing of commercial planes, we shall not have violated our treaty, even though it has been rendered a scrap of paper by the act of some of the parties signatory to it.

Mr. DIRKSEN and Mr. CASE of South Dakota rose.

Mr. MAY. I yield now to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I think the gentleman ought to yield to me, in view of his observation.

Mr. MAY. All right.

Mr. DIRKSEN. What the gentleman says may or may not be true.

Mr. MAY. Does the gentleman mean to say that it is not true?

Mr. DIRKSEN. The gentleman begs the question, because I started from the premise stated in the forepart of the gentleman's speech: That foreign policy has nothing to do with the defensive policy. Quite aside from what Japan may have done under the treaty of 1922, and quite aside from what we may do as a matter of right or as a matter of policy, we must first determine the foreign policy of this country before we can shape the defensive policy; and not a Member of Congress knows what the foreign policy of the country is today, except what, by piecemeal, the President is doing that may take us into war.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I did not yield to the gentleman for a speech. I may say to the gentleman that one of the traits of a Kentucky gentleman is that he can differ with others or disagree with them without being disagreeable.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Surely the gentleman does not mean that. Mr. MAY. I stated that the foreign policy of this country was peace with all nations, entangling alliances with none. I stated further that, this being the policy, adequate preparation for war was the surest guaranty of peace, and I hope my good friend the gentleman from Illinois does not feel that I am trying or even intending to be discourteous to him. I was trying to be agreeable and most respectful.

I do not mean, as the gentleman evidently knows, that we could separate entirely our foreign relations from our Military Establishment. I simply mean that we propose to build in this country a military arm of our Government by which we would be able to maintain the policy of peace with all nations and entangling alliances with none properly and adequately respected. The question of foreign policy, I reiterate, does not necessarily come into this picture at all, because we are not preparing for aggressive warfare.

Mr. SMITH of Connecticut. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. MAY. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. SMITH of Connecticut. The fortification of Guam is not included in this program the gentleman has described?

Mr. MAY. The gentleman is correct, and it is not part of the legislation that we propose to bring in here for consideration.

Mr. KELLER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAY. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. KELLER. I simply want to suggest to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen] that there is no man in the House who cannot become acquainted with our foreign policy if he wants to know it, if he will read what the President has said on that subject.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. MAY. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. The gentleman spoke of 6,000 as being the limit for authorized planes in the bill to be reported. Can the gentleman tell us the number of planes now commissioned and the effective force of the Army?

Mr. MAY. We have approximately 2,000 with an authorization for 2,320. I believe the authorization is for 4,000. We propose to bring that up to 6,000, including the discarding of obsolete, crippled, and bad planes that have become useless to our national force.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Can the gentleman give us the figures on the naval planes?

Mr. MAY. I do not have that information. I am speaking as a member of the Committee on Military Affairs, not Naval Affairs.

Mr. ANDREWS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAY. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ANDREWS. As one of the minority members of the Committee on Military Affairs, I feel it would not be out of place for me to make a very short statement, in view of the remarks of the chairman [Mr. May] and possibly in answer to the proper question asked by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen]. I believe I should attempt to make a statement on behalf of all minority members of the Committee on Military Affairs, and in the absence of the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH], on the so-called Republican policy. I believe the Members on the Republican side and some of the Members on the Democratic side of the Committee on Military Affairs approach this very important problem with three things in mind. Possibly the Democratic members of the committee have a better understanding of what our foreign policy is than the Republican members; at any rate, I think it safe to say that our chief responsibilities at the moment are, first, to understand, if we can, what our foreign policy is and what it should be; second, what our fixed policy for defense should be; third, and finally, to examine the President's proposal, or rather the President's proposal as cut down by the War Department, in order to determine whether the present program offered meets the demands of the fixed policy of defense. I have no doubt that within a reasonable time the Republican members of the minority of the Committee on Military Affairs, the Republican policy committee, and the minority as a whole will come to some definite conclusions in this regard.

Mr. THOMASON. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. MAY. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. THOMASON. In reply to the interrogation of the gentleman from Illinois, may I ask the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs if it is not true that thus far there has not been one single word of testimony in all the exhaustive hearings had before the committee regarding any defense of the island of Guam and in all probability, at least so far as the chairman and the members of that committee know at this time, any bill which may be brought to the floor of the House in the next few days will be based upon what the War Department, speaking through its well-known officers, from the Secretary of War and the Chief of Staff, General Craig, on down, believes to be adequate defense for this Nation and its present fortified possessions, and the very program this committee will probably bring to the floor of the House will be one that the War Department has been urging for some years, unless, of course, it be a rather substantial increase in the air force, which presented a new and modern problem? I will ask the gentleman if that is not the attitude of the committee and no question of foreign policy, which is within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, has entered into the deliberations regarding a necessary and adequate national defense, and further, any legislation the committee proposes next week will come up purely and solely upon that basis and the information will come from testimony provided by the War Department officials themselves?

Mr. MAY. The gentleman from Texas has stated the matter very clearly. May I add for the information of the House, and as an item of news, that when the gentleman from Illinois mentioned the island of Guam it was the first time it has been mentioned in 2 weeks of hearings and the first time I heard it in connection with this matter. I have read in newspapers, however, several criticisms and arguments pro and con and I am informed, although I have not read it, that Admiral Leahy, before the Naval Affairs Committee of the House last week, made a very clear, convincing, and extended statement on that subject. The comment of the press was to the effect that you could not tell from his statement before the Naval Committee that there was anything to be done at all except to make it a commercial airport, and

that is all there is to it.

We are not out on a raid to bring on war. We do not propose to interfere with any foreign policies. May I advise some of the gentlemen on the floor of the House who are interested in the question of foreign policy that there are a couple of gentlemen in Washington who can tell you all about it. They are open for discussion and conference any time you may get them. Each of these gentlemen has a telephone in his office. The name of one is Franklin D. Roosevelt and the name of the other is Cordell Hull. If you want to have our foreign policy outlined in detail, you can get it from those gentlemen. [Applause.]

Mr. FADDIS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAY. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FADDIS. In connection with all this talk about our foreign policy, perhaps the gentleman from Kentucky or some gentleman on the opposite side of the aisle could inform the House of sometime in the past when a definite, sane foreign policy has been laid down in definite language. Perhaps they can say that at the present time we are departing from the established ways in this country in having a foreign policy that is flexible enough to meet whatever situation develops, in such a way as to protect American commerce and American interests throughout the world.

Mr. SHAFER of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAY. I am sorry, I cannot yield further.

I wish now to call attention to an air map of the United States, published recently in the United States News. This map shows the distances based on present airplane rates of speed that the great cities of this country are from foreign airplane bases. For instance, it is 131/4 hours from Berlin to New York; from Oslo it is 121/4 hours; from London it is 111/2 hours; from Paris it is 12 hours; and from Rome to Washington, D. C., it is 1434 hours. A number of other instances are shown where distances have been shortened by technological development and the development of planes of higher speed, which has the effect of shortening distances. These factors necessarily come into the picture, and this is one of the reasons we need and must have a more adequate. sound, and efficient air force as a part of our national defense. I shall support wholeheartedly the President's recommendations. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

## PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Thursday next, after the disposition of business on the Speaker's desk and following any special orders heretofore entered, I may have permission to address the House for 20 minutes on the subject of gambling in farm products.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Dickstein). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Friday next, after the disposition of matters on the Speaker's desk and following any special orders heretofore entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 45 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. Coffee of Nebraska and Mr. O'Connor asked and were given permission to revise and extend their remarks in the Record.

Mr. MASSINGALE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record and to include therein a concurrent resolution adopted by both Houses of the State Legislature of Oklahoma, memorializing Congress to pass as speedily as possible a cost-of-production bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a special order of the House heretofore made, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Peterson] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. PETERSON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, in the 1937 Sugar Act definite quotas for sugar production are set forth. The quota of domestic beet sugar is given as 41.72 percent; mainland cane sugar, 11.31 percent; Hawaii, 25.25 percent; Puerto Rico, 21.48 percent; and the Virgin Islands, 0.24.

The quotas set for foreign countries and the Philippine Islands are as follows: Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, 34.70 percent; Cuba, 64.41 percent; and foreign countries other than Cuba, 0.89.

I do not want any statement I may make today to be construed as approving a quota system in the continental United States on any product of which we are not allowed to raise sufficient for our own domestic demands. This is particularly true with reference to the crop of sugar.

At this time, while I shall deal with a few other items with reference to sugar, I am primarily here for the purpose of discussing an amendment which I have introduced for the purpose of separating the Florida quota of sugar from the Louisiana quota, and asking that we be given an adequate share of the cane-sugar quota.

Florida has in large part the problems that exist in other portions of the Nation, but in addition has its own peculiar problems, brought about by the offshore competition. Florida lost the pineapple industry because of offshore competition. The vegetable growers of Florida are today suffering because of that competition and because of concessions given under the reciprocal-trade agreements with Cuba. The growers of Florida are asking a chance to grow crops and employ Florida labor, in many instances not in competition with other sections of the country but in competition only in part with the offshore areas.

An unfair situation exists today. Under its present quota system, Florida is not allowed to produce as much sugar as is used in the State of Florida alone. Florida is not allowed to raise enough sugar to sweeten our own coffee, so to speak. The situation at the present time under the quota system is unfair to the State of Florida, for the reason that the present producing area became available only a few years ago by reason of adequate flood control and because of the development of a new type of cane which successfully resists the diseases that have heretofore devastated some of the cane-producing areas.

We are asking, and we asked at the time the sugar bill was previously under consideration, that if there is to be a quota system, a separate quota to be worked out for Florida because of the condition existing there. This situation has now received official recognition, and the truth of my statement has been corroborated in part by official order entered January 19, 1939, by the Secretary of Agriculture, when he recognized that different working conditions and different systems exist in these two States.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. PETERSON of Florida. I would rather yield at the conclusion of my statement, if the gentleman will permit.

In this order, which is under a provision of the act itself authorizing the setting up of wage scales in the cane-producing areas, a distinction is made in fixing the wage scale for Louisiana and that for Florida, and by referring to these wage scales I do not mean either to criticize or approve of either scale. In Louisiana there was fixed a wage scale for adult male workers of not less than \$1.20 per day of 9 hours, and for adult female workers not less than \$1 per day of 9 hours. In Florida there was fixed for adult male workers a wage scale of not less than \$1.60 per day of 9 hours, and for adult female workers not less than \$1.30 per day of 9 hours.

The wage of the adult female in Florida is set forth as higher than the wage of the adult male in the State of Louisiana. I favor fair wages, and I favor good wages, but I am showing you this only to illustrate that there is a distinction.

In Florida, too, the sugar content is greater and the production per acre is greater, and under the new type of cane it has been clearly demonstrated we can harvest a great deal more. Therefore we are in position to ask that we be allowed a separate quota for ourselves if we are to be bound under a quota system. We tried when the bill was up before to write a separate quota into it. At that time the Department of Agriculture thought the cane-producing areas should be cast together. I feel sure that in the light of the investigation that has been made since that time and in the light of experience the same ones who wanted to put the two cane-producing areas together today would be willing to separate them.

Under the act which I have introduced, if we are allowed to proceed, we would be able to produce in the State of Florida 210,000 tons of sugar, which, by the way, is not much more than we use in our own State.

In addition, this will enable us to put into cultivation about 33,600 acres, and bear in mind that today, as I stated before, in the State of Florida the man who formerly raised tomatoes, the man who formerly raised cucumbers and peppers for the early garden or spring market, was competing with no other section of continental United States; but today, by reason of trade agreements, that same man is struggling and, in some instances, is on relief and seeking an opportunity to plant some other type of crop profitably in order that he might live.

The quota which we are asking will enable the employment of 27,000 persons, and not all of them Florida citizens, but citizens of other sections of the Southeast, because our harvesting season is longer than the Louisiana harvesting season and the cane comes into harvest at a period of time when there is idle labor in South Carolina and North Carolina and Georgia and the other Southeastern States, and those people who have worked in the cotton fields find profitable employment in the cane fields of Florida and will find more profitable employment there if we are allowed to proceed to raise sugar.

Those of you who have been in that area can have seen what the Federal Government, by its own investment, has been able to do. You can see that vast, fertile area, fertile as the valley of the Nile, which today would employ many, many people who are now struggling for a bare existence and who today, in some instances, are charges of the Federal Government. All they ask is, first, that they be allowed to raise the sugar that we use in the State of Florida alone, and then just a little bit more to go into other sections of the country.

I realize that in large part, when we consider the question of offshore areas and foreign countries and the goods that come from those particular countries, that we claim its justification upon the theory that those particular countries will, in turn, trade with us and in turn buy American-made goods that we might ship there, but in view of the larger wage scale paid in the cane fields of Florida, we must realize that those wages will increase more the purchasing power of one of our own States and will allow the people of Florida to buy products from every State of the Union. I have in detail, but will not attempt to break down the various items, but I did secure from the Department of Commerce the statement of the goods which we purchase in the State of Florida, and year before last those figures showed \$398,000,000 of goods purchased from other States in the Union. The purchasing power of these people who get the wages would enable them to buy more of your goods than if that same fund were to go into Cuba or into the offshore areas.

In Florida 1 person out of every 5 has an automobile, in Puerto Rico only 1 out of 130, in Cuba 1 out of 230, and in the Philippine Islands only 1 out of 490.

It is thus apparent that any increase in Florida's agriculture will have very beneficial effects on employment in the automobile industry.

In Florida there is 1 telephone for every 10 persons, in Cuba 1 for every 110, in Puerto Rico 1 for every 130, and in the Philippines 1 for every 490.

These same relative statistics are true with respect to radios, commercial refrigerators, and many other comforts and conveniences.

So we are asking two things. We would like to go forward unhandicapped with quotas in the State of Florida.

However, if the Congress of the United States in its wisdom should conclude that it is necessary to have quotas, then we ask that there be a separate quota fixed for Florida, a fair quota. Under the historical base of production we cannot have a fair quota, because of the fact that it is only within comparatively recent years that we have developed the sugar industry on a large scale, although as far back as the Civil War period cane was successfully raised in the State of Florida in considerable quantity. Now, in the light of research, with the aid of flood control, that vast virgin country lends itself to the production of sugar. A larger quota will enable a man with a small truck farm, who raises vegetables, which in part is a gamble, because he gambles with the elements, gambles with whether he can beat the frost, as well as the Cuban market, to plant also a stable crop, namely, sugar, and give him that degree of security to which he is entitled. It will also allow him to employ Florida people and people in other sections of the country, and purchase goods that people in practically every State in the Union produce at a much greater rate than heretofore. I read the other day a statement I think made by the Secretary of Agriculture that for every acre we plant in sugarcane we cut off the foreign market for the equivalent of 3 acres of corn, or 3 acres of cotton, or 6 acres of wheat. Considering the wage they pay in foreign countries and the wage we pay in Florida, it will enable us to use far more than that number of acres in Florida.

We are a good market for the people of the other States. We do not manufacture much down there. We are primarily an agricultural section, and we want the right to raise sugar. We are not competing in great part with any other section

of the country.

Mr. Speaker, in my own rough way I have tried to express the thought that means so much to us. I cannot see how we can justify saying to a sovereign State that we will not allow it to raise sugar sufficient to feed the people of that State. When the matter comes up I appeal to you to support us, to assist your good neighbor, and give us that justice which seems so desired, that will increase the American market for American produce. [Applause.]

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Florida. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I realize that everything the gentleman has said is true in regard to the quota as it applies to Florida. We are in the same situation in Montana. The United States Government has at great expense brought into a high state of cultivation a large acreage of land. Our best cash crop on those lands is sugar beets. Under the present quota we are curtailed from producing the amount that the lands that have been prepared and the machinery that has been purchased could produce. Under the present quota system, if it is continued, it means not only the destruction of the gentleman's State but of my own State as well, and my judgment is that if the quota system is going to result in increased relief rolls, we better have those relief rolls down in Cuba than in the United States, where it costs much more to keep our people than it does in the climate of Cuba.

Mr. PETERSON of Florida. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Florida. Yes.

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. Is not the quota system absolutely necessary to maintain any production of sugar in this country?

Mr. PETERSON of Florida. I do not concede that. I realize there is a difference of opinion, but, as I stated before, regardless of the quota system, we have our own peculiar situation, and we are asking, even if the quota system is continued, that we be given our fair share and an opportunity to raise that which we can profitably raise. We are not asking for benefit payments. We are so peculiarly situated that we can

raise the sugar without benefit payments because of the fact that we have a virgin soil. Our problem is somewhat different from the beet-sugar problem.

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. No; it is the same as in Montana and in my district. Here is the problem. We have to have the quota system. The difficulty lies in the fact that it does not raise the amount that we can consume in this country ourselves. The difficulty lies in constantly overestimating the amount of our consumption and letting in the offshore sugar.

Mr. PETERSON of Florida. Then let the quota apply to the offshore sugar and not to that in the United States.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Florida. Yes.

Mr. CRAWFORD. When the gentleman refers to Florida being peculiarly situated, he has reference to the fact, has he not, that Florida can produce sugar in continental United States at perhaps the lowest cost per unit—that is, per bag of 100 pounds—of any area within continental United States?

Mr. PETERSON of Florida. Yes. I thank the gentleman for that contribution. We do it at the lowest cost and we pay the highest wage of any sugar-producing area in the

United States.

Mr. CRAWFORD. In other words, as I understand your cost situation in Florida, you are almost on the point where you could produce sugar profitably without any tariff protection, if the Congress would permit Florida to do so.

Mr. PETERSON of Florida. We are practically in that

position; yes, sir.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Let me ask the gentleman another question. Did I understand the gentleman to say that Florida's consumptive needs are approximately 120,000 tons per annum?

Mr. PETERSON of Florida. One hundred and twenty thousand tons per annum.

Mr. CRAWFORD. And what is your quota at the present time?

Mr. PETERSON of Florida. I do not know exactly what we will market this year. Probably seventy or seventy-five thousand tons. We marketed only 62,000 tons last year.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Only 62,000 tons?

Mr. PETERSON of Florida. Yes, sir; only about one-half of our own needs in the State of Florida.

Mr. CRAWFORD. When the gentleman referred to the offshore competition, did he mean refined sugar or raw sugar primarily?

Mr. PETERSON of Florida. I used it as a general term. The gentleman himself is considerable of an expert on that subject, I believe.

Mr. CRAWFORD. But it is a fact that refined sugar coming in from Cuba to Florida, in refined form, does compete with the sugar which you produce in Florida?

Mr. PETERSON of Florida. Yes, sir; that is correct.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Florida has expired.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. JONES of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 16 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, February 1, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

## COMMITTEE HEARINGS

# COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 a.m. Wednesday, February 1, 1939. Business to be considered: Continuation of hearing on H. R. 2531—transportation bill. Carl Gray will be the witness.

#### COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives on Wednesday, February 1, 1939, at 10:30 a. m., for the purpose of continuing the consideration of H. R. 2880, "To authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes," carrying out partially the recommendations of the Hepburn report.

# COMMITTEE ON WORLD WAR VETERANS' LEGISLATION

There will be a meeting of the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation at 10:30 a.m. Wednesday, February 1, 1939.

#### COMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS

The Committee on Rivers and Harbors will meet Wednesday, February 1, 1930, at 10:30 a.m., to hold hearings on the reports on Oswego Harbor, N. Y., Chowan River and Blackwater River, Va., and Shark River, N. J.

#### COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Public hearings will begin Wednesday morning, February 1, 1939, at 10 a.m., on social-security legislation in the Ways and Means Committee room in the New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

#### COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Committee on Foreign Affairs will meet in the committee room in the Capitol at 10 a.m. Thursday, February 2, 1939, to consider House Joint Resolution 135—additional appropriation for New York World's Fair.

## EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

367. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the legislative establishment, Architect of the Capitol, for the fiscal year 1940 in the sum of \$785,000 (H. Doc. No. 144); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

368. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated January 18, 1939, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on reexamination of Calumet-Sag Channel, Ill., and Indiana Harbor and Canal, Ind., requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted December 8, 1937 (H. Doc. No. 145); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

369. A letter from the Chairman of the Federal Reserve System, transmitting the Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Federal Reserve System, covering operations for the year 1938: to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

370. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to provide for probationary appointments of officers in the Regular Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

371. A letter from the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to provide for the cleaning, conditioning, renovating, and repair of the paintings and other works of art of the United States in public buildings; to the Committee on the Library.

# REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII,

Mr. SABATH: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 60. Resolution authorizing the continuance of the Select Committee on Government Organization; without amendment (Rept. No. 14.) Referred to the House Calendar.

## CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of rule XXII, the Committee on Invalid Pensions was discharged from the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1470) granting a pension to Harry M. Snow, and the same was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

## PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

# By Mr. LARRABEE:

H. R. 3517. A bill to promote the general welfare through appropriation of funds to assist the States and Territories in providing more effective programs of public education; to the Committee on Education.

#### By Mr. MAY:

H. R. 3518. A bill to provide more effectively for the national defense by carrying out the recommendations of the President in his message of January 12, 1939, to the Congress; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

## By Mr. SANDAGER:

H. R. 3519. A bill authorizing construction of a 300-ton airship, fully equipped for naval service, subject to the acceptance by the United States Government; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

#### By Mr. BROWN of Ohio:

H.R. 3520. A bill to enable national banks to make capital loans to small businesses; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

# By Mr. BURDICK:

H.R. 3521. A bill to authorize the purchase of certain lands adjacent to the Turtle Mountain Indian Agency in the State of North Dakota; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

## By Mr. GATHINGS:

H. R. 3522. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to aid the several States in making, or for having made, certain toll bridges on the system of Federal-aid highways free bridges, and for other purposes," by providing that funds available under such act may be used to match regular and secondary Federal-aid road funds; to the Committee on Roads.

#### By Mr. GIBBS:

H.R. 3523. A bill to authorize Federal cooperation in the acquisition of lands for the Fort Frederica National Monument at St. Simons Island, Ga., and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

# By Mr. LEMKE:

H.R. 3524. A bill to provide for a useful and comprehensive system for the impounding, storing, conserving, and making use for irrigation and reclamation of the unappropriated waters falling or emanating within the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

#### By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H. R. 3525. A bill to amend the Classification Act of 1923, as amended; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H. R. 3526. A bill to extend existing wage-fixing procedure; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H.R. 3527. A bill to constitute the watchmen in the National Zoological Park the National Zoological Park Police, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H. R. 3528. A bill to compensate officers or employees of the Veterans' Administration for damage to personal property incurred in line of duty; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H.R. 3529. A bill to prohibit excessive charges to Government employees for quarters, subsistence, laundry, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

# By Mr. MAAS:

H. R. 3530. A bill to authorize the erection of a United States Veterans' Administration domiciliary unit to provide 700 beds at Fort Snelling, Minn., and to provide the necessary auxiliary structures, mechanical equipment, and outpatient dispensary facilities, with accommodations for personnel, and to acquire the necessary vehicles, livestock, furniture, equipment, and accessories; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 3531. A bill to provide for the retirement of certain rear admirals; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

## By Mr. SHEPPARD:

H. R. 3532. A bill to create a Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 3533. A bill to authorize the erection of a United States Veterans' Administration hospital primarily for treat-

ment of diseases of the chest in the Mojave Desert of either San Bernardino or Riverside County, State of California; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 3534. A bill authorizing the establishment of town sites for recreational or seasonal home sites, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H. R. 3535. A bill to provide for the refund of certain interest paid by veterans on loans secured by adjusted-service certificates, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 3536. A bill to amend title IV of the Revenue Act of 1932 to impose an excise tax upon the importation of menthol; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McREYNOLDS:

H.R. 3537. A bill to extend the facilities of the United States Public Health Service to active officers of the Foreign Service of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign

By Mr. PITTENGER:

H. R. 3538. A bill authorizing the establishment of aids to navigation on Rainy Lake in the State of Minnesota; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 3539. A bill authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to execute an easement deed to the city of Duluth for park, recreational, and public purposes covering certain federally owned lands; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. McREYNOLDS:

H. R. 3540. A bill to give effect to the international agreement for the regulation of whaling, signed at London, June 8, 1937, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign

By Mr. LELAND M. FORD:

H. J. Res. 139. Joint resolution authorizing a preliminary examination or survey of Point Dume, Los Angeles County, Calif.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. HILL:

H. J. Res. 140. Joint resolution requesting the President to proclaim October 9 as Leif Ericson Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MERRITT:

H. J. Res. 141. Joint resolution to authorize the appropriation of an additional sum of \$1,046,000 for Federal participation in the New York World's Fair, 1939; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts:

H. J. Res. 142. Joint resolution tendering the thanks of the American people and the Congress of the United States to Admiral Harry E. Yarnall, United States Navy, commander in chief of the Asiatic Fleet, and to the officers and men under his command; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

H. J. Res. 143. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to taxes on certain incomes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

# MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of North Dakota, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 20, with reference to establishment of prices on farm products equal to the cost of production; to the Committee on Agriculture.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANDERSON of California:

H.R. 3541. A bill for the relief of John Chastain and Mollie Chastain, his wife; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BLOOM:

H.R. 3542. A bill granting a pension to Howard Wright Walton; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 3543. A bill for the relief of George C. Randall; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. BROWN of Ohio:

H.R. 3544. A bill for the relief of John B. H. Waring; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HAVENNER:

H. R. 3545. A bill for the relief of Jack Miller; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3546. A bill granting a pension to Howard M. Hufford; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legisla-

By Mr. HENDRICKS:

H. R. 3547. A bill to place Frederick Impey Hicks on the emergency officers' retired list; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. JONES of Ohio:

H.R. 3548. A bill granting an increase of pension to Cecelia A. Burns; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LORD:

H. R. 3549. A bill awarding the Distinguished Service Cross to Pvt. Charles B. Terrell; to the Committee on Military Af-

H.R. 3550. A bill for the relief of the widow and children of James Patrick Mahar; to the Committee on War Claims. By Mr. MANSFIELD:

H. R. 3551. A bill for the relief of the Southern Compress & Warehouse Co., of Galveston, Tex., and the Turning Basin Compress Co., of Houston, Tex.; to the Committee on Claims,

By Mr. MURDOCK of Utah:

H.R. 3552. A bill for the relief of Frederic R. Leland; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 3553. A bill for the relief of Frank Zabkar, whose name appears in the Army records as Frank Hope; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 3554. A bill to authorize the cancelation of deportation proceedings in the case of Christian Josef Mueller; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. MYERS:

H. R. 3555. A bill for the relief of Jacob Graev; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. RUTHERFORD:

H.R. 3556: A bill granting a pension to Ida M. Sweet; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3557. A bill for the relief of Francis B. McCloskey; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3558. A bill for the relief of Lyman L. Osborne; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

H. R. 3559. A bill for the relief of Ray Woolven; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 3560. A bill validating a certain conveyance, heretofore made by the Southern Pacific Railroad Co., a corporation. and its lessee, Southern Pacific Co., a corporation, involving certain portions of rights-of-way in the town of Indio, in the county of Riverside, State of California, acquired under the act of Congress approved July 1, 1862 (12 Stat. L. 489), as amended by the act of Congress approved July 2, 1864 (13 Stat. L. 356); to the Committee on the Public Lands.

H.R. 3561. A bill for the relief of Beulah Bell Nolte and George C. Nolte; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3562. A bill for the relief of Roy Masters Worley; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3563. A bill for the relief of Leonard A. Evans; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3564. A bill granting a pension to Chudleigh Andrews Clifford; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 3565. A bill to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claims of Ben White, Arch Robinson, Lee Wells, W. S. Wells, A. J. McLaren, A. D. Barkelew, Oscar Clayton, R. L. Culpepper, W. B. Edwards, the estate of John McLaren, the estate of C. E. Wells, and the estate of Theodore Bowen; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3566. A bill to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claims of Ben White, Arch Robinson, Lee Wells, W. S. Wells, A. J. McLaren, A. D. Barkelew, Oscar Clayton, R. L. Culpepper, W. B. Edwards, the estate of John McLaren, the estate of C. E. Wells, and the estate of Theodore Bowen; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. TERRY:

H. R. 3567. A bill for the relief of W. B. Martin; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey:

H.R. 3568. A bill for the relief of George G. Honness; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. TREADWAY:

H.R. 3569. A bill for the relief of J. Aristide Lefevre; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WHEAT:

H. R. 3570. A bill for the relief of James A. Porter; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 3571. A bill for the relief of Walter Reinheimer; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3572. A bill granting a pension to Emma Temple; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 3573. A bill for the relief of Charles J. Ray; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3574. A bill for the relief of H. F. Cunningham, doing business as the Cunningham Dry Goods Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3575. A bill for the relief of J. C. Ludolph; to the Committee on Claims.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

700. By Mr. ANGELL: Petition of sundry citizens of Portland, Oreg., protesting against the lifting of the so-called Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

701. Also, petition of Clackamas County Court of Oregon, asking the immediate passage of legislation by the Congress of the United States appropriating the \$875,000,000 asked for the Works Progress Administration by the President; to the Committee on Appropriations.

702. Also, petition of certain citizens of Seaside and Portland, Oreg., asking the Congress to launch an investigation of those groups which are sponsoring propaganda favoring the lifting of the embargo on arms to Spain; and further petitioning that the Neutrality Act of August 31, 1935, include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

703. By Mr. BURDICK: Petition of the twenty-sixth legislative assembly, State of North Dakota, January 3, 1939, urging consideration of House Concurrent Resolution No. 80; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

704. Also, petition of the twenty-sixth legislative assembly, State of North Dakota, January 3, 1939, urging consideration of Senate Resolution No. 18; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

705. Also, petition of the twenty-sixth legislative assembly, State of North Dakota, January 3, 1939, urging consideration of Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 21; to the Committee on Agriculture.

706. Also, petition of the twenty-sixth legislative assembly, State of North Dakota, January 3, 1939, urging consideration of Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 31; to the Committee on Agriculture.

707. Also, petition of the twenty-sixth legislative assembly, State of North Dakota, January 3, 1939, urging consideration of Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 17; to the Committee on Agriculture.

708. Also, petition of the twenty-sixth legislative assembly, State of North Dakota, January 3, 1939, urging consideration of Senate concurrent Resolution No. 20; to the Committee on Agriculture.

709. By Mr. CRAWFORD: Petition of Lyle Dunham and other residents of Elsie, Mich., asking House consideration

of House bills Nos. 2 and 11; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

710. Also, petition of Anthony Wendling and other veterans of foreign wars, of Chesaning, Mich., opposing the neutrality bill; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

711. Also, petition of B. M. Wooley and 75 other residents of Elsie, Mich., requesting the reappointment of the Dies committee and appropriation of necessary funds to continue its work; to the Committee on Appropriations.

712. Also, petition of Stanley F. Nowak and 36 other residents, of Saginaw, Mich., urging the continuation of the Neutrality Act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

713. By Mr. CROWTHER: Petition of nurses of St. Marys Hospital, Amsterdam, N. Y., protesting against lifting the embargo on arms shipment to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

714. Also, petition of employees of St. Marys Hospital, Amsterdam, N. Y., protesting against lifting the embargo on arms shipments to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

715. Also, petition of certain citizens of Johnstown, N. Y., urging that the policy of neutrality in regard to the Spanish civil war should not be changed; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

716. By Mr. DEROUEN: Petition of G. W. Duke, of Lake Charles, La., suggesting a one-point farm program for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration; to the Committee on Agriculture.

717. By Mr. EATON of California: Petition of the Assembly (legislative department) of the State of California; to the Committee on Appropriations.

718. By Mr. FLAHERTY: Petition of the Massachusetts Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, Boston, Mass., urging that the Dies committee be reappointed to continue its investigation; to the Committee on Appropriations.

719. By Mr. GERLACH: Petition of sundry citizens of Our Lady of Grace parish, South Langhorne, Pa., urging continuance of the embargo on arms to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

720. Also, petition of members of Bristol Council, No. 906, Knights of Columbus, of Bristol, Pa., urging continuance of the embargo on arms to Spain and adherence to the general policy of neutrality now in effect; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

721. Also, petition of sundry citizens of Catasauqua, Lehigh County, Pa., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and amended May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

722. By Mr. HINSHAW: Petition of Mrs. J. Albert Giffen, signed by 14 residents of the Eleventh District of California, requesting the passage of legislation which will stop the advertising campaign for the sale of alcoholic beverages; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

723. Also, petition of John Lovell, signed by 32 residents of the Eleventh District of California, requesting that this country adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

724. By Mr. HOUSTON: Petition of certain citizens of Cheney, Kans., urging the Government of the United States to put into effect a policy of nonparticipation in aggression by stopping the shipment to aggressor nations of all goods that can be used by their military forces, and that immediate steps be taken to stop shipments to Japan; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

725. By Mr. PFEIFER: Petition of John Pfeffer and 18 others, all of Brooklyn, N. Y., opposing any amending or repealing of the present Neutrality Act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

726. Also, petition of Kathryn V. Dwyer and 40 others, of Greater New York, favoring adherence to the present Neutrality Act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

727. By Mr. POLK: Petition of Miss Lucile Graham, teacher of, and 29 members of, the Good Will Class of Bigelow Methodist Episcopal Sunday School, Portsmouth, Ohio, urging the enforcement of the neutrality law with particular reference to

the inconsistency of the United States in expressing sympathy for the Chinese and at the same time making possible the continuance of warfare against them through the furnishing of war material to Japan; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

728. By Mr. RUTHERFORD: Petition of the residents of the Fifteenth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, favoring the passage of House bill No. 11; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

729. Also, petition of the residents of Berwick, Columbia County, Pa., protesting the lifting of the embargo on arms to Spain: to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

730. Also, petition of certain residents of Montour County, Pa., protesting against the lifting of the embargo on arms to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

731. Also, petition of the residents of Centralia, Columbia County, Pa., protesting against the lifting of the embargo on arms to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

732. Also, petition of the residents of Honesdale, Wayne County, Pa., protesting against the lifting of the embargo on arms to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

733. By Mr. TERRY: Petition of the General Assembly of Arkansas, fifty-second session, to the Congress of the United States, urging recognition, by appropriate legislation, rules, resolutions, or regulations of the public benefit to be derived from the use of Works Progress Administration labor in the soil-conservation program in Arkansas; to the Committee on Appropriations.

734. Also, petition of the Arkansas Senate of the fifty-second general assembly (the house concurring), urging that the United States Department of Agriculture investigate the practicability of cotton usage in bagging and ties, road construction, bags and containers, roofing, plastics, and other discoveries in which cotton and cottonseed products may be treated and processed, particularly the new method perfected whereby cotton fabrics treated with emulsified asphalt can be used effectively in the above-named products; to the Committee on Agriculture.

735. By Mr. THOMASON: Petition of Young Men's Aztec Club of Presidio, Tex., protesting against any modification of the embargo on arms effective in connection with civil war in Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

736. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Ruth Rice and others, of Hollywood, Calif., petitioning consideration of their petition with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

737. Also, petition of certain citizens of the State of California, petitioning consideration of their petitions with reference to the General Welfare Act (H. R. 2 and S. 3); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

738. Also, petition of Carmea R. Quinones, Ponce, P. R., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

739. Also, petition of Edith Christy, of Big Rapids, Mich., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to impeachment proceedings; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

740. By Mr. KRAMER: Petition of the Labor's Non-Partisan League of Los Angeles, relative to retaining the National Youth Administration; to the Committee on Education.

741. Also, resolution of the Labor's Non-Partisan League of Los Angeles, relative to reinstatement of the Works Progress Administration arts project, etc.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

742. Also, resolution of the Labor's Non-Partisan League of Los Angeles County, relative to embargoes on foreign nations, etc.; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

# SENATE

Wednesday, February 1, 1939

The Chaplain, Rev. Z@Barney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O God, the everlasting, who art with us here under the shadows in which we walk, yet art above and beyond where is the light serene flecked with no shadow, draw us nearer to Thyself by the Spirit Divine, whose breath within is our uplifting toward those heights forever unapproachable even by the wings of the wind, and teach us the burning syllables of Thy tongue that even from the mire and clay we may raise our hymns of adoration not in vain. Lead us through golden discipline of self to the noblest attainments, of national freedom, that by our example many nations of the world may be led to restore even to their humblest citizens those sacred privileges which now are trampled underneath the feet of might. We ask it in the name of Him whose all-redeeming power is love, Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Barkley, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Saturday, January 28, 1939, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

# MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Calloway, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. Taylor of Colorado, Mr. Woodrum of Virginia, Mr. Cannon of Missouri, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Thomas S. McMillan, Mr. Snyder, Mr. O'Neal, Mr. Johnson of West Virginia, Mr. Taber, Mr. Wigglesworth, Mr. Lambertson, and Mr. Ditter were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the following concurrent resolutions, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. Con. Res. 4. Concurrent resolution to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the First Congress of the United States under the Constitution; and

H. Con. Res. 5. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of House Report No. 2 on "Investigation of Un-American Activities and Propaganda."

#### CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. LEWIS. I observe the apparent absence of a quorum, and ask for a roll call in order to obtain one.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Donahey	Lee	Russell
Andrews	Downey	Lewis	Schwartz
Ashurst	Ellender	Lodge	Schwellenbach
Austin	Frazier	Logan	Sheppard
Bailey	George	Lundeen	Shipstead
Bankhead	Gerry	McCarran	Smith
Barbour	Gillette	McKellar	Taft
Barkley	Glass	McNary	Thomas, Okla,
Bilbo	Green	Maloney	Thomas, Utah
Bone	Guffey	Mead	Tobey
Bridges	Gurney	Miller	Townsend
Brown	Hale	Minton	Truman
Bulow	Harrison	Murray	Tydings
Burke	Hatch	Neely	Vandenberg
Byrd	Hayden	Norris	Van Nuys
Byrnes	Herring	Nye	Wagner
Capper	Hill	O'Mahoney	Walsh
Caraway	Holman	Overton	Wheeler
Clark, Idaho	Hughes	Pepper	White
Clark, Mo.	Johnson, Calif.	Pittman	Wiley
Connally	Johnson, Colo.	Radcliffe	
Danaher	King	Reed	
Davis	La Follette	Reynolds	

Mr. LEWIS. I announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Holt], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Smathers], and the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Stewart] are detained from the Senate on important public business.

I also announce that my colleague the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. Lucas] is absent on public business in the State of Illinois.

Mr. McNARY. I announce that the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Borah] is absent because of illness.

Mr. AUSTIN. I announce that my colleague the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. Gibson] is necessarily detained from the Senate and will not be on the floor today.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Eighty-nine Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

#### ORDER FOR CONSIDERATION OF THE CALENDAR

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask unanimous consent that, at the conclusion of the morning business, the calendar be called for the consideration of unobjected bills.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

#### SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE CIVIL SERVICE SYSTEM

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair appoints the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Burke] as a member of the Special Committee to Investigate the Civil Service System, under Senate Resolution 198, Seventy-fifth Congress, vice Hon. Herbert E. Hitchcock, former Senator from South Dakota

# GRADING AND CLASSIFICATION OF CLERKS IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE (H. DOC. NO. 146)

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

## To the Congress of the United States of America:

I commend to the favorable consideration of the Congress the enclosed report from the Secretary of State and the accompanying draft of proposed legislation to amend the act entitled "An act for the grading and classification of clerks in the Foreign Service of the United States of America, and providing compensation therefor," approved February 23, 1931.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

## THE WHITE HOUSE, February 1, 1939.

[Enclosures: 1. Report of the Secretary of State; 2. Draft of proposed bill.]

#### UNPAID BALANCES DUE FROM THE UNITED STATES

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, in response to Senate Resolution No. 304, agreed to June 16, 1938, a statement of the scope and the cost of unpaid balances due from the United States on the books of the Treasury on June 30, 1938, and stating that the Treasury Department is not in a position to make a complete report as contemplated by the resolution, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Finance. REPORT OF BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of the Board covering operations during the year 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

# NATIONAL SYSTEM OF AIRPORTS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Authority making an interim report, pursuant to law, relative to participation of the Federal Government in the development of a national system of airports, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

## INVESTMENT TRUSTS AND INVESTMENT COMPANIES (H. DOC. NO. 70)

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, chapter VI of the Commission's report on its study of investment trusts and investment companies, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

#### ALIENS EMPLOYED UNDER GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate letters from the Chairmen of the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, re-

sponding to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938. pertaining to aliens employed by the Commission and the Corporation, which were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore also laid before the Senate letters from the Acting Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, the Chairman of the National Resources Committee, and the Administrators of the Federal Housing Administration and the Rural Electrification Administration, responding to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938, and stating that no aliens are employed in the bureaus, commissions, corporations, etc., under their jurisdiction, which were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

## REPORTS OF PUBLIC UTILITY COMPANIES OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate letters, which, with the accompanying reports, transmitted pursuant to law, were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, as follows:

A letter from the president of the Capital Transit Co., transmitting a report covering the operations of the company for the calendar year 1938, with balance sheet as of December 31 1938:

A letter from the president of the Washington Gas Light Co., transmitting a detailed statement of the business of the company, together with a list of its stockholders, for the year ended December 31, 1938;

A letter from the president of the Washington Railway & Electric Co., transmitting a report of the company for the year ended December 31, 1938; and

A letter from the president of the Potomac Electric Power Co., transmitting a report of the company for the year ended December 31, 1938.

#### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of Colorado, which was ordered to lie on the table:

# Senate Joint Memorial 3

Whereas unemployment is still a serious problem in Colorado, in spite of partial recovery; and
Whereas the main responsibility for the relief of unemployment

rests with the Federal Government; and Whereas the Works Progress Administration has in recent months

discharged many thousands of workers; and
Whereas, in Colorado alone, more than 5,000 workers have been
dropped from the rolls since September 1938; and

Whereas these people are thrown onto the State relief rolls at a time when State funds are practically exhausted, and mothers are asked to rely upon Aid to Dependent Children at a time when A. D. C. funds are likewise exhausted; and Whereas the State of Colorado is already affording relief to several thousand employable persons who should be on W. P. A.;

and
Whereas the curtailment of W. P. A. has left many more
thousands of Colorado citizens destitute, and any further curtailment of the program would only aggravate this situation: Now,
therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the Thirty-second General Assembly
of the State of Colorado (the house of representatives concurring
herein), That this general assembly memorialize the United States
Congress to approve the \$875,000,000 deficiency appropriation requested by W. P. A., and the \$1,750,000,000 requested to continue
the program, without any further curtailment for the next fiscal
year; and be it further

Resolved, That this general assembly herewith direct the chief

Resolved, That this general assembly herewith direct the chief clerk of the senate to immediately send a copy of this memorial to the Seventy-sixth Congress of the United States, and to mail a separate copy to each of the Colorado Senators and Representatives in the aforesaid Congress.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore also laid before the Senate the following concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

## Senate Concurrent Resolution 4

Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of South Dakota (the

house of representatives concurring):
Whereas the Legislature of the State of South Dakota recognizes that our agricultural problem is our greatest problem, believing that only as farmers prosper can industry and labor prosper, and pledges its support to a national program of farm legislation which will produce parity price and income or cost of production for that part of our farm production required for domestic consumption; and

Whereas we recognize that the American farmer is entitled to the American market for his products to the full extent of his ability to supply that market on a cost of production basis;

Whereas bill S. 570, of the Seventy-sixth Congress has been introduced in the Senate, which we believe, if enacted and properly administered, would fulfill these requirements: Therefore be it

be it

Resolved, by the State Legislature of the State of South Dakota now assembled, that we memorialize Congress of the United States to enact S. 570, entitled "A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to promote the general welfare by assuring an abundant and permanent supply of such products by securing to the producers a minimum price of not less than cost of production, and for other purposes," which bill we believe, if enacted and properly administered, will insure for the farmer parity or cost of production for that part of our farm crops that are consumed within the United States;

That national legislation be enacted to prevent gamblers and speculators from determining the price of the necessities of life;

That we favor the development of industrial uses for farm products as a means of enlarging the American farm market.

Whereas it has been definitely determined that the hog process-

ring tax collected by the Department of Agriculture was actually paid by the farmers themselves; and
Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States, invalidating said Agricultural Adjustment Act, declaring said tax to be illegal and unconstitutional: Be it

Resolved, that we memorialize Congress to refund all such tax to the farmer; be it further

Resolved, that copies of these resolutions be sent to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, to the President of the United States, and to the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore also laid before the Senate the following resolution of the Assembly of the State of Wisconsin, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce:

A resolution memorializing the President of the United States to cancel and the Senate not to confirm the appointment of Thomas R. Amlie to the Interstate Commerce Commission

Whereas the President of the United States has, subject to confirmation by the Senate, appointed Thomas R. Amlie, former Congressman from Elkhorn, to the Interstate Commerce Commission;

and
Whereas Thomas R. Amlie in recent years has by his public
utterances and other expressions of policy aligned himself with
the Communist movement in this country; and
Whereas Thomas R. Amlie has given himself considerable notoriety by his sympathy for a foreign element which has been promiscuous in its slaughter of Christians and their Apostles; and
Whereas the name of Thomas R. Amlie appears prominently in
the politically notorious register, "Who Is Who in Communism";
and

and

Whereas as a Congressman from Wisconsin Mr. Amlie cosponsored and supported the Ezekiel plan to "legislate abundance" by Government regulation of industry and taxing nonconformists into

whereas Thomas R. Amlie, in his booklet, "The Forgotten Man," released June 27, 1935, on pages 98, 108, and 110, advocated scrapping of our Federal Constitution, a completely new social order, creating of a great central authority, without checks or balances, to run our industry and placing all men in equal ecompile status; and nomic status; and

Whereas appointment of Thomas R. Amlie to the Interstate Commerce Commission would be a severe blow to democratic government in this United States and dangerous to our American

ernment in this United States and dangerous to our American institutions and industries: Now, therefore, be it Resolved by the assembly, That this legislature respectfully memorializes the President of the United States to withdraw and cancel and the Senate of the United States not to confirm the appointment of Thomas R. Amlie to the Interstate Commerce Commission; and be it further Resolved, That duly attested copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the United States Senate, and to each Wisconsin Member thereof.

Adonted: Aves 59: noes 29.

Adopted: Ayes 59; noes 29.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore also laid before the Senate the following joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of Oregon, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

House Joint Memorial 1

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

We, your memorialists, the Fortieth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, convened in regular session, respectfully represent

Whereas, pursuant to the provisions of section 1 of article IV of the Constitution of Oregon, there was approved by the legal voters

of the State of Oregon at the regular general election held on the 8th day of November, A. D. 1938, an initiative measure, entitled "A bill for an act authorizing and directing the Legislature of the State of Oregon to apply to the Congress of the United States for a convention to propose the philosophy and principles of the Townsend national recovery plan as an amendment to the Federal Constitution," which measure so adopted reads as follows:

stitution," which measure so adopted reads as follows:

"Be it enacted by the people of the State of Oregon:

"Section 1. The Legislature of the State of Oregon is hereby au-"Section 1. The Legislature of the State of Oregon is hereby authorized and directed to make application to the Congress of the United States, not later than March 1, 1939, for the calling by the Congress, pursuant to the provisions of article V of the Constitution of the United States, of a national convention for proposing an amendment to the said Constitution to provide for the establishment and operation of the philosophy and principles of the Townsend national recovery plan, otherwise known and described as the proposed General Welfare Act of 1937 (H. R. 4199)"; and Whereas, pursuant to the vote of the people and the laws of the State of Oregon, the Governor of the State of Oregon did, by proclamation made on the 1st day of December, A. D. 1938, give the whole number of votes cast in the State for and against the said measure, and declared said measure approved by majority of

said measure, and declared said measure approved by majority of those voting thereon to be in full force and effect as the law of the State of Oregon from the date of said proclamation: Now,

therefore, be it
Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Oregon Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Oregon (the senate jointly concurring therein). That, in accordance with the direction of said initiative measure, the Legislature of the State of Oregon hereby does by this joint memorial make application to the Congress of the United States to call a national convention, pursuant to the provisions of article V of the Constitution of the United States, for the purpose of proposing an amendment to the said Constitution to provide for the establishment and operation of the philosophy and principles of the Townsend national recovery plan, otherwise known and described as the proposed General Welfare Act of 1937 (H. R. 4199).

Resolved, That a certified copy of this joint memorial be sent forthwith to the President of the United States and the President of the United States and to each of the Members of the congressional delegation from the State of Oregon, and that the secretary of state hereby is instructed to transmit the same.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore also laid before the Senate the following joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of Montana, which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

## Senate Joint Memorial 1

Resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States for the passage of legislation prohibiting the importation of foreign-manufactured United States flags and other national insignia sufficiently to protect their manufacture in the United States

o the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled: Whereas the United States flags and other national insignia are

being manufactured and imported from foreign countries; and Whereas this practice is detrimental to our manufacturers of these flags and national insignia and contrary to the theory of our

national Americanism: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of Montana (the house of representatives concurring), that we do hereby petition the Congress of the United States of America for the passage of legislation prohibiting the importation of foreign manufactured United States

from the importation of foreign manufactured United States flags and other national insignia; be it further Resolved, That a copy of this memorial be transmitted by the secretary of the State of Montana to the Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States and to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Montana, and that they and each of them be requested to use all honorable means within their power to bring about such legislation.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore also laid before the Senate the following concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of North Dakota, which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

## Senate Concurrent Resolution 18 Townsend recovery plan

Be it resolved, by the Senate of the State of North Dakota (the house of representatives concurring therein):

Whereas many of our aged people are dependent upon the Government for food, clothing, and shelter, and many more are dreading the day when they will be forced from the pay rolls of indus-

whereas many of our young people in the prime of life are unable to secure employment; and
Whereas many of our middle-aged people, who are employed, are afraid of losing their jobs; and
Whereas as a result of the above-mentioned facts the vast majority of our population are living in a state of fear, and as fear is the greatest dictator in the world today and to a large extent is responsible for the increase of insanity, vice, and crime:
Now, therefore, be it

Now, therefore, be it

\*Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives of the State of North Dakota, in the Congress of the United States, be, and hereby

are, requested to take such necessary steps as will insure the immediate passage of the aforesaid Townsend recovery plan bill, and that copies of this memorial be forwarded forthwith to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States

The PRESIDENT pro tempore also laid before the Senate the following concurrent resolutions of the Legislature of the State of North Dakota, which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

Senate Concurrent Resolution 20

Establishment of prices on farm products equal to the cost of production

Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of North Dakota (the house of representatives concurring)—
Whereas the farmers of the United States, by producing the food

Whereas the farmers of the United States, by producing the food products of the Nation, are rendering society a greater service than any other group of citizens; and

Whereas, in producing the wealth which sustains life, the producers are forced to work long days and are deprived of the luxuries enjoyed by other professions; and

Whereas the Federal Government has seen fit to allow the importation of millions upon millions of dollars' worth of the products of the farm—in fact, it would require many millions of acres of American soil to produce this amount of agricultural products; and Whereas many thousands of farm homes have been lost throughmortgage forcelosures, tax deeds, and otherwise; and

Whereas many thousands of farm homes have been lost through mortgage foreclosures, tax deeds, and otherwise; and Whereas the causes of this condition in our farming industry are drought, importation of farm products, and prices that are far below the cost of production: Now, therefore, be it Resolved by the Senate of the State of North Dakota (the house of representatives concurring), That this Legislative Assembly of North Dakota respectfully memorialize the Congress of the United States to establish prices on all major products of the farms of this Nation that will give the owners and tillers of these farms the cost of production: and be it further of production; and be it further

Resolved, That attested copies of this resolution be sent to both Houses of the Congress of the United States, to each of the Members thereof from this State, and to the Secretary of Agriculture, all of Washington, D. C.

## Senate Concurrent Resolution 31 Establishment of work projects

Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of North Dakota (the house of representatives concurring therein):

Whereas North Dakota has suffered many years of crop failures as a result of droughts, grasshoppers, rust, and other causes; and Whereas as a result of such failures the farmers have been obliged

to secure large loans for feed and seed; and
Whereas such obligations, added to their other indebtedness, is
a burden which they are unable to bear and causing many of them
to leave their farms only to swell the throng of the unemployed;

and
Whereas there exists a willingness on the part of borrower to
pay such loans by working on projects approved by the Federal
Government: Now, therefore, be it
Resolved by the Senate of the State of North Dakota (the house
of representatives concurring), That they urge the Congress of the
United States to establish work projects whereby the farmers will
be able to pay said loans in the same manner as grants made by
the Farm Security Administration; be it further
Resolved, That certified copies of this resolution be forwarded
to the President of the United States Senate, to the Speaker of
the House of Representatives, and to the members of the North
Dakota delegation in Congress.

Dakota delegation in Congress.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore also laid before the Senate the following joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wyoming, which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

A joint memorial, memorializing the Congress of the United States of America to consider and act upon proposed Federal legislation related to the Townsend plan.

Whereas there is now pending or will be pending in the current session of the Congress of the United States of America proposed legislation embodying essential principles of the so-called Townsend plan, in which thousands of Wyoming citizens are keenly interested: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of Wyoming (the house of

Resolved by the Senate of the State of Wyoming (the house of representatives concurring), That the Congress aforesaid be, and it is hereby, memorialized to promptly, diligently, and fairly consider and act upon at said session by its legislative branches as such and not merely in committee, the proposed legislation afore-

said; and be it further

Resolved, That certified copies hereof be promptly transmitted
to the President and Vice President of said United States, the
Speaker of the House of Representatives of said Congress, United
States Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, United States Senator Harry
H. Schwartz, and Representative Frank O. Horton.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore also laid before the Senate the following joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wyoming, which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys:

A joint memorial memorializing the Congress of the United States to defeat any legislation providing for the purchase or acceptance as a gift by the United States, or any of its agencies, of privately owned lands in Teton County, Wyo.

Whereas there is now pending in the Congress of the United States legislation providing for the acquiring of certain lands in Teton County, Wyo., and providing for the extension of the Grand Teton National Park, by transferring from private ownership to the ownership of the United States, large tracts of land in Teton County, Wyo. and County, Wyo.; and

Whereas the transfer of such privately owned lands to the United States Government would remove said lands from the assessment roll of said Teton County and would exempt the same from taxation; and

tion; and
Whereas Teton County, Wyo., as now organized has within its
borders, privately owned property subject to taxation of a value of
approximately. \$2,200,000; and
Whereas if the boundaries of the Grand Teton National Park
should be extended as provided in said legislation, Teton County,
Wyo., would be unable to continue to function as a county; and
Whereas a large part of the big game hunting areas of the State
of Wyoming lie within the boundaries of the proposed extension,
as well as a large part of the game and fish of the State of Wyoming inhabiting the areas involved; and
Whereas such park extension would be detrimental not only to

ming inhabiting the areas involved; and
Whereas such park extension would be detrimental not only to
Teton County, Wyo., but as well to the large number of sportsmen
who, annually, pay large sums of money into various trade channels for the privilege of hunting and fishing in the areas involved:
Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Wyoming (the senate concurring), That the Congress of the United
States be, and it is hereby, memorialized to defeat and reject any
legislation which would remove from private ownership any lands
now subject to taxation in Teton County. Wyo; and be it further

now subject to taxation in Teton County, Wyo.; and be if further Resolved, That certified copies of this memorial be sent to the President of the United States Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to United States Senators Joseph C. O'Mahoney and H. H. Schwarz, and to Congressman Frank O.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Council of the City of Binghamton, N. Y., approving the proposed division of responsibility as to cost in the construction, maintenance, and operation of municipal airports and the suggested assumption of responsibility by the Federal Government in accordance with the plan by the United States Conference of Mayors, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the New Theater of Philadelphia, Pa., affiliated with the New Theater League, and White Motor Local, No. 32, International Union of United Automobile Workers of America, of Cleveland, Ohio, favoring the allotment of sufficient funds to continue the investigation of the subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor pertaining to the violation of civil liberties, etc., which were referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram in the nature of a petition from Elizabeth N. Baker, of Coatesville, Pa., praying for preservation of the existing neutrality law, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the United Church Brotherhood, of Long Beach, Calif., favoring the stoppage of the shipment of war supplies and equipment to Japan during the continuance of its Chinese operations, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate petitions, numerously signed. of sundry citizens of Puerto Rico, praying that the United States adhere to the general policy of neutrality and to extend the neutrality law to include civil as well as international conflicts, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate, petitions of sundry citizens of the State of California, praying for enactment of general welfare legislation providing old-age assistance, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by Division No. 359, train-service employees, of Nevada, Mo., protesting against the enactment of legislation to regulate the mileage of train-service employees, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the board of supervisors of the county of Los Angeles, Calif., favoring the enactment of legislation to provide for the creation of a national park in the Kings River Canyon, and also to provide for the acquisition of additional lands for the Sequoia National Park, which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

He also laid before the Senate a letter in the nature of a petition from John D. Montgomery, of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for an investigation as to alleged unscrupulous and discriminatory practices in connection with Federal employees in the city of Philadelphia, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Special Committee to Investigate the Civil Service System.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the board of supervisors of Milwaukee County, Wis., favoring the appropriation of \$875,000,000 to carry on the W. P. A. program for the remainder of the present fiscal year, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mrs. CARAWAY presented the following concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce:

# House Concurrent Resolution 5

Whereas it has been called to the attention of the membership of the Senate of the State of Arkansas and the House of Representa-tives of the State of Arkansas that contractors are refusing to em-ploy Arkansas citizens in the construction of the bridge across the Mississippi River, known as the Greenville-Lake Village bridge; Whereas the refusal of said contractors to place Arkansas citizens

Whereas the refusal of said contractors to place Arkansas citizens in the various positions and to employ Arkansas labor used in the construction of said bridge is a gross discrimination against this State and the citizenship of this State, and has created a situation that should be remedied at once: Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Arkansas (both branches concurring therein), call upon their Senators and Representatives in the Congress to place those facts before the proper Federal authorities so that the various positions and labor connected with the construction of said bridge may be equally divided between the States of Mississippi and Arkansas; and be it further Resolved, That copies of this resolution be spread on the journals

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be spread on the journals of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Arkansas and copies be mailed the Senators and Representatives in the National Congress from Arkansas and the Governor of the State of Mississippi.

Mrs. CARAWAY also presented the following concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor:

# House Concurrent Resolution 1

Whereas the problem of providing a high standard of common-

whereas the problem of providing a high standard of commonschool education in Arkansas has been a perplexing and difficult problem in Arkansas for many years; and

Whereas it is found to be a fact by the National Education Association that Arkansas ranks very low in the wealth per child of school age. The natural result of this condition is a heavy burden of taxation on the individual citizen of this State for school purposes; nevertheless, the results in the form of common-school opportunities for the children of Arkansa do not common-school opportunities for the children of Arkansas do not compare favorably with States that have a greater per capita wealth and a larger income.

Whereas the citizenship of Arkansas rightfully demands that its youth be afforded the same opportunity of a common school education as the youth of the average State in the Union: Therefore,

be it

Resolved by the house of representatives of the fifty-second general assembly (the senate concurring therein), That this representative group of Arkansas citizens hereby petition the United States Congress to enact legislation similar to the Harrison-Fletcher-Thomas bill (3-419) submitted to the Seventy-fifth Con-

Fletcher-Thomas bill (3-419) submitted to the Seventy-fifth Congress, which shall have for its purpose the inauguration of a broad national program for a more equal distribution of educational opportunities for the youth of all the States; and be it further Resolved. That copies of this resolution be forwarded to each Member of the present Arkansas congressional delegation and to His Excellency, the President of the United States, Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, and to the United States Commissioner of Education, Hon. John W. Studebaker, in Washington, D. C.

Mrs. CARAWAY also presented the following concurrent resolution and joint memorials of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas, which were referred to the Committee on Finance:

House Concurrent Memorial Resolution 1

Memorial to the Congress of the United States of America to amend House Resolution 7260 of Seventy-fourth Congress

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the

United States of America:

Your memorialists, the members of the Fifty-second General Assembly of the State of Arkansas (the senate and house concurring), respectfully represent that—

Whereas the problem of providing any amount whatever for oldage assistance in Arkansas has been a serious and difficult proposition; and

Whereas it is a fact that Arkansas ranks very low among the

Whereas it is a fact that Arkansas ranks very low among the States of the Union in per capita wealth; and
Whereas the citizenship of Arkansas respectfully demand that the aged needy individuals here should be permitted to receive the same opportunity of old-age assistance as the aged persons of the other States where larger incomes are found: Now, therefore, be it Resolved by the house of representatives of the fifty-second general assembly (the senate concurring therein), That this representative group of Arkansas citizenship hereby petition the United States Congress to amend House bill 7260 of the Seventy-fourth Congress under title 1, "Grants to States for old-age assistance," whereby paragraph (a) under section 3 thereof shall read as follows:

whereby paragraph (a) under section 3 thereof shall read as follows:
"From the sums appropriated therefor, the Secretary of the
Treasury shall pay to each State which has an approved plan for
old-age assistance, for each quarter, beginning with the quarter

"(1) An amount, which shall be used exclusively as old-age assistance, equal to one-half of the total of the sums expended during such quarter as old-age assistance under the State plan with respect to each individual who at the time of such expenditure is 65 years to each individual who at the time of such expenditure is 65 years of age or older and is not an immate of a public institution, not counting so much of such expenditure with respect to any individual for any month as exceeds \$30: Provided, Any State that does not have financial resources sufficient to cope with the plan above set forth, shall receive the sum of \$15 per month for every aged person 65 or older notwithstanding the State's inability to match this sum.

"(2) Five percent of such amount, which shall be used for paying the costs of administering the State plan or for old-age assistance, or both, and for no other purpose"; and be it further

\*Resolved\* that copies of this resolution shall be forwarded to each member of Arkansas' congressional delegation and to His Excellency, the President of the United States, Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, in Washington, D. C.

#### House Joint Memorial 2

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Arkansas (a majority of all members elected to each house concurring therein)

Whereas our distinguished United States Senator of the State of Arkansas, HATTIE CARAWAY, is now sponsoring a bill providing for an old-age pension for \$15 per month without being matched by a State fund;

Whereas the State of Arkansas is unable to match the funds in

Whereas a great number of people of this State who can qualify under the provision of this receive the old-age assistance are not receiving the national relief that they are justly entitled to: Now be it

Resolved, That the Fifty-second General Assembly of the State of Arkansas, and the senate concurring thereto, do hereby go on record approving a bill that will pay at least \$15 per month to the old people of the State of Arkansas, and that said State shall not be required to match all of said funds. A copy of this memorial shall be sent to each Member in Congress and to our junior Senator, JOHN E. MILLER, Washington, D. C.

Mr. MALONEY presented petitions of the Children of Mary Sodality, St. Mary's Church, and the Daughters of Isabella, of Meriden; St. Rose's Men's Society and St. Mary's Men's Club, of East Hartford; Court Reina Christina, No. 51, Catholic Daughters of America, of Bridgeport; Marquette Council, No. 245, Knights of Columbus, of Ridgefield, and sundry citizens, all in the State of Connecticut, praying that the United States adhere to the general policy of neutrality and remonstrating against lifting the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. REED presented a petition of 34 citizens of Cheney, Kans., praying that the United States stop the shipment of arms and munitions to Japan, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented petitions of 76 citizens of St. Marys, Kans., praying that the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain be not lifted, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented petitions of 11 citizens of Leavenworth, 66 citizens of Wichita, and 56 other citizens, all in the State of Kansas, praying that the United States retain the neutrality principle as enunciated in existing law and extend the law to include civil as well as international conflicts, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. TYDINGS presented a resolution adopted by the Parent-Teacher Association of McKinley High School, Washington, D. C., favoring the making of deficiency appropriations for heating and lighting school buildings and also for the salaries of teachers in the District of Columbia, which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented memorials of sundry citizens of Baltimore, Md., remonstrating against the shipment of war materials and supplies to Japan, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Baltimore, Md., praying that the United States adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in existing law, and extend the original law to include civil as well as international conflicts, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Baltimore. Md., remonstrating against lifting the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Takoma Park (Md.) Post, No. 28, of the American Legion, favoring the making of further provision to care for the interests of needy veterans, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, I present numerous petitions from citizens of Indiana concerning the neutrality law, and I ask that the petitions be noted in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The petitions will be noted in the RECORD and referred as requested by the Senator from Indiana.

(The petitions presented by Mr. MINTON and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations are numerously signed by sundry citizens of the State of Indiana, and pray that the United States adhere to the general policy of neutrality as provided by law, and also extend the neutrality law to include civil as well as international conflicts.)

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I send to the desk and ask to have noted in the Record, and properly referred, several petitions signed by citizens of Vermont. Among those signing are the Reverend C. L. Pontbriand; James E. Kennedy, a State senator: Mrs. B. A. Stone; and Mrs. A. B. Rugg.

I have received great numbers of letters and telegrams separately dealing with the subject of neutrality and our foreign policy.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The petitions will be noted in the Record and appropriately referred.

(The petitions presented by Mr. Austin and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations are numerously signed by sundry citizens of Essex Junction and vicinity, Vt., and pray that the United States adhere to the policy of neutrality as enunciated in existing law and extend the original law so as to include civil as well as international conflicts.)

AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY—SECRECY OF COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, if it does not seem to be improper to say so, I should like to express the opinion that the citizens of this country are entitled to know what progress the Congress is making in its study of foreign policy, of national defense, and of neutrality. I humbly express the opinion that we ought henceforth to open the doors to the press so that there may be an informed public. which is absolutely essential to the vigor of any foreign policy of the United States, a country which draws its strength from many racial stocks, and has many connections with foreign countries by ties which are of the closest nature. Any foreign policy at which we may arrive ultimately by virtue of the study we are making will have little

vigor if our public is not kept up with us as we proceed in our study.

We do not need to burn our bridges. We do not need to cripple ourselves in the study of these great problems today by opening the doors and letting the public know the progress of our study. If there are military secrets to be preserved, they can readily be protected by a rule of the committees that a witness may merely state that an answer to any particular question would lead to the disclosure of secret information, and ask the question be excluded for the time being, to be taken up later in secret session

I submit to the Senate that we ought to consider opening up the doors of the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate in the further proceedings relating to national defense, involving as it does the whole broad subject of our foreign policy.

## RESOLUTIONS OF MINING ASSOCIATION OF MONTANA

Mr. PITTMAN presented resolutions adopted by the Mining Association of Montana, at Helena, Mont., which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolutions passed by the Mining Association of Montana at Helena, January 24, 1939

SILVER

First. Whereas a bill has been presented in the Senate of the United States Congress to provide for the continuation of the

United States Congress to provide for the continuation of the purchase of newly mined domestic silver and at a price of \$1.29 per ounce, and for the discontinuation of the purchase of any foreign-mined silver at any price; and

Whereas the Mining Association of Montana, assembled in semi-annual meeting at Helena, Mont., this 24th day of January 1939, has gone on record as being unalterably opposed to the purchase by the United States Government of any foreign-mined silver, except on a barter basis as advocated by Senator Key Pittman, and as being unanimously in favor of the continuation of the purchase by the Government of all domestic newly mined silver, preferably at a fixed ratio to gold, and in any event at a price of not less than \$1.29 per ounce of silver;

Now, therefore, the Mining Association of Montana does hereby go on record as advocating the silver-purchase program of the Honorable Key Pittman, Senator from Nevada, as expressed in his bill before the Senate of the United States Congress; and as requesting its officers to transmit a copy of this resolution to the Honorable Key Pittman and to each of the United States Senators from the Western States, as well as to the Montana Members of

from the Western States, as well as to the Montana Members of the House of Representatives in the Congress.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Second. Whereas the social-security taxes for old age and unemployment which are now paid by the employers of mining labor in the State of Montana are not deductible as allowable deductions of expense on the tax returns prepared by such employers

tions of expense on the tax returns prepared by such employers for the net proceeds of mines taxes; and
Whereas the said social security taxes and other taxes which may be based on the mining pay rolls are properly deductible from the net proceeds of mines tax returns as valid and proper items of expense in the conduct of mining operations of every character: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Mining Association of Montana, assembled in semiannual meeting in Helena, on this 24th day of January 1939, does hereby memorialize the Legislature of the State of Montana to provide for enabling legislation which will permit of

Montana to provide for enabling legislation which will permit Montana to provide for enabling legislation which will permit of the deduction of all social security and other pay roll taxes which are paid by employers of mining labor from the net proceeds of mines taxes, as now required and filed, and the said association does hereby direct its proper officers to present this memorial to each of the houses of the legislature as now convened.

#### RECIPROCAL-TRADE AGREEMENTS

Third. Be it resolved, That, because of the great difference between the domestic and foreign industry as regards the cost of production of copper, lead, and zinc, the Mining Association of Montana is strongly opposed to any further reduction in the present tariff protection of these metals, their ores, concentrates, or finished products in any reciprocal-trade agreements which the

United States may enter into with foreign countries.

In this connection, we desire to call attention to the sharp drop in the domestic price of zinc which followed the announcement of the reciprocal-trade agreement with the British Empire, which drop in price has resulted in the recent curtailment of zinc pro-

duction and employment therein in the State of Montana.

The Mining Association of Montana highly commends Senator B. K. Wheeler for the recent action he has taken toward correcting this situation.

#### MINE ROADS

Fourth. Whereas there is an urgent need for mine-to-market roads, the Mining Association of Montana strongly recommends that the National Congress appropriate additional funds to the

National Forest Service, such funds to be earmarked and to be used only for building roads in the national forests, for the mutual benefit both of the Forest Service and the mining districts located within the national forests. In this connection, the Mining Association of Montana unanimously endorses Senator WHEELER'S recently introduced bill, providing for mineral examination of the national forests by the United States Forest Service and the construction of roads for the proper development and exploration of mineral areas therein.

#### STRATEGIC MINERALS-MANGANESE

Fifth. Whereas there have now been introduced in the Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States the following bills, to wit: In the Senate the Thomas bill (S. 572), and in the House, the Scrugham bill (H. R. 2556), the Smith bill (H. R. 1987), the Faddis bill (H. R. 2643), and the May bill (H. R. —) providing for the purchase of strategic material and minerals, including manganese; and

erals, including manganese; and
Whereas these proposed measures should provide that a preference should be given to the purchase of domestic ores and minerals insofar as possible: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Mining Association of Montana, now in session at Helena, Mont. (January 24, 1939), That our Senators be requested to appear before the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate to see that a bill be passed providing for the purchase of manganese and other strategic materials, which shall definitely state that the purpose of the bill and the will and intent of Congress is to encourage, wherever possible, the further development of the strategic mineral resources of the United States, as well as to accumulate stock piles; and be it further

Resolved, That we request our representatives to appear before

Resolved, That we request our representatives to appear before the Military Affairs Committee of the House and urge that the aforementioned Scrugham bill, or one similar thereto, be passed in its present form, and that no substitutions which would allow the purchase of foreign materials be considered when it is possible to buy the materials from domestic production, and be it further:

the purchase of foreign materials be considered when it is possible to buy the materials from domestic production, and be it further:

\*Resolved\*\*, That in any bills that pass either the House or Senate, or both, it shall be definitely stated that preference be given to the purchase of minerals and materials of domestic origin, to such extent as the same may be available in the United States, with reasonable time to be allowed for production and delivery. Resolutions Committee: Stanley R. Moore, chairman, Wilborn, Mont.; J. D. MacKenzie, East Helena; John Hickey, Philipsburg; J. C. Harrah, Philipsburg; J. C. Yob, Philipsburg; John H. Cole, Anaconda; J. Jensen, Missoula; R. B. Caswell, Dillon; J. H. McLean, Jr., Lewistown; R. B. Gill, Butte; C. R. Brazier, Helena; Harry C. Bacorn, Cable; Frank E. Blair, Virginia City; Carl J. Trauerman, president, Butte, ex-officio; August Grunert, secretary, Butte, ex-officio; Alex Leggatt, Butte; Edward Shea, Butte; Leslie Taylor, Butte; Harry S. Whitcomb, Zortman; H. K. Gaw, Jr., Helena; Lars Carlson, Helena; Roberta Wegener, Whitehall; Joseph Lancaster, Neihart; William Logan, Dillon; John Collins, Dillon; James E. Kelley, Dillon; F. W. Bleck, Virginia City; C. T. Pederson, Pony.

## RESOLUTIONS OF ASSOCIATION OF WESTERN STATES ENGINEERS

Mr. KING. Mr. President, recently there was held in the city of Phoenix, Ariz., a meeting or conference of engineers of the Western States at which a number of resolutions were adopted which materially affect or relate to matters connected with irrigation, mining, and other questions in which the West is particularly interested.

I ask unanimous consent that there may be inserted in the RECORD a letter addressed to me by the State engineer of Utah, transmitting the resolutions which were adopted at the conference referred to, and that the resolutions may be appropriately referred.

There being no objection, the resolutions were appropriately referred to committees, and the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> THE STATE OF UTAH, OFFICE OF STATE ENGINEER Salt Lake City, January 5, 1939.

The Honorable WILLIAM H. KING, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR KING: Enclosed herewith please find a set of resolutions, numbered 1 to 7, inclusive, adopted by the Associa-tion of Western States Engineers at the Phoenix conference of December 8-10, 1938.

These resolutions represent the thought of the engineers relating the needs of the Western States, particularly with respect to several Federal agencies and laws. Your particular attention is called to Resolution No. 2 relating the creation by Presidential proclamation of national monuments. The method of creating these monuments without first conferring with the officials of the States is ill-advised and engenders ill feelings. A proposed monument which will not bear full investigation and discussion with

officials of the States affected ought not to be created; moreover, it ought not to be created ostensibly for one purpose and used for another, as has been the case in this State.

Yours very truly.

T. H. HUMPHERYS, State Engineer.

The resolutions accompanying the letter presented by Mr. King were referred to committees, as follows:

Resolution recommending that the present uncertainty existing in the act of June 28, 1938, concerning the method of maintenance and operation after completion of project constructed thereunder be promptly removed by amendment of the act, etc.; to the Committee on Commerce.

Resolution favoring adequate appropriations to enable the United States Bureau of Reclamation to carry on a comprehensive survey and investigation regarding the development of the Colorado River Basin: to the Committee on Commerce.

Resolution recommending that the act of June 28, 1938, be amended to recognize the value and necessity, in the economic life of the Nation, of the multiple use of reservoir projects, etc.; to the Committee on Commerce.

Resolution recommending that the act of June 28, 1938, be promptly amended to include a provision fully recognizing State water laws and water rights acquired thereunder, etc.; to the Committee on Commerce.

Resolution reasserting the principle that the unappropriated waters of nonnavigable streams are dedicated to the use of the people of the States subject to appropriation, control, and use in accordance with State laws, and that Federal agencies should conform in all respects to the laws of the respective States relating to the control, appropriation, use, or distribution of water for irrigation or any other beneficial use; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Resolution expressing appreciation for the constructive work being carried out by the Geological Survey in cooperation with the Western States; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

Resolution declaring that in the future no national park or monument should be created without prior comprehensive study and consideration by all persons and agencies concerned, etc.; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

Resolution extending a vote of thanks to Governor Stanford, of Arizona, for having appeared before the convention and for the interest shown in its objectives; to the table.

Resolution extending a vote of thanks to the officers and members of the Phoenix Chapter of the American Association of Engineers for their assistance and entertainment: to the table.

Resolution extending appreciation to Governor-elect R. T. Jones and Hon. John R. Murdock, Member of Congress from Arizona, for honoring the association with their presence and the assurance of their interest in its objectives; to the table. DISTRIBUTION OF SURPLUS AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS FOR CHILEAN

RELIEF

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I received a telegram from the Chamber of Commerce of Salt Lake City this morning recommending, in view of the great tragedy in Chile, that some of the surplus agricultural commodities which the Government has may be distributed to the Red Cross for the relief of those who are suffering in Chile. I ask that the telegram be inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, January 31, 1939.

Senator WILLIAM H. KING,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:
At meeting of chamber of commerce today Ben F. Redman proposed and chamber of commerce concurs in the idea now is logical time to develop a real friendship with our South American neighbors by giving to the unfortunate people in Chile some of the tremendous surpluses we now have on hand, particularly our wheat surplus. We are of the opinion this gesture of good will will do more than anything that could possibly be done at this particular time in crystallizing an all-American friendship. If you feel the proposal has merit, would appreciate your promoting it.

Gus P. Backman.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under authority of the order of the Senate of the 28th ultimo the following reports were submitted on January 30, 1939, during adjournment of the Senate:

Mr. GEORGE, from the Committee on Finance, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 2762) to consolidate and codify the internal-revenue laws of the United States, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 20) thereon.

Mr. McCARRAN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (S. 90) to provide for the punishment of persons transporting stolen animals in interstate commerce, and for other purposes, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 21) thereon.

Mr. PITTMAN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (S. 185) to amend section 224 of the Criminal Code so as to penalize the making of false claims for the loss of insured mail matter, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 22) thereon.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. WHEELER, from the Committee on Interstate Commerce, to which was referred the bill (S. 25) prohibiting the operation of motor vehicles in interstate commerce by unlicensed operators, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 23) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 167) to amend clause (4b) of subsection (b) of section 203 of the Motor Carrier Act, 1935, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 24) thereon.

Mr. VANDENBERG, from the Committee on Commerce, to which was referred the resolution (S. Res. 62) calling for further information from the Federal Power Commission concerning the comparable costs of steam and tidal generated plants on the Passamaquoddy project, reported it without amendment.

REPORT OF RAILROADS, HOLDING COMPANIES, AND AFFILIATED COM-PANIES (REPT. NO. 25, PT. 1)

Mr. WHEELER, from the Committee on Interstate Commerce, submitted a preliminary report of the subcommittee of that committee, pursuant to Senate Resolution 71, Seventy-fourth Congress, on reorganization plans as causes of recurrent insolvencies, which was ordered to be printed.

TERM OF SERVICE OF FORMER SENATOR GEORGE L. BERRY (REPT. NO. 26)

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, some time ago the former Senator from Tennessee, Mr. Berry, filed a petition with the Senate in relation to his claim for compensation. The matter was first referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and later referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. From the Committee on the Judiciary I submit a report which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD.

The conclusion of the committee is that the former Senator from Tennessee is entitled to compensation only until the date upon which his successor was elected-elected, not qualified. So from the Committee on the Judiciary I report a resolution which I ask to have read at the desk.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will read. The Chief Clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 73), as fol-

Resolved, That the term of service of George L. Berry, appointed a Senator by the Governor of the State of Tennessee on May 6, 1937, to fill the vacancy in the term ending January 2, 1943, caused by the death of Nathan L. Bachman, expired on November 8, 1938, the day on which his successor, Tom Stewart, was duly elected to fill the unexpired term of the said Nathan L. Bachman.

Resolved further, That said George L. Berry is not entitled to receive compensation as Senator or any of the emoluments of the office from and after the said 8th day of November 1938.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, since this is a privileged matter, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I think the resolution should go to the calendar.

Mr. CONNALLY. If there is any objection, I do not wish to press the matter.

Mr. McNARY. I wish it to follow the usual course and go to the calendar.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, did the Chair put before the Senate the request that the report be printed in the RECORD? I think it is a matter which relates to a rather important aspect of our service here. I should like to have the report printed in the RECORD as well as in the regular form.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator will repeat

Mr. CONNALLY. The request is that the report, as submitted, be printed in the Congressional Record as well as in the regular report form.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The report as ordered to be printed, and to be printed in the RECORD, is as follows:

Mr. Connally, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reports as

The communication addressed to the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate by Hon. George A Berry, late a United States Senator from the State of Tennessee, was referred by the Senate to the Committee on the Judiciary with instructions to report thereon.

The Committee on the Judiciary held hearings and, since the hearings disclose in detail the issues involved, includes herein a complete transcription of the hearings, as follows:

"TERMS OF OFFICE AND SALARIES OF APPOINTEES TO THE SENATE

"UNITED STATES SENATE,

"SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
"Washington, D. C., January 17, 1939.
"The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, in the committee room,
Capitol, at 10 a. m., Senator Carl A. Hatch (chairman) presiding.
"Present: Senators Hatch (chairman) and Connally.
"Present also: Hen Vername Mayer."

"Present also: Hon. KENNETH MCKELLAR, a Senator from the State

"Senator HATCH. A petition has been filed by the petitioner herein, which may be incorporated in the record at this point. "(The document referred to is here set forth in full, as follows:)

"'To the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate.

"'George L. Berry, a citizen and resident of Tennessee, peti-tioner, v. Charles F. Pace, finance officer of the United States Senate, defendant

"'Comes George L. Berry, petitioner, by attorney and files appli-cation with the committee and asks that said committee consider his rights as a member of the United States Senate, which includes the right to be paid the salary of a United States Senate, which includes the right to be paid the salary of a United States Senator and the right of an office in the Senate Office Building and also the right to sit as a Member of the United States Senate for the period named and outlined in the premises in this petition.

"In support of said application, petitioner makes the following averments and conclusions to wit:

Il support of said application, petitioner makes the following averiments and conclusions, to wit:

"'1. Petitioner alleges that he became a Member of the United States Senate by appointment of Gordon Browning, Governor of the State of Tennessee, to fill a vacancy.

"'2. Petitioner alleges that Gen. Tom Stewart was elected at the November 1938 election to fill said vacancy according to the law governing same.

governing same.

"3. Petitioner further alleges that the said Gen. Tom Stewart has failed to qualify as a Member of the United States Senate according to the laws thereof.

"4. Petitioner further alleges that the said Gen. Tom Stewart is at the date of filing this petition serving as an attorney general in the eighteenth circuit in the State of Tennessee.

"5. Petitioner alleges that amendment 17 of the United States Constitution provides that the legislature of each State shell have

Constitution provides that the legislature of each State shall have full authority to enact laws governing the filling of vacancies in the United States Senate.

"6 Petitioner further alleges that the law of the State on Ten-

'6. Petitioner further alleges that the law of the State on Tennessee would govern in this case.

"'7. Petitioner alleges that the law of Tennessee which would govern in this case is section 1930 of the Code of Tennessee, which states that the appointee holding under an appointment by the Governor to fill a vacancy shall hold office until his successor is

elected and qualified.

"8. Petitioner alleges that the finance clerk has refused to pay petitioner his salary since November 8, 1938.

'9. Petitioner offers to submit evidence supporting the allegations of this petition.

## "'PREMISES CONSIDERED, PETITIONER ASKS

"'1. That the committee hereby addressed consider the action of the finance clerk of the Senate.

"2. That said committee recommend to said finance clerk that he rescind his action by failing to pay petitioner and pay him his salary as a Member of the United States Senate.

"'3. That said committee recommend to the United States Senate that said petitioner be allowed to act as a Member of said body with all the rights and privileges relative thereto until his successor qualifies.

'Respectfully submitted.

"'GEORGE L. BERRY, Petitioner."
"'By Hansel Proffitt, Attorney."

STATEMENT OF HANSEL PROFFITT, COUNSEL FOR PETITIONER

"Senator Harch. Mr. Proffitt, if you desire to make a statement at this time, you may proceed.

"Mr. Proffirt. I will not take up very much of your time. I just want to make a brief statement of the facts.

"Senator HATCH. I do not suppose there is any dispute about the facts, but you might state them for the record.

"Mr. Proffirt. George L. Berry was appointed United States Senator by Gov. Gordon Browning of Tennessee on May 7, 1937, to fill an unexpired term that would end in 1942, caused by the death of Senator Nathan L. Bachman. On November 8, 1938, an election was held in Tennessee, at which time the people voted for a successor to fill this vacancy. In Tennessee the votes at an election are not counted until 2 weeks following the election. Then the returns are sent to Nashville, the capital of Tennessee, and the Governor and attorney general fill out a certificate of election which they send to the Secretary of the Senate, stating who was elected to fill the vacancy. In this case the Governor of Tennessee and the attorney general filled out a certificate for Tom Stewart, stating that the people filled the vacancy up to January

3, 1939.

"Senator Connally. Do you mean the certificate stated that?

"Mr. Proffirt. Yes. Since the election Tom Stewart has been serving as attorney general of the State of Tennessee for the eighteenth circuit.

"Senator Hargy You do not mean he is serving today in that

"Senator Harch. You do not mean he is serving today in that

capacity, do you?
"Mr. Proffitt. I believe he is going to resign today.
"Senator Harch. He took the oath of office in the Senate on yes-

"Mr. Proffitt. My understanding was that he is going to be here today.

"Senator Hatch. He took the oath yesterday.
"Mr. Proffitt. My contention is that there are two questions involved in this case. The first question is whether Senator Berry can hold up to January 3, 1939. The next question is whether he can hold up until Stewart qualifies. Those are the two questions. There are two questions of law involved.

"Senator Convally. Is not the immediate question here, not the matter of tenure, but the matter of pay? Mr. Stewart has been seated by the Senate.

"Mr. PROFFITT. Yes. "Senator CONNALLY. The immediate question is whether or not Senator Berry is entitled to draw pay up until the date Senator Stewart qualified, which was on yesterday "Mr. Proffirm. Yes.

"I base my contention upon the seventeenth amendment to the United States Constitution

"Senator Connally. I suggest that you read that amendment into the record.

"Mr. Proffitt (reading):

"'When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

"You will note the first clause states:
"When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in
the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs

of election to fill such vacancies.'

"If it ended there and that was all there was to it, Senator Berry would have held until 1942; but we have a qualifying clause, providing that the legislature may empower the executive of such providing that the legislature may empower the executive of such State to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies. The people could not fill the vacancy the day after election, because the votes would not be counted. Suppose both of the Senators from Tennessee had resigned, and the Governor had appointed their successors, and 2 days after the election the President of the United States called an extra session of Congress. The votes would not be counted. No one could be admitted to the Senate, because you would not know who was elected.

"Senator HATCH, You say the people could not have filled the

"Senator Harch. You say the people could not have filled the vacancy because the votes would not have been counted. The people would have actually filled the vacancy on election day, but the evidence would not be available until after the votes were counted. It is just a little different from your statement.

"Mr. Profffir. The people would fill it at the election as the legislature may direct. I want to read the Tennessee laws. The Legislature of Tennessee, in 1913, about a month after the seventeenth emendment went into effect, passed this law:

teenth amendment went into effect, passed this law:

"Whenever any vacancy in the office of United States Senator occurs, by which the State would be deprived of its full representation at any time the Congress may be in session prior to the next biennial election, then in such case the Governor is authorized to fill such vacancy by appointment, and such appointee shall hold

office until his successor is elected at the next biennial election

and qualifies.'
"Of course, Tom Stewart is not trying to get the salary. The Constitution of the State of Tennessee, section 26, article 2, reads as follows:

'Nor shall any person in this State hold more than one lucrative

"Nor shall any person in this State hold more than one lucrative office at the same time."
"My argument is that the office of district attorney general for the State and the office of United States Senator are lucrative offices, according to the Constitution of Tennessee, and on that ground Tom Stewart could not draw salary.
"Senator Connally. Will you read that again?
"Mr. Proffitt. I will read all of it:
"'No judge of any court of law, State's attorney, general register, clerk of any court of record, or person holding any office under the authority of the United States, shall be seated in the general assembly; nor shall any person in this State hold more than one lucrative office at the same time." lucrative office at the same time.

"Senator Connally. Suppose you give that full force and effect, how could it affect Federal officers? The first part relates to officers of the United States and the last applies only to State officers. "Mr. Proffitt. My contention is that is a different section. "Senator Harch. Mr. Stewart is not making any claim to the selection."

salary.

"Mr. PROFFITT. No.

"Senator Hatch. This would only affect your claim.
"Mr. Proffitt. Yes. He is not making any claim.
"Senator Connally. We do not know but what he might file a

claim. He may do so.
"Senator HATCH. That is not before us.

"Mr. Proffitt. That is the Constitution of the State of Tennessee.

"Senator Hatch. He may request pay for election day.
"Senator Connally. Does not that refer only to two State officers? It could not control Federal offices unless it specifically said 'Federal offices.' That is not mentioned.

"Mr. Proffitt. According to the seventeenth amendment, of course, I suppose there could be more than one interpretation of that. My contention is that it means a person shall hold office until the people fill the vacancy as the legislature shall direct. The Legislature of Tennessee directed that there should be an election in November, and that the person the Governor appointed should hold office until his successor was elected and qualified.

"Senator CONNALLY. Under the seventeenth amendment, is not

the power of the legislature restricted to the election, providing how he shall be elected? Does it give the legislature any authority to determine when the term shall begin or end? The legislature has the right to provide the manner and time of the election itself, but is not that the limit of its power?

"Mr. Proffit. There could be two interpretations of that. As I said a moment ago, suppose both of the Senators from the State should die or resign. The Governor would issue writs of election to fill the vacancies. Then, suppose 2 days after the election, before the votes were counted, the President of the United States should call an extra session of Congress. In that event, the State would not be represented. It would not have two Senators.

"That is all I wish to offer, but I shall be glad to answer any questions you want to ask."

questions you want to ask.

"Senator Hatch. I do not think I have any questions.
"Senator Connally, do you have any questions to ask?

"Senator CONNALLY. You have referred to the statutes. The financial clerk of the Senate has refused to pay Senator Berry, and as a basis for that refusal he relies upon the statutes of Congress.

"Mr. Proffitt. I just ask you to consider this question.
"Senator Connally. The statute of Congress provides that the pay of the sitting Senator shall end on the day of the election of

his successor.

"Mr. Proffitt. I contend that that law would be unconstitutional. "Senator Connally. What do you say to this: Regardless of the term or when it starts, and regardless of the statute of Tennessee which undertakes to fix the term until the successor qualifies, the pay is purely a Federal function. The Federal Government grants the compensation. It could refuse or grant it, as it saw fit, under

"Mr. Proffitt. Of course, I contend that law is in violation of the seventeenth amendment.

"Senator Harris. But the other interpretation of the seventeenth amendment, to which Senator Connally referred a moment ago,

would make the statute conform to it.

"Mr. Proffirt. Of course, there are two interpretations there.

"Senator Harch. There would be no conflict between that interpretation and the statute.

"Senator Connally. My theory is that the power of the legislature is limited to the question of the election.

"Mr. Proffir. If the seventeenth amendment vests power in the State legislature, the law of Congress could not take that away. "Senator Connally. No. It all gets back to the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution.

"Mr. Proffitt. That is a question of law.

"Senator Harch. Do you care to file anything else with the committee?

"Mr. PROFFITT. I would like to file a brief. I will file it this

"Senator Harch. It may be incorporated in the record. Have you seen the brief that was prepared here?
"Mr. Proffitt. Yes.

"Senator Harch. Do you have a copy of that?
"Mr. Proffitt. Yes.

"Senator HATCH. I suggest that be incorporated in the record also

"(The document referred to is here set forth in full, as follows:) "Memorandum relating to the terms of office and salaries of ap-pointees to the Senate

"This memorandum is submitted in response to your inquiry concerning the status of a person who received a temporary appointment to the Senate under the authority of the seventeenth amendment following which an election was held to fill the vacancy in the office to which such temporary appointment was made. Two questions of importance are raised which will be discussed in the light of the applicable constitutional and statutory provisions.

cussed in the light of the applicable constitutional and statutory provisions:

"First. Does the term of office of a Senator so appointed expire on the day that a person is elected to fill the vacancy in the office to which such Senator was appointed, or only when the person so elected appears before the Senate with the proper credentials and qualifies as a Senator?

"Second. Does the compensation of a Senator so appointed cease on the day such election is held or only when the person so elected has qualified as a Senator?

"Upon the ratification of the seventeenth amendment by the State of Connecticut on April 8, 1913, the present provisions for the election of Senators by popular vote were substituted for the original provisions of the Constitution under which Senators were elected by the legislatures of the several States. The amendment reads as follows:

"'The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for 6 years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each

State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

"'When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

"This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution."

part of the Constitution."

"It seems clear from the language of the amendment itself, without regard to any other sources which might be used to aid in determining the intent, that its dominant purpose was to insure that the States be represented in the Senate by persons elected by the people. It seems equally clear that elections for such purpose are to be held not only in cases where the 6-year term of a Senator is about to expire, but also where a vacancy has been created by the death, resignation, or removal of a Senator prior to the expiration of his full term since the executive authority of a State is required to 'issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.' However, the inclusion of the provisions relating to vacancies.' However, the inclusion of the provisions relating to vacancies under which the executive authority of a State may be authorized by the legislature 'to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct' gives rise to a number of problems which have a direct bearing upon the status of an appointed Senator after such an election has been held

the status of an appointed Senator after such an election has been held.

"In the first place, it is not entirely clear how the language 'as the legislature may direct' is to be construed, and it is at least susceptible of more than one interpretation. It might be argued, for example, that a broad power was thus granted to the legislature of each State not only with respect to the time, manner, and place of holding such elections but also with respect to the manner of filling the vacancies after an election has been held and the terms for which temporary appointments are to be made. It is not believed that this construction is justified when it is recalled that the main purpose of the amendment was to deprive the legislatures of their power of electing Senators. Moreover, if such a construction were to prevail it is conceivable that the purpose of the amendment might be defeated by legislative provisions which would postpone for several years the holding of elections to fill such vacancies or which would authorize the Governor to make senatorial appointments which would expire but a short tions to fill such vacancies or which would authorize the Governor to make senatorial appointments which would expire but a short time before the end of the terms for which their predecessors were elected. Consequently, a more reasonable interpretation of the language 'as the legislature may direct' would confine it to providing for the circumstances under which the elections to fill such vacancies are to be held, with the result that it would correspond more closely to the provisions of Article I, Section 4, of the Constitution under which the legislatures of the several States are to prescribe merely the times, places, and manner of holding congressional elections, subject to certain modifications which the Congress may make

sional elections, subject to certain incomessions which the language may make.

"A more serious problem arises in connection with the language which authorizes temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election.' The vacancies referred to are obviously those created by the death, resignation, or removal of the Senators who preceded the appointees. Here again more than one interpretation of the language quoted is possible, especially in view of the fact that

in the ordinary case a vacancy in an office is considered to be filled only when the person selected to fill the vacancy has been duly qualified and has assumed the duties of the office. It may be argued, therefore, with some plausibility that the language above referred to should be construed to mean that a temporary appointment to the Senate may be made which will expire only after the people at an election have elected a person to fill the existing vacancy and such person has qualified as a Senator by taking the oath of office and entering upon the duties of such office.

"In spite of the fact that the legislatures in a number of States

cancy and such person has qualified as a Senator by taking the oath of office and entering upon the duties of such office.

"In spite of the fact that the legislatures in a number of States have apparently assumed that this is the correct interpretation and have authorized the Governors thereof to make temporary senatorial appointments which will expire when their successors have been 'elected and qualified' it seems rather unlikely that such 'temporary' appointments were intended to extend as far as that when the general purpose of the amendment is considered. If this had been the intention, it is reasonable to assume that it would have been more clearly stated and not left to mere inference. Furthermore, the emphasis placed upon the duty of the executive authority to issue writs of election 'to fill such vacancies' and upon the making of temporary appointments until the people 'fill such vacancies by election' would tend to negative any such interpretation. In addition, in view of the general purpose of providing for representation in the Senate by persons elected by popular vote both for full terms and for unexpired terms it seems reasonable to assume that no temporary appointment was to be authorized except for the intervening period between the creation of a vacancy and the day when the people by their votes actually elect a successor, or, in other words, until they elect a person to fill the vacancy. If the Senate subsequently refused to permit the person so elected to take his seat, or such person died or resigned either before or after he took the oath of office, there would then be a vacancy to which a temporary appointment might be made.

"It is submitted that this interpretation is more in harmony with the spirit of the amendment since it makes the action of the present

a temporary appointment might be made.

"It is submitted that this interpretation is more in harmony with the spirit of the amendment, since it makes the action of the people in electing a successor the determining factor with respect to the duration of a temporary appointment to the Senate. Unfortunately, there seems to have been no discussion of this particular matter on the floor of either House when the seventeenth amendment was proposed, but the interpretation which has been suggested as being the most consistent with the purposes of the amendment is supported by the subsequent statements of at least two Senators who were in Congress at the time and by an opinion by Vice President Marshall.

"On October 15, 1918, the Vice President addressed the following letter to the financial clerk of the Senate:

letter to the financial clerk of the Senate:

""THE VICE PRESIDENT'S CHAMBER,
"'Washington, October 15, 1918.

"'CHARLES F. PACE,

"'Financial Secretary, United States Senate." My DEAR MR. PACE:

"'In response to your inquiry as to the tenure of office of tem-

In response to your inquiry as to the tenure of office of temporary appointment of Senators by the Governors of the several States, I have the honor to give you the following opinion:

"The supreme law of the land upon this question is the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Neither Congress nor the general assembly of any State of this Union can add to or take therefrom. The portion of the seventeenth amendment which has to do with this question resident. eenth amendment which has to do with this question reads as

follows:

""When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in State shall issue writs the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct."

"To my mind this clause authorizes the legislature of any State

"To my mind this clause authorizes the legislature of any state to empower the executive to make a temporary appointment until an election; that the legislature could either provide for a special election to take place within a reasonable time, or a fair construction of the constitutional provision would permit the legislature to delay the election until the next general election in the

ture to delay the election until the next general election in the State.

"It may be contended with some plausibility that the election might be postponed until the expiration of the term of the Senator whose death occasioned the temporary appointment. Personally, I do not so believe, nor is it needful under present circumstances to express an opinion upon this subject.

"The tenure of office of those holding temporary appointments in the United States runs until the people have filled the vacancies by election, as the legislature may direct. In all cases now under consideration the people will vote for United States Senators to fill the vacancies now being filled by these temporary appointments upon the 5th day of November next. The sole question for determination is, therefore, What constitutes an election?

question for determination is, therefore, What constitutes an election?

"'The phraseology of the Constitution of the United States is radically different from that of many of the Commonwealths. Numerous State constitutions provide a tenure of office and then add that the incumbent shall hold the office for that period of time and until his successor is elected and qualified. In the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States nothing is said about holding beyond the election.

"In the absence of disqualification to hold office, Senators will be elected on the 5th day of November next. They may be compelled to run the gamut of executive, administrative, judicial, and senatorial investigation before they are entitled to qualify

and take their seats as Members of the United States Senate and take their seats as Members of the United States Senate. They may fail to even reach the coveted positions. Equitably, it would seem that the present incumbents ought to be permitted to hold until the successors elected on the 5th of November have been sworn in as Senators of the United States. Such, however, is not the law. The tenure of office of all Senators now holding temporary appointment in the Senate of the United States will expire upon the 5th day of November next, and in the discharge of my sworn duty I can certify no compensation after that date.

"I regret being compelled to render this opinion, but I think my duty as plain as a pikestaff.

"Very respectfully,

"Thos. R. Marshall.

"THOS. R. MARSHALL.

"'(63 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 12.)'
"A few weeks after this opinion had been rendered a resolution was reported to the Senate providing for the payment out of the Senate contingent fund of compensation to Senator Benet, of Senate contingent fund of compensation to Senator Benet, or South Carolina, one of the appointed Senators to whom the opinion related, for the period from November 6 to December 2, 1918, during which he had served as a Senator. Objection to the consideration of the resolution was made by Senator Curtis, and in the course of his remarks he said:

"I understand that the Senator-elect from the State has been read the selection, the selection of the selection. Under the Constitution of the selection.

"I understand that the Senator-elect from the State has been paid the salary from the date of the election. Under the Constitution the term of Senator Benet expired on the day of the election of his successor. Therefore I doubt very much if he is entitled to this extra salary. Surely Congress will not pay a double salary during that time. If the Senator-elect has not been paid, then there might be favorable action upon the resolution, but personally I shall object to its consideration until we can get the facts in the case."

get the facts in the case."

"The attention of Senator Curtis was then called to the fact that his predecessor, who had also been appointed, had been paid until the Senator took his seat, and he replied:

"Senator Benson did draw the salary until I took the cath; that was the old practice. Before the Constitution was amended, a Senator was appointed to serve until his successor was elected and qualified. I was elected by the legislature in 1907. I was not elected until the 23d day of January, and I took my seat in the Senate on the 29th of January. But under the Constitution as it now is, with the constitutional amendment with regard to the election of United States Senators, a newly elected Senator to fill election of United States Senators, a newly elected Senator to fill an unexpired term is entitled to his office and entitled to pay from the day he is elected. That question has not been decided and there are no precedents since the adoption of the constitutional entered and there are no precedents. tional amendment.

tional amendment.

"I am informed that the financial clerk or the Secretary has been notified that the new Senators are entitled to their pay from the date of the election. If that is so and this resolution is adopted, Mr. Benet will be paid for time for which the newly elected Senator has been paid. I do not think the Senate wants to set a precedent of that kind."

"The resolution was then placed on the calendar, and on December 6, 1918, it was recommitted to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate (57 Congressional Record, pp. 32 and 177-178). There is no indication that any action was taken subsequently with respect to the resolution. "A similar situation arose on December 7, 1922, when a resolution was reported for the payment out of the Senate contingent fund of compensation to Senator Rawson, of Iowa, for the period from November 8 to December 1, 1922. Although he had been appointed to the Senate and an election had been held on November 8 at which Senator Brookhart had been elected, Senator Rawson. ber 8 at which Senator Brookhart had been elected, Senator Raw-son continued to serve until the certificate of election of his successor was presented and he had taken the oath of office. In the course of the debate on the resolution it was brought out that Senator Brookhart's salary began on the day he was elected and Senator Heflin then said:

and Senator Heffin then said:

"'Mr. President, in my own case I was elected on November 2, 1920, and I drew the salary from that day. The term of Governor Comer, who was appointed to succeed Senator Bankhead, expired on the 2d day of November. My term commenced then. I drew the salary. Governor Comer never drew any salary after the 2d of November. It ought to be made clear that the sitting Member's term, the term for which he was appointed, expires on the day of the election. I think that is what we all meant when we amended the Constitution' (64 Congressional Record, p. 171).

"Senator Spencer subsequently said:

"As a matter of fact, this has been the precedent of the Senate: When a Senator is appointed his salary commences from the day

When a Senator is appointed his salary commences from the day of his appointment. When the election occurs his salary automatically ends, even though he continues on, as in the case of the Senator from Iowa or as in the case of the Senator from Georgia. His salary automatically ends on the day of election, and the salary of the man who was elected, even though he does

and the salary of the man who was elected, even though he does not come in and qualify for a week or two, commences, under the present practice, on the day of his election.

"'I was an illustration of that very principle. I was elected on November 3, perhaps, 1918. I did not take my seat until the 21st of November, but my salary dated back from the 1st of November, and the salary of the appointee whose place I took, Mr. Wilfiey, ended upon the day of the election. That has been the unbroken precedent of the Senate \* \* \* (64 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 172).

LXXXIV-63

"The resolution for the payment of compensation to Senator Rawson out of the contingent fund for the period from November 8 to December 1, 1922, was later agreed to, as well as a resolution for the payment of clerical services rendered to him for the same period (64 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 179).

"The only other case of a somewhat similar character which seems to have arisen since the ratification of the seventeenth amendment was that of Mrs. Felton, of Georgia, who had been appointed to the Senate on October 3, 1922, after the death of Senator Watson and who was permitted to take the oath of office on November 21, 1922, notwithstanding the fact that Senator George had been elected on November 7 to fill the unexpired term of Senator Watson. At that time Senator Walsh, of Montana, urged that Mrs. Felton was entitled to be sworn in, and after referring to several cases prior to the seventeenth amendment in which Senators who had been appointed had held their seats until their successors had appeared, or had appeared and qualified, he concluded his speech by saying:

"In no instance does it appear that any controversy was ever raised as to the right of the Governor's appointee to sit and participate in the deliberations of the Senate until his or her successor appeared with the proper credentials.

"These are all, of course, constructions of the original Constitution, and the seventeenth amendment was adopted in view of the practical construction of the

tion, and the seventeenth amendment was adopted in view of the practical construction given to the corresponding provision of the work of the fathers by the Senate itself. Under well-established practical construction given to the corresponding provision of the work of the fathers by the Senate itself. Under well-established principles of construction, the language being changed only so far as was necessary to express the purpose to change the method of election, the people endorsed the construction of the clause of the Constitution in question implied in the practice which had been observed by the Senate, and intended that the amendment should be similarly construed.

"I have said this much because I did not like to have it appear

be similarly construed.

"'I have said this much because I did not like to have it appear, if the lady is sworn in—as I have no doubt she is entitled to be sworn in—that the Senate had so far departed from its duty in the premises as to extend so grave a right to her as a favor, or as a mere matter of courtesy, or being moved by a spirit of gallantry, but rather that the Senate, being fully advised about it, decided that she was entitled to take the oath."

"There was no further discovering of the reatter, and Mr. Belter."

she was entitled to take the oath."

"There was no further discussion of the matter and Mrs. Felton then took the oath of office and became the first woman to sit in the Senate (63 Congressional Record, pp. 11-14).

"Two days later, on November 23, 1922, Senator Walsh objected to the adoption of a resolution which had been offered by Senator Harris for the payment out of the Senate contingent fund of compensation to Mrs. Felton and mileage for the period from November 8 to November 21, 1922. The reason which he gave for his opposition to the resolution was that Mrs. Felton should be paid out of the regular appropriation as every other Senator is paid and that to make the payment out of the contingent fund 'would throw very grave doubt upon the action taken by the Senate in seating Mrs. Felton as a Senator' (63 Congressional Record, pp. 47-48). However, when the resolution was reported to the Senate favorably, without amendment, on December 4, 1922, it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to (63 Congressional Record, p. 452).

without amendment, on agreed to (63 Congressional Record, p. 452).

"In view of the action taken by the Senate in making payments out of the contingent fund to Mrs. Felton and Mr. Rawson, and in refusing to make a similar payment to Mr. Benet, it might be reasonably inferred that any case in which a senatorial appointee held over beyond election day was thought to be of an exceptional character and that the position taken by Senator Walsh was not recognized as being controlling.

"In passing, it might be noted that the cases specifically referred to by Senator Walsh in support of his position were all prior to 1851, and it is quite probable that because of the uncertainties and delays surrounding the transmission of news and intelligence up to that time the Senate in most cases would have had no official knowledge that a person had been elected by the State legislature to succeed an appointed Senator until the credentials of that person had been presented to the Senate. Consequently, it is not unreasonable that under such circumstances the appointed Senator should have continued to serve either until his successor appeared in person to present his credentials or at least until such credentials had been received by the Senate in some other way.

"Since December 1922 there appears to have been no further consideration in the Senate of the right of a person appointed to the Senate to hold office beyond the day on which his successor is elected, but this may be due in part to changes in the laws relating to the payment of salaries of Senators which fixed the time for which each Senator was to be paid. These changes will be discussed below, but regardless of the reasons for making them or of their practical application they can hardly be said to be determinative of the proper interpretation to be placed upon the limitation of the seventeenth amendment with respect to the time during which temporary appointments to the Senate remain in effect. That question must be decided in the light of the purposes for which the a together with the language of the amendment itself, seem sufficiently definite to justify the conclusion that any such temporary appointment will expire on the day on which the successor to the appointee is elected, irrespective of what the statutes may provide at the moment with regard to the amount of compensation each of them is to receive.

"'Note.—Further support for the conclusion reached above will be found in the appendix to this memorandum.'

"TT

"At the time the seventeenth amendment was ratified the pay-"At the time the seventeenth amendment was ratified the payment of compensation to Senators out of the regular annual appropriations for salaries was governed by the following provision of the Legislative Appropriation Act of July 31, 1894 (28 Stat. 162): "Provided, That the salaries of Senators elected or appointed to fill vacancies in the Senate and of Senators elected for a full term subsequent to the commencement of such term, shall commence on the day of their election or appointment."

"This provision remained in effect until 1923 and it was uniformly construed to mean that the salary of an appointed Senator ceased on the day his successor was elected. The 'unbroken precedent' of the Senate in this respect was referred to on December 7.

edent' of the Senate in this respect was referred to on December 7,

edent' of the Senate in this respect was referred to on December 7, 1922, by Senator Spencer when the Rawson resolution was before the Senate, and his remarks at that time have previously been quoted in this memorandum. (See p. 5.)

"On December 15, 1922, a joint resolution (S. J. Res. 248) which had been referred to at the time of the debate on the Rawson resolution was reported to the Senate and passed. It had the effect of superseding the law relating to the payment of salaries of Senators which had been in force since 1894, and it is reported in the Congressional Record as follows:

"Resolved etc. That salaries of Senators empirited to fill vecen-

"'Resolved, etc., That salaries of Senators appointed to fill vacancies in the Senate shall commence on the day of their appointment and continue until their successors are elected and qualified; and salaries of Senators elected to fill vacancies in the Senate shall commence on the day they qualify' (64 Congressional Record,

"The House, on February 5, 1923, added the following proviso:
"'Provided, That where no appointments have been made to fill such vacancies the salaries of Senators elected to fill such vacancies

such vacancies the salaries of Senators elected to fill such vacancies shall commence on the day following their election' (64 Congressional Record, p. 3090).

"Upon the motion of Senator Spencer the Senate concurred in the House amendment on February 6, 1923 (64 Congressional Record, p. 3103), and the resolution became operative when it was approved by the President on February 10, 1923 (42 Stat. 1225).

"The discussion in the Senate with respect to the proposed change in the 1894 law is somewhat confusing (see 64 Congressional Record, pp. 171-172), but the provisions of the new law were clear and payments were made in the manner prescribed therein until February 6, 1931, when the law was changed with respect to payment of salaries of Senators who had been elected to succeed appointees at a special election held during a sine die adjournment of the Senate.

"It might be argued perhaps that the change made in 1923

"It might be argued perhaps that the change made in 1923 amounted to an interpretation by the Senate of the limitation contained in the seventeenth amendment with respect to the duration of temporary appointments to the Senate. There is some contained in the seventeenth amendment with respect to the duration of temporary appointments to the Senate. There is some doubt about this, however, in view of the fact that the sponsor of the resolution, Senator Curtis, had previously expressly declared that the term of office of a person appointed to the Senate expired under the Constitution on the day his successor was elected. His statement in this connection has been already quoted in this memorandum. (See p. 5.) At any rate, whatever the real purpose for changing the old law may have been, there seems to have been no contests on the part of any Senators with respect to the amount of compensation to which they were entitled while the 1923 law was in effect. 1923 law was in effect.

"On January 22, 1931, when the first deficiency appropriation bill was under consideration in the Senate, Senator Jones, on behalf of the Committee on Appropriations, recommended that the 1923 law relating to the payment of salaries to Senators be amended by adding the following provided:

adding the following proviso:

"Provided further, That when Senators have been elected during a sine die adjournment of the Senate, at a time other than a general election, to succeed appointees, the salaries of Senators so elected shall commence on the day following their election, and the salaries of such appointees shall cease on that date (74 Congressional Record, 2871).

"The amendment was agreed to without debate, was concurred in by the House, and become operative on February 6, 1931, when H. R. 15592, to which the amendment had been added, was signed by the President (46 Stat. 1065).

"The effect of adding the proviso to the 1923 law was to make a distinction of the provisor of the second of the provisor of the second of the se

distinction for the purposes of compensation between Senators elected to succeed appointees, depending upon whether they were elected at a general or at a special election. Thereafter, if a Senator was elected at a general election to succeed an appointee his salary was to commence only on the day he qualified, and that of the appointee was to continue until the Senator so elected had qualified. In this respect there was no change in the 1923 law. On the other hand, under the new proviso, if a Senator was elected to succeed an appointee at a special election held during a sine die adjournment of the Senate his salary was to commence on the day following his election, and it was expressly provided that the salary of the appointee was to cease on that date.

salary of the appointee was to cease on that date.

"The constitutional question as to whether an appointee to the Senate is entitled to hold office after a successor is elected was apparently not considered in 1931 when the above change was made in the compensation provisions, but on principle it would seem that no distinction can be made between such appointees depending upon whether their successors are elected at a special or at a general election, or whether any such election takes place during a sine die adjournment of the Senate or not. The general intent of the 1923 and 1931 provisions with respect to the payment of salaries seems clear, however; namely, that no appointee

to the Senate was to be paid any amount as salary out of the regular appropriations for salaries for any period during which compensation was to be paid to his elected successor. Otherwise, a deficiency appropriation would have to be made, since the regular appropriations for each fiscal year are sufficient to pay but two Senators from each State.

"On June 19, 1934, the following provisions relating to salaries of Senators became operative and superseded the provisions of

of Senators became operative and superseded the provisions of 1923 and 1931 referred to above:

"Salaries of Senators appointed to fill vacancies in the Senate shall commence on the day of their appointment and continue until their successors are elected and qualified.

"Salaries of Senators elected to fill such vacancies shall com-

mence on the day they qualify.

"When no appointments have been made the salaries of Senators elected to fill such vacancies shall commence on the day fol-

ators elected to fill such vacancies shall commence on the day following their election.

"When Senators have been elected during a sine die adjournment of the Senate to succeed appointees, the salaries of Senators so elected shall commence on the day following their election.

"When Senators have been elected during a session to succeed appointees, but have not qualified, the salaries of Senators so elected shall commence on the day following the sine die adjournment of the Senate' (48 Stat. 1022).

"These provisions were added to H. R. 9830 in the Senate on June 15, 1934, without debate (78 Congressional Record, p. 11608).

"The first three paragraphs above quoted are substantially the same as the 1923 law. The fourth paragraph corresponds somewhat to the proviso that was added in 1931, but the distinction between Senators elected to succeed appointees at a special election and at a general election was eliminated, as well as the express provision that the salaries of any appointees whose successors were elected during a sine die adjournment of the Senate at a special vision that the salaries of any appointees whose successors were elected during a sine die adjournment of the Senate at a special election should cease on the day following such election. As a result, the first paragraph of the 1934 law provided in effect that the salaries of appointees should continue until their successors had been elected and qualified, the second provided that the salaries of the successors should commence only when they had qualified, and the fourth provided that the salaries of the successors, if they had been elected during a sine die adjournment of the Senate either at a general election or at a special election, should commence on the day following their election. The fourth paragraph was obviously intended to be an exception to the first and second, and although nothing was said about the salary of an appointee ceasing in a case to which the fourth paragraph was applicable, it seems apparent that no overlapping payments were intended. On the contrary, it must have been assumed that the salary of an appointee would end when his successor was elected under the circumstances indicated, and that to add an express provision to circumstances indicated, and that to add an express provision to

circumstances indicated, and that to add an express provision to that effect as was done in 1931 was unnecessary.

"This construction seems to be confirmed by the provisions of the fifth paragraph of the 1934 law. It made a further exception to the second paragraph, and to the general provision for continuing salary payments to appointees until their successors had qualified, by providing in effect that if a successor to any such appointee was elected during a session of the Senate but did not qualify during the session, his salary was to commence on the day following the sine die adjournment of the Senate. The only reasonable inference would seem to be that the salary of the appointee in such a case would continue only until the sine die adjournment of the Senate when that of his successor commenced. adjournment of the Senate when that of his successor commenced, even though nothing was said expressly about the salary of the appointee ceasing at that point. Conversely, it would be clearly unreasonable to construe the language of the 1934 law as continuing salary payments to an appointee out of the regular appropria-tions until his successor had qualified, when express provision was

made for paying the successor after the session was over although he had not qualified. "As there was no debate in either House on the 1934 changes in the salary provisions it does not appear whether any consideration was given at that time to the constitutional question with respect to the duration of temporary appointments to the Senate. It should perhaps be noted, however, that a distinction was actually made between appointees whose successors were elected during a sine die between appointees whose successors were elected during a sine die adjournment of the Senate and those whose successors were elected while the Senate was in session. It may be fairly inferred from the 1934 provisions as a whole that in the first case the salary of the appointee was to cease on the day his successor was elected, whether he qualified later or not, while it is equally clear that in the second case the salary of the appointee was to continue until his successor qualified, or until the sine die adjournment of the Senate if the successor did not qualify before then. It necessarily follows that the salary of an appointee in the second case was to follows that the salary of an appointee in the second case was to cease when his successor qualified, or when a sine die adjournment intervened before his successor qualified, and that in no event was the salary of the appointee to be paid after such adjournment whether the successor later qualified or not.

"It seems therefore that under the 1934 law the duration of temporary appointments to the Sonate for the supressertion."

"It seems therefore that under the 1934 law the duration of temporary appointments to the Senate for the purposes of compensation at least was to be determined as follows: (1) By the date of election of the successor to the appointee if such election took place during a sine die adjournment of the Senate, (2) by the date of qualification of the successor to the appointee if he was elected during a session of the Senate and qualified before it adjourned sine die, and (3) by the date of the sine die adjournment of the Senate if the successor to the appointee was elected during the session of the Senate and failed to qualify before such adjournment. In passing,

it should be emphasized again that under the seventeenth amendment no apparent distinction is made between the terms of office ment no apparent distinction is made between the terms of office of appointees depending upon whether their successors are elected during a session of the Senate or not, or whether a sine die adjournment intervenes before the successors have qualified, and on principle, it would seem that the amendment contemplates that the date of termination of temporary appointments to the Senate should be the same in all cases, regardless of any provisions that may be made and acquiesced in for the payment of salaries. If the conclusion reached in the first part of this memorandum is correct, the date on which the term of office of an appointee to the Senate ends in a constitutional sense is the date on which his successor is elected. The only possible alternative would seem to be the date on which the successor to the appointee is qualified, although it might be contended, of course, that the termination of such temporary appointments is to be governed solely by the statutory provisions of the several States pursuant to which the Governors are authorized to make such appointments.

visions of the several states pursuant to which the Governors are authorized to make such appointments.

"The 1934 compensation provisions were apparently thought to be rather unsatisfactory, and on February 13, 1935, they were replaced by the following provisions which are still in force:

"Salaries of Senators appointed to fill vacancies in the Senate

"'Salaries of Senators appointed to fill vacancies in the Senate shall commence on the day of their appointment and continue until their successors are elected and qualified: Provided, That when Senators have been elected during a sine die adjournment of the Senate to succeed appointees, the salaries of Senators so elected shall commence on the day following their election.

"'Salaries of Senators elected during a session to succeed appointees shall commence on the day they qualify: Provided, That when Senators have been elected during a session to succeed appointees, but have not qualified, the salaries of Senators so elected shall commence on the day following the sine die adjournment of the Senate.

"When no appointments have been made, the salaries of Senators

ment of the Senate.

"When no appointments have been made, the salaries of Senators elected to fill such vacancies shall commence on the day following their election" (49 Stat. 22–23).

"When these provisions were offered in the Senate on January 28, 1935, as amendments to a resolution making additional appropriations for certain governmental agencies (H. J. Res. 88), Senator Adams stated that they were to clarify the 1934 law in reference to the payments of salaries of Senators for short terms and following appointments, and that the amendment 'makes no difference whatever in the pay scale of any Senator and involves no additional obligation on the part of the Government (79 Congressional Record, 1057). It is reasonable to infer from this statement that there was no intention to provide for overlapping payments to appointees and their successors out of the regular appropriations for salaries, and that the general practice which had been followed under prior laws was to be continued, namely, that the salary of an appointee was to cease when that of his elected successor began.

"As a matter of fact, the first paragraph of the 1935 revision

was to cease when that of his elected successor began.

"As a matter of fact, the first paragraph of the 1935 revision merely combined the first and fourth paragraphs of the 1934 law with no change in substance, while the second paragraph of the 1935 revision combined the substance of the second and fifth paragraphs of the 1934 law. Consequently, it would be unreasonable to place a different construction upon the 1935 combinations from that placed upon the separate provisions of the 1934 law. The third paragraphs of the 1934 and 1935 laws are identical, are the same in substance as the proviso added by the House in 1923 to Senate Joint Resolution 248, and have given rise to no dispute as to their meaning since the intent is clearly apparent. Further discussion of the changes made in 1935 is believed to be unnecessary in view of the detailed consideration that has already been given to the 1934 provisions which were replaced in form but not in substance.

"In conclusion, under the present law relating to the payment of

In substance.

"In conclusion, under the present law relating to the payment of salaries of Senators, the answer to the question whether the compensation of a person appointed to the Senate is to cease on the day that a person is elected to succeed him, or only when the person so elected qualifies as a Senator, will depend upon the happening of the various events referred to in the statute.

"If the election of the successor to the appointee takes place during a sine die adjournment of the Senate, the salary of the appointee is to cease on the day of such election.

"If the election of the successor to the appointee takes place

appointee is to cease on the day of such election.

"If the election of the successor to the appointee takes place during a session of the Senate, the salary of the appointee is to cease either (1) on the day the successor qualifies, if such qualification takes place before the sine die adjournment of the Senate, or (2) on the day on which the Senate adjourns sine die, if the successor does not qualify before that day.

"Bespectfully submitted."

"Respectfully submitted.

"(Signed) HENRY G. WOOD, "Legislative Counsel.

"Hon. WILLIAM H. KING,
"United States Senate, Washington, D. C.
"November 30, 1938."

#### "APPENDIX

"In the course of the debate in the Senate on February 3 and 4, 1914, with respect to the right of Mr. Frank P. Glass to a seat in the Senate under an appointment by the Governor of Alabama, various views were expressed concerning the time when the seventeenth amendment was to become operative and the meaning of its provisions. As one of the main questions at issue was the authority of the Governor to appoint Mr. Glass in view of the fact that after the ratification of the amendment the Legislature of Alabama had not by law authorized the Governor to make appointments to fill vacancies in the Senate, there was considerable discussion about the provisions of the second paragraph of the amendment which reads as follows:

"'When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the

appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.'

"It is believed that the views then expressed with respect to the meaning and effect of the above provision should be given great weight not only because the debate took place so soon after the ratification of the amendment, but also because many of the participants had been in the Senate while the proposed amendment was being considered and prior to its submission to the States. The following excerpts from the speeches on February 3 and 4, 1914, indicate that Senators who favored the seating of Mr. Glass as well as those who were opposed to doing so were in agreement as to the meaning of that part of the seventeenth amendment which relates to the duration of temporary appointments, and it is apparent that in the opinion of those Senators at least a temporary appointment was to terminate under the Constitution on the day that the successor to the appointee was elected.

"The pages referred to below are from volume 51, part 3, of the Congressional Record, and all italics have been supplied:

"Mr. WALSH. \* \* This Senate cannot seat Mr. Glass now upon the theory that Alabama has no law under which an election

Congressional Record, and all italics have been supplied:

"'Mr. Walsh. \* \* This Senate cannot seat Mr. Glass now upon the theory that Alabama has no law under which an election can be held and then oust him next fall in favor of a man who is elected under the same state of the law, unless it is prepared to proceed upon the easy philosophy of the statesman who asked, "What is the Constitution among friends?" It is said that he will sit only until an election is held, but the very basis of the argument upon which his right is asserted is that there is no law under which an election can be held (p. 2794).

"Mr. Clapp. Is it not the correct construction that it provided both means; that is, the executive could call an election, but the legislature could authorize the executive to fill the vacancy by appointment until the election?

"Mr. Bradley. There is no doubt about that construction of the amendment. \* \* Under the new amendment the people elect the Senator; under that amendment the people supply a vacancy in his office by like election. Under the old constitution the legislature elects the Senator, and under that constitution the legislature, in case of vacancy, elects his successor. Under both systems the Governor may appoint temporarily (p. 2804).

"'Mr. Bradley. \* \* the State, in the first place, through its legislature, can authorize the Governor to appoint until the people hold an election, and that election must be held as directed by the legislature of the State, not as directed by the Congress of the United States (p. 2805).

"Mr. Bankhead. \* \* Mr. President. if Mr. Glass is seated."

legislature of the United States (p. 2805).

"'Mr. Bankhead. \* \* Mr. President, if Mr. Glass is seated by the Senate, as soon as an election is held in Alabama as contemplated by the seventeenth amendment the person elected at that election will be entitled to come to Washington and take his seat in the Senate and Mr. Glass necessarily goes out of the Senate

(p. 2808).

"'Mr. Reed. I was discussing the proposition that the first provision we are met with is that there shall be an election by the people, and I had come to the further proposition that there was an exception to that method. What is it?

"'When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of the state of the

the Senate the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies."

"I ought to say again that at this point and up to this point it is purely and absolutely an election by the people. Every original election must be by the people. Every election to fill a vacancy must be by the people. The express command is laid upon the Governor of a State to issue his writ of election and to call the people together and give them the opportunity which we sought to give them.

"There is but one way to avoid that method of selecting a Senator, to comply with the provision contained in the Constitution. Until you have complied with the qualifying provision there is no man who can sit in this body unless he holds his warrant by virtue of an election by the sovereign people of a State. That one way

""That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct."

"Now, note that language. The legislature empowers the executive when the executive may be a supplied to the content of the c

"Now, note that language. The legislature may direct."

"Now, note that language. The legislature empowers the executive to make temporary appointment until when? Until the next general election? No. Until the legislature shall assemble? No. For a period of 3 months or 6 months or a year? No. Until the term of office of the man who receives the temporary appointment shall have expired? No. It is until the people shall elect as the legislature may direct.

"If the legislature were to meet and confer the authority upon a Governor to appoint, and stop at that point, I do not believe he could make a valid appointment. I believe that in order that the Governor might have authority to make a valid appointment under a legislative act the legislature must give him the direct power to appoint and at the same time must provide that the people of that State shall have a chance to elect, and that the appointment must cease when that hour or day of election has arrived (pp. 2813–2814).

"'Mr. REED. \* \* What says the Constitution, if you under-

"'Mr. Reed. \* \* What says the Constitution, if you undertake to apply that to the seventeenth amendment:

"'Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct."

"That is to say, the legislature may meet; they may authorize the Governor to make a temporary appointment until the day of election rolls around, which they are to fix in the very law by which they give him this authority; and the appointment is until the election can be held, and no longer. But, says the statute of Alabama, even if we grant that it applies, or can be made to apply, to this case, the Governor shall appoint to fill the unexpired term of that office. The Constitution declares that he shall not have authority to appoint to fill an unexpired term; he shall only have authority to fill the office until the people elect, when it is expressly conferred. Elect whom? Elect a man whose office will begin at the end of the term? No; the Governor shall merely make a temporary appointment to be held until the people shall elect somebody to take the place of the man he temporarily appointed; \* \* \* no Governor could appoint until the legislature had expressly authorized him to appoint, and then only for such time as should intervene between the date of the appointment and an election to be held in accordance with the provisions of the very law that confers upon the Governor the power visions of the very law that confers upon the Governor the power of appointment.

"The Constitution says that the Governor cannot appoint unless the legislature has given him authority to appoint, and then he can appoint only until such time as the people shall elect in accordance with the provisions of the statute (p. 2816).

"Mr. Bankhean. If the Senator from Missouri has read the opinion of the Governor's legal advisers, he has seen that they state that under the statute the Governor has the unquestioned right to appoint, but when he undertakes to appoint for the unexpired term he comes in conflict with the constitutional amendment; and in that case the appointee must give place to his successor when the successor is elected by the people of Alabama, which may be next week or next month or 2 months from now.

"'As soon as an election can be held, if there is any law in Alabama to authorize it—and I am authorized to say that it will be done very soon—and the person elected comes here with the certificate of the

to authorize it—and I am authorized to say that it will be done very soon—and the person elected comes here with the certificate of the Governor that he has been elected by the people of Alabama, he will take his seat in the Senate and Mr. Glass will walk out (p. 2816).

"Mr. SUTHERLAND. \* \* \* Under the provisions of the seventeenth amendment clearly no Governor can be authorized by the act of the legislature to appoint any person to fill the unexpired term; or the legislature, rather, can only authorize him to appoint under the authority of the seventeenth amendment, which reads:

""That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct."

"'The constitutional provision contemplates that the appointment shall be made only until at some convenient time before the expiration of the term the people can act; and the legislature is not permitted by the terms of the constitutional provision to authorize the Governor to appoint for any longer period (p. 2867).

"'Mr. Sherman. \* \* The express power contained in the proviso here limits the mandatory order of this clause of the amendment only so far as enumerated. It limits it in a single thing and in none other. It provides:

""That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct."

"The only thing this does with the mandatory power in the body of the second clause of the amendment is to provide that the legislature of the State may suspend the mandatory direction to the

"The only thing this does with the mandatory power in the body of the second clause of the amendment is to provide that the legislature of the State may suspend the mandatory direction to the Governor in the body of the clause. That orders the executive to issue an immediate writ for an election. It provides that the legislature has that discretionary power to fix the time of an election, and pending that a Governor may appoint to fill the vacancy if the legislature confers that power upon him. It provides that the legislature of a State may fix the time when an election shall be held by the people to fill a vacancy, and the time the Governor may appoint is measured by the time when they authorize him to make the appointment and the time when they require an election to be held to fill that vacancy. That period between those two intervals of time constitutes the sole power of an executive to make a temporary appointment. make a temporary appointment.

"The full term or a vacancy is to be filled but one way, and that is by a popular election, unless a State statute confers on a Governor power to make a temporary appointment to fill a vacancy. No question arises except on vacancies. No question arises even on the vacancy if the body of the second clause of this amendment be considered, where it provides that writs shall be issued by the executive of the State. It is only upon the proviso on which the contention arises for a different construction. In the proviso it is said that the Governor of the State may appoint, if he is given power by an act of the legislature, until such time as the legislature shall direct an election (p. 2870).

"Mr. POMERENE. \* At the time this amendment was being discussed by the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Bristow] he made, in part, this explanation on May 23, 1911:

""The Constitution as it now reads, referring to vacancies in the Senate, says: 'And if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive

thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies."
""Instead of that, I provide the following: When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such

tive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies."

"'"Which is exactly the language used in providing for the filling of vacancies which occur in the House of Representatives, with the exception that the word 'of' is used in the first line for the word 'from,' which, however, makes no material difference.

"'"Then my substitute provides that—'the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct."

"'"That is practically the same provision which now exists in the case of such a vacancy. The Governor of the State may appoint a Senator until the legislature elects. My amendment provides that the legislature may empower the Governor of the State to appoint a Senator to fill a vacancy until the election occurs, and he is directed by this amendment to 'issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.'

such vacancies.'
"'"That is, I use exactly the same language in directing the Governor to call special elections for the election of Senators to fill

""That is, I use exactly the same language in directing the Governor to call special elections for the election of Senators to fill vacancies that is used in the Constitution in directing him to issue writs of election to fill vacancies in the House of Representatives."

"So far as my knowledge goes, the construction which the Senator from Kansas placed upon the language of this amendment as submitted by him was not challenged by any Senator on the floor of this Chamber (p. 2875).

"Mr. Barsrow. Mr. President, just a word. During the 3 years this amendment was under consideration, I do not believe it ever occurred to the mind of a Senator on this floor that after its adoption an appointment could be made to the Senate by any Governor, unless it were a temporary appointment pending an election. If every Senator had been individually asked for an expression of opinion at that time as to what this language meant, I do not believe there would have been a single Senator who would not have said that vacancies in the Senate would, after the adoption of the amendment, be filed exactly as vacancies in the House are filled, by an election, provided, of course, that in the meantime the legislature of a State had made provision whereby, pending that election, the Governor could make an appointment to fill a vacancy, so that every State would have its quota (p. 2876).

"Mr. Brandegee. \* \* So that I say that the passage by the Legislature of Alabama of an enabling act conferred upon the chief executive of the State authority to make this appointment until

"Mr. Brandegee. \* \* \* So that I say that the passage by the Legislature of Alabama of an enabling act conferred upon the chief executive of that State authority to make this appointment until the people can elect is as necessary a part of the title of the appointee who applies to be seated as anything in the Constitution could be (p. 2880).

"Mr. Clark of Wyoming. \* \* \* Under the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution we, in effect, take away from the Governor that right to appoint, but we confer upon the Governor another right to appoint, to wit, the right to appoint temporarily, when the legislature shall so direct by specific law, until the people themselves shall have voted under the operation of this amendment. So it seems to me the right to appoint under the seventeenth amendment is a different thing from the right to appoint under the old Constitution (p. 2881).

"'Mr. Walsh. \* \* The amendment provides that the executive authority of the State may make temporary appointment, if authorized by the legislature, until an election can be held by the people (p. 2883).

authorized by the legislature, until an election can be held by the people (p. 2883).

"'\*\* \* In that same amendment they said, however, that if in any particular State the people believed it would be wise or prudent to invest their Governor with the power to make a temporary appointment, which at the outside would ordinarily last only for a period of 30 or 60 or 90 days, they were at liberty to do it; that each separate State is required to decide that question for itself' (p. 2884).

"'Mr. Proffitt. Yes.

"'Mr. Proffitt. Yes.

"Senator HATCH. Yes.
"'Mr. Proffitt. I ask that be put in the record.
"'Senator HATCH. Very well. We have already placed in the record the petition of Senator Berry. At the conclusion of your remarks your brief will be included.
"'Senator Connally. And such further brief as he may want to

'Senator HATCH. Yes.

"'(The first and second briefs of the petitioner, respectively, are here set forth in full, as follows:)

""To the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate:

""BRIEF SUPPORTING ORIGINAL PETITION IN THE CASE OF GEORGE L. BERRY v. CHAS. PACE

"'"George L. Berry's right to remain as United States Senator until Tom Stewart qualifies rests upon the following grounds:
"'"1. Berry was appointed by Governor Browning to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate.
"'"2. Amendment 17 of the United States Constitution provides that the Governor of each State shall fill vacancies in the Senate 'as the legislature shall direct."
"'"Under this amendment each State could have a different law.
"'"3. Berry was appointed from Tennessee so the Tennessee law would govern.

would govern.

""4. Section 1930 of the Code of Tennessee provides that an appointee of a Governor to fill a vacancy shall hold office until his successor 'is elected and qualified.'

""5. Congress passed a law in 1934 stating that the salary of Senators, elected to fill a vacancy, would begin the day after the election. This law of Congress passed in 1934 is unconstitutional and void for the following reasons:

""(1) It violates amendment 17 of the United States Constitutional and the latest the latest legislature.

""(1) It violates amendment 17 of the United States Constitution by taking authority vested in the State legislature.
""(2) It violates section 6 of article I of the United States Constitution which states that 'Senators shall receive a compensation
for their services' because if a Senator was paid for time before he
became a Member of the Senate the pay could not be for 'services.'
""(3) There is no way to tell who is elected in an election until
the votes are officially tabulated. In the case of a United States
Senator this takes several weeks in Tennessee because there are 95
different counties to be heard from.

different counties to be heard from.
"'"(4) If a Governor's appointee term should end the day of the election the State would have only one Senator until the results of the election were officially determined—this would violate amendment 17 of the United States Constitution which states that each

shall have two Senators.
""In the present case Tom Stewart's salary could not begin the day after the election, even if the law of Congress was constitu-

tional, for the following reasons:
"'"(1) Stewart has been serving as a district attorney general in

Tennessee since the election. The office of district attorney general in Tennessee since the election. The office of district attorney general and the office of United States Senator are lucrative offices.

"'"(2) Section 26, article 2 of the Constitution of Tennessee states that 'no person in this State shall hold more than one lucrative office at the same time.'

"'"Respectfully submitted, this the 11th day of January 1939.

"'"HANSEL PROFFITT."""

Brief in supplement to brief of legislative counsel, appearing above:

"MEMORANDUM RELATING TO ANNUAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR SALARIES OF SENATORS

"In connection with the payment of salaries of Senators, it has been customary for many years to appropriate, in the regular annual Legislative Appropriation Act, the exact amount required to pay two persons from each State for a period of 12 months at the pay two persons from each State for a period of 12 months at the current rate fixed by statute as compensation for Senators. In making such an appropriation the Congress is, of course, merely recognizing that each State is entitled to two Senators, as provided by the seventeenth amendment, and carrying out the provision of section 6 of article I of the Constitution that "The Senators \* \* shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States."

be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States.'

"Although the Constitution merely requires that compensation be paid to 'Senators,' this requirement has never been so strictly construed as to exclude the payment of compensation to Senators-elect who were elected to fill vacancies to which temporary appointments had been made. In some instances, also, payments have been made out of the regular appropriations to temporary appointees to the Senate instead of to their elected successors for the period between election day and the day when the latter took the oath of office as Senators. However, the fact that each regular appropriation is sufficient to pay but two persons from each State during a period of 12 months would seem to preclude using any part of any such appropriation for paying both the Senator-elect and his appointed predecessor for any period after election day. As a result, if any dispute arises as to which of the two persons should be paid for such period, it will be necessary to choose between them if the purpose for which the annual appropriation was made is to be carried out. The choice between the appointee and the Senator-elect in any such case will depend in the first instance upon what is provided in the compensation statutes with respect to payments, and in the absence of a clear and unambiguous statutory provision which requires the payment of compensation to the appointee until the Senator-elect takes the oath of office as a Senator, it has been customary recently to make the payment to the latter and this practice has been generally accepted as being proper. If both were paid during the same period it might well be said that the payment to one of them, at least, was merely an unauthorized gratuity, and in any such case a deficiency appropriation would have to be made in order to obtain sufficient funds to pay the Senators from the other States the full amount of their salaries.

"It should be noted, perhaps, that the existence of a statutory provision which auth

of the Senator-elect instead of the appointee after election day, will not be conclusive on the question as to which of them is entitled to the office of Senator, since it has not been definitely determined by the courts whether the status of any such appointee as a Senator continues beyond the day his successor is elected. About all that can be said of any provision of that sort is that it indicates a definite intent not to pay both persons for the same period, although it may well be that those who enacted the provision were of opinion that the person for whom payment was provided was actually entitled to it under the Constitution.

"If payment was authorized to be made to the Senator-elect after election day and it was subsequently decided that he was entitled

"If payment was authorized to be made to the Senator-elect after election day and it was subsequently decided that he was entitled to the office of Senator from that day, the appointee who preceded him would, of course, have no valid claim for any compensation as a Senator after election day. As any such claim must necessarily be based on the fact that the status of the appointee as a Senator continues until his elected successor takes office, a determination that such status ceased on election day would have the effect of de-

stroying any claim which he might have for further compensation. It follows that if payment was authorized to be made to him after election day rather than to the Senator-elect, and the latter was held to be entitled to the office of Senator as soon as he was elected, any payment to the appointee beyond election day would in effect be a gratuity in spite of the fact that the statute provided for it. The Senator-elect in such case could not claim that his predecessor had been paid unlawfully, and his own claim for compensation between election day and the day he was sworn in, if he was not paid, would have to be based upon the fact that he was a 'Senator' during that period within the meaning of the compensation provision of the Constitution.

"On the other hand, if it should be decided that the appointee's status as a Senator continued under the Constitution until his elected successor was sworn in, he would be entitled to receive compensation until that time even though there was a specific conversion in the compensation statutes authorizing the payment of the Senator-elect. In such a case the latter rather than the appointee would have received a gratuity, although the payment was made in

would have received a gratuity, although the payment was made in accordance with law.

"Conceivably, the Congress might provide for paying both an appointee and his elected successor between election day and the time the latter took the oath of office as a Senator, but this would be contrary to the customary practice as evidenced by the amounts regularly appropriated annually for salaries of Senators. However, if a provision for the payment of the two persons for the same period of time was in effect, the failure to pay either of them would give rise to a valid claim for compensation under the terms of the statute, and in that connection it would not be necessary to decide the constitutional question as to which person was entitled to the office of Senator. office of Senator.

office of Senator.

"It is also conceivable that under a strict construction of the Constitution the Congress might fail to provide for the payment of compensation to the elected successor of an appointee until the successor took the oath of office as Senator, since the Constitution merely provides that 'Senators' shall receive a compensation for their services to be paid out of the Federal Treasury. If such a limited construction of the Constitution should be upheld, it would be convex make no difference as far as his claim for it would, of course, make no difference, as far as his claim for compensation was concerned, whether the Senator-elect was held

to be entitled to the office or not.

compensation was concerned, whether the Senator-elect was held to be entitled to the office or not.

"The failure of the Congress to provide for the payment of compensation either to the appointee or to his elected successor between election day and the time the latter took office as a Senator would necessarily involve a determination of the constitutional question in connection with a claim for compensation. In any such case it would not be a question of a right under the statute but whether either person was entitled to compensation under the Constitution in the absence of a statutory provision for the payment of compensation to him. The appointee would have to establish at least that his status of Senator continued until his elected successor was sworn in, and the Senator-elect would have to establish not only that he was entitled to the office of Senator from the day of his election but also that he was a "Senator within the meaning of the compensation provision of the Constitution and therefore entitled to be paid. It is unlikely, however, that a situation will arise in which the courts will be called upon to decide the constitutional question because there has been a failure to pay the appointee as well as the Senator-elect, and it is assumed that the present practice of appropriating enough each year to pay two persons from each State throughout the year will be continued.

"The case which is most likely to arise is one in which it is

be continued.

"The case which is most likely to arise is one in which it is claimed that the appointee rather than the Senator-elect should be paid, but if provision was actually made for paying the latter it is difficult to see how the compensation statute itself could be attacked on constitutional grounds. If it should be decided that the appointee's status as a Senator continued beyond election day, payment of compensation to him would probably be required and made, but that would not necessarily invalidate the statute or the prior payments to the Senator-elect. If they were made in accordance with the statute, the payments to the Senator-elect could not be said to be unauthorized regardless of whether it was believed at the time the statute was enacted that payment was believed at the time the statute was enacted that payment was being provided for the person constitutionally entitled to it. "As the seventeenth amendment by its terms does not provide

that a temporary appointee to the Senate shall hold office and be paid until the day his elected successor is qualified, the claim of such an appointee to payment of compensation as a Senator until that day arrives (in the absence, of course, of a definite and unambiguous statutory provision requiring such payment) must necessity be bested upon a broad interpretation of the provision in the ambiguous statutory provision requiring such payment) must necessarily be based upon a broad interpretation of the proviso in the second paragraph of the seventeenth amendment to the effect that the provisions of the State laws authorizing the making of temporary appointments to the Senate are to be completely controlling with respect to the duration of such appointments no matter what conditions such laws impose. If, for example, a State law should provide that the Governor could make a temporary appointment which would last until such time as the successor to pointment which would last until such time as the successor to pointment which would last until such time as the successor to the appointee was sworn in as a Senator, or until a specified day, the argument would be that the provisions of the State law would govern. However, this argument seems to disregard not only the spirit of the seventeenth amendment and the purpose for which it was adopted, but also the specific limitation in the amendment itself that the legislature of any State may empower its executive to make temporary appointments 'until the people fill the vacancies by election.'

"The fact that 30 States have in effect restricted the duration of "The fact that 30 States have in effect restricted the duration of such temporary appointments to the period between the making of the appointment and the election of the successor to the appointee would seem to indicate that the limitation contained in the amendment should not be disregarded. On the other hand, in 15 States the statutory provisions relating to temporary appointments to the Senate are apparently broad enough to permit an appointee to hold office for some period beyond the day his successor is elected, although it is believed that on an analysis of some of these provisions at least a different interpretation as to their scope might reasonably be reached. In any event, there is their scope might reasonably be reached. In any event, there is an apparent conflict between the provisions in the two groups of States, and it would seem that a definite solution might not be reached until an authoritative opinion has been rendered by the courts with respect to the seventeenth amendment.'

#### CONCLUSIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

It is the conclusion of the committee that under the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, reading in part, as follows:

"Provided that the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct," the term of service of a Senator appointed to fill a vacancy in an unexpired term ends on the day when his successor is elected by

the people.

It is the further conclusion of the committee that under the act of Congress of February 13, 1935, in part, reading as follows:

"Provided that when Senators have been elected during a sine die adjournment of the Senate to succeed appointees, the salaries of Senators so elected shall commence on the day following their election,"

the compensation of the appointed Senator ends with the day of the election of his successor by the people. It is, therefore, the conclusion of the committee that Hon. George L. Berry, late a United States Senator from the State of Tennessee is not entitled to compensation after November 8, 1938.

#### BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

S. 1100. A bill for the completion of the construction of the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal across Florida; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. ELLENDER:

S. 1101. A bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, with respect to cotton-loan agreements, to make further provision for reduction in the oversupply of cotton in the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. GLASS:

S. 1102. A bill to continue the functions of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

S. 1103. A bill authorizing the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the life, works, and memory of Will Rogers; the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 1104. A bill to provide for conveying to the United States the land, buildings, and improvements comprising the Choctaw and Chickasaw Sanatorium and General Hospital; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. MALONEY:

S. 1105. A bill for the relief of Catherine D. Pilgard; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1106. A bill for the relief of the East Coast Ship & Yacht Corporation, of Noank, Conn.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mrs. CARAWAY:

S. 1107. A bill to amend the act of June 15, 1936 (49 Stat. 1516), authorizing the extension of the boundaries of the Hot Springs National Park, in the State of Arkansas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands and

By Mr. HOLMAN and Mr. SCHWELLENBACH:

S. 1108. A bill to restrict the exportation of certain Douglas fir peeler logs and Port Orford cedar logs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. MILLER:

S. 1109. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to aid the several States in making, or for having made, certain toll bridges on the system of Federal-aid highways free bridges, and for other purposes," by providing that funds

available under such act may be used to match regular and secondary Federal-aid road funds; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

(Mr. Thomas of Utah introduced Senate bill 1110, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, and appears under a separate hearing.)

By Mr. WALSH:

S. 1111. A bill to amend section 302 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (46 Stat. 686; 26 U.S. C. 1481b), as amended, so as to exempt Guam and American Samoa from internal-revenue taxes; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 1112. A bill to further amend the act entitled "An act to establish a retirement system for employees of carriers subject to the Interstate Commerce Act, and for other purposes," approved August 29, 1935, as amended; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

S. 1113. A bill to provide for the removal of civil or criminal prosecutions from a State court to the United States district court in certain cases: and

S. 1114. A bill to extend the jurisdiction of the United States District Court, Territory of Hawaii, over the Midway Islands, Wake Island, Johnston Island, Sand Island, Kingman Reef, Kure Island, Baker Island, Howland Island, Jarvis Island, Canton Island, Enderbury Island, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 1115. A bill for the relief of Lt. Malcolm A. Hufty, United

States Navy;

S. 1116. A bill to amend section 1860 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (48 U.S.C. 1460), to permit retired officers and enlisted men of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps to hold civil office in any Territory of the United States;

S. 1117. A bill to provide for the reimbursement of certain enlisted men or former enlisted men of the United States Navy for the value of personal effects lost in the hurricane at the submarine base, New London, Conn., on September 21, 1938;

S. 1118. A bill to provide for acceptance and cashing of Government pay checks of retired naval personnel and members of the Naval and Marine Corps Reserves by commissary stores and ship's stores ashore, located outside the continental limits of the United States; and

S. 1119. A bill to provide an additional sum for the payment of a claim under the act entitled "An act to provide for the reimbursement of certain officers and enlisted men or former officers and enlisted men of the Navy and Marine Corps for personal property lost, damaged, or destroyed as a result of the earthquake which occurred at Managua, Nicaragua, on March 31, 1931," approved January 21, 1936 (49 Stat. 2212); to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. BONE:

S. 1120. A bill to protect and preserve the salmon fishery of Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. CAPPER:

S. 1121. A bill for the relief of Elijah Wallace; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. KING:

S. 1122. A bill for the relief of Royal Terry, Chris Larsen, Joe Pargis, and S. L. Hinckley; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1123. A bill to amend paragraph 57 of section 8 of the act entitled "An act making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, and for other purposes," approved March 4, 1913;

S. 1124. A bill to provide for insurance rates against loss by fire and lightning, and for other purposes;

S. 1125. A bill to provide for the appointment of research assistants in the public schools of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes:

S. 1126. A bill to provide alternative methods of enforcement of orders, rules, and regulations of the Joint Board and of the Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia;

S. 1127. A bill to authorize and empower the Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia to limit the number of public vehicles to be licensed and operated as taxicabs in the District of Columba:

S. 1128. A bill to regulate the practice of professional engineering and creating a board for licensure of professional

engineers in and for the District of Columbia;

S. 1129. A bill to amend paragraphs 31 and 33 of an act entitled "An act to amend section 7 of an act entitled 'An act making appropriations to provide for the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, and for other purposes,' approved July 1, 1902, and for other purposes," approved July 1, 1932; and

S. 1130. A bill to amend Public Law No. 111, Sixty-sixth Congress, entitled "An act for the retirement of public-school teachers in the District of Columbia"; to the Committee on

the District of Columbia.

S. 1131. A bill to amend the act of June 7, 1935 (49 Stat. 332), and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

(Mr. King introduced Senate bill 1132, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. FRAZIER:

S. 1133. A bill relating to the location of the buildings to be used by the District of Columbia for the inspection of motor vehicles; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. McNARY:

S. 1134. A bill to amend the Revenue Act of 1938 with respect to the credit for dependents; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 1135. A bill granting a pension to John Burkland; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. RUSSELL:

S. 1136. A bill to authorize Federal cooperation in the acquisition of lands for the Fort Frederica National Monument at St. Simons Island, Ga., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. WHITE:

S. 1137. A bill for the conservation of lobsters, to regulate interstate transportation of lobsters, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 1138. A bill granting a pension to Mary Jane Blackman; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CONNALLY:

S. 1139. A bill to provide for the distribution to needy persons of articles manufactured from certain cotton owned by the United States; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. MINTON:

S. 1140. A bill granting a pension to Pearl Littell Blocher; and

S. 1141. A bill granting a pension to Charity Cooper; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BULOW:

S. 1142. A bill granting an increase of pension to Frank C. Goings; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NEELY:

S. 1143. A bill granting a pension to Henry B. Lyons; and S. 1144. A bill granting a pension to Ruby McIntosh; to the

Committee on Pensions.
S. 1145. A bill for the relief of William Luther Amonette,
Jr.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 1146. A bill for the relief of the leader of the Naval Academy Band; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 1147. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary Watkins; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SCHWELLENBACH:

S. 1148. A bill extending the provisions of an act entitled "An act to amend the act entitled 'An act for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service, and for other purposes,' approved May 22, 1920, and acts in amendment thereof," to W. P. Campbell; to the Committee on Civil Service.

S. 1149. A bill for the relief of Mary J. Blattner; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1150. A bill to authorize the award of the Purple Heart Decoration to Harry Weingarten; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1151. A bill to provide that the benefits of the naturalization laws shall not be denied any person because of his having received relief from a governmental agency; to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

S. 1152. A bill for the relief of Berthel Christopher; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 1153. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Francis Holliday Carson; to the Committee on Pensions.

S. 1154. A bill to promote the efficiency of the National Defense:

S. 1155. A bill to provide for probationary appointments

of officers in the Regular Army; and

S. 1156. A bill to authorize the transfer to the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Treasury of portions of the property within the military reservation known as the Morehead City Target Range, N. C., for the construction of improvements thereon, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HOLMAN:

S. 1157. A bill for the relief of the legal guardian of Roy D. Cook, a minor; to the Committee on Claims.

S.1158. A bill granting a pension to O. Scott Clark; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NYE:

S. 1159. A bill to provide for making deductions from the salaries or other compensation of officers and employees of the United States for delinquent personal-property taxes in any State or Territory of the United States, or political subdivision thereof, or the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 1160. A bill for the relief of Roland Hanson, a minor;

to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LEE:

S. 1161. A bill to provide for the training of reserve leaders of military bands; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PEPPER:

S. 1162. A bill to provide for the recognition of the services of the civilian officials and employees, citizens of the United States, engaged in and about the construction of the Panama Canal; to the Committee on Interoceanic Canals.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

S. 1163. A bill to exempt employees of certain local telephone systems from the provisions of sections 6 and 7 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HATCH:

S. 1164. A bill for the relief of Nadine Sanders; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McCARRAN:

S. 1165. A bill for the relief of Fred M. Munn; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CAPPER:

S. J. Res. 54. Joint resolution proposing to amend the Constitution of the United States to exclude aliens in counting the whole number of persons in each State for apportionment of Representatives among the several States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(Mr. Longe introduced Senate Joint Resolution 55, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency,

and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BRIDGES (for himself and Mr. Tobey, Mr. Danaher, and Mr. Taft):

S. J. Res. 56. Joint resolution to repeal certain powers of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury relating to the issuing of \$3,000,000,000 of greenbacks; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. WHITE:

S. J. Res. 57. Joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to cause a completion of surveys, test borings, and foundation investigations to be made to determine the advisability and cost of putting in a small experimental plant for development of tidal power in the waters in and about Passamaquoddy Bay, the cost thereof to be paid from appropriations heretofore or hereafter made for such examinations; to the Committee on Commerce.

PERMANENT STATUS FOR CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill amending the Civilian Conservation Corps Act.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill of the Senator from Utah will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1110) to amend the act entitled "An act to establish a Civilian Conservation Corps, and for other purposes," approved June 28, 1937, as amended, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, the bill which I have just introduced will, if enacted into law, make a most successful recovery feature of the last 6 years a permanent institution. I refer to the Civilian Conservation Corps, which in popularity and utility perhaps has surpassed any of the other emergency services.

The amendment of the law which the bill proposes has been well considered both by its nominal author and some of his legislative associates, and by those charged with administration of the acts since 1933. There is no need here to recount the successes of the C. C. C. The activities of the corps have not escaped even the least observing, and few Senators, if any, have not an intimate knowledge of the working of the camps.

It will be recalled that the life of the C. C. C. has been extended until July 1, 1940. It then is not a desperate matter that its consideration be concluded in the first session of this Seventy-sixth Congress. It is, however, important that we keep abreast of all legislation, as none of us can foresee what momentous problems will rise to consume our time in the future. For this reason and others which shall appear, not the least of which is that the matter was made subject of a message from the President of the United States, I present my amendment at this time.

As prepared, the most important provision in the amendment is that it makes the Civilian Conservation Corps, as it stands, a permanent institution. Unless serious question is raised that is not now in contemplation, there need be no present debate on the advisability of this action. It would be a waste of words to argue the merits of having a C. C. C. in the permanent plan of American life. As a force for rescue, education, and national development it has no social equal. Therefore I shall not take time to defend the broader aspects of a program the efficiency of which is so well known to Senators.

Next, the amendment as prepared is designed to bring the Civilian Conservation Corps, excepting Reserve officers, enrollees, and unskilled labor, within the scope of civil service. This is a departure from the emergency service that has ample precedent in other emergency services which have grown to legislative manhood, and, like the first proposition, speaks for itself.

Finally, the amendment as prepared adopts an official seal, another natural development.

This, in short, is all I have to offer today for the purpose of launching a movement to make the C. C. C. permanent. Similar legislation has been offered in the House of Representatives.

At the risk of seeking to gild the lily, however, I take occasion to express the thought that this amendment does not represent the ultimate in C. C. C. perfection, and that thoughtful work might well be done to perfect the C. C. C. organization. We have before us a real opportunity. It seems almost irreverent to suggest that this organization has weaknesses, or might be strengthened in any way. In truth it would be an affront to Mr. Fechner and his associates to imply in the slightest degree that they have not performed what amounts to a social miracle. I am in dead earnest. The C. C. C. fairly shines with splendid-achievement. At least it would seem a miracle, though there are other places

to bestow praise than upon the C. C. directorate proper. The War Department was ready, and set about its immense task with its customary calm and efficiency. War departments must not be caught by anything as mild as evolution, and it was not caught off guard. Those of us who saw the mobilization in 1917 and were witnesses to what took place in 1933, realize in the fullest degree the tremendous advance which our Army has made in this regard.

As for the Forest Service, it had a 10-year plan with better preparations than hope, and to this Service the coming of the C. C. C. was but an accidental fulfillment of a sober and studied desire.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. I am glad to yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. Does the Senator's bill provide for military training in the C. C. camps?

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. It does not.

Mr. CONNALLY. Why not?

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Just because it does not provide for it. That question can be properly considered at another time.

Mr. CONNALLY. Personally, I think we ought to have military training in all the C. C. C. camps. It happens that they are potential bases for the training of soldiers. The enrollees have officers in charge of them, but the officers do not drill them.

I make that suggestion to the Senator.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, that is a matter which will have to be considered when the proper time comes.

Of course, the Forest Service was ready. Success was instantaneous. Therefore, deliberation and comprehensive preparation did dominate even the earliest days of the C. C. C., however much a terse message from the President and a ready public response might have vitalized it. The grazing feature came later, of course, but with scarcely less preparation. The same thing might be said with equal truth of the 601 camps on State, National, and private forests.

At this point I may remind Senators who were present at the first meeting for the consideration of the C. C. C. proposal of an incident which took place at that meeting, to show how completely an idea has grown into something which no one expected.

There was discussion of how work might be done on the private forests. During that discussion I happened to point out that that was not the great problem we imagined, because I said, "If we teach 50,000 young men the vocation of reforestation, those men will find jobs for themselves, and in that way take care of the private forest lands."

What I want to point out is that as soon as I mentioned the fact of 50,000 men doing reforestation work in this country there was complaint and objection. We were told that our country would never stand for a movement of that kind, so large a movement, calling so many men to this type of service; yet, Mr. President, I must call attention to the fact that at one time we had nearly 600,000 men at work in this great institution.

The 355 Soil Conservation camps, the 38 drainage camps, the 33 Biological Survey camps, the 73 national parks or monuments camps, the 237 State parks camps, the 90 grazing camps, the 44 reclamation camps, and the 29 miscellaneous camps of today—all the services of which I have any knowledge—were fully ready to receive men and install camps in fulfillment of specific services which had been conceived of a long, long time in every case. It is well that we plan ahead. Sometimes the fulfillment comes faster than we may expect. Yet, as one who visited dozens of camps in the first year of their creation and who has been interested in the minutest details surrounding C. C. C. life, I should be smug and shirking were I not to analyze what appear to be points of potential development, and respectfully invite committee and floor amendments along some of the following lines:

First, there is the matter of an education for the C. C. boy. It is not a kindness to take a young man who had never finished the sixth or seventh school grade, remove him from

a city in which he might with diligence obtain knowledge and credits from at least an evening school, and, instead, place him in a forest or its equivalent, thus delaying this opportunity. Again I hasten to give credit to the C. C. C. administrators for attending to this duty to the very best of their abilities; for we must recognize that, to quote the Director's annual report for 1938:

More than half the States have made arrangements to award elementary-school or high-school certificates to qualified enrollees. One State, Montana, has designated each C. C. C. camp as a technical high school for the accrediting of vocational training and related work.

Here, too, I must call attention to the practice in some of the camps, allowed under the law, of issuing certificates of proficiency when boys have finished certain activities. These certificates have been in very deed, time and time again, an "open sesame" to a job. This is testimony to the work of the organization. It also is testimony to further opportunity on a broader scale; for elsewhere in the report it is implied that the educational level of our C. C. C. boys is what I, as a former educator, would have to term very low.

Of 257,697 juniors selected and accepted in the C. C. C. for the fiscal year 1937, it appears that 156,283, or 60.3 percent, had finished only the elementary school or less. I mean that 60 percent of our boys had finished only the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, or eighth grades. A figure of 53.87 percent, or a substantial improvement, is reflected in the fiscal year 1938, yet the number was 136,711 out of a possible 253,776. This is a challenge to the C. C. C. organization and a challenge to Senators. More than half our C. C. C. boys will never get into high school or its equivalent unless the C. C. C. makes it available to them.

I am not complaining. I am merely pointing out the fact that when we turn to do what was done, so far as this body of Congress was concerned, a year ago—making this institution a permanent institution—we want to have some basis for its permanency. Shall we rest the C. C. C. upon the basis of education? Shall we rest it upon the basis of conservation? Shall we rest it upon the basis of military training, as was suggested a moment ago by the Senator from Texas [Mr. Connally]? Shall we find what is the real need and what is the key to this need and place the C. C. C. upon that basis?

Personally, I believe that the greatest influence the C. C. C. has is a human influence, and that in doing that it gives to hundreds of thousands of our young men an opportunity for some social experiences of which they have been deprived, because they never had the opportunity to go to a high school or a college, to go into the Army or into the Navy, or to do any work in which they are taught teamwork with other men, which, of course, is the very essence of any democratic principle. Therefore, in the establishment of a permanent institution it might be well for us to think of the various bases upon which we wish to rest it and make that institution what the American public want it to become.

The task is very great and must be recognized as such. I recommend that studies be made and careful means be developed to make education in the C. C. C. a universal opportunity. The C. C. C. may be in a position to struggle through on its own initiative; certainly it has made great strides. But if it needs our help in making the proper legislative pattern, it should have it. Perhaps Senators will find the War Department should be relieved from its position as head schoolmaster to the boys, and the Commissioner of Education given a more direct responsibility. Proper hearing and consultation only will reveal the need, if any.

Every consideration should be given to a permanent policy for selecting junior enrollees. Humiliation of a youth as a condition precedent to acceptance for enrollment should prove, on study, to be unnecessary. A rule requiring extraction from relief rolls is at least harsh. I have previously written to President Roosevelt in expression of such an attitude, and obtained from this great humanitarian an expression of sympathy and willingness to share the problem. How

may we determine otherwise need and fitness? I ask Senators to share the problem with us.

I am not altogether converted to the policy of an inflexible allotment of 10-percent enrollment of World War veterans. Past rushes of World War veterans for this opportunity would indicate the figure has been too low, that a higher percentage should have been admitted. We know that 10 to 20 years from now veterans will not need a quota as high as 10 percent. This figure should be fixed annually by the director on advice of many consultants, including experts from the Veterans' Administration and the War Department.

I have informal advices to the effect that the fair-haired favorites for military service with the C. C. C. are the Thomason Act boys; in other words, Reserve officers who have just completed 1 year of active duty with the Regular Army and are surely efficient. Also junior officers are favored because we can engage more of them for the same money. There is nothing, however, to prevent our consideration of

dispension of these coveted posts.

Perhaps it is the Reserve officer who has had little active duty who needs it most, both for his own benefit and that of a Government which needs, if it needs Reserve officers at all, Reserve officers who have had experience in handling men. or boys, in this instance, and directing their welfare in camp, in short, the greatest training for the greatest number. Moreover, rank is relatively unimportant in a C. C. C. organization, for it is not a military institution, and if a captain, major, or colonel of Reserves wishes to do the work for a lieutenant's pay, he should have the opportunity for this leadership and service, and the Government might congratulate itself upon having the use of his matured judgments and sympathetic understanding. Nor should he, of course, be demoted from his better grade. It is possible that a C. C. C. camp commander's grade should be substituted for the bars and palm leaves, for after all it is not as lieutenants and captains that the leaders are functioning.

Finally, in this connection, it is wise to preserve the theory of an Army of the United States in the spirit of the National Defense Act, and intermingle Regular Army and perhaps the

National Guard officers in this service.

These are nebulous thoughts, and there may be others, but all too important not to be taken into consideration when we face the responsibility for a permanent pattern for the Civilian Conservation Corps. Six years ago the whole proposition was nebulous, we had to act in haste, and a miracle, in all seriousness, was performed. We now are not faced with such hurry, and may not expect to be as lucky, or as inspired, in exercising snap judgments. I therefore urge deliberation and sober study. We have seen the camp idea in many countries. Some of these we do not want to emulate. We have creditably preserved the American ideal. Our task now is to develop it.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I wish to say that I have been extremely interested in what the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. Thomas] has stated in reference to the Civilian Conservation camps, which are located the length and breadth of the United States. I desire to say to him that I am exceedingly regretful that I was not in the Chamber when he began his remarks, and thus did not have an opportunity to hear all he had to say in regard to this very fine organization. Unfortunately for me, I was detained between here and my office by a delegation of North Carolinians who required my attention. I make this remark in order that my constituents may know that I am on the job and to show them why I was a little late in arriving in the Senate Chamber. [Laughter.]

When I entered the Chamber I made inquiry of one of my colleagues as to the nature of the legislation which the junior Senator from Utah was desirous of having enacted which occasioned his addressing the Senate at this time. I learned that he was desirous of making the C. C. C. organi-

zation a permanent one.

In this connection I hope sincerely that if the C. C. c. organization shall be made permanent we will decide at the same time, or later, to bring about the enactment of a bill I

have drafted, and which I shall present to the Senate for consideration, which embodies the idea of providing the boys who are engaged in work at the C. C. C. camps with military training. I know that this organization was hurriedly thrown together in the month, as I recall, of April 1933, at the suggestion of our great chief and our great President, the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt.

#### MEMBERSHIP AND FUNCTIONS OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I introduce a bill for appropriate reference relating to the membership and functions of the Interstate Commerce Commission. I ask that the bill be printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the bill will be properly referred and printed in the RECORD, and the statement submitted by the Senator from Utah will also be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1132) relating to the membership and functions of the Interstate Commerce Commission was read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That (a) the Interstate Commerce Commission shall be composed of five Commissioners, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, after the date of enactment of this act, but each Commissioner in office the date of enactment of this act, but each Commissioner in office on such date shall continue to serve as a Commissioner until June 1, 1939. The terms of office of the five Commissioners first taking office after the date of enactment of this act shall expire, as designated by the President at the time of nomination, one at the end of each of the first 5 years after such date. The term of office of a successor to any such Commissioner shall expire 7 years from the date of the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed, except that any Commissioner appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed, shall be appointed for the remainder of such term. Upon the expiration of their terms of office Commissioners appointed after the date of enactment of this act shall continue to serve until their successors are appointed and have qualified. appointed and have qualified.
(b) Any Commissioner appointed after the date of enactment

(b) Any Commissioner appointed after the date of enactment of this act may be removed by the President for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office. Not more than three of such Commissioners shall be appointed from the same political party. No person in the employ of or holding any official relation to any common carrier subject to the provisions of part I of the Interstate Commerce Act, or owning stock or bonds thereof, or who is in any manner pecuniarily interested therein shall enter upon the duties of or continue to hold office as a Commissioner. The Commissioners shall not engage in any other business, voca-tion, or employment. Each Commissioner shall receive an annual

salary of \$12,000, payable monthly. No vacancy in the Commission shall impair the right of the remaining Commissioners to exercise all the powers of the Commission.

SEC. 2. Upon the expiration of 180 days after the date of enactment of this act all powers, duties, and functions of such Commission, under part I of the Interstate Commerce Act, with respect to the following metters, shall cease and terminate:

to the following matters, shall cease and terminate:
(1) The initiation by the Commission of investigations, other than those relating to the installation, use, or maintenance of

safety devices and systems.

(2) The issuance of certificates of present or future public convenience and necessity with respect to the extension by common carriers of any line, the construction of a new line, or the abandonment of a line or portion thereof.

(3) The ordering of any common carrier to construct, maintain, and operate switch connections with any lateral, branch line, or private sidetrack.

private sidetrack.

(4) The determination and prescribing of any rate, fare, or charge to be observed by any common carrier, or any classification, regulation, or practice affecting any rate, fare, or charge, to be followed by any common carrier, in connection with the transportation of passengers or property.

(5) The suspension of the operation of any new schedule of rates, fares, or charges, or any new classification, or any new regulation or practice affecting any rate, fare, or charge, or deferring the use of any such rate, fare, charge, classification, regulation, or practice.

lation, or practice.

(6) The issuance and use by common carriers of scrip or inter-changeable mileage tickets.

(7) The granting of authority for any person to hold the position of officer or director of more than one common carrier.
(8) The routing of traffic.

(8) The routing of traffic.

SEC. 3. (a) Upon the expiration of 180 days after the date of enactment of this act, hearings may be held by such Commission for the purpose of determining whether any rate, fare, charge, classification, regulation, or practice of a common carrier subject to part I of the Interstate Commerce Act is or will be unjust or unreasonable or unjustly discriminatory or unduly preferential or prejudicial, or otherwise in violation of any of the provisions such part, but such hearings shall be held only after a complaint

made as provided in section 13 of such part I has been filed with the Commission.

(b) If, after a full hearing upon such complaint, the Commission shall determine that such rate, fare, charge, classification, regulation, or practice is or will be unjust or unreasonable, or unjustly discriminatory or unduly preferential or prejudicial, or otherwise in violation of part I of such act, the Commission shall make an order that the common carrier concerned shall cease and desist from such violation to the extent to which the Commission finds the same does or will exist.

SEC. 4. All acts or parts of acts in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, the first section of the bill abolishes the existing 11-member Interstate Commerce Commission and establishes a new Commission consisting of only 5 Commissioners, but it is provided, however, that the Commissioners now serving as members of the Commission shall continue in that capacity until June 1, 1939, on which date the new Commission shall take office. The new Commissioners first taking office are to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for terms of from 1 to 5 years as designated by the President at the time of nomination. The successors of such Commissioners, however, are to be appointed in the same manner but for terms of 7 years, except that the appointee for any unexpired term shall serve only for the remainder of such term. The remaining provisions of this section relate to eligibility for the office of Commissioner, the salary, and the removal power, which makes no material change in the existing provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act.

Section 2 of the bill provides that upon the expiration of 180 days after the date the bill becomes law, all powers, duties, and functions of the Commission, under part 1 of the Interstate Commerce Act, relating to the following matters shall cease and terminate:

First. The initiation by the Commission of investigations, other than those relating to the installation, use, or maintenance of safety devices and systems. Existing law permits the Commission, of its own initiative, without a complaint, to institute an inquiry in any case as to any matter or thing concerning which a complaint could be made before the Commission, or concerning which any question might arise under any of the provisions of part I of the Interstate Commerce Act, or relating to the enforcement of any of the provisions of part I of such act, except the making of orders for the payment of money. The effect of this provision in the bill is to have the Commission act only upon the filing of a complaint alleging a violation of the Interstate Commerce Act.

Second. The issuance of certificates of present or future public convenience and necessity with respect to the extension by common carriers of any line, the construction of a new line, or the abandonment of a line or portion thereof.

Third. The ordering of any common carrier to construct, maintain, and operate switch connections with any lateral, branch line, or private sidetrack.

Fourth. The determination and prescribing of any rate, fare, or charge to be observed by any common carrier, or any classification, regulation, or practice affecting any rate, fare, or charge, to be followed by any common carrier in connection with the transportation of passengers or property. The effect of this provision is to restrict the Commission to action only upon complaint as to the reasonableness or discriminatory nature of any rate, fare, or charge or any classification, regulation, or practice affecting any rate, fare, or charge of a common carrier, in connection with the transportation of passengers or property. This provision of the bill makes the action of the Commission in such matters similar to that authorized by the original Interstate Commerce Act.

Fifth. The suspension of the operation of any new schedule of rates, fares, or charges, or any new classification, or any new regulation or practice affecting any rate, fare, or charge, or deferring the use of any such rate, fare, charge, classification, regulation, or practice.

Sixth. The issuance and use by common carriers of scrip or interchangeable mileage tickes.

Seventh. The granting of authority for any person to hold the position of officer or director of more than one common carrier.

Eighth. The routing of traffic.

Section 3 of the bill relates to the jurisdiction of the Commission with respect to holding hearings for the purpose of determining whether any rate, fare, charge, classification, regulation, or practice of a common carrier is or will be unjust or unreasonable or unjustly discriminatory or unduly preferential or prejudicial, or otherwise in violation of part I of the Interstate Commerce Act. Such hearings are to be held only after a complaint has been filed with the Commission for such purpose. The Commission now has the authority to initiate investigations and hold hearings on such matters without a complaint being previously filed.

Section 4 of the bill repeals all acts or parts of acts which are in conflict with the provisions of the bill.

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES—OPERATIONS OF STABILIZATION FUND

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I introduce a joint resolution for appropriate reference, and should like to say in connection therewith that recent developments show how little the American people are being permitted to know about the conduct of their foreign policy.

One of the most important tools in the conduct of foreign relations is the \$2,000,000,000 fund which is used by the Secretary of the Treasury to buy and sell foreign money. Can one imagine any greater power than that of juggling a foreign nation's currency? It actually means that the costs of all the necessities of life may be raised or lowered. Improperly used, this power could make us the most hated nation on earth. There is no precedent in history for taking such liberties with the internal affairs of other nations with whom we are at peace.

Our Government does not divulge the use to which this vast fund has been put. I am therefore introducing a joint resolution requiring Secretary Morgenthau to report as to the manner in which this money has been used, with a complete statement of accounting. Public business should be publicly conducted.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The joint resolution of the Senator from Massachusetts will be received and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 55) to promote peace for the United States by requiring the Secretary of the Treasury to report on the operations of the stabilization fund, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

AMENDMENT TO FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. WALSH submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to House bill 2868, the first deficiency appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed, as follows:

At the proper place, under the heading "Department of Agriculture", insert the following:

"FEDERAL SURPLUS COMMODITIES CORPORATION

"FEDERAL SURPLUS COMMODITIES CORPORATION

"Fish and shellfish: Of the funds available to the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, \$3,000,000 shall be used by such Corporation for the purpose of diverting surplus fish (including shellfish) and the products thereof from the normal channels of trade and commerce in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled 'An act to extend the time for purchase and distribution of surplus agricultural commodities for relief purposes and to continue the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation,' approved June 28, 1937, as amended."

## ADDITIONAL REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. WHITE, from the Committee on Commerce, to which was referred the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 57) authorizing the Secretary of War to cause a completion of surveys, test borings, and foundation investigations to be made to determine the advisability and cost of putting in a small experimental plant for development of tidal power in the waters in and about Passamaquoddy Bay, the cost thereof to be paid from appropriations heretofore or hereafter made for such examinations, reported it without amendment.

#### THE SILVER PURCHASE PROGRAM

[Mr. Townsend asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a statement by himself on the subject of the silver purchase program, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### NATIONAL GRANGE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

[Mr. Capper asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD the National Grange legislative program, approved at the Seventy-second Annual Convention of the National Grange, Portland, Oreg., November 16-24, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

## MARKETING OF AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES

[Mr. Murray asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a letter from Mr. Oscar B. Horsford, of Montana, in relation to the farm problem, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE HITLER SPEECH-ARTICLE BY DOROTHY THOMPSON

[Mr. McKellar asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article by Dorothy Thompson, entitled "The Hitler Speech," printed in the Washington Post of February 1, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### WAGE-HOUR LAW

[Mr. Minton asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the Indianapolis Times of January 25, 1939, entitled "A Real Wage-Hour Case," which appears in the Appendix.]

ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE STEAGALL AT UNVEILING OF BAS-RELIEF IN HONOR OF SENATOR GLASS

[Mr. Byrn asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by Representative STEAGALL, of Alabama, on the occasion of the unveiling of a bas-relief honoring Senator Glass in the Federal Reserve Building on December 23, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

CONSTRUCTIVE THINKING OF YOUNG AMERICA

[Mr. Johnson of Colorado asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD correspondence written between himself and Miss Barbara Duell, of Hamilton Central School, Hamilton, N. Y., which appears in the Appendix.]

APPORTIONMENT OF REPRESENTATIVES—COUNTING OF ALIENS

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I have today reintroduced a proposal to amend the Constitution of the United States so that when apportioning Representatives in the National House of Representatives aliens who have not completed their naturalization shall not be counted.

The Constitution now provides that in apportioning Representatives among the States, the whole number of persons shall be counted, excluding only Indians who are not taxed. The effect of that provision is to give States with large alien populations additional representation in the popular branch of Congress, at the expense of those States whose population is largely made up of native-born and naturalized citizens.

According to the latest census figures, there are some 14,-000,000 foreign-born persons in the United States. Of these nearly 8,000,000 are naturalized citizens. The latter would be counted if the amendment I am proposing should be submitted to the States and should be ratified.

More than 1.000.000 of these foreign-born who have taken out first papers would not be counted under the terms of my amendment until they have taken out final citizenship papers. After that they would be counted the same as native-born Americans.

The census also shows some 4,500,000 foreign-born who have made no move toward becoming citizens, plus one-half million carried in the census reports as having no citizenship records at all.

In other words, there are about 6,000,000 foreign-born in this country, not citizens, who are counted in apportioning Representatives in Congress. In one State alone-New Yorkthere are approximately 1,500,000 foreign-born persons who are not citizens, but who are allowed representation in Congress. If my amendment were a part of the Constitution, admittedly that State would have probably four fewer Representatives in Congress. Those four seats would very properly go to other States. I may mention in passing that New

York State, with such a large foreign-born, unnaturalized alien population, does not allow those persons to be counted in apportioning members of their own State legislature, or assembly, thereby admitting the injustice of basing representation upon foreign-born persons unless and until they have become citizens. A few other States would be similarly affected.

I do not intend to take up the time of the Senate today to discuss this proposal at greater length. It seems to me so perfectly plain that representation should be based upon citizenship as not to require extended argument. Later in the session, when the proposal comes before the Senate—and I hope it will come with a favorable committee report—I shall discuss it more at length. I hope Senators will take occasion to study the merits of this proposal and vote according to their best judgment after such study.

I think it is well to keep in mind that we are spending billions of dollars to provide an adequate national defense and to protect ourselves from the attack of enemies from without and absolutely overlooking the possibility of enemy aliens within our borders. Many of them are active in various un-American activities, working and boring from within.

Let me add, too, that I favor the bill now before Congress which would cancel citizenship of aliens advocating principles such as communism, fascism, and nazi-ism. There is no place in our Nation for any man who does not subscribe to the doctrines embodied in the Constitution and laws of the United States.

(See Senate Joint Resolution 54, introduced today by Mr. CAPPER, which appears under the appropriate heading.)

ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF-CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I am somewhat confused as to the order of business under which we are now proceeding. If we are still proceeding under the morning hour, I should be very anxious to present a report for immediate consideration. Is this the time to do it?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate has passed the point of reports of committees.

Mr. ADAMS. I submit the conference report on the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) to provide additional appropriations for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consid-

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The report will be read. The report was read, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendment numbered 6.
That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 2, 3, 8, 10, 11, 14, 17, 18, and 19; and agree to the same.

to the same.

Amendment numbered 1: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 1, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In line 1 of the matter inserted by said amendment after the word "Provided", insert the word "qurther"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 4: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 4, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following: "Provided further, That the Administrator shall immediately cause to be made an investigation of the rolls of relief employees on work projects an investigation of the rolls of relief employees on work projects and eliminate from such rolls those not in actual need:"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 5: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 5, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert: "\$88,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 7: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 7, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: Omit the matter stricken out and inserted by said amendment; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 12: That the House recede from its discovered from its

Amendment numbered 12: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 12, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following: "Provided further, That no funds appropriated in the Emergency Relief Ap-

propriation Act of 1938 or herein appropriated shall be used by any Federal agency, to establish mills or factories which would manufacture for sale articles or materials in competition with existing industries"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 13: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 13, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"Sec. 2. Section 9 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 9. No alien shall be given employment or continued in employment on any project prosecuted under the appropriations contained in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution: Provided, That no part of the money herein appropriated shall be available to pay any person thirty days after the approval of this joint resolution who does not make affidavit as to United States citizenship, such affidavit to be considered prima facie evidence of such citizenship: Provided further, That preference in employment on such projects shall be given in the following order: (1) Veterans of the World War and the Spanish-American War and veterans of any campaign or expedition in which the United States has been engaged (as determined on the basis of the laws administered by the Veterans' Administration) who are in need and are American citizens; (2) other American citizens, Indians and other persons owing allegiance to the United States who are in need." citizens, Indians and other persons owing allegiance to the United States who are in need."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 15: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 15, and

Amendment numbered 15: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 15, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"Sec. 4. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person employed in any administrative or supervisory capacity by any agency of the Federal Government, whose compensation or any part thereof is paid from funds authorized or appropriated by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution, to use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or affecting the results thereof. While such persons shall retain the right to vote as they please and to express privately their opinions on all political subjects, they shall take no active part in political management or in political campaigns.

"(b) Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be immediately removed from the position or office held by him, and thereafter no part of the funds appropriated by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution shall be used to pay the compensation of such person. The provisions of this section shall be in addition to, not in substitution for, any other sections of existing law, or of this joint resolution,"

Amendment numbered 16: That the House recode from its dis-

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 16: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 16, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lines 7 and 8 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out ", or any other act of the Congress"; and the Senate agree to the same.

The committee of conference report in disagreement amend-

ment numbered 9.

ALVA B. ADAMS, CARTER GLASS, KENNETH MCKELLAR, CARL HAYDEN. JAMES F. BYRNES, FREDERICK HALE.
JOHN G. TOWNSEND, Jr.,
Managers on the part of the Senate. EDWARD T. TAYLOR, C. A. WOODRUM, CLARENCE CANNON. Louis Lublow,

THOS. S. McMILLAN, J. BUELL SNYDER, EMMET O'NEAL, GEO. W. JOHNSON, JOHN TABER, J. W. DITTER

Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. ADAMS. I yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. I understand from the reading of the conference report that all the persons now employed by the W. P. A., or by any of the agencies paid for out of this appropriation, although they are known to have been lifelong American citizens, must make affidavit that they are American citizens before they may continue work.

Mr. ADAMS. That is correct.

Mr. BARKLEY. It strikes me that that is rather a hardship on 3,000,000 persons, all of whom, except 30,000, are known to be American citizens.

Mr. ADAMS. I will explain the situation to the Senator. The joint resolution, as it came from the House, contained a flat provision that no relief should be given to any alien. The General Accounting Office said that if that provision

were continued in the joint resolution, the General Accounting Office would require proof of citizenship by official records before any money could be paid to a citizen. The Senate struck out that provision and restated the provision in the existing law. This provision was inserted in an effort to reach an agreement with the House, so that all that would have to be presented would be the affidavit of the individual himself, and there would be no obligation to provide official records, such as birth certificates or naturalization certificates.

Mr. BARKLEY. I suppose from the parliamentary standpoint the Senate had to make some compromise. However, it seems to me it is quite a hardship to require 3,000,000 persons, all except a few thousand of whom are known to be American citizens, who have lived in their communities practically all their lives, and who have voted, and whom everybody recognizes as citizens, to take the trouble to make affidavits and pay notaries public to acknowledge them in order that they may continue to obtain employment.

I am not criticizing the committee for the provision. It may be that in view of the House language it was necessary to do what was done. However, it is a hardship just the

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. BYRNES. The situation confronting the conferees was as the Senator from Colorado has stated. Administratively it was extremely difficult for the Works Progress Administration to work under the provision that no alien could be paid, because that provision would have required the production of birth certificates. This modification provides that prima facie evidence is furnished by the production of an affidavit, and it can be worked out much more easily than the other provision. While only 30,000 persons are affected, at \$1,000 a year each \$30,000,000 of the appropriation is involved. I submit to the Senator from Kentucky that the Works Progress Administration can easily have affidavit forms printed and furnished to the employees.

Mr. ADAMS. The provision does not go into effect for

30 days.

Mr. BYRNES. As the Senator from Colorado suggests, the provision will not go into effect for 30 days, so there will be ample time to obtain affidavits. If the affidavit form is printed and furnished there will be no hardship, but the Congress will be enabled to accomplish what it has been trying to accomplish, and that is to prevent the expenditure of \$30,000,000 of this fund to aliens.

Mr. BARKLEY. I should like to ask the Senator another question. From the report of the conference committee I know that the Senate yielded and eliminated one of the amendments which I offered and which was agreed to, making it a violation of the law to solicit contributions from or to assess employees paid by any other appropriation of Con-

gress in addition to this particular relief measure.

I will say to the Senator that my object in offering my amendment was to protect thousands of road hands in this country who are working on Federal road projects, one-half the cost of which is paid by the Federal Government, but over whose appointment the Federal Government has no jurisdiction whatever. I wanted to protect them from the pernicious and wicked practice of being assessed a percentage of their wages in order to raise a campaign fund for some candidate for office. I happen to know of instances in which old-age pension agents appointed by State governments, not by the Federal Government-although half their compensation and half the pensions are being paid out of the Treasury of the United States-were commandeered, assessed, and solicited. If they did not respond they lost their positions, and there was nothing the Federal Government could do about it.

Unemployment insurance under the Social Security Act is financed altogether by the Federal Government, although the appointments to administer the law are made by local authorities over whom the Federal Government has no jurisdiction whatever. There are many others besides these three groups. In the case of unemployment insurance and

old-age pensions, financed in part and sponsored by the Federal Government, the Federal Government does not even reserve the right to pass upon the qualifications of anybody who administers the law. All over the Nation men who are working upon Federal highways, half the cost of which is matched by State appropriations, are left without any protection from the exercise of coercion and intimidation, and from the forcible retention of a part of their compensation in order that campaign contributions may be collected from them. I know instances in which the pay checks of men working upon the roads were cashed by the authority which appointed them. A certain percentage was taken out, and the balance was delivered to the employees.

The object I had in mind in offering my amendment was to protect those groups from the very thing from which we are seeking to protect W. P. A. employees. I think it is unfortunate that in the conference report we have left these persons without any protection whatever, to be the victims of any local authority which desires to levy assessments

upon them.

Mr. WALSH and Mr. HAYDEN addressed the Chair. The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Colorado has the floor. Does he yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. ADAMS. I had yielded to the Senator from Kentucky. If the Senator from Kentucky is through, I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I agree with what the Senator from Kentucky has said. An abundance of evidence was presented to the Sheppard committee describing the very abuses which the Senator from Kentucky describes. I think the recommendations of that committee should suggest legislation to cover the situation of which the Senator complains. He is correct in his statement of the abuses.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course, I hope that matter will be taken care of in any permanent legislation which we may enact. I do not know when that legislation will be enacted. There is no way to prophesy as to that. Thousands upon thousands of men who are engaged in the administration of Federal laws are subject only to local appointment, and the local appointing authority is not in any way subject to removal or punishment by the Federal Government for engaging in the practices I have mentioned. The men working upon such projects are just as deserving and just as worthy of protection as are men who work upon projects under the W. P. A. or any of the agencies cared for in the joint resolution.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. ADAMS. I yield.

Mr. HAYDEN. I should like to make an observation in connection with any possible permanent legislation. The language written into the amendment offered by the Senator from Kentucky would not fit the road employees he mentions. I will tell the Senator why. Under the Federal Aid Highway Act a State must do the work itself. The men are paid from State appropriations. After the work is done, if the work meets the Federal standard, the Federal Government reimburses the State for a portion of the cost of the highway. So, technically, anyone employed on a Federal-aid highway project, recognized as such, is paid wholly from State funds. Ultimately the State will be reimbursed for its expenditures.

Mr. BARKLEY. That is a matter of administration. Mr. HAYDEN. No; that is the way the law now reads.

Mr. BARKLEY. Could not the Federal Government advance the money upon a project in which Federal funds are matched by the State, so that simultaneously the two funds would come together?

Mr. HAYDEN. In truth and in fact that is not done, and would not be done. The Senator might think he was accomplishing a certain result, and not accomplish it at all. I am pointing out the facts so that the Senator will realize that in order to meet the situation which he describes we must draw a statute in the light of actual procedure. I agree that the situation of which the Senator complains is grave in many States.

Mr. BARKLEY. That may be true as to the road funds; but it is not true, I think, as to certain other agencies with respect to which the Federal Government puts up a certain percentage.

Mr. HAYDEN. In the case of social security, the Government provides all the money. We know there is no cooperation in that field.

Mr. BARKLEY. That is true.

Mr. HAYDEN. In my judgment, if the amendment of the Senator had been adopted, it would not apply to road workers under the present state of the law.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I should like to make an explanation.

Mr. BARKLEY. I shall be very happy to have the Senator make an explanation of the conference report. I had intended to ask him about one particular amendment.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, in reference to this particular amendment I wish to give not my own explanation but that which prevailed in the conference committee. The conferees felt that they were dealing with legislation affecting relief limited to 434 months. They doubted the wisdom of enacting general criminal legislation having no relationship whatever to the question involved in the joint resolution.

Then, as to the particular amendment, waiving the matter of the propriety of general criminal legislation on a measure of this kind, the amendment is of very grave importance, and it was felt that it ought not to be put into the joint resolution without carefully considering the consequences which would

I followed humbly and faithfully last June the arguments of my distinguished leader and voted with him against the so-called Hatch amendment, for which I received very severe censure on the part of many people in my State. I tried to go along with the leader in this instance, but his movements have shifted too rapidly for the conference committee, and I think that the amendment went beyond what the Senator from Kentucky desired it should accomplish.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield

Mr. ADAMS. Certainly.

Mr. BARKLEY. My movements have not shifted at all; I entertain the same views now that I entertained then, and I have reiterated them over and over again. At that time I did not believe, and I do not now believe, the W. P. A. workers ought to be segregated into a separate class and dealt with politically in a different fashion from the way in which we should want to deal with all employees of the Federal Government or employees whose compensation is paid out of the Federal Treasury.

I grant that the amendment which I offered, and which was adopted, might be subject to the interpretation that some Senators and others have suggested, that under that language even Jackson Day banquets could not be held and the suggestion made to any Government employee that he should buy a ticket for such a banquet. I think that certainly would be a strained construction of the proposed law. If banquets are given in honor of Andrew Jackson, and if, incidentally, some of the profits made out of them go to pay the deficit in some political party's treasury, it does not seem to me that that would be covered by a provision preventing the solicitation of funds for the purpose of controlling an election. But, be that as it may, my position is that W. P. A. workers are human beings, just the same as everybody else; they are not separable into a group by definition, by inclination, or by character; they are plain, ordinary American citizens, and they ought to be treated as such; they ought to be treated like everybody else; and, while we were undertaking to protect them from the vicious practice of coercion and intimidation and assessment, my desire was that we cover all such practices, whether indulged in by a Federal officer under the control of the Federal Government or by somebody else who is not a Federal officer but is spending Federal money appropriated by Congress to carry on certain work.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I do not think it is necessary to go into a discussion of that question, because there is a decided difference between the situation of the W. P. A. worker whose livelihood, whose bread and butter, whose shelter, and whose clothes are dependent upon the Federal employees distributing relief, and that of a United States Senator or a United States marshal or a collector of customs. What we sought was to say that no one should in any way seek to use the power he has over the bread and butter of a relief worker to control or influence his vote. That is thoroughly pertinent to the relief joint resolution.

The amendment of the Senator from Kentucky goes so far that no person, regardless of his holding office or not, could solicit or be interested or concerned in soliciting a contribution from any person holding any office or in employment under the Federal Government for the furtherance of any campaign, any political party, or any candidacy. The conference committee felt that the division between the political parties of the United States is a matter of great and fundamental principle. The parties hold their national conventions; they issue declarations of principle; and we go out and argue those principles. In order that we may present our case, it is necessary that there be radio time purchased; it is necessary that space be provided in the newspapers; it is necessary that circulars be printed; it is necessary that public meetings be held: it is necessary that traveling expenses be paid. This amendment would forbid, under penalty, the State chairman in my State asking me to make a contribution to the Democratic State central committee for the purpose of carrying out or seeking to render successful the principles of the Democratic Party, and the same situation would apply to others. We were unwilling, as a conference committee, to say that no man holding office should be permitted—and that is what it amounts to-to make a contribution for the furtherance of the principles for which he stands.

If it were merely a matter of jobs, that would be one thing, but if we are justified in what we say on Jackson Day, we are interested in the furtherance of great public questions; we are advocating fundamental principles; and yet we are being told by this provision that no man active in doing what some of us regard as patriotic work shall be permitted to suggest to a United States Senator, or to a Member of the House of Representatives, or to a collector of internal revenue, or anyone else, that he make a contribution to further the things in which he believes.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. Certainly.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am not quarreling with the Senator about the action taken, but it is unfortunate that the conference committee, if they thought the language of the amendment went too far, did not try to work out some language which would cover the situation to which I have called attention. Certainly the amendment itself cannot be subject to the interpretation that anybody, Senator, or any other Federal officeholder, could not voluntarily make a contribution to any cause. There is nothing in the amendment that refers to voluntary contributions.

Mr. ADAMS. No; but the Senator has been in politics sufficiently long to know that one does not get very far by merely putting a voluntary contribution box at some place and waiting for people to come along and make deposits.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have never gotten very far in that way, whether contributions were voluntary or otherwise.

Mr. ADAMS. No; and I have also paid my own expenses. Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ADAMS. Certainly.

Mr. BYRNES. The Senator will also agree, I think, that the conferees were of the opinion that, while it might be desirable to provide a remedy for the situation of which the Senator from Kentucky complains, at the same time we did not want to do something that would bring about the situation referred to by the Senator from Colorado; that a committee of the Senate, after investigation, could devise some language which might accomplish what the Senator from

Kentucky has in mind; that we should not delay the conference report on the relief joint resolution which must be acted upon within the next day or two, in order to assure the Works Progress Administration that they will have the funds necessary on the 7th of February; and that at some other time the Congress can go into the question.

Mr. ADAMS. I now yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, when the joint resolution was before the Senate for consideration, the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Borahl] offered an amendment providing an appropriation of \$15,000,000 for the direct relief of those in need. The Senator from Idaho is detained today because of illness. I should like to know what disposition was made of that amendment?

Mr. ADAMS. The amendment of the Senator from Idaho was included in the report of the conference committee. It was approved by the conferees.

Mr. McNARY. I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, do I understand correctly that the conferees have reported a disagreement with respect to amendment No. 9?

Mr. ADAMS. That is correct.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. What recommendation, if any, do the conferees make with respect to that amendment?

Mr. ADAMS. We report to the Senate a disagreement as to amendment No. 9. That amendment is not included in the conference report.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I move that the conferees be instructed to insist upon amendment No. 9, with an amendment to substitute for the language contained in the original House bill and designated in the print as amendment No. 9 the language which I now send to the desk.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I suggest to the Senator that amendment No. 9 is not involved in the conference report.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair may state that first the conference report must be adopted, and, after that, the Senate may take action with regard to only amendments which are in disagreement.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Then, I submit a further parliamentary inquiry. Do I understand correctly that the only matter which is now before the Senate is the question of agreeing to the matters upon which the conferees have agreed?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. That is all that is brought before the Senate by the conference report.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I desire to make a further parliamentary inquiry. In what manner will it be possible for the Senate to consider amendment No. 9 in order that the Senate may properly instruct its conferees, if it so desires to do?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is under the impression that the only action which may be taken by the Senate with regard to an amendment in disagreement is to ask for a further conference on it; and if the Senate asks for another conference, it may instruct its conferees either to recede from the amendment or to insist on the amendment. The Chair does not believe that at this time, when the joint resolution is in conference, the Senate may adopt an instruction to write a different amendment from that which was adopted by the Senate. On the other hand, there being only one provision on that subject, and that being in the joint resolution as passed by the House, the conferees would have great liberty in rewriting the language of that section.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I understand, of course, that a parliamentary question is involved in the presentation of the matter which I desire to present; but what I am seeking to develop now is, what the parliamentary status would be if I should surrender the floor, and if the report which has been presented should be adopted. Would it then be in order to move to instruct the conferees?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is of the opinion that the adoption of the report will not foreclose action by the Senate with regard to the amendment in disagreement.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, would it be within the parliamentary rule for me, immediately after the disposition of the conference report—which, I assume, will be adopted—to rise and make the motion I have just made; namely, to instruct the conferees with respect to amendment numbered 9?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator will be recognized by the Chair for the purpose of making any motion he may see fit to make with regard to the amendment in disagreement. As to the ruling the Chair will make on any point of order, that is a matter for future determination.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Of course I am not asking the Chair to rule now. I merely desire to preserve my right to present the matter after the conference report shall have been acted upon.

With that understanding, I will yield the floor at this time.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair will recognize the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I wish to say to the Senator from Wyoming that I should like to be recognized after the report is adopted to move that the Senate insist upon its amendment in disagreement and that it request a further conference. That would open the way for whatever rights the Senator from Wyoming may have.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. That is acceptable.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist on its amendment numbered 9 in the printed report and request a further conference with the House on that amendment and that the same conferees be appointed on the part of the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I move to amend the motion of the Senator from Colorado to the effect that the Senate ask for a further conference and insist upon the substitution for the language in the House measure of the language I have sent to the desk and which I ask may be now stated.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will state the language sent to the desk by the Senator from Wyoming.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Provided further, That not later than 30 days following the approval of this joint resolution the Works Progress Administration shall so determine and fix the number of hours per month of workers employed upon Works Progress projects that the monthly security wage for workers shall not be lower in any area than that paid to workers in that same occupation in areas of the same general type within the same security-wage region, regardless of variations in county population.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to raise the point of order, so that the matter may be considered?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. If the Senator from Colorado will be good enough to withhold the point for just a moment in order that I may explain my position, then, of course, I shall be very glad to yield to him for that purpose.

Mr. ADAMS. Certainly.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I offer this amendment in this way at this time because, as the proceedings of the conferees have been reported to me, there is very grave danger that the provision now in our work-relief law protecting the prevailing rate of wages may be seriously impaired.

The conferees, in considering the difference between the two measures—the Tarver amendment and the amendment of the Senate striking it out—almost decided upon this substitute language:

Provided further, That subject to the provisions of section 9 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, the appropriation herein made shall cease to be available after the expiration of 60 days from the date of the approval of this act, unless, in the meantime, by appropriate administrative order, the hourly rates of pay of relief employees of the same type and performing the same character of work in areas of the same general type are so fixed as to eliminate, as far as possible consistent with local economic conditions, differentials of more than 25 percent in the maximum rates of pay.

The only concession contained in that language to the prevailing rate of wages is the phrase "consistent with local economic conditions." It takes no expert in statutory construction to know that that language would not preserve the prevailing rate of wages.

The amendment which I have sent to the desk and which I explained at some length last Saturday does not affect the prevailing-rate rule. It preserves the prevailing-rate rule, but it abolishes discriminations for which there is no justification whatever in the monthly security wage which is paid in various parts of the country under exactly the same conditions. Therefore I feel that unless the Senate, in an emphatic way, indicates that it does not desire to do away with the differential in any other manner than by dealing with the total sum obtained during the month under the security wage, there will be serious danger of the loss of the prevailing-wage principle.

I now yield to the Senator from Colorado for the purpose of making the point of order he has indicated.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, after the Senator shall have concluded, I desire to take the floor in order to make an explanation.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wyoming yield to me?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I yield to the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. NEELY. I inquire of the Senator from Wyoming whether the substance of the matter which he now asks to have incorporated in the instructions to the conferees is contained in either the joint resolution as passed by the House or the joint resolution as passed by the Senate.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The joint resolution as passed by the House deals with the subject of the compensation of relief clients. My amendment deals with the same subject. I believe there can be no question that it is altogether germane, if that is what the Senator from West Virginia has in mind.

Mr. NEELY. But has the substance of the Senator's amendment been adopted by either the House or the Senate?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. It has not.

Mr. NEELY. Then, Mr. President, I submit that clearly a point of order would lie against the proposal.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I shall be very glad to yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. This suggestion may not have any effect on the parliamentary situation, but I am informed that this particular amendment is to go back to the House for a vote on whether or not the House will recede. Suppose the Senator's amendment is adopted, and the Senate conferees are instructed to insist on this amendment, and in the meantime the House votes to accept the Senate amendment, which strikes out the whole language, then where shall we be?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I should say, obviously, that if the House by vote should recede from its position, there would be nothing in conference, and the whole matter would fall, and it would be settled upon the basis of the Senate's action by which the House language was stricken out.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I suggest that should the House take different action and reject the Senate amendment, the whole question then would be before the conferees.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Yes; of course. Therefore I am now trying to instruct the conferees, because the chairman of the subcommittee, in charge of the bill, has asked the Senate to insist upon its amendment in disagreement and ask for a further conference with the House upon it. Therefore, I now desire to ask the Senate to instruct the conferees as to what they shall do.

I am told by some of the parliamentary experts here that the conferees of the Senate have greater power than has the

Senate itself; that the conferees may do what they please, but that the Senate may not tell them what to do, which to my mind seems to be an utterly illogical position which cannot be sustained upon any basis of reasoning whatever.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, the Senate amendment in dispute is simply an amendment striking out certain language of the House joint resolution. All that is involved is the question whether or not certain language in reference to differentials, which the House put in, shall be stricken from the joint resolution. I do not see any opening for instructions to conferees other than to recede or to insist at this time.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. ADAMS. In a moment. I wish to raise the point of order that the motion of the Senator from Wyoming is not in order; that it is not possible at this point to instruct the conferees to insist upon matter which is not before the conference committee; that the matter is to be sent to the other House for their action; that the one particular provision is not agreed to; and the question is as to agreement or disagreement with the action of the Senate.

I wish merely to add a word or two, if I may. The question of the prevailing wage, about which the Senator from Wyoming has speken—

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President-

Mr. ADAMS. Just a moment.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I wanted to ask a question before the Senator proceeded with his statement.

Mr. ADAMS. I desire to conclude the statement I have tried to make. The question of the prevailing wage is involved. If the Senate amendment shall not be agreed to, and the House provision shall be agreed to, the prevailing wage will be repealed. To that extent the prevailing wage is involved.

I think it is also well, for the advice of the Senate, to have clear the distinction between the House language and that suggested by the Senator from Wyoming. The House language has to do solely with the fixing of the hourly rate of pay. It does not increase or decrease the aggregate monthly pay of any person upon the relief rolls. The amendment of the Senator from Wyoming deals with the aggregate amount of monthly pay, and does definitely involve a question different from the other. It is not included in any way within the substance of the House language.

For these reasons, Mr. President, it seems to me the point of order should be sustained.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, now may I ask the Senator from Colorado the question which I rose to propound to him?

Mr. ADAMS. Certainly.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Why does the Senator say that the Senate cannot instruct its conferees?

Mr. ADAMS. I did not say the Senate cannot do so. My motion is that the Senate instruct the conferees to insist on the amendment. What the Senator seeks to do is to make a motion to reconsider the action of the Senate by which an amendment was adopted several days ago, but the time for reconsideration has passed, and the bill has gone to the other House. So that the Senator is now in substance seeking to have the vote of the Senate reconsidered under the guise of an instruction to the conferees as to merely the one question.

The Senator is overstating the situation when he says that apparently conferees have more authority than the Senate has. Conferees have no power in and of themselves. All they do is to make recommendations. If they make recommendations, the recommendations are not binding until they are approved both by the House and by the Senate.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, the Senator comes before this body and makes a motion asking the Senate to instruct him, and he says we may instruct him only in the manner in which the Senator wants to be instructed. I contend its conferees are the agents of the Senate. This body is the master of its own desires; it is the master of its

own legislation; it is the master of its agents, even though those agents be conferees. There can be no logical explanation of the Senator's position; and that is why I interrogate him. The answer to my question is a long, round-about argument about something else. Why cannot the Senate say to a committee of the Senate, "This is the way we want it done"? Now let us have a logical answer to that question.

Mr. ADAMS. I do not imagine we could give an answer which the Senator from Wyoming would regard as logical.

We will have to do the best we can.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The Senator does not know how agreeable I am.

Mr. ADAMS. The fact is that the joint resolution has passed the Senate, and the time for reconsideration has expired under the rules. The only instruction that can be given to the conferees is to stand by the action of the Senate or to recede. In other words, there are two provisions; one the House provision, one the Senate provision. There is no intermediate provision. Under their rules the two Houses can, upon recommendation of conference committees, adopt a modification within the extremes of the difference.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Let me ask the Senator a question at

that point.

Mr. ADAMS. And the Senator's amendment is not within the extremes and it is not before the body.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. That is a different question.

Mr. ADAMS. Conference committees are appointed to adjust. The Senate cannot take the section involved, it cannot take any other section of the joint resolution at this time, and change it.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Does the Senator say that the conferees have the power to take the language of the House and alter it to suit their pleasure—

Mr. ADAMS. Of course not.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. So long as it is a question between that language and the language of the Senate amendment, which was an amendment to strike out the House provision.

Mr. ADAMS. Senate conferees have no power whatever to alter the language in any bill. They have the right to submit to the Senate their recommendations as to an agreement between the bodies.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Now, the Senator is not answering the question. Do not the conferees have the power to change the language of a disputed item?

Mr. ADAMS. They do not of their own authority.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. To change it in the report?

Mr. ADAMS. They make a conference report to the Senate, and the Senate may agree or disagree.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. We are discussing a report, are we not?

Mr. ADAMS. No; we are not discussing a report. The report has been adopted.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The question before any group of conferees is the determination of what changes shall be made in a disputed item. Is not that correct?

Mr. ADAMS. Not exactly. The purpose is to seek to reach an agreement between two bodies which have not agreed.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. And then report?

Mr. ADAMS. And then report for the action of the two

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Then the conferees in any particular case have the power to make such arrangement as seems in their judgment to be desirable, and report that to either body for acceptance by the body?

Mr. ADAMS. Within the limits of the disagreement.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Within the limits. The conferees in this particular case were considering, I am advised by one of the conferees, the language which I now read:

Provided further, That subject to the provisions of section 9 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, the appropriation herein made shall cease to be available after the expiration of 60 days from the date of the approval of this act unless in the meantime, by appropriate administrative order, the hourly rates of pay of relief employees of the same type and performing the same character of work in areas of the same general type are so fixed as to eliminate as far as possible, consistent with local economic conditions, differentials of more than 25 percent of the maximum rates paid.

Mr. President, the position I take is that it is within the power of the Senate to instruct its conferees that in lieu of this language, which they almost agreed upon—

Mr. ADAMS. Oh, no. The Senator should not say they almost agreed, because there was absolutely no agreement. What the Senator reads was submitted by one member of the conference, and was never even voted upon.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Then I was misinformed. I was told it was voted upon. But it would have been legally possible

for the conferees to have brought that in.

Mr. ADAMS. I am not saying that. Many things are considered by conferees which are outside of the scope of the conference, and are rejected for that reason.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The question comes down to a simple one, whether or not it is the desire of the Senate to instruct its conferees. I feel that in all logic and fairness the Senate has that power. But I do not desire to pursue the argument upon the point of order further and will be very glad to have the Chair rule.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question raised involves Senate amendment No. 9 in the joint resolution. The amendment of the Senate struck out the House language. The question in conference, or which will be in conference, is as to whether the language of the House provision shall be adopted by the conferees, or whether it is to be stricken out of the resolution or whether the conferees shall adopt compromise language, and report the compromise language to their respective bodies for approval or disapproval.

House Joint Resolution 83 was finally acted upon by the Senate some time last week. That final action was reported to the House, the House agreed to a conference, and conferees were appointed. The question, first, is as to the authority of the Senate in the matter, and, secondly, the

authority of the conferees.

The Chair feels that all opportunity for legislation in connection with the House joint resolution ended with the passage of the measure in the Senate. The Senate has often held that it has the right to instruct its conferees—to instruct them, however, as to whether they shall insist upon a Senate amendment, or whether they shall yield on the amendment. The Chair does not believe that an instruction, after a measure has been finally passed by the Senate, can be put in the nature of new legislation which was not adopted by the Senate at the time the measure was under consideration.

The Chair does believe that the conferees have great latitude in a case such as this, because there was no provision adopted by the Senate, such as the provision that the Senate struck out of the House measure. In such cases it has been generally held in this body, and sustained, that the conferees may draft entirely new language, providing it does not go beyond the purpose of the measure or provision and is kept within the scope of the intended legislation. Whatever action the conferees take, however, must be taken by the managers not only on the part of the Senate but on the part of the House, acting as conferees. Their action is not final, of course. It must be agreed to by both the Senate and the House. The Senate has the opportunity to act in the matter when the conference report comes before it for consideration.

The present occupant of the chair feels that it would be improper practice to attempt by instructions to the Senate's conferees to legislate beyond the scope of legislation by either branch of the Congress. Therefore the point of order made by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Adams] is sustained.

Mr. McNARY. Question.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Adams] that the Senate further insist on its amendment numbered 9, and ask for a further conference.

LXXXIV-64

The motion was agreed to; and the President pro tempore reappointed Mr. Adams, Mr. Glass, Mr. McKellar, Mr. Hay-DEN, Mr. Byrnes, Mr. Hale, and Mr. Townsend conferees on the part of the Senate.

AMERICA'S FOREIGN FOLICY-SECRECY OF COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, I cannot possibly know what might be the reaction of others to such information as has been recorded before the Military Affairs Committee in executive session of late date. I think that what I say would perhaps to others seem to be a mere tempest in a teapot or, perchance, a mirage. But somehow I cannot re-frain from weighing things in the scale of experience. I cannot help placing the developments here in our own country alongside developments a long way from here, and believing that sometimes, at least, 2 plus 2 make 4.

National defense, foreign military purchases, secrecy, talk of quarantines and sanctions, not to speak of Premier Chamberlain's suggestion to Britain the other day that she might support American policies toward dictatorships and democracies, may have me seeing things that others would want to call mere ghosts. I only know, Mr. President, that I have been one of those who have many times wished that we might have known in 1917 what we have come to learn about 1917 since that time. I only know I should never forgive myself were I, a few months or a year or 2 years from now, to have to say that I was in any way responsible for the lack of knowledge of what seemed to be in the making in

To be charitable and to decide my doubts in a charitable way is my great desire. But I find myself at this moment in a most uncomfortable position. To free myself from that position there is but one alternative for me to pursue, and I here and now give notice of withdrawal from all executive committee meetings of the Military Affairs Committee in its present consideration of national defense measures, and to maintain that withdrawal until such time as a reasonable part of the record, devoid of any military secrets of those meetings, shall be available to the people.

In the meantime, I shall leave with the chairman of that committee my proxy and authorization to vote me in favor of making that record public. I do not wish to appear alarmist in any degree. I seek only to protect myself from a position that is intolerable and completely out of step with what ought to be practice under a democratic representative form of government.

Mr. President, while I am on my feet, I should like to call the attention of the Senate to an address delivered only a little more than 2 years ago by our Chief Executive at Chautauqua, N. Y., a speech which won more applause, I believe, than any campaign speech ever delivered by an American statesman. The President, in that address said, among other things:

I wish I could keep war from all nations; but that is beyond my power. I can at least make certain that no act of the United States helps to produce or to promote war.

He said again:

It is clear that our present policy and the measures-

Meaning the neutrality measures-

passed by the Congress would in the event of a war on some other continent, reduce war profits which would otherwise accrue to American citizens. Industrial and agricultural production for a war market may give immense fortunes to a few men, for the Nation as a whole it produces disaster.

Mr. President, in the light of the contention that is being so freely offered during recent days that there is a fine foreign market available to us in the airplane industry, I desire to repeat this language of 2 years ago spoken by the Presi-

Industrial and agricultural production for a war market may give immense fortunes to a few men; for the Nation as a whole it produces disaster.

It was the prospect of war profits that caused the extension of monopoly and unjustified expansion of industry and a price level so high that the normal relationship between debtor and creditor was destroyed.

Nevertheless, if war should break out again in another continent, let us not blink the fact that we would find in this country thousands of Americans who, seeking immediate riches—fool's gold—

would attempt to break down or evade our neutrality.

They would tell you—and, unfortunately, their views would get wide publicity—that if they could produce and ship this and that and the other article to belligerent nations, the unemployed of America would all find work. They would tell you that if they could extend credit to warring nations, that credit would be used in the United States to build homes and factories and pay our debts. They would tell you that America once more would capture the trade of the world.

It would be hard to resist that clamor; it would be hard for many Americans, I fear, to look beyond—to realize the inevitable penalties, the inevitable day of reckoning that comes from a false prosperity. To resist the clamor of that greed, if war should come, would require the unswerving support of all Americans who love

If we face the choice of profits or peace, the Nation will answer—must answer—"We choose peace." It is the duty of all of us to encourage such a body of public opinion in this country that the answer will be clear and for all practical purposes unanimous.

Mr. President, I think there has been no time when there was greater need for adhering to that kind of language than

I ask unanimous consent that the President's address delivered at Chicago on August 14, 1936, may be printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MURRAY in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

The speech referred to is as follows:

[From Washington Post of August 15, 1936]

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT DECRIES WARFARE IN CHAUTAUQUA SPEECH—GOOD-NEIGHBOR POLICY IS CITED AS EXAMPLE TO ALL LANDS—EFFECTIVE NEUTRALITY HELD TO DEPEND ON WISDOM OF EXECUTIVES

EFFECTIVE NEUTRALITY HELD TO DEPEND ON WISDOM OF EXECUTIVES CHAUTAUQUA, N. Y., August 14.—Following is the text of President Roosevelt's speech:

"As many of you who are here tonight know, I formed the excellent habit of coming to Chautauqua more than 20 years ago. After my inauguration in 1933, I promised Mr. Bestor that during the next 4 years I would come to Chautauqua again; it is in fulfillment of this that I am with you tonight.

"A few days ago I was asked what the subject of this talk would be, and I replied that for two good reasons I wanted to discuss the subject of peace; first, because it is eminently appropriate in Chautauqua and, secondly, because in the hurly-burly of domestic politics it is important that our people should not overlook problems and issues which, though they lie beyond our borders, may, and probably will, have a vital influence on the United States of the future. the future.

"Many who have visited me in Washington in the past few months have been surprised when I have told them that person-ally and because of my own daily contacts with all manner of difficult situations I am more concerned and less cheerful about international world conditions than about our immediate domestic prospects

rospects.

"I say this to you not as a confirmed pessimist, but as one who still hopes that envy, hatred, and malice among nations have reached their peak and will be succeeded by a new tide of peace and good will. I say this as one who has participated in many of the decisions of peace and war before, during and after the World War—one who has traveled much and one who has spent a goodly portion of every 24 hours in the study of foreign relations.

"Long before I returned to Washington as President of the United States I had made up my mind that pending what might be called

States I had made up my mind that pending what might be called a more opportune moment on other continents the United States could best serve the cause of a peaceful humanity by setting an example. That was why on the 4th of March 1933 I made the following declaration:

"'In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and because he does so respects the rights of others; the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.'

## "NEIGHBORS IN PRACTICE

"This declaration represents my purpose; but it represents more than a purpose, for it stands for a practice. To a measurable degree, it has succeeded; the whole world now knows that the United States cherishes no predatory ambitions. We are strong; but less powerful nations know that they need not fear our strength. We seek no conquest; we stand for peace.

"In the whole of the Western Hemisphere our good-neighbor

of the whole of the western remisphere our good-neighbor policy has produced results that are especially heartening.

"The noblest monument to peace and to neighborly economic and social friendship in all the world is not a monument in bronze or stone but the boundary which unites the United States and Canada—3,000 miles of friendship with no barbed wire, no gun or soldier, and no passport on the whole frontier.

"Mutual trust mode that frontier."

"Mutual trust made that frontier. To extend the same sort of mutual trust throughout the Americas is our aim.
"The American republics to the south of us have been ready always to cooperate with the United States on a basis of equality

and mutual respect, but before we inaugurated the good-neighbor policy there was among them resentment and fear, because certain administrations in Washington had slighted their national pride and their sovereign rights.

"In pursuance of the good-neighbor policy, and because in my younger days I had learned many lessons in the hard school of experience, I stated that the United States was opposed definitely

to armed intervention.
"We have negotiated a pan-American convention embodying the "We have negotiated a pan-American convention embodying the principle of nonintervention. We have abandoned the Platt amendment, which gave us the right to intervene in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cuba. We have withdrawn American marines from Haiti. We have signed a new treaty which places our relations with Panama on a mutually satisfactory basis. We have undertaken a series of trade agreements with other American countries to our mutual commercial profit. At the request of two neighboring republics I hope to give assistance in the final settlement of the last serious boundary dispute between any of the American nations. American nations.

### "CITES PEACE IN AMERICAS

"Throughout the Americas the spirit of the good neighbor is a practical and living fact. The 21 American republics are not only living together in friendship and in peace; they are united in the determination so to remain.

"To give substance to this determination a conference will meet To give substance to this determination a conference will meet on December 1, 1936, at the capital of our great southern neighbor, Argentina, and it is, I know, the hope of all chiefs of state of the Americas that this will result in measures which will banish wars forever from this vast portion of the earth.

"Peace, like charity, begins at home; that is why we have begun at home. But peace in the western world is not all that we seek.

"It is our hope that knowledge of the practical application of

the good-neighbor policy in this hemisphere will be borne home to our neighbors across the seas.

"For ourselves we are on good terms with them—terms in most

"For ourselves we are on good terms with them—terms in most cases of straightforward friendship, of peaceful understanding.

"But of necessity we are deeply concerned about tendencies of recent years among many of the nations of other continents. It is a bitter experience to us when the spirit of agreements to which we are a party is not lived up to. It is an even more bitter experience for the whole company of nations to witness not only the spirit but the letter of international agreements violated with impunity and without regard to the simple principles of honor. Permanent friendships between nations as between men can be sustained only by scrupulous respect for the pledged word.

"In spite of all this we have sought steadfastly to assist international movements to prevent war. We cooperated to the bitter end—and it was a bitter end—in the work of the general disarmament conference. When it falled we sought a separate treaty to deal with the manufacture of arms and the international traffic in arms. That proposal also came to nothing. We participated—again to the bitter end—in a conference to continue naval limitations, and when it became evident that no general treaty could be signed because of the objections of other nations we concluded with Great Britain and France a conditional treaty of qualitative limitations which, much to my regret, already shows signs of ineffectiveness.

"We show political commitments which might enfangle us in ineffectiveness

'We shun political commitments which might entangle us in "We shun political commitments which might entangle us in foreign wars; we avoid connection with the political activities of the League of Nations; but I am glad to say that we have cooperated wholeheartedly in the social and humanitarian work at Geneva. Thus we are a part of the world effort to control traffic in narcotics, to improve international health, to help child welfare, to eliminate double taxation, and to better working conditions and laboring hours throughout the world.

### "WAR ISOLATIONISTS ONLY

"We are not isolationists except insofar as we seek to isolate ourselves completely from war. Yet we must remember that so long as war exists on earth there will be some danger that even the nation which most ardently desires peace may be drawn into

war.

"I have seen war. I have seen war on land and sea. I have seen blood running from the wounded. I have seen men coughing out their gassed lungs. I have seen the dead in the mud. I have seen cities destroyed. I have seen 200 limping, exhausted men come out of line—the survivors of a regiment of 1,000 that went forward 48 hours before. I have seen children starving. I have seen the agony of mothers and wives. I hate war.

"I have passed unnumbered hours, I shall pass unnumbered hours, thinking and planning how war may be kept from this

"I wish I could keep war from all nations; but that is beyond my power. I can at least make certain that no act of the United States helps to produce or to promote war. I can at least make clear that the conscience of America revolts against war and that any nation which provokes war forfeits the sympathy of the people of the United States.

"Many causes produce war. There are ancient hatreds, turbulent frontiers, the 'legacy of old forgotten, far-off things, and battles long ago." There are new-born fanaticisms, convictions on the part of certain peoples that they have become the unique depositories of ultimate truth and right.

"A dark old world was devastated by wars between conflicting religions. A dark modern world faces wars between conflicting economic and political fanaticisms in which are intertwined race hatreds. To bring it home, it is as if within the territorial limits

of the United States, 48 nations with 48 forms of government, 48 customs barriers, 48 languages were spending their time and their substance in a frenzy of effort to make themselves strong enough to conquer their neighbors or strong enough to defend themselves against their neighbors.

## "OUTLETS BEING FOUND

"In one field, that of economic barriers, the American policy may be, I hope, of some assistance in discouraging the economic source of war and therefore a contribution toward the peace of the world. The trade agreements which we are making are not only finding outlets for the products of American fields and American factories but are also pointing the way to the elimination of embargoes, quotas, and other devices which place such pressure on nations not possessing great natural resources that to them the price of peace seems less terrible than the price of war. "We do not maintain that a more liberal international trade will stop war, but we fear that without a more liberal international trade war is a natural sequence.

"The Congress of the United States has given me certain authority to provide safeguards of American neutrality in case of war. "The President of the United States, who, under our Constitution, is vested with primary authority to conduct our international relations, thus has been given new weapons with which to maintain our neutrality.

maintain our neutrality.
"Nevertheless—and I speak from a long experience—the effective maintenance of American neutrality depends today, as in the past, on the wisdom and determination of whoever at the moment occupy the offices of President and Secretary of State.

occupy the offices of President and Secretary of State.

"It is clear that our present policy and the measures passed by the Congress would in the event of a war on some other continent, reduce war profits which would otherwise accrue to American citizens. Industrial and agricultural production for a war market may give immense fortunes to a few men, for the Nation as a whole it produces disaster. It was the prospect of war profits that made our farmers in the West plow up prairie land that should never have been plowed, but should have been left for grazing cattle. Today we are reaping the harvest of those war profits in the dust storms which have devastated those war-plowed areas.

"It was the prospect of war profits that caused the extension of monopoly and unjustified expansion of industry and a price level so high that the normal relationship between debtor and

creditor was destroyed.

creditor was destroyed.

"Nevertheless, if war should break out again in another continent, let us not blink the fact that we would find in this country thousands of Americans who, seeking immediate riches—fool's gold—would attempt to break down or evade our neutrality.

"They would tell you—and, unfortunately, their views would get wide publicity—that if they could produce and ship this and that and the other article to belligerent nations, the unemployed of America would all find work. They would tell you that if they could extend credit to warring nations that credit would be used in the United States to build homes and factories and pay our debts. They would tell you that America once more would capture the trade of the world.

## "DUTY TO STEM PROFITING

'It would be hard to resist that clamor; it would be hard for many Americans, I fear, to look beyond—to realize the inevitable penalties, the inevitable day of reckoning that comes from a false prosperity. To resist the clamor of that greed, if war should come, would require the unswerving support of all Americans who love

would require the diswerving support of all Americans who love peace.

"If we face the choice of profits or peace, the Nation will answer—must answer—"We choose peace!" It is the duty of all of us to encourage such a body of public opinion in this country that the answer will be clear and, for all practical purposes, unanimous.

"With that wise and experienced man who is our Secretary of State, whose statesmanship has met with such wide approval, I

have thought and worked hard and long on the problem of keeping the United States at peace. But all the wisdom of America is not to be found in the White House or in the Department of State. We

be found in the White House or in the Department of State. We need the meditation, the prayer, and the positive support of the people of America who go along with us in seeking peace.

"No matter how well we are supported by neutrality legislation, we must remember that no laws can be provided to cover every contingency, for it is impossible to imagine how every future event may shape itself. In spite of every possible forethought, international relations involve of necessity a vast uncharted area. In that area safe sailing will depend on the knowledge and the experience and the wisdom of those who direct our foreign policy. Peace will depend on their day-to-day decisions.

"ERRORS OF PAST APPARENT

"ERRORS OF PAST APPARENT

"At this late date, with the wisdom which is so easy after the event and so difficult before the event, we find it possible to trace the tragic series of small decisions which led Europe into the Great War in 1914 and eventually engulfed us and many other nations.

"We can keep out of war if those who watch and decide have a sufficient detailed understanding of international affairs to make certain that the small decisions of each day do not lead toward war, and if, at the same time, they possess the courage to say 'no' to those who selfishly or unwisely would let us go

"Of all the nations of the world today we are in many ways most singularly blessed. Our closest neighbors are good neigh-bors. If there are remoter nations that wish us not good but

ill, they know that we are strong; they know that we can and will defend ourselves and defend our neighborhood.

"We seek to dominate no other nation. We ask no territorial expansion. We oppose imperialism. We desire reduction in world armaments.

"We believe in democracy; we believe in freedom; we believe in peace. We offer to every nation of the world the handclasp of the good neighbor. Let those who wish our friendship look us in the eye and take our hand."

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for an interruption?

Mr. NYE. I shall be happy to yield.

Mr. LEWIS. Having read the address delivered at Chicago by the President of the United States as well as the one from which the Senator has just read, may I ask the able Senator if he feels that there has been any change in view on the part of the President? Is the Senator able to see anywhere any course, policy, or views different from those held by the President at the time the President delivered his addresses.

Mr. NYE. Since I am a member of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, in which the Senator from Illinois also has membership, I hope very much that he will excuse me from answering that question at this time at least.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I did not think it would embarrass the Senator to have that question asked him by a fellow member of the Military Affairs Committee. I merely thought that he was expressing a view which now takes the form of some doubt. I will, of course, at a later time express any viewpoint I have upon the subject, and will not further interrogate the able Senator from North Dakota at this time.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I was unable to hear the beginning of the remarks of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Nye] by reason of the fact that I was temporarily called from the Chamber to confer with a caller. Upon my return to the Chamber from a temporary absence I am informed that the Senator from North Dakota stated that it was his intention to participate no further in executive hearings of various committees in the Senate, and particularly the Military Affairs Committee. I should like to ask the Senator from North Dakota if that statement is correct, I not having had the opportunity of hearing his exact statement.

Mr. NYE. I not only announced an intention to withdraw from further executive committee meetings dealing with the national-defense issue, but announced that I was withdrawing until such time as the committee should see fit to make available to the public that part of its executive record which is devoid of any compromise of any military secret.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I should like to say that on that point I agree most heartily with the protest of the Senator from North Dakota against holding under the seal of secrecy, in executive sessions of committees of either the Senate or the House of Representatives matters not involving military secrets of the United States.

Mr. President, it has been my observation and experience that executive sessions of any committee do not remain executive. Always and inevitably leaks from such sessions occur, not only leaks of such things as took place, but leaks of things that did not take place; not only of things that were said, but of things that were never said. In other words, instead of being permitted to hear what was said, to see the actors in the picture, and to draw their own conclusions, the American people, the sovereign masters of the Congress and of every branch of the Government in this country, are allowed to have leak out to them in garbled form what may have taken place.

A few days ago the Committees on Military Affairs of the Senate and the House were called into an extraordinary meeting to hear a discussion by two distinguished American Ambassadors, and to be instructed on the international situation.

The thought occurred to me, as it did to other members of the committee, that if the international situation was so acute and the crisis so grave as the extraordinary session would have seemed to indicate, it was a remarkable thing that the two Ambassadors at the same time were putting in a month's holiday at some point far from the scene of their

official labors, lolling on the sands in Florida. Nevertheless. the joint session was held; and the distinguished chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, the Senator from Texas [Mr. Sheppard], and the distinguished chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, Mr. May, of Kentucky, impressed upon us the seal of secrecy.

Before I had time to return to my office on the Senate side of the Capitol there had been half a dozen calls from newspapermen, and in the next 15 minutes I received half a dozen more. I told them that I was under the seal of secrecy. They said that they already knew that so-and-so had been said, and they advised various Senators, including myself, that the members of the House committee were talking. I do not doubt that similar representations were made to House members as to the actions and expressions of Senators. So far as I was concerned, I refused to discuss the matter, or to affirm or deny anything that was said.

The result of the whole incident, Mr. President, was that not only did much that the two Ambassadors had said leak out to the newspapers, but a considerable modicum of things that the two Ambassadors had not said leaked out to the newspapers. Unfortunately, it was the things the two Ambassadors did not say as to the imminence of war that won the newspaper headlines; and because the members of the committees were not willing to discuss things that happened in an executive session, or had their hands tied, the newspapers, the magazines, and the intelligence of this country and of the world have taken a garbled account of what happened in the meeting as having the semblance of truth.

Mr. President, so far as I am concerned, if I had been at liberty to discuss what went on in that meeting, I should have said to the newspapers what I now say in my place in the Senate on my responsibility as a Senator-that I think the visit from those two Ambassadors was an outrageous attempt to stampede the Military Affairs Committees of the Senate and of the House with respect to an international situation with testimony which simply reflected the views of those two Ambassadors.

In the past week or 10 days we have been conducting very important hearings in the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate, in executive session. Nobody has sought to develop any military secrets in those hearings, and I am satisfied that I speak for the whole Committee on Military Affairs when I say that nobody ever will try to develop any military secrets in one of those hearings. Some very important matters have been brought up, partly by accident, which go to the whole foreign policy of the United States. I say that no suggestion has been made for developing any military secret. I will go further and say that so far as the mechanical features of airplane construction are concerned, I do not think any member of the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate or of the House is capable of developing a military secret as to the construction of airplanes, or of understanding it if he did develop it.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I yield to the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. HAYDEN. Does the Senator make any distinction between a hearing held in an executive session of a committee, such as the Committee on Appropriations, which, when the bill is brought before the Senate, is then made public. and a hearing held over in the large caucus room, where all the press is invited, and where much time is taken up with press photographs and publicity?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I agree entirely with the Senator from Arizona. I should like to say in that connection that I very much regret and deplore the growing tendency, apparently, to turn congressional hearings into hippodrome performances and vaudeville shows in the way the Senator has suggested. I agree entirely with him.

So far as proceeding in executive session is concerned, I have absolutely no objection to that course. The only subject of my remarks is that I say that when the Congress of the United States is called upon to appropriate vast sums of money-incidentally involving also the adoption of what may be a settled foreign policy or a foreign policy of far-reaching consequences—the members of the Military Affairs Committee, or the Foreign Affairs Committee, or of the Appropriations Committee, or of the Naval Affairs Committee, or any other committee of this body, have no more right to be informed of the essential facts than has every other Member of the Senate of the United States who also votes upon such proposals under his responsibility as a Senator. Also the Senate as a whole has no more right to be informed of the essential facts going to make up our national policy than have the whole people of the United States.

Mr. President, I had not intended to address the Senate on the subject at this time until I was informed of the remarks of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Nye]. I merely desire to say that I hope the Senator from North Dakota will not withdraw from the proceedings of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs until the next meeting, which I understand is to be on Friday. At that time it is my intention to offer a motion in that committee to make public, so far as it has been developed, the record with regard to the whole question of the sale of airplanes to foreign powers. If that motion is defeated in the committee, it is my intention to bring the subject before the Senate in any parliamentary way I may be able to devise.

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK. I yield to the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. NYE. For the information of the Senator I should like to repeat what I have already said; namely, that in withdrawing from executive meetings of the committee I have authorized the chairman of the committee to exercise my vote when the particular issue which the Senator suggests

At this point, Mr. President, I desire to suggest the hope that no conclusion will be drawn from anything I have said this afternoon which casts any reflection whatsoever upon the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I join wholeheartedly in the

last remark of the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. President, what I am speaking about is the habit—the persistent habit—of certain committees of the Senate and of the body at the other end of the Capitol withholding matters in secret session that would be better made matters of public record.

So far as what the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] has said is concerned, I am entirely in sympathy with that. That is a matter of allowing a hearing designed to obtain information for the Senate or the House, as the case may be, to be made into a hippodrome performance, with batteries of flashlights flashing in the eyes of witnesses and with a great corps of newspapermen taking up most of the space in the committee room.

What I am talking about, Mr. President, is the essential fact that for the American people the record itself be made public in due time, and that there shall be no secrets. There is a difference between turning the hearing of a Senate committee into a hippodrome performance and holding it in star chamber with every member of the committee, although he be a representative of a sovereign State, sworn on his oath to use his best judgment to uphold and defend the Constitution of the Government of the United States, going out of the committee hearing with his hands tied, so that he is not free even to get up on the floor and disclose what happened in the committee hearing. It is against that last practice that I am protesting.

ADDITIONAL COPIES OF REPORT OF HOUSE COMMITTEE TO INVESTI-GATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived the morning business is closed.

The Chair lays before the Senate a concurrent resolution coming over from the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 5) was read, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That there be printed 25,000 additional copies of House Report No. 2, current Congress, entitled "Investigation of

Un-American Activities and Propaganda," of which 3,000 copies shall be for the use of the Senate document room and 22,000 copies shall be for the use of the House document room.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I ask that the Senate concur in the House resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the concurrent resolution.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 4) coming over from the House of Representatives, which was read, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That in commemoration of the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the First Congress of the United States under the Constitution, begun and held at the city of New York on Wednesday, the 4th of March 1789, the two Houses of Congress shall assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives at 11 o'clock a. m., on Saturday, March 4, 1939.

That a joint committee consisting of five Members of the House of Representatives and five Members of the Senate shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate, respectively, which is empowered to make suitable arrangements for fitting and proper exercises for the joint session of Congress herein authorized.

session of Congress herein authorized.

That invitations to attend the exercises be extended to the President of the United States and the members of his Cabinet, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Diplomatic Corps (through the Secretary of State), the General of the Armies, the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Naval Operations, the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps, and the Commandant of the Coast Guard, and such other persons as the joint committee on arrangements shall deem proper.

That the President of the United States is hereby invited to address the American people at the joint session of the Congress in commemoration of the one hundred fiftleth anniversary of the First Congress of the United States under the Constitution.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask that the House concurrent resolution be considered at this time. I will say that the concurrent resolution provides for the appointment of a joint committee of the House and Senate to consist of five members from each body to arrange for the commemoration on the 4th of next March of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of the American Congress. I think it would be a very fitting thing for the two Houses to meet in joint session at that time and participate in appropriate ceremonies to celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of the American Congress. I ask that the resolution be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY—SECRECY OF COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I wish to say just a word or so in regard to the remarks of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. NyE] and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK].

I am not a member of the Military Affairs Committee, and I do not know what has transpired in the committee with respect to any of its hearings. We all have recognized for a long time that it is entirely within the province of any committee holding hearings upon an important matter to decide for itself whether the hearings shall be open or secret. I am assuming that the Military Affairs Committee in determining in the particular instance and up to now to hold closed hearings have been actuated by the feeling that in such hearings might be developed expressions of opinions or facts which, at least for the time being, ought not to be made public.

I am a great believer and have always been a great believer in publicity. I voted here time after time to remove from the executive sessions of the Senate the veil of secrecy and to hold such sessions in public, in order that any reason that might be advanced for the rejection of any appointee of the President might be discussed openly, always, of course, with the reservation in which, I think, the Senate itself concurred, that if on any occasion there was any reason why the discussion of a man's character or anything pertaining to his fitness was of such a peculiarly personal nature that it ought to be conducted behind closed doors the Senate would have the right so to order. I do not think that is an unreasonable exception. It so happens, I think, that since we provided for open executive sessions there has arisen no occasion for going into closed executive session on the nomination of any appointee. I am thoroughly committed, as a general proposition, to publicity in all matters of governmental activity.

We all realize that no one can ever in advance prophesy just what a witness will say in a committee or the reaction that a remark made by men high in authority may have in the public press and therefore upon the public. I have attended open hearings, and I dare say most of the Members of the Senate have, where unexpectedly and without premeditation, something has occurred that gave tone or character to the testimony that diverted it from its original purpose and offered an opportunity for headlines that were entirely misleading insofar as the facts were concerned.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I should like to say to the Senator that I understand entirely and I agree exactly with his position with regard to the matter of holding open hearings, and the rule has been adhered to, so far as I know, by every committee of which I have ever been a member in this body or have ever known anything about. That is to say, that where, in the course of a hearing, an important governmental matter was discussed, that at the suggestion of the witness or the suggestion of the chairman of the committee, as has happened in the Military Affairs Committee several times during its hearings, there was developed anything that was even remotely considered to disclose a governmental secret of any sort, it was not only held executive but left off the record. That, however, is not the proposition to which I was addressing myself in my remarks a few moments ago. I was addressing myself to the point that, after a hearing has been conducted in such fashion as not to involve the disclosure of the statement of a witness of anything of the sort, that the Senator has just indicated, the members of the committee themselves ought not to go out with their hands tied concerning a hearing held in a secret session as to the whole record about which, perhaps, the Senate or the country ought to know.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course, that brings up the question that always concerns us here of how these leaks occur. I do not know.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield on that point?

Mr. BARKLEY. I will yield in a moment.

I agree with the Senator's viewpoint that when a committee is holding a secret session no member of the committee ought to go out and divulge what has transpired, and I am sure, of course, that no Senator so believing would in the remotest degree be guilty of divulging it, but it is an exasperating fact that in some way either garbled or truthful repetitions of what happens in committee get into the press. It may be a strange statement to make, but so far as any secrets are concerned, either military or diplomatic, I am not so much disturbed about garbled statements that go into the press as I am about truthful statements that might go into the press concerning actual secrets, either military or diplomatic, because the importance of preserving secrecy with respect to military secrets or diplomatic secrets is not to keep them from the American people but to keep them from the people of other nations who may profit by the knowledge they thus obtain. If there were some way to insulate the American Nation so that information to which the American people might be entitled and which they will be glad to have could be given to them alone and not be percolated into the chancelleries and military headquarters of other nations, it might be a different proposition.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield there?

Mr. BARKLEY. I will yield in a moment, but the theory upon which we preserve secrets is that information shall not be divulged to other nations.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I understand what the theory is; but the fact is that apparently all the information about our own national affairs percolates into the chancelleries and various other agencies of Europe and every other country in the world, and the only people who are to be insulated and protected from the facts are the American people.

Mr. BARKLEY. The same representatives of publicity agents who percolate it into other nations can percolate it into the American people because they have access to it in the first instance, if they get it at all. The point is that I do not think a committee of the Senate dealing with military matters is to be criticized because it decides to hold secret sessions, and the attitude of the Senator from North Dakota withdrawing from participation in such sessions is, by implication, if not a criticism, at least an expression of his disapproval of that method of procedure.

Mr. NYE. Mr. President-

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I should like to say to him that I am not going to withdraw; I am going to "stick around."

Mr. BARKLEY. I think the Senator is right; I think it is his duty. I was very glad to be partly instrumental in placing the Senator on that committee—

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I thank the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. Because of his great military knowledge and his service to his country and his patriotic outlook upon matters of that kind. I think the Senator would be probably censurable if deliberately, because the sessions were secret, he withheld his presence and his assistance.

I do not know what the committee ultimately will do with respect to holding further secret sessions or divulging the testimony which it has developed. I am sure it will do whatever it thinks is its duty in that regard.

Now, just one thing about the two Ambassadors to whom the Senator referred.

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me before he touches upon that subject?

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes.

Mr. NYE. I should like to have the Record made very clear with respect to my own attitude regarding so-called executive meetings of the committees.

I have no desire to throw the meetings open to the public, or even to the press. What I protest against is fastening an obligation of secrecy upon what transpires during the meetings, even though what transpires there is matter which quite properly might have been left wide open to the press and to the public. For the past 2 weeks we have had examples of how thoroughly distorted truths may become as the result of the enlargement upon them that comes out of these secret sessions.

I repeat, I have no desire to do away with so-called executive sessions of committees, especially the Military Affairs Committee. The same thing certainly would be true especially of the Foreign Relations Committee. I do protest, however, against the element of secrecy which is fixed upon many committee meetings which sometimes prevents the public from getting a reaction and a truth that obviously ought to be theirs.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course, I realize that it is always difficult for a committee to draw the line between what ought to be kept secret and what ought not to be kept secret; and, of course, it is difficult for an individual member to draw the line properly. What I might regard as being a matter suitable for the public to know might be one thing. What the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Nye] and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Clark] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. Sheppard] might regard as something that could be divulged without injuring our country in any way might be another thing. But so long as secret sessions are held, and so long as we have a right to assume that the committee, acting in its own jurisdiction, has a right to determine that

matter, I do not know how we are ever going to change the rule so that, although it is a secret session collectively, it is an open session individually, and each member present in the secret session has a right to go out and divulge what occurred in the secret session.

With respect to the Senator's suggestions about the two distinguished Ambassadors-our Ambassador to France and our Ambassador to England-I do not understand that those gentlemen came here primarily for the purpose of going before the joint session of the two Military Affairs Committees. I do not know whether they came home on leave, or whether they overstayed their leave, or at whose suggestion they appeared before the joint session of the committees; but having traveled a little bit in the world-not so much as my distinguished and able and handsome friend from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS], but having traveled somewhat-I think it would be a good thing if more American representatives to foreign countries should find occasion to come home now and then and keep in contact with the American people, so that they would not lose the American viewpoint, so that they would be in truth and in fact able to represent the people of the United States. I think it would be money well spent if Congress should appropriate enough money to pay the expenses of our representatives to foreign countries in order that they might come home now and then and keep in closer touch not only with our Government but with the American people, so as to be able to convey the American viewpoint.

I do not understand that either Ambassador Bullitt or Ambassador Kennedy of his own initiative and volition went before the joint session of the committees. I am not able to say just how that conjunction of events was brought about: but it was not only their privilege, as I believe, but it was their duty to lay before any committee of the Congress-the Military Committee or the Foreign Affairs Committee-any information which they felt would be of benefit to the American Government and the American Congress in describing what they thought to be the situation in Europe and in other parts of the world which might vitally affect the welfare of our country.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The Senator says he is not advised as to how these two gentlemen happened to come before the joint meeting of the two Military Affairs Committees. I suggest to him that under the very strict rule of confidence imposed at the time of that joint hearing, no member of either committee is able to inform him. If the Senator will come around here privately, I shall try to whisper in his ear. [Laughter.]

Mr. BARKLEY. I appreciate that, but I do not think it is very vital how the Ambassadors happened to go before the committees.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. So far as that is concerned, I do not think anything they said was very vital.

Mr. BARKLEY. That is a matter of opinion. I do not know what they said. Therefore, I am not in position to pass judgment on it. However, it is not a matter of any great importance whether acting upon their own initiative they went before the committees to divulge their views of the conditions in Europe in order that we might take advantage of it and give to it any weight that we might see fit to give, or whether they were invited by the committees, or whether they were instructed by higher authority to go before the committees. The Ambassadors had a right to go voluntarily if they thought it was their duty to do so. They had a right to go as the result of a suggestion from anybody or as a result of an invitation from the committees themselves. The point is not how they happened to go before the committees, but whether, as representatives of the American Government. charged with some responsibility toward that Government in keeping it informed not only from the standpoint of the Executive but from the standpoint of legislation, they stated what they feel is going on in the world. I, myself, do not think they are justly entitled to be criticized for appearing

before the committees, no matter who took the initiative in having them appear.

I wish to say also that I think, if the course I have suggested were followed, the Congress would be richer in knowledge, and certainly it would be richer in its outlook upon the problems of the world which affect every man. woman, and child in America. Every morning, before we eat our breakfasts, we read in the headlines what is going on elsewhere in the world. The prices of our products, our commodities, and the security of our lives are bound up in one way or another with what is going on in the world. Whether we like it or not, we cannot completely dissociate ourselves from the events in other nations; and I think no misinterpretation or wrong impression ought to go out here, because of anything that has been said, that we do not welcome any information that can be brought to us from any source that may help us in guiding the destinies of our own country-in trying to chart the course of our ship between Scylla and Charybdis in the eventful days through which we are passing.

Mr. Johnson of California, Mr. Vandenberg, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. REYNOLDS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Johnson of Colorado in the chair). The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I rose and addressed the Chair, but I do not feel that this side of the Chamber should monopolize the floor at this time. The Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] preceded me in addressing the Chair. I now yield my position to him or to the Senator from California [Mr. Johnson], who likewise preceded me.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, with much that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] says I heartily agree; but I think the fundamental question is different from what he has indicated. The fundamental question here is, Shall we be eased into war and our people never know it? Shall we be in the position of men and women who are carried to war without their knowledge, or are we entitled to the knowledge if we are being carried into war?

That is the question, and that is the only question involved. As the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] says, if we are carried into this sort of fracas without knowledge upon our part; if, as the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. NyE] says. we must maintain secrecy against everything that may militate against us in the future; then some means should be devised by which secrecy may be eliminated from the Senate of the United States and its committees.

Do Senators realize what the incident which we are now discussing had its genesis in? Do they realize that if it had not been for a freak of fate, no one here would have known that this particular French commission was in this country for the purpose of obtaining planes to be used in warfare? It happened that down in Los Angeles a man who was a member of the French commission went up in an airplane which was designed for warfare, and he went up in it under a name different from that which was his own. He was injured by the crashing of the plane; and then it was discovered, as he was carried into the hospital, very badly injured, that his name was something else than that which he had given, and which was accepted, and under which he was cleared when he entered the plane. Then it was, and then only, that the American people knew that a foreign commission was in this country for the purpose of acquiring airplanes.

We were endeavoring to acquire certain numbers of airplanes ourselves, but, in our generosity and in our benevolence, we were willing to postpone our needs and our requirements to aid a foreign country, and enable it first to acquire the planes which it needed.

These things were unknown to our people until fate intervened. Why were they unknown? Good God, do you not think, Senators, the American people have the right to know if they are going down the road to war? Do you not think the American people, with their experience of the past 20

years, should be informed if their rulers are going to take them even to the brink of war?

Why should they not be informed? They are our masters, and the only master I recognize. Why should they not be informed if such is to be the course to be pursued by their Government?

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. JOHNSON of California. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. Regardless of the merits of the incident with respect to the man's name—and I have no way to inject myself into his bosom and interpret his purpose in keeping his name secret—

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I am not referring to that except to indicate the secrecy.

Mr. BARKLEY. I suppose the Senator will not contend that the sale of planes to the French people or the French Government in the present situation is a violation of any treaty, or of any obligation on the part of our country, or of the Neutrality Act, or of international law as it has been recognized for a period of many years.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Did the Senator understand me to say any such thing?

Mr. BARKLEY. No; I did not.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Very well, then, why put a rhetorical question?

Mr. BARKLEY. Because if we are doing nothing in violation of international law or in violation of any obligation of ours, if we are doing what our people have always done under the rules of international law, selling products to other nations which are not at war, how is such a sale automatically to drag us into war, as the Senator seems to fear?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. The Senator misstates the real point in the argument. It is the question of secrecy, the question of keeping from the American people just what is being done in respect of matters of this sort, and the possibilities of sales of planes and sales of other munitions of warfare, matters which the Senator understands as well as I do, and I do not need to descant upon them. He understands that from a simple beginning may be an ending that is horrible in its nature.

The point of my objection is that we are entitled to know when you are going to take us along this road, and we are entitled to know when we are being taken along this road. For that I do criticize you, and for that alone.

Mr. LEWIS obtained the floor.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. LEWIS. I yield.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I wish to say that the Senate Committee on Military Affairs has as yet made no decision to keep the proceedings before it permanently secret. In fact, in every recent meeting members of the committee have informally discussed the question as to when it would be advisable to give publicity to what has taken place. The fact is that up to this time the printed transcript of the proceedings before the committee are not back from the Printing Office.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I wish to endorse to the fullest extent what the chairman of the committee has stated. I should like to say also that in every way the chairman of the committee has been more than fair in seeking the expression of the views of all members of the committee, and more than fair in entertaining various witnesses who have been before the committee.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I thank the Senator.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I should like to say further that on two or three occasions I personally have given notice that I intended at the proper time to move to make the hearings public.

Mr. SHEPPARD. That is correct.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. And I state now that I intend at the next regular meeting of the committee, which I understand will be on Friday, to make such a motion.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I wish to add that the situation is as the Senator from Missouri has stated it. The members of the committee have reached no definite decision as to whether the proceedings shall be published. Neither have they decided that the proceedings shall be kept secret permanently. The only question is as to when the committee thinks it is desirable to give them publicity.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Of course, the Senator will admit that in the meantime the members of the committee have been standing by with their hands tied while various statements have been published in the newspapers of the United States as to what was going on in the committee. That is correct, is it not?

Mr. SHEPPARD. The newspapers have published conflicting statements about what has been going on; and that is one of the disadvantages of secret hearings.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I beseech the Senate to indulge me for a few moments that I may refer to some allusions by the Senators who have addressed the body. These touch some phases of the present international situation. These statements I fear may receive a misunderstanding—possibly a misinterpretation, by the public—by our countrymen.

The references to the two gentlemen who are our Ambassadors do not concern me as to their personal life. I know both Ambassadors. I lately have been in Europe, as is known, engaged in an incidental Government mission not of great importance. In this I was thrown constantly and daily, during my short stay in England, with our Ambassador, Mr. Kennedy, who is now in this country. I am pleased to tell my colleagues that however much I differ from some of the views expressed by the able Ambassador as I read them his standing in England is of such high character that, judging by the temper of expressions in his behalf should he conclude to transform himself to a citizen of England, he would be made a member of the House of Lords.

As to Mr. Bullitt, it has been noted that from time to time he has been called for throughout France for addresses upon matters which touch French history and the past record of the French people. These things merely indicate the personal regard in which the French have come to hold him and those into whose hands we have committed our country and its fortunes in England and France.

Mr. President, what I fear is that some of these expressions from our Senators might indicate that this honorable body, which confirmed these two appointees, has lost some respect or confidence in their services. Nothing of the kind is true. Nothing of the kind, I am sure, is intended by the Members of this body whose observations have in the last few moments interested us.

I turn for a second to the Committee on Military Affairs. I pay tribute to the able chairman, duplicating and adding strength to the expressions of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Clark] and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Nye].

Mr. President, the theory of preserving for a while in the Military Committee a form of executive secrecy is not because of what the committee does, if I may be permitted to so remark to my able friend the distinguished Senator form California [Mr. Johnson], it is because of expressions and conduct on the part of witnesses who may come before the committee, and to whom questions—interrogations of a very serious character, may be addressed by members of the committee—who, feeling that they have information of a very salutary nature, and possibly of a very weighty character, convey to the witnesses an impression of what appears to be the effect of that information. That conclusion goes out to the country as an expression of the committee, and oftentimes is imputed to those in authority—the War Department or the President.

To avoid that misconstruction is the purpose of the honorable chairman, and of the rule of limited secrecy of the committee. It was decided—and I am sure the chairman will concur with me in the statement—that when we reached a concurrence, a conclusion, as to any action, the whole action should be made wholly public, either in the form of a report to this body, or to the public, as the case might require.

Mr. President, I wish now to take the liberty of asking my fellow Senators to hear me upon another feature. It is that our country just now is being driven, by observations of editorials and speeches, to the conclusion that there is some secret and underlying arrangement between this, our United States, and foreign countries. Particularly true is this as to those in Europe—particularly, sir, France and England—more specifically, sir, in behalf of those who represent the military authority of these countries.

This conclusion or this suspicion on the part of our public is imputed at once to some secret course of the President, upon the theory that of course he must know about it, and must have given his approval to it and, as the Senator from California rightfully asserts that if such is the fact, this fact is being hidden from the public and being withheld from the Senate. If such state of affairs exists, such should be forthcoming promptly, and should be revealed in a disclosure

admitting of no qualification.

There is another feature more provoking. I refer to the statements being made by eminent leaders abroad which involve our United States. These masters of authority in their public declarations find it agreeable to ever express in some of their observations what they claim is the position of the United States, or what they desire that the United States entertain in its feelings and policy. I invite Senators now to hear specific instances, and in my judgment the meaning of them.

When the honorable Premier of England, Mr. Chamberlain, occupying his high position of authority, made the statement in his latest assertion that there was the aspect that in the prospect of what he called "appeasement for peace" the United States would concur in expressions he used and the policy he advocated, he left the suggestion to our people and to men of the temper of our thought and those of the mind and the patriotism of the eminent Senator from California that there must have been something somewhere that authorized Mr. Chamberlain to assume his viewpoint, and something authorized from official authority in the United States of America as license for the English Premier to involve us in his calculations.

I desire to have it understood that it is my belief, and here I assert, that there has never been an expression from those in authority in the United States of America to justify any foreign premier to say what the position of the United States would be in a matter in which the foreign government is involved, particularly where it is a military contention and a military conflict. This expression only could come from our people through Congress. I here charge that the artful policy on the part of these eminent directors is to make their people feel that they have the great power of the United States in support of their measures and their undertakings; the object of these assumptions is to impart to their people the belief that if they do not already have it, they are on the eve of obtaining what they assert, and this from something that has transpired between these nations to initiate and authorize an assumption as presented on their part. Though they may know there is not the aspect of fact of that they present; yet they achieve the purpose of the diplomat "to make a virtue of a pretense."

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator vield?

Mr. LEWIS. The Senator from Michigan rises. I yield to him.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Would the Senator go so far as to say that he doubts even whether there is any agreement in respect to the stabilization fund which would involve our

mutual responsibility for the French franc and the British pound—a responsibility in turn which might be of the utmost primary importance in case of war?

Mr. LEWIS. I would say this in answer to my able friend that I cannot believe that there has been any understanding on the part of our Government and the government of France, or the people of France, or the representatives of France, by any officers of our Government, that there shall be extracted from the fund known as the stabilization fund, money, either in the form of a loan to the French government or as payment for these planes. I do know that there are those who feel that such is possible, and such action has been charged. I answer that if such had ever existed it would come in the form, first, of a request from our Cabinet or President to this honorable body for authority, before anything of such nature would be undertaken.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. LEWIS. Certainly.

Mr. VANDENBERG. My interrogation had nothing to do with the use of the funds for the purchase of these planes. I have no information of that character. I am asking the fundamental question whether or not a three-way agreement between the Treasury of the United States and the Treasury of France and the Treasury of Great Britain to stabilize currency through the use of our stabilization fund would not be of major military moment in the contemplation of a foreign war, and whether or not if such agreements do exist—and I assume that they must exist from what we know—if they exist why do they not involve us in advance in a matter concerning which we have absolutely no information whatever?

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, some time past there was an understanding between the Government of the United States and the Government of France and the Government of Great Britain to come to some agreement with the view of holding on equality the money of the three countries for the purpose of international trade. That is now elapsed and passed for more than a year. My able friend knows about it, and knows the consequence of it as a purely commercial undertaking.

I answer then his conclusion. If there had been a new arrangement different from that which was addressed to a commercial purpose, an arrangement for the purpose of war, this honorable body, or the House, would be informed of it, and knowing how serious it would be, as the Senator has well put it, I assure the Senator from Michigan such could not have existed without information coming to this body. Neither the President nor the Secretary of the Treasury would have ventured upon such a development, with its serious implications without information to and instructions from the Congress.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. LEWIS. Certainly.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I call the Senator's attention to the fact that the stabilization fund operates not only under a seal of secrecy, but under an absolute refusal ever to permit anyone in Congress or anywhere else to ask any questions whatsoever regarding what has been done with any of the \$2,000,000,000. I call the Senator's attention further to the fact that when that authorization recently was extended, I offered a very modest resolution calling for a complete report after the fact, when the fund is done, and still the Senate voted by a substantial majority to refuse even to require a final report upon the \$2,000,000,000. So that the stabilization fund exists today not only under a mantle of complete secrecy, but under an absolute prohibition against any cross-examination by anyone in respect to it.

Therefore, when the Senator from Illinois says that if any such agreement were made we would know about it, I respectfully submit to him that we would not and could not under the existing situation.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, we have known that in England there has existed a large fund that maintains the pound in its proper place despite whatever transpires in its commerce, its industry, or in the threat of conflict. We

know that the Bank of France sought to have a similar fund for the preservation of the franc—as my friend well calls it, the value and stability of the franc. We know that that prevails. Then it was, I think, for the first time in the history of this Government, so far as my limited experience with it can testify, that we adopted a similar policy, and that fund, which we created was rightfully termed the stabilization fund. This was inaugurated for the single object and purpose of such courses with these other councies in maintaining our own standard, and, having that behind it, we felt we could maintain the American dollar in its proper place in the same manner that the fund for England maintained its pound, and the fund in France sought to maintain its franc. I am aware of no other purpose.

If it be true, as the able Senator says—and he would not say it if it were not true—that there has been some secrecy continued, and a withholding of facts as to his resolution—I would assume that would be true as to the matters which we felt were the confidences of these others with whom we are entering into some kind of understanding to help aid these two commercial countries; this for the purpose of maintaining a level that would serve our industry and commerce as completely as it does proportionately theirs. But I am not conscious that any other purpose has ever been indulged, or that any other purpose is served by the fund, concerning which there is secrecy.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield so that I may ask another question?

Mr. LEWIS. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Would the Senator agree with me that if there is a three-way agreement between England, France, and the United States mutually to stabilize currencies, the Congress of the United States ought to know about it?

Mr. LEWIS. I answer the Senator: There is a shorter way. If the able Senator has some ideas upon that which he would like to have serve for the necessity of his position, I suggest that the Senator introduce his resolution addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury for the information, and that that be replied to, and thus the information will be obtained.

Then the latter part of the question: Yes; if there was a position taken by the officials, the President or the Secretary of the Treasury, connected with this fund, which applied to the country at large for any other than financial operations for commerce the Congress ought to know about it.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. LEWIS. I yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. I wanted to make an inquiry of the Senator along the same lines to which he has directed his recent remarks. In the first place we did not establish a stabilization fund in this country until after both England and France, through their proper authorities and banking institutions, had established a stabilization fund of their own, to deal with commercial matters, and not from a military standpoint. This fund of ours certainly was not created in contemplation of any war, and I do not think that the fund used in England or in France was created in contemplation of war, although I suppose their situation over there is such that they always contemplate the possibility of war. The establishment of our fund was purely a commercial arrangement, as I understand.

Mr. VANDENBERG. But if there be a war could anything be more vitally important to all concerned?

Mr. BARKLEY. I am not so certain that the existence of a stabilization fund and the manner in which it has been operated is a matter of vital knowledge bearing upon a possible war. It is commercially desirable, and has been recognized all along as commercially desirable, that there be no great fluctuations in international currency. We recognize the fact that if the English pound or the French franc should collapse in value in international exchange it would

be to our great disadvantage. It is desirable that there be no fluctuation even for our own selfish interests, in order to maintain the even tenor of trade and not to be caught at a disadvantage with our competitors, even though they are friendly nations in the international sense of that word. We could not afford to be caught in the situation where our merchants and our manufacturers and our international trade would be placed at a distinct disadvantage with respect to England or France or any other country.

But those are the two countries with which we have to some extent cooperated, I presume, in the matter of the stabilization fund. These operations depend more or less on day-to-day action. They are somewhat like the various markets. The conditions which exist today may not exist next week, and did not exist last week, so that it is impossible, I think, for all of us to know from day to day just the use to which this stabilization fund is put, and it will be, I think, in the nature of undertaking to disclose our hand, commercially speaking, if we were required openly and publicly every day to advise the people and Congress how the stabilization fund is operated.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Of course, I have suggested nothing of that sort.

Mr. BARKLEY. No; I understand that, but we are talking about secrecy. I understand that the stabilization fund has been used in such a way as to make a profit to the American Treasury of something like \$12,000,000. Certainly there has been no loss in its operation. That is not a great amount, as we think in terms of money now, but it certainly has been conservatively and prudently managed. As to any ironbound arrangement between the three countries with respect to the stabilization fund, I doubt whether there is any such thing in existence. Whatever understandings there are, are undoubtedly informal. They depend upon the conditions as they develop from week to week, and month to month, and, myself, I should regret exceedingly to see any very large body of opinion in this country advocate the abolition of the stabilization fund, so as to put us and our commercial interests at the mercy of those who maintain a stabilization fund for their own benefit.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator vield?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, of course, I yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let me say I have not suggested abandoning the stabilization fund, nor have I suggested its continuous day-to-day publicity. I am submitting solely the observation that if there are any obligations which bind us to the maintenance of the stabilization of the franc and the pound, Congress ought to know about them. This is the question I wish to ask the Senator: If there is an agreement under which we are bound to help stabilize the pound and the franc, and either England or France should be drawn into European war, if that agreement between us to sustain the franc or the pound still exists, under those circumstances do we not automatically become the ally of either France or England in net result?

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not think so. The stabilization fund is operated through an informal agreement. It could not take on the dignity of a treaty. Whatever is done is done through an informal understanding between the Treasury of the United States and the similar agencies in France and England. As I understand, there is nothing binding about it that would carry it over any definite period. We may withdraw our operations whenever we see fit. Even if they were to get into war—

Mr. VANDENBERG. Upon what does the Senator base his statement?

Mr. BARKLEY. In my judgment the operation of the stabilization fund for our commercial advantage would not automatically or by implication make us an ally of any nation which got into war.

Mr. VANDENBERG. How does the Senator know that we may withdraw at any time we wish to do so? Does he know what the agreement is?

Mr. BARKLEY. I have never seen it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Exactly, and neither has any other Senator.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have no information as to whether there is any agreement in writing. It is a day-to-day or week-to-week understanding, an informal arrangement by which all stabilization funds are operated. Whether or not they are operated at all depends to a large extent on the matter of international trade and the value of money in international exchange.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Would the Senator agree that if there is a firm agreement, we ought to know about it?

Mr. BARKLEY. I should want to look into that matter, and look at the reasons for such an agreement, before making a categorical answer.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I stated a moment ago, in the presence of the press—that the two expressions lately coming from abroad had had great effect upon the American mind. I make bold to say to this body that it is our duty promptly to remove that false effect. I desire to remove it, if I can, by giving what I feel to be the proper construction and the purpose of the assertions from abroad in the speeches I alluded to. I assert that they never had for their object the revelation of anything that was assumed to have passed from the United States to these foreign authorities.

I take first the remark of the Premier of England, Mr. Chamberlain; in this occurs his expression with respect to advantageous cooperation with the United States. This, he said, would aid in an appeasement, or looking for the conclusion in some form of a new agreement for peace. I said in my first utterance before interruption, and I now repeat, that there was no foundation on the part of the eminent Premier for concluding that any expression had ever come from this country or its officials that justified him in telling his people that there was a hope that the United States could be drawn into some understanding with a foreign country to bear its burdens in war, or pay its expenses in conflict.

I go further and say that those expressions on the part of the adroit Premier—if made as reported—were not intended to leave the impression that such an agreement had been concluded, but to leave on the minds of the British people the impression that there were reasons to hope for the cooperation of the United States of America in whatever they should undertake. The object of the speaker was to strengthen the confidence of his own people and to give to them something of a feeling of security in the event that there should be an assault, there was the hope fulfilled such as the distinguished Premier indicated as a possibility from the United States.

I now come to the second basis I assumed. my brethren of the Senate and gentlemen of the press, to recall the late speech made by Mr. Hitler, when Mr. Hitler used, in his speech, the expression which has been quoted in his Monday utterance—the one embodying his appeal for the colonies. He is reported as saying that there was no object to have a military conflict at that time and that there was no action in contemplation in opposition to the United States. Yet the Fuehrer volunteered to reflect on a member of the President's Cabinet. He charged him as one who had joined the expressions of a couple of named English statesmen in what he said was for the purpose of invoking war. Do not let us be deluded into a belief and conviction in the words of these eminent statesmen. They did not intend their words to be taken in that sense among their own people. They must not be so taken by us.

I refer particularly to that passage wherein Mr. Hitler said, or left the impression, that there was no object or purpose of any assault in any form upon the United States. That was for the purpose of allaying the United States from any form of preparation that may be essential to its defense and protection in the event that there should come something toward us in the form of attack. The object is perfectly clear. It is the object of the military cabal in power in Germany. The real object of Germany—I refer to its military leaders—and that of Italy and its leaders, and that of Japan, jointly, is to crush and break up the British Empire. The

purpose is to divide the lands from unity wherever they can. The ultimate purpose in their minds at the time is so to conduct a course as to sever the relations between the commonwealth countries and what we speak of as their mother country, England.

The statement to us that there was no intent so far as we were concerned was not intended to be taken by his own people literally, for he follows it with something of an accusation against a member of our Cabinet, indicating that the feeling is one of resentment against the United States.

Again, sir, it was for the more effective purpose. It was as if to say to the Premier, Mr. Chamberlain, "You need not be calling on the United States, or intimating, sir, that you will have aid from them, for we advise them now that they are in no danger of any nature whatever that would call for them to cooperate with you, or justify you in assuming that they have any reason to do so."

Thus, that fruitful speech on the part of the distinguished leader of the German Government is too plain to us to be misunderstood or to be taken by us as one of assault on security. It was the masterful manipulation of a director of aroused emotions—and constructor of unexpected phases—of evolution and revolution of conquerors.

Now, Mr. President, let me conclude. If we proceed in the Military Affairs Committee looking to find ways and means for the defense of this Nation, preparing in anticipation of trouble, must we not do it correctly? Must we not do it efficiently? Must we not do it as powerfully as we can? It is not my purpose to point out, respecting these claims what benefits there may be to France, and how we should contribute in that respect. I must leave the military affairs of my country as first consideration to the judgment of those best qualified to administer them. When they have advised us as to their course, or their intentions, or their final action, then will be the time for us to take such steps as we feel would be appropriate.

Let me impress this thought upon all: This country must not again allow the representatives of foreign powers to delude us into a complacency and confidence that take from us the importance of immediate activity and cooperation in preparation for the defense and preservation of this, our America. Nor shall we forget that we were drawn into other conflicts by being first invested with the confidence that there would be no attack made upon us or our countrymen, and because of that we deferred too long any action that was necessary to prepare, for that which befell us, unhappily for our fate.

Therefore, sirs, as we move along, let us say to the American people, "You need not allow yourselves to be disturbed by expressions of these eminent premiers of foreign countries. They speak to their own people; and while we quote their speeches in this land, it is not through fear, and it is not out of any particular estimate of value. It is merely for information."

Let us say to the representatives of other governments, "We say to you that whenever the American people wish to speak their purposes to you, they will do it through ourselves. When action is desired in joint behalf, we will submit the question to the proper agencies of our Nation."

Mr. President, let us turn about for a moment and call out to our countrymen that though we may differ from our President in many things from time to time on matters of civil policy, but we acknowledge that he is the President of the United States. He has been chosen as such by the voice and will of our people. He is the Commander in Chief of our forces of defense, and by our theory of government is looked to to take the proper steps for the defense and preservation of the Republic. Shall we, Senators, and you who harken to me from any source, leave upon the American public the impression that those who express themselves from abroad are speaking with power and authority as to the United States? Shall we leave the other impression that we have not confidence in the head of our own Government, to look to it for proper information and for the successful defense and security of our citizens? Shall we invest the public of our land with something of a tremor and fear that

there are dangers all around us which are not being taken care of by those in charge who are vested with authority? Has not the time come to say to our countrymen, "We confide in the government we have. We trust its patriotism. We wholly, in every wise, invest our hope and all of our future in the faith we have in its honor and its devotion."

Our countrymen reed have no fear. This country is not contemplating entering into war nor joining with any land abroad in any of its wars. Its policy is to defend itself, and to prepare that defense in the event that others should make

Further than that, nothing more. We, therefore, wish to have you know that we, the Congress, present to America the confidence we feel in those who command the authorities of this Government. We present to the President of the United States our respect; we tender to him the confidence we have in his patriotism. We tell our countrymen they are secure; and with him and with them our country rests, sir, where it should—an independent, preserved America.

If we have proceeded upon some theory of defense, it is not because we are frightened or behold a present danger; it is because if it is to be done, then, sirs, in the phrase of Shakespeare—

If it were done when 'tis done, Then 'twere well it were done quickly.

And if we are to enter upon the preparation of defense, it must be before the world so complete that before their very eyes they are confronted with our power, our purpose, our patriotism that warns all that the United States ever striving for peace, yet are prepared to defend our Nation and protect our people as against assault from any other people in the world. I thank the Senate.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I do not wish to prolong this discussion, though it has been a very interesting one; but I cannot leave entirely unnoticed the suggestion made a while ago by the distinguished Senator from California [Mr. Johnson] when he intimated his belief that by the sale of airplanes to France our Government was postponing its own needs until the requirements of France should be fulfilled. I am sure the Senator from California would not wish to leave an erroneous impression in respect to that matter. For that reason I rise to correct the implication or the suggestion.

In the first place, the American Government does not manufacture its own airplanes; it buys them from private industry. It has no authority now by reason of any appropriation made available by Congress to purchase planes that will be sold to the French Government. The President has asked Congress for \$500,000,000 to be expended over a period of 2 years for purposes of national defense. That money has not been made available; it is not now available and may not be available for several weeks or it may be months.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator vield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I should like to inquire where the Senator from Kentucky got his information? I am not revealing any information, but as a member of the Military Affairs Committee I listened to its hearings, and from what I heard of those hearings I can say this much: That the statements now being made by the Senator from Kentucky are entirely at variance with the records I heard in the Military Affairs Committee.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not know, of course, what transpired in the Military Affairs Committee, but when the President of the United States came to the Congress and in a solemn message asked Congress to appropriate \$500,000,000 for national defense, most of it intended to be used for the purchase of airplanes, I have a right to assume, I think—as I do assume—that he was not making an idle gesture, and was not requesting of Congress appropriations for airplanes that the Government did not need.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator vield?

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Does the Senator realize that authorization was made last year for a certain airplane program in this country?

Mr. BARKLEY. But there were no appropriations made; as I understand there was merely an authorization.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Appropriations have been made for the purchase of a certain number of those planes. Does the Senator further realize that the plane which crashed out in Los Angeles was a plane designed to be entered—and there is no dispute about that—in the competition for the purchase of airplanes under last year's program and not under this year's program?

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not think the question of an air force in providing for our national defense depends upon the type of plane that happened to crash out in California. If the President of the United States has asked Congress to appropriate half a billion dollars for national defense, which is not needed or necessary, that fact has not been revealed to the American public or to the American Congress; but I do not believe that the President of the United States would come here and make a request for an appropriation of that sort if it were not necessary. Regardless, however, of anybody's opinion as to the merits of the national-defense program—and there is legitimate room for an honest difference of opinion as to that question-the point I rose to address myself to was the insinuation that while we are waiting, by some arrangement of purchase from private industries in the United States by the French Government of a certain number of airplanes, we are postponing the fulfillment of our own military and naval requirements in the matter of airplane purchases.

The airplane factories of this country have not had sufficient market for their products as yet to enable them to arrive at what is commonly called mass production. I assume that the appropriations asked for by the President will be forthcoming some time between now and July 1, but whenever they are forthcoming and whenever they are available, it will be necessary for those who are producing airplanes to be in a position to produce them as rapidly as the Government of the United States may desire or need them. If we are not in the position to do that at the present time, if by perfectly lawful sale of airplanes to other nations that have the money to buy them and that can come here and get them, we can so improve the facilities for manufacturing planes for our own use against the time when we will need them, and may have the money to pay for them. I myself do not see any valid objection that can be urged against that course. It is not a violation of any treaty, it is not a violation of the neutrality law, but it is in compliance with the immemorial custom and usages of international law.

We might as well say that the United States Steel Co. in time of peace ought not to be allowed to sell steel or iron to England, or France, or any other nation that has money to come here and pay for it and carry it away for fear that at some time in the future such steel might be used in the manufacture of armaments in the foreign country to be used in a war that may be in prospect in years to come. I myself see no difference between the lawful sale of airplanes to any country that wants them and has the money to buy them and the sale of steel or any other product of ours that might by some process of transformation finally be developed into some form of military equipment which might be used in time of war. Therefore, I do not fear that the American Government is justly chargeable by consenting to the sale by private industry of airplanes to the French Government, when we are not in a position, as I believe, to purchase them ourselves because Congress has not as yet made any money available, certainly not to the extent asked by the President, with taking action in any way involving the country in any future war or that it is guilty of any conduct that is detrimental to our own defense. On the contrary, I think it would facilitate our own defense if and when the time comes for the production of the planes which our country will need, private industry will be ready to turn them out as rapidly as our country shall need them.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question before he takes his seat?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. If it is true as the Senator from Kentucky indicates—and I think it is true—that there ought to be no criticism whatever of the commercial transaction at the moment between France and the United States, why is it necessary that this procedure should go on in secret?

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not understand that it is going on in secret. The newspapers have been full of it; the President has indicated it in press conferences and otherwise. There may be some features of the conversation that, in the interest of a proper understanding and a lack of hysteria, ought to be divulged. I do not know about that; I am not a military man; I am not in on the secrets of the military authorities; but I myself do not see that there has been any secrecy. The only secrecy that I have been told about is the fact that the Frenchman in the plane that crashed did not divulge his true name. Why he did not do so I do not know.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, the majority leader, has just given a full, adequate, complete, and classical illustration of the objections to secret hearings which were pointed out heretofore by the Senator from North Dakota and myself and sev-

eral other Senators.

The Senator from Kentucky rises on the floor with the tongues of the members of the committee tied to refer to the actual testimony taken in secret session, and he says, "I assume such and such is the state of facts," and, "if it be true that such and such a state of facts exists, then I think so-and-so," and "then the following conclusion must follow."

Mr. President, the Senator from Kentucky gave a complete demonstration of the fact that either he has some confidential information from some source which is at variance with the testimony before the Military Affairs Committee or else he is "talking through his hat" and talking about something that he knows nothing about.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am neither divulging nor talking about any confidential information that I have that has been divulged to the Military Affairs Committee, neither am I "talking through my hat," the opinion of the Senator from Missouri to the contrary notwithstanding. I am talking about things that have been in the newspapers of this country, which are available to everybody, that planes are proposed to be sold to France. Everybody in the country knows that the President has asked for an additional appropriation; everybody knows that it is not available; and everybody knows that it will not be available until the Congress appropriates it. There is nothing confidential or secret about that. Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator from

Missouri yield to me?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I will ask the Senator to wait for a moment in order that I may answer the Senator from Kentucky. If the Senator from Kentucky had even read the newspapers with as much diligence as he now professes, he would know that the plane which crashed at Los Angeles was a plane being designed-and the only plane being designedby a great airplane firm for entry in the War Department competition and I am now referring to the newspapers and not to the confidential communications of the Military Affairs Committee; but even the Senator from Kentucky would know that that was a special design by one of a number of American airplane manufacturers, intended for entry in the War Department competition, embodying possibly the latest and most desirable features of airplane construction; and if the Senator from Kentucky will permit the record to be published, or assist in permitting the record to be published, he will discover that some very eminent authorities in the United States protested against the sale of that plane to any foreign country before it was adopted for the uses of the United States.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President-

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I yield to the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I should like to ask the Senator, first, if prior to the newspaper article describing the wreck of the plane he has just mentioned the Senator from Missouri had seen anything in the newspapers in regard to the French transaction?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I will say that I had not.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Then I ask the Senator, in reference to secrecy, whether the American people would have known anything whatever in reference to the purchase and sale of these 600 planes if there had not been a wreck.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. So far as I know, they would not. Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. In other words, as I understand the Senator, this transaction—the sale of 600 planes to the French Government—would have been carried out, and the planes would have been delivered, without the American people having known anything whatever about it, had not the wreck occurred?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Of course, that involves a matter of assumption. So far as I know, the Senator from North Carolina is entirely correct.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for one question connected with that subject? I do not want to take his time.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Yes; I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. As I indicated awhile ago, there are many things that the American people may sell to any government in time of peace that may ultimately be used in war. So far as I recall, there has never been any widespread publicity or any demand for publicity with respect to the transactions that take place between an American private industry and any country in the world that may buy anything in time of peace that may be lawfully bought, regardless of the ultimate use to be made of it.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, let me make a suggestion to the Senator from Kentucky. He is a very distinguished Member of the Senate of the United States. He is the majority leader. He is the confident of presidents and secretaries, and certainly his standing as an American

citizen is most unimpeachable.

Let the Senator from Kentucky go to one of these airplane manufacturers and say, "I understand you have here a plane which is to be entered in the War Department competition next month or 2 months from now. I want to get on it and take a ride." They will say, "Well, Senator, we know you are a good American. We know you are a good citizen. We know you are a distinguished United States Senator, the leader of the majority party in that great body; but you will have to go to the War Department and get an order to allow you on that plane. Of course, we are independent producers; of course, we have a right to sell our airplanes anywhere we please; but, Senator, out of respect to our patriotic obligations to the Government of the United States, you will have to go and get a pass from the Secretary of War or the Chief of Staff before you can get on this plane."

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Yes.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course, I am not in the airplane market.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I understand that.

Mr. BARKLEY. And I am not likely to be in the near future.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I agree with the Senator on that proposition.

Mr. BARKLEY. But if I were, either as a private individual or as a Government official, in the market to purchase airplanes, I assume it would be a matter of ordinary business prudence to know what sort of a plane I was buying.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I assume so.

Mr. BARKLEY. If it is necessary for me or for any foreigner to get the permission of the War Department to inspect a plane in order to determine whether or not I want to buy it, is there anything really very unusual about it?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. O, Mr. President, the Senator is begging the question.

Mr. BARKLEY. No; I am not begging the question. The

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Wait just a minute. I have the floor. The Senator from Kentucky answered the Senator from California [Mr. Johnson] just a moment ago by saying that the Senator from California was claiming that there was something unusual in this proceeding, when in truth and fact the Senator from Kentucky said there was not. Mr. President, I assert, and I defy successful contradiction, that it is not only unusual but unprecedented in the history of this country for a proposal to be made to sell a plane that might be the very latest development, the last word, to be used—

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator-

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I insist that I have the floor.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not deny that. I am asking the Senator to yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The Senator never asked me to yield. The Senator interjected a remark at the suggestion of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. MINTON]. I heard what the Senator from Indiana said.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator from Indiana did not suggest to me to ask the Senator from Missouri a question.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, if the Senator wants me to yield—

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. If the Senator will contain his soul in patience until I myself have a chance to make a statement in my own time, I shall be very glad to yield to the Senator from Kentucky for as much of my time as he desires to occupy.

Mr. President, I say that what I was referring to was the fact that the Senator from Kentucky stated that the remarks of the Senator from California [Mr. Johnson] were ill-advised, because the Senator from California suggested there was something unusual in this proceeding. As I was about to say when I was interrupted by the Senator from Kentucky and the Senator from Indiana, I myself assert, and challenge successful contradiction, that never before in the history of this country has it happened that a proposal was seriously made to sell what might be the very latest development in any branch of the art of warfare to any foreign country, friendly or otherwise, if there was a possibility that it might be necessary and useful for the defense of the United States.

I now yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, in the first place I wish to correct the Senator from Missouri in the assumption and the statement that I asked him to yield at the suggestion of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Minton].

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. No; the Senator did not ask me to yield at all. He interjected a remark in the middle of a sentence.

Mr. BARKLEY. I was trying to ask the Senator to yield. I am sufficiently active on my feet that I do not have to be prodded by the Senator from Indiana in order to rise and ask a Senator to yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I will say to the Senator that I myself thought it was gilding the lily. [Laughter.]

Mr. BARKLEY. It is not the lily of the valley, at least.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Mr. President-

Mr. BARKLEY. In the first place, I rose to refer to the remarks of the Senator from California on an entirely different premise than that stated by the Senator from Missouri. That was that while we are undertaking to fulfill the requirements of a foreign country in the purchase of airplanes, we are postponing the fulfillment of our own requirements. That is what I undertook to correct.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. If the record of the Committee on Military Affairs can be made public, I shall be very glad completely to explode that theory of the Senator.

Mr. BARKLEY. All right. So far as I am concerned, I am willing to abide by the judgment of the Military Affairs Committee as to whether the record shall be made public.

In the next place, a while ago the Senator said that I was begging the question because he had suggested me as a pos-

sible purchaser of airplanes, and I was simply telling him the ordinary precaution I would take if I were a purchaser. In doing that I probably exaggerated my own importance by making a comparison with a foreign country; but I was in no sense begging the question.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The Senator entirely misunderstood me. I never accused the Senator from Kentucky of being in the market for airplanes. I am certain he would not

buy an ariplane or ride in one. [Laughter.]

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at

that point?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. BARKLEY. I could not buy one, and I have no intention of buying one; but I can ride in one, and I have many times ridden in them without the slightest effect upon my health or my disposition. [Laughter.]

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I am glad to hear the Senator say that.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Mr. President-

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. The Senator from Missouri and the Senator from Kentucky seem to be laboring under a great deal of difficulty, in that one apparently has not been attending the sessions of the Military Affairs Committee and the other seems to be under some difficulty in not being able to tell what has been going on in the sessions of the Military Affairs Committee. The thought I have in mind is that whatever is going on there, with the exception of an occasional remark, is being taken down stenographically, and I assume that in time all of it will be available to the Members of the Senate. I cannot agree with the Senator from Missouri, as to a certain proceeding with reference to the Douglas airplane out in Los Angeles, that it was a wholly unusual proceeding, or that there was a disclosure or that there was opportunity to disclose anything that was secret about that plane; but I labor under the same difficulties as does the Senator from Missouri. I suppose if we stand here long enough, and talk back and forth long enough, it will not be necessary to print the proceedings of the Military Affairs Committee. I believe, however, that Senators might wait until the hearings are concluded and until the record is made available, and then we shall all know whether the distinguished Senator from Missouri is right, or whether the Senator from Kentucky is guessing accurately, or whether I am right or wrong in disagreeing with the Senator from Missouri in some of the conclusions which may be drawn from what has taken place in the committee.

It seems to me we may well rest our souls content until we get the full record before us, and then we shall know whether anybody is entitled to criticism or whether anybody is entitled to praise.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Wyoming for his speech injected into the middle of my few remarks.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I am desolated that the Senator from Wyoming does not agree with my view of the general situation. I return, however, despite the views of the Senator from Wyoming, to the remarks of the Senator from Kentucky with regard to the remarks of the Senator from California [Mr. Johnson]; and I again refer to something which I learned from the columns of the public press, from statements made by the various witnesses testifying before the Military Affairs Committee, and from the chairman of the committee, I think, in their own proper persons, which I understand not to be tied down by the rules of secret testimony.

With reference to what was said by the Senator from California [Mr. Johnson], I again state that never before has there been an instance such as this, in which a plane or any other prospective instrument of war for use in the United States Army, largely developed and promoted and paid for by the research of the United States Army with appropriations made by Congress for the War Department from public

funds, has been turned over to any foreign nation before the United States had procured its full need of the instrument in question, and developed to the fullest possibility its potential uses.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I yield to the Senator from California.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I call the attention of the Senator to the fact that the particular airplane which fell was one which had been built practically for the United States Government.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Partly paid for by the United States Government, as I learn from the public press.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Partly paid for by the United States Government; that it had on it certain gadgets, sights I remember as one of them, which were taken off, were they not, so that they would not be apparent to the French?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I did not see anything in any newspaper about that, so I am unable to answer the question.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I saw it in the newspapers. I am not a member of the committee; I do not know anything about it except what I have read in the newspapers, so I am not afraid to say, and I can say with perfect good faith, that there was that sort of report in the newspapers; and is it not correct?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, if the Senate will release the testimony given before the Military Affairs Committee, I shall be exceedingly happy to answer that question.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Before the Senator concludes, permit me to say that there is proof positive about what this plane was. What is the use of telling us a bedtime story here, however prettily it may be told? There is proof positive of what this plane was, and a foreign nation was taking it over, a citizen of that country driving in it, determining whether or not they would take it.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I understand there will be no controversy at all about the fact that this was a plane being developed partly by the expenditure of research funds by the United States Government, in the drawing of specifications and plans, which was to have been entered in the competition next month, and which possibly involves the very latest development of the American aviation science in a military plane.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, naturally I have listened with considerable interest to the debate which has occurred here this afternoon, all of which grew out of an initial mention of secret sessions. I have been particularly interested because I happen to be sufficiently fortunate to serve on the Committee on Military Affairs, over which my distinguished and lovable colleague from the great State of Texas [Mr. Suppage] presides very ably.

Mr. President, the impression I have secured from week to week since I entered the Senate in 1932 has been that in secret sessions one was expected to be provided with secret information, that is to say, such information as one could not receive otherwise. The only two sessions of secrecy, so to speak, which have been mentioned here today were those participated in by the members of the Committees on Military Affairs of both the House and the Senate, at which time our very able representative at Paris, the capital of France, testified, and likewise at that time was given the testimony of our representative at the Court of St. James's. The only other secret meeting I have been called upon to attend, within my recent recollection, was that which has been discussed so fully here this afternoon, a meeting of the Military Affairs Committee.

I am perfectly frank in stating, in reference to the first meeting which I mentioned a moment ago, the meeting at which our representative at the Court of St. James's, Mr. Kennedy, and our representative at Paris, Mr. Bullitt, addressed us by way of an explanation—and this statement, I am confident, will be concurred in by all the Members of the committee who were present—that there was revealed to

us no information with which the members of the committee were not familiar. As a matter of fact, I believe I could state quite accurately that there were not any revelations made there which we would particularly care to keep from the American public. I see in the Chamber at this moment the chairman of the committee, as well as other members of the committee, and I believe I can state without contradiction that nothing was revealed in the meeting which should not by right be provided in the form of information to the American people.

This debate has brought up the question of America becoming involved in war. It has brought about the statement by the able Senator from Illinois with reference to a declaration made by the Prime Minister of England. It has brought up the question of national defense. All these things interest us, one might say, in the prospect of America unfortunately becoming involved in war.

In this regard I wish to provide myself with the opportunity of again warning the people of America that if we become involved in war, we may put it in our pipes and smoke it well that involvement in war, if at all we are so involved, will be occasioned by the war which is raging in this country today, a political war between the Nazis and the Fascists and the Communists. I warn the American people that the Nazis and Fascists have provided from their atmosphere nothing more nor less than a smoke screen, and that smoke screen has been fashioned in the minds of the American people by the propagandists employed, astute as they are, by the Communists.

It is beyond my comprehension that daily through the columns of the press, and, as a matter of fact, from the lips of public officials in this country, we are constantly reading and hearing about the dictators of the world, the Nazis and the Fascists. We hear only about them, and the great damage they are doing, and what they are endeavoring to do, at the same time realizing that of all the reptiles upon the face of the earth communism is the worst. We neglect to tell the American people that the termites which are boring from within are the Communists themselves.

In other words, Mr. President, I say to all true Americans that those in this land who are opposed to dictators, those in this land who are opposed to those countries in Europe under the direction of dictators, are constantly throwing up the smoke screen of dictatorship, the Nazis and the Fascists, in order to distract the minds of the American people away from the reptile itself, the reptile of communism.

I remember that just a few years ago the American people were talking about communism sweeping this country. The American people were fearful that the time would come when the Communists would perhaps be in a position to overthrow and destroy our form of government. But within the past several months, particularly within the past 2 years, certainly we have not heard so much about communism. But we are hearing more criticism directed toward the Fascist and the Nazi countries of Europe.

I wish at this time to bring to the attention of this body another matter, but before doing so I wish to say that it is unfortunate for the American people that they are becoming divided as the result of the sides they are taking in issues in Europe, in which issues we have no interest. In other words, we, the American people, have become of late so thoroughly and passionately interested in the issues of Europe, in Germany, and in Spain, that we are a house divided, the result of which is that the war that is being waged in this country is bringing about destruction of our land at the time of all times when we need solidification of the patriotism of all Americans.

A few days ago I brought to the attention of this body a clipping from one of the New York newspapers revealing the fact that more than 500 aliens, professional men and women, were seeking the opportunity to practice their respective professions in the United States of America. In my discourse on that occasion I brought to the attention of the Members of the Senate the fact that many of those professional men and women, who found that they would have to pass an examination set by the Board of Regents

of the State of New York, had learned that they could not pass that rigid examination, and they had the gall and the audacity, foreigners as they were, aliens as they were at the time, to say to the American people, "We will break down your standards. We will not abide by your rules, but we who have come from foreign shores will carry this question to the Supreme Court of the United States, if necessary, because we think we should be permitted to practice by comity."

Think of the gall of that! But listen to the Communists speaking. The other day I picked up a copy of the Congressional Record of January 27, 1939. And here is what I read:

Mr. Maloney (of Connecticut) presented a resolution adopted at a Lenin—

Listen to this-

at a Lenin memorial meeting held by the Communist Party at Waterbury, Conn., favoring the dissolution of the so-called Dies committee, being the Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities [House of Representatives], which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The Communists of this country and other elements in this country are doing their best to involve the United States in a war with Germany, and I say that if we, the American people, become involved in a war with Germany, we will lay its cost to the Communists of the United States and other elements that want to crush and destroy and murder every one of the 80,000,000 people in Germany on account of certain things which have taken place within the confines of Germany. And mark me, if we become involved in a war, if the sons of American mothers are again dragged into a bloody conflict that will take the lives of American citizens, Senators may now chalk it down, and will then remember what I said, that war will be laid to the Communists of this country and other elements that want to murder the people of Germany.

Let us see about that. We are talking about war more and more every day. Who wants to get us into war? We all know that the Communists want us to go to war with the Fascist states because there is rivalry, because there is bitter enmity, there is no love lost between the Communist countries and the dictator countries.

Where does Russia stand today? Russia stands four-square behind China, which is two-thirds communistic, ruled over by the Communists, as everyone knows, and fighting against one of those nations constituting the "unholy" alliance of Japan, Germany, and Italy. We have lost sight of the fact that those constituting the Communist Party in America are doing their level best to get us into war. I warn the American people that we will have to "watch our p's and q's" and be as wary as we as a people can be in order to avoid being drawn into another world conflict.

I was thinking about that very matter a moment ago as I sat in my seat listening to the debate which was taking place in the Senate, and I was trying to answer to my own satisfaction a question which arose in my mind. The question was this: We have just sold to France 600 planes. The Senators upon the floor of the Senate who discussed the subject agreed that there was nothing wrong in our selling planes to any country in the world which was not at war. Let us suppose that we sell the 600 planes to France, and we sell 1,000 or 1,200 planes to Great Britain; that we sell 500 planes to Belgium, 800 planes to Holland; and then suppose Italy comes along-Italy is not at war-and Germany comes along-Germany is not war-and Hungary comes along-and Hungary is not at war, but is an ally of Germany-and Yugoslavia comes along, a country which is divided in its alliance between Italy and Germany Suppose those latter countries should decide to buy planes from us in their preparation for a war in Europe, and we refused to sell them planes. I ask each Senator, what would be the consequence?

The consequence would be that by selling planes to France and Great Britain and Belgium and Holland we would have lined ourselves up, from the military standpoint, with those nations of Europe against the others, and without intending to, and though hopeful that we would never become involved, we would unintentionally have become involved from a military standpoint.

Let me return to the question of communism. The other day in a Senate reading room I picked up a copy of the New York Times, and this is what I read:

Twenty thousand at "red" rally on Lenin death day. Send plea to Washington for end of Spain embargo.

This was on January 24. The article continues:

Observing the fifteenth anniversary of the death of Lenin, 20,000 Communists and sympathizers, filling Madison Square Garden last night, signed a "collective telegram" urging an end of the arms embargo against Loyalist Spain, heard party leaders warn that the country and the world faced a "serious offensive of reaction," and witnessed a musical play presented to illustrate America's "revolutionary tradition."

"revolutionary tradition."

The speakers, including William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, just returned from Cuba; Israel Amter, State chairman; James W. Ford and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn assailed the Republican Party, the Dies committee, the "financial oligarchy", the "poisonous priest in Detroit", and others as attempting to lead the United States into fascism. The meeting adopted resolutions urging passage of the full W. P. A. appropriation presented by President Roosevelt, and asking an end of the Dies committee.

Here we find 20,000 Communists, 20,000 "reds," 20,000 from the Soviet Union, engaged in preaching the overthrow and the destruction of our form of government, there in observance of the fifteenth anniversary of the death of Lenin himself, demanding that there be no more investigations of un-American activities by the Dies committee, the committee headed by that able and courageous Representative in the House from the State of Texas.

In that connection I may express the hope that there will be no hesitancy about the granting of appropriation of an additional \$100,000 or \$150,000 in order that the fine work of the Dies committee may be carried on, in order that the 130,000,000 people of America may be acquainted with what today is taking place in the United States. I thank God that the American people are awakening at last to the fact that they have been giving too much attention to the fights that have been going on in this country between the "isms," communism and fascism and nazi-ism. What the American people should do from now on is to give consideration to their own Americanism, and from now on I trust sincerely that we in this country shall hear of nothing except Americanism, so far as our own country is concerned.

Day in and day out we read through the columns of the press what the Nazis are doing, what the Fascists are doing, and what the Communists are doing. And right in New York we find the Communists holding a rally. The Communists hate the Nazis. The Communists hate the Fascists. Stalin, Lenin's successor, despises Hitler. Stalin despises Mussolini. Stalin would like to see them both in their graves, and their respective Governments destroyed. And so it is likewise on the other hand. I dare say that Hitler and Mussolini both hate and despise Stalin and would gladly see him in the grave. They hate one another. And therefore we find the Communists and other elements in this country praying that the United States of America shall become involved in war with the Fascist states of Europe, because the Communists want the United States to shoulder the responsibility of war with their enemies. All such movements should be stopped.

A moment ago I said that if we become involved in war, someone will be responsible. Men are going through the length and breadth of this land of ours advocating the position that we must fight, and are saying that we in the United States must destroy the Fascist nations of Europe.

I cite one newspaper clipping in substantiation of my statement. "All I know is what I read in the papers." I read from the World-Telegram of January 27:

"We must fight," says pacifist.

Who says we must fight? The American people do not want to fight. They want to avoid a war. They had enough of it from April 6, 1917, until November 11, 1918. We still remember that it cost the taxpayers of America \$69,000,000,000. We know that before we shall have finished paying it will have cost \$100,000,000.000. We do not want to get into another war. We want to live peacefully upon our portion of the North American continent in the Western Hemisphere.

But there are within our midst those who say we must fight. We must destroy Hitler and Mussolini, so say the Communists. The newspaper clipping says that statement was made by

a pacifist. Who was it?-

Erika Mann says Nazis and Fascists make it necessary.

Who is this individual who says to the people of the United States that we must fight? Who is this individual who says to the American mothers, "Your sons must don the uniform and shoulder arms and go forth and murder and defeat the Nazis and the Fascists"? Let us see who it is.

This article is by Miss Sally MacDougall.

Erika Mann-

I do not know who Erika Mann is-

Erika Mann believes that if the members of the Conference of the Cause and Cure of War could have spent several weeks in Spain when she was there last fall it would not have taken them until this week to indict the neutrality law as a contributing factor in the world's war and strife.

I do not know who Erika Mann is; but, whoever Erika Mann is, Erika Mann says our neutrality law is all wrong. It is not right. It ought to be changed, because Erika Mann insinuates that we long since should have removed the Spanish embargo in order that the Loyalists might have the advantage of purchasing arms, ammunition, and munitions of war from this country.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. WALSH. I assume the Senator is discussing propaganda in this country urging our country to take sides with the democratic governments of Europe against the totalitarian states.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Exactly.

Mr. WALSH. I should like to ask the Senator what assurance any American has that France will remain democratic, that Great Britain will remain democratic, or that Hitler's or Mussolini's form of government may not change within the next few years?

Mr. REYNOLDS. None whatever, I will say to the Sen-

ator.

Mr. WALSH. Then why should we attempt to take sides because it appears at this time that some of the countries of Europe have a better form of government for their people than we think other countries have? Is not the position we ought to take one of absolute, unmistakable neutrality? It seems to me it is none of our business what form of government the countries of Europe have, and that we ought to keep away from their rivalries and hatreds, mind our own affairs, and defend our own democracy before we attempt to

defend other democracies. Mr. REYNOLDS. Absolutely, Mr. President. From the bottom of my heart I thank the able Senator from the historic Commonwealth of Massachusetts for his fine, patriotic contribution of good sound "horse sense," as we say down South. I thank the Senator for his expression here today. He has given utterance to the very thing I have been preaching throughout the length and breadth of this land for the past several years. Thank God for the patriot from the great State of Massachusetts, and for his contribution here today. What right have we to tell any country in the world the form of government under which its nationals should live? Again I say that Uncle Sam, poor old ragged fellow that he is now, kicked all around the world, trying to regulate the morals of the people of the earth, at last is coming home to find 12,000,000 of his nieces and his nephews out of work, in rags, undernourished, and walking the streets in search of employment, warmth, and raiment. Now that he is here, I hope that while we have Uncle Sam with us we will wash behind his ears, and not let him stray farther from our shores, because we want Uncle Sam to clean his own house and sweep the dust therefrom before he tells the other peoples of the world how to run their governments. We Americans are all with the Senator from Massachusetts when he says we should attend to our own

Mr. WALSH rose.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Before yielding again to my distinguished friend, I will say that I, for one of the 130,000,000 people of America, insist upon our "dear old uncle" keeping his nose out of the business of other countries in the world.

I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. WALSH. With conditions as they are in this country, I am sure the Senator and I are in accord in believing that we have all we can do to protect and defend our own democracy by adequate national defense, instead of meddling in other countries' business and trying to determine which is right and which is wrong. Who can rightly claim that we are foreordained by the Almighty to determine where truth and justice, honesty, and good government exist in the world and then fight to preserve it? If we are going into that business, we shall be in trouble for all time, our youths will be on battlefields everywhere, and we will be useless as a potential factor in preserving the civilization of the world and in protecting the welfare of our own people.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Again I thank the Senator.

Mr. WALSH. I rose for another purpose. It so happens that on December 22, 1938, I was invited to deliver an address on the inauguration of the New England town meeting of the air in Boston. The subject assigned me at that time was Neutrality. With the Senator's kind permission, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the speech I made on that occasion, which expresses more elaborately the sentiments I expressed a few minutes ago.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am very happy to yield, particularly for that purpose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the speech may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mr. REYNOLDS. At this juncture I respectfully invite the attention of all the Members of the Senate, and particularly the attention of every reader of the Congressional Record, to the speech made by the Senator at the time mentioned, which, in accordance with his request, will be published in the Appendix of the Record. I know the readers thereof will find it thoroughly inspirational and informative. I only regret that I was not fortunate enough to be among those present when the Senator addressed an audience which I know was an appreciative one.

Returning to the newspaper clipping, Mr. President, this person says we must fight. The name is Erika Mann. I do not know who Erika Mann is; but Erika Mann says our neutrality laws are wrong. Erika Mann must be a great patriot, a member of some legislative body, or a great lawyer, who has studied the laws of our country, because Erika Mann is not hesitant about condemning the laws which Congress has passed. Erika Mann does not hesitate a moment about criticizing the action of the United States of America.

Let us go further and see what Erika Mann says:

"It is too late now," she regretted, "for decisions like these to help the loyalists in Spain. Had it not been for the nonintervention program, the tragedy that is at its height in Barcelona today might have been averted."

Erika Mann said, in criticism of the United States Government, that if we had not carried out the policy of nonintervention and the sort of neutrality we wanted, there would not have been any tragedy at Barcelona.

Who is Erika Mann, who without hesitation criticizes and condemns the Congress of the United States? Who is Erika Mann, who says that we, the people of the United States of America, must fight?

Let me read further. Erika Mann says:

"One cannot be a pacifist today in the former sense," said the serious brunette daughter of Thomas Mann, who said that her one purpose in life is to work for the downfall of fascism within the next 2 years.

I do not know who Mr. Thomas Mann is.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator from North Carolina yield to me at that point?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am delighted to yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. Thomas Mann is a very famous author. He has recently written a book entitled "The Triumph of Democracy."

Mr. REYNOLDS. The Triumph of Democracy?

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Where is Mr. Mann now? Mr. BARKLEY. I do not know. I have not seen him; I never saw him.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Where is Mr. Mann from?

Mr. BARKLEY. He was, I think, born in Germany.

Mr. REYNOLDS. He was born in Germany? How long has Mr. Mann been in the United States?

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator from North Carolina ought to know that, because he has information about all aliens.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Oh, he is an alien?

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not know. I think probably he is.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Oh, he is an alien?

Mr. BARKLEY. I think he is.

Mr. REYNOLDS. The majority leader tells me that Mr. Thomas Mann is an alien.

Mr. BARKLEY. He was an alien.

Mr. REYNOLDS. And so the daughter of an alien in America is criticizing the Members of this body and telling the people of the United States that we must go to war and murder Hitler and the whole outfit. [Laughter.]

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am not acquainted with Mr. Mann personally, but I know he has written this book and written other books. I do not know whether he has taken out his first papers or whether he has become a citizen, but my understanding is that he was born in Germany.

Mr. REYNOLDS. How did he happen to come to this country?

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not know. I have no information about it. The Senator asked who he was and I was trying to

Mr. REYNOLDS. I should like to know something about his form of democracy and if it is the same kind of democracy that he expounds in the pages of his book that has been observed by his daughter who comes here as an alien and tells us what we have got to do, namely, that we have got to beat hell out of Hitler. [Laughter.]

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President-

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am delighted to yield to my friend from Illinois.

Mr. LEWIS. I shall disturb my friend from North Carolina merely to observe that Professor Mann, to whom he refers, achieved fame with us for his work on Joseph and His Brothers, a wondrous description of the rise and the movement of the Jewish people. I think Professor Mann is of Jewish birth, and, as my able colleague from Kentucky says, he was born in Germany.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator from Illinois and I shall always be indebted to the senior Senator from Kentucky for the information which he has provided.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, if the Senator from North Carolina will yield further, in this book Mr. Mann takes the position that democracy will ultimately prevail in spite of what now seems to be in many parts of the world an unfriendly atmosphere toward it. There is nothing strange about his theory compared to the theories of others who believe that in spite of present difficulties democracies will yet prevail in the world. That is the general theme of his book. It may be that his book has been superinduced by reason of the persecutions that have occurred in Germany with respect to his particular race. I am drawing my own conjecture in making that statement, but I have stated the general theme of the book which he has written.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Not having been provided with an opportunity of perusing the pages of that book pertaining to democracy, may I inquire whether or not Dr. Mann draws any distinction between the so-called democracy of Soviet Russia and that of the United States?

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. Mann's book does not go into a distinction between what the Senator calls the democracy of Soviet Russia. I myself would not call it such; I think it is as much a dictatorship as may be found anywhere.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I said "so-called democracy." I have never described the Russian form of government as a democ-

racy. Some, however, do.

Mr. BARKLEY. Very well, I make that correction. The theory of the book to which reference has been made is not woven around the difference between the form of government of Russia and that of the United States. It is based upon what seems to be the belief of the author that not only here but throughout the world the theory of democracy—that is, the right of the people to rule, to govern themselves, to have a voice in their government-will prevail in spite of the difficulties which now seem to beset it. That is the general sentiment of the book.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Certainly.

Mr. WALSH. Does the Senator recognize any similarity between the propaganda at the present time in this country urging us to join forces with the democracies of Europe to protect our own democracy and the propaganda which preceded the World War?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Most certainly.

Mr. WALSH. Let me ask the Senator another question. What is the purpose, what is the objective of those urging us to abandon our neutrality and take sides with foreign democracies unless it be trade interests, business interests, or complete disregard of the lives of American people and their future prosperity and welfare? It surely is not in the interest of peace and the avoidance of war.

Mr. REYNOLDS. It is complete disregard of the lives of the American people and their future, I answer the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. WALSH. I thank the Senator, and I should like to see all those who are promulgating such propaganda put in the front line to face the enemy if they get us into war through the abandonment of every principle of neutrality.

Mr. REYNOLDS. And I should like to see all those who are promulgating this propaganda placed where they could not continue propaganda that perhaps will eventually drag

us into war.

Mr. President, here is the daughter of an alien, I am told, who is sore at Hitler and the people of Germany. Mind you, Mr. President, I am interested only in one country in all the world, and that is the United States of America. But here is the daughter of an alien who comes to this country seeking asylum and protection who has the audacity to say we must fight, who has the audacity to criticize the Members of the Congress for the laws they have passed, who has the audacity to criticize the administration for the administration of the neutrality law.

I speak feelingly about this subject, Mr. President, because I do not want the United States to become involved in another war. I say to you, Mr. President, that if we should become involved in another war such involvement may be attributed to such people as I bring to your attention here today, who are not American citizens, according to the information I have upon the floor of the Senate, but, although they are not American citizens, they are demanding that the sons of American mothers be placed in uniform and under arms to strike down those in continental Europe whom they do not like.

Let me read further:

"One cannot be a pacifist today in the former sense," said the serious brunette daughter of Thomas Mann, who said that her one purpose in life is to work for the downfall of fascism within the next 2 years.

Think of it, Senators! This lady says that she has but one ambition in life, that her only ambition upon this earth is to bring about the downfall and destruction of fascism within the next 2 years. And how? By spilling the blood of sons of American mothers to satisfy her hatred of Hitler and the Nazi Government. She says:

I have no hesitancy in calling for the blood of the sons of American mothers just so I can get even with that government which I despise.

Think of it, Senators!

I wish to read the remainder of this article, and I extend no apologies to anybody for consuming the time upon the floor of the Senate in talking about this subject today, because it is more important to the American people than any other subject. War! Let us see about it.

To be a pacifist in the old way, to declare that we wouldn't fight under any circumstances, is to help the Fascist and Nazi program.

We are criticized; it is said that we are yellow feathered, that we have a yellow streak up our backs, because we will not go to war right now with Germany and Italy. I want to ask Senators something, and I invite any Member of this body to answer the question. If there is an answer to it I want to hear it, and I want the American people to hear it. The American people today are more thoroughly aroused than ever before.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President-

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield to the Senator from Washington. Mr. BONE. Where did the young lady make this speech?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I will say to the Senator that I clipped this article from the New York World-Telegram. It appears on page 14 of that newspaper. The address must have been made in New York. The article is by Miss Sally MacDougall.

Mr. BONE. The speech was made by the daughter of Thomas Mann?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes; by the daughter of Thomas Mann. Let us see what was said:

To be a pacifist in the old way, to declare that we wouldn't fight under any circumstances, is to help the Fascist and Nazi program.

I have commented upon that.

The sacrifice we must make to our principles is to admit that world conditions today demand an attitude of aggression.

Senators, think of that! Think of that! We are criticizing the nations of the earth for their aggressions, and yet this person who speaks through the columns of the press says we must make aggressions for the sake of humanity, regardless of the amount of blood to be spilled or the number of lives to be lost.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am glad to yield to my friend from New Jersey.

Mr. BARBOUR. The Senator from North Carolina has been, I am glad to say, directing a number of his remarks to me, or at least he was good enough to look at me while he was indulging in those remarks. I hope the Senator does not feel that I am in any way in conflict with his views. I feel as strongly as he does that if there is one thing about which all Americans agree, it is that we shall mind our own business and keep out of all foreign entanglements of any sort. That is my own personal conviction also.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator very much; and I want to tell him the reason why I looked at him.

I am very fond of the Senator from New Jersey, the Honorable W. Warren Barbour. I have a picture of him made when he was a youngster, just a few years ago, in a fighting costume. At the time the picture was made he was the champion heavyweight fighter of the world; and I always like to look at him, because he provides me with strength and with inspiration.

Mr. BARBOUR. I thank the Senator very much for his very kind reference to my old boxing days. My spirit, I think, perhaps is the same, though my chest may have slipped down a little since those early days. [Laughter.]

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator from North Carolina may need inspiration, but nobody in this Chamber thinks he needs strength. [Laughter.]

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator very much. I only wish, Mr. President, that my voice were sufficiently strong to reach the ears of every man, woman, and child residing within the confines of the United States, because I want the 130,000,000 people of America, and particularly the mothers of America, to know that among those who are pushing us into war are those who, I am advised, are not even American citizens, and the others are Communists.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield to the Senator from Washington. Mr. BONE. I should like to have the Senator's view as to whether or not he thinks we are—to use his own term—minding our own business when we sell military airplanes to any country, including France and England.

I do not want to embarrass the Senator if he does not care to answer the question.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I say to the Senator from Washington that I see no reason why we should not sell to whoever wishes to buy. If we sell to one, being neutral, we of necessity must sell to another; and if we sell to one and refuse to sell to another, that is lining ourselves up with one side or the other. That is my reasoning.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, may I intrude again upon the Senator's address?

Mr. REYNOLDS. It is no intrusion. I shall be very happy to have the benefit of the Senator's observations, because, knowing the Senator as I do, I realize that he is particularly interested in the matters under discussion, for he comes from a part of the country which probably contributes more to the fleets of the air than does any other section of the United States, and probably contributes as much to the Navy and to the Coast Guard as any other section of the United States. At Lake Washington there is a great naval port. When I was there last fall, as the Senator will recall, I saw about 400 planes come in there one day from different sections of the country; and the Senator is not far removed from the Bremerton section, where there are great shipbuilding yards, and from the location of the Boeing plane plant.

I am glad to yield to the Senator from Washington.

Mr. BONE. Merely to keep the record straight, and so that the American people may have no misunderstanding about this matter or have any illusions whatever left, let it be known that shortly after Hitler came into power in Germany American airplane manufacturers began to arm Hitler and the new Germany in the air; and the great air fleet built up in Germany was in no small degree the product of American airplane factories. If Hitler has become a menace in the air and a menace to Europe and any blame or responsibility is to attach to the commercial aspects of that sort of business, the blame must rest upon American airplane manufacturers, for the records of the Senate Munitions Committee are replete with that picture. Probably 2,500 of the finest airplane engines made in this country were sent into Germany to arm Hitler in the air, in defiance of the clear provisions of the Versailles Treaty. American airplane patents covering the latest devices on airplane engines were freely given to Germany and were being manufactured by the Bavarian Motor Works in Germany.

I should like to have the Record show those facts, because long before this issue was raised on the floor of the Senate at this particular session and at the last session American airplane manufacturers were arming Mr. Hitler in the air as completely as he was able to pay for the equipment; and if he became a menace to Europe we made our contribution to that menace.

Mr. REYNOLDS. And he then, according to my recollection, could buy all the airplane engines he desired, or paraphernalia connected therewith, if he had the money with which to pay for them; if he was able to put the money "on the line," as it is called.

Mr. BONE. That is correct.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Since the Senator has mentioned our contribution to Germany's arming, and now we have criticism of her, if I may be permitted to shift the scene briefly to the Senator's section of the world—or, I should say, to oriental waters—it is my recollection that prior to 1860 Japan was a hermit nation. The Japanese were not dealing generally with the world. We had an admiral of the Navy by the name of Perry. We had been endeavoring to get Japan to trade with the world. England had tried; other nation of the world had made efforts but were not successful. The Japanese wanted to remain a hermit nation, purely nationalistic and self-sufficient within themselves. Then our Government sent Perry on a ship, accompanied by a couple of others, with instructions to open up the gates of commerce of Japan.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?
Mr. REYNOLDS. I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. With reference to what the Senator said a moment ago to the effect that if we sell to one nation we should sell to all, it is also true, is it not, that we sell planes and have sold planes to Russia and also to England and France, and that during the past year we have sold scrap iron, airplane engines, and parts to Japan?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Absolutely. I thank the Senator. We have been selling everywhere. This is not a new thing.

But getting back to Japan, we opened up the gates of that country. Admiral Perry had instructions to open them up or tear them down. He sent a few little presents, and said some honeyed words, and indulged in a fine line of conversation, and he was successful where the other nations of the world had not been successful. The Japanese began to trade, and then we became involved in civil strife, and the other nations of the world walked in and were trading with Japan. When the Civil War was over we went back, and we found that vessels flying the Japanese flag were sailing the seven seas, and we said to Japan, "Now, listen: You have a marine that ought to be protected. You ought to have a battleship to protect your marine." They said, "We do not want any battleship. We are a peaceful nation." We said, "You will have one, or we will blow you out of the water." We made Japan buy a battleship, and then along came England and did the same thing, and now we are telling them they cannot have anything.

I mention these facts because the Senator from Washington [Mr. Bone] a moment ago referred to our selling planes to Hitler; and, as the able Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Schwartz] has just remarked, Japan has cleaned up all the backyards in the United States by buying the scrap iron; and once upon a time the Japanese bought about all the cotton we had in the South. In one year, I think, we sold them about 115 or 120 million dollars' worth of cotton, but now we are not selling much.

Let me pursue the newspaper clipping further. This is the most remarkable thing that has come into my hands for a long while. By the way, this is the first time I have read the whole interview. I read just the first paragraph before, but it becomes more interesting as I read, and as I am provided with opportunity to discuss it:

If facism and the Nazi program are allowed to go through

Says this person who I am led to believe is an alien— I am afraid we shall see the most terrible war the world has ever had.

Who is going to involve us in the most terrible war the world has ever had? Such people as this lady who says "We must fight." And on making inquiry as to the person who used those three words, "We must fight," we learn that she comes from foreign shores, that she hates the government over there, and that she is willing to spill the blood of American children to satisfy her hatred. I ask Senators, is that American patriotism? I leave that for the American people to answer.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Thomas of Utah in the chair). Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Who is this individual whom the Senator has quoted?

Mr. REYNOLDS. This individual who says we must fight I never knew; I never heard of her until I came on to the floor of the Senate and began to read this article. This Erika Mann is the daughter of a gentleman who came from Germany about a year ago, and from all the information I have here, is an alien, and she, the daughter of an alien, is telling us, as soon as she puts her foot upon our shores, that we have to fight, that she hates Hitler and Germany, and regardless of the deaths it will cause, and the sorrow, that we have to go to war.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. If the Senator will yield further, the purpose of my inquiry is to find out whether this person has some responsibility that should lead us to take serious notice of what she says.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I never heard of her before, but I have made inquiry, and I find that she is the daughter of a very eminent alien, who did not like Germany, and came to this country, and, not satisfied with their own country, the minute they get here they are trying to get us into war, just like the Communists who come here from Russia and all the other places in the world, and the minute we let them in, and the minute they become citizens, they try to overturn our form of government.

The time has arrived when the American people have to wake up, and if I can do anything to wake them up, I am going to do it. I do not know whether I can help much, but I am going to do my best.

She thinks that the pacifist attitude that prevented the Czechs from fighting for their country was the hinge that swung toward this week's happenings in Spain and an avalanche of worse days that may be ahead, especially for France.

She mentions France. Poor France. I feel sorry for France. France has a population of 42,000,000. I talked with the Minister of Education at the time when I talked to the Minister of War, and he told me that if the population of France continues to decrease for the next 50 years as it has been decreasing instead of increasing for the past several years, they would have a population about equal to that of Spain—24,000,000.

France has been destroyed from within. France depended upon Stalin and the Communists of Russia to stand by her as the result of their military alliance, and when the time came for the Soviet Union to act, France found that the Soviet Union and Stalin "ran out on her," told her they could not send any planes to France and that they could not fight.

Everyone knows—and our Ambassador to France will be bound to disclose if he is asked—that as a result of that military alliance hundreds of thousands of Communists slipped into France, and those Communists, those termites, have been destroying France from within, and Frenchmen today everywhere will state that what has dragged France down, and made her a second-class nation today, is that they let the Communists in.

Not only that, she came near getting into trouble by taking a hand in the difficulties in Spain. Senators will recall reading in the headlines that thousands of trucks loaded with supplies for the loyalist government went right across the line on the Spanish border. Those who have been there have seen the same thing. France had a fight last week over taking any further interest in the matter.

Let us get back to this person who has just come to the United States and says we have to go to war. I note that she mentions Germany. She refers to unrest in Germany. She says:

If they had let the Czechs go to war Germany would have been armed, there would have been a revolution long before now and Hitler would have been finished by this time. Oh, she hates Hitler. She wants the United States to go to war, she wants to arm and uniform the sons of American mothers just because she wants Hitler destroyed.

I am quite sure of that. He is the last man in the world who wants war, because he knows about the seething unrest and revolt throughout Germany. But until there are guns in their hands the people can do nothing.

Miss Mann said that sometimes it gives her a jolt to realize that she can talk and think in terms of aggression.

Think of it. We are criticizing all of the countries in the world for their aggression, and she says that she is glad that now she can think in terms of aggression, and that we should go to war. I read further:

I hardly recognize myself for the person I was a few years ago, when I was studying art and preparing to go on the stage. Events have altered me completely.

She said that recent stories coming out of Spain about the bravery of Loyalist women were no surprise to her.

#### REAL WORK FOR PACIFISTS

"What use is horror?" she asked. "Indulging in that sort of feeling is luxury for many people. Sometimes I think it must be very comfortable to be filled with horror and do nothing about it. Those of us who have been pacifists have real work to do. One cannot expect politicians—

To whom is she referring there? She must be talking about the Members of the Congress of the United States, because this body was created for the enactment of such neutrality laws as we now enjoy, and she did not hesitate to criticize and condemn the Government for its administration of the neutrality law.

One cannot expect politicians of any country to be humanitarians, though one did not expect them to be as stupid as some of them have turned out to be.

### [Laughter ]

We are stupid, we are a lot of "dumbbells" for not putting the United States into war over in Europe against Hitler and Mussolini because she is mad with them. I do not know how she happened to come here. I expect she came here to try to get us into war.

There will be plenty to do, for it looks as though trouble for France is brewing. If more Americans had demanded that tanks and antiaircraft guns be sent to the Loyalists last year, Franco would not today be in Barcelona.

I am not going to enter into the question of the embargo over there.

All my life I shall remember the bright, brave spirit of Spanish women.

"We must fight," says this lady who has just reached the United States from foreign shores. She no sooner arrives here than she wants to get the United States involved in a war; but that she cannot do, because the American people will not stand for it, recognizing, as the able Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Walsh] stated a moment ago upon the floor of the Senate, that what takes place in Europe or in any other part of the world is none of the business of the people of the United States, and if we want to keep out of war we had better keep our skirts clear from difficulties in the other parts of the world.

### ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the first order of business on the calendar, pursuant to the unanimous-consent agreement.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the calendar under the agreement previously entered into, be postponed, and be the first order of business tomorrow.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I concur in the request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kentucky? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Thomas of Utah in the chair) laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States submitting a nomination in the Coast Guard, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

(For nomination this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

## EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under authority of the order of the Senate of the 28th ultimo, the following executive reports were submitted during adjournment of the Senate:

On January 30, 1939:

Mr. VAN NUYS, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported the following nominations:

Otto Kerner, of Illinois, to be a judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit; and

William H. McDonnell, of Illinois, to be United States marshal for the northern district of Illinois.

Mr. HATCH, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the nomination of Chester S. Dishong, of Florida, to be United States marshal for the southern dis-

trict of Florida.

Mr. LOGAN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the following nominations:

Lonnie B. Ormes, of Tennessee, to be United States marshal for the middle district of Tennessee; and

Thomas D. Samford, of Alabama, to be United States at-

torney for the middle district of Alabama.

Mr. CONNALLY, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the nomination of Gaston Louis Porterie, of

ported favorably the nomination of Gaston Louis Porterie, of Louisiana, to be United States district judge for the western district of Louisiana, to fill a position created by the act of Congress of May 31, 1938.

Mr. HARRISON, from the Committee on Finance, reported favorably the following named sanitary engineers to be senior sanitary engineers in the United States Public Health Service, to rank as such from the dates set opposite their names:

Howard Norman Old, December 15, 1938; and Frank Russell Shaw, December 18, 1938.

On January 31, 1939:

Mr. LOGAN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the nomination of William Baxter Lee, of Tennessee, to be United States district judge for the eastern and middle districts of Tennessee, to fill a position created by the act of Congress of May 31, 1938.

# EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. THOMAS of Utah, from the Committee on Education and Labor, reported favorably the nomination of Jewell W. Swofford, of Missouri, to be a member of the United States Employees' Compensation Commission for a term of 6 years from March 15, 1939. (Reappointment.)

Mr. KING, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported adversely, with a recommendation for rejection, the nomination of Floyd H. Roberts, of Virginia, now serving under a recess appointment, to be United States district judge for the western district of Virginia.

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of sundry postmasters.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The reports will be placed on the Executive Calendar.

If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will state in their order the nominations on the calendar.

### THE JUDICIARY

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Otto Kerner, of Illinois, to be judge for the seventh circuit of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous support of this very able and competent man for the position of judge for the seventh circuit. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of William Baxter Lee, of Tennessee, to be United States district judge for the eastern and middle districts of Tennessee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Gaston Louis Porterie, to be United States District Judge for the western district of Louisiana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

### UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Thomas D. Samford to be United States attorney, middle district of Alabama.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomi-

nation is confirmed.

### UNITED STATES MARSHALS

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Chester S. Dishong to be United States marshal, southern district of Florida.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of William H. Mc-Donnell to be United States marshal for the northern district of Illinois.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, the nomination provides for the reappointment of one who has already rendered splendid service. I therefore move the confirmation of his nomination.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Lonnie B. Ormes to be United States marshal for the middle district of Tennessee,

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

### UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Howard Norman Old, to be senior sanitary engineer, United States Public Health Service.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Frank Russell Shaw to be senior sanitary engineer, United States Public Health Service.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

## RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. As in legislative session, I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 38 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Thursday, February 2, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

### NOMINATION

Executive nomination received by the Senate February 1, 1939

Lt. (J. G.) Quentin M. Greeley to be a lieutenant in the Coast Guard of the United States, to rank as such from July 1, 1937. (Lieutenant Greeley is now serving under temporary commission issued during the recess of the Senate.)

## CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate February 1, 1939

### UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS

Otto Kerner to be a judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit.

# UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGES

William Baxter Lee to be United States district judge for the eastern and middle districts of Tennessee.

Gaston Louis Porterie to be United States district judge for the western district of Louisiana.

## UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

Thomas D. Samford to be United States attorney for the middle district of Alabama.

### UNITED STATES MARSHALS

Chester S. Dishong to be United States marshal for the southern district of Florida.

William H. McDonnell to be United States marshal for the northern district of Illinois.

Lonnie B. Ormes to be United States marshal for the middle district of Tennessee.

### PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Howard Norman Old to be senior sanitary engineer. Frank Russell Shaw to be senior sanitary engineer.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

# WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1939

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Thou Ancient of Days, when the earth felt its first throb of life, it was touched to form by Thine infinite spirit. Thou didst gather it up and shape it into unjarring harmonies. O help us to live in the revealing glory of the Light of the World. O bread of life, come to the souls of men, lift us high to the still place where we may know of Thine unsearchable riches. Enable us to think true thoughts and speak true words. A pure thought breathed into the blossom of a pure word is an inspiration to good and upright living. Almighty God, allow not the air of uncertainty to tremble before our gaze. May we discern clarity, intention, and purpose in the trend of things. O make bare Thine arms. Fold them about our President, our Speaker, and the Congress; and may they declare that greatness which makes men great. In the name of our Redeemer. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

## MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and to include therein a speech made by Secretary of the Interior Ickes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. Voorhis of California asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record.

## WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia, from the Committee on Appropriations, filed a conference report and statement on House Joint Resolution 83, making appropriation for work relief and relief for printing under the rule.

## PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 3 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Idaho?

There was no objection.

Mr. White of Idaho asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.

## IDAHO HIGHWAY TO YELLOWSTONE PARK

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the grandeur of the western mountains and the scenic beauty of the national

parks attract thousands of visitors and tourists to our Western States annually. Particular interest is manifested in the Yellowstone National Park, and many travelers journeying to the southwest and desirous of seeing America first include the Yellowstone Park in their itinerary. After touring the park many seek a direct route from the Yellowstone to Salt Lake and the southwest through the beautiful valleys and wonderful mountain ranges of southeastern Idaho only to meet with disappointment when they find that there is no gateway from the Yellowstone into the adjoining State of Idaho.

Mr. Speaker, the State of Idaho to provide accommodations for this travel, has in good faith and in accord with an understanding reached with the National Park Service, constructed a link in the State highway system through the Bechler Basin to the park boundary at Cave Falls, to connect with a short link in the park highway system to be constructed by the Park Service between Cave Falls and the Old Faithful Inn which will provide a direct route through the wonderful Saw Tooth Mountain ranges in Idaho to Salt Lake and California.

Now, Mr. Speaker, as a matter of convenience to the vacationists and travelers to the southwest passing through the Yellowstone Park and to encourage visitors to our national parks and trips through the matchless mountain sections of Idaho, the people of our State in support of a plan to establish a gateway between the national park and the construction of a link to connect the Yellowstone loop highway with the Idaho State highway system, have joined, speaking through the house and senate of the Idaho State Legislature in a joint memorial to Congress to "urge the passage of such legislation and that Congress make the necessary appropriations to provide for and to carry to completion the construction of the road" mentioned within the boundaries of the Yellowstone Park.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the memorial herewith presented by the State Legislature of Idaho may be printed in the Congressional Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Idaho?

There was no objection.

## House Joint Memorial 1

Joint memorial to the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled

We, your memorialists, the Legislature of the State of Idaho,

respectfully represent that

Whereas the Yellowstone National Park is bounded by three intermountain States, namely, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming, with three entrances from Montana, two from Wyoming, and none from Idaho; by reason of the reputation and popularity of the said Yellowstone National Park as a national playground, thousands of people from the Nation and the world visit said park each year, and as a result thereof great publicity of a beneficial nature and of great value accrues to these two States, namely, Montana and Wyoming, and the gateway communities of said States; that

Whereas due to said travel the greatly increasing traffic in said national park is producing and will continue to produce, unless relieved, great traffic congestion at said entrances and in the so-called Bottle Neck at Old Faithful in said park; and

called Bottle Neck at Old Faithful in said park; and

Whereas there now exists a State highway in the State of Idaho
for an Idaho entrance via the Bechler Ranger Station and Bechler
River to the Yellowstone National Park line which would require an
additional construction of highway by the Government of approximately 22 miles to extend such highway to the Yellowstone Loop
Highway at Old Faithful and produce an Idaho entrance which
would relieve said point and its traffic congestion and open up a
highly scenic area within the said Yellowstone National Park not
now accessible to the motorist, and would provide great additional
benefits to the State of Idaho and to communities along said
entrance: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Idaho
(the senate concurring), That we most respectfully urge upon the
Congress of the United States that the said Congress favorably consider such legislation and passage and make such necessary appro-

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Idaho (the senate concurring), That we most respectfully urge upon the Congress of the United States that the said Congress favorably consider such legislation and passage and make such necessary appropriations to provide for and carry to completion the highway above mentioned from the Yellowstone Park line to the Loop Highway of said Yellowstone National Park at Old Faithful, and that the National Park Service of the Department of Interior of the United States be authorized to begin immediately on the construction of said highway; be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state of the State of Idaho be authorized, and he is hereby directed, to immediately forward certified copies of this joint memorial to the Secretary of the Interior,

to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, and to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State.

### WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for one-half minute in order that I may ask the gentleman from Virginia a question.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, can the gentleman from Virginia inform the House when it is purposed to bring up for consideration the conference report on the relief bill?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. It is the purpose to call it up the first thing tomorrow.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and to insert therein a copy of a letter I wrote to Mr. Donald Wakefield Smith, member of the National Labor Relations Board, and his reply to my letter, notwithstanding the estimate of the Public Printer that it will make three pages of the Congressional Record at an estimated cost of \$135.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the subject of the need for a permanent Public Works Administration.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. GRANT of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and to include therein an address on the life and character of Robert Edward Lee delivered by Mrs. L. M. Bashinsky, past president general of the United Daughters of the Confederacy at the State Teachers College in Troy, Ala., January 19, 1939.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and to include therein an article from the American Teacher.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. MERRITT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and to include therein a letter I received in opposition to Senate Resolution No. 24, introduced by Senator Nye.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

## COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. SATTERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary may be permitted to sit during the sessions of the House for the remainder of the week in consideration of House Resolution 67.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, are the minority members agreeable to this request?

Mr. SATTERFIELD. Yes; I may say to the gentleman from Massachusetts, I am sure they are.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. And the request is for this week only?

Mr. SATTERFIELD. Yes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HARTLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include an address of the Honorable Albert W. Hawks to the Congress of American Industry.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Hartley]?

There was no objection.

ELECTION TO COMMITTEE ON THE CIVIL SERVICE

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution, which I send to the Clerk's desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

### House Resolution 76

Resolved, That JOHN C. KUNKEL, of Pennsylvania, be, and he is hereby, elected to the Committee on the Civil Service of the House of Representatives.

The resolution was agreed to.

### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 2 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Alexander]?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of this Congress to the fact that yesterday, January 31, 1939, the Netherlands Trade Agreement with the United States expired.

I wish also to suggest to the proper committee of the House that they immediately take steps to investigate this agreement with the idea of canceling same or of so reducing its effect by tariff imposition as to prevent the further dumping here of sago and tapioca starch, which, in 1937, amounted to the enormous sum of 466,327,683 pounds, or nearly 40 percent of this country's total starch consumption.

This means direct and destructive competition with Maine, New York, Minnesota, Montana, and Idaho potatoes; competition with Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota corn; with our wheat; and our Southland's rice; and a continual reduction or depression of farm prices in general because we cannot hope to compete with this duty-free, cheap, tropical-labor production and retain our high standard of living or civilization.

No doubt you appreciate the fact that a fair proportion of several important agricultural crops are converted into starch, either for sale as such or as derivatives of starch, such as sirup and sugars. In the case of corn about one-third of all the corn grain shipped to the primary markets is converted into cornstarch, or into one of a multitude of its derivatives. In short crop years the proportion is even greater. The corn-refining industry consists of 14 plants, which have processed in recent years from 58,000,000 bushels in 1935 to 87,000,000 bushels-in 1926 and also 1929-of shelled corn annually. Over 68,000,00 bushels were processed in 1937. The corn-refining industry in recent years has paid the United States farmers more money annually than they have received from any one of 68 different crops, and there are only 78 important crops. This industry paid out more money for corn in either 1936 or 1937 than the farmers received from the sale of their corn grain in 46 out of the 48 States.

The United States potato-starch industry is large in Maine, where from 1,000,000 to 5,000,000 bushels of potatoes have been processed annually since 1927–28. Some potato starch is produced in Minnesota. About 15,000,000 pounds of wheat starch and approximately 1,000,000 pounds of rice starch are produced annually.

These industries are primarily American, using domestic labor, capital, and equipment. The corn-refining industry is a heavy-goods industry. The United States starch industries are liberal consumers of goods and services of other industries. Extensive use is made of paper and cotton bags. Chemicals and coal are an important item. The transportation of, first, the raw agricultural products to the plants and the accumulation of supplies, and then the shipment of the starches, their derivatives, and the byproducts to consuming centers are reasonably important sources of revenue to the railroads.

A severe competitive situation exists in the starch industry. Every starch-producing product, every kind of starch, and

every product competing with any starch is subject to a tariff, except tapioca and sago, two tropical starches which enter the United States free of duty. According to the Tariff Act of 1930, all starches are subject to an import duty. However, the Tariff Act of 1930 classifies tapioca and sago as "flour," although in various publications the Tariff Commission and the Department of Agriculture refer to them as starches. In addition they have been bound to the free list by the Netherlands Trade Agreement.

In binding tapioca and sago to the free list, through the medium of the Netherlands Trade Agreement, the Department of State caused United States agriculture, particularly the Potato, Rice, Wheat, and Corn Belt farmers, to lose an important outlet for cash crops. To date the only manner by which the Department of State will permit agriculture to meet the competition from the duty-free starches is on a price basis. To effectively compete with the imported starches, corn as a raw material for cornstarch production would have to decline below the current level of prices, which, from the Corn Belt farmers' standpoint, is generally considered unsatisfactory to the maintenance of a reasonable income and standard of living.

The current drop in the imports of tapioca and sago does not mean that the American starch interests will no longer be affected by the imports of the duty-free starches. From 1900 to date the imports have increased at an average rate of 6 percent per year, or have increased 100 percent every 12 years. The rate of increase is materially greater than that of those industries which require starch as a raw material. Obviously, the United States starch market is being taken over by foreign interests. It means a decreasing market exists for those United States farm products which may be used for starch production.

Why do these imports exist? There are many reasons. The most important one is that tapioca and sago are free of any import duty; in addition, they are bound to the free list by the Netherlands Trade Agreement. The cost of producing tapioca or sago is much less than that of corn or cornstarch. The tropical starches far outyield corn in the amount of starch produced per acre of raw material; their labor is exceedingly cheap-25 cents per day; capital equipment is crude and limited, and the hot tropical sun is extensively substituted for coal. These tropical starches are, therefore, in a better competitive position than cornstarch. The corn-loan plan of the Agriculture Adjustment Act of 1938, and the Government's efforts to raise prices, and its sympathy toward higher prices of other items which form a large proportion of the total cost of starch have limited the domestic starch manufacturers' efforts to effectively compete with the imported starches on a price basis but with what a cost in the taxpayers' hard-earned money!

Attached are a number of tables and charts. There is a tabulation and a chart of the imports over a period of years. The proportion of the domestic starch market taken over by tapioca and sago is depicted in a table and chart. There is also an illustration of the relationship between the prices of cornstarch and tapioca and the duty-free imports. When tapioca is relatively expensive, the imports are small; when it is relatively cheap, as it has been for many years, the imports are large. The same price story applies in large part of potato starch.

## THE PROBLEM OF CULL POTATOES IN MINNESOTA

A few years ago Minnesota supported a potato starch and flour industry. There were 17 plants for the manufacture of high-grade potato starch and flour that helped the farmers by returning to them some profit on the small or defective potatoes that were graded out to maintain the size and quality required for table stock. Only one plant, at Dalbo, is now in operation. Plants at Cambridge and Princeton are still usable but have not operated for several years. The plant at Dalbo still has unsold its last year's production of 100 tons of fine food quality starch. Close grading, if again established, will again yield a sufficient quantity of low-grade stock to reestablish this industry and give employment to Minnesota labor.

1, 370, 000

700,000

330,000

100,000

226,000

1, 250, 000

1,680,000

250,000

The potato-starch industry in Maine operated 23 plants with aid from the Government to farmers for diverting po-Idaho operated 4 factories for their cull stock. Starch and potato flour were sold to the Surplus Commodities Corporation and given to the Relief Administration for distribution. One hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds were shipped into Minnesota to relief clients and the flour was well liked. It is used for gravies, fish balls, frying, potato bread, and it makes good mashed potato. This competed with the Minnesota plant at Dalbo, that received no governmental support.

The United States is the only country that produces starch that does not protect its producers by an import tax. In the Netherlands Trade Agreement which expired vesterday starch from the Netherlands Indies is allowed to enter the United States free of duty. The Netherlands homeland itself protects its own potato-starch industry by an import tax on sago and tapioca flour from its own colonies.

This agreement must not be renewed, and a protective import tax must be levied on starches, at least those of food grade, to protect our corn, rice, wheat, and potato industries.

Imports of tapioca and sago into the United States, fiscal years 1900-1918 and calendar years 1918-37

Year ended June 30:	Pounds
1900	16, 846, 056
1901	
1902	27, 608, 739
1903	
1904	
1905	
1906	
1907	
1908	
1909	
1910	
1911	
1912	
1913	
1914	
1915	00, 710, 400
1916	
1917	
1918	114, 531, 221
Year ended Dec. 31:	Mississi aureau suu
1918	
1919	
1920	
1921	
1922	
1923	
1924	
1925	
1926	
1927	
1928	
1929	
1930	
1931	
1932	139, 476, 880
1933	202, 718, 852
1934	188, 870, 639
1935	226, 918, 332
1936 1	
1937 2	
<sup>1</sup> The Netherlands trade agreement became effe	

<sup>2</sup>Preliminary. subject to revision.

Compiled from Foreign Commerce and Navigation of the United States, Department of Commerce.

Ratio of imports of tapioca and sago to total starch consumption, United States, 1920-37

Calendar year	Starch consumption 1	Imports of tapioca and sago <sup>3</sup>	Percent imports of tapioca and sago of domestic starch con- sumption
1920	Million lbs. 672.7 649.7 791.7 714.7 727.4	Million lbs. 104. 1 54. 6 95. 1 101. 3 89. 2	Percent 15.5 8.4 12.0 14.2 12.3

<sup>1</sup>Consists of domestic cornstarch sales compiled by the Corn Refiners' Statistical Bureau, and wheat-starch production, rice-starch production, and potato-starch production compiled from records of and reports to the Corn Industries Research Foundation; also of imports of starches, including all duty-free farinaceous substances (tapicoa, sago, and arrowroot), compiled from official records of the Department of Commerce. Sweetpotato-starch production was included after 1934.

<sup>1</sup>Includes crude sago, sago flour, crude tapicca, tapicca flour, and prepared tapicca,

Ratio of imports of tapioca and sago to total starch consumption,

Calendar year	Starch con- sumption	Imports of tapioca and sago	Percent imports of tapioca and sago of domestic starch con- sumption
1925	Million lbs. 742. 2 738. 6 812. 3 836. 2 909. 1 717. 4 750. 9 666. 3 924. 0 835. 6 892. 0 1, 153. 8 1, 199. 0	Million lbs. 124.7 109. 5 116. 3 176. 5 181. 4 114. 1 149. 5 139. 5 202. 7 188. 9 226. 9 305. 9 466. 3	Percent 16. 8 14. 8 14. 3 21. 1 20. 0 15. 9 20. 0 21. 0 22. 0 22. 7 25. 6 26. 6 38. 9

Important dislocations resulting from duty-free starch imports 1

Revenue to the farmer:
The 466,327,683 pounds of duty-free starches imported in 1937 are equivalent to the cornstarch produced from about 13,700,000 bushels of corn.\* one bushel of corn yields approximately 34 pounds of cornstarch. Weighting the average monthly price of corn at Corn Belt farms by each month's corn grind, the weighted average price for 1937 was 93.5 cents per bushel. The value of 13,700,000 bushels at 93.5 cents per

bushel is. \$12, 810, 000 Revenue to the railroads:

a. Freight revenue on the corn-grain equivalent of the duty-free starch imports\_\_\_\_\_\_ (The average freight from the farm to the processing plant is about 10 cents per bushel.)
b. Freight revenue on cornstarch

(It is assumed that the freight revenue on

imports.

(The average freight per ton is about \$1.)

e. Freight revenue from other fuel, chemicals, bags and containers, supplies, etc., estimated at

Revenue to labor: a. Wages of men at corn plants to process the corn equivalent of the duty-free starch im-

About 7,000 men are employed at the corn-processing plants. The daily average capacity of the corn-processing plants is 365,220 bushels. Assuming the plants could operate at about 90 percent of their capacity, it would take a little more than 8 5-day weeks to process 13,700,000 bushels, the corngrain equivalent of the imports. The average wage per week is \$30.)

b. Wages to bituminous-coal miners.

(It would take about 226,000 tons of bituminous coal to process 13,700,000 bushels of corn. The average output per man per day

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The figures apply similarly in varying degrees to potatoes, wheat,

Important dislocations resulting from duty-free starch imports-Continued

require more locomotives, cars, other equipment, and crews. The amount involved is not known.)

Revenue to labor—Continued.

d. Revenue to farm labor—

(The price of corn under "revenue to the farmer" would include practically all of this farmer" would include practically all of this item. It would not cover additional costs, if any, necessary to provide a larger supply of corn-grain, such as shelling charges, storage, etc.)

Miscellaneous:

Elevator charges. Fuei, excluding coal, chemicals, cotton bags and other containers, and miscellaneous supplies necessary to process the additional 13,700,000 bushels of corn (excluding freight costs included under "revenue to the railroads")

2, 500, 000

\$250,000

21, 466, 000

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ROUTZOHN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include an address I delivered at the McKinley Day banquet, Dayton, Ohio, on Monday evening of this week, January 30.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ROUTZOHN]?

There was no objection.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 15 minutes today at the conclusion of the special orders heretofore entered.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN]?

There was no objection.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a speech delivered by the Honorable Lyle H. Boren, a Member of this body, in Washington.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

GRADING AND CLASSIFICATION OF CLERKS IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE (H. DOC. NO. 146)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States of America:

I commend to the favorable consideration of the Congress the enclosed report from the Secretary of State and the accompanying draft of proposed legislation to amend the act entitled "An act for the grading and classification of clerks in the Foreign Service of the United States of America, and providing compensation therefor," approved February 23, 1931.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, February 1, 1939.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 60 and ask its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

## House Resolution 60

Resolved, That the Select Committee on Government Organiza-Resolved, That the Select Committee on Government Organization is authorized to continue its work begun under authority of House Resolution 60 of the Seventy-fifth Congress, as amended by House Resolution 106, Seventy-fifth Congress, and for such purposes said committee shall have the same power, authority, and jurisdiction as that conferred upon it by said House Resolution 60 and House Resolution 106 of the Seventy-fifth Congress: Provided, however, That any bills or resolutions reported by said committee shall have a privileged status and all points of order against said bills or resolutions shall be considered as waived.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out the last two words in line 9, all of line 10 and the word "waived" in line 11 and insert the following: "It shall be

in order to consider any such bills or resolutions so reported without the intervention of any point of order as provided in clause 4 of rule XXI."

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Sabath] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. SABATH. Does the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Mapes | desire any time?

Mr. MAPES. Yes. Mr. SABATH. I yield the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Mapes 30 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution re-creates a committee that was created in the Seventy-fifth Congress. I feel that there is no opposition to the resolution. It gives the Speaker the privilege of reappointing this committee to continue its efforts on behalf of legislation having to do with the reorganization of the various bureaus and departments in order to bring about economy and efficiency in the Government. I am informed that one or two objections to the bill that came up for consideration during the last Congress have been eliminated and that the recommendations that this committee will make will meet with the general approval of the House.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH].

Mr. WADSWORTH. Are we to assume from the gentleman's observation that the committee, before its appointment, has agreed upon a measure to be reported to the House?

Mr. SABATH. I may say to the gentleman that I have been informed by the gentlemen who have been examining and investigating this problem that they feel they have perfected a bill by which they have succeeded in eliminating objectionable features that appeared in the bill reported during the last Congress.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Has the bill been introduced?

Mr. SABATH. I do not know whether the bill has been introduced or not, but these gentlemen have worked diligently upon a bill and upon the legislation. This bill, as I understand it, was not prepared or written by anyone but members of the House committee; so the objections that have heretofore been made that the legislation has been prepared somewhere else and just given to the Members of the House to introduce are not true.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from New York. Mr. WADSWORTH. Perhaps the gentleman is not authorized to make the statement, and if the question is unfair I shall not, of course, press it. Does the gentleman understand that the committee is to be appointed de novo?

Mr. SABATH. I am not in position to state, but I believe it would be a prudent thing to reappoint most of the members of this committee, who have given a great deal of thought and study to the problem. I presume the gentleman from New York, if he had the power to appoint a committee, would appoint efficient, experienced Members who have given a great deal of time and thought to the problem.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Does not the gentleman believe, if this committee is to be appointed, and I presume it would include most of the old membership, that the committee should commence de novo and allow hearings?

Mr. SABATH. I presume the committee will comply with any reasonable request. So far we have not heard any complaints against the committee refusing to hear any Members or anyone on the subject. That is my understand-

Mr. WADSWORTH. There were no public hearings last year at all. The proceedings were held behind closed doors and not even the Membership of this House knew what was going on.

Mr. SABATH. Then I stand corrected if such is the case. Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from New York. Mr. TABER. Before the bill was brought in I made a motion in the committee that hearings be held openly on the bill and that it be considered before the committee. There were not even any hearings before the committee.

Mr. SABATH. I may say to the gentleman that I myself have always believed that committees should give a fair hearing to any Member or anyone else who has anything of value to present. However, I believe to hold hearings merely for the purpose of delaying important legislation is manifestly unfair.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Massa-

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. The gentleman says they have already framed a bill which will be reported. Does the gentleman mean this committee is not going to study the problem at all?

Mr. SABATH. No. I did not say "framed." I did not use that word. I say they have been working on the question.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Who is "they"?

Mr. SABATH. The members of the former committee, in whom I know the gentleman from Massachusetts has implicit confidence.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Have the minority members of the committee been working with them?

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. COX. If I correctly understand the position of the gentleman, it is that he has confidence that in the event this resolution is adopted the Speaker in the selection of this committee will appoint men of discretion and good judgment. and that the committee will go about the study of the question in such a manner as the committee believes will elicit the necessary information and will report to the House a bill it believes expressive of the interests of the country and the will of the House.

The gentleman has referred to a committee. As I understand the position of the gentleman, it is that the gentleman has the impression that there are Members of the House who have been giving a great deal of study to this question and have formed pretty definite ideas as to what the bill should contain, and that the bill which will be reported, if a bill is reported covering such new proposal as may grow out of the study that has been conducted and, of course, the study that will be conducted, whether or not it be de novoand the gentleman, of course, is willing to leave that to the discretion and the good judgment of the committee that is set up-will not include provisions which the other bill carried and out of which grew a good deal of controversy in

As I understand, the gentleman further has the impression that there will be no effort at piecemeal legislation, and that if any reorganization bill be considered it will be one bill reported by a committee the Speaker will appoint if the pending resolution is adopted.

Am I correctly interpreting the views of the gentleman? Mr. SABATH. The gentleman is correct. I have confidence that the Speaker will make the proper selections in

appointing the members of the committee. I do not know if it is the intent of the committee to bring in one bill or two or three bills. The committee, naturally, will use its judgment on that question.

Mr. COX. Of course, the committee that is set up must be given some latitude; the gentleman recognizes that.

Mr. SABATH. Why, of course.

Mr. COX. The gentleman does not know, of course, whom the Speaker will appoint, but the gentleman naturally has the right to assume the Speaker will draw on the experience gained during the past session.

Mr. SABATH. The resolution reads as follows:

That the Select Committee on Government Organization is authorized to continue its work begun under authority of House Resolution 60 of the Seventy-fifth Congress.

Naturally, that would presuppose that the Speaker would appoint the former members of that committee, who have given splendid service.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, this resolution is proof of the saying that "hope springs eternal in the human breast." Ever since I have been in Congress there has been talk of the reorganization of the executive departments of the Government. Everyone admits they ought to be reorganized. The problem is to present a reorganization plan that will be acceptable.

As far as I am able to speak for the minority members of the Committee on Rules, they do not oppose this resolution, although there is one provision in it they would like to see changed. They feel there is work to be done by a committee such as this resolution proposes to continue in existence and they are hopeful this committee will be able to present to the House a reorganization bill that may be adopted. With that in view they favor the passage of this resolution.

Personally, I offered in the Committee on Rules an amendment to strike out the proviso which gives any legislation the committee may report a privileged status. I believe the committee should come before the Committee on Rules and ask for a rule to make in order the consideration of any bill the committee may report, the same as the standing committees of the House. However, the majority of the committee did not see fit to adopt that amendment.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAPES. I yield to my friend the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. COX. I believe it fair to the gentleman that the fact be developed that out of the proposal the gentleman offered grew the amendment the committee adopted, which it is proposed to offer in the consideration of the resolution. The gentleman will also concede, I believe, that that amendment, if adopted, will produce much the same results as if the gentleman's original amendment had been accepted.

Mr. MAPES. I may say to the gentleman that if the proposed legislation reported by the committee is to be given a privileged status, I see no objection to the amendment made by the committee. In fact, I think it ought to be adopted. For the benefit of those who have not studied the rules, that amendment is to make it possible for the committee to report legislation transferring bureaus or agencies from one department to another, and continuing the appropriation that has been made for such bureaus in the new department.

Mr. COX. If the gentleman will yield further, I may say the gentleman appreciates the fact that if this study is to be conducted, and if this committee, if set up, is to report a bill. the right to do the things provided for by the amendment to which the gentleman has referred is absolutely necessary.

Mr. MAPES. Yes; I believe that is a fair statement. If the legislation is adopted, of course, some such provision as that ought to be carried in it. The point I am making is that the entire matter ought to come before the Committee on Rules and a rule should be secured before the matter is brought up on the floor after the committee makes its report. In fairness, too, I perhaps should say that the resolution creating the committee in the last Congress did contain a similar provision, giving any bill reported by the committee a privileged status.

Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. RICH.

Mr. MAPES. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. RICH. The committee in making its report will have the right to suggest changes in one department or another and it will also have the right to delegate such power to the President of the United States, will it not?

Mr. MAPES. Of course, that will be a matter that the House itself will have to pass upon and determine eventually. What the committee will report, of course, I have no way of

Mr. RICH. And any report that is made by the committee delegating power necessarily will be acted upon by the House before it becomes law.

Mr. MAPES. It will have to come before the House and be considered and debated and passed upon in the same way as any other legislation.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I only intended to take a couple of minutes and I do not want to take too much time, but I shall be pleased to yield to the gentleman from New York

Mr. TABER. The trouble with the resolution, as I see it, is that clause 4 of rule XXI prohibits the bringing in of appropriations in any resolution or bill from any committee other than the Committee on Appropriations. It will be impossible under this resolution, if the amendment is adopted, for us to prevent this special committee bringing in new appropriations or anything else of that sort, and it will also be impossible for us to prevent the committee from giving power to the President to transfer appropriations for purposes other than those for which they were intended when the appropriations were made by the Congress. I think this is a very serious thing.

Mr. MAPES. I think, perhaps, Mr. Speaker, I should say that I have faith enough in my fellow men to think that the Committee on Reorganization will not attempt to bring in any new appropriations. My understanding is that the purpose of this provision is simply to make it possible for the committee to transfer agencies from one department to another and to continue the appropriation which has already been made, and not to attempt to suggest new appropriations.

Some of us have given thought and consideration to this matter of reorganization for a great many years, and, for one, I repeat what I said at the beginning, that I hope the committee this year will be able to bring in a report which will meet with the approval of a majority of the House.

I reserve the balance of my time, Mr. Speaker, and yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish].

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, the chairman of the Rules Committee [Mr. Sabath] in his statement just now to the House, said he did not think there was any necessity for holding extensive public hearings on a reorganization bill because this might delay the consideration of such an important measure.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. FISH. I certainly do yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SABATH. The chairman of the Rules Committee did not state any such thing. The chairman said he believes in granting fair hearings to all those who have anything of substance to present, but that he did not believe in holding hearings simply for the purpose of delaying legislation.

Mr. FISH. Is it not a fact that there were no public hearings in the last Congress on the reorganization bill? I understood the gentleman to say that public hearings might delay the consideration of this alleged vital and important measure.

I would like to point out to the House that by the adoption of the pending resolution that we will empower a select committee to consider the reorganization problem that has been before the Congress for 150 years. I cannot exactly understand how any public hearings will greatly delay the consideration of another reorganization bill.

Mr. SABATH. Does not the gentleman think that 150 years is time enough to consider the measure?

Mr. FISH. I am perfectly willing to wait another 150 years, and I think it may be advisable to wait longer than that if you have any idea of bringing into the House the same kind of reorganization bill that you did in the last Congress, which was an abomination of desolation and which was thrown out of the House by the vote of many Members on the majority side itself. I presume now, however, like the King of France, the Democratic majority will march up the hill on the reorganization bill and discard almost everything they had in the bill last year and march down again with a new measure. This is the reason, I assume, the minority is not opposing this resolution, although I believe they should oppose that part of the resolution which provides a privileged status.

I see no reason for this Select Committee on Government Organization having a privileged status. The only committees in the House that have such status are the Ways and Means and on general appropriations the Appropriations

Committee and the Committee on Accounts. As a general proposition there are very few precedents for giving any special or select committee a privileged status to bring in legislation. There is no opportunity, under the rules, for me to offer an amendment to strike out the last four lines of the pending resolution which would do away with this privileged status except to vote down the previous question. I submit that unless this committee agrees to have public hearings, it is an absurdity to give them a privileged status to bring in such legislation without public hearings and then present it to the House when the House itself would be utterly ignorant of what the bill was based on and would be unable to have the benefit of any public hearings on the bill.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. FISH. I have limited time, but I yield for a brief question.

Mr. COX. The gentleman referred to the statement of the chairman of the Committee on Rules, and the chairman of that committee undertook to correct what the gentleman from New York said. If I understand the position of the chairman of the Committee on Rules, if I understood what he said, it is that as far as he knows no cut-and-dried procedure will be laid out to be followed by any committee that will be set up. The gentleman speaks of a working committee, He says that whatever committee is set up ought to conduct public hearings. That committee does not now exist, and, of course, we have no way of foretelling who will be placed on that committee. Therefore we cannot well disclose what procedure they will follow.

Mr. FISH. I think the gentleman and myself are in accord, and I believe the chairman of the Committee on Rules is with us in that we want public hearings on the reorganization bill, but we want some assurance now that there will be public hearings.

Mr. COX. Is not the gentleman willing to rest upon his rights to prevail upon the committee which will be set up to have public hearings? The gentleman does not want the House now to seek to tie the hands of the committee or a committee that has not yet been brought into existence?

Mr. FISH. No; but I would like to have assurance from some member of that committee that there will be public hearings on this so-called important legislation.

This is a continuation of the old committee, as I understand it, or at least the same members will be on it.

Mr. COX. This will be a new committee, as I understand the resolution.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, in the few minutes that I have remaining I want to explain to the new Members of the House that the reorganization bill that came before the last Congress had many items in it that were never included in any reorganization bill before. The Republicans are not opposed to efficiency in Government, or to the reorganization of the different bureaus of the Government. Republican Presidents have made that recommendation in the past, in the interest of good government. We opposed the last bill because it included control of the Civil Service, the Comptroller General's Office, and welfare funds. Why are we pushing this legislation at the present time? We have been in session for 1 month, and the Congress has not done one thing to restore confidence and recovery or to put any of the 12,000,000 American people back to work.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. FISH. I challenge anyone to show any demand for this legislation or who is asking for the legislation. Are the farm groups, is the American Federation of Labor, are the businessmen of the country asking for consideration of a new reorganization bill at this time? I do not believe any Republican on this side has had a single letter asking him to support the reorganization bill, and I doubt if any such demand has been received even by the Democrats.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. For just a question.

Mr. WARREN. When the gentleman says that nothing has been done, I call attention to the fact that the Republican Party in this House has delayed the organization of the

House, and quite naturally so, because they did not have their committee assignments ready for election until just last week.

Mr. FISH. I do not think that is a fair or accurate statement.

I yield to the minority leader.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I want to state that the Democrats had their committee assignments ready only 2 days previous to the announcement of our committee appointments.

Mr. FISH. I think that is an unquestioned fact.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, entirely apart from the question of whether any particular groups about the country have been demanding legislation, is not the gentleman prepared to concede and does he not contend that there is need for reorganization?

Mr. FISH. I concede that, and I think the Republicans do. They are in favor of economy and efficiency in government; and if this committee brings in a proper bill, we will support it; but they have not done it in the past, and it is almost too much to hope they will do anything different in the future.

Mr. COX. Then the gentleman concedes that there is need for legislation along this line?

Mr. FISH. For proper legislation, yes; but if this new reorganization bill gives more power to the President, I shall oppose it. I think the time has come to take back some of the powers that we have already given to the President, and restore representative government in the United States. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. COX. The gentleman of course concedes that whatever committee is set up will perform as the servants of the House, and without regard to any report they may make, it will be in the determination of the House as to what should be done.

Mr. FISH. I say to the gentleman that I can only judge what will happen from what has happened in the past, and we know what happened to the chairman of the Committee on Rules [Mr. O'Connor] in the last Congress, who opposed the reorganization bill. He was "purged" by his own party leader. I have little faith in any reorganization bill that emanates from the present administration. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WARREN].

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Speaker, the only thing the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish] failed to tell the House and what he always says is that he comes from the home district of the President of the United States, upon whom he has been venting his wrath and spleen for the last 6 years, in and out of this body.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish] raised no question 2 years ago about the setting up of this committee or its privileged status. This committee was created by the unanimous vote of the House 2 years ago, with very little debate and with no roll call. It is now a late day for even our friend, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Mapes] to come in and say that this committee should have no privileged status, because without that privileged status there is no use of even setting it up.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MAPES] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. Wadsworth], are the two best exhibits we have in the House as to why this committee should be vested with a privileged status. Back in 1920, under the administration of Woodrow Wilson, with the Republican Party in control of both branches of the Government, a reorganization committee was set up. It was an able and distinguished committee. Serving on that committee was the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Mapes, the former Representative from Pennsylvania, Dr. Temple; and the former Representative from Virginia, Hon. R. Walton Moore. Serving on the Senate committee were Senator Smoot; Senator Wadsworth, of New York; and Senator Harrison of Mississippi. During three Congresses that committee met, trying to formulate legislation, and in the Sixty-eighth Congress the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MAPES) brought into this House a well considered and a well prepared bill, meeting the situation as it existed at that time. What then confronted him? He found that through some oversight that committee had not been given a privileged status, and their labors were all in vain, and they never could get it to the floor of the House.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WARREN. Certainly.

Mr.. MAPES. Just to keep the record straight, the report came up in a short session of the Congress. It was the joint action of the House and Senate. The Senate members of the joint committee attempted to bring the bill up in the Senate and were defeated in that attempt. The House organization, including at that time Speaker Gillette and Majority Leader Longworth, had consented to have the matter brought up in the House until that action in the Senate; but after the action in the Senate, of course, it would have been futile in the short session to have brought it up in the House.

Mr. WARREN. The fact is that the bill was never considered in the House of Representatives.

Now, answering the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER], about the amendment to this resolution waiving a point of order, in the act of 1932, in which the Congress gave the then President Hoover the right to reorganize the Government, the most far-reaching act of this kind ever delegated to any President of the United States, an act that gave Mr. Hoover the right to absolutely destroy and change and wipe out and turn into a mere shell not only bureaus but independent departments, departments headed by a Cabinet officer, all of which the gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber] voted for, there was contained a provision that the President, in shifting those bureaus and agencies, should have the right to also shift the personnel and to transfer the unexpended balances of appropriations heretofore made. That is the only reason in the world why the amendment is offered to waive a point of order-not to appropriate money, but in case a consolidation or reorganization is made among several bureaus, to merely transfer the funds that have already been appropriated by the Congress, in order not to keep a new bureau suspended in the air and without operation.

I here and now assure the gentleman from New York that that is the sole and only purpose of this amendment.

Now, in answer to some questions which the gentleman from New York [Mr. Wadsworth] asked the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Sabath], it is probably out of place at this time for me to say this: In the first place, it is with some diffidence that I discuss this matter, because I happen to be on the committee; and if I had my own likes to satisfy, I assure the House I would like to get off of it today. It is nothing in the world but a headache and much work for me. Acting solely on my own initiative, for the last month I have been preparing a bill. I have now finished the drafting of that bill. After the gentleman from Missouri, the distinguished chairman of this committee [Mr. Cochran], sees that measure, if he approves it, certainly he is entitled to introduce it, because I have no pride of authorship whatever. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cochran] knows more about the inner workings of the departments of the Government than any other man in either branch of the Congress.

I believe that the bill which I have prepared will be a common meeting ground for Members on both sides of the aisle to approach this problem. I realize that when we had this fierce debate last year, men honestly differed about some of the things contained in the measure, although I must call attention to the fact that on August 17, 1937, the House of Representatives, by a vote of 283 to 75, passed the major part of this program, amounting to approximately 80 percent of it, by a nonpartisan vote. The distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Mapes] voted for it. The gentleman from New York [Mr. Cole] voted for it. So did Messrs. Andrews, Burdick, Case, Englebright, Halleck, Reece of Tennessee, Stefan, and the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Wolverton].

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WARREN. Certainly I yield, and am very glad to acknowledge the splendid speech made at that time by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MAPES].

Mr. MAPES. To keep the record straight again, the bill, of course, as it passed the House did not contain the provision abolishing the Civil Service Commission or the General Accounting Office.

Mr. WARREN. I made that clear. The gentleman is entirely correct. If the gentleman will have just a little patience I believe that after this committee is reconstituted—and I honestly believe it—we can bring in here a measure that will meet the accord of the majority of the Members of the House. I, therefore, hope, Mr. Speaker, that when the previous question is moved on this resolution we will vote for the previous question and the adoption of the resolution. [Applause.]

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER].

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I have no objection to the re-creation of the Committee on Government Organization. The thing to which I object in this resolution is that it carries a provision, in an amendment the committee has reported, that it shall be in order to consider any such bills or resolutions so reported without the intervention of any point of order as provided in clause 4 of rule XXI. Clause 4 of rule XXI prohibits any bill or joint resolution carrying appropriations coming from any committee not having jurisdiction to report appropriations. This provision would give this committee power to set up new organizations and provide appropriations for them without consideration by the Committee on Appropriations. It would give it authority to delegate to the President power to transfer those appropriations.

In my opinion, if we are going to pass any reorganization till it should, in the first place, provide for the reorganization directly. In the second place, I believe that no bill should authorize the President to transfer appropriations. If the House should see fit-and I think they will not-to give the President power to perform reorganizations, the power to appropriate for the new set-up should be given to the deficiency committee of the Appropriations Committee. The Congress has never failed to provide funds for any organization needing them and it would not in this instance. There would be a check and an opportunity for the new organization set-up to justify what it needed. Instead of having the funds provided by an Executive order it is my thought that the Congress should preserve its control over the money. The only way it can do this is to vote down the previous question and refuse to adopt such an amendment as the committee has brought in, the amendment waiving points of order under clause 4 of rule XXI on resolutions brought in by this reorganization committee. I hope the previous question will be voted down so that the amendment may be considered by the House and then I shall ask that this be done when we reach the appropriate stage in consideration of the resolution.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Martin].

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish] referred to the reorganization bill, killed in the last Congress, as an abomination of legislation. The day after the defeat of that bill I procured a copy of the New York Times, reputed to be the greatest newspaper in the world and certainly not a New Deal organ, to see what it had to say about the action of the House.

The New York Times said editorially that the reorganization bill was a good bill, but it had been defeated because Congress did not feel like turning over such powers to a "dictator." I am not able to add that up. At any rate, it praised the bill.

So far as the committee that handled that bill is concerned I may say that the bill was most ably presented and defended. In 10 years in Congress I have never seen a bill more ably managed. Read the debates on that bill in the last Congress. The bill was handled by the gentleman

from North Carolina [Mr. WARREN], the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Vinson], and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cochran]. Read those debates and you will agree with me that it was defended, explained, and justified in masterly fashion. Every attack on it failed.

After the action of the House on that occasion, senselessly stampeded into killing a good bill framed by its own Members, I said that if I were President of the United States I would throw the reorganization of the Government into the lap of the Congress and then I would just come up here, get a ringside seat, and laugh myself to death. [Laughter.]

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gifford].

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, this is a delicate subject for me to talk about, inasmuch as I was a member of the committee. What was the procedure? Secret sessions for months, the public not allowed to know of the extraordinary demands made. In the minds of the public there arose a great fear lest extraordinary powers be granted the President in view of most extraordinary demands immediately preceding. The thought of granting those powers to the Executive caused the Nation to make such expostulations that even with a minority of only 80 on the Republican side, aided by the conscience of the majority, the bill was defeated.

The new Members will be told that we gave similar extraordinary powers to Mr. Hoover. We did give him extraordinary powers of recommendation only. I suggest that you read the recommendations he made in December 1932. Certainly none of his recommendations were extraordinary, but the Democrats were in the majority. They had the power to set aside anything Mr. Hoover might recommend; and they quickly, without much apparent consideration, threw all his recommendations aside, notwithstanding they were carefully thought out and reasonable recommendations.

The thought I want to express is that last year this was a joint committee, and another branch had equal authority. Members of the majority in the House have taken the floor this morning to say that they have thought out a measure that will probably be satisfactory, but I ask: How about the measures being thought out by Members of another body, measures which are promised will have in them some measure of economy?

May I say to the new Members that there were 18 on this committee, and there were only 4 of the minority selected. Yet when it came up in that spectacular debate last year the cry of the leaders on the other side was, "Look out for the Republicans; they will get you if you don't look out." Now we have 160 Members on this side, and I think we can be more persuasive than before. But I for one hope that no matter what recommendation comes from the President, it will be brought here for our acceptance before he can proceed to make changes. Transferring particular departments of the Government and at the same time changing their names enables the President to get rid of those whom he does not like. The heads would roll. I have seen such reorganizations in my own State.

There are many features of the bill that were presented last year that will probably not again be presented. I imagine we will have a mild, noncontroversial bill presented to the House. But what will come from another body and later acted upon in conference we do not know. I hope that we may have public hearings, that all may understand the changes contemplated. If I happen to be appointed to that committee, I do not wish my tongue to be tied so that my public could not know fully the powers granted to the Executive.

Mr. COX. The gentleman is not protesting the adoption of the pending resolution, is he?

Mr. GIFFORD. Oh, no; simply an expression of doubt. [Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen].

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Speaker, may I address myself particularly to my colleagues on this side of the aisle who were not in this body in January 1937, when the President, on the

12th day of that month, sent us a message dealing with reorganization? That is a little more than 2 years ago. Two days later, on January 14, 1937, there came before this body for consideration Resolution No. 60, and I think we went along pretty well and in good faith on all this without scarcely anticipating what was going to happen.

After the appointment of that committee and sessions behind closed doors they came in with the celebrated reorganization bill. There was a great deal of language contained therein about transferring and retransferring functions and agencies, about grouping and regrouping functions, about abolishing agencies, with some exceptions; and when the bill came upon the floor for consideration, that is when the fight began. Our colleagues over on this side were instrumental in large part in finally putting an end to that which appealed to the country as a whole as a kind of abomination. You can then understand the skittishness that now prevails. You can understand the certain sense of delicacy that persists in this House today. It is because we had our fingers burned once before. That is the answer to the gentleman from North Carolina.

I suppose it will be all right to go along with the present Resolution No. 60, but do not forget it is a continuation of Resolution No. 60 of January 14, 1937, which considered all matters embraced in the message of the President of the United States on reorganization. It may be an innocuous bill, but mark well the observation made by the gentleman from Massachusetts, when the bill goes over to the other side of the Capitol and falls into the hands of the Senate: What will the Members of that body do? What will the conference report be like when it comes back to this body? Suppose it comes back in the last hectic days of the session, when we are here until late at night and there is so little deliberation on vital and important matters. That is the reason we are skittish today and that is why I favor, as does the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER], the elimination from this bill of language which provides for the transfer of appropriations.

It is our last crack at this thing if they do not do a good job and it is engrossed upon the law books. Let us not barter away that little power. Let us vote down the previous question and see whether it cannot be amended so that we may still hold on to the money bags and have a fighting chance for our "white alley" when the time comes.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cochran].

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, I cannot see the wisdom of discussing what a committee which has not even been created is going to do. The committee is not at the present time in existence. This resolution provides for re-creating the select committee.

I want to use my time to answer a few statements that have been made. First, may I say to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber] and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen] that this committee is not going to appropriate any money nor can it under the language referred to by them. There is no authority there to appropriate money. It simply provides that when the President takes one bureau and transfers it to, or consolidates it with another, along with that bureau goes the money that the Appropriations Committee has already provided for the fiscal year. That is all it means. Unless the money also is transferred the agency could not function.

Mr. TABER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COCHRAN. I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber].

Mr. TABER. This rule would permit original appropriations to be brought in by that committee.

Mr. COCHRAN. Nothing of the kind. It only provides for the transfer to go along with the agency when it is consolidated with another agency of the money that the gentleman's committee has already given the bureau for the fiscal year. I know I am correct in that. I agree with the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Warren].

Mr. WARREN. The sole purpose that we have that provision in there as a amendment to the rule is to include in any future reorganization bill section 404 of the act of 1932, the same reorganization powers given to Mr. Hoover. That is the sole and only purpose, as far as I know, of the amendment being offered to this resolution.

Mr. COCHRAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GIFFORD] spoke about the recommendations of Mr. Hoover. I voted to give your President, Mr. Hoover, who was also my President, although not of my political party, the power to reorganize this Government. More power than was ever given to a President before or since. But when did he make this recommendation? After he was repudiated by the American people. Following the election in 1932, he sent during the short session of Congress his recommendation, and I ask you to read it. On both sides of the aisle there was a demand that the committee bring in a resolution immediately that would prevent the recommendation's going through. We held hearings-copies of the hearings are in my committee roomand I called before the committee Colonel Roop, who was Mr. Hoover's Director of the Budget. What did he say? He recommended to the committee-and it is in black and white in the hearings-that it was his opinion that Congress should not permit the Executive orders to go into force, and that President Roosevelt, who had just been elected, should be allowed to do the reorganizing. Why, Mr. Hoover even recommended taking the rivers and harbors work away from the Army engineers. That was condemned in every section of the country and by 9 out of every 10 Members of this body. Under the power we gave Mr. Hoover he could abolish not only bureaus but departments, and he likewise had the power the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] now complains of to transfer moneys already appropriated. You did not complain when we gave such powers to Mr. Hoover.

Now, in reference to holding hearings on the bills we considered in the last Congress. The joint committee held hearings and then the Senate committee held hearings. I believe we sat in the joint committee hearings for about 3 weeks. We went over to the Senate Office Building every morning. If you will take the time to read those hearings, you will find that Mr. TABER and Mr. GIFFORD participated and asked hundreds of questions. I never heard of any requests from the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Mapes] or the gentleman from New York [Mr. Wadsworth] to be heard by the committee. The only two men who spoke of public hearings were the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GIFFORD], who were members of the select committee. The gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MAPES] know that there is in the public library a book of some 1.500 or more pages, which contains the record of the hearings held by their committee under the resolution to which the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WARREN] called your attention. There are also in the library copies of other hearings that have been held from time to time by various committees of the Congress on the general subject of reorganizing this Government. Months were consumed in holding the hearings by the committee Mr. Mapes and Mr. Wadsworth were members of.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COCHRAN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.
Mr. WADSWORTH. Is the gentleman referring to the
attempt to reorganize the executive departments made by a
joint committee of the Congress back in 1924?

Mr. COCHRAN. I refer to the committee of which the gentleman from New York was a member when he was a Member of the United States Senate. I believe Senator Smoot was the chairman of that committee, if I am not mistaken.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. COCHRAN. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MAPES] was also a member of that committee appointed by the Speaker. Your committee held hearings, and the book containing the record of those hearings contains over 1,500 pages.

Mr. WADSWORTH. If the gentleman will yield further, why could not the committee in the last Congress have held like hearings? We held open public hearings.

Mr. COCHRAN. We had the benefit of the hearings of the gentleman's committee. They were so lengthy and had taken up so much time that all we had to do was read them over. As a result, we knew what was in the minds of the people.

There has been more misleading statements circulated in this country in reference to the reorganization bills than has ever been circulated concerning any legislation that was ever presented to the Congress. One Member of this Congress went out to my own city in the fall of 1937 and made a speech to a large national organization of traffic men holding a convention, begging them to get busy on their Congressmen and not let the House of Representatives pass the reorganization bill, which he told them would give the President the power to destroy the Interstate Commerce Commission. I found his speech in the paper the next morning, relating how he had pleaded with them and urged the convention to adopt resolutions to the effect that they were not in favor of destroying the Interstate Commerce Commission and wanted it left alone. I secured the bill and quoted the specific provision in that bill that kept the President of the United States from touching the Interstate Commerce Commission, as well as other regulatory bodies. Then I got the RECORD and turned to the roll call on that bill in August 1937, and lo! and behold, I found the name of that Member of Congress shown as voting for the very bill he was asking those people to help defeat. He did not even know the bill had been passed and that it was in the Senate, and he was telling the people to have the House beat the bill, a bill he had voted for. This is a sample of the kind of bunk that was given to the people of this

When I went home last summer I discussed this matter with many, many people, and there was not one person with whom I discussed it that did not admit he did not know what was in the bill he was talking about when he sent a wire or wrote a letter seeking the defeat of the reorganization bill. I went before one organization that sent me a telegram signed by 200 members, and made a speech. They told me to select my own subject, and I talked about the reorganization bill because they had sent me the telegram. There was great confusion among the members of that organization in an attempt to find out who signed their names to that telegram. It developed the secretary signed their names to the telegram and sent it without their permission. [Applause.]

I answered every letter that came to me about the bill, and hundreds replied they had never written or wired me nor authorized anyone to sign their name to any protest. It was inspired, misleading propaganda.

There is one way to reorganize this Government and only one way. I say that because Congress will never do it. If it is to be done, power must be given to a President who will do it, and the time to do it is right now. Businessmen who complain about expenses of the Government, who demand that we simplify procedure, can come to the conclusion now they are going to continue to complain unless Congress gives the President the power to put his house in order. The Constitution and the Congress hold the President responsible for the conduct of the executive branch of the Government. Why, then, should we not give him a set-up that will enable him to efficiently and economically do his job. No greater blunder was ever committed by the Congress than the defeat of the reorganization bill last year.

President after President, Republicans and Democrats, for the last 40 years have urged a reorganization of the executive branch of the Government. It has been too long delayed.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to correct the typographical error in line 11 of the resolution, where the letter "n" has been omitted.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact I believe nearly all of us are in favor of the passage of the resolution,

I move the previous question on the resolution and the amendment.

The SPEAKER. The question is on ordering the previous question on the resolution and the amendment.

The question was taken; and the Chair being in doubt, the House divided, and there were—ayes 153, noes 102.

So the previous question was ordered.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the resolution as amended.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. Under a special order of the House heretofore made, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Peterson] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I discussed on this floor provisions of the free homestead program as incorporated in H. R. 1675, introduced by myself at the beginning of this session of the Congress, an identical measure having also been presented in the other body of the Congress jointly by the two Senators from my State of Georgia. Since making those remarks, several of my colleagues have approached me expressing their interest in this legislation, several of them, much to my astonishment, suggesting that this proposal is somewhat un-American and contrary to the doctrines that have prevailed in this country for a long period of years.

Today I wish briefly to inform my colleagues more in detail as to the real provisions of this legislation and to recall to them that rather than being un-American the proposal which I have brought forward here is in strict harmony with the land policies and with the fundamental principles that have prevailed in this country from the time of its infancy.

I have here, and I ask, Mr. Speaker, permission to insert this document in the Record, figures presented to me by the General Land Office showing the total acreage of the public domain of this Nation that has been granted under the Free Homestead Acts, since their adoption, beginning in 1862, and showing the acreage for the respective States.

You will find there has been a total of over 500,000,000 acres of the public domain granted to private citizens for entry, free of debt, under that act.

In addition, I have investigated regarding the Thirteen Original Colonies and the great State of Texas, the domain of these respective governmental units never having come under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government.

There has been prepared data by our legislative reference bureau, giving a brief history of the public-land policies of each of these respective units. This data is too comprehensive to ask that it be placed in the Record, but it is here in my possession for your examination at any time, and you will find, as I have found, that in every State and colony of this Nation there has always prevailed a policy of free homesteads. Free land for free labor has always been a cardinal principle in every civil unit under our Federal Government, and a major portion of the land not only in these public-domain States, but in the colonies, was granted to the private citizens free of debt.

Mr. Speaker, we have been legislating here in an emergency manner, appropriating billions and billions of dollars to meet an emergency. Today, our rural population is in just as desperate a condition as it was when we began to make these appropriations.

It is unfortunate that the Federal Government failed, when it made the original free homestead provision, to throw a safeguard around the farmers of this country so that they could not mortgage or encumber their premises; so that those little, independent farm units occupied by free, liberty-loving American citizens, could be preserved; so that those families could continue to earn an honest living by the sweat of their brow in freedom and in independence. Having failed to throw these safeguards around these units, we find that the age-old practices of industry and of commerce and of finance have crept in and have

assaulted these free farm units until today they are overcome by mortgages and debts, with the result that over two-thirds of the farm population today are either tenants or else have such heavy mortgages over their homes that they are in many instances in worse condition than if they were tenants.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I again assert that it is absurd for us as Congressmen to hope to continue to preserve free institutions among a people who do not themselves enjoy their freedom. It is impossible to maintain free government among tenants and among serfs. If we will take a small portion of the money that we are throwing away, in many instances, in useless undertakings, and in other instances in experiments, which are doomed before they are initiated, and go back to the traditional American policy of purchasing farm units and making them again available for destitute farm families, and providing that these farm units cannot be mortgaged or encumbered, and then placing farm families on these farms, we will find that we have then initiated a program which will begin to lead us out of this chaotic condition and place us again in a position of independence and in a position where the people themselves will demand free government and where the people themselves will demand economical government.

A Member of Congress is inclined to vote, regardless of what party he belongs to, according to the wishes of the majority of his constituents. If a majority of those constituents have lost all their hope, if they have no hope of ever getting possession of a little plot of land for themselves as a home, if they have no hope of ever again being placed in the position of economic independence where they can have a home to call their own, then they do not care whether government remains democratic or not, they do not care whether you balance the Budget or not, whether you initiate soil conservation and various soil-benefit programs or not. It is to their benefit to get every dollar of the public funds that they can possibly get, or of funds from any other source, so they are prone to demand of their Representatives and Senators extravagant expenditures. On the other hand, Mr. Speaker, if this Congress will, rather than continue to spend forever and forever, going forward to a condition of complete chaos, if we will take a small portion of these funds and enact legislation that will gradually bring the people back to ownership of their own little farm units, we will find that we will have started in the right direction. Every time we place a farm family on a little piece of farm land and preserve and protect that homestead for that family against the encroachments of greed and avarice of the financial interests of the country, we will have made a good libertyloving American citizen out of that man and his family. free farm, owned and occupied by a free citizen and his family, is the ideal breeding place for the germ of human liberty. It is the cornerstone of free government, and we can orate all we please, and cry over the condition of the people of this country as much as we wish, but so long as we fail to return to the American doctrine of free land for free labor, providing for every human within the bounds of this country as he is born under the plan of the Divine Creatoras long as we fail to give him an opportunity to have a place in which to stand, a place in which to live, a place where he may earn his meat and bread on an equal basis with all other mankind—then so long will we fail to properly function as a legislative body representing a great free people. [Applause.]

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Does the gentleman's bill provide any safeguard for those farmers which will prevent the politician from taxing the farms away from them?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, this bill does not provide any safeguard to keep the politician from taxing these farm units away from them, but the politician under our representative system of government is elected by the people, and when the people in the respective districts see that it is to their benefit by ownership of their own homes to keep down taxes, then you will find the politicians advocating the reduction of taxes, and until that time does come, there is no advantage to a politician to advocate it, because the people themselves have lost their homes and holdings and are not primarily interested in reducing taxes. A majority of the farmers, who are the backbone of this Nation, are bankrupt today, and there is no hope on earth for them under any legislation so far enacted to regain their homes, to get out of this condition of bankruptcy.

Mr. HAWKS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. HAWKS. Will the gentleman agree then that during the past number of years under the Triple A, agriculture in this country has not progressed to the point where it

should have progressed.

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I agree to that, and not only do I agree to that but I stated here a few days ago that this question was one of the crying issues in America and had been so from the time of the Louisiana Purchase until 1862, when we finally adopted the free homestead plan to protect the farmers, and your Republican Party grew into power because it had the foresight to adopt a program of this kind, as I read into the RECORD a few days ago; and so long as the Republican Party remained true to the farmers of the country it was in power, but when that party forgot the source of its greatness the people of America rose and trampled it under foot and today they have wrested that power from that party hoping that another party will bring to them again the relief they need. But, although both parties have voted for the emergency legislation, which has done great good, yet no party has yet initiated a national program which will again help solve the problems of the farmers of this country. Today I am pleading with all of you for the adoption of such a program.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. RANDOLPH. The gentleman speaks about the A. A. A. As one Member on this side of the aisle I voted and worked against crop-control legislation. I ask the gentleman this question: What is the financial participation or obligation of the individual to be helped by the Government in placing that individual and a member of his family upon this land?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. In that respect I do not propose to change the law at all. I propose to again make operative the Homestead Act of 1862, which is still the law, and under which over 500,000,000 acres of land passed into private ownership and over 3,000,000 farm families secured free farm homesteads.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Then when the gentleman is attacked for bringing in an un-American program, it is just a continuation of the law which has been carried forward through

the years?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Absolutely; with this one additional provision, that should have been written into the original act, that these homestead units cannot become the subject of barter. They cannot be mortgaged or encumbered, but shall be kept inviolate, where farm families can live and earn for themselves the necessities of life.

I want to tell you another good feature about this.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I yield.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Would the gentleman include as a part of the free land all of the farms that have been foreclosed by the Federal land bank during the last 3 years?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. If the gentleman will read this bill, he will see that it provides that where foreclosures have been made since January 1, 1920, and the land is still in the hands of the mortgagee, it will come under the provisions, and the original mortgagor will be given a prior right to the homesteading of his original home.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. The gentleman knows that at the present time if a mortgagor loses his farm to the Federal land bank, the Federal land bank will not sell it back to him unless he pays the full amount of the indebtedness, plus interest, taxes, and other costs, but that the Federal land bank will sell it to other outside parties for about half the price or whatever they can get for it.

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I appreciate the gentleman contributing that observation.

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I yield.

Mr. HOPE. I am in sympathy with the gentleman's view-point, but the gentleman talks about having a free farm citizenry who own their own homes, yet he takes away from them the right to dispose of that land. Has that not always been considered as an incident of property—that is, the right to sell?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Particularly by the financial interests. If the gentleman will study the history of his own State, he will find that when a division was opened by the General Land Office for private entry, the first thing you had was the financial interests of Wall Street plunging in, attempting to mortgage and encumber and buy away from those farmers the farm homesteads. That is one of the fundamental principles of government, to protect citizens, to protect the weak, and provide opportunities for the weak to live in independence, equally with the strong.

It was never intended, under free government, for us to provide primarily for the strong financial interests of this country. Neither was it intended that we should destroy the strong financial interests, but the true principle of our free representative government is to let the strong grow as strong as they may, let the rich grow as rich as they please, but put safeguards there where never can the strong or rich oppress the weak and needy. The only foundation upon which you can build such a structure is keep land always open, so that when a man loses his job in the city, when all his hope is gone in the various industrial pursuits and in the various professional pursuits, when, as we know, he has still got to eat and he has still got to stand on earth if he lives, when those conditions come about there is always a city of refuge, a gateway for him to flee from the oppressions of the mighty and the rich. The only gateway, the only city of refuge you can properly provide for him is a little plot of soil, where he can carry his family and live in freedom and independence. That piece of soil should not be a question of barter and trade.

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I yield.

Mr. HOPE. That, in effect, is treating the farmer as an incompetent, is it not? We do not put those restrictions upon any other group in this country except the Indians, as a group, or those who have been adjudged to be incompetent. Is it the gentleman's opinion that those who take up these homesteads should be treated as incompetents? I am not asking that facetiously. I am asking that in all sincerity.

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. No, sir. I do not propose that they should be treated as incompetents, but the gentleman knows that from the dawn of time the fight has always been the strong against the weak. Our system of government was set up so as to safeguard the strong in their strength and at the same time protect the weak in their weakness. Now, our system of government does not provide that you should go out here and take a weak man and set him up and take away from the strong man and give of his resources to that weak man, but it does provide, as a land of opportunity, that you keep open always to that weak man the opportunity to earn an honest living in political equality and in economic equality with the strong and the rich.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. McGranery). The time of the gentleman from Georgia has expired.

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 10 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Hoffman] has a special order. If that is agreeable to him.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I have no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. HAWKS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I yield.

Mr. HAWKS. I believe the gentleman knows I am very sympathetic to this matter.

Does not the gentleman agree with me that the bankers, the local bankers in our small communities—I am not talking about the international bankers or the big bankers, but about the conscientious, hard-working banker in the local community—does not the gentleman agree that during the past years this local, conscientious, hard-working banker has tried to work with the weak, has tried to provide them money, has tried to help them finance their farms?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. They have done good work

along that line.

Mr. HAWKS. I would like to have an appreciation of the local banker, the small-town banker really impressed on the minds of the Members.

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I am not meaning to condemn any institution, for I think we have all been caught in the jaws of a vice. I think nobody is particularly responsible. We have just had an economic system that has drifted along with the financial institutions trying to get all the collateral they could, all the holdings they could until they have driven the producer of the raw products, the man who is the foundation of our whole economic structure, the farmer, to a condition of serfdom where he has lost his farm home, where he has lost his means of livelihood, where he has lost nearly everything that he must have in order to earn bread and butter so that he can live and his family may eat.

I am simply proposing, sirs, that we again open up the land to the average citizen of America. I am not asking that you give him one penny. I am not asking that you put one citizen on the dole. I am asking that we again provide an opportunity for that citizen himself to procure the necessities of life. If the gentleman does not like the provision of my bill prohibiting mortgages or encumbrances of the land, if the gentleman is really interested in helping to the land, if the gentleman is really interested in helping to the land, if the independent homestead units of this country, I would be delighted to work with him. I will welcome any cooperation in behalf of this principle.

Mr. HOPE. I may say to the gentleman that I am not sure I disagree with him, but I did want to get his viewpoint. I would like to ask the gentleman another question if he would be kind enough to yield. I do not want to take too

much of his time.

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I yield.

Mr. HOPE. It has been true in the past, has it not, that ownership of land and the ability to mortgage it has in many instances furnished farmers with a source of credit they would not otherwise have had, and that in many, many instances the debt has been paid off?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. In very few instances, comparatively, have the mortgages been repaid, and I doubt the wisdom of the vast majority of the mortgages. It is true that banks in many instances have made loans with farms as collateral; however, farm land is considered a frozen asset, and it is not good business for any bank to use farm land as collateral, because the money is then tied up indefinitely. With the production credit associations and the emergency crop and feed loan organizations, and other lending agencies, we find that the average farmer has all the help he could possibly hope for or need under normal conditions without a farm mortgage.

Mr. HAWKS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I yield.

Mr. HAWKS. Is it not a fact that the subsidies of the Government during the last 4 years of the New Deal have just about destroyed the credit of the small farmer of this country?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I would not care to argue that point. I am inclined to think that a great deal of good has come to the farmers out of the expenditure of these funds, but it has not yet touched the basic spot; it has not yet

offered a program that is going to help little old John Jones back in Montgomery County, Ga., to get on his feet to the point where he and his family can live without calling upon the Government for financial aid or for meat and bread. This is what we need to do. This could be done not only for John Jones in Montgomery County, Ga., in my First District, but for people in every other district of this country.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I yield.

Mr. HOFFMAN. If I understood the gentleman correctly, he proposes to let these men have this land. Does the gentleman intend also to start them farming by way of providing tools and equipment?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. My proposition goes back to the old original homestead law under which the gentleman's

State was developed. Was it provided then?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Never mind about that; I am asking about present conditions.

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Was it provided in those days? It is the same law that I want to put into operation again.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I understand that the gentleman is going to give me land because I cannot make a living today, and have no money. Is he as well as buying the land going to equip me with tools that I may make a living from the land?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. The gentleman can introduce a bill to that effect, if he wishes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Is that the gentleman's purpose?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. It is not my intention now to debate that feature. My plan would operate under the homestead act that is the same today as it has been since it was enacted. I am just proposing that we make land available to the people under the provisions of the homestead act that has proven so successful for three-quarters of a century.

As to the cost of the proposition that is nothing new, for in numerous instances this Nation has bought land and given it to farm families free of debt. In 1803 we bought over 500,000,000 acres of land from France.

We took this land and divided it into homesteads.

We bought land from Spain in 1819. We bought land from Russia in 1867. We bought land from Texas. We bought land from Mexico. We bought land from numerous sources and opened that land up for free entry not only to American citizens but to citizens throughout the world. From 1862 to 1885, under the Homestead Act of 1862, history records that one of the greatest migrations of mankind in the history of the world took place. During that time distressed families from Europe sought refuge in the free domain of America, and it was from the settlement made by those Europeans that sprung many of your great districts. Many of you gentlemen sitting here are descendants of some of those homesteaders. You know the benefits of a free-land policy. Yet why do you gentlemen sit silently in your seats when the benefits of a free homestead policy are rapidly vanishing? When those benefits vanish all free government will vanish. Why do you sit here in your seats and fail to raise your voice to amend the free-homestead acts that brought about the greatness of your districts so that like benefits may be worked out for your descendants?

Mr. Speaker, as I stated, we bought these lands from foreign countries and gave them to farm families. Can there be anything wrong in again buying land and again giving it to farm families? I am simply proposing today to help the farmer. He is in a hopeless plight insofar as land and the farms are concerned. The little banks are in a hopeless plight. The Government itself and the lending agencies, all of us, have got caught in a jam. The lending agencies do not want the land. They want the people put back to where they can be prosperous and where they can do business.

The Government does not want the land, neither do the various agencies that have taken it over; yet the people cannot live on this land under present conditions, and they are unable to purchase it back.

Is it not the duty of the Congress, when everybody is in a jam, to do something to relieve the situation instead of refusing to see the situation as it is? We are day after day voting away billions and billions of the resources of this country, driving ourselves deeper and deeper into bankruptcy. Is it not the part of common sense and wisdom to attempt to unravel these distressed conditions and help financial institutions get relieved of their burden and help the farmer get back into a position of economic independence and, as a matter of fact, help all of us where we can again regulate our own affairs in a normal way? It appears to me a most simple, fundamental American proposition to do that. I am proposing such a course in this measure.

Mr. STEFAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. STEFAN. The gentleman has been fighting for this legislation for several years, and I have been very much interested in many of the arguments he has presented on the floor of the House. The trouble of the farmers in my State is not so much the acquiring of new land as to keep the land they already have. They are losing their land by the hundreds of thousands of acres.

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. How are they going to keep it?

Mr. STEFAN. I would suggest the gentleman read the Frazier-Lemke refinancing bill.

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. I am not objecting to the gentleman's proposal. In fact, I commend the gentleman from Nebraska and the other Members who are sponsoring this legislation, for the serious effort you are making to really help your farmers out of their present plight. I congratulate you for the time, thought, and study you are devoting to this vital problem.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks in the Record and to include a document mentioned during my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Peterson]?

There was no objection.

The tabulation referred to follows:

Tabulation showing number and acreage embraced in allowed original homestead entries and final homestead entries (including commuted entries), by States, from the passage of the Homestead Act to June 30, 1936

HOMESTEAD ENTRIES

States	Original		Final	
	Number	Acres	Number	Acres
Alabama	76, 764	7, 924, 032	44, 965	4, 901, 878
Arizona	40, 025	8, 904, 623	19, 595	3, 815, 206
Arkansas	146, 528	14, 981, 114	76, 216	8, 297, 864
California	134, 421	21, 668, 914	71, 164	10, 981, 430
Colorado	206, 869	42, 188, 985	111, 725	22, 462, 510
Dakota Territory	116, 870	18, 072, 796	60,672	9, 539, 454
Florida	55, 654	6, 366, 409	31, 275	3, 702, 707
Idaho	105, 810	18, 695, 495	60, 369	9, 592, 822
Illinois	95	7, 392	76	5, 865
Indiana	40	2, 117	29	1,796
Iówa	14, 607	1, 408, 137	8, 947	910, 002
Kansas	182, 678	26, 388, 251	110, 516	16, 214, 798
Louisiana	43, 660	4, 710, 080	24, 789	2, 771, 859
Michigan	40, 828	4, 720, 371	21, 971	2, 570, 574
Minnesota	154, 224	18, 903, 068	92, 353	11, 388, 012
Mississippi	46, 178	4, 617, 547	25, 482	2, 785, 560
Missouri	67, 135	6, 863, 283	35, 089	3, 677, 904
Montana	235, 921	51, 941, 172	151,858	31, 873, 892
Nebraska	203, 444	42, 106, 715	121,071	24, 778, 173
Nevada	8, 576	1, 979, 818	4, 173	667, 694
New Mexico	170,039	40, 288, 417	84, 891	18, 125, 118
North Dakota	183, 421	27, 274, 464	134, 662	19, 836, 006
Ohio	179	12,462	112	7,967
Oklahoma	190, 439	27, 976, 480	111, 347	16, 589, 467
Oregon	122, 353	20, 576, 649	65, 537	10, 839, 138
South Dakota	146, 459	23, 753, 731	100, 668	16, 108, 066
Utah	40, 016	9, 310, 441	16, 488	3, 330, 534
Washington	118, 143	15, 586, 017	64, 806	9, 398, 752
Wisconsin	59, 503	5, 240, 009	31, 610	3, 350, 945
Wyoming	119, 256	34, 128, 247	64, 658	16, 800, 958
General Land Office	1,947	140, 520	1,716	149, 493
Alaska Territory	1,855	269, 402	1, 209	129, 510
Total	3, 024, 937	507, 007, 158	1, 750, 039	285, 605, 954

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. Hobbs asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, I received this morning permission to extend my own remarks in the RECORD. At this time I ask unanimous consent to include in my extension of remarks certain tabulations concerning the increase in the importations of tapioca in this country and the effect that those importations have on various industries.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ALEXANDER]? There was no objection.

Mr. COLE of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, on Monday last I obtained unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD. I find the remarks will take two and a half pages of the RECORD. I renew my unanimous-consent request at this time, notwithstanding the fact these remarks will take two and a half pages of the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a special order heretofore entered, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a letter received by me and the reply thereto.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN]? There was no objection.

THE WAGNER ACT DOES NOT PROTECT THE WORKER

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, every one in the House who has given the matter any thought probably realizes that the question of amending the Wagner Act will be brought up during this session of the Congress. It is not my purpose to speak today at length on the law or any proposed amendments but to call the attention of the Members of the House to the fact that from time to time I shall put into the Record communications received from employees tending to show the criticism of the law as it exists and of the actions of the National Labor Relations Board as that Board has been functioning since 1935 when the law went into

That the C. I. O., or at least some of those who assume to speak for it or to act in its behalf have assumed for some time that the Board was its ally in the C. I. O.'s warfare on other labor organizations and in its attempt to force employees into its organization is made evident by news items contained in the press of yesterday.

It appears from the Detroit papers that a complaint has been filed with the N. L. R. B. at Detroit, charging Homer Martin, president of the U. A. W. A., with unfair labor practices. The internal fights, jurisdictional, legal, and physical, which have taken place between those who are seeking to be acknowledged as representatives of the automobile workers reached a climax when the charges were filed against Martin.

It will be recalled that, not so long ago, Martin expelled four of the high officials of his organization, charging them with Communism and with seeking to disrupt the organization. Those expelled answered his charge with one of like nature and Martin finally was compelled by the C. I. O. to reinstate the officers he had removed. Still more recently, the battle was renewed.

The expelled but reinstated officers and some of their friends now charge Martin, who was attempting to unionize Ford workers, with aiding the Ford authorities in the establishment of a company controlled or dominated union.

The situation has become so chaotic that General Motors has been forced to refuse to bargain with either faction until it is definitely decided who actually represents the employees.

Here we have a concrete illustration of how the man who works, the employee, is being deprived of his right to

bargain collectively through representatives of his own choosing.

The stake, of course, is the huge fund that will be derived from the dues collected from the thousands of workers in the automobile industry.

Recently Martin charged those opposed to him with the responsibility for more than 1,000 wildcat strikes called in the General Motors plants since the bargaining contract was signed in February of 1937.

Martin's opponents charge him with excessive spending of union funds, as much as \$2,200 a month. He replied by saying that he spent as much as \$2,800 in some months but that it was for legitimate expenses. In return, he pointed to Addes, one of the officers formerly expelled but reinstated, and charged that his expense account was \$3,500 on one occasion. He further said that one of the vice presidents admitted under oath that he had spent \$198 for whisky in 1 day and that he had also spent \$800 that he could not account for.

Martin also charged that funds of the Plymouth local had been used to aid the Communist Party and that "\$2,495 went down in the stewards' jeans."

Speaking for the opposition, Thomas, a former confidant of Martin, alleged that Martin was a dictator, had suspended 15 of the officers of the organization; that in 1 week he spent \$45 for taxicabs and \$80 for meals and concluded:

All I can figure out is that he must have been eating his meals in the cabs to spend that much.

Out of the whole sorry mess it is evident that the workingman, his interests, his rights, are being forgotten in the struggle.

The whole situation is proof sufficient that the Wagner law is not serving the purpose for which it was enacted. This is but one illustration of the fact that the act as now written and administered is the cause of industrial conflict.

Prior to and upon the enactment of the Wagner law, many people assumed that its main purpose was to protect the individual worker, to secure to him the right to organize free from coercion and to give him collective bargaining.

Unfortunately, the act was so drawn as to vest almost unlimited authority in a labor board created by the act. That Board deprives the worker of the rights the act declared he should have.

It is quite true that section 7 explicitly declared:

Employees shall have the right to self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities, for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection.

In practice, however, employees have time and again been denied the right of self-organization, the right to form, join, or assist labor organizations of their choice and the right to bargain through representatives of their own choosing.

The Board has seen fit to assume the right, and this sometimes without public hearing and public report, to designate the bargaining agency.

Time and time again the Board has destroyed organizations of the workers and refused them recognition.

I will not at this time make any extended argument showing how the Board has deprived workers of the rights supposed to be guaranteed to them by section 7 of the act. That subject will be more fully discussed when the Wagner law comes up for amendment, a task which we might as well assume now as later.

The purpose today is to call attention to a few protests received from employees who thought that, under section 7 of the labor act, they had the right to form their own organization and to bargain with their employer. All these letters were addressed to me personally and came either from Crystal City or Festus, Mo., within the last 2 weeks. They are as follows:

# [Western Union Telegram]

We protest the un-American decision of the N. L. R. B. in disregarding the wishes of the huge majority of the workers of Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. works, No. 9, at Crystal City, Mo.
CRYSTAL CITY GLASS WORKERS UNION,
ALFONSE L. LAIBEN, President.

My Dear Congressman: As an American citizen, I am taking this opportunity to ask you to do something about this un-American decision handed us—the workers of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co., of Crystal City, Mo. The employees have formed their own union, the Crystal City Glass Workers Union. We have a huge majority, and why must we be ruled by a minority? The decision was given us by the N. L. R. B., favoring the C. I. O. You, as our Congressman, won't you endeavor to do something for us? Try to amend the Wagner Act and the N. L. R. B. We need your help.

We need your help. Yours truly,

BEN W. HOFFMAN, Crystal City, Mo.

DEAR SIR: In regard to the un-American decision handed down by the N. L. R. B., giving the C. I. O. bargaining rights at plant No. 9 of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co., at Crystal City, we of the independent union, having a large majority of membership, cannot and will not accept this communistic decision. Any support you can give us at this time will be greatly appreciated.

Respectfully,

BARNEY W. BERKBIGLER,
Member of the C. C. G. W. U. Union, Crystal City, Mo.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I resent an act which allows a few men like the N. L. R. B. to hand down a decision that they did the past week by ordering Pittsburgh Plate Glass works, No. 9, to recognize the C. I. O., whereby the majority should rule to be free Americanism. The independent union at time of hearing had more than 1,500 members, and now has reached about 1,700 of the 2,000 employees of works No. 9, at Crystal City, Mo., and I feel that you as one of the Representatives of the House, should do all in your power to stop such injustice against the voters. Thanking you for all you have done in the past and hope that you will continue in this matter as you have, and wishing for more "justice in the future," I am, DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I resent an act which allows a few men like Sincerely,

Mr. John V. DeGeare, Employees of Works No. 9, Crystal City, Mo.

DEAR SIR: A great injustice has been done to the people of our community. The Labor Board has given us a raw deal by giving the decision to the smallest majority of C. I. O. Our independent union, C. C. G. W. O., has 1,500 employees. The Labor Board law has to be changed. We are not going to stand for that kind of law. We expect to get some action out of this. An employee.

JOSEPH WHISTLER, Route 2, Festus, Mo.

DEAR SIR: We, the people of this community, have got an unjust decision from the Labor Board. The Labor Board has ordered the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co., No. 9, here to recognize the C. I. O. Our independent union, C. C. G. W. U., has 1,500 members out of about 1,800 employees in this factory. Our community wants the right decision handed down to us. There is no right to that kind of Labor Board law. What do we vote for? Don't we live in United States of America? Please do something about this at court. An employee. An employee.

GEORGE WHISTLER, 909 South Second Street, Festus, Mo.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I think the decision of the N. L. R. B. was unfair to the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. and the Crystal City Glass Workers Union at works No. 9, at Crystal City, Mo., and should be revised.

Yours truly.

LESTER A. GROBE. Mrs. Lester Grobe. Edward G. Grobe.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Protest the unfair decision of the N. L. R. B. in regard the Crystal City Independent Glass Workers Union.

Sincerely.

JOHN L. SEIFERT, R. R. No. 1, Festus, Mo.

DEAR SIR: You well know the dirty tactics of the few C. I. O. we have here at plant No. 9 at Crystal City and yet we still are signing new members in our independent union. Even with the communistic help of the N. L. R. B., they can't get any support here. We have an 80-percent majority and still holding it.

We need your support if you can help.

J. L. HOLLADAY, Member, C. C. G. W. U.

My Dear Congressman: Please accept my protest of the unfair decision of the N. L. R. B. last Saturday in Washington, D. C., against us at Crystal City, Mo., as one of 1,600 of the independent glass workers here. Will you vote for and support the bill pre-

sented by Hon. C. Arthur Anderson, M. C., or legislation similar to curb this unfair and un-American Board in their C. I. O.

(Signed) ANDREW L. GODAT, Crystal City, Mo.

P.S.—You saw how they would not let you make your address in this city in November 1938.

Dear Sir: I hereby voice my protest against a law that will permit a kangaroo court of a few men like the N. L. R. B. to hand down an unjust decision as the one they gave the workers at the Pittsburgh Plate Glass works, No. 9, at Crystal City, Mo., this past week. Although the Crystal City Glass Workers Union, an independent union, has over fifteen hundred paid-up members out of about two thousand people employed in the factory. This Labor Board says the factory must bargain with the C. I. O. We are legally organized and incorporated under the laws of the State of Missouri. We are in no ways dominated by the company, although we cannot get a hearing or a vote on bargaining rights. I feel that you, as our Representative, should try to do something about a law that does not heed the wishes of a majority. I have always felt that this was a free America and majority rules. Thanking you in advance for your kind consideration you may give this. An employee and member of Crystal City Glass Workers Union.

J. F. Jokust.

J. F. JOKUST.

My Dear Congressman: As an employee of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co., of Crystal City, Mo., I wish to express my opinion to you of the unfair decision of the N. L. R. B. of Washington, D. C., January 14. With the hope that you may in some way be able to assist us in regaining our peace that has prevailed and we have realized and enjoyed throughout the years.

Thanking you for your interest and influence in this case,

Sincerely.

P. F. MAGRE.

FEBRUARY 1, 1939.

Mr. Alphonse L. Laiben, President, Crystal City Glass Workers' Union, Crystal City, Mo.

Crystal City, Mo.

Dear Mr. Laiben: Received your wire, reading:
"We protest the un-American decision of the N. L. R. B. in disregarding the wishes of the huge majority of the workers of Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. works, No. 9, at Crystal City, Mo."
Replying, permit me to say:
If the N. L. R. B. proceeded under section 9 without a formal hearing at which your union had an opportunity to be heard and was represented, the Wagner law, even though your union represents an overwhelming majority of the workers, leaves you without remedy. You have no appeal to the court or to any other tribunal.

out remedy. You have no appeal to the court or to any other tribunal.

Under that section of the act you will note that the Board is given authority not only to designate the unit which the representatives shall represent in collective bargaining but in selecting that unit it may (section 9 (c)), either take a secret ballot of the employees or "utilize any other suitable method to ascertain such representatives."

Using this authority so unjustly conferred upon it, the Board has in other cases selected representatives which did not represent the

Using this authority so unjustly conferred upon it, the Board has in other cases selected representatives which did not represent the majority of the employees in the unit.

A reading of the law will show you that it affords no protection to workers as against the Board or a rival union.

Republicans in the House will make an effort to so amend this act as to protect not only the employee but the employer, and to remove some of the causes for industrial warfare affecting interstate commerce.

There may be a possible way out of your difficulty by reorganizing your union, if the Board claims it is company dominated; making it a union of the employees, free from influence of any kind on the part of the employer and then, if the employer refuses to recognize your representatives, file charges against the employer

with the Board.

There is at least one case where the employer and the Board have acted together to deprive employees of the right to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. In that particular case, the employer was evidently forced into the

that particular case, the employer was evidently forced into the agreement by the Board.

If that is the situation with you, by organizing your independent union and filing charges against the employer, you may be able to force a hearing, a final order, and then appeal to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. It is a long, tough road, made doubly so by the attitude of the Board.

Regardless of the Board's attitude, much of the trouble will remain with us until the law is amended.

Sincerely yours.

Sincerely yours,

CLARE E. HOFFMAN.

# SWEETPOTATOES

Mr. DEROUEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 3 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. Derouen. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, it is my purpose to call your attention to the growing of sweetpotatoes. Perhaps it is strange that I call this to the attention of the House, but we find ourselves in the midst of confusion, with all sorts of regulations and controls, and we must direct our attention to the use of land for other purposes than the growing of our five major crops.

Looking over the agricultural statistics I find there are 20 States which are vitally interested in the raising and cultivation of sweetpotatoes. They are New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas, California, and a few other States. The three major sweetpotatogrowing States are Louisiana, Virginia, and New Jersey, in the order named.

At the Louisiana State University we have been doing extensive research work in an attempt to control the many diseases and insects which are peculiar to sweetpotatoes. As you know, the sweetpotato is a tuber and is apt to contract rot from roots and infections in the ground. At this time we have produced by experiment a sweetpotato that will bloom as it has never done in this country-and will produce seed, and this is something new. We believe that by further research along the lines that we have been carrying on at the university we can furnish throughout the United States seed which can be controlled. Sweetpotatoes more or less have a tendency to acquire the diseases that are in the land, and by breeding we can treat the seed so the diseases will not be transferred to the new area or to the next potato that comes along. We also have in mind controlling the sizes, and we believe that through the experiments we are carrying on in Louisiana we can produce an attractive potato instead of irregular, small, or crooked potatoes.

I believe the sweetpotato industry should be delved into more thoroughly, so we may make use of some of the lands that are lying idle, and, for instance, because we may not be permitted to raise more of one crop or another, we should substitute in one crop what we lose in another.

The sweetpotato is the most important single food and feed crop in the South. It is outranked only by the Irish potato as a vegetable crop for the entire Nation. It has often been said that had it not been for the sweetpotato on many occasions a large portion of the population would have gone hungry. The sweetpotato has also aided greatly in supplying food for armies of the Revolution as well as for later conflicts.

As a food, it is a particularly balanced one. It contains practically all of the growth vitamins; it is reasonably high in proteins; and is particularly high in carbohydrates, such as dextrins and sucrose.

The sweetpotato was originally introduced from the more tropical areas of North America, probably from the West Indies, and when brought under conditions of continental North America it rarely, if ever, produced seed, and therefore it has been reproduced asexually from the time it was originally introduced. Any improvements in this crop have resulted from vegetative mutations, therefore systematic improvement has been slow.

Realizing the great importance of the sweetpotato crop, the Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station has made every effort to improve it in Louisiana, and in the past 2 years methods have been worked out for inducing the sweetpotato to bloom and set seed under Louisiana conditions. The past season we have been able to grow around 1,500 seedlings, and for the coming year we will probably have around 4,000; whereas, in reality, under an expanded breeding program, we should have at least 15,000. Due to limited equipment and manpower, our program has been hampered materially.

Our purpose in breeding the sweetpotato are threefold: First. To improve the nutritive value, market quality, and shape. This would include breeding for high sugar and vitamin content, and for a very uniform shape. Most of our varieties are very ill-shaped and the growers are able to market only about 50 to 60 percent of the crop.

Second. To breed varieties having a higher starch content than existing varieties. The importance of starch is increasing in Southern States. We are now importing over \$9,000,000 worth of cassava starch per year, used primarily in the South in the manufacture of paper and in the textile mills, which could be made from the sweetpotato. Incidentally, this cassava starch is coming in duty-free under the name of cassava flour. To produce higher yields of starch would require varieties bred for that purpose. Good starch varieties should yield from 20 to 30 percent starch. Table varieties usually run around 16 to 18 percent starch.

Third. To breed varieties resistant to diseases, such as the soil, stem, and black rots. These diseases are taking a heavy toll at the present time. The soil rot in particular is threatening the sweetpotato-producing areas of Louisiana, while the stem and black rots are more severe in other important sweetpotato regions of the country.

Systematic and rapid progress with the above three items can only be made through sexual breeding.

To indicate the great interest in the sweetpotato improvement program, delegates from practically every Southern State and representatives from States as far north as Delaware, Indiana, Iowa, and Kansas have made special trips to the Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station to study the work under way there. They are anxious to see the work expanded so that they might take greater advantages of the work now under way.

We have here a challenge to American enterprise, and especially to the South, where the sweetpotato could be grown in unlimited quantities and of superior quality. The maximum capacity of the Southern States for sweetpotato production is not known. Sweetpotato growing has been more than a minor farm industry.

Never before has an appropriation been requested for this important crop. It has been estimated by the growers and horticulturists interested in the improvement of the crop that the expenditures necessary to take care of the need for improvement of this crop in the various States would require an annual appropriation of only \$80,000.

In closing, I wish to urge the Representatives of the various sweetpotato-producing States to join with me in appealing to the Appropriations Committee for the needed \$80,000 which is necessary to carry on the investigations and research now under way. This sum should be included as an item in the Department of Agriculture appropriations bill.

# COMMITTEE ON RULES

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Rules may be able to conclude its hearings and file a report on the so-called Dies resolution by tomorrow, so I ask unanimous consent that the committee may have until midnight tomorrow to file that report.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Reserving the right to object, I should like to ask the gentleman, why this rush? Why must the Committee on Rules rush its report on the Dies resolution? Why not give the Members of the House an opportunity at least to study the hearings of the Dies committee and study its report, so we can intelligently debate the question when it comes before the House.

Mr. SABATH. I may say for myself it is my aim to give each and every Member a reasonable amount of time to be heard. The Members of the Committee on Rules desire to get this matter out of the way, consequently they have asked me to make the request I have submitted. We are going to have a hearing on the resolution at 3 o'clock this afternoon and it will continue tomorrow morning, in the hope of completing the hearings and taking action on the resolution by tomorrow.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I am not going to object because an objection to this request will only restrict further the time of the Members waiting to be heard before the Rules Committee; but I simply wish to state for the Record that this whole proceeding is being railroaded and rushed through without any justification.

Mr. HAWKS. What is? The resolution on the Dies committee?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Correct.

Mr. HAWKS. Judging by the information I received from the gentleman's office this morning, I would not say they were railroading anything. The gentleman sent me enough information to show me that he has analyzed the report perfectly.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Yes, I have; but how about the other Members? How many members of the Committee on Rules have read the hearings of the Dies committee?

Mr. HAWKS. How can the gentleman speak for the rest

of the membership?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I am stating facts. I say we should have adequate time to study the three volumes of the hearings and the full report of that committee.

Mr. HAWKS. The gentleman has plenty of information, judging by what he sent to my office this morning.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Certainly; that shows I have been working on it for weeks.

Mr. HAWKS. Is the gentleman intimating I have not analyzed the Dies committee report?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I am not intimating. I am saying that in view of the fact there are three volumes of the hearings and a lengthy report there has not been sufficient time for the Members of the House to digest this information.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend in the RECORD the remarks I made this morning

Mr. MAPES. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, and I. of course, do not expect to object, may I ask the chairman of the Committee on Rules if it is his intention to bring the Dies resolution up for consideration in the House on

Mr. SABATH. That is the desire of the majority of the committee. I felt we should take a little more time, but they desire early action. Consequently we are going to meet at 3 o'clock today and meet again tomorrow in order to give all the Members who so desire an opportunity to be heard.

Mr. MAPES. The gentleman has secured unanimous consent to file the report on that resolution any time tomorrow. If the committee acts and the report is filed tomorrow, is it the gentleman's intention to bring the resolution up for consideration on the floor of the House on Friday?

Mr. SABATH. Yes; provided such action meets with the approval of the Speaker and time is available.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONKIEWICZ. Mr. Speaker, 2 days ago I obtained unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include therein the inaugural address of Governor Baldwin, of Connecticut. I have been informed by the Printer the address is a little too long to come within the rule and that I should get special permission for its insertion in the RECORD. I ask for that special permission at this time.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

# ADJOURNMENT

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, February 2, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

# COMMITTEE HEARINGS

# COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 a. m. Thursday, February 2, 1939. Business to be considered: Continuation of hearing on H. R. 2531-transportation bill. Mr. George M. Harrison, of the President's committee of six, will be the witness.

#### COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives on Thursday, February 2, 1939, at 10: 30 a.m., for the purpose of continuing the consideration of H. R. 2880, "To authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes," carrying out partially the recommendations of the Hepburn report.

# COMMITTEE ON WORLD WAR VETERANS' LEGISLATION

There will be a meeting of the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation at 10:30 a.m. Thursday, February 2,

# COMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS

The Committee on Rivers and Harbors will meet Thursday, February 2, 1939, at 10: 30 a.m., to hold hearings on the reports on Cape Fear River, N. C., and Tacoma Harbor, Wash.

#### COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Public hearings will begin Thursday, February 2, 1939, at 10 a.m., on social-security legislation in the Ways and Means Committee room in the New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

#### COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Committee on Foreign Affairs will meet in the committee room in the Capitol at 10 a. m. Thursday, February 2, 1939, to consider House Joint Resolution 135-additional appropriation for New York World's Fair.

#### COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries will hold a public hearing in room 219, House Office Building, Washington, D. C., at 10:30 a. m. Thursday, February 2, on the bill listed below:

H. R. 2382. Negotiation instead of competitive bidding for charter of certain lines.

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries will hold a public hearing in room 219, House Office Building, Washington, D. C., at 10:30 a. m. Tuesday, February 7,

1939, on the bills listed below:

H. R. 785. Draft Convention No. 53, officers' competency (Bland); H. R. 947 (Seger), H. R. 950 (Kennedy of Maryland), H. R. 1639 (Brewster), H. R. 1641 (Bates of Massachusetts), H. R. 1799 (Maloney), H. R. 1805 (Hall), H. R. 2534 (Culkin), H. R. 2641 (Dimond), H. R. 3210 (Cannon of Florida), H. R. 3216 (Schafer of Wisconsin), H. R. 3228 (McCormack), H. J. Res. 118 (Shanley).

# EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

372. A letter from the Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting chapter VI of the Commission's report on its study of investment trusts and investment companies, made pursuant to section 30 of the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935 (H. Doc. No. 70); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and ordered to be printed.

373. A letter from the president of the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend Public Act No. 111, Sixty-sixth Congress; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

374. A letter from the president of the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to provide penalties for violations of orders, rules, and regulations made, adopted, or approved by the Public Utilities Commission and by the Joint Board of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

375. A letter from the president of the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to allow the District of Columbia nine cadet appointments at the United States Military Academy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

376. A letter from the president of the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to provide for insurance rates against loss by fire and lightning and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

377. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to provide for the status of warrant officers and of enlisted men of the Regular Army who serve as commissioned officers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

378. A letter from the president of the Potomac Electric Power Co., transmitting a report of the Potomac Electric Power Co. for the year ended December 31, 1938; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

379. A letter from the president of the Washington Gas Light Co., transmitting a detailed report of the business of the Washington Gas Light Co., together with a list of the stockholders, for the year ending December 31, 1938; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

380. A letter from the chairman of the District Unemployment Compensation Board, transmitting the Third Annual Report of the District Unemployment Board for the calendar year ending December 31, 1938; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

# REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII,

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 3233. A bill to repeal certain acts of Congress (pocket vetoed); without amendment (Rept. No. 16). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

# REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII,

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON: Committee on Foreign Affairs. H. R. 534. A bill for the relief of Hallie H. Woods; without amendment (Rept. No. 17). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLOOM: Committee on Foreign Affairs. H. R. 590. A bill for the relief of Macey N. Bevan; without amendment (Rept. No. 18). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

# CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 854) granting an increase of pension to Esther Ann Hill Morgan; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 856) granting a pension to John R. Gamble; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 831) granting a pension to Lawrence O. Meyer; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 3167) granting an increase of pension to Margrett B. Adair; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 3501) granting a pension to Elizabeth Walker; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 3454) granting a pension to Robert Fuller; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 3475) granting a pension to Thomas J. Davis; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 3463) granting a pension to Charles H. Mattingly; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 3494) granting an increase of pension to Lee Street; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 3495) granting a pension to David C. Norris; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

# PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BLAND:

H. R. 3576. A bill to make effective the provisions of the Officers' Competency Certificates Convention, 1936; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 3577. A bill to amend the Canal Zone Code; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. CANNON of Florida:

H. R. 3578. A bill authorizing the construction and equipment of a marine hospital in or near the city of Miami in the State of Florida; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. COFFEE of Washington:

H.R. 3579. A bill to restrict the exportation of certain Douglas fir peeler logs and Port Orford cedar logs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DIRKSEN:

H.R. 3580. A bill to amend the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act to permit the serving of spirits at bona fide lunch counters; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H. R. 3581. A bill to provide for municipal automobile parking lots in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. FLANNERY:

H.R. 3582. A bill to require informative advertising of imported articles; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GRIFFITH:

H. R. 3583. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire, by condemnation or otherwise, such land in the city of Ponchatoula, Tangipahoa Parish, La., as may be necessary for the location of a post-office building in said city, and also to construct a suitable building thereon, and making an appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

H. R. 3584. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire, by condemnation or otherwise, such land in the city of Amite, parish of Tangipahoa, La., as may be necessary for the location of a post-office building in said city, and also to construct a suitable building thereon, and making an appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

H. R. 3585. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire, by condemnation or otherwise, such land in the city of Franklinton, Washington Parish, La., as may be necessary for the location of a post-office building in said city, and also to construct a suitable building thereon, and making an appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. HOPE:

H.R. 3586. A bill to provide for tariff-equalization fees on the manufacturing of cotton, synthetic fibers, wheat, rice, tobacco, and field corn; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MAY:

H. R. 3587 (by request). A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to exchange obsolete, unsuitable, and unserviceable machines and tools pertaining to the manufacture or repair of ordnance material for new machines and tools; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BOREN:

H. R. 3588. A bill to protect the production and marketing of goods and materials essential to the national defense, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CLARK:

H. R. 3589. A bill granting the consent of Congress to the State Highway Commission of North Carolina to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across Waccamaw River, between Old Dock and Ash, N. C.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DOUGHTON:

H. R. 3590. A bill relating to the taxation of the compensation of public officers and employees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CHURCH:

H. R. 3591. A bill to provide for the establishment of a Coast Guard station on the shore of Illinois at or near Montrose Harbor, Cook County, Chicago; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. OLIVER:

H. R. 3592. A bill for the conservation of lobsters, to regulate interstate transportation of lobsters, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. By Mr. PITTENGER:

H. R. 3593. A bill authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to execute an easement deed to the city of Duluth for park, recreational, and other public purposes covering certain federally owned lands; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H. R. 3594. A bill to amend paragraphs 31 and 33 of an act entitled "An act to amend section 7 of an act entitled 'An act making appropriations to provide for the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, and for other purposes," approved July 1, 1902, and for other purposes," approved July 1, 1932; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H. R. 3595. A bill to authorize and empower the Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia to limit the number of public vehicles to be licensed and operated as taxicabs in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H. R. 3596. A bill to amend paragraph 57 of section 8 of the act entitled "An act making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, and for other purposes," approved March 4, 1913; to the Committee on the District of Columbia

H. R. 3597. A bill to provide for the appointment of research assistants in the public schools of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. RICHARDS:

H. R. 3598. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to establish a Civilian Conservation Corps, and for other purposes," approved June 28, 1937, as amended; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. SHAFER of Michigan:

H.R. 3599. A bill to limit working hours of Government employees; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. SECCOMBE:

H. R. 3600. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products; to prevent unfair competition; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to promote the general welfare by assuring an abundant and permanent supply of such products by securing to the producers a minimum price of not less than cost of production; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture

By Mr. THORKELSON:

H. R. 3601. A bill to provide for studies and plans for the development of irrigation or reclamation projects at the Hungry Horse site on the South Fork of the Flathead River in Montana and on the St. Regis River in Montana; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

By Mr. YOUNGDAHL:

H.R. 3602. A bill to authorize the erection of a United States Veterans' Administration domiciliary unit to provide 700 beds at Fort Snelling, Minn., and to provide the necessary auxiliary structures, mechanical equipment, and outpatient dispensary facilities, with accommodations for personnel, and to acquire the necessary vehicles, livestock, furniture, equipment, and accessories; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. ZIMMERMAN:

H.R. 3603. A bill to amend section 36 of the Emergency Farm Mortgage Act of 1933, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. ROMJUE:

H.R. 3604 (by request). A bill to fix the salaries of Assistant Postmasters General; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. SIROVICH:

H. R. 3605. A bill to provide a permanent force to classify patents, and so forth, in the Patent Office; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mrs. NORTON:

H. R. 3606 (by request). A bill to require reports to the Department of Labor by contractors and subcontractors on public buildings and public works concerning employment, wages, and value of materials, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor.

H. J. Res. 144 (by request). Joint resolution authorizing the Bureau of Labor Statistics to collect information as to amount and value of all goods produced in State and Federal prisons; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. KELLER:

H. Res. 77. Resolution to provide for a new Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY:

H. Res. 78. Resolution requesting information of the State Department on Mexican relations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

# **MEMORIALS**

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wyoming, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their Senate Joint Memorial No. 1 and House Joint Memorial No. 2, with reference to lands now subject to taxation in Teton County, Wyo.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

# PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts:

H.R. 3607. A bill to credit the account of Everett P. Sheridan; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 3608. A bill for the relief of Minnie M. Sears; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. EATON of California:

H.R. 3609. A bill granting a pension to Pauline M. Ridgman; to the Committee on Pensions.

H.R. 3610. A bill for the relief of Robert E. Blair; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GILLIE:

H.R. 3611. A bill for the relief of Nelson H. Rogers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GRIFFITH:

H. R. 3612. A bill for the relief of Pearl A. Stevens; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. IZAC:

H.R. 3613. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Charles F. Carter, parents and guardians of Louise Marie Carter, a minor; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KEAN:

H.R. 3614. A bill for the relief of Frank M. Croman; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KIRWAN:

H. R. 3615. A bill to correct the military record of Michael Waliga; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LUDLOW:

H. R. 3616. A bill for the relief of Margie Wamsley; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. PACE:

H. R. 3617. A bill granting a pension to Calvin J. Pope; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PLUMLEY:

H. R. 3618. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Blake; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3619. A bill for the relief of widows of certain Reserve officers of the Army who died while serving with the Civilian Conservation Corps; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SHAFER of Michigan:

H. R. 3620. A bill for the relief of Samuel Slis; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SNYDER:

H. R. 3621. A bill granting an increase of pension to Emma Duncan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 3622. A bill granting a pension to Flora Turner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SPENCE:

H.R. 3623. A bill for the relief of Capt. Clyde E. Steele, United States Army; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SUTPHIN:

H. R. 3624. A bill for the relief of George T. Eayres; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TABER:

H. R. 3625. A bill granting a pension to Anna L. Rumsey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3626. A bill granting a pension to Ida Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3627. A bill granting an increase of pension to Martha E. H. Fisher; to the Committee on Invalid Pecsions.

H.R. 3628. A bill granting an increase of pension to Frances K. Knoblock; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. H.R. 3629. A bill granting an increase of pension to Sarah VanTuyl; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 3630. A bill granting an increase of pension to Alice Chapman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H.R. 3631. A bill granting a pension to Lydia E. Perkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee:

H. R. 3632. A bill granting a pension to Leonard Stanley; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THOMAS of Texas:

H. R. 3633. A bill to correct the military record of Huron J. Avant; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 3634. A bill for the relief of Samuel H. Mills; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. THORKELSON:

H.R. 3635. A bill for the relief of Mary Minelich; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3636. A bill providing for the advancement on the retired list of the Army of Arthur Glenn; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 3637. A bill granting a pension to Joseph E. Williams; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. TURNER:

H. R. 3638. A bill for the relief of Thomas J. Jackson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

# PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

743. By Mr. ASHBROOK: Joint resolution of the Ohio Legislature, relating to the failure of Social Security Board to pay Ohio October 1938 quota of old-age pension funds;

to the Committee on Ways and Means.
744. By Mr. BALL: Petitions of certain citizens of Willimantic, Conn., favoring the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and as amended by

the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. 745. By Mr. BOLLES: Petition of sundry citizens of Monroe, Wis., requesting that we adhere to the general policy

of neutrality contained in the act of August 31, 1935, and in the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

746. By Mr. COFFEE of Washington: Resolution of the Seattle National Farm Loan Association, T. A. Garrett, secretary-treasurer, Auburn, Wash., pointing out that the extremely dry weather of the last summer, together with an unusually low price of milk and its products, has made it impossible in many cases for farmers to meet their installments on Federal farm loans, and calling attention to the fact that many are faced with foreclosure and loss of their homes, which would result in their having to be either supported by public-relief agencies or left to starve, and therefore urgently requesting that Congress repass the act to suspend payments on the principal of farm loans until such time as the agricultural situation improves; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

747. Also, resolution of the port of Tacoma, a municipal corporation of Tacoma, Wash., pointing out that the United States has ownership of lands under navigable waters but that title to such lands is by right and by law vested in the several States; asserting that the States cannot be deprived of their rights to the ownership of such lands without just compensation; alleging that legislation denying the States such rights would cast a cloud upon title to such lands; and therefore opposing House Joint Resolution No. 24, which would seek to revest in the United States sovereign title to, or ownership of, lands under navigable waters, or any mineral deposits therein; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

748. Also, resolution of Local 1-9, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, of Seattle, Wash., Hugh R. Bradshaw, secretary, pointing out that the Dies committee was established by Congress to investigate subversive activities but has actually suppressed and ignored abundant evidence that Fascist spies were working openly in the United States; asserting that the committee has attempted to plaster all Progressive and Democratic organizations as communistic; insisting that the accused were not afforded opportunity to appear in their defense; alleging that the committee has attacked President Roosevelt and labor leaders; therefore urging that Congress deny additional appropriation and continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

749. By Mr. CONNERY: Petition of the supreme board of directors, Knights of Columbus, New Haven, Conn., opposing any action of Congress which would result in a lifting of the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

750. Also, petition of the City Council of Revere, Mass., protesting against any reduction of the Works Progress Administration and urging an appropriation of a sufficient sum of money—at least \$875,000,000—to provide for those now on the Works Progress Administration rolls; to the Committee on Appropriations.

751. By Mr. ELSTON: Petition of Rev. Eugene C. Gerlach, pastor, and parishioners of St. Margaret of Cortona Church, Madisonville, Cincinnati, Ohio, requesting adherence to the general policy of neutrality contained in the acts of August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

752. Also, petition of Rev. Warren C. Lilly, pastor, and parishioners of Bellarmine Chapel, Cincinnati, Ohio, requesting adherence to the general policy of neutrality contained in the acts of August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

753. By Mr. GILLIE: Petition of Mrs. J. H. Brooks and 80 other residents of Fort Wayne, Ind., urging that Congress shall adhere to the general policy of neutrality, and that Congress launch an investigation of those leftists groups which are sponsoring propaganda favoring the lifting of the embargo on arms to "red" Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

754. Also, petition of 89 residents of Decatur, Ind., urging the Congress, for as long as we shall adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary

principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

755. Also, petition of 94 residents of Waterloo, Ind., petitioning Congress, for as long as we shall adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

756. Also, petition of Samuel Lewis and 45 other residents of Fort Wayne, Ind., urging the speedy enactment of the Townsend plan bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

757. Also, petition of A. H. Burns and 13 other residents of Fort Wayne, Ind., urging the Congress to maintain the Spanish embargo, and provide adequate defense of our own country but to avoid anything tending to involve us in European or Asiatic disputes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

758. By Mr. HANCOCK: Petition of Rev. H. C. McDowell and other residents of Syracuse, N. Y., favoring the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the acts of August 31, 1935, and May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

759. By Mr. HARTER of New York: Petition of certain users of bakers' goods; to the Committee on Agriculture.

760. By Mr. HAWKS: Petition of 21 residents of Klevenville and Cross Plains, Wis., protesting against any change in the neutrality policy of our country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

761. Also, petition of 88 members of the Holy Name Society of Watertown, Wis., protesting against any change in the neutrality policy of our country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

762. By Mr. HOOK: Petition of H. L. Deming, urging an increase in the Works Progress Administration appropriation and increases in wages in the Works Progress Administration; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

763. By Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON: Petition of C. A. Edge, of Bryan, Tex., favoring House bill No. 220, repealing the Federal retail dealers' license on oleomargarine; to the Committee on Agriculture.

764. By Mr. KEAN: Resolution adopted by the La Salle Society, of Newark, N. J., urging the Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and amended May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

765. Also, memorial of the Newark Chapter, American Red Cross, endorsing the action taken by the International Red Cross Conference in London, June 20, 1938, asking all governments to take the necessary steps to bring about agreements which will prevent the bombing from the air, to safeguard the lives of helpless women and children and aged civilians; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

766. Also, resolution adopted by the St. Patrick's Day parade committee, opposing the lifting of the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

767. Also, resolution adopted by New Jersey State Council, Knights of Columbus, opposing the lifting of the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

768. By Mr. KEOGH: Petition of 375 citizens of Greater New York, concerning the present Neutrality Act and urging the retention of the same without amendment; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

769. By Mr. KRAMER: Resolution of the Los Angeles Meat and Provision Drivers Union, relating to the Patman bill (H. R. 9464); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

770. Also, resolution of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles, relating to the national parks in California, etc.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

771. Also, resolution of the Pasadena Central Labor Union, relating to the deficiency appropriation bill to maintain the Works Progress Administration, etc.; to the Committee on Appropriations.

772. Also, resolution of the Los Angeles Presbyterian Church, relating to the boycotting of German goods, etc.; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

773. Also, resolution of the Retail Clerks International Protective Association, of Riverside, Calif., relating to the Patman chain-store bill, etc.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

774. By Mr. MAGNUSON: Petition of 7,625 residents of Seattle, Wash., asking that as long as we adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, there be retained on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

775. Also, petition of 7,456 residents of Seattle, Wash., asking the immediate revision of the neutrality policy enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, so as to lift the embargo against the present Spanish Government; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

776. By Mrs. NORTON: Petition of Rita V. Smith and eight other residents of Jersey City, N. J., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

777. Also, petition of Louise T. Byrne and five other residents of Jersey City, N. J., requesting the Congress to oppose any move tending to amend or repeal the Neutrality Act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

778. Also, petition of Patrick J. Malone and 16 other residents of Jersey City, N. J., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

779. Also, petition of Patrick Kitson and 13 other residents of Jersey City, N. J., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

780. Also, petition of Eleanor Loughlin and 19 other residents of Jersey City, N. J., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

781. Also, petition of Pete Marcasiano and 51 other residents of Jersey City, N. J., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

782. Also, petition of Marie A. Kelly and 23 other residents of Jersey City, N. J., requesting the Congress to oppose any move tending to amend or repeal the Neutrality Act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

783. Also, petition of Edward J. Hoffman and 46 other parishioners of Our Lady of Sorrows Church, Jersey City, N. J., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 4, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

784. Also, petition of Anne Lynch and 21 residents of Jersey City, N. J., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

785. Also, petition of Joseph F. O'Leary and 21 other residents of Jersey City, N. J., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

786. Also, petition of Rev. A. L. Adzima and 66 other residents of Bayonne, N. J., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

787. Also, petition of Rev. Michael Mercolino, pastor of Our Lady of Assumption Roman Catholic Church, Bayonne, N. J., and 21 parishioners, protesting against any move to lift the so-called Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

788. Also, petition of Christine F. Keller and 20 other teachers of St. Nicholas School, Jersey City, N. J., opposing any move to lift the so-called Embargo Act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

789. Also, petition of Miss C. P. Regan and 142 other residents of Bayonne and Jersey City, N. J., urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

790. Also, petition of Catherine L. Sheehan and 70 other residents of New Jersey, urging the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

791. By Mr. PFEIFER: Petition of the Catholic Action Group, of Nativity parish, Brooklyn, N. Y., favoring continuance of the embargo on Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

792. By Mr. PLUMLEY: Petition of Charles J. MacLean and some 15 others, residents of Barre, Vt., petitioning Congress for enactment of legislation to stop, so far as possible, by Federal law, the great advertising campaign for the sale of alcoholic beverages by press and radio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

793. Also, petition of Mrs. Waldo Heinrichs, urging modification of the Neutrality Act, leaving the Government free to decide what action to take in each given situation, providing only certain guiding principles laid down by Congress shall be adhered to; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

794. By Mr. SUTPHIN: Petition of the New Jersey State Council, Knights of Columbus, opposing the lifting of the embargo on Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

795. By Mr. THORKELSON: Petition of the Legislature of the State of Montana, requesting legislation prohibiting the importation of foreign-manufactured flags of the United States and other national insignia; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

796. By Mr. WHITE of Idaho: Petition of certain citizens of Mulan, Wallace, Gem, and Osburn, Idaho, urging the passage of the General Welfare Act to relieve the suffering

of our needy citizens over 60 years of age and provide prosperity for America and security for all at 60; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

797. Also, petition of certain citizens of Nezperce, Idaho, urging that the United States Government put into effect a policy of nonparticipation in aggression by stopping the shipment to aggressor nations all goods that can be used by their military forces, and that immediate steps be taken to stop shipment to Japan, and that measures be taken to aid China in its desperate resistance against the invaders; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

798. Also, petition of Mullan Miners Union, Local No. 9, Mullan, Idaho, protesting against the present system of hospital operation in the United States and favoring the establishment of Government-owned and controlled hospital facilities for civilian use; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

799. By Mr. VORYS of Ohio: Petition of Benson W. Hough Post, No. 3424, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, approving and commending most heartily the past action of the Dies committee, investigating un-American activities, and requesting the Seventy-sixth Congress to support the above-named committee 100 percent, thereby appropriating the necessary funds to carry on this most important and urgent work; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

800. Also, petition of Rev. N. R. Athey and 46 others, urging the Government of the United States to put into effect a policy of nonparticipation in aggression, by stopping the shipment to aggressor nations of all goods that can be used by their military forces, and that immediate steps be taken to stop their shipment to Japan; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

801. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Council of the City of Binghamton, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to an airport; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

802. Also, petition of the United Church Brotherhood of Long Beach, Calif., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Chinese and Japanese conflict; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

803. Also, petition of Emilia Principa Roig, Juncos, P. R., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

804. Also, petition of certain citizens of the State of California, urging consideration of their petitions with reference to the General Welfare Act (H. R. 2 and S. 3); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

805. Also, petition of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, Cleveland, Ohio, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the La Follette investigating committee; to the Committee on Rules.

# SENATE

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1939

(Legislative day of Wednesday, February 1, 1939)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

# THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Barkley, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Wednesday, February 1, 1939, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

# CALL OF THE ROLL

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the unanimousconsent agreement entered into yesterday, the calendar will be called for the consideration of unobjected-to bills.

Mr. BARKLEY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams Downey Lewis Schwartz Andrews Ashurst Lodge Logan Schwellenbach Sheppard Frazier Austin Bailey George Lucas Shipstead Gerry Gillette Lundeen McCarran Smathers Smith Bankhead Glass Green Barbour McKellar Taft. McNary Thomas, Okla. Thomas, Utah Barkley Bilbo Guffey Mead Tobey Townsend Miller Gurney Bone Minton Bridges Hale Harrison Hatch Murray Truman Brown Neely Tydings Bulow Norris Hayden Vandenberg Herring Nye O'Mahoney Van Nuys Byrd Wagner Byrnes Hill Holman Overton Walsh Capper Wheeler Caraway Clark, Mo. Hughes Pepper Johnson, Calif. Johnson, Colo. Pittman White Wiley Radcliffe Connally Danaher Davis King La Follette Reed Reed Reynolds Russell Donahey Lee

Mr. MINTON. I announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Clark], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Holt], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Maloney], and the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Stewart] are unavoidably detained from the Senate.

Mr. McNARY. I announce that the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Borah] is absent because of illness.

Mr. AUSTIN. I announce that my colleague the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. Gibson] is necessarily detained from the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Eighty-nine Senators having answered to their names, there is a quorum present.

### CONSIDERATION OF UNOBJECTED-TO BILLS

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, I should like to introduce a bill for appropriate reference.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Because of the unanimousconsent agreement, it is not in order to introduce bills or transact other business until the call of the calendar has been completed. The clerk will state the first bill on the calendar.

# CLAIMS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS AGAINST MEXICO

The bill (S. 326) for the payment of awards and appraisals heretofore made in favor of citizens of the United States on claims presented under the General Claims Convention of September 8, 1923, United States and Mexico, was announced as first in order, and the Senate proceeded to its consideration.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the principal amounts of all awards in favor of citizens of the United States against the United Mexican States heretofore made by the Commissions established by the General Claims Convention of September 8, 1923, United States and Mexico, and extensions thereof, on claims presented under said convention, plus interest stipulated in any such award and accruing up to the date of such award, and the principal amounts of all appraisals of such claims in favor of citizens of the United States heretofore made by the Commissioners appointed by the United States and Mexico for said purpose pursuant to the protocol of April 24, 1934, and agreed upon in their report, plus interest stipulated in any such appraisal and accruing up to the date of said report, shall be paid immediately by the Government of the United States to the person or persons entitled to the same, and that, appropriations for such payment of all such awards and agreed appraisals, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, be, and hereby are, authorized: Provided, That the Secretary of State shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury all such awards and appraisals and the amounts to be paid on each in conformity with this act, and shall designate the person or persons entitled to receive such payments: Provided further, That, when the person or persons entitled to receive any such payments have received same on any such award or appraisal, such person or persons will be deemed to have consented to all of the provisions of this act, and all of the rights and interests of such person or persons in and to such award or appraisal, and the claim to which it pertains, will be deemed to have been fully satisfied and paid, and said award or appraisal, and the claim to which it pertains, and all of the rights and interests of such person or persons in respect thereto, shall be held to have been assigned to the United States to be enforced by and on behalf of the United States against the United Mexican

States: And provided further, That awards and appraisals authorized to be paid by this act shall be included in the final settlement between the Governments of the United States of America and the United Mexican States under the said convention of September 8, 1923; and the payment of any award or appraisal under this act shall not be construed as the satisfaction, in whole or in part, of any such award or appraisal, or as extinguishing or diminishing the liability of the United Mexican States for the satisfaction in full of such awards and appraisals, but shall be considered only as an advance by the United States until all of said awards and appraisals have been paid off and satisfied in full to the United States by the United Mexican States.

### Mr. McNARY. Mr. President-

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, this bill was thoroughly debated at the last session of the Congress. It was favorably reported by the Foreign Relations Committee, after careful investigation. It provides for the payment of claims that were favorably passed on by joint claims commissions representing the United States and Mexico, no one of which has ever been paid.

The bill provides that these awards are to be paid by the Government of the United States as was contemplated by the original treaty of 1923, the United States having the right under said treaty to reimburse itself from Mexico.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I recall very vividly the discussion which took place last year, and particularly the statement made by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN], who now occupies the chair. May I ask the Senator from Texas if there have been any changes made in the bill?

Mr. SHEPPARD. There have been no changes so far as I recall.

Mr. McNARY. I thought an amendment was offered which proposed some changes?

Mr. SHEPPARD. The Senator is correct. There is one amendment which ought to be adopted, an amendment suggested by the Secretary of State. It provides that the Treasury Department, instead of the State Department, shall ascertain and verify the amount of the awards before they shall be paid. I ask that the amendment be stated and adopted.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment offered by the Senator from Texas will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 2, line 12, after the word "appraisals", it is proposed to strike out the word "and" and insert a comma and the words "whereupon the Secretary of the Treasury shall determine", so as to read:

Provided, That the Secretary of State shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury all such awards and appraisals, whereupon the Secretary of the Treasury shall determine the amounts to be paid on each in conformity with this act, and shall designate the person or persons entitled to receive such payments.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Texas.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I will have to ask that this bill go over. It seems to me it is too important and, in my judgment, too controversial, to be acted on while the unanimous-consent calendar is being called. The matter involved was discussed at the last session and a similar bill was then passed after considerable debate. My judgment is that it is a bill that ought not to be passed; I think the principle involved is bad; at least I think the measure ought to be discussed at a time when it can be gone into a little more fully than it can be considered this morning.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore: Does the Senator object to having the amendment pending?

Mr. ADAMS. No, sir; I merely object to the passage of the bill.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Will the Senator permit the adoption of the perfecting amendment which I have offered?

Mr. ADAMS. I have no objection to that.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the amendment offered by the Senator from Texas is agreed to, and, without objection, the bill goes over.

# PYRAMID LAKE INDIAN RESERVATION, NEV.

The bill (S. 92) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents for certain lands to certain settlers in the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, Nev., was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to issue patents for certain lands entered pursuant to section 1 of the act of June 7, 1924, entitled "An act for the relief of settlers and town-site occupants of certain lands in the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, Nev." upon the payment of unpaid balances based upon reappraisals made in 1934 as follows: J. A. Ceresola, \$4,595.89; W. J. Ceresola, \$4,376.11; Domenico Ceresola, \$4,926.63; M. P. Depaoli, \$4,878.56; and the Garaventa Land & Livestock Co., \$2,951.51: Provided, That the foregoing amounts, together with interest at 3½ percent per annum from date of reappraisals made in 1934, shall be paid within 90 days from the date of the passage and approval of this act: And provided further, That in the case of the death of any of the entrymen, payments may be received from and patents be issued to the heirs or legal successors of the entrymen herein named.

# SPECIAL JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 38) providing additional funds for the expenses of the Special Joint Congressional Committee Investigating the Tennessee Valley Authority, and for other purposes, was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the limit of expenditures under the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution creating a special joint congressional committee to make an investigation of the Tennessee Valley Authority," approved April 4, 1938, is hereby increased by the sum of \$25,000, such additional sum to be paid one-half from the contingent fund of the Senate and one-half from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the special joint congressional committee created by such joint resolution. The final report of such committee shall be made on or before April 1, 1939, but the chairman of the committee is authorized to continue such clerical help as found necessary for the indexing, proofreading, filing, and distribution of the report.

### MRS. GUY A. M'CONOHA

The bill (S. 760) for the relief of Mrs. Guy A. McConoha was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Mrs. Guy A. McConoha, of Poplar, Mont., the sum of \$425.50 in full satisfaction of all claims of such Mrs. Guy A. McConoha against the United States resulting from the loss sustained by her when dispossessed by the Government of a certain Ford automobile purchased with a like sum by the said Mrs. Guy A. McConoha, such automobile, without her knowledge, having been previously forfeited to the United States under the internal-revenue laws and laws relating to the suppression of the traffic in intoxicating liquors among the Indians: Provided, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or agents, attorney or attorneys, on account of services rendered in connection with said claim. It shall be unlawful for any agent or agents, attorney or attorneys, to exact, collect, withhold, or receive any sum of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof on account of services rendered in connection with said claim, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

# BILL PASSED OVER

The bill (S. 117) for the relief of Lulu M. Peiper was announced as next in order.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, may we have an explanation of this bill?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. An explanation is requested. The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Maloney], who introduced the bill, is not present.

Mr. McKELLAR. Let the bill go over for the present.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be passed over.

# LESTER P. BARLOW

The bill (S. 313) to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Lester P. Barlow against the United States was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Lester P. Barlow the sum

of \$592,719.21, in full settlement of his aerial torpedo patent-infringement claim against the United States as found by the Court of Claims to be due him in its decision of June 7, 1937: Provided, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

### L. L. STOKES

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 342) for the relief of L. L. Stokes, which had been reported from the Committee on Claims with an amendment, on page 1, line 3, after the words "That the", to strike out "Postmaster General" and insert "Comptroller General of the United States", so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Comptroller General of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to credit the account of L. L. Stokes, former postmaster at Mountainburg, Ark., in the sum of \$118.56, due the United States on account of public funds lost in the burglary of the post office on November 12, 1917.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

#### DIERKS LUMBER & COAL CO.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 60) for the relief of Dierks Lumber & Coal Co., which had been reported from the Committee on Claims with an amendment, at the end of the bill to insert a proviso, so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Dierks Lumber & Coal Co., of Kansas City, Mo., the sum of \$12,062.27, in full satisfaction of all its claims against the United States arising out of a contract for the sale of timber in the Ouachita National Forest by the United States to a predecessor corporation of such Dierks Lumber & Coal Co., such contract having been entered into between the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture and such predecessor corporation on December 6, 1929: Provided, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator from Missouri explain the bill?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, this is a case in which a predecessor company of the Dierks Lumber & Coal Co. contracted to purchase from the Government certain timber on the Ouachita National Forest. The company was unable to find a market for the product and was forced to suspend operations after it had actually purchased from the Government a much less quantity of timber than was covered by the amount of its deposit. The contract was subsequently canceled by the Agricultural Department at the request of the company; but the Comptroller General, in a very technical decision, held that the company was not entitled to a refund simply because the cancelation of the contract was a day or two after the expiration of the contract.

The enactment of the bill has been twice recommended by the Committee on Claims, and I think there is no opposition to it.

Mr. McKELLAR. Did the Department recommend it?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The Department recommends it.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

# JOHN MULHERN

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 13) for the relief of John Mulhern, which had been reported from the Committee on Claims with an amendment, at the end of the bill to insert a proviso, so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to John Mulhern, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of

\$202, as full compensation for a gasoline tank, gasoline pump, and 105 gallons of gasoline, destroyed on March 11, 1934, by fire caused by pupils of the Truxton Canon Indian School, Valentine, Ariz.: Provided, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

#### MANUEL D. A. OTERO, ADMINISTRATOR

The bill (S. 218) for the relief of Manuel D. A. Otero, as administrator of the estate of Teresita S. Otero, deceased, was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Manuel D. A. Otero, as administrator of the estate of Teresita S. Otero, deceased, out of any money in the Treasury allocated by the President for the maintenance and operation of the Civilian Conservation Corps, the sum of \$255.44. Such sum shall be in full settlement of all claims against the United States on account of the death of the said Teresita S. Otero, resulting from personal injuries received on the 16th day of January 1935, on United States Highway No. 60, between Willard and Mountainair, N. Mex., while riding in an automobile which collided with an improperly parked Government truck, attached to Civilian Conservation Corps Camp F-35-N, located about 3 miles southwest from Manzano, in Torrance County, N. Mex.: Provided, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

### EMMA GOMEZ

The bill (S. 219) for the relief of Emma Gomez was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Emma Gomez, out of any money in the Treasury allocated by the President for the maintenance and operation of the Civilian Conservation Corps, the sum of \$500. Such sum shall be in full settlement of all claims against the United States on account of damages for personal injuries sustained by the said Emma Gomez on the 16th day of January 1935, on United States Highway No. 60, between Willard and Mountainair, N. Mex., while riding in an automobile which collided with an improperly parked Government truck, attached to Civilian Conservation Corps Camp F-35-N, located about 3 miles southwest from Manzano, in Torrance County, N. Mex.: Provided, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

# LESLIE TRUAX

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 87) for the relief of Leslie Truax, which had been reported from the Committee on Claims with an amendment at the end of the bill to insert a proviso, so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Leslie Truax the sum of \$1,000 in full settlement of any and all claims against the United States for injuries sustained on July 9, 1935, while a member of Battery A of the Citizens' Military Training Corps, at Fort Snelling, Minn.: Provided, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

# E. C. BEAVER

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 323) for the relief of E. C. Beaver, who suffered loss on account of the Lawton, Okla., fire, 1917, which had been reported from the Committee on Claims with an amendment, at the end of the bill to insert a proviso, so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$1,502 to E. C. Beaver as compensation in full for loss of property destroyed by the fire on September 24, 1917, in the city of Lawton, Okla., such loss having been the result of the inability of the fire department of the city of Lawton to control said fire because of lack of water, all available water for fire-fighting purposes having been appropriated and being used by the War Department in connection with the training of soldiers at Fort Sill and Camp Doniphan: Provided, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oklahoma explain the bill?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, I think this is the last of a series of similar claims bills that have been before the Senate. Heretofore all the others have been passed, and this one, I think, is the last.

This damage occurred in 1917, at a time when Camp Donovan was located at Fort Sill. The city of Lawton gave the War Department the full benefit of its water system, and during the time when the Fort Sill authorities had control of the water system a fire broke out in the city of Lawton. The water was supposed to be diverted to the city in times of fire, but the War Department neglected to keep someone at a certain valve to turn the water to the city, so, because of the fact that no water could be had to put out the fire, this damage occurred.

I think the Congress has passed probably 15 or 20 similar bills, and, as I have said, this is the last one of them. The precedent has been set for the past several years, so I take it there can be no real objection to this bill. It is exactly in line with the former bills heretofore passed by the Congress.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

# ALICE MINNICK

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 470) for the relief of Alice Minnick, which had been reported from the Committee on Claims with an amendment, on page 1, line 6, after the words "sum of", to strike out "\$360" and insert "\$336.30", so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Alice Minnick, of Washington, D. C., the sum of \$336.30 in full satisfaction of her claim against the United States for reimbursement of medical and hospital expenses paid by her as a result of injuries received when she slipped and fell on wet steps inside the old Interior Department Building at Eighteenth and F Streets NW., Washington, D. C., on January 15, 1937: Provided, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to, or received by, any agent or agents, attorney or attorneys, on account of services rendered in connection with such claim. It shall be unlawful for any agent or agents, attorney or attorneys, to exact, collect, withhold, or receive any sum of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof on account of services rendered in connection with such claim, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

# MISSOULA BREWING CO.

The bill (S. 766) for the relief of the Missoula Brewing Co. was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay to the Missoula Brewing Co., of Missoula,

Mont., out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$1,250, representing the amount paid for 10 fermented malt liquor stamps of the 25-barrel denomination which were lost in the mail prior to their receipt by the said company: Provided, That the Missoula Brewing Co. shall first file in the Treasury Department a bond in a penal sum of double the amount paid for such stamps, in such form and with such surety or sureties as may be acceptable to the Secretary of the Treasury, to indemnify and save harmless the United States from any loss on account of the stamps herein described: Provided further, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed gullty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

### MABEL FOOTE RAMSEY

The bill (S. 532) for the relief of Mabel Foote Ramsey, widow of William R. Ramsey, Jr., late special agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$5,000 to Mabel Foote Ramsey, widow of William R. Ramsey, Jr., a special agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, who was killed near Danville, Ill., on May 3, 1938, in the line of his official duty: Provided, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or agents, attorney or attorneys, on account of services rendered in connection with said claim. It shall be unlawful for any agent or agents, attorney or attorneys, to exact, collect, withhold, or receive any sum of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof on account of services rendered in connection with said claim, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

### STATUE OF THE LATE WILL ROGERS

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 1) authorizing the holding of ceremonies in the rotunda in connection with the presentation of a statue of the late Will Rogers was considered and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Will Rogers Memorial Commission be, and it is hereby, authorized to place temporarily in the rotunda of the Capitol a statue of the late Will Rogers, of Oklahoma, and to hold ceremonies in the rotunda on said occasion; and that the Architect of the Capitol be, and he is hereby, authorized to make the necessary arrangements therefor.

# CODIFICATION OF INTERNAL REVENUE LAWS

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 2762) to consolidate and codify the internal-revenue laws of the United States, which had been reported from the Committee on Finance, without amendment.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, this codification of the internal-revenue laws has been made over a period of 10 or more years by the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. In the work of the committee the Treasury Department has assisted and participated. The legal staff of the Treasury Department has gone over this code with a great deal of care, and the Under Secretary of the Treasury has urged the adoption of the code as absolute law. In addition, the Department of Justice has scrutinized and has participated in the preparation of the code, particularly the parts of it relating to procedure having to do with litigated tax matters. The work has progressed over a period of 10 years or more, as I have stated, and the enacting statute has been passed by the House with but few dissenting votes.

It is proper to say that there has been no codification of the Federal laws as absolute law since the Revised Statutes of 1873. There was a perfected Revised Statute of 1878, and that may be considered as absolute law, though it was not so enacted by the Congress. Title 35 of the Revised Statutes of 1873 contains the internal-revenue laws. Since that time there has been no codification of the revenue laws or of other Federal statutes as absolute law. There have been various compilations, but these have been only prima facie evidence of the law.

This code has been prepared with a great deal of care. It purports and is intended to cover all the law of a general and permanent character relating exclusively to internal revenue in force on January 2, 1939, and all temporary tax laws, as well, relating exclusively to internal revenue.

The code makes no changes in existing law. That is to say, it is not intended to change existing law by the enactment of the code. The enacting statute does make the code absolute law rather than prima facie evidence of the internal-revenue laws of the United States.

The code is prospective only. It does not relate to pending cases or suits, and it operates only in the future. It repeals only those laws and parts of laws which are compiled or contained in the code itself; so that if, through inadvertence, any particular revenue act passed by the Congress has been overlooked by the codifiers, that act will not be affected by the adoption of this code, and it is not intended that it should be affected. But if the act or parts of the act are included in the code—that is, if parts of a general revenue law, or the law itself, are included in the code—then, of course, the adoption of the code will repeal the original preexisting act.

This code will give a new point of departure. It will give a new beginning point, and hereafter in tax bills it will not be necessary to repeat a vast amount of matter that is not in controversy, but the code itself may be amended by mere reference to the section.

It also will be of great saving to the courts as well as to the officers of the court in that the code will be taken as absolute law, and it will be unnecessary to go back to the original act.

I call attention especially to the fact that in 1930 the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation prepared a code of the internal-revenue laws of the United States of force on December 1, 1930. That code was adopted as a substitute for title 26 of the Code of the United States. In 1933 there was a new compilation of the revenue laws of the United States, and this new compilation took the place of title 26 of the Code of the United States. Again, in 1938, the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation prepared a new compilation or code of the internal-revenue laws of the United States, in force at the beginning of 1938, and that code was adopted merely as prima facie law. No codification of the internal-revenue law of the United States has been adopted as absolute law since the adoption of the Revised Statutes in 1873.

It is believed that this proposed act is comprehensive and that the work has been faithfully done, and that it does include all of the internal-revenue laws of the United States of a general and permanent character of force January 2, 1939. The code is made effective on the 2d day of January 1939 and, as I have already said, is prospective only and is not retroactive in any respect. In other words, any incometax matter which arose prior to or on the 31st day of December 1938 would be governed and controlled by the applicable law in existence on and before December 31, 1938. Any estate-tax matter would come within the code only if the decedent died after the enactment of the code. Gift taxes are likewise dealt with; also the special taxes, such as the excise taxes, or the so-called nuisance taxes.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. GEORGE. I yield.

Mr. AUSTIN. I ask the Senator from Georgia whether in making this codification there have been any major changes in the substance of the internal revenue laws?

Mr. GEORGE. None; that is to say, there has been no purpose or intent to change in any material respect any of the internal revenue laws of the country.

Mr. AUSTIN. I observe that the provision in section 7 on page 2 of the codification fixes a date of termination, namely, January 2, 1939, after which what is herein set forth will be modified by any act hereafter passed. Is that the Senator's interpretation?

Mr. GEORGE. That is correct. Any act passed after January 2, 1939, will, of course, be construed as modifying or changing any conflicting provision in the code.

Mr. President, I may say that it is of the utmost importance, as the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation,

the Department of Justice, and the Treasury conceive, that the code be adopted as absolute law and the enacting clause makes it so. There can be no serious danger of omission or material change in the existing law arising through mistake or inadvertence, because we deal constantly with the internalrevenue laws. As every Senator knows, we pass a tax act practically every year, and any mistake can be readily discovered and corrected. It will, of course, permit a new point of departure for the convenience of the courts, and the Congress itself in enacting new revenue acts.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GEORGE. I yield.

Mr. KING. I should like to inquire whether, by the procedural provisions in the new code, cases will be affected which are now in process of litigation, or prospective litigation, dealing with taxes, or the adjustment of claims made by the Treasury Department.

Mr. GEORGE. It will not apply to any pending suit or cause or controversy; it applies only prospectively.

Mr. KING. Even though the case is inchoate, rather than in esse?

Mr. GEORGE. Any case hereafter brought would probably be affected by the mere procedural provisions of the act, but no case now pending, no controversy which actually has arisen will be affected.

Mr. KING. Suppose under the present law the Government has no valid claim against A, but under the new codification possibly might have a right to litigate in the courts, and should initiate proceedings. Could the defendant in such a case rely upon the procedural form which now exists, or would he be deprived of all such benefits?

Mr. GEORGE. If it were a case which arose under some prior revenue law, which, of course, would necessarily be the case at this time, or would likely be, then the applicable provisions of the law existing at the time, and under which the alleged cause of action arose, would apply, and not the code, as I construe it. All existing rights and liabilities are preserved, as I understand it.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the

third reading of the bill. The bill was ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

# OPERATION OF MOTOR VEHICLES

Mr. KING. Mr. President, as I am compelled to leave the Chamber for a few moments, I have spoken to the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN] with respect to order of business No. 22, Senate bill 25, and have requested that it may go over, and he has consented that that may be done. So I ask that when that order of business is reached it go over. TRANSPORTATION OF STOLEN ANIMALS IN INTERSTATE COMMERCE

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 90) to provide for the punishment of persons transporting stolen animals in interstate commerce, and for other purposes, which was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That this act shall be cited as the National Animal Theft Act.

SEC. 2. When used in this act—

(a) The term "animal" shall include any cattle, hog, sheep, horse,

(b) The term "interstate or foreign commerce" shall (b) The term "interstate or foreign commerce" shall include transportation from one State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, to another State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, or to a foreign country, or from a foreign country to any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia.

SEC. 3. Whoever shall transport or cause to be transported in interstate or foreign commerce any animal or the carcass or hide or only part of the express or hide of any animal troughns the same to

any part of the careass or hide of any animal, knowing the same to have been stolen, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$5,000 or by imprisonment of not more than 5 years, or both.

SEC. 4. Whoever shall receive, conceal, store, barter, buy, sell, or dispose of any such animal, or the careass or hide or any part of the

carcass or hide thereof, moving in or constituting a part of inter-state or foreign commerce, knowing the same to have been stolen, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$5,000 or by imprison-ment of not more than 5 years, or both. Sec. 5. Any person violating section 3 of this act may be prose-cuted in any district from, into, or through which such animal, or the carcass or hide or any part of the carcass or hide thereof, has

been transported or removed. LXXXIV--67

SEC. 6. Nothing herein shall be construed to repeal, modify, or amend any part of the National Stolen Property Act.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I am favorable to the enactment of the bill, but I should like to ask the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCarran] whether, in his judgment, it might not be worth while for the Congress to consider, some of these days, the advisability of enacting a general law with reference to the transportation of stolen property across State lines. We have heretofore made it unlawful to transport stolen automobiles across State lines, and now it is proposed that we make it unlawful to transport stolen animals. What is there about these particular types of property which requires that we deal with them separately, and not pass a general statute making it unlawful to transport any kind of stolen property across State lines?

I can understand that in the case of an automobile it is easy to get beyond the State jurisdiction, and it may be that by the use of the automobile or the train it is easy to get cattle beyond the jurisdiction of the State in which they are stolen. There are probably other types of property which possess the same facility for rapid transportation into another State. What is the Senator's reaction to the advisability of the passage of a law punishing the transportation

of all stolen property across State lines?

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, the Senator is no doubt in part right, but we are confronted with an unusual situation at the present time. We have been building highspeed roads and trails into that territory which has been the grazing section of the country, and we find that advantage is taken of the facilities afforded by the Government itself; namely, high-speed roads and the like, so that those inclined to embark on the stealing of cattle may go into the open domain and the open range and load on a vehicle four or five or a dozen head of cattle, and are across the State line overnight, before morning comes.

The loss has been so great that it is now continually complained of as one of the greatest sources of loss to the cattlemen and stock grazers in the western section at the present time. Hence, whatever merit there may be in the Senator's thought, I respectfully suggest that at this time it is urgent that a bill such as that before us should be passed.

Mr. BARKLEY. I was not intimating that I would object to the pending bill; I think perhaps the situation justifies it; but I think that if we are to be asked to make it unlawful to transport stolen goods of various kinds across State lines, we ought to give consideration to the enactment of a general law on the subject.

Mr. McCARRAN. I should like to see that done.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

# FALSE CLAIMS FOR LOSS OF INSURED MAIL

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 185) to amend section 224 of the Criminal Code so as to penalize the making of false claims for the loss of insured mail matter, which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with an amendment, on page 2, line 10, after the word "both," to insert a comma and the words "except in cases where the amount of such claim or application for indemnity is less than \$100 there may be imposed a fine only," so as to make the bill read:

only," so as to make the bill read:

Be ti enacted, etc., That section 224 of the Criminal Code (35 Stat. 1133; U. S. C., title 18, sec. 354) be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 224. Whoever shall make, allege, or present, or cause to be made, alleged, or presented, or assist, aid, or abet in making, alleging, or presenting, any claim or application for indemnity for the loss of any registered or insured letter, parcel, package, or other article or matter, or the contents thereof, knowing such claim or application to be false, fictitious, or fraudulent; or whoever for the purpose of obtaining or aiding to obtain the payment or approval of any such claim or application, shall make or use, or cause to be made or used, any false statement, certificate, affidavit, or deposition; or whoever shall knowingly and willfully misrepresent, or misstate, or, for the purpose aforesaid, shall knowingly and willfully conceal any material fact or circumstance

in respect of any such claim or application for indemnity, shall be fined not more than \$500 or imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both, except in cases where the amount of such claim or application for indemnity is less than \$100 there may be imposed a fine only."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILL PASSED OVER

The bill (S. 25) prohibiting the operation of motor vehicles in interstate commerce by unlicensed operators was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. This is the bill which the Senator from Utah [Mr. King] asked to have go over, and the bill will be passed over.

TERM OF SERVICE OF FORMER SENATOR GEORGE L. BERRY

The resolution (S. Res. 73) relative to the term of service of former Senator George L. Berry, of Tennessee, was read and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the term of service of George L. Berry, appointed a Senator by the Governor of the State of Tennessee on May 6, 1937, to fill the vacancy in the term ending January 2, 1943, caused by the death of Nathan L. Bachman, expired on November 8, 1938, the day on which his successor, Tom Stewart, was duly elected to fill the unexpired term of the said Nathan L. Bachman; be it

Resolved, That said George L. Berry is not entitled to receive compensation as Senator or any of the emoluments of the office from and after the said 8th day of November 1938.

Mr. AUSTIN subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask that the vote by which Senate Resolution 73 was agreed to be reconsidered.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the vote is reconsidered.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Tennessee or the Senator from Texas if he will not explain the resolution.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, the junior Senator from Texas [Mr. Connally] reported the resolution, and I know he can explain it.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, if Senators will turn to the RECORD of yesterday, page 990, they will find a complete transcript of the hearings before the committee and a very clear outline of what were the issues presented before the committee. A former Senator, George L. Berry, filed a petition with the Senate asking that he be given compensation until the day his successor, Senator STEWART, qualified and took his seat. It will be remembered that upon the death of Senator Bachman, the Governor of Tennessee, acting under authority of the State statute, appointed George L. Berry to fill the unexpired term. Under the law of Tennessee a general election was called to elect a successor to Senator Bachman, and in that election on the 8th of November, Mr. STEWART was elected. Senator STEWART, however, did not appear in the Senate and take the oath until January 16. The contention of Senator Berry was that he was entitled to compensation until that date. At the request of the subcommittee the Legislative Counsel prepared a very exhaustive brief, which appears in the RECORD.

The conclusions of the committee were that Senator Berry was entitled to compensation only until his successor was elected and that what becomes of the money, whether it lapses to the Treasury or whether it goes to Senator STEWART, is not in issue here.

I will state the reasons for the committee's conclusions. The seventeenth amendment is quoted in the Congressional RECORD in part as follows:

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment-

For what time?-

until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

Our construction of that constitutional provision was that the Governor was authorized to appoint a Senator only until the successor was elected. The language of the seventeenth amendment is:

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The contention of Senator Berry was that there exists a statute of the State of Tennessee which provides for the election of the successor. Of course, under the seventeenth amendment, the State has a right to regulate the election of the successor. Senator Berry contended that that statute provided that the person so elected should serve until his successor qualified. We held that that statute was of no force because of the fact that, according to our view, it was plainly in conflict with the provisions of the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield. Mr. HATCH. In brief, it was the opinion of the committee that the tenure of office of a Senator appointed under the circumstances that Senator Berry was, ends on the election date.

Mr. CONNALLY. Exactly.

Mr. HATCH. And therefore his right to compensation ends with the termination of his office.

Mr. CONNALLY. Exactly.

Mr. HATCH. Is it not true that this same question has arisen on previous occasions, not before the Senate as a body, but before the disbursing officials of the Senate, since the adoption of the seventeenth amendment, and that the conclusion reached by the committee is in line with the constant practice of this body ever since the adoption of the seventeenth amendment?

Mr. CONNALLY. In answer to the first part of the Senator's question I will say "yes." As to the latter part of his question, I am not prepared to agree 100 percent, for the reason that there was some conflicting legislation passed, if the Senator will recall, from time to time, about the pay of Senators under those circumstances.

Mr. HATCH. That is, special acts.

Mr. CONNALLY. Acts of Congress.

Mr. HATCH. Yes.

Mr. CONNALLY. I was going to refer to that matter.

Mr. HATCH. If the Senator is going to refer to that I shall not interrupt him.

Mr. CONNALLY. I do not mind interruptions on the part of the Senator from New Mexico. The Senator usually illuminates whenever he interrupts.

Mr. President, aside from the constitutional provision, Congress has legislated on the question of compensation. The last act passed was in 1935. It provided that the compensation of the person elected should become effective on the day following the election. So in this case the committee finds it to be absolutely conclusive, both from the constitutional standpoint and from the act of the Congress itself, that the person so appointed is entitled to compensation only up to and including the day of the election, and that thereafter, the question whether the pay goes back to the Treasury or whether it goes to the Senator elected is an immaterial one in this inquiry, because the petition was simply for the allowance of the compensation.

Having those views, Mr. President, the committee presents a resolution expressing the approval of the Senate of the action of the committee. There was no controversy either in the subcommittee or in the full committee with reference to these legal conclusions.

I shall be glad to yield for any question.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, in view of the explanation made by the Senator from Texas, I have no objection to the present consideration of the resolution or its adoption.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. CONNALLY subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, at the conclusion of the remarks which I made a moment ago on the Berry resolution, that there be printed in the Record a letter from Senator Tom Stewart disavowing any claim for salary until the day of his taking the oath as a Member of the Senate.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> UNITED STATES SENATE Washington, January 30, 1939.

Mr. C. F. PACE,

Senate Disbursing Officer,
The Capitol, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I desire my name to be placed on the pay roll as a
Member of the United States Senate, beginning on the day I was
sworn in, January 16, 1939. I make no claim to pay previous to

Thanking you very much, I am, Sincerely yours,

TOM STEWART.

### MOTOR CARRIER TRANSPORTATION

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 167) to amend clause (4b) of subsection (b) of section 203 of the Motor Carrier Act, 1935, which had been reported from the Committee on Interstate Commerce with an amendment, on page 1, line 6, after the word "associations", to insert "if such federation possesses no greater powers or purposes than cooperative associations so defined", so as to make the bill

Be it enacted, etc., That clause (4b) of subsection (b) of section 203 of the Motor Carrier Act, 1935, is amended by inserting after the word "amended" a comma and the following: "or by a federation of such cooperative associations if such federation possesses no greater powers or purposes than cooperative associations so defined."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

COMPARABLE COST OF POWER PLANTS ON PASSAMAQUODDY PROJECT

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution (S. Res. 62) calling for further information from the Federal Power Commission concerning the comparable costs of steam and tidal-generated plants on the Passamaquoddy project, which was read as follows:

Whereas the Federal Power Commission reported on January 3, 1934, that the tidal power project at Passamaquoddy was unsound and unjustified (1) because it will cost approximately \$40,000,000 while a comparable steam-generating plant would cost only \$16,000,000; (2) because the steam-electric power would be cheaper at the higher-load factors; (3) because Passamaquoddy power could not compete with steam-power rates in export; (4) and because there is no present or prospective market for Passamaquoddy power at any price; and power at any price; and
Whereas the Congress has been asked resume its consideration

of the Passamaquoddy project: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Federal Power Commission is requested to
review its previous reports upon this project and bring them down to date; and to report to the Senate as soon as possible (1) the relative costs of steam-generated or tidal-generated power plants at Passamaquoddy; (2) the relative costs of power to the consumer; and (3) whether there is either a local or export market for power thus generated by either method.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, this resolution, and the joint resolution following, which was introduced by the Senator from Maine [Mr. WHITE], represent an agreement in procedure between both the friends and the critics of the socalled Passamaguoddy tidal power project. The resolution now under discussion seeks to bring the reports of the Federal Power Commission down to date. The subsequent joint resolution introduced by the Senator from Maine requires the essential information from the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors regarding the cost and the advisability of the project. Neither resolution is a commitment to anything with respect to the project. Both resolutions merely are exploratory, for the purpose of seeking information, and the Committee on Commerce is unanimously in favor of the adoption of both resolutions.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

COMPLETION OF SURVEYS, ETC., PASSAMAQUODDY BAY

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 57) authorizing the Secretary of War to cause a completion of surveys, test borings, and foundation investigations to be made to determine the advisability and cost of putting in a small experimental plant for development of tidal power in the waters in and about Passamaquoddy Bay, the cost thereof to be paid from appropriations heretofore or hereafter made for such examinations was announced as next in order.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I ask that Senate Joint Resolution 57 go over.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, will the Senator withhold his objection and let me make a very brief statement?

Mr. GILLETTE. Certainly.

Mr. WHITE. It seems to me, in view of the statement made by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], and in view of the facts involved, that it is not quite fair to have one of these resolutions agreed to without agreement on the part of the Senate in the other. The resolution presented by the Senator from Michigan calls on the Federal Power Commission for current information. The joint resolution which the Senator from Iowa has asked to go over calls upon the Board of Engineers or the Secretary of War for information. The Board of Engineers has made exhaustive studies of the project in the past. The President has now recommended an appropriation for the purpose of completing borings and providing a small experimental plant. I appreciate that it would perhaps have been more appropriate for some Senator on the other side of the aisle to have introduced the joint resolution to carry out the desires and recommendations of the President.

The joint resolution seeks to give authority for the completion of the borings and the investigations and a report to the Congress as to the advisability of proceeding further. Senators recognize that the appropriation suggested by the President could not be made without some prior authority upon which such an appropriation could rest, and all my joint resolution seeks to do is to lay the foundation for an appropriation for the limited purposes suggested, which will have to come before the Senate hereafter.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. WHITE. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the same engineers have charge of the work if it should be undertaken?

Mr. WHITE. Does the Senator mean in charge of the borings?

Mr. McKELLAR. No; will they have charge of the building of the necessary dams, and so forth?

Mr. WHITE. If I may say so, that will be entirely within the jurisdiction of the Congress. The Congress may determine when it gets this report that it will take no further steps in the matter whatsoever, or it may determine that it is wise to meet the President's desire for the building of a small experimental station. It may do either of those two things, but in either event the determination as to whether to go on beyond what is asked by this joint resolution is wholly within the hands of the Congress itself.

I again emphasize that the joint resolution simply carries out, so far as we can do so at this time, the recommendation of the President, made to the Rivers and Harbors Committee of the House and the Commerce Committee of the Senate. In view of the adoption of the other resolution, calling upon the Federal Power Commission for information, I feel that it is proper that information of the character suggested in this resolution should be had from the Board of Engineers.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, it is always a matter of regret to me to be compelled to differ with my able friend from Maine. However, I desire to look into this matter; and I ask that the joint resolution go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The joint resolution will be passed over.

That concludes the calendar.

# EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

### EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. HUGHES, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the nomination of J. Leslie Ford, of Delaware (now serving under a recess appointment), to be United States marshal for the district of Delaware.

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of sundry postmasters.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The reports will be placed on the Executive Calendar.

If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will proceed to state the nominations on the calendar.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Floyd H. Roberts to be United States district judge for the western district of Virginia.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. This nomination has been adversely reported.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask that the nomination be passed over. The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Kentucky asks that the nomination of Mr. Roberts be passed over. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

# UNITED STATES EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION COMMISSION

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Jewell W. Swofford to be a member of the United States Employees' Compensation Commission.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

#### POSTMASTERS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of postmasters.

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask that the nominations of postmasters be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations of postmasters are confirmed en bloc.

That concludes the Executive Calendar.

# LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I understand that a number of Senators wish to introduce bills and present other routine business. I therefore move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

# DELEGATION OF QUASI-JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of Agriculture explaining the need for the enactment of legislation authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture, on occasion, to delegate to employees of the Department of Agriculture the function of issuing or promulgating certain orders which may have the force and effect of law and which may be issued or promulgated only after notice and hearing, or opportunity for hearing, have been given to persons affected by or interested in such orders, which with the accompanying list of statutory provisions requiring or authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to exercise quasi-judicial functions, was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

### TRANSFER OF UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE RECORDS, ETC., TO STATES

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for the transfer of United States Employment Service records, files, and property in local offices to the States, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

# REPORT OF FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Chairman of the Federal Power Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, copy of the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, with additional activities to December 1938,

together with a statement showing the names, titles, and compensation of the members and employees of the Federal Power Commission, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

# ALIENS UNDER NATIONAL POWER POLICY COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the Executive Assistant to the Federal Emergency Administrator of Public Works, responding to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938, stating "that the salaries of the employees of the National Power Policy Committee are paid from P. W. A. administrative funds and therefore were covered by the report contained in Administrator Ickes' letter of January 14 to the President of the Senate, advising that no aliens were employed by the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works," which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

#### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of North Dakota, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

# Senate Concurrent Resolution 24

Concurrent resolution urging the establishment of a division of cooperatives in the Department of Agriculture

Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of North Dakota (the house of representatives concurring):

Whereas the establishment and maintenance of cooperative organizations is of vital importance to the Nation and affords a com-mendable solution of the serious problems involving the farmers, workers, and consumers; and

Whereas there is no Government agency dedicated to the principles of cooperation and pledged to the upbuilding of the cooperative movement, the present status being as follows:

In the Department of Agriculture the former Division of Cooperative Marketing has been shifted, first, to the Federal Farm Board, and thence to the Farm Credit Administration, performing certain services for farmers' producing and marketing cooperatives; the Consumers' Counsel Division of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration rendering assistance to consumers' cooperatives by supplying them with information and reporting progress in The Consumers' Guide; and

In the Department of Labor the Bureau of Labor Statistics conducts surveys of consumers' cooperatives and issues publications on

Whereas it is highly desirable to coordinate the work in cooperative buying and selling done in the several Government agencies and to strengthen it in such a way that it will provide the maximum of service to farmers, workers, and consumers: Now, therefore, be it Resolved by the Senate of the State of North Dakota (the house of representatives concurring). That we petition and urge the Congress of the United States to enact legislation and make the necessary appropriations to create and establish a division of cooperatives in the Department of Agriculture, having for its purpose the assembling, compiling, and maintaining of files of statistical data relating to the accomplishments of cooperative enterprises, the statutes of Congress, of the several States and foreign countries affecting cooperatives, together with the coordinating of all duties and responsibilities toward cooperatives now reposed in the various agencies of Government, all to be used for the benefit and use of agencies of Government, all to be used for the benefit and use of established cooperatives and new projects in process of organiza-tion, and further providing for the appointment of a director, whose duty it shall be to render all personal and other assistance possible such cooperatives; to make appropriations therefor; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state is instructed and directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Agriculture, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each of the Members of Congress of this State.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore also laid before the Senate the following resolution of the Senate of the State of Wisconsin, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce:

A resolution requesting the President of the United States to with-draw the nomination of Thomas R. Amlie to a position on the Interstate Commerce Commission

Whereas Thomas R. Amlie has spent his life as a communistic agitator against everything in the American Government, its Constitution, and its laws; and
Whereas Thomas R. Amlie is one of that small coterie of congressional Representatives who joined in a message of sympathy to the "red" government of Spain and its murder of thousands of priests hishors aways and prophers of visitious evidence of the state priests, bishops, nuns, and members of religious orders; and

Whereas the prejudiced attitude of this man to everything held sacred in the minds of American citizens unfits him for membership in any quasi-judicial body: Therefore be it

Resolved. That we appeal to the President of the United States to withdraw the nomination of Thomas R. Amlie to a position on the Interstate Commerce Commission; and be it further

Resolved, That if this name is not withdrawn, we appeal to the Members of the United States Senate to withhold confirmation of this appointment.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore also laid before the Senate petitions of several citizens of Los Angeles, Calif., praying for the allotment of sufficient funds to continue the investigation of the subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor pertaining to the violation of civil liberties, etc., which were referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

He also laid before the Senate a letter in the nature of a memorial from Local Union, No. 1571, United Mine Workers of America, of Tamaqua, Pa., remonstrating against any change in the National Labor Relations Act, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by J. L. Parish Division, No. 556, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in the State of Missouri, protesting against the enactment of legislation to regulate the mileage of trainservice employees, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the council of the city of Cleveland, Ohio, favoring the enactment of legislation providing for the observance of National Inventors' Day and National Advancement Week, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. WALSH presented a resolution adopted by the Holyoke Taxpayers' Association, of Holyoke, Mass., favoring the balancing of the Budget, and that this end be accomplished by retrenchment rather than by further taxation, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. GUFFEY presented petitions, numerously signed, of sundry citizens of Bethlehem, Pa., praying that the United States adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated by existing law, and also extend the law so as to include civil as well as international conflicts, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. REED presented a petition of 69 citizens of Atchison. Kans., praying for the enactment of the so-called Patman bill, imposing taxes upon chain stores, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of 191 citizens of Stafford, Kans., praying that the United States stop the shipment of arms and munitions to Japan, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. CAPPER presented a petition of sundry citizens of Buffalo, Kans., praying for the enactment of general welfare legislation providing old-age assistance, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Sterling, Kans., favoring the enactment of legislation to prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages by press and radio, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Young People's Religious Union of the Unitarian Church, of Westwood, Mass., favoring the enactment of legislation to prevent and punish the crime of lynching, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mrs. CARAWAY presented the following concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations:

# House Concurrent Resolution 8

House Concurrent Resolution 8

Whereas the Congress of the United States made an appropriation for the Public Works Administration for the year 1938 to be used in the various States of this Union for worthy projects and included in that appropriation measure a provision that all bond elections must be held by or before October 1, 1938, and that the project must be under construction by January 1, 1939; and

Whereas amendment No. 17 to the Constitution of the State of Arkansas, under which the electors of the various counties of the State of Arkansas are governed in the matter of the issuance of bonds to pay the counties part of many of said projects, and section 3 of said amendment made it impossible to hold their bond elections prior to the general election held on November 8. bond elections prior to the general election held on November 8,

Whereas many worth-while building projects are now on file with the regional P. W. A. office, together with estimates, have been approved, elections held, and the bond issues carried, but

been approved, elections held, and the bond issues carried, but all Federal funds have been allocated; and Whereas these projects are being held up or must be completely abandoned unless a supplemental Public Works Administration appropriation is made: Now, therefore, be it Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Arkansas (senate concurring), That the Congress of the United States be requested to make a supplemental Public Works Administration appropriation to cover the Arkansas projects now on file in which bond elections were held at the November 8, 1938, general election and the projects and bond issues approved.

Mrs. CARAWAY also presented the following concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

#### Senate Concurrent Resolution 13

Whereas the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, as well as other veteran and patriotic organizations, has been advocating an adequate national-defense program for several years;

Whereas mandatory military training of boys in C. C. C. camps will serve to strengthen our defensive system, and will furnish the boys valuable training that will be worth a great deal in future civil life: Be it therefore

Resolved by the Senate of the Fifty-second General Assembly of Resolved by the Senate of the Fifty-second General Assembly of the State of Arkansas assembled in regular session (and concurred therein by the house of representatives), That the Arkansas dele-gation in our National Congress be memorialized to work for the enactment of legislation requiring military discipline and such training as map reading, bridge building, and radio communica-tion for all boys in the C. C. camps as a means to strengthen our defensive system and to provide worth, while the training that can our defensive system and to provide worth-while training that can be used by the boys in future civil life; and be it further Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be mailed at once to the Senators and the Congressmen from the State of Arkansas.

Mr. GURNEY presented the following concurrent resolutions of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

### House Concurrent Resolution 4

Concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States of America to enact such legislation to the end that our farmers may become secure and self-sustaining in the possession of their homes and property

of their homes and property

Whereas the present system of refinancing of farm mortgages on the part of the Federal Government has not been adequate to save the homes of our distressed farmers; and

Whereas legislation which has been before the Congress for several years such as the Frazier-Lemke refinancing bill, we believe would adequately solve this problem: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of South Dakota (the senate concurring). That we do hereby memorialize the Congress of the United States to enact the Frazier-Lemke refinancing bill to the end that our farmers may become secure and self-sustaining in the possession of their homes and property. Be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, to the President of the United States, and to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States.

the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States.

# Senate Concurrent Resolution 4

Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of South Dakota (the house of representatives concurring):

Whereas the Legislature of the State of South Dakota recognizes whereas the Legislature of the State of South Dakota recognizes that our agricultural problem is our greatest problem, believing that only as farmers prosper can industry and labor prosper, and pledges its support to a national program of farm legislation which will produce parity price and income or cost of production for that part of our farm production required for domestic consumption, and
Whereas we recognize that the American farmer is entitled to

whereas we recognize that the American farmer is entitled to the American market for his products to the full extent of his ability to supply that market on a cost-of-production basis, and Whereas bill 5. 570 of the Seventy-sixth Congress has been in-troduced in the Senate, which we believe, if enacted and properly administered, would fulfill these requirements: Therefore be it

administered, would fulfill these requirements: Therefore be it Resolved by the State Legislature of the State of South Dakota now assembled, That we memorialize Congress of the United States to enact S. 570, entitled "A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in agricultural products; to provide for the orderly marketing of such products; to promote the general welfare by assuring an abundant and permanent supply of such products by securing to the producers a minimum price of not less than cost of production, and for other purposes." which bill we products by securing to the producers a minimum price of not less than cost of production, and for other purposes," which bill we believe if enacted and properly administered will insure for the farmer parity or cost of production for that part of our farm crops that are consumed within the United States.

That national legislation be enacted to prevent gamblers and speculators from determining the price of the necessities of life.

That we favor the development of industrial uses for farm products as a means of enlarging the American farm market.

Whereas it has been definitely determined that the hog processing tax collected by the Department of Agriculture was actually paid by the farmers themselves, and
Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States, invalidating said Agricultural Adjustment Act, declaring said tax to be illegal

and unconstitutional: Be it

Resolved, That we memorialize Congress to refund all such tax to the farmer; be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, to the President of the United States and to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United

Mr. NYE presented the following concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of North Dakota, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

#### Senate Concurrent Resolution 21

Resolution requesting Congress to include "cost of production" in the Soil Conservation Act, together with its insurance features

Be it resolved by the senate (the house of representatives con-

SECTION 1. From and after July 1, 1939, the price paid for spring wheat, durum and winter wheat shall be such a price as will include "cost of production," or \$1.75 per bushel for No. 1 hard spring wheat, \$1.50 for No. 1 durum and winter wheat, and other grades in proportion of such sufficient unsettled price as the Secretary of Agriculture shall deem higher to the producer than the speculative and world markets at the country elevator on that portion of such crops as are consumed within the United States. Each producer shall be entitled to and receive such cost-of-production price only on that part of his said crops as shall represent his average share of the "home consumption markets" covering his proaverage share of the "home consumption market" covering his production of the previous normal 5-year period, or on 54 percent of his allotted acres, as indicated by the A. A. records for the syears 1928 to 1932. And in case of deflation of present money value or war prices said cost-of-production prices shall advance proportions of the state of the state

tionately. SEC. 2. The Secretary of Agriculture shall compile data on various crops herein mentioned, from all sections of the country where such crops are produced, and from such data shall determine the average cost of production on average lands under average condi-tions throughout the United States. From this compiled data on tions throughout the United States. From this compiled data on various crops the Secretary of Agriculture shall further determine the number of bushels to be sold at said cost-of-production price for each State and county, and in turn shall issue books of "wheat stamps" representing each bushel of said cost-of-production wheat, each State, and in turn each county, to receive "wheat stamps" in proportion to the allotted cost-of-production wheat for that area.

The county A. A. A. committee shall determine from the data sent them by the Secretary of Agriculture and from its own county A. A. A. records the number of allotted bushels for each producer. They shall also notify each producer of the amount of cost-of-production wheat allotted him and at the same time deliver to the producer "wheat stamps" of an amount equal to his allotted bushels.

When the producer sells his grain he shall deliver to the elevators.

When the producer sells his grain he shall deliver to the elevator man as many "wheat stamps" as bushels sold. The elevator man in turn shall send the miller or other buyer of this wheat, "wheat stamps" in the same amount as he has received representing this cost-of-production wheat.

No miller shall be permitted to manufacture flour for home consumption from any wheat other than that which is covered or represented by "wheat stamps." Flour manufactured from wheat not earmarked by "wheat stamps" must be sold in foreign markets. Any miller violating these stipulations forfeits his bond

earmarked by "wheat stamps" must be sold in foreign markets. Any miller violating these stipulations forfeits his bond.

SEC. 3. The producer shall sell all his allotted grain at the said cost-of-production price and from this the country elevator man shall retain 25 cents from every bushel of grain sold, or such sufficient rate as will cover all losses, as the premium for the insurance adjustment plan. These premiums shall be sent to the Secretary of Agriculture and in case of loss of crops by drought, hall, rust, frost, wind, blight, flood, or insects said losses shall be paid from this fund. (Said insurance shall not be payable on unfit seed or seeding, nor on submarginal-land crops.) Appraisals on losses shall be made by the county A. A. A. committee, and no losses shall be considered which are less than 50 percent of the county average production per acre. If losses occur the producer shall return to the county A. A. A. committee "wheat stamps" for his insurance payments per acre according to the following rates: 50 percent loss, 50 percent of "wheat stamps," insurance \$4; 65 percent loss, 75 percent of "wheat stamps," insurance \$6; and 80 percent or over, 100 percent of "wheat stamps," insurance \$6; and 80 percent or over, 100 percent of "wheat stamps," insurance \$8. In case of farmers producing less than 100 acres they shall be entitled to \$2 per acre additional insurance in case of total loss only.

SEC. 4. The owner and renter shall each receive their share of the cost-of-production prices on insurance as agreed to between themselves. In event any producer in any one year shall produce more than his share of the home consumption market as removed.

themselves. In event any producer in any one year shall produce more than his share of the home consumption market as represented by cost-of-production wheat allotted him, such overproduction shall be termed as exportable surplus and may be by the producer sold on the world market, stored, fed, or disposed of in any manner as he sees fit, except that none of such surplus shall be sold on any market in the United States for domestic-consump-tion purposes. If a producer stores all or part of his surplus wheat and fails to produce his quota of allotted home-consumption wheat in following years he shall be permitted to sell on the home markets from such surplus enough to fill his quota for that year. SEC. 5. The producer shall have the privilege of accepting or rejecting this cost-of-production plan and shall also have the privilege.

ilege of sowing as much or as many kinds of grain as he chooses, and this without restrictions except his allotment requirements where he accepts the cost-of-production plan. In no case shall the allotted acres assigned to one man or one company's interest exceed 1,500 allotted acres of wheat.

SEC. 6. Congress shall appropriate \$200,000,000 as a fund to take place of the insurance in such areas as are now affected by drought or other causes of crop failure at the present time, said advance payment to be taken out of the producer's allotted bushels sold when he again harvests a normal crop. When the Government advances the premium for a farmer, as above stipulated, it shall place such farmer in good standing in respect to this wheat insurplace such farmer in good standing in respect to this wheat insurance with the same privileges and protection as other producers who advanced their own premium.

SEC. 7. This insurance-adjustment plan shall be operated on as economical, self-supporting, and nonprofiting a plan as possible when established.

### SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS

1. Wheat to be seeded in what is considered seasonable time

and in good workmanlike manner.

2. The Government to have the power to raise the allotted wheat quota for each year if domestic needs require it.

3. Any person or persons imitating or counterfeiting for personal profit or gain said stamps made by the Government shall

be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

4. It is the intent and purpose of this act to furnish insurance to those entering the plan regardless of whether individuals have contributed to the insurance fund or not, it being expressly understood that the liability of participants shall have been discharged when and if they market wheat and thereby contribute to the insurance fund. insurance fund.

insurance fund.

5. To guard against any unforeseen difficulties in marketing the wheat, the Government should establish an available revolving fund sufficient to take care of purchases of any peak marketing and storing of wheat by the producer in the country elevator. Said revolving fund to be maintained from year to year without depletion, this fund to take care of all handling charges plus

Be it further provided, That the secretary of state is hereby instructed to forward copies of this resolution to chairmen of committees on agriculture in legislative bodies of the States of South Dakota, Montana, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Idaho, Colorado, Wyoming, and Washington, and to our Congressmen and Senators from North Dakota and to the President of the United

Mr. NYE also presented the following concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of North Dakota, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads:

# House Concurrent Resolution 80

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of North Dakota (the senate concurring therein):
Whereas this year, 1939, is the fiftieth anniversary of statehood of the State of North Dakota; and
Whereas it is customary for the various States in the United States of America to observe this period of statehood by issuing a stamp companyous of fifteeth anniversary of statehood; and

stamp commemorating a fiftieth anniversary of statehood; and
Whereas the Pioneer Daughters Chapter of the North Dakota
Federation of Women's Clubs brings to our attention this ob-

Federation of Women's Clubs brings to our attention this observance; and
Whereas that this request may be placed in permanent historical record in the archives of history as a part of the official record of this legislative body: Be it hereby

Resolved by the House of Representatives (and the senate concurring) of this Twenty-sixth Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota, That approval of this above consideration be recorded; and be it further

Resolved, That we hereby petition the Postmaster General at Washington, D. C., to bring his influence to bear in uniting with us to bring about the issuance of a stamp commemorating this statehood event.

# LABELING OF WOOL PRODUCTS

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I present and ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, treated as a memorial, and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce a letter from Francis Willey & Co., top makers, of Boston, Mass.

There being no objection, the letter was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> FRANCIS WILLEY & Co. (Division of Winslow Bros. & Smith Co.), Boston, Mass., January 18, 1939.

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.
Sir: We would like to protest vigorously some features of a bill known as S. 162, which we understand was introduced by Senator

Schwartz on January 4, 1939, and has been referred now to the Committee on Interstate Commerce. We believe that a similar bill has been introduced in the House known as H. R. 944. This bill

has to do with the labeling of wool products.

We are wool top makers, which means that we buy raw wool in the West or from the wool dealers, most of whom are located in Boston—sort the wool, scour it, card it, and comb it, and sell the product known as tops to the worsted spinners. Our business, according to our interpretation, has been since 1898, or thereabouts, the selling of wool tops, which we have always considered we made of 100 percent virgin wool.

Under this new bill, however, the product which we have always made would not be considered virgin wool, and in selling our product we would have to describe as part virgin wool and part reclaimed wool. In other words, we would have to declare our product as an inferior article because of the description given in this bill as to what is reclaimed wool, when as a matter of fact this is not in any

way the case.

On page 2, article D, reclaimed wool is defined as including wool waste, and article F describes such wool waste. In article F the following items are described as waste, when in point of fact they are virgin wool and cannot be considered as anything else.

tem No. 1, card waste: This is simply the wool that is left in the worsted card and which drops out of the card while the wool is going through this machine. It is the very same wool as the original wool from which it came. The common practice in our industry is to dust this wool, thereby removing the dirt from it as it accumulates and put the clean product right back with the wool from which it came. which it came.

Item No. 2, oily waste: If any of the virgin wool going through any of the machinery becomes stained in any way with oil, under this act it is considered as waste. As a matter of fact, the common practice is to take such wool and put it back with the wool from

which it came in the scouring bowls.

which it came in the scouring bowls.

Item No. 3, card stripping: Everything we have said applying to card waste applies to card stripping: Everything we have said applying to that is left in the cards. When a given lot is finished running the common practice is to remove the dirt from the card strips and use them again in the next lot of similar grade which is processed.

Item No. 4, paint wool: This, of course, is nothing but the original virgin wool on which the growers have marked brand marks with paint. There are several methods of removing this paint with which the knowing manufacturer is familiar, and it can be so treated that the wool can be processed along with the other virgin wool without making an inferior product.

As you can readily see, under this act, if a piece of wool fell out of the processing machinery onto the floor, which happens on all of the machinery through which the wool passes, it is immediately considered as wool waste, and if it is put back in the wool from which it came, the product must then be labeled as an inferior product.

We would also like to ask a question. If these several items mentioned, which are certainly virgin wool, are to be considered as wool waste, and declared as reclaimed wool, why is not the noil, which is waste, and declared as reclaimed wool, why is not the holl, which is a byproduct of the comb, also considered as wool waste? Noils are the short fibers which are taken out of the wool by the worsted comb. They come out in very much larger percentage than any of the so-called wool wastes mentioned above. They are too short in fiber to put back into the wool again because they would simply come out as noils when these wools reached the comb. They are one of the main raw materials of the woolen industry. We do not feel ourselves that noils should be considered as waste, but we certainly feel that this should be the case if other better fibers which tainly feel that this should be the case if other better fibers which come out in preceding processes of manufacture are going to be considered as waste.

This bill, we understand, has had considerable support from the wool grower, who does not realize that if it becomes effective as it is now written it will eventually mean he will take a lower price for his wool. In this country the wool and worsted industry is working behind a tariff wool, and the price of a fabric means the price of foreign competition plus the duty. Although this bill states that it is going to prohibit the importation of products which are not properly labeled, it is impossible for us to believe that foreign manufacturers are going to consider such items as we have listed above as waste material in spite of the interpretation put upon them in our law. No possible test has been devised which would show the presence of any of the articles above mentioned. Naturally no test could show them as not virgin wool when actually they are all virgin wool. Therefore foreign fabrics will be imported declared as being made out of 100-percent virgin wool. With these fabrics the fabrics of our manufacturers will have to compete. From the price at which the foreign goods can be imported, which will be the top price our manufacturers can secure, will have to be deducted our manufacturing costs, and in the final analysis, in the long pull, our wool growers will only be able to obtain a price for their wool which will compete in cloth with these foreign fabrics.

If this bill is passed as written, the cost of making worsted tops to be declared as virgin wool tops will be considerably increased. All of the so-called wastes listed above will have to be sold as a byproduct instead of being used in the original grades of wool from which they came. With every mill in this country selling such materials as waste materials the value of such materials will be greatly depreciated. If these wastes become then a substantial byproduct to be sold at the depreciated price, then the cost of making a top to be declared a virgin wool top will be substantially increased. The wool grower will not get more for his wool This bill, we understand, has had considerable support from the wool grower, who does not realize that if it becomes effective as it is

because of this bill, because of the fact that the higher manufacturing costs which the bill will impose will simply mean that in order to sell his wool and compete with foreign competition he will take less for his wool.

In this letter we are touching upon only a very narrow part of the effects of this bill itself, but they are the parts that particu-larly affect our business. We are against a bill which definitely misnames in itself an important product in the manufacture of

The great majority of New England woolen and worsted manufacturers, who are our customers, are opposed to the bill on very much broader lines, as it presents many serious difficulties to them.

We would like to go on record only on the subjects mentioned above which will have a direct effect upon us, and upon the industry as a whole all the way back to the grower of wool.

Senator Schwartz, we understand, has stated that he does not consider hearings on this bill necessary in view of the fact that similar bills have been considerably discussed in Washington before. Such bills, however, did not include as reclaimed, reworked wool waste any of the terms we have mentioned. wool waste any of the items we have mentioned. Respectfully yours,

FRANCIS WILLEY & Co., By W. R. BULLARD.

### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, to which was referred the bill (S. 660) to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to provide for the reapportionment of cotton acreage allotments not planted by farmers entitled thereto, reported it without amendment.

Mr. ELLENDER, from the Committee on Claims, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each with an

amendment and submitted reports thereon:

S. 279. A bill for the relief of Pherne Miller (Rept. No.

S. 529. A bill for the relief of Margaret Rose Uncapher, Milton E. Uncapher, Jr., and Andrew G. Uncapher (Rept.

Mr. ELLENDER also, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 885) to authorize and direct the Comptroller General of the United States to allow credit for all outstanding disallowances and suspensions in the accounts of the disbursing officers or agents of the Government for payments made to certain employees appointed by the United States Employees' Compensation Commission, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 29) thereon.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 584) for the relief of John R. Holt, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 30) thereon.

Mr. SCHWARTZ, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 1093) for the relief of Mike Chetkovich, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 31) thereon.

Mr. LOGAN, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 1076) for the relief of the widow of the late William J. Cocke, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 32) thereon.

Mr. NEELY, from the Committee on Rules, to which were referred the following resolutions, reported them each without amendment:

S. Res. 8. Resolution providing for the opening of each calendar day's session of the Senate with prayer; and

S. Res. 58. Resolution providing that a calendar day's notice shall suffice in connection with the suspension of a rule.

# BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mrs. CARAWAY:

S. 1166 (by request). A bill to regulate and codify existing rules and customs pertaining to the display and usage of the flag of the United States of America; to the Committee or the Judiciary.

By Mr. HARRISON:

S. 1167. A bill relating to the disposition of certain funds held by the State of Mississippi on behalf of veterans of the Spanish-American War; to the Committee on Military Affairs. By Mr. GILLETTE:

S. 1168. A bill for the relief of Clarance Wachendorf and others; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DAVIS:

S. 1169. A bill granting an increase of pension to Thomas Yeager; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. REED:

S. 1170. A bill to amend paragraph (1) of section 4 of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended February 28, 1920 (U. S. C., title 49, sec. 4); to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. MURRAY:

S. 1171. A bill for the construction of a fish hatchery on Bluewater Creek, near Fromberg, Carbon County, Mont.; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. AUSTIN (for Mr. GIBSON):

S. 1172. A bill for the relief of George Sotiriou Delegas; to the Committee on Immigration.

S. 1173. A bill granting a pension to Frances E. Parsons; to the Committee on Pensions.

S. 1174. A bill for the relief of Alex St. Louis; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. TOWNSEND:

S. 1175. A bill to amend section 306 of the Tariff Act of 1930; to the Committee on Finance.

(Mr. Capper introduced Senate bills 1176 and 1177, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. WALSH:

S. 1178. A bill to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1921, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. MILLER:

S. 1179. A bill to amend section 36 of the Emergency Farm Mortgage Act of 1933, as amended, to provide an interest rate of 3 percent per annum on loans to agricultural improvement districts; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. LEE:

S. 1180. A bill to amend the Liquor Enforcement Act of 1936; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

S. 1181. A bill to provide for the status of warrant officers and of enlisted men of the Regular Army who serve as commissioned officers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

(Mr. REYNOLDS introduced Senate bill 1182, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. HAYDEN:

S. 1183. A bill to amend the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933, as amended, with respect to rates of pay for persons employed in reconditioning property acquired by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 1184. A bill granting authority for the transfer to the War Department of certain lands owned or optioned by the city of Tucson, Ariz.; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

PUBLIC DEFENDERS IN UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURTS

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I wish to introduce two bills providing for the appointment of public defenders in the Federal district courts. One applies only to the District of Columbia, the other to all United States district courts. The proper defense of indigent persons accused of crime is a necessary counterpart of public prosecution. The State should shield the innocent as well as protect society against the criminal.

Public defense of accused persons long since has passed the experimental stage in this country and is now an accomplished fact in many communities where the office of public defender has been established by legislative enactment or local provision. Among those communities are Los Angeles; Portland, Oreg.; Omaha; New Haven; Hartford; Bridgeport; Minneapolis; Pittsburgh; Memphis; Wilmington, N. C.; Columbus, Ohio; Evansville; Cincinnati; Dallas; Oakland, Calif.; San Francisco; and Temple, Tex. The comments of judges, district attorneys, and lawyers in these cities, notably in Los Angeles, where the office has been in operation for over 10 years, are most favorable.

Recent developments in aid of the public-defender movement have been significant and indicate that the public defender is likely to become a part of our system of criminal law in the near future.

The criminal law must be so amended that the poor and helpless defendant shall be accorded the same adequate defense as is given to the wealthy malefactor. No one should be compelled to suffer because of his race, creed, or purse.

The public defender is a step in the direction toward the democracy of justice, and as such it should appeal to all fair-

minded people.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bills will be received and appropriately referred.

The bills introduced by Mr. CAPPER were each read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. as follows:

S. 1176. A bill to provide for the appointment of a public defender in the District of Columbia; and

S. 1177. A bill to provide for the appointment of a public defender in each United States district court.

MILITARY TRAINING IN CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I introduce a bill which provides for military instruction and training for members of the Civilian Conservation Corps, and I should like to have the privilege of making a statement in connection therewith.

The bill provides in so many words for not less than 2 nor more than 5 hours each week of military training for the members of the Civilian Conservation Corps. In conjunction with my statement relative to the introduction of the bill, I should like to ask permission that there be printed in the RECORD an editorial from the columns of the Washington Daily Times, the date of which I do not have at present. It appears that the editorial entitled "Guns, Bullets, and C. C. C .- Put Them Together" is a reprint of an editorial from the New York Daily News.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Times]

Guns, Bullets, and C. C. C.—Put Them Together

The Civilian Conservation Corps was established in 1933, soon after President Roosevelt was first inaugurated.

Its purpose was to take a lot of boys off the streets and out of

the freight cars and hobo jungles and give them stimulating work in the open plus plenty of grub and comfortable lodgings. There was no work for them in private industry.

The fiercest enemies of the New Deal have had hardly a word of adverse criticism for the C. C. C. It began achieving its main aims from the start, and it has become possibly our most effective single force for the conservation of human values and natural wealth. The amount of rockbottom conservation work the C. C. C. has done—tree planting and tree doctoring, flood-control dams along the little creeks that feed the big rivers, antierosion projects, etc.—has been enormous and enormously valuable.

The C. C. C. is supervised by United States Army officers.

After the World War the United States Government found itself with about 2,300,000 Lee-Enfield rifles on hand, plus about 900,000 Springfields and about 160,000 Krag-Jorgensens.

Springfields and about 160,000 Krag-Jorgensens.

LOTS OF GUNS STILL AROUND

It has now disposed of all the Krags and about 85,000 Lee-Enfields, and has loaned or sold 295,000 Lee-Enfields to the Philippine Commonwealth. It retains the Springfield rifle as standard Army equipment until such time as the Army can be reequipped with the new Garand semiautomatic rifle. The left-over guns are in good condition.

How much wartime ammunition for these guns the Government has on hand we don't know. But we know it has large amounts of the stuff, and from personal use of this ammunition we know it still performs well.

When the C. C. C. was started, the administration wisely bowed to the objections of organized professional pacifists and ruled against gun instruction for the C. C. C. It couldn't afford to begin

against gun instruction for the C. C. C. It couldn't afford to begin as an apparently militaristic administration, though plenty of us, including this newspaper, urged almost from the beginning that the C. C. C. be taught to handle guns as a measure of national defense. Much water has run under the bridge in the 5 years since that time. Our pacifists by and large are now our most bloodthirsty warmongers. They are in a standing rage at Neville Chamberlain for having betrayed the world into peace at Munich, and they are calling for 5,000, 10,000, and up, planes, two or more \$100,000,000 battleships, etc.

The administration is encouraging this agitation; partly, we suppose, because Ambassadors Kennedy and Bullitt seem to have stated in secret session with the Senate and House Military Affairs Committees that a European war this year is highly probable, and partly to steam up congressional appropriation fervor.

But the C. C. C. remains as it was. The left-over guns, the left-over ammunition, and the C. C. C. boys have not been put together. This, though gun training for the C. C. C. would give us almost immediately a big nucleus for a wartime force of men who could shoot, and though a News canvass sometime ago showed that most of the C. C. C. boys would like it.

The President at his Tuesday press conference said that he had made his decision against gun training long ago and would let it stand.

### STUBBORNNESS OF GREATNESS

The reason is plain human nature. The President is a great and strong-minded man, who rather prides himself on his streak of Dutch stubbornness. Great men, once they have made a decision, tend to feel that they decided rightly and must stick by the decision in spite of chance and change, hell and high water. While we admire the stubbornness of greatness, we would like to point out that our policy as to training C. C. C. boys to shoot is no longer "liberal" or "progressive." It is in reaction against the spirit and needs of the times. If the Government is going to teach the college boys to fly, why in heaven's name shouldn't it teach the C. C. C. boys to shoot?

Chairman Andrew J. May (D., Ky.), of the House Military Affairs

boys to shoot?
Chairman Andrew J. May (D., Ky.), of the House Military Affairs Committee, says he will introduce a bill for gun training in the C. C. C. We hope the bill passes.
Incidentally, May also is agitating for a four-lane system of Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coast military roads. O. K.—and how about widening a lot of our existing roads and edging them with sidewalks? The peacetime uses of these are obvious. Anybody who was in France in the war knows how handy sidewalks would be when infantry, artillery, side cars, and trucks are trying to use the same road.

Mr. REYNOLDS. In connection with the bill which I have introduced, I should like to ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD a few lines in regard to the organization and maintenance of the C. C. C. organizations.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

### THE STORY OF THE C. C. C.

The Civilian Conservation Corps was born of an emergency in

April 1933. Hundreds of thousands of young men were without employment. Immediate action was vital.

The President recommended and Congress authorized the establishment of the C. C. C. for the purpose of relieving unemployment among youth and of conserving the natural resources of the

A Director was appointed April 5, 1933, and the Departments of War, Interior, Agriculture, and Labor were directed to cooperate.

The Department of Labor, cooperating with State relief and welfare organizations, immediately established agencies for selecting enrollees

The Army made preparations to enroll, transport, feed, clothe, house, and care for the men selected.

The Departments of Interior and Agriculture rushed plans for the location of camps in areas where there was work waiting to be done along carefully planned conservation programs.

The Veterans' Administration took over the task of selecting the

The Veterans' Administration took over the task of selecting the war veterans' quota.

Within less than 4 months one thousand five hundred 200-man C. C. C. camps had been established. These camps were occupied by approximately 300,000 men, who came from every State in the Union and worked on a wide variety of conservation projects.

More than 2,000,000 young men have benefited through the advantages offered in C. C. camps.

The increased self-respect, confidence, and competency of this vast number of young men, together with the work accomplished, attests to the national benefits derived from the C. C. C. program.

# WHO CAN ENROLL IN THE C. C. C.?

To be eligible a young man must be—

1. A citizen of the United States.

2. Unemployed and in need of employment.

3. Of good character.

- 4. Between 17 and 23 years of age (until twenty-fourth birthday)
  - Unmarried.
  - Out of school.
     Physically and mentally fit, and able to do vigorous work.

Additional requirements

In order to be selected each applicant must agree to serve at

least one full term of 6 months.

He may decide at the end of that period whether he wishes to reenroll for another term.

The maximum term of service is 2 years.

Each man who has one or more dependents must be willing to make an allotment to them of a specified part of his minimum cash allowance of \$30 a month. The balance, retained by the enrollee, is judged sufficient to cover his necessary personal expenses in camp.

# Further information

In each State an established public-welfare or public-assistance organization serves as the State C. C. C. selecting agency. The local welfare agency or office in turn is responsible in its community for the selection of young men for the C. C. C. A limited number of war veterans are selected by the Veterans' Administration through regional offices.

Unemployed young men, who are interested in the opportunities offered by the C. C. C. (who believe themselves to be eligible) and who have a desire for camp life and work experience, may make further inquiry or application at the nearest local C. C. C. selecting agency. Applications may be made at any time.

ORGANIZATION, CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

Robert Fechner, Director, New Post Office Building, Washington,

D. C.
James J. McEntee, Assistant Director.
Charles H. Taylor, Assistant Director.

Advisory count

# Advisory council

George P. Tyner, brigadier general, United States Army, War

Department.
Conrad L. Wirth, Assistant Director, National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

Fred Morrell, representative, Department of Agriculture. W. Frank Persons, Director, United States Employment Service,

Department of Labor.

Chesley W. Bailey, representative, Veterans' Administration.

The public is invited to visit C. C. C. camps.

# THE C. C. C .- A YOUNG MAN'S OPPORTUNITY

To work on jobs which will better equip him to find permanent,

useful, and gainful employment.

When hiring new employees, industry, agriculture, and business are looking for men with initiative who can carry out instructions in an alert and competent manner—men with a tested background of job experience.

of job experience.

To meet these practical requirements of the business world is the goal of the educational and job-training program of the C. C. C.

The training and work of the enrollee is carefully supervised by expert technicians, but every encouragement is given to initiative and leadership. Promotions of men showing themselves most capable in these qualities are authorized in every camp.

C. C. C. camps offer more than 150 different types of work. And although no man can be guaranteed that he will be sent to a camp where he can obtain a particular type of work experience, every

where he can obtain a particular type of work experience, every camp offers valuable training in the doing of a variety of tasks.

The increasing demand by the business world for C. C. C. trained men is conclusive proof that enrollees are more competent because of camp work and training.

To live in the healthy out-of-doors with a well-equipped camp

To live in the healthy out-of-doors with a well-equipped camp as a home.

The C. C. cenrollee is given plenty of good, wholesome food. In the winter he is provided with ample blankets and warm clothing. His health is carefully protected. The services of a graduate physician are available to each camp. It is the duty of this physician to look after the physical condition of the enrollee and the sanitary conditions of the camp. The enrollee works in the open under trained supervisors; and 5 years' experience has proved that the physical condition of enrollees, in general, is considerably improved by the wholesome, active life in C. C. camps. He has, in addition, ample leisure in which, within certain restrictions, he may amuse himself or enter into the planned recreational and educational activities offered him under trained recreational and educational activities offered him under trained guidance.

guidance.

In camp he is in constant association with nearly 200 other young men. This offers him the opportunity to make new friends, to discover new interests, to train his own aptitudes, and to develop the qualities of leadership.

The enrollee is required to meet such regulations as are essential to the orderly functioning of the camp as a whole and the efficient accomplishment of the work engaged in.

Enrollees work 8 hours a day, 5 days a week (except in emergencies)

gencies).

Enrollees receive \$30 per month, minimum cash allowance.
Some of the jobs in which C. C. C. enrollees receive instruction include: Auto mechanics, bridge construction, bulldozer operation, cabin construction, carpentry, concrete construction, Diesel-engine operation, drafting, jackhammer operation, landscaping, large-scale cooking, logging, office work, road and trail construction, road-grader operation, sawmill operation, sign painting and sign making, small-dam construction, steam-shovel operation, stone masonry, surveying, telephone-line construction, tool sharpening, tractor operation, tree-nursery work, truck driving, welding, wildlife management. agement.

To learn in the great outdoors-how to work, how to live, and

how to get ahead.

Millions of acres of forests and parks and farm lands widely distributed throughout the Nation furnish the laboratory in which C. C. C. enrollees gain practical experience and training.

In the conservation of the natural resources of this vast area,

the enrollee learns skill, under the mature leadership of trained technicians, which develop his abilities, broaden his interests, and

prepare him for useful citizenship.

Living in a 200-man camp, following a daily schedule of camp life, he learns through self-imposed discipline to respect the rights of others, to be tolerant and cooperative, and discovers the

importance of regular habits, orderliness, neatness, and the value of

In his leisure he is offered academic instruction from elementary through college grades. He is given additional off-the-job instruction along the lines of work used in the conservation program in which he is engaged. He is offered vocational training—and sup-plementary reading courses. All camps have separate school buildings and workshops.

All camps have libraries, Planned athletic and recreational programs are part of all camp schedules

To build his self-respect, his mind, and his body, so that he will be better equipped to seize opportunities and to make his way in

All this is possible because his Government, striving to make him self-reliant and independent, offers him employment with remuneration for the work he accomplishes in the conservation of the

neration for the work he accomplishes in the conservation of the Nation's natural resources.

Eagerly grasping the opportunity thus offered, the C. C. c. enrollee has built forest-fire protection systems and planted vast forests for the future. He has built roads and trails, dams and terraces. He has made or developed parks that give recreation to millions. He has helped check erosion and demonstrated proper land uses. He has created lakes and ponds, stocked them with fish, and planted refuges for the fast-diminishing wildlife of the country. country.

He has made the Nation conscious of the need for conservation

and proved the benefits to be derived from it.

He himself has learned the true meaning of conservation— -for the enrollee sends home a part of his earnings each month, often in this way affording the major protection his family has against need.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, according to my understanding, there are approximately 1,500 C. C. C. camps in the United States. I may add that since the creation of this organization as a result of the suggestion of our very able President in April of 1933, the records show that more than 2,000,000 young men have been provided with the opportunity of helping their dependents and of doing sundry work in various sections of the United States, which has proved extremely beneficial. Particularly in view of the fact that there is a movement on foot for the continuation of the C. C. C. organizations, I hope that the bill which I have introduced will have favorable consideration. I call attention to the fact that yesterday our colleague, the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. Thomas], introduced a bill providing for the continuation of the C. C. C. organizations.

I ask that my bill be referred to the appropriate committee, which I assume to be the Committee on Military Affairs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NEELY in the chair). The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1182) to provide for military instruction and training for members of the Civilian Conservation Corps was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

# AMENDMENT TO FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. WALSH submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to House bill 2868, the first deficiency appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed, as follows:

At the proper place, under the heading "Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine," insert the following:
"Dutch elm disease eradication: For determining and applying methods of eradication, control, and prevention of spread of the disease of elm trees known as Dutch elm disease, subject to the limitations specified under this head in the Agricultural Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1939, \$200,000, to be immediately available and remain available until June 30, 1940."

# ADDRESSES BY SENATOR GREEN IN SOUTH AMERICA

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, the distinguished junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN], a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, visited various South American countries last year. He was received with every courtesy in South America and was accorded receptions by the Senates of Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. To the Chilean Senate he delivered an admirable address, which was responded to very ably by the President of the Senate of the great state of Chile. The Senator from Rhode Island likewise addressed the Senate of Uruguay, in response to the greeting of the President of that distinguished body. I ask unanimous consent that the addresses referred to, together with

other matters incidental to those meetings, be incorporated in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

# [Translation]

Source: Official Journal of the Senate of Chile, Wednesday, August 3, 1938, page 1374.

RECEPTION OF THE AMERICAN SENATOR, THE HONORABLE MR. GREEN

Mr. Portales (President). You allow me, Mr. Senator? Mr. Green has expressed a desire to have the floor to thank the senate for its greeting.
Your Honor shall have the floor.

I request the consent of the chamber to give the floor to the honorable Senator.

Agreed.

The Honorable Mr. Green has the floor.
The following appears in the Journal in both Spanish and English. The following is the English version:
"The Honorable Theodore Green. I feel sure that if my colleagues in the Senate of the United States of America had known that I would be granted this exceptional privilege of arising here that I would be granted this exceptional privilege of arising here in the Senate of the Republic of Chile to address you, they would have authorized me to bring from the Senators of the United States of America their most cordial greetings to you, the senators

of Chile.

"There is a constantly increasing current of good will and friendship toward the peoples of South America. It is not only the feeling of the Senators of the Congress in general or of the present administration; it is the feeling of the whole people of

United States of America.

the United States of America.

"We realize increasingly that our interests in North America and your interests in South America are largely the same. Furthermore, the turbulent world conditions have impressed upon us the necessity of republics like those existing in South and North America guarding together their common interests.

"We are separated from the rest of the world by two great oceans and are joined together by an isthmus and by links of friendship and sympathy. I am not thinking of business relations only, but also of cultural relations. A few days ago there was established in our Department of State a new division of cultural relations, which may prove rich in results.

was established in our Department of State a new division of cultural relations, which may prove rich in results.

"I know that we have much to learn from you, and think that we have something to give you in return.

"This morning, on a complimentary visit that I paid to the President of Chile, my attention was drawn to the International Labor Conference of 1919, in Washington, where certain social reforms were laid down for all the nations. His Excellency drew my attention to the fact, which I think should be widely known, that Chile has had them all enacted into law. Chile, I believe, is the only nation that has done so; so that the other nations, including ourselves, have much to learn from Chile in that respect.

"I think it is getting late to give you further illustrations, but I

"I think it is getting late to give you further illustrations, but I do hope that you will be convinced, as I am convinced, and as the other Senators of the United States are convinced, that the relations between North and South America should become more intimate and contribute to a more prosperous future for both.

"I thank you very much for the honor you have bestowed on me, which I esteem most highly."

(P. 1376.)

"Mr. PORTALES (President). On behalf of the Senate of the Republic, I thank the honorable Senator for the words of greeting and of American friendship which his honor has pronounced.

"The meeting is adjourned.
"(The meeting adjourned at 7: 18 p. m.")

# [Translation]

Source: Official Journal of the Senate of the Republic of Uruguay, Wednesday, August 24, 1938, page 319-B.

The following appeared in Spanish only:
"I have to inform the Senate that Senator Green, accompanied by the American Minister, is in the President's office.
"I place before the senate the question whether it would be appropriate to pass to an intermediate room to pay him our respects."

propriate to pass to an intermediate room to pay him our respects and whether I might be authorized afterward to invite him to enter the chamber for a few minutes.

"(Approvals.)
"If there is no comment, it shall be done so.

"If there is no comment, it shall be done so.
"The Senate passes to an intermediate room.
"(After their return to the chamber, Mr. Theodore F. Green, Senator of the United States of America, and Mr. William Dawson, Minister of the same country in Uruguay, enter.)
"The President. The meeting is reopened.
"Mr. Green, gentlemen, in the name of my colleagues of the Senate and in my own name, it gives me special pleasure to greet the eminent political personality of the great American Nation, Senator Green, who honors us with his presence.
"I greet him personally on his high merits, and I also greet in his person the noble body of which he is part, the Senate of the United States, of which one great publicist said that it was a senate of kings, and of which others have said—and we believe—that it is a true Roman senate by reason of the dignity and transcendency of its resolutions; a Senate of the enlightened tradition loved and venerated by all children of free countries and very particularly by us, the citizens of Uruguay. We cannot forget that from there,

from those high seats, powerful and eloquent voices were raised more than a century ago in behalf of the fathers of our history and of the efforts which we were then making for our incipient independ-

ence.

"The visit of illustrious Americans has always given us pleasure. We have the recent remembrance of the visit of the distinguished Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, whose declarations we heard with delight and have collected and preserved with devotion, and of the lofty statements of the great President of the United States, Mr. Roosevelt, whose two terms will be eponymic on the American continent and, in general, throughout the world. (Very good!)

"It is our desire that the visit of all the great visitors from the United States, and, at the moment, the visit of Senator Green, may leave in their minds calm pictures and favorable recollections of our country.

"We want him to know, to be convinced, that in Uruguay we love and admire the United States, our sister nation, because it is a nation of the American continent; that we have always believed that that Nation has a providential role in the life of the world; that it seems as if it might have formed part of, have been a portion of another planet, particularly in these our times, so mean, so disturbed, and upset by greed, violence, and passions of all kinds.

"(Very good!)
"We hope that these visits may continue, that they may become more frequent than they are, that they may serve as a tie, as a bond, constantly renewed, between the United States and our countries." bond, constantly renewed, between the United States and our country, the ties which unite us to the United States must be multiplied and strengthened, cultural and spiritual interchange must be increased, also—why not say it?—commercial interchange, which always precedes or follows spiritual interchange and which, in either event, gives it more body and substance.

"Now, on behalf of all my colleagues, I express the warmest wish that Senator Green may have the most prosperous and happiest of his voyers."

his voyages.

"(Very good! Very good! Applause.)
"Mr. Green. Mr. President, Senators:
"I deeply appreciate the great honor which you have bestowed upon me in receiving me here, in the precincts of this honorable and distinguished body.

upon me in receiving me here, in the precincts of this honorable and distinguished body.

"I feel very sure that if my colleagues of the American Senate had known that you would grant me the privilege of being received by the Senate of Uruguay, the American Senate would have unanimously sent a cordial greeting. That greeting would be, not only from the Senate of the United States of America, but from both Houses—that is, from the Congress—the greeting would also have been from the Government of the United States, presided over by Mr. Roosevelt, to whom the President of the Senate made reference in such cordial terms; and, what is still more important in a republic, the greeting of the entire people of the United States.

"(Very good! Applause in the chamber and in the galleries.)

"There is a constantly growing feeling in the United States that there should be closer relations between these countries. I do not refer only to commercial relations, which are, naturally, very important, but to cultural relations, which are even more important.

"The Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, whom you know and appreciate, shares this viewpoint. He wishes to cultivate commercial relations, but above all else he desires to cultivate and strengthen cultural relations.

strengthen cultural relations.

"A short time ago—within recent weeks—the Secretary of State created in the Department under his charge a division of cultural

created in the Department under his charge a division of cultural relations precisely for this purpose.

"For many years I have wished to visit these countries; unfortunately I had to postpone the journey, because of lack of time. When, a couple of months ago, I saw it might be possible for me to make the trip, my friends in Washington, among them the President himself, immediately approved the proposed trip.

"The President of the United States told me that I would get a great deal from the trip and talked to me of the extremely pleasant impressions which he himself retains of his visits to these countries, and, above all, of his visit to Uruguay. The President particularly mentioned the welcome accorded him in this charming and hospitable city of Montevideo.

"When I return to Washington it is going to be a very special pleasure to talk to the President of the cordiality with which I have been received.

have been received.

have been received.

"I am going to have a great deal of pleasure in telling my colleagues in the American Senate about my trip and I am going to recommend that they follow my example, for it is my belief and opinion that it is very important that many Members of the Senate come to these countries, not only to talk to you of what is done there but to learn what is done here.

"As regards the area of Uruguay, it is not one of the largest countries of the continent, but the greatness of a country does not deeped upon its area.

not depend upon its area.

"I am a representative of the smallest State of the United States, Rhode Island; that State, nevertheless, has had a very important influence upon the history of the United States of America. "The same may be said of Uruguay as regards the history of the

continent.

"I sincerely hope that my colleagues of the American Senate will

follow my example and come to visit you.
"In these days when there are everywhere wars or rumors of

war, it is essential that the republics of the two Americas unite; the ideal of democracy depends on us.

"It is precisely for this reason that I am very happy to do what I can to make closer the relations between the Republics of Uruguay and the United States of America.

"I thank you again for the high honor which you have bestowed upon me, an honor which will long remain in my memory. "I have finished.

"(Very good. Applause in the chamber and in the galleries.) "Senator Green and Mr. Dawson, Minister of the United States in Uruguay, withdraw from the chamber."

### EDITORIAL OPINION ON SILVER

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, with reference to the Townsend resolution on silver (S. J. Res. 1) and the Townsend bill (S. 785) for termination of silver purchases, and for other purposes, the following excerpts from newspaper editorials which have appeared in many widely separated parts of the country serve to reveal public displeasure with our present silver policy and indicate strong sympathy with the purpose of the resolution and bill just mentioned.

It is emphasized that the editorials here quoted have all appeared within the past 3 months. They are representative of editorial opinion concerning silver which goes back for a number of years. Were brief excerpts to be made from all such editorials criticizing the New Deal silver policy of recent years, such excerpts would fill a great many pages in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorials referred to may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

There being no objection, the matter was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The News, of Newport, R. I.:
"Probably one of the most important measures introduced in the new Congress is the resolution of Senator Townsend, of Delaware, calling for an investigation of the present silver program. \* \* \*

"This silver policy seems to have few friends today and, unless Washington reports are wrong, the limit of public and congressional patience concerning it seems to have been reached."

Macon Telegraph, of Macon, Ga.:

Macon Telegraph, of Macon, Ga.:

"Senator Townsend, of Delaware, has introduced a resolution in Congress calling for investigation of the Government's silver program. \* \* \* The whole thing is just a racket by which a subsidy of millions of dollars is paid to silver States for purely political purposes. \* \* \* A return to monetary sanity would be a valuable contribution to real prosperity."

The Daily News New York N. Y.

real prosperity."

The Daily News, New York, N. Y.:

"We do believe that the Secretary of the Treasury, or perhaps the President, owes the country an explanation of just what the silver policy is all about, and why."

United States Weekly News, Washington, D. C.:

"The agreement reached with Mexico for payments for American owned farm lands seized by that Government is viewed by about 55 percent of the press as a worthwhile solution. \* \* \* The general agreement is for payment of about a million dollars \* \* \* [out of] funds supplied by purchase of Mexican silver by the United States Treasury."

Philadelphia Inquirer, Philadelphia, Pa.:

silver by the United States Treasury."

Philadelphia Inquirer, Philadelphia, Pa.:

"The silver end of this crazy policy, inaugurated as a lure for the silver bloc of the States, is intolerable nonsense."

The Independent, Stockton, Calif.:

"\* \* \* Mexico will be collecting more than she pays, and in the end will own the land she has confiscated from us."

New York Times, New York, N. Y.:

"Not a single contention made in favor of this silver policy at time of its initiation has proved to be correct."

News-Herald, Victorville, Calif.:

"The Silver Purchase Act was originally intended to bolster up the mining industry in the silver-producing States, but these States have now reached the conclusion that the act serves mainly to fill the United States Treasury with foreign metal."

The News, Americus, Ga.:

"YANKEE TRADING IN REVERSE

# "YANKEE TRADING IN REVERSE

"\* \* \* So long as we donate \$6,000,000 a year in the form of silver purchases, Mexico will pay our nationals \$1,000,000 a year on their land brab (grab?) debt. \* \* \* The New Deal silver policy has been growing increasingly unpopular for some time \* \* \*." News-Herald, Joplin, Mo.:

"A good many economists are worried about our amazing program for purchase of monetary gold and silver."

gram for purchase of monetary gold and silver."

Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky.:

"The United States has borne with patience the openly antagonistic practices of its neighboring republic. In buying Mexican silver and a considerable percentage of Mexican exports it has returned good for evil."

From a Charlotte, N. C., editorial:

"Now, this silver is of no earthly use to us. We are surfeited with the stuff already. We have to go to the trouble of storing it and guarding it and taking inventories of it."

The Northwestern, Oshkosh, Wis.:

"It seems of little use to try to make head or tail out of this Government's present relations with Mexico. \* \* The regime responsible \* \* \* depends heavily upon certain American governmental policies to keep its power. Chief of these policies is our idiotic silver-buying program."

The Biddeford Daily Journal, Biddeford, Maine:

"It is bad enough for the money of taxpayers to be used in the accumulation of a metal of which this country has no need.

\* \* \* And there is great curiosity as to how much longer the Mexican Government's communistic force \* \* \* will be supported by American taxpayers."
The Middletown Press, Middletown, Conn.:

"One of the astounding procedures of the present administration is the way it distributes Federal cash in all directions, without apparent warrant. \* \* Another unsound cash distribution is associated with silver, and again a higher price is paid for it than is found in the daily market."

is found in the daily market."

New York Sun, New York, N. Y.:

"If economic considerations any longer held good, the early repeal of the Silver Purchase Act would be a certainty. Had legislation ever been governed solely on sound economic grounds, the act would not have been passed in the first place. Actual odds on the retention or repeal of the act depend upon how far Congress is willing to go in its coming battle with the administration. It may be taken for granted that the President will not favor repeal unless he is promised some compensatory political advantage. In their yearly silver review, the well-known firm of Handy & Harman set out again some of the absurdities and the enormous cost of the silver program. The cost will soon reach a billion, that huge total having been arrived at through the easy process of 'just a few millions' a year." millions' a year."

News Bureau, Boston, Mass.:

"It might be only poetic justice if the flow of silver which we nonsensically buy from Mexico—only to bury it—were thus slackened a while."

Herald Tribune, New York, N. Y.:

Herald Tribune, New York, N. Y.:

"The original justification for the program, as set forth by the President himself, was that it would 'assist in increasing and stabilizing domestic prices, augment the purchasing power in silver-using countries, and protect our foreign commerce against depreciating currencies." These arguments have subsequently been so thoroughly discredited, not only by arguments but by events, that no one would dare to advance them seriously today."

Journal-World, Lawrence, Kans.:

"As the [Mexican] expropriation began 20 years ago, some of the owners will have waited 30 years for their money if the agreement is kept. Contrasted with that slow pay is the silver-purchase policy of the United States Government under which the Government is using the money of the American taxpayer to purchase Mexican silver at an arbitrary and artificially high price."

Wall Street Journal, New York, N. Y.:

Wall Street Journal, New York, N. Y .:

"The cost to the country of our silver stocks up to the end of last year is estimated at approximately \$1,000,000,000, of which about \$820,000,000 was paid for foreign silver and \$180,000,000 domestically produced. \* \* \* "

Daily Tribune, Chicago, Ill.:

"The United States silver-buying policy, one of the strange idiocies of the New Deal, has been continued to help out the Mexican Government in its distress, in spite of the unfriendliness of the dominant Mexican political class."

Union, Belle Plaine, Iowa:
"They said that the Silver Purchase Act had a political angle to aid the New Deal—but even some of the silver States didn't shine so brightly in the New Deal galaxy last November."

Philadelphia Inquirer, Philadelphia, Pa.:

Philadelphia Inquirer, Philadelphia, Pa.:

"What actually happened was that our silver purchases in Mexico jumped from \$48,000,000 in the first 8 months of 1937 to \$70,000,000 in the corresponding period of this year. This gain not only made it possible for Mexico to live in the style to which it has become accustomed since our Treasury's silver-buying began, but bridged the gap brought about by the reduction in oil exports during the oil-land expropriation—or should it be confiscation?—

New York Sun, New York, N. Y.:

"Unemployment would tend to decline rather than increase were the silver bonus abolished entirely, and the silver mine owners have taken too much out of taxpayers' pockets already."

Daily Local News, Mechanicsburg, Pa.:

"Mexico is being built up on silver purchases."

New York Sun, New York, N. Y.:

"It the administration would like to see the markets given a

New York Sun, New York, N. Y.:

"If the administration would like to see the markets given a good fillip just now, it could help the matter along by backing the Townsend bill to repeal the Silver Purchase Act. Repeal of that economic monstrosity would be mighty good proof that the election had affected the climate and that the breezes were beginning to blow from common-sense quarters. Stoppage of the silver nonsense could by no stretch of the imagination work any deflationary influence on anything or anybody, except a handful of western silver mine operators. It would save the taxpayers a lot of money and prepare the way for real work in the restoration of confidence, without which no amount of inflationary hocuspocus ever will bring back prosperity."

The Telegram, Clarksburg, W. Va.:

"We have heard a great deal during the last few months about the bogging down of certain features of the New Deal. \* \*

"Along this general line of New Deal accomplishments, we might mention our silver program. The President has announced that he will continue the purchase of silver, with the taxpayers money, for another 6 months, at a price which is nearly twice as high as he will continue the purchase of silver, with the taxpayers' money, for another 6 months, at a price which is nearly twice as high as the world price. Somebody here might take a look at the record. When the silver purchasing program was started it was said that by paying nearly twice the world price for silver we would increase the world price of the metal, raise the value of commodities, and help the silver standard nations, such as China and Mexico. Well, we have spent more than a billion dollars buying silver here and abroad for nearly twice what it is worth. The world price of silver has advanced little, if any, the price of commodities is no higher now than 4 years ago—not so high if we measure the present value of the dollar in terms of gold—and we have not helped China extent to drive her off the silver standard. As for Mexico—well, whether we have helped her or not she is helping herself—to the property of American citizens in that country by taking it without paying for it. But we are to go on for another 6 months buying Mexico's silver for more than it is worth to show our appreciation."

Wall Street Journal, New York, N. Y.:

"It is impossible to adduce a single good reason for raising the price of silver. It never was and is not today anything other than a plain subsidy to a special group. \* \* \*

"Between \$770,000,000 and \$780,000,000 of the public's money is sunk in that mountain which aggregates already 10 times the world's production in 1937 and one-seventh of all the silver produced since the discovery of America. How much longer are we going to tax our people to add to it?"

The Gazette, Point Pleasant, W. Va.:

"Since the New Deal, millions of dollars have been poured into Mexico as a result of our lifting the price of silver far above the price on the world market when we started that made adventure to 'do something for silver.'"

The New York Daily Mirror, New York, N. Y.:

"America is the heaveling merition of the Mexico to the Mexico to the more than the merition of the merition of the mer

The New York Daily Mirror, New York, N. Y.:

"America is in the peculiar position of subsidizing the Mexican Government by buying silver from Mexico at artificially high

Government by buying silver from Mexico at artificially nigh prices."

Philadelphia Bulletin, Philadelphia, Pa.:

"It is the same with most subsidies. Begun with pleas of emergency or lofty aims, they fasten themselves permanently on the Treasury after the reasons have vanished. Silver as a general price restorer has been found useless, but its subsidization is still comfortable for the pockets of its producers."

The Mercury Herald, San Jose, Calif.:

"Mexico's idea of the 'good-neighbor policy' is confiscating American oil property, and using the proceeds to destroy American trade by accepting Nazi goods in payment. \* \* It sells to the United States around \$50,000,000 a year of silver. \* \* We have no use for the silver."

New York Times, New York, N. Y.:

"No matter how camouflaged, the Government's silver program is obviously a pure subsidy to the seven Western silver States or rather to their mining companies. The administration has been an unwilling servant of these States, unable to withstand the united political pressure of one-seventh of the Nation's Senators. Now, pressure is being exerted to raise the silver price again."

Chester Times, Chester, Pa.:

"In October, Secretary Morgenthau announced that he opposed ending the subsidy to silver as long as other groups in the national economy were being subsidized."

New York Sun. New York, N. Y.:

ending the subsidy to silver as long as other groups in the national economy were being subsidized."

New York Sun, New York, N. Y.:

"American manufacturers who pay taxes at home will receive no benefit from Mexico's purchase of foreign goods, and all American taxpayers will have to put up the heavy bonus now being paid as a premium over the natural world price for silver in addition to the money required to buy the stuff at all."

News Press, Fort Meyers, Fla.:

"Barred from selling goods to the Chinese, we are going to lend

loan is to be repaid in silver, for which our Government pays more than it is worth. \* \* \*"

New York Sun, New York, N. Y.:

"A rough, working outline of a speech which would do that business would start out with an assurance that the Government would quit tinkering with its money; would stabilize the dollar, say, at its present gold value and make it convertible into gold; would abandon its silver-buying policy and repeal the Silver Purchase Act; would call upon the soundest minds in the country for help in framing a practical program for balancing the Budget."

Jacksonville Herald, Jacksonville, Fla:

"From Universal, the most important and widely circulated news-

"From Universal, the most important and widely circulated newspaper in Mexico, comes the statement that increased silver purchases by the United States during the first 8 months in 1938 not only supplied relief to the harassed Mexican Government but enabled the Cardenas administration to carry out its policy of expropriation."

tion. \* \* \*
"But how can the United States protect the property of its nationals in foreign lands if it gives direct aid to governments which harass American-owned interests?"

Herald Tribune, New York, N. Y.:

"\* \* How vain was the hope that other countries could be a place to silver in their monetary programs persuaded to give a place to silver in their monetary programs

The Camden Post, Camden, N. J.:

\*\* \* This latter goal is still distant, not because the silver purchases have not been made but because the gold stock is steadily increasing."

Globe-Gazette, Mason, Iowa:

"New York Journal of Commerce, New York, N. Y.:
"It is high time that this folly were stopped and that the world silver industry were permitted to work out its own salvation without silver industry were permitted to work out its own salvation without the useless purchase of hundreds of millions of ounces annually by the United States Treasury. This would be good, not only for the country but, in the long run, for the silver market as well. The present situation obviously cannot continue indefinitely."

The Washington Times, Washington, D. C.:

"The more we try to figure out the silver policy of the United States Government the more bewildered we get. \* \* \*

"\* \* For one, our generosity in buying silver at higher than world prices has induced all the former silver-standard countries to ship us all the silver they can and go on a managed-money basis themselves. \* \*

themselves. \* \*

"The most astounding effects of the Silver Purchase Act have been its Mexican repercussions. By buying Mexico's silver output at higher than world prices we are supporting the economic framework, such as it is, of Mexico \* \* \*."

work, such as it is, of Mexico
The Star-Eagle, Newark, N. J.:
"Uncle Sap \* \* \* the New Deal's whole silver policy has
proved faulty. \* \* The results have been tragically different. \* \* \* Uncle Sam has continued to be Uncle Sap as a purchaser of foreign silver. \* \* \* Uncle Sam cannot afford to keep

ent. \* \* \* Uncle Sam has continued to be Uncle Sap as a purchaser of foreign silver. \* \* \* Uncle Sam cannot afford to keep on being Uncle Sap."

New York Sun, New York, N. Y.:

"\* \* There are many other ways of using money to greater advantage politically than by throwing it away to a handful of men in Nevada, Utah, Idaho, and Colorado. As for employment, something which Senator Pittman likes to talk about (but not with any idea he is fooling anyone worth while fooling), that isn't any idea he is fooling anyone worth while fooling), that isn't affected one way or another, as virtually all the silver is produced as a by-product of copper, lead, and other base mineral output. Activity in base metal mines is not increased or diminished by the price of silver."

price of silver."

American, Austin, Tex.:

"\* \* \* Loss of markets as well as investments in Mexico—
a shabby return indeed for American economic help given Mexico
in the form of pegged prices for silver."

New York Journal of Commerce, New York, N. Y.:

"The whole silver-buying program was conceived in folly and
carried out with primary attention to the political considerations
involved. The sooner it is abandoned the better. Regardless of
what is done with regard to the domestic buying price for next year,
however, purchases of unneeded silver abroad, to add to the already
huge monetary stocks of the white metal, would serve no conceivable purpose. Foreign silver buying should be ended without
further delay."

News-Tribune, Waltham, Mass.:

"The surplus silver, which has already cost us more than a billion
dollars, is no use to anybody, anywhere or at any time \* \* \*."

dollars, is no use to anybody, anywhere or at any time \* \* \*."

The Camden Press, Camden, N. J.:

"\* \* The United States Government owns over 2,250,000,000 ounces of silver.

"Most of this silver comes from outside of our country. Our mints, Treasury vaults, and other places of safety cannot find room

"So there is a hole in the ground at West Point. That hole is lined with steel and concrete. The mammoth "box" cost over \$500,000. Inside there is interred thousands of tons of silver for which the transportation alone amounts to about \$150,000. The United States Government is in a hole, and Mexico did it. The

which the transportation alone amounts to about \$150,000. The United States Government is in a hole, and Mexico did it. The surplus silver is in the West Point hole in the ground."

Wall Street Journal, New York, N. Y.:

"\* \* \* every ounce of silver which is not bought from now on saves that much to the taxpayers \* \* \* everything the silver bloc urges in favor of terminating the purchase of foreign silver applies with equal force to the purchase of domestic silver, even were there no question of bonus in the price."

Washington Herald, Washington, D. C.:

"\* \* \* Cardenas keeps his chin above water. He is able to do that mainly because of the help he has been getting from the United States through its policy of buying Mexican silver in job lots at far more than the world free-silver price."

New York Times, New York, N. Y.:

"\* \* In 4½ years, in other words, the Government has bought an amount of silver 50 times as great as our annual national production of the metal in the years just preceding the program. We have spent the huge sum of more than \$1,000,000,000, and all to satisfy a handful of Senators from the silver-producing States and to support the price of a commodity the value of the total annual output of which normally equals about one-twentieth of 1 percent of our national production."

Washington Herald, Washington, D. C.:

"\* \* Silver has come and is coming in increasing volume from all quarters of the globe. Our bounties have been bestowed upon the just and the unjust, upon friendly nations, and upon those for which we have no affection \* \* \*.

"\* \* The objectives of the framers of the silver legislation appear to be as remote from attainment as ever. Instead of restoring the monetary receives of silver we have no wheel Chine of the story we have no well as the proper we have the Chine of the story we have the chine of the story we have no wheel Chine of the story.

"\* " The objectives of the framers of the silver legislation appear to be as remote from attainment as ever. Instead of restoring the monetary prestige of silver, we have pushed China off the silver standard and caused other silver-using countries to dump coins and hoarded metal in great quantities into the United States to be buried in Government vaults. The goal of silver valued at \$1.29 per ounce is no nearer than it was when we started to boost world silver prices. Yet even at present levels prices are

held up by the abnormal buying demands created by our misguided

The Greensboro News, Greensboro, N. C.:

"\* \* This country has subsidized Mexico by taking its silver, it has submitted to heavy tariff exactions, it has met expropriation of the property of its own and other nationals with propriation of the property of its own and other nationals with patient requests for conferences, it has accepted grudging and unsubstantial promises of repayment mañana, it has sought in every way to cooperate \* \* \*."

The Wilson Times, Wilson, N. C.:

"The projected fight for the repeal of Silver Purchase Act of 1934 may be defeated on the national defense plea. Treasury authorities predict that this will constitute the basis of the administration

defense of the act."

Forbes, New York, N. Y.:

"It is one thing to pay out of the Federal Treasury a bonus of 50 percent to domestic silver producers—although the wisdom of this isn't clear to the ordinary mind. It is an entirely different thing to lavish bounties on recalcitrant, defiant, property-confiscents." cating Mexicans

"This is something the new Congress should stop."

Bristol Press, Bristol, Conn.:

"\* \* The United States Treasury is financing the Mexican
Government's remuneration of American farmers whose lands it has seized."

Mall Street Journal, New York, N. Y.:
"Not by way of mandating Congress, but only to let the Members know what the folks back home are thinking, it is permissible to discuss rough outlines for a program for the ensuing session.

"Treasury silver purchases should cease altogether. If we must

"Treasury silver purchases should cease altogether. If we must subsidize mine owners, let us enrich only our own."

State Journal, Lansing, Mich.:

"Again, why should the United States continue a subsidy to Mexico? This Nation is to continue its silver-purchase policy. The why of the law to purchase silver far above its market price is one of those conumdrums of the Roosevelt policy never explained. Perhaps the thought was subsidy to the owners of silver mines in the Western States."

The New York Daily Mirror, New York, N. Y.:

"\* \* Since we buy about \$50,000,000 of silver from Mexico a year, our taxpayers are thus 'kicking in' about \$6,000,000 a year to support the same Mexican Government that is taking over American property. Does that make sense?

"What we need is a definition of pan-Americanism that applies to both sides of the Rio Grande."

The Journal, Baliston Spa, N. Y.

"\* \* Our silver purchases in Mexico jumped from \$48,000,-000 in the first 8 months of 1937 to \$70,000,000 in the corresponding period of this year."

The Philadelphia Inquirer, Philadelphia, Pa.:

"The danger is as plain as the duty of the United States to stop paying tribute to Mexico through the senseless silver buying which is fattening the pockets of her people at the useless expense of our own. Not as a course of reprisal but as a matter of self-protection and plain common sense this cockeyed policy should be abandoned without delay."

New York Sun, New York, N. Y.:

and plain common sense this cockeyed policy should be abandoned without delay."

New York Sun, New York, N. Y.:

"If economic considerations any longer held good, the early repeal of the Silver Purchase Act would be a certainty. Had legislation ever been governed solely on sound economic grounds, the act would not have been passed in the first place. Actual odds on the retention or repeal of the act depend upon how far Congress is willing to go in its coming battle with the administration. It may be taken for granted that the President will not favor repeal, unless he is promised some compensatory political advantage. \* \* \*"

The Hereld Weston, Ohio:

peal, unless he is promised some compensatory political advantage. \* \* \*"

The Herald, Weston, Ohio:

"The old American 'cart wheel' became too heavy to carry 'round, but it is even more impossible for Uncle Sam to lift the 'monetary value' of silver. \* \* \*

"Only 13 percent of the total purchases of the United States Treasury since 1934 has been the product of mines in the United States."

States."

The Chicago Tribune, Chicago, Ill:

"\* \* While all this has been going on our Treasury has continued to buy silver from Mexico for more than it is worth."

The Enterprise, Virginia, Minn.:

"Mexico has forfeited her right to much sympathy in the United States, yet the Washington Government continues to buy her silver at prices way above the world competitions."

The Moline Dispatch, Moline, Ill.:

"United States taxpayers in general are bearing the burdens of the silver-buying mania. \* \* \*"

The Davton Herald, Davton, Ohio:

The Dayton Herald, Dayton, Ohio:

"As everyone but certain members of the congressional silver bloc knows, the white metal is not accepted for monetary use except as subsidiary coins, made valuable by Government fiat. The silver Senators, of course, would like to see these purchases continue simply to maintain the pretense of use of silver for monetary purposes." tary purposes

The Lyons Republican Clyde Times, Lyons, N. Y.:
"Uncle Sam has used billions of dollars' worth of the American
taxpayers' money to purchase billions of dollars' worth of Mexico's silver.

The Advocate, Stamford, Conn.:
"One of the most flagrant instances of special benefits to special groups is found in our subsidy to the American producers of

silver. \* \* Mr. Morgenthau is enough of a businessman to realize the absurdity of our silver policy and in private conversation apparently had said so. \* \* \* We need leaders in Washington who are willing to face the ire of the silver bloc and who

are willing to take steps to put an end to the subsidy to the producers of mined silver."

The Greenville News, Greenville, S. C.:
"The only obvious source of the necessary revenue—of the Mexican Government—is said to be silver sales to the United States Treasury \* \* \*."

Treasury \* \* \*."

New York Times, New York, N. Y.:

"Senator Townsend, of Delaware, has introduced a bill which would revoke the President's authority to revalue silver and to continue purchases of that metal. An excellent case can be made for its adoption \* \*."

Towns Iowa:

The News-Republican, Boone, Iowa:

"\* \* And at the same time the United States goes right on buying Mexican silver at an artificial price. Justice and good sense would argue that we could at least shut off buying silver from Mexico."

from Mexico."

The Bridgeton News, Bridgeton, N. J.:

"There have been frequent demands of late for the repeal of the existing Silver Purchase Act. The principal criticism is directed against methods by which the administration purchases foreign silver to help foreign nations. These purchases were mostly authorized by emergency legislation that preceded the enactment of the Silver Purchase Act, but operations are all tied in under our Government's program. The taxpayers' money has been invested to the extent of perhaps a billion dollars in sustaining the purchase of silver. China has been favored under the theory that if we help her by buying her silver that she would buy more American goods. But the futility of this plan is found in the fact that China has gone off the silver standard. Another optimistic scheme of ours was to stabilize the Mexican peso, but the peso sank to new lows. Mexico has showed ingratitude and thumbed her nose at Uncle Sam while committing depredations upon Ameriher nose at Uncle Sam while committing depredations upon Americans and their property in Mexico. \* \* ""

The Springfield Republican, Springfield, Mass.:

"\* \* Not a single objective of the silver-purchase program has been attained, or even approached. Commodity prices have not been raised; they were higher to only a slight extent at the end of 1938 than they were 4 years before.

"And while it was expected to rehabilitate silver as a monetary metal, the facts are that silver has been widely demonetized \* \* \*."

The Greenfield Argus, Greenfield, Ill.:

The Greenfield Argus, Greenfield, III.:

"A good-neighbor policy is expensive to Uncle Sam, but rich gravy to Mexico. \* \* \* Good Neighbor Uncle Sam loses money on his silver and loses money on his wheat—to Bad Neighbor Mexico, whose present Government plays the old-fashioned game of 'heads I win and tails you lose.'"

The Berkeley Gazette, Berkeley, Calif.:

[Reprinted from Chicago Daily News]

"Nothing is said of how Mexico is to raise the money to pay even for the properties affected by this agreement. But unless there is an arrangement whereby Uncle Sam can toss large amounts of good American dollars across the Rio Grande, in exchange for unneeded Mexican silver, what can that country use as money to make the payments on the expropriations? \* \* \*"

as money to make the payments on the expropriations? \* \* \*"

The Red Wing Eagle, Red Wing, Minn.:

"\* \* Obviously Mexico is whipping the devil about the bush in using the profits obtained from silver purchases by the American Government to pay owners of farm lands. The Mexican Government says it 'has no money.' If that is over a half truth the only way settlement ever can be made for several hundred million dollars' worth of American, British, and Dutch oil properties seized by Mexico would be by compelling Mexico to return the properties to their lawful owners."

The Sentinel-Tribune, Bowling Green, Ohio:

"\* \* Mexico levies a 12-percent tax on exports and so collects about \$6,000,000 a year on the silver its citizens sell to the United States. \* \* "

The Miami Beach Times, Miami Beach, Fla.:

United States. \* \* \*"

The Miami Beach Times, Miami Beach, Fla.:

"The United States produces less than half as much silver as Mexico, which has made the United States Treasury its dumping ground. American mine owners pay Mexico an export tax amounting to \$12 on every \$100 worth of silver that is shipped into the United States, and on top of that the United States pays Mexico the regular world price. Thus the United States gets it in the neck going and coming."

The Versailles Policy, Versailles, Ohio:

"\* \* Mexican profits on the silver deals perhaps explains the professed desire contained in a recent note to our own State Department 'to settle the difficulties which may arise between the two Governments in a spirit of friendship and equity.'"

The Journal-Courier, New Haven, Conn.:

"After all, the United States Government has been supporting Senor Cardenas for years by the silver purchase policy. Mr. Morgenthau thoughtfully increased those purchases in the later stages of the expropriation drive, as Mexico found the economic sledding more and more difficult."

The Chicago Tribune, Chicago, Ill.:

The Chicago Tribune, Chicago, Ill.:

"\* \* Our Treasury has continued to buy silver from Mexico for more than it is worth."

The Morning Forum, Fargo, N. Dak.:

"\* \* Mexico is being aided in doing these things through
the misguided silver purchase policy of the United States."

The Evening Forum, Fargo, N. Dak.:

"The Sviling Forum, Fargo, N. Dak.:
"The silver-buying program has been a farce and a costly one."
The Anaheim Bulletin, Anaheim, Calif.:
"While we keep the Mexican miner busy producing silver which we do not need the Mexican Government has confiscated millions of dollars of American property. \* \* \* of dollars of American property. \* \* \*
"And the silver mines themselves are awaiting expropriation. \* \* \* \*

"And the silver mines themselves are awaiting expropriation. \* \* \* \* \*
"Will we then pay a premium upon the silver mined from properties stolen from our own people?"

Morning Journal Transcript, Peoria, Ill.:
"This system is excellent for Mexico. That country continues to get our money for low-grade ore on the theory that we are thus saving our own silver-mining industry. Ultimately our goal is to have one-third the silver we now have gold. But we also keep on buying gold, so "that the end is nowhere in sight. Then after we get the silver—at an artificial price—the Mexico Government turns around and gives us some of our money back while selling oil from around and gives us some of our money back while selling oil from the expropriated properties to Fascist Italy for military and aviation purposes."

purposes."
The Standard-Times, New Bedford, Mass.:
"That the United States aided Mexico in its expropriation of American oil properties is an assertion made by the most important and influential of Mexican newspapers, Universal. \* \* \* "In other words, Mexico wants us to go on buying her silver and gold so that she can weather the financial crisis resulting from her seizure, without compensation, of American-owned oil properties, which is stretching the good regisher principle pretty for "

seizure, without compensation, or American-owned oil properties, which is stretching the good-neighbor principle pretty far."

The Wilmington Star, Wilmington, N. C.:

"Why wouldn't it be simple good sense to apply the half million on the land claims and let Mexico keep her silver? Better still, why wouldn't it be positively astute to cease buying silver altogether and keep our good moner?" and keep our own good money?"
The Post-Democrat, Muncie, Ind.:

The Post-Democrat, Muncie, Ind.:

"Mexico is being built up on silver purchases. Meanwhile she is using American oils that she confiscated last March in bartering with Germany; she is playing fast and loose in commerce and political sympathies with Communists and Nazis and cultivating trade and friendly relations with Japan."

The News-Republican, Boone, Iowa:

"It is high time to examine this subsidizing of the silver interests. Why should the United States Treasury continue paying a high price for silver when it has millions of ounces stored away for which it has no use, and which have a depressing influence on silver prices? The whole silver policy has been a mystery from its start to the present. It was never practical. Obviously the only reason for following it was the President's desire to curry favor with the silver States." silver States

silver States."

The Milwaukie Review, Milwaukie, Oreg.:

"\* \* Meanwhile Good Neighbor Uncle Sam continues to support the Mexican Government by purchasing Mexican silver at a special high price on the theory that this generosity creates a friendly feeling there for American trade."

Boston News Bureau, Boston, Mass.:

"The domestic price is now assured for all silver produced in this country up to June 31 (?), 1939. But there is another specter. Senator Townsenp offers his bill to cancel immediately all administration powers to buy silver and to issue silver certificates with istration powers to buy silver and to issue silver certificates, with an embargo on silver imports to protect the home market for silver now held. This may mean much more contention all along the line. The silverites face another fight. Even the salvage

might yet be dubious."

Austin Times, Austin (?):

"By the purchase of Mexican silver at considerably above the world price the United States has kept the Cardenas regime going, the tax on silver being the principal source of the country's revenue."

The Morning Record, Troy, N. Y.:

"AN IDIOTIC POLICY

"If anything further were needed to prove the idiocy of the The anything further were needed to prove the idlocy of the United States Government's silver-buying policy, it is provided by the frank admission from Mexican sources that Washington's silver purchase plan has kept really hard times from knocking down Mexico's door and also, of all things, enabling the Mexican Government to go on expropriating American oil company property.'

property."

Detroit Free Press, Detroit, Mich.:

"The Silver Purchase Act has been extended for another 6 months, which means that for another 6 months the United States will subsidize the Cardenas government by buying Mexican silver, while Cardenas goes merrily on confiscating American properties in Mexica." in Mexico.'

The San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco, Calif .:

The San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco, Calif.:

"Mexico is counting heavily on United States silver purchases."

Herald Tribune, New York, N. Y.:

"The Government's silver policy has been expensive to taxpayers and its chief benefits have accrued to silver interests in foreign countries, notably Mexico. Inevitably, of course, it would be impossible for even this Government to sustain artificial prices for the metal, prices which have discouraged its use in the arts and caused the accumulation of enormous stocks through substitution in industry of other materials less suitable perhaps, but cheaper."

Eau Claire Telegram, Eau Claire, Wis.: "Our Government is aiding Mexico in a great way, buying its silver at prices above those of the world markets and storing it in the big vaults at West Point. \* \* "Few other countries are buying silver in quantities."

THE NATIONAL HEALTH BILL-ADDRESS BY SENATOR WAGNER

[Mr. Mean asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a radio address delivered by Senator Wagner during the National Radio Forum January 30, 1939, on the subject of the national health bill, which appears in the Appendix.]

PROPOSED COUNCIL OF INDUSTRIAL ALCOHOL USERS—ADDRESS BY JAMES P. M'GOVERN

[Mr. Mean asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by Capt. James P. McGovern, general counsel of the Industrial Alcohol Institute, Inc., at the Chemists' Club, New York City, January 24, 1939, on the subject of a proposed Council of Industrial Alcohol Users, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE 1940 OUTLOOK-ARTICLE BY REPRESENTATIVE PLUMLEY

[Mr. Tobey asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article from the United States News of January 30, 1939, by Representative PLUMLEY, of Vermont, on the subject of the 1940 outlook, which appears in the Appendix.]

AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO REPORT DURING RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees may be authorized during the recess or adjournment of the Senate to make reports on bills and nominations.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for the suggestion that he ask unanimous consent that the President of the Senate be authorized to sign any bills or joint resolutions ready for his signature during the adjournment of the Senate? It may be that the relief measure will be ready.

Mr. BARKLEY. I include in my request the request that the President of the Senate be authorized to sign any bills or joint resolutions ready for his signature during the adjournment of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kentucky? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

WORK OF THE SESSION-ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, there being no further business for today, and no business on the calendar which requires the Senate to be in session during the remainder of the week, it is my purpose to move that the Senate adjourn until noon on Monday next.

I should like to make a suggestion to committees, without in any way desiring that they act with undue haste on any pending legislation. We always have the present situation at the beginning of a session. Then toward the end of a session we find a crowded calendar, and find it difficult, within the time at our disposal later in the session, deliberately to dispose of bills which are reported by committees. I suggest that all committees which have important legislation before them, having regard for proper deliberation and consideration of all such measures, act as promptly as possible to report such measures for the calendar, so that the Senate may not be required to adjourn from time to time for 3 days because there is nothing to do.

I now move that the Senate adjourn until Monday next. The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 59 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, February 6, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

# CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate, February 2, (legislative day of February 1), 1939

United States Employees' Compensation Commission

Jewell W. Swofford to be a member of the United States Employees' Compensation Commission.

POSTMASTERS CONNECTICUT

Ethyl O. Engisch, Cornwall Bridge. Edward A. Honan, Gaylordsville.

Thelma M. Shortridge, Citra. Charles A. Miller, Crystal River. Nina A. Kovarik, San Antonio.

Raymond C. Austgen, Roby.

MICHIGAN

Agnes E. Haischer, Atlantic Mine. Myrtle C. Duby, Au Gres. Floyd Slate, Dryden. Florence E. Baldwin, Kingsley.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1939

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. Horace E. Cromer, pastor of the Emory Methodist Episcopal Church South, of Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God and Heavenly Father, who in Thine infinite mercy hast promised wisdom and guidance to all those who ask it of Thee, grant the knowledge of truth and the will to be led by it to each of these Thy servants.

Thou hast a high destiny for our people. Thou hast a mission for our Nation in this day. Guide Thou us, O great

Jehovah, as we seek the way that is Thine.

Let truth abound. Let justice weigh our deliberations. Let only right emerge from our halls. Let the people of our land and of all lands be blessed through the gracious presence and eternal power of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

# MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had agreed without amendment to concurrent resolutions of the House of the following

H. Con. Res. 4. Concurrent resolution to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the First Congress of the United States under the Constitution: and

H. Con. Res. 5. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of House Report No. 2 on "Investigation of Un-American Activities and Propaganda."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) entitled "Joint resolution making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939."

The message also announced that the Senate further insists upon its amendment No. 9 to the foregoing joint resolution, disagreed to by the House; asks a further conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. ADAMS, Mr. GLASS, Mr. McKellar, Mr. HAYDEN, Mr. BYRNES, Mr. HALE, and Mr. Townsend to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

# RESIGNATIONS FROM COMMITTEES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following resignations from committees:

FEBRUARY 1, 1939.

Hon. WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD, Speaker of the House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Speaker: As I am now chairman of the War Claims
Committee, I will be too occupied with other duties to give the
proper attention to my membership on the District Committee.

I therefore respectfully tender my resignation as a member of the District of Columbia Committee.

Sincerely yours,

R. T. WOOD.

JANUARY 31, 1939.

Hon. WILLIAM BANKHEAD,

Speaker, House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Please consider this as my resignation from the House Committee on Invalid Pensions, to which I was recently assigned.

Sincerely yours.

JOHN C. KUNKEL.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resignations will be accepted.

There was no objection.

### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. EATON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Seger, be granted leave of absence on account of serious illness.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record in three particulars by inserting three speeches which I made.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. LEMKE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 30 minutes on next Tuesday, after the disposition of the business on the Speaker's desk and the legislative program of the day has been concluded, on the subject of the farmers' nonpartisan cost-of-production bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Dakota?

There was no objection.

ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATION FOR THE NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I ask unanimous consent that I may have until midnight tonight to file a report on the join resolution (H. J. Res. 141) to authorize the appropriation of an additional sum of \$1,046,000 for Fed-

eral participation in the New York World's Fair, 1939. The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MILLS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein certain excerpts from a speech delivered by N. C. Williamson, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include a few telegrams and letters I have received.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include a copy of a resolution which I introduced in the House yesterday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. BRYSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a short resolution from my State's general assembly with my reply thereto.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein a speech I made in the city of Washington on the 24th of last month.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the

gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. Cox was given permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record with regard to the Social Security Act and to include therein a very short editorial appearing in the Howard News of January 26, on the same subject.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

# LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. Pierce] had time allotted to him to speak today. I ask unanimous consent that that time may be allotted to him next Tuesday, after the disposition of matters on the Speaker's desk and the conclusion of the legislative program.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi asks unanimous consent that the time heretofore granted to the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. Pierce] may be continued until Tuesday next, after the orders already made, and the disposition of the legislative program. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

# ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATION FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report upon House Joint Resolution 83, making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the conferees be read in lieu of the

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia calls up the conference report upon House Joint Resolution 83 and asks unanimous consent that the statement of the managers be read in lieu of the report. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

# CONFERENCE REPORT

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendment numbered 6.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments to the amendments.

of the Senate numbered 2, 3, 8, 10, 11, 14, 17, 18, and 19, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 1: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 1, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 1 of the mat-

ter inserted by said amendment, after the word "Provided", insert the word "further"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 4: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 4, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter the same with an amendment in the Senate numbered by said amendment insert the following "Provided for inserted by said amendment insert the following: "Provided jurther, That the Administrator shall immediately cause to be made an investigation of the rolls of relief employees on work projects and eliminate from such rolls those not in actual need:"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 5: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 5, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum

proposed insert "\$88,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 7: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 7, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Omit the matter stricken out and inserted by said amendment; and the Senate agree

to the same.

Amendment numbered 12: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 12, to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following: ": Provided further, That no funds appropriated in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or herein appropriated shall be used by any Federal agency to establish mills or factories which would manufacture for sale articles or materials in competition with existing industries"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 13: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 13, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"Sec. 2. Section 9 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 9. No alien shall be given employment or continued in

1938 is hereby amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 9. No alien shall be given employment or continued in employment on any project prosecuted under the appropriations contained in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution: Provided, That no part of the money herein appropriated shall be available to pay any person thirty days after the approval of this joint resolution who does not make affidavit as to United States citizenship, such affidavit to be considered prima facie evidence of such citizenship: Provided further, That preference in employment on such projects shall be given in the following order: (1) Veterans of the World War and the Spanish-American War and veterans of any campaign or expedition in which the United States has been engaged (as determined on the basis of the laws administered by the Veterans' Administration) who are in need and are American citizens; (2) other American citizens, Indians and other persons owing allegiance to the United States who are in need." who are in need.' '

Indians and other persons owing allegiance to the United States who are in need."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 15: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 15, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 4. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person employed in any administrative or supervisory capacity by any agency of the Federal Government, whose compensation or any part thereof is paid from funds authorized or appropriated by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution, to use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or affecting the results thereof. While such persons shall retain the right to vote as they please and to express privately their opinions on all political subjects, they shall take no active part in political management or in political campaigns.

"(b) Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be immediately removed from the position or office held by him, and thereafter no part of the funds appropriated by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution shall be used to pay the compensation of such person. The provisions of this section shall be in addition to, not in substitution for, any other sections of existing law, or of this joint resolution."

Amendment numbered 16: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 16, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lines 7 and 8 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out. "or any

agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lines 7 and 8 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out, "or any other act of the Congress"; and the Senate agree to the same. The committee of conference report in disagreement amendment

numbered 9.

EDWARD T. TAYLOR, C. A. WOODRUM, CLARENCE CANNON, CLARENCE CANNON,
LOUIS LUDLOW,
THOMAS S. McMILLAN,
J. BUELL SNYDER,
EMMET O'NEAL,
GEORGE W. JOHNSON, JOHN TABER, J. W. DITTER

Managers on the part of the House.

ALVA B. ADAMS, CARTER GLASS, KENNETH MCKELLAR, CARL HAYDEN, JAMES F. BYRNES, FREDERICK HALE, JOHN G. TOWNSEND, Jr., Managers on the part of the Senate.

# STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon and recommended in the accompanying conference report as to each of such amendments, namely:

mended in the accompanying conference report as to each of such amendments, namely:

On amendment No. 1: Makes not to exceed \$15,000,000 of the appropriation contained in the joint resolution to the Works Progress Administration available for providing direct relief for needy persons, as proposed by the Senate.

On amendment No. 2: Limits involuntary separations prior to April 1 1000 to 5 nevent of persons employed on work relief

April 1, 1939, to 5 percent of persons employed on work relief projects, and requires the apportionment, at the discretion of the Administrator of the Works Progress Administration, of available funds remaining on such date, as proposed by the Senate.

On amendment No. 3: Requires, in the event of an emergency calling for the provision of additional funds, the submission by the President with the estimate for an additional appropriation a statement as to the facts constituting such emergency, as proposed by the Senate.
On amendment No. 4: Requires the Administrator of the Works

Progress Administration immediately to canvass pay rolls and eliminate therefrom relief employees on work projects not in actual need, as proposed by the Senate with a clarifying modifi-

On amendment No. 5: Makes available for Federal agency projects an additional \$28,000,000, instead of an additional \$33,000,000, as proposed by the Senate, and an additional \$23,000,000, as proposed by the House.

posed by the House.

On amendment No. 6: Strikes out the proposal of the Senate making \$3,000,000 of the amount contained in the joint resolution for Federal agency projects available for the employment of unemployed railroad and express company employees having clerical experience for the transcription and compilation of records of railroad employment and compensation prior to January 1, 1937.

On amendment No. 7: Eliminates all exceptions to the proviso intended to prevent positions being placed in the competitive classified civil service of the United States. The House had proposed certain exceptions and the Senate proposed a further exception conditioned upon the enactment of the exceptions which the House had proposed.

House had proposed.

On amendments Nos. 8, 11, 14, 15, and 16: In lieu of two separated House provisions (amendments Nos. 8 and 11), one denying rated House provisions (amendments Nos. 8 and 11), one denying payment from the supplemental appropriation proposed in the joint resolution to any person who attempts to influence the vote of any other person drawing remuneration from such appropriation, and the other directed against supervisors, foremen, or other officials under the Works Progress Administration who attempt to influence the political opinions of subordinates, substitutes, as proposed by the Senate (amendments Nos. 14, 15, and 16), provisions making it a felony—

(1) For any person to offer any reward possible under the terms of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, as amended by the instant joint resolution, for political activity or for the support of or opposition to any candidate or any political party in any election.

(2) For any person to deprive, attempt to deprive, or threaten to deprive any other person of any benefit flowing from the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, as amended by the instant joint resolution, on account of race, creed, color, or any political activity, support of, or opposition to any candidate or any political party in any election.

(3) For any person, directly or indirectly, to solicit campaign contributions from any person compensated out of funds contained in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or in the instant

amendatory joint resolution.

And a provision making it unlawful, punishable by removal from office, for any administrative or supervisory official, wholly or partly compensated out of funds appropriated in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, or the instant amendatory joint Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, or the instant amendatory posseresolution, to use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or affecting the results thereof, or to engage actively in political management or campaigns.

On amendments Nos. 10 and 13: Strikes out, as proposed by the Senate, the House provision directed against aliens participating in

Senate, the House provision directed against aliens participating in the appropriation contained in the instant joint resolution, and in lieu thereof, instead of reenacting section 11 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, as proposed by the Senate, reenacts such section amended to exclude aliens, and requiring all persons employed on relief projects to make affidavit as to their United States citizenship as a condition precedent to the payment of compensation.

On amendment No. 12: In lieu of the House provision directed against the establishment of hosiery mills, denies the use of funds appropriated in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or in the instant joint resolution for the establishment of mills or factories which would manufacture for sale articles or materials in competition with existing industries, as proposed by the Senate.

tories which would manufacture for sale articles or materials in competition with existing industries, as proposed by the Senate.

On amendment No. 17: Amends section 21 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 so as to confine reports to be submitted to Congress of expenditures and obligations to the classes of operations on account of which incurred and the amounts thereto appertaining, as proposed by the Senate.

On Amendment No. 18: Reenacts, as proposed by the Senate, section 12 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, directed against the continuance on Works Progress Administration rolls of persons declining offers of private employment, substituting "the prevailing wage" for the presently obtaining condition that the offered job must pay as much or more as the person to whom offered would or could receive during continued employment by the Works Progress Administration for the period such private employment would be available.

On amendment No. 19: Denies the use of funds appropriated in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, or in the instant joint resolution for the manufacture, purchase, or construction of any naval vessel, any armament, munitions, or implement of war, for military or naval forces, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment in disagreement

The committee of conference report in disagreement the following amendment of the Senate:

On amendment No. 9: Striking out the provision proposed by the House designed to eliminate differentials in rates of pay of relief

workers upon work of the same general class in different areas of the country where work obtains of the same general type.

EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
C. A. WOODRUM,
CLARENCE CANNON,
LOUIS LUDLOW,
THOS. S. MCMILLAN,
J. BUELL SNYDER,
EMMET O'NEAL,
GEO. W. JOHNSON,
JOHN TABER,
J. W. DITTER,
Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon].

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I suggest that the gentleman from Virginia explain the conference report first. We would like to know just what it means.

Mr. Woodrum of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber].

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, we are now considering the conference report upon the first emergency relief bill of this Congress. I understand that it is in the program that there shall be another one before we get through the Congress. In this bill, for the first time, there is an approach to an appreciation of the responsibilities of Congress to take relief problems out of politics to a certain extent. Heretofore there has not been that appreciation of that problem, necessary before we begin to solve the relief problem in America. To my mind the funds appropriated in this bill at this time are amply sufficient to meet the needs of employment on the W. P. A. or anything of that kind, if it is honestly and fairly administered. I believe there are upon that roll thousands, hundreds of thousands, who have been on it ever since the W. P. A. was started. On one project alone, in the Government, in the Treasury Department, upwards of 50 percent are still on the rolls of one project who have been on them ever since the W. P. A. was started. When we are appropriating money for relief purposes and those rolls are not kept clean and right and people are kept on those rolls that should not be kept on, and there is no account taken of it, then we have nothing to go by so that we may realize just how bad the situation is. I am certain that we could get rid of 500,000 from these rolls if we just take off those who have been on ever since the thing started, and who do not belong on the rolls. There has been the beginning, an effort to stop the operations of politics in relief.

Politics in relief needs to be stopped. Even right up to the present time there has been no appreciation of the necessity of stopping fraudulent operations of politics in relief on the part of the Relief Administration. Right at the present time there is a trial going on in the State of New Mexico where 35 are under indictment for W. P. A. frauds. The Federal grand jury in New York City the day before yesterday presented an item to the court asking that the Federal district attorney conduct a widespread investigation of W. P. A. frauds, and I hold in my hand a copy of the Burlington Free Press. of Burlington, Vt., dated Monday, January 30, 1939. In that paper there is an account of how Mrs. Inella B. McKay, of Barre, Vt., secretary of the woman's and professional divisions of the State W. P. A., was dismissed by the administrator, Samuel H. Crosby, recently appointed-right up to date, effective February 1-because she refused to contribute \$15 to the Democratic election campaign last fall. She was called in, she was told that there was no question of her efficiency, but there had come a time when there must be a distinction between Democrats and Republicans as to whether or not they should be considered for employment by the W. P. A. Right now while we are adopting in the House and the Senate provisions to prevent the operation of politics in the W. P. A., while we are endeavoring to prevent the continuation of the W. P. A. as a racket, the heads of the W. P. A. are going along just as blindly, just as wildly, just as incompetently as ever in carrying on that kind of operation. It is time that it was stopped.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The gentleman says that the heads of the W. P. A. are going along. I take it he means that the heads of the W. P. A. are responsible for this incident which he relates, in which a woman was removed from the rolls because she failed to contribute. Does the gentleman mean to say that Mr. Hopkins or anyone on this staff here in Washington knew of or directed or approved it?

Mr. TABER. I do not know. I know that the local State administrator, Mr. Witters, was removed and an outsider named, Mr. Crosby, and that one of his first operations after the 1st of January was to discharge this woman because she failed to contribute \$15 toward the last Democratic campaign.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Does the gentleman know that in many States of the Union Republicans who were in charge of local work discharged Democrats because they were not in sympathy with the Republican Party?

Mr. TABER. Any Republican who does that kind of a job ought not to be on the roll.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. And does the gentleman know that in none of these instances was such action approved or directed by those in charge? Of course, in a vast organization employing hundreds of thousands of men it is impossible to control either Democrats or Republicans in local positions. Certainly the gentleman is in error in saying that the heads were responsible if he refers to Mr. Hopkins or his staff.

Mr. TABER. I refer in this particular instance to the man who was made head of it, and when he had failed to carry politics into W. P. A. in the State of Vermont, he was removed.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. But is it the gentleman's sincere belief that Mr. Hopkins or his staff in Washington had anything to do with that or directed any such operations anywhere?

Mr. TABER. It is my opinion that Hopkins all the way through, until right down to the present time, has approved of that kind of operation.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The gentleman ought to give us some evidence to substantiate that statement.

Mr. TABER. I have had no faith in Hopkins' operations from the beginning.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. But the gentleman does not cite any evidence to support his lack of faith.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Hopkins was very vociferous all the way through the primary campaigns in lining up people who were employed on W. P. A. to vote particular ways in the primaries and in the elections.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. But did he at any time indicate any knowledge of dismissal of those who failed to contribute, or dismissal of those who failed to support the ticket?

Mr. TABER. I have no specific knowledge that Mr. Hopkins did that. I hope that some action will follow the operation of this man Crosby up in Vermont, and that he will be removed.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman from New York 5 additional minutes.

Mr. TABER. If Mr. Crosby is removed, following this latest political operation of the W. P. A., someone might have some faith.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. Following the suggestion of the gentleman from Missouri that Republicans discharged W. P. A. workers because they did not contribute or support certain candidates, I would like to say that in Tennessee no Republican is permitted to hold a salaried position or a position of authority in W. P. A. A Republican is very fortunate if he is allowed to use a pick and shovel down there.

Mr. TABER. I am not talking about individual cases in detail. I refuse to yield further, Mr. Speaker. I only have a couple of minutes.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. But the State of Tennessee is an exception.

Mr. TABER. I refuse to yield further. There is one thing that I must refer to.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. TABER. I cannot yield. If I have time, I will yield later.

The result of all this is what we have been saying, who have tried to stand for what was right here on the floor for the last 6 years, namely, that it is absolutely impossible for the Federal administration to go down in the different localities in this country and operate relief or relief employment. If we are ever going to get anywhere in solving the relief problem, and that is what I want to see, we must operate it through local authorities. We must take what Federal funds are to be used for relief, and allocate them in some absolute way to the local authorities, who are locally responsible for the taxes that are levied upon their people. With the requirement of local contribution we must put the responsibility up to the local authorities, and they will see then, when the responsibility is upon them, that no one who is not entitled to be on relief, is placed on relief or relief employment. Those of us who have opposed these bills by which money was spent mostly for something that was not relief, have opposed them not because we were opposed to relief, but because we were opposed to continuous rackets in relief, and because we were opposed to doing something with the money that was not taking care of the relief problem of America. I am hopeful that a step has been taken which will lead the way to some kind of a solution of the relief problem, and that we will get down to earth on it and try to solve it, and not try to postpone the solution of it as we have been doing for 5 or 6 years under the emergency administration.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.
Mr. GIFFORD. With reference to amendment 12, the mills and factories already established with this money is water over the dam, is it not?

Mr. TABER. Well, it is worse than that. It is a continuous menace to America.

Mr. GIFFORD. Will they be allowed to continue? I notice that the Comptroller General has ruled against the F. S. A. spending money for mills and factories, but says the water has gone over the dam and they cannot do anything about it.

Mr. TABER. They should not be allowed any money to continue it.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Referring directly to the language at the bottom of page 7 and the top of page 8, does the gentleman believe, with his knowledge of Government procedure, checks and balances, with this language, written as it is, that it will be possible for the men in charge down here to stop the payment of salaries to men high and low and in between, who had contributed to such activities, as has been set forth in the newspaper reports, and such activities as Mr. Hopkins engaged in during the last campaign? I desire the gentleman's opinion on that particular language.

Mr. TABER. I do not believe this language is strong enough to eradicate the improper use of W. P. A. funds, but I do believe that there is going to be a sense of responsibility on the part of the legislative representatives of the American people to put the relief problem on an intelligent basis and stop its being a racket. [Applause.]

Mr. CRAWFORD. Does the gentleman believe that such power is contained in this bill?

Mr. TABER. Not for the complete elimination of that particular abuse.

Mr. CRAWFORD. No; I mean for the prevention of the payment of salary.

Mr. TABER. No.

Mr. CRAWFORD. We will never eliminate the abuse.

Mr. TABER. No.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. TABER. Yes.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 10 minutes.

(Mr. Woodrum of Virginia asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the conference report on House Joint Resolution 83 presents no very serious matters of controversy. I believe that every Member of the House is perhaps in a general way familiar with what has been transpiring in that regard. I am not going into very much detail unless there is some question about it.

We know, of course, that the amount of \$725,000,000, the amount ascertained by the House to be appropriate for relief, has been definitely decided upon and is no longer an open question. I feel now even more strongly than when we presented the bill that the conclusions of the subcommittee which were subsequently ratified by the full committee and then by the House and the Senate were very timely and very appropriate. I feel confident that if this amount is wisely administered in an effort to carry out the wishes of Congress that it will meet the situation. I am encouraged in this expectation-and I hope I may say with pardonable pridebecause the distinguished gentleman who now heads W. P. A., an outstanding Army engineer, is from my native State of Virginia. It is my belief that he has a great ambition to do a good job with the troublesome and perplexing matter that he has to handle.

Several amendments were added to the bill by the Senate, to which amendments the House agreed. One of the matters of considerable interest in the House was the question of civil service. As the conference report comes to you all employees of the Government who are paid salaries out of emergency funds are prohibited from being blanketed under civil service. You will recall that as the bill left the House this inhibition applied only to the administrative staff of W. P. A. As the bill stands now it applies to all of the temporary personnel. Personally I regret that some groups may not be covered under civil service. This action is in no sense a reflection on a large number of very faithful public employees. I am in hopes that the Civil Service Committee headed by the distinguished gentleman from Georgia [Mr. RAMSPECK] may be able to give careful thought and consideration to just what can be done looking toward bringing into the service this group of employees now with a temporary status whom we think might be included in civil service. Such a bill as this, obviously, is not the place to do it.

The amendment affecting differentials in wages is still in controversy and will come up after we act on the conference report.

The only other matter which I shall take time to mention is amendment 18 put in by the Senate. This amendment undertakes to provide that any employee, any relief worker, who is offered private employment and who refuses it will be stricken from the rolls. Some apprehension was expressed that perhaps a man might be offered private employment 1 day a week which would obviously give him 4 or 5 days' employment a month and would thereby be made ineligible for W. P. A. employment. I am very glad to state for the Record in order that it may be of as much value as such a statement can be, that the conferees were of the opinion that

no such strained construction would be justified, but that the language in the end of the amendment, to wit:

Provided, That any person who takes such private employment shall on expiration thereof, be entitled to immediate resumption of his previous employment status with the Works Progress Administration if he is still in need and if he has lost the private employment through no fault of his own.

The conferees think this language will afford some protection. It was not contemplated that an offer of private employment of a day or so here and there, even though permanent, when the compensation is obviously not sufficient would afford a reasonable income, of at least approximately security

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I do not know whether the gentleman cares to answer this question now or wishes to wait until the matter comes up later, but it is rumored that Colonel Harrington has said that should this wage differential amendment prevail it would set aside the prevailing wage principle that is now in effect.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. That is the position taken by Colonel Harrington and the W. P. A.; and, of course, it was my position when I opposed the amendment on the floor of the House, but this subject will come up for pretty full

discussion in just a few moments.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. RICH. I read the following language from page 5 of the bill:

Provided jurther, That no funds herein appropriated shall be used by any Federal agency, to establish mills or factories which would manufacture for sale articles or materials in competition with existing industries.

Is it understood also that no money will be given by relief agents to those factories that are already established by the Government?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. No money herein appropriated can be used for that purpose.

Mr. RICH. That is, for the establishment of factories?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. That is correct.

Mr. RICH. Is there going to be any money given for the operation of factories?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Not under this bill. This amendment protects the appropriation in the bill but does not reach back to the other bill.

Mr. COCHRAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. COCHRAN. Will the gentleman refer to amendments Nos. 2 and 4 and see if they do not conflict? Amendment No. 2 provides that not less than 5 percent shall be separated from the service by April 1, and amendment No. 4 provides that the Administrator must immediately canvass the pay rolls and separate from the service those who are not in need. Is there not a conflict there? Suppose he finds more than 5 percent should be furloughed?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. No. Under this bill, if an administrator should find that even 15 percent of those on the rolls are not in actual need, he would take them off. I do not think Congress means to say that people not in actual need are to be retained on the relief rolls.

Mr. COCHRAN. There is one other item about which I would like to inquire. It is provided that every one of the 3,000,000 or more on the roll must make an affidavit that they are American citizens. That is not objectionable, but there is no provision as to who is going to pay for the affidavits. In other words, considering the usual notary fee of 50 cents. there will be \$1,500,000 of the money of the poor unfortunate W. P. A. employees that will go to notaries public. May I ask the gentleman if in his opinion the Administrator would be justified in taking the necessary money to secure the affidavits out of the relief appropriation and not take it out of the pockets of the people getting \$25, \$35, or \$50 a month?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I agree with the sentiment expressed by the gentleman.

Mr. COCHRAN. Does the gentleman think the Adminis-

trator can do this?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I think the Administrator should have someone available to take these affidavits. I do not believe there will be any administrative difficulty experienced in taking these affidavits when a person registers for

Mr. COCHRAN. It is the intent of Congress, then, that the

W. P. A. shall pay for this and not the individual? Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. That is correct.

Mr. GEYER of California. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. GEYER of California. I notice on page 9 it mentions that no one shall be employed who has refused private employment. Is there any guaranty there as to what the wages shall be? Is that just left up to anyone?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I stated it was the sense of the conferees that, of course, the private employment should

be sufficient to provide a reasonable existence.

Mr. GEYER of California. There is no safeguard here. Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I think the proper adminis-

trative function would be based on that construction.

Mr. GEYER of California. When it speaks of "no fault of his own," who determines the fault? Is there not an opportunity for an employer who is very hostile to the W. P. A. to take on a group of people who may be on relief, and then discharge those folks and say it was through a fault of their own? What sort of safeguard is there to prevent that?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. That would be a possibility, but practically it would not be so, because we have a similar provision in the present bill, and that fact can be determined,

we think, without any difficulty.

Mr. GIFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from

Mr. GIFFORD. The gentleman last year was kind enough to give me an assurance that if a man had a 3-day-a-week job on the W. P. A. and he mowed a lawn or two on the side, he would not lose his status. Would the gentleman give me that reassurance today?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I think the bill speaks for itself on that, I may say to the gentleman. That is, the paragraph we have been discussing.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 additional minute.

Mr. BOREN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma

Mr. BOREN. With reference to the provision covering aliens, does that refer to those now working on the W. P. A.? Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes; it does.

Mr. BOREN. If a contest should arise over an affidavit, the alien could be relieved from the roll?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Montana.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Suppose a man was on the W. P. A. and was offered private work for 2 weeks; would he still be eligible to go back on the W. P. A. rolls?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. If he lost his private employment through no fault of his own, he can be reconsidered.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Suppose he was offered work for 2 weeks; is he eligible to return to the W. P. A. rolls?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. He is.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon].

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, there is an ancient legend of a king who had 10,000 men and who marched them up the hill and marched them down again. Our friends, in emulation of that illustrious example, marched up the hill to reduce this appropriation, to reduce the amount of money provided for the support of W. P. A., to take more than a million men from the W. P. A. rolls. And in this conference report they march back down again to where they started. For this report repudiates every avowal made when the resolution was under discussion in the House and nullifies any retrenchment or economy the resolution may have carried when it went to the Senate. It is the most remarkable retreat ever witnessed on this floor.

Beginning, for example, with amendment No. 1, which provides that out of the funds appropriated in this resolution \$15,000,000 shall be allocated for direct relief. Why, Mr. Speaker, this is more than was asked by anyone who appeared before the committee. Even the mayors of the cities who came before the committee asking for an appropriation in excess of a billion dollars assured us that there was no occasion for the Federal Government to make provision for direct relief. They explained that their municipalities and other units of local government were taking care of all cases requiring direct relief, and limited their requests for Federal aid to provision for work relief exclusively. But in this report we have gone them one better, and although they did not ask for a dollar of direct relief, we have generously provided \$15,000,000 for that purpose in addition to ample funds appropriated for the real purpose of the resolution.

Let us pass on to amendment No. 2. In amendment No. 2 you have the most remarkable provision that could possibly be submitted. All the tenor of debate by our colleagues when the resolution was first considered on the floor was to the effect that they were unalterably, irrevocably committed to a reduction of the number employed by W. P. A. Colonel Harrington, when queried as to his program under a \$150,-000,000 reduction, said he would employ 3,000,000 in January, 2,800,000 in February, 2,600,000 in March, and so on down the line. The proponents of the cut in the appropriation announced, as their objective, a total reduction of more than a million breadwinners. And yet, as incredible as it may seem, here is a paragraph in the conference report arbitrarily forbidding a reduction of more than 5 percent prior to April 1. P. W. A. proposes to reduce the rolls at the rate of 200,-000 per month but these gentlemen who have been urging reduction will not let them do it. No matter how many undeserving men they find on the rolls; regardless of what the conditions or circumstances may be; however flagrant the imposition, this conference report arbitrarily locks the door against a reduction of more than 5 percent.

My good friend, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber], who spoke just a moment ago, said—and I quote his exact words—that there are hundreds of thousands of men on these rolls who ought not to be there. Yet the gentleman signs a conference report which provides, notwithstanding his assertions, that all these unworthy and undeserving men are on the rolls, that Colonel Harrington shall not be permitted to follow out his plan as announced to the committee of reducing the rolls at the rate of 200,000 a month.

But that is just the beginning. Let us take up amendment No. 4. Amendment No. 4 directs the Administrator to investigate all relief projects and eliminate from the rolls those not in actual need. Certainly there is no difficulty in understanding that language. But when the Administrator proposes to comply with it he is met by the express prohibition in amendment 2 against dismissing more than 5 percent. Now, on one knows until an investigation is made how many on the rolls come under this classification. But the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER], who has made an exhaustive study of the subject, gives it as his considered opinion that the number extends into hundreds of thousands. If that be true, why bring in a report under which they cannot be taken off the rolls. In one portion of the report-in amendment 2-the conferees direct that they be left on. And in another section of the resolution—amend-ment 4—they direct that they be taken off, and the jewel of consistency is buried so deep, not only here but throughout the report, that it can never be unearthed when W.P.A. confronts the problem of administering the law.

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. In just a minute.

Let us turn to a still more extraordinary provision of the conference report. Mind you, the proposition was to reduce the amount allowed for the support of the W. P. A. We propose to cut the estimate \$150,000,000.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I yield to the gentleman from
New York.

Mr. TABER. I may say to the gentleman that a reduction of 5 percent in the rolls during the months of February and March would be at the rate of 150,000 a month, so 300,000 persons might be taken off the rolls; and, even so, a direction following that provision, to throw off those who do not belong on the rolls, would control.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The gentleman is exactly right as to the 5 percent aggregating 150,000. But the 5 percent is not 5 percent per month. To quote the language of the amendment, it is 5 percent "prior to April 1." So the total number that can be taken from the rolls is 150,000 up to April 1.

When Colonel Harrington appeared before the committee he said that with \$725,000,000 he would throw off 200,000 the first month and 200,000 the second month. He wanted to throw off 400,000 but the House conferees say, "No; not more than 150,000."

Now let us come to the real essence of the proposition. The proposal here was to reduce the amount requested by \$150,000,000 and take off the rolls over 1,000,000 workers. But actually they bring in a proposal to appropriate \$725,000,000, and then invite the President of the United States to send down a message and ask for any other amount he believes the emergency warrants. In order that there may be no misapprehension about it, let me read amendment 3:

(3) Provided further, That should there arise an emergency which in the opinion of the President would require the submission of an estimate for an additional appropriation, the President in submitting such estimate shall submit a statement as to the facts constituting such emergency.

The significant feature of this, Mr. Speaker, is that under existing law the President already has that authority. And everyone knows it. Then why did they put it in this conference report? They did so as a specific, gratuitous, and emphatic invitation to the President to spend this \$725,-000,000 and then come in and ask for as much more as he considers necessary. No limit is specified. He may ask for \$150,000,000 or he may ask for \$250,000,000. So the Congress is not so hard-hearted as might at first appear. Our friends the House conferees are not as "hard-boiled" as they would have you think. They do not propose to turn a million men out into the snow.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. CANNON of Missouri. In just a minute.

They do not propose to take the responsibility of enacting legislation that will have that effect. So they put in the report all these jokers, riders, and loopholes to be certain that no one will suffer. They do not even propose to limit the President to the \$875,000,000 first suggested, but they thoughtfully provide that he may request any amount which in his discretion he may find the emergency requires.

Now comes the amusing part of this conference report. My friend the gentleman from New York inveighs eloquently against politics in relief. He said we had in this bill an approach—note the words, "an approach"—to the alleviation of this distressing condition, and yet when the Senate of the United States brings in a resolution which not only "approaches" the problem but which will do the work he concurs in striking out of the amendment of the Senate the most important phrase in it. For the Senate amendment prohibits not only the solicitation of funds in the expenditure of this particular appropriation, but also under "any other law passed by the Congress." It is sweeping; it is all-embracing; it has teeth; it will do the work. But his heart fails

him, and he now comes in and signs a conference report which takes out of the Senate amendment the most important provision in it, reducing it from a solution of the problem to an "approach" to the problem.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I want to congratulate the conference committee on this splendid report. They have been more than generous. They have given more than was asked. They are keeping on men the W. P. A. proposed to take off, and they are throwing the gates wide open not only to the expenditure of \$725,000,000 but to any further sum which the President, in his discretion, may find the emergency requires.

I congratulate them on their remarkable retreat from everything for which they stood when the bill was before the House. I especially congratulate the other side of the aisle, which has been in control of this legislation from its initiation, which has dictated every step that has been taken, even to the signing of the conference report. I felicitate my distinguished friend the gentleman from New York on his consummate generalship. He has handled it admirably, even to making certain that it did not go quite too far in taking

politics out of it. [Laughter.]

But, Mr. Speaker, seriously speaking, it should not be overlooked that in passing on this conference report we are dealing with a very serious problem. In making this ample and generous appropriation we are not merely appropriating money. We are not appropriating dollars so much as we are appropriating livelihoods. We are appropriating food, shelter, clothing, and warmth for those who otherwise could not have it, and in doing so we are serving not merely these 3,000,000 men and these 3,000,000 families; we are serving the Nation.

What happens when 3,000,000 men are thrown out of work? Three million families quit consuming. Three million families quit buying and merchants stop selling and factories stop making and factory labor stops working.

Starvation cannot balance the Budget. It never has and it never will. But a reduction in jobs can unbalance a budget, and is the most effective way of unbalancing the Nation's Budget that can be conceived or enacted by Congress.

It is not the duty of Congress to destroy jobs. It is the duty of Congress to maintain jobs. It is the duty of Congress to create jobs. It is the duty of Congress to provide employment, to keep the wheels of business and industry moving; and from the bottom of my heart I congratulate the gentlemen who have brought in this report and who have made such ample provision—provision beyond all expectation and beyond all requests—for the support of the W. P. A. They will find it as bread cast upon the waters. [Applause.]

Mr. TABER and Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia rose.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me for a question?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. TABER. I wonder if the gentleman would be able to tell the House how it happened that in view of the statement the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon] has made here the gentleman from Missouri signed the conference report.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. But, Mr. Speaker, it was not I who made the protestations. The gentleman is the one who has gone back on everything he has been standing for when he signed the report. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I am a little bit confused myself about the situation. I find my beloved colleague on the conference IMr. CannonI, although very happy about the final outcome of everything, somewhat caustic in his criticism of the action which was taken and to which he, so far as I know without any protestations whatever at any time or at any place, assented.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I heartily concur in the conference report. It gives just what we have been asking for.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. There are one or two things that ought to be straightened out in the Record right now.

My friend from Missouri [Mr. Cannon] said that gentlemen on the left-hand side, the Republicans, had dictated everything that had happened on this relief proposition. I say to you, and to the country, that the figure of \$725,000,000, about which there is no magic any more than there is about \$700,000,000 or \$750,000,000, but that amount of \$725,000,000 presently being appropriated by the Congress as a legislative function, is the amount decided upon by seven out of the eight Democrats on the subcommittee who handled it.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. And the gentleman should also explain to the House that a majority of the Democrats on the Committee on Appropriations, and a majority of the Democrats on this floor, and a majority of the Democrats in the Senate, voted against this proposition. Only 8 out of the 25 Democratic members of the Committee on Appropriations passed between the tellers here in voting for this reduction. A majority of the party in the committee, a majority of the party in the House, a majority of the party in the Senate, believes in supporting an adequate appropriation for W. P. A., and voted that way.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. And I say to the gentleman that Congress is legislating. The ultimate judgment of 435 Members is what counts in legislation. I do not find anywhere in our system of government where a majority of the people on one side or the other should ever count greater when they pass through the tellers; and a very responsible and a very respectful proportion of my colleagues over here supported the proposition that is finally enacted into law, and by this action taken today, which will put the word "finis" at the end of it, Congress has certainly established one principle which I hope it may never retreat from, and that is that the legislative body can legislate and that it does not ever have to delegate those powers to the Workers' Alliance or to the Mayors' Conference. [Applause.]

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. COCHRAN. It is true that the Congress can legislate, but in this instance the Congress was denied an opportunity to go on record in reference to the amount that the Administration asked for. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. That is not correct.

Mr. COCHRAN. Due solely to a clever parliamentary maneuver in the manner in which that bill was brought to this floor.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. If a majority of this House in the Committee of the Whole, one majority, had wished to place a billion and a half or two billion or five billion dollars in the bill, every Member of this House could have gone on record on that proposition. That is the most fanciful, the most fantastic, the most childish proposition that anybody could present to this body—that some parliamentary maneuver accounts for it all.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Why, then, did the gentleman depart from the procedure always followed in every instance in the last 20 years in order to achieve that result?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Oh, the gentleman and I do not agree on that procedure.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I inserted in the Record the title and the numbers of every such bill considered in the last 20 years, and if the gentleman can recall a single instance to the contrary, and he will submit them, we would be glad to have them.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I can bring in in a few days the independent offices appropriation bill.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. But that is beside the point. The bill he mentions is not one of these bills.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. It is an appropriation bill. I have never seen the Appropriations Committee report out what the Budget estimates amounted to.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The list printed in the Record includes every such bill introduced in the last 20 years.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. The gentleman made a lone and valiant fight for \$875,000,000, backed up by the Workers' Alliance, backed up by the Mayors' Conference.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. And by the national leaders of the Democratic Party and the Democratic leaders in this House and the Democratic leaders of the Senate. By the official resolutions of the farm organizations, labor organizations, and veterans' organizations. Add those.

Mr. SHANNON. And the needy and the suffering.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I have listened to those who speak about so-called secrecy on the vote taken on the amount of the appropriation. The gentleman would not desire to join those persons who want to leave the impression that any Member of this House would be afraid to go on record in this matter? I voted with the able gentleman from Virginia and his committee, on the teller vote for the \$725,000,000 in opposition to the amendment offered by Congressman Cannon of Missouri, which would have raised the amount to \$875,000,000.

During my service in Congress, I have supported a program for work-relief funds, and it shall be my continued purpose to vote for adequate appropriations in this connection. At this time I carefully considered the matter and felt it was right and proper for me to sustain the House Appropriations Committee. We will be in session for several months, and if it is found necessary to bring before the Congress an additional appropriation to take care of the work-relief program, I shall support such a measure.

I have nothing to hide in connection with my vote on all bills coming before the House. Had there been a record roll

call, I would have done just as I did by teller vote.

I have told the people of my district and State that I was for the \$725,000,000. I repeat that I would have welcomed an opportunity to vote on a roll call on the matter. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Of course. Not only that, but I have personally got a lot of amusement out of the lather that some of my friends have worked themselves into in feeling that this is a matter of administration prestige or that there is anything of that kind involved in whether we appropriate \$725,000,000 or \$875,000,000. No such issue as that was made in the House. After the bill left here I understand there was a good deal of interest displayed, but this bill does just exactly what the President of the United States has wanted to do. It provides money to take care of the unemployed, to relieve suffering, and the President from this rostrum, if anyone seeks to invoke that, said that the question of the amount of it was for the Congress.

The Congress has taken its responsibility. Of course, the President can come back for more if he wishes to. It was not necessary to put that in the law. He had the right to come back if he desired to do so. Whether Congress will appropriate it is a legislative function for the Congress to say at the proper time.

The gentleman made quite a point of putting \$15,000,000 in here for direct relief. That was a humane provision, undertaken to give some discretion and some latitude in case some

sort of emergency should arise.

Now, I think Congress has done a good job on this bill. This amount of money is allocated in this bill for a 5-month period. That is the way the thing stands when the President signs it. We did put safeguards in, that there could not be any great discharge of people during the winter months, and we think that was a wise safeguard. In my judgment, if this is effectively administered in line with trying to carry out the intention of Congress, it will be an ample amount to take care of the situation.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on agreeing to the conference report. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The question is on ordering the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment No. 9: On page 4, line 19, strike out "Provided further, That the appropriations herein made shall not be available unless and until rates of pay of employees of the Works Progress Administration are so fixed by appropriate administrative order as to eliminate differentials in rates of pay of workers of the same general class exceeding 25 percent of the maximum rates as between workers employed in different States or different areas of the same general type in the several States."

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House further insist upon its disagreement to Senate amendment No. 9.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a preferential motion.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the preferential motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Cochran moves to recede and concur in the Senate amendment No. 9.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cochran].

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, this is a very important amendment. When I tell you that the Administrator and Assistant Administrator of W. P. A. are absolutely unable to give even an estimate of the amount of money that will be necessary to carry out its provisions, you can realize its importance. What are you going to have to do if the Tarver amendment remains in the bill? You will have to increase the wages of those in certain areas; and if you do that, naturally, you must allocate more money to those areas. The only way the situation can be met is to break down the present scale of wages by reducing the amount that is now being paid in the large cities of the United States; or, on the other hand, in view of the amount of money that will be needed to carry out the provisions of this amendment if the wage scale is not reduced, you will have to separate from the W. P. A. rolls hundreds of thousands of people who are in need of this work.

By the adoption of my motion, this bill will go to the President. The Senate has insisted on its amendment. I repeat what Colonel Harrington told me—that he absolutely could not give an estimate of the millions of dollars that will be required to carry out the provisions of this amendment. This is no time to be bringing in amendments of this character. We have gone along all of these years without such a provision in the law. It was defeated when the existing law was before this House. If you do not want to cause endless trouble, I say to you adopt my motion. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 3 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I think I should be frank with the House, in view of the motion that I made.

The motion which I made was that the House further insist on its disagreement to the Senate amendment. I did that because I promised the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TARVER], in view of the fact that on a teller vote in the House this amendment was placed in the bill by rather a substantial majority, that I should endeavor to give the House another opportunity to express itself upon the matter. My position about the merits of it has not changed. I do not believe the proposition as it is sought to be reached by the amendment is administratively workable; that is, the differential language contained in the amendment that passed the House, and certainly not in the short length of time to which this appropriation would be applicable. I say that realizing very thoroughly the very marked differences in rates of pay which presently obtain and which I think certainly would not exist if the W. P. A. were more careful and cautious in applying the prevailing rate of wage provision, under which they are supposed to operate. I cannot believe if that were done that there would be as much difference as 18 cents an hour in one city for common labor and \$1.10 in another city for common labor. There might be justifiable grounds for a wage differential, leaving this, that, and the other factor out, but certainly not to that extent; and I am under the very firm impression that if the W. P. A. would carefully and cautiously put into operation the prevailing rate-of-wage provision in existing law it would meet some of this objection. If not, then I should say we shall have to try to relieve the situation when we consider the 1940 relief bill.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What would happen in our insular possessions, such as Puerto Rico, if the Tarver amendment remains in the bill?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I am fearful that it would cause a lot of confusion and that it might cause a very great upset in the administration of this law there, as well as elsewhere, in the remaining 5 months of this fiscal year.

As I said at the outset, I promised to bring the matter forward so that it might be considered and debated in the House. I have yielded to the gentleman from Missouri and I am now going to yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. COCHRAN. It is true this amendment says and means that not one dollar of this money is going to be available until the Administrator carries out the provisions of this amendment. Colonel Harrington told me he did not know how long it would take to do it, yet he needs the money provided in this bill immediately. Is not this true?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. It presents very great ad-

ministrative difficulties.

Mr. COCHRAN. Would it not be better to make this money immediately available without this wage-differential amendment, and conduct an investigation between now and the time we pass the next bill to remedy the difficulty?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I think that would be a wise

thing to do.

Mr. COCHRAN. The wise thing to do is to recede and concur in the Senate amendment and send this bill to the President, is it not?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I think it is.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. CRAWFORD. In reference to the suggestion pertaining to Puerto Rico, what is the total amount of the \$725,-000,000 which will be assigned to Puerto Rico? In other words, what importance should we attach to the 15- or 20-cent rate in Puerto Rico?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I should say not a very large amount.

Mr. CRAWFORD. It does not amount to anything at all, does it, relatively speaking?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Relatively negligible, I should say.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I am glad the gentleman agrees with me

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Tarver].

Mr. TARVER. Mr. Speaker, I wish at the outset to express my very deep appreciation of the fairness and the diligence with which the conferees on the part of the House have sought to uphold the position of the House in the conference which has been had with regard to this particular amendment. My feeling that a further conference with the Senate conferees might be of benefit in working out this very troublesome problem may be at variance with the opinion of the chairman of the subcommittee, but arises from my confidence in his powers of persuasion and those of his colleagues, and is a matter of compliment to them rather than a criticism.

Let us get some of the cobwebs out of the way in this matter. I realize that all of us must bow cheerfully to the viewpoint of the House after it is correctly informed. I do hope, however, that it will be possible for us in this discussion to get the real facts before the House.

What is the present situation? Upon the passage of this bill through the House I placed in the RECORD certain statistical facts furnished to me by the Works Progress Administration itself, which showed that as between wages paid in certain different localities in the Nation to unskilled labor there are now in effect differentials ranging as high in some instances as from 500 to 600 percent-from 18 cents per hour in Tennessee to \$1.025 per hour in Illinois-and that in certain other types of labor there are differentials effective in different sections of the country ranging as high as between 800 and 900 percent. This is a situation which ought to be corrected. I am sure there is not a Member of the House who will feel, for example, that in Tennessee or in any of the other numerous States where a wage rate for W. P. A. of below 25 cents per hour is in effect, changes in administrative provisions ought not to be made by which there shall at least be paid in every State a minimum W. P. A. wage of 25 cents an hour, which was the minimum fixed by this Congress in the passage of the Wage-Hour Act. In the passage of that act, if you will recall, the two branches of Congress took the position that the minimum wage ought not to be lower than that anywhere within the United States, and it placed in the Relief Act for 1938 a provision which was intended to bring about recognition by the W. P. A. of the 25-cents-per-hour rate as the minimum W. P. A. wage rate, but the W. P. A. has not done so.

In connection with this amendment of mine, which was adopted in the House but stricken out in the Senate, it would certainly be possible for these conferees to insert in lieu of the language of the House bill language which would insure the payment of the minimum wage of 25 cents per hour. This would not take so much additional money. This would not require the expenditure of the many millions which the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cochran] seems to fear will be needed. This would bring about only a measure of substantial justice and is in accord with the principle which was approved by this House upon its passage of the Wage-Hour Act. Aside from this possibility, there would be, in my judgment, no difficulty in the administration of a substitute provision which was considered by the conference committee: and may I say to you that according to my information this substitute provision was at one time practically agreed upon by the conferees. Failure to agree was occasioned by the action of one of the Senate conferees in changing the position which he had at one time assumed with reference to it. And may I say to you further that I have assurance, upon which I am justified in relying, that if the House should further insist upon its disagreement to the Senate amendment the language which I am now about to read would be agreed to by the Senate conferees.

It is a question of whether or not you are willing to delay passage of this bill for a few hours, perhaps until 4 or 5 o'clock this afternoon, or until noon tomorrow, without injury to anybody in so doing, in an effort to compose and straighten out, to some extent at least, a very difficult problem that is now resulting in injustice to many hundreds of thousands of citizens of this country who are unfortunate enough to be upon our W. P. A. rolls.

May I read the language of this amendment as developed in conference.

Provided further, That subject to the provisions of section 9 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, the appropriation herein made shall cease to be available after the expiration of 60 days from the date of the approval of this act, unless in the meantime by appropriate administrative order the hourly rates of pay of relief employees of the same kind and performing the same character of work in areas of the same general type are so fixed as to eliminate as far as possible, consistent with local economic conditions, differentials of more than 25 percent of the maximum rates of pay.

You will observe that in the language of this substitute proposal, which, as I have stated, I am informed was at one time substantially agreed to in conference, the Works Progress Administration is given 60 days within which to make these changes.

If you will read the hearings had before the Senate committee, you will find that this is the period of time suggested by Colonel Harrington as necessary for such readjustment. You will find further that the language of the amendment is not ironclad, but it allows the Works Progress Administration some leeway in that it may take into consideration local economic conditions, and whatever orders it may initiate must be practicable in view of local economic conditions. Therefore, there could not result the tremendous upheaval or disruption in the work of the W. P. A. that my friend from Missouri fears.

Mr. HINSHAW. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TARVER. I shall be glad to yield later. I wish to conclude this part of my remarks at the present time.

The gentleman from Missouri comes from a State in which this situation arose not long ago, and I direct his attention to it because I want to know if he approves it. You need only to examine the records of the Senate debate in order to find out that the facts I am stating are true. They were placed in the Record by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Clark].

It appears that W. P. A. workers were engaged in the construction of a dam across the Mississippi River. One end of the dam was in Missouri. The other end was in Illinois. The W. P. A. workers in Missouri were paid 40 cents per hour and the W. P. A. workers in Illinois were paid 64 cents per hour for doing identically the same kind of work on the same job, with only the Mississippi River between them. Is that fair? Is that a condition that we should not endeavor to straighten out by having a little further conference between the House and Senate on this question? All that I have said to you heretofore as to the discriminations practiced and all that I am saying now has been in no way substantially challenged as to its truth, either in the House, in the Senate hearings, or on the floor of the Senate.

Remember, all I am asking you to do is to request that these gentlemen, who have done such fine work for the House as conferees, walk back across the Capitol and talk again for 30 minutes or an hour with a few excellent gentlemen from the Senate in an effort to see if they can work out something in reference to this amendment which will to some extent relieve the very bad condition which now exists. Is there anything revolutionary about that? Will the W. P. A. workers in the gentleman's State or anywhere else in the United States be seriously injured in any way if that procedure is followed? I respectfully submit that there is no occasion for such fear. I now yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. HINSHAW].

Mr. HINSHAW. Do I understand correctly that in referring to these hourly rates of pay the gentleman in the amendment proposed does not refer to the pay per month that is to be received by these people on relief?

Mr. TARVER. That is correct.

Mr. HINSHAW. And if this were changed to read "hourly rates of pay" instead of leaving it as "rates of pay" the situation would be clarified?

Mr. TARVER. Yes. That is the language of the substitute proposal which was considered in conference.

Mr. HINSHAW. Then it would seem that the people in the South who are so unfortunate as to be on relief would have to work less hours to receive the same amount and those in the North who are more highly paid would have to work longer hours to receive the same amount?

Mr. TARVER. There is no requirement in this language that the wages of anybody in the North shall be reduced. It was contended in this matter in some quarters that Colonel Harrington may perhaps construe this language as repealing the prevailing wage section in the present law; however, there is no justification for this position and any lawyer who may have given consideration to that question will agree with me. The prevailing wage rate provision is in section 9 of the Work Relief Act of 1938 and simply fixes as a minimum W. P. A. wage the prevailing rate. There is not anything in the proposed language which will in any way repeal, modify, or alter this provision put into the act of last year. If there should be, through any strained construction any possibility that this language would be held to mean this, then it would be very easy for the conferees

to simply insert a provision in conference providing that this amendatory language shall not be construed to repeal, alter, or modify the prevailing wage-rate provision of the act of 1938.

Mr. Speaker, I am not insisting that the House go on record now as insisting that the language of my original amendment shall be written into the law. I am simply contending that the question involved herein is one of such great seriousness, affecting so many hundreds of thousands of American citizens who are not now receiving fair treatment, that it justifies 2 or 3 hours further consideration on the part of these conferees and for this reason I hope the preferential motion offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cochan] to recede and concur will be voted down and that the House may then agree with the motion offered by the gentleman from Virginia to have the matter given further consideration. The Senate has asked for a further conference and the Senate has appointed conferees.

It is my judgment, from the investigations I have made of the attitude of certain Senators toward this matter, that a further conference would result in the working out of amendatory language which will be very beneficial to the existing situation.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 additional minutes to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania and Mr. COCHRAN rose. Mr. TARVER. Before I yield, let me read from page 6680 of the Record of the last session of Congress. This is an excerpt from a letter to me by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor. He states:

It therefore occurs to me that the time is opportune to establish a principle of no differentials in wages. When the relief bills are reported to the House the American Federation of Labor will do its utmost to eliminate provisions permitting differentials in wages for relief work.

We are not going as far as the president of the American Federation of Labor states we ought to go. We are not attempting under the language either of my amendment or the substitute proposal to eliminate all differentials. We permit the Works Progress Administration full discretion as to taking into consideration local economic conditions, such as differences in the cost of living or anything else which ought to affect the matter. But we are attempting to take a step in the direction of the correction of a very great injustice, and I certainly hope the anxiety of the House, which is but natural, to complete the consideration of this legislation may not lead the Members to refuse to give the matter further consideration, which is the only effect that would be brought about by adopting the motion of the gentleman from Virginia.

I now yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. I take it that as a matter of principle the gentleman favors reconciling the differences in the wage scales of the W. P. A. that exist in various parts of the country?

Mr. TARVER. That is the point I have been endeavoring to impress upon the gentleman.

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman then tell me how he reconciles that principle with the fact—and I believe I am correct in stating it—that in the Seventy-fifth Congress the gentleman voted against a minimum wage of \$11 for his own section of the country?

Mr. TARVER. No; the gentleman is entirely mistaken. In the course of the debate on the wage-hour bill I indicated my belief that it was necessary that Congress enact some legislation along that line. I would be glad, much gladder than the gentleman would be, to see the standard of wage rates raised in my State and throughout the South.

I opposed the adoption of a drastic proposal which I thought would have and which has had the effect of throwing a great many of my constituents out of employment. That is what I objected to. I did not object to raising their wages where it can be done. But the gentleman cannot consistently want to fix the minimum wage rate throughout the country without any differentials whatever and then insist that in his State of Pennsylvania a W. P. A. worker

may be paid \$3.03 an hour, as shown by the statistics I put in the Record on the 10th day of January, and yet that in the State of Georgia he shall be paid only 20 or 30 cents an hour.

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. May I say to the gentleman that if he can find in Pennsylvania any skilled worker getting \$3.03 an hour I will take his job.

Mr. TARVER. It may be possible that the gentleman could not discharge the duties incumbent upon such an employee, but there can be no question, according to the report of the W. P. A. itself, that some workers are being paid at that rate in the gentleman's State.

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. I do not believe that would be so.

fillers the general fall

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Montana [Mr. O'Connor].

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Cochran preferential motion, on the ground that conditions in my State show that this bill should reach the President as quickly as possible. I wish to read the following telegram I received from Helena, Mont., this morning regarding the relief situation in Valley County:

Valley County relief funds exhausted. Also \$30,800 emergency expended to date. State Administrator Public Welfare Brandjord stated today not one dollar State money available for general relief. Unemployment at Fort Peck project demands \$10,000 immediate relief. Cold winter weather causing hunger and starvation among families who were on Federal pay roll and otherwise during summer months. Everything possible done locally and ask you not to expect a lone county to cope with condition brought about by the enormous Federal project. We have been assured State legislature will provide for future needs but insist the present emergency positively demands your immediate attention. Our board met with State department in Helena today in answer to Glasgow.

N. C. Briggs, Chairman, Carl B. Shellrub, County Commissioners, Valley County.

It is necessary that we have these funds made available at once to assist in meeting a situation caused largely by a Government project at Fort Peck, as shown in the telegram.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gifford].

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, the sincerity of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Tarver] led me, I believe, to support his amendment the other day. But having considered the matter since then it seems to me that by the adoption of the gentleman's amendment the prevailing wage situation would be entirely upset, and that this is an attempt to pay more than the prevailing wage existing in certain sections of the country. This brings out what has often been presented before, the difficulty experienced by northern industries in competing with some other sections because of the wage rates prevailing in such localities. Therefore, today I am in doubt, in spite of my great appreciation of the sincerity of the gentleman from Georgia, as to my support of the gentleman's proposition.

However, my chief reason for speaking is to answer the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon]. How can we take 150,000 persons per month off the relief rolls? I believe I can tell the gentleman how, and I have often tried before to express myself on this subject. In my city today, where a tax rate has almost doubled and where the assessed valuation is about one-half the amount of what it was a very few years ago, they are unable to furnish materials for useful projects, so have to accept W. P. A. projects that are not particularly beneficial in themselves. This seems to be the only way they can take advantage of the W. P. A. allotments. Let me again lay this thought before you: Take relief away from the towns and cities that have a tax rate of less than \$20 and need for relief and allied purposes less than 3 percent of such amount and give it to the needy municipalities such as I have described. Stop trying to create jobs for W. P. A. workers in rich communities simply because it will make votes for the Democratic Party. There seems to be no other reason except its political significance. I have tried to express myself before on this matter. Nothing has been done about it, but it is an absurd thing to

give this money to places that can well take care of their own relief problems. We should not let them take advantage of us and increase our dangerous public debt. I again ask why you do not do something about it. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 min-

utes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. PACE].

Mr. PACE. Mr. Speaker, I have requested very little of this House during my service here, and in the interest of fairness and in the name of common justice I appeal to the membership of this House to return the Tarver amendment to conference.

Mr. Speaker, we might at least give the conferees an opportunity to give the workers in my section at least the minimum wage as enacted by the Congress at the last session.

There is no one I know of who desires at this time to disturb the prevailing wage provisions, but there will be no prevailing wage provision disturbed, Mr. Speaker, because there is none in practice. If you will read the hearings, you will see the testimony of Colonel Harrington, the present W. P. A. Administrator, to the effect that in establishing the present wages in the different communities the matter was left entirely in the hands of the local administrators. Therefore you have 3,000 different wage scales in the 3,000 counties of the United States.

The idea prevails, Mr. Speaker, and, I presume, is the justification in the minds of many Members of this House, that while the larger cities receive the greater part of the money under W. P. A., the farmers of the South are receiving their money through the farm program. I can find no other way in which a conscientious Member of this House can justify opposition to the Tarver amendment, but, as an illustration, Mr. Speaker, I have in my hand a report from Mr. Alexander, of the Farm Security Administration. The Farm Security Administration grants are the next thing to the W. P. A., because there those in need are given a grant, and I dare say that 99 percent of this House at this moment think that the South is being taken care of in F. S. A. grants. Well, here are the figures:

F. S. A. last year gave \$22,000,000 in grants, according to the report of Mr. Alexander.

Of that \$22,000,000, the 11 Southern States combined received exactly \$1,028,000—out of the \$22,000,000 given in grants to needy farmers.

Now, where did the money go? Five States—hear mefive States received \$18,221,000 of the total of \$22,000,000. The first State benefited was Kansas, which received \$1,300,000. I have not heard of a drought down in Kansas. The next State was Montana, \$1,489,000. Each one of them received more than the combined 11 Southern States. Nebraska received \$2,188,000, or twice as much as the South received, and even then I understand the farmers of that State, many stricken by drought, received only \$20 per family. North Dakota received \$6,954,000, or six times as much as all the Southern States combined, and South Dakota received \$6,230,000, giving the five States a total of \$18,221,000 of the total of \$22,000,000, while the combined Southern States received only \$1,028,000.

Now, let me say I do not know what to do. I know my people are in need. The report of the President's committee picturing economic conditions in the South was terrible, and much of it is true. Many of our people are not making the bare necessities of life, and yet we come here and hear these men from these great cities—the gentleman from Massachusetts and the gentleman from Missouri—tell us that we must not approve this amendment because it might disarrange things. My God, how can we improve the condition of our people when every time we ask for fair treatment the answer is, "No, no; you are going to change or disrupt things."

An examination of the records show that the administration of W. P. A. has been and is now unfair and discriminatory. It is supposed to help the needy and improve the economic condition of the least fortunate.

Look to the report of the President's committee on economic conditions in the South. You will find that the most prosperous State in the South is in much worse condition

than the least prosperous State outside of the South. You will find that our farmers have an average income of \$186 per annum, while the average for farmers outside of the South is over \$500 per annum.

Does the W. P. A. Administrator give any consideration to this? Apparently not; but instead he seems to operate under the old rule of "to those who hath shall be given and those who hath not shall be taken away that which they have."

Here is a table showing the per capita income by States for the years 1929 to 1935:

TABLE 5.—Per capita accountable income received, 1929-35

Geographic regions and States	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
United States	\$652	\$587	\$485	\$372	\$353	\$399	\$432
New England	776	727	644	498	471	503	528
Maine	588	540	470	368	370	378	415
New Hampshire	592	570	507	378	375	412	438
Vermont	577	546	450	340	309	328	365
Massachusetts	806	764	688	537	500	533	539
Rhode Island	773	710	636	499	483	509	561
Connecticut	892	816	700	532	507	553	607
Middle Atlantic	909	845	717	545	503	548	589
New York	1,080	1,005	863	654	605	650	700
New Jersey	801	760	655	513	462	486	517
Pennsylvania	731	673	554	417	388	443	478
East North Central.	728	627	496	374	353	424	467
Ohio	690	595	484	357	349	414	460
Indiana	566	477	386	287	278	343	402
Illinois	853	759	581	430	405	457	500
Michigan	741	606	488	393	347	459	473
Wisconsin	643	E59	440	337 -	323	397	467
West North Central	539	496	392	292	276	325	366
Minnesota	555	522	435	335	308	365	416
Iowa	498	466	345	248	237	290	370
Missouri	582	545	445	339	320	350	366
North Dakota	479	348	218	202	198	240	260
South Dakota	451	401	311	188	180	244	275
Nebraska	550	523	400	282	274	330	361
Kansas	532	471	379	275	258	325	365

TABLE 5.—Per capita accountable income received, 1929-35—Con.

Geographic regions and States	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
South Atlantic	\$430	\$402	\$341	\$272	\$268	\$309	\$322
Delaware	1,022	874	791	559	530	571	596
Maryland	677	646	572	465	432	481	473
District of Columbia	1, 171	1, 166	1,090	958	797	895	966
Virginia	402	383	333	262	254	285	305
West Virginia	450	408	332	252	250	302	318
North Carolina	306	280	225	177	203	210	252
South Carolina	263	251	202	163	184	213	224
Georgia	327	297	242	188	197	232	253
Florida	510	478	392	317	289	328	352
East South Central	324	275	217	172	174	202	211
Kentucky	363	323	257	207	200	224	240
Tennessee	350	307	244	190	197	223	232
Alabama	303	258	199	153	160	188	189
Mississippi	268	194	152	127	129	164	170
West South Central	415	353	293	234	235	257	281
Arkansas	294	215	184	147	148	174	182
Louisiana	386	344	293	237	233	268	300
Oklahoma	432	351	271	211	222	236	259
Texas	457	400	338	270	268	289	316
Mountain.	593	523	408	317	300	361	402
Montana	638	524	391	321	307	418	432
Idaho	551	455	317	245	247	310	345
Wyoming	706	639	515	408	385	455	526
Colorado	621	580	459	356	328	371	406
New Mexico	413	373	322	247	242	312	321
Arizona	616	524	407	314	298	359	402
	549	497	388	290	274	310	348
	879	768	616	454	397	474	545
Nevada	862	760	617	488	467	505	548
	709					402	434
Washington		619	466	362	352 322		
Oregon.	643	557	431	233		368	394
California	942	833	690	549	523	556	605

Bearing in mind the States having the highest and lowest per capita income, now consider this table which shows that, almost without exception, the States with the highest per capita income, where a person's income is the most, are given the highest per capita of W. P. A. funds, and the States with the lowest income are given the least.

Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, total and per capita emergency relief expenditures as of Nov. 30, 1938

			N.		Expend	litures <sup>1</sup>			
	Population 1	Works Prog Administra		Civil Wor Administra		Federal Emer Relief Adminis	gency tration	Total	All rel
		Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita
United States	129, 257, 000	\$5, 636, 078, 000	\$43.60	\$833, 199, 000	\$6, 40	\$2, 950, 390, 000	\$22.80	\$9, 419, 667, 000	\$72.8
\labama	2, 895, 000	59, 743, 000	20, 60	16, 110, 000	5, 60	45, 162, 000	15, 60	101 015 000	41.0
Arizona	412,000	21, 235, 000	51, 50	4, 786, 000	11.60	16, 570, 000		121, 015, 000 42, 591, 000	41.8
Arkansas	2, 048, 000	51, 870, 000	25, 30	12, 220, 000	5, 90	40, 833, 000	40.10	104, 923, 000	103, 2
Arkansas	6, 154, 000					40, 833, 000	19, 90		51.1
California		290, 056, 000	47, 10	41, 469, 000	6.70	159, 715, 000	25, 90	491, 240, 000	79. 7
Colotado	1, 071, 000	64, 758, 000	60.40	7, 433, 000	6, 90	39, 432, 000	36.80	111, 623, 000	104.1
Connecticut	1, 741, 000	61, 289, 000	35. 20	9, 884, 000	5.70	24, 154, 000	13.80	95, 327, 000	54.7
Delaware	261,000	5, 938, 000	22, 70	580,000	2, 20	2, 221, 000	8.50	8, 739, 000	33.4
District of Columbia	627,000	19, 671, 000	31.40	5, 604, 000	8, 90	15, 317, 000	24.40	40, 592, 000	64. 7
Florida	1,670,000	57, 566, 000	34.40	16, 838, 000	10.10	41, 755, 000	25, 00	116, 159, 000	69, 5
Georgia	3, 085, 000	65, 310, 000	21, 20	14, 092, 000	4, 60	46, 039, 000	14, 90	125, 441, 000	40.7
daho	493, 000	19, 127, 000	38.80	5, 440, 000	11.10	13, 577, 000	27, 50	38, 144, (0)	77.4
llinois	7, 878, 000	406, 968, 000	51, 70	57, 601, 000	7, 30	233, 975, 000	29.70	698, 544, 000	88.7
ndiana	3, 474, 000	172, 585, 000	49.70	23, 056, 000	6.60	53, 125, 000	15.30	248, 766, 000	71.6
owa	2, 552, 000	56, 505, 000	22.10	14, 712, 000	5. 80	25, 108, 000	9.80	96, 325, 000	37.7
Kansas	1, 864, 000	72, 692, 000	39.00	12, 247, 000	6.60	40, 150, 000	21. 50	125, 089, 000	67. 1
Kentucky	2, 920, 000	81, 387, 000	27.80	10, 087, 000	3. 50	39, 152, 000	13, 40	130, 626, 000	
Kentucky									44.7
Louisiana	2, 132, 000 856, 000	67, 255, 000	31. 50	13, 203, 000	6. 20	52, 164, 000	24. 50	132, 622, 000	62. 2
Maine		18, 111, 000	21. 20	4, 648, 000	5.40	11, 841, 000	13.80	34, 600, 000	40.4
Maryland	1, 679, 000	34, 250, 000	20.40	9, 043, 000	5, 40	33, 409, 000	19.90	76, 712, 000	45.7
Massachusetts	4, 426, 000	264, 179, 000	59. 70	29, 699, 000	6. 70	115, 947, 000	26. 20	409, 825, 000	92.6
Michigan	4, 830, 000	227, 870, 000	47. 20	44, 417, 000	9. 20	127, 569, 000	26, 40	399, 856, 000	82.8
Minnesota	2, 652, 000	134, 810, 000	50. 80	19, 547, 000	7.40	68, 627, 000	25. 90	222, 984, 000	84. 1
Mississippi	2, 023, 000	45, 450, 000	22.50	9, 799, 000	4.80	31, 193, 000	15, 40	86, 442, 000	42.7
Missouri	3, 989, 000	160, 175, 000	40.10	19, 983, 000	5.00	65, 411, 000	16. 40	245, 569, 000	61.5
Montana	539, 000	39, 641, 000	73. 50	6, 309, 000	11.70	22, 546, 000	41.80	68, 496, 000	127.0
Nebraska	1, 364, 000	51, 100, 000	37.40	6, 179, 000	4.50	22, 789, 000	16. 70	80, 058, 000	58. 6
Nevada	101,000	5, 052, 000	50, 00	1, 300, 000	12.90	5, 225, 000	51.70	11, 577, 000	114.6
New Hampshire	510,000	17, 646, 000	34, 60	3, 028, 000	5. 90	7, 056, 000	13.80	27, 730, 000	54. 3
New Jersey	4, 343, 000	221, 504, 000	51.00	27, 732, 000	6.40	90, 135, 000	20.70	339, 371, 000	78. 1
New Mexico	422,000	22, 831, 000	54. 10	2, 352, 000	5, 60	15, 069, 000	35, 70	40, 252, 000	95. 4
New York	12, 959, 000	899, 127, 000	69.40	86, 835, 000	6.70	397, 786, 000	30.70	1, 383, 748, 000	106.8
North Carolina	3, 492, 000	47, 621, 000	13.60	12, 942, 000	3.70	38, 745, 000	11, 10	99, 308, 000	28, 4
North Dakota	706, 000	34, 893, 000	49. 50	5, 102, 000	7. 20	26, 239, 000	37, 20	66, 234, 000	93. 9
Ohio	6, 733, 000	414, 020, 000	61. 50	58, 434, 000	8.70	175, 075, 000	26.00	647, 529, 000	96. 2
Oklahoma	2, 543, 000	96, 820, 000	37. 90	17, 820, 000	7.00	45, 493, 000	17, 80	160, 133, 000	62. 7
Oregon	1, 027, 000	40, 072, 000	39.00	6, 501, 000	6. 30	22, 354, 000	21, 80	68, 927, 000	67. 1
	10, 176, 000	600, 091, 000	58, 90	46, 242, 000	4.50		31.70		
PennsylvaniaRhode Island	681, 000	31, 532, 000	46, 30			322, 778, 000 7, 809, 000		969, 111, 000	95. 1
Anoth Carelina	1, 875, 000	42 002 000		3, 823, 000	5. 60		11.50	43, 164, 000	63. 4
South Carolina		43, 883, 000	23, 40	10, 349, 000	5. 50	36, 905, 000	19.70	91, 137, 000	48. 6
South Dakota	692, 000	40, 354, 000	58. 20	6, 843, 000	9.90	32, 440, 000	46.90	79, 637, 000	115.0
Cennessee	2, 893, 000	54, 963, 000	19.00	13, 226, 000	4. 60	35, 350, 000	12. 20	103, 539, 000	35.8
Pexas	6, 172, 000	120, 644, 000	19.50	33, 706, 000	5. 50	78, 333, 000	12, 70	232, 683, 000	37. 7
Jtah	519,000	25, 146, 000	48, 40	4, 524, 000	8.70	18, 604, 000	35. 80	48, 274, 000	92.9
Vermont	383, 000	9, 018, 000	23. 50	1, 778, 000	4.60	3, 578, 000	9.40	14, 374, 000	37.5
Virginia	2, 706, 000	41, 775, 000	15.40	12, 155, 000	4.50	24, 280, 000	9.00	78, 210, 000	28.9
Washington	1, 658, 000	84, 520, 000	51.00	13, 557, 000	8. 20	40, 287, 000	24.30	138, 364, 000	83. 5
Washington	1, 865, 000	81, 415, 000	43, 60	13, 014, 000	7.00	50, 899, 000	27.30	145, 328, 000	77.9
Wisconsin	2, 926, 000	144, 173, 000	49.30	34, 489, 000	11.80	81, 025, 000	27.70	259, 687, 000	88.8
Wyoming	235, 000	9, 428, 000	40.10	2, 461, 000	10.50	7, 144, 000	30, 40	19, 033, 000	81.0

JU. S. Bureau of the Census estimate as of July 1, 1937. Let U. S. Senate, Committee on Appropriations, hearings on H. J. Res. 83, 76th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 115-118.

Do these facts bear out the claim of "equal treatment for all," which we hear so much about? Of course not, but just the reverse.

Now, I have one other table which deserves your attention. And may I say here, Mr. Speaker, that these tables were secured from official sources by the junior Senator from Georgia, the Honorable RICHARD B. RUS-

SELL, and were used by him in his address in the Senate last Saturday in support of this Tarver amendment.

This table shows that the States receiving the greatest amount of W. P. A. money are required to put up the smallest percentage of sponsor's contribution. It is hard to believe, but here are the figures.

Table 8.—Expenditures on Works Progress Administration, operated projects, by States and by sources of funds, through Nov. 30, 1938

	Cum	ulative through	Nov. 30, 1938	I STORY	5 months ending Nov. 30, 1938				
			Sponsors'	funds			Sponsors'	funds	
State	Total expendi- tures	Federal funds	Amount Percent of total expenditures	Total expenditures	Federal funds	Amount	Percent of total expendi- tures		
Total	\$6, 195, 050, 364	\$5, 206, 312, 670	\$988, 737, 694	16.0	\$1, 093, 521, 558	\$897, 892, 694	\$195, 628, 864	17.	
Alabama	67, 946, 931	53, 744, 645	14, 202, 286	20. 9	13, 496, 711	10, 725, 337	2, 771, 374	20.	
rizona	26, 006, 875 54, 032, 946	19, 243, 186 44, 622, 390	6, 763, 689	26.0	4, 457, 965 10, 543, 625	3, 374, 784	1, 083, 181	24.	
rkansas	54, 032, 946	44, 622, 390	9, 410, 556	17.4	10, 543, 625	8, 963, 121	1, 580, 504	15.	
California	319, 970, 376 71, 885, 189	268 857 632	51, 112, 744	16.0	45, 114, 675	36, 372, 125	8, 742, 550	19.	
Colorado	71, 885, 189	58, 672, 590 56, 732, 834 5, 184, 750	13, 212, 599	18.4	10, 989, 501	8, 886, 189	2, 103, 312	19.	
Connecticut	69, 334, 885	56, 732, 834	12, 602, 051	18. 2	12, 493, 553	10, 237, 698	2, 255, 855	18.	
Delaware	5, 968, 386	5, 184, 750	783, 636	13.1	1, 216, 288	976, 775	239, 513	19.	
District of Columbia	20, 139, 667	17, 370, 617	2, 769, 050	13.7	1, 216, 288 4, 112, 805	3, 541, 446	571, 359	13.	
Clorida	62, 751, 844	50, 555, 122	12, 196, 722	19.4	13, 096, 345	10, 642, 366	2, 453, 979	18.	
leorgia	69, 684, 688	56, 327, 417	13, 357, 271	19. 2	14, 288, 818	11, 281, 609	3, 007, 209	21.	
daho	22, 899, 371	16, 411, 498	6, 487, 873	28.3	3, 666, 446	2, 640, 731	1, 025, 715	28.	
llinois	462, 489, 908	384, 307, 671	78, 182, 237	16.9	94, 675, 647	78, 500, 384	16, 175, 263	17.	
ndiana	191, 693, 147	162, 740, 041	28, 953, 106	15.1	36, 657, 738	29, 853, 039	6, 804, 699	18.	
0wa	68, 984, 079	51, 953, 223	17, 030, 856	24.7	13, 157, 554	9, 292, 076	3, 865, 478	29.	
Cansas Centucky	83, 391, 354	65, 063, 008	17, 328, 346	21.0	11, 492, 568	8, 871, 517	2, 621, 051	22.	
Centucky	89, 426, 684	71, 022, 357	18, 404, 327	20.6	19, 750, 483	15, 861, 358	3, 889, 125	19	
ouisiana	74, 443, 909	60, 989, 887	13, 454, 022	18. 1	12, 532, 421	10, 199, 240	2, 333, 181	18.	
faine	18, 706, 403	14, 948, 800	3, 757, 603	20.1	3, 233, 604	2, 445, 232	788, 372	24	
Aaryland	36, 183, 300	30, 598, 393	5, 584, 907	15.4	5, 415, 841	4, 129, 872	1, 285, 969	23.	
Maryland Massachusetts	266, 762, 260	249, 006, 370	37, 755, 890	13. 2	49, 278, 572	42, 928, 371	6, 350, 201	1 12	
Alchigan	207, 030, 733	214, 437, 947	42, 598, 786	16.6	68, 002, 613	59, 562, 953	8, 439, 660	12	
Ainnesota	151, 872, 055	125, 146, 242	26, 725, 813	17.6	28, 494, 091	22, 213, 379	6, 280, 712	22	
Aississippi	53, 421, 627	40, 104, 091	13, 317, 536	24.9	10, 261, 383	7, 837, 087	2, 424, 296	23	
A ISSOURI	172, 604, 112	148, 643, 807	23, 960, 305	13.9	33, 878, 768 8, 944, 195	29, 145, 682	4, 733, 086	14	
Montana	41, 277, 536	34, 411, 245 46, 272, 250	6, 866, 291	16.6 22.5	8, 944, 190	7,019,248	1,924,947	21	
Vebraska		40, 272, 200	13, 409, 557		1 10, 690, 754	8, 356, 795	2, 333, 959	21	
Vevada	6, 501, 457	4. 534, 309	1, 967, 148	30. 3 19. 0	1, 171, 959	700, 961	470, 998	40	
New Hampshire	19, 805, 649	16, 044, 870 208, 701, 496	3, 760, 779 41, 044, 912	16. 4	3,770,713	3, 075, 370	695, 343	18.	
New Jersey New Mexico.	249, 746, 408				44, 458, 161	34, 677, 560	9, 780, 601	22 19	
Tow Vonle	24, 036, 235 957, 897, 170	19, 863, 932 846, 489, 627	4, 172, 303 111, 407, 543	17.4 11.6	4, 248, 708 114, 695, 270	3, 425, 695 95, 112, 278	823, 013 19, 582, 992	19	
Vew York	52, 730, 411	40, 347, 484	10 200 007	23. 5	11, 112, 574	90, 112, 278	19, 002, 992	17 24	
North Dakota	37, 914, 201	30, 428, 436	12, 382, 927 7, 485, 765	19.7	5, 353, 859	8, 431, 837 3, 839, 543 91, 316, 129	2, 680, 737 1, 514, 316	28	
Thio	452, 033, 485	393, 923, 650	58, 109, 835	12.9	104, 386, 777	01 216 120	13, 070, 648	12	
DhioDklahoma	108, 321, 802	84, 719, 322	23, 602, 480	21.8	17, 391, 551	14, 095, 880	3, 295, 671	18	
Oregon	44, 858, 092	36, 363, 621	8, 494, 471	18.9	7, 066, 557	5, 476, 325	1, 590, 232	22	
Pennsylvania	628, 514, 369	565, 058, 086	63, 456, 283	10.1	104, 375, 269	90, 737, 611	13, 637, 658	13	
Rhode Island	35, 248, 891	29, 181, 329	6, 067, 562	17. 2	7, 731, 210	6, 716, 131	1, 015, 079	13	
Rhode Island South Carolina	47, 172, 123	37, 345, 357	9, 826, 766	20.8	10, 340, 452	8, 437, 514	1, 902, 938	18	
South Dakota	42, 263, 313	35, 141, 026	7, 122, 287	16.9	5, 236, 147	3, 908, 201	1, 327, 946	25	
l'ennessee	70, 026, 648	46, 791, 125	23, 235, 523	33. 2	11, 941, 851	8, 683, 521	3, 258, 330	27	
rexas	140, 242, 552	105, 513, 240	34, 729, 312	24.8	24, 329, 529	17, 726, 908	6, 602, 621	27	
Jtah	29, 573, 286	22, 034, 972	7, 538, 314	25. 5	4, 768, 460	3, 429, 423	1, 339, 037	28	
Vermont	10, 579, 012	22, 034, 972 8, 018, 757	2, 560, 255	24.2	2, 280, 305	1,779,897	500, 408	28 21	
Virginia Washington West Virginia	44, 610, 890	34, 930, 027	9, 680, 863	21.7	7, 310, 169	5, 360, 028	1, 950, 141	26	
Washington	92, 253, 260	77, 044, 955	15, 208, 305	16. 5	19, 593, 237	15, 145, 860	4, 447, 377	22	
West Virginia.	88, 011, 258	74, 520, 200	13, 491, 058	15.3	14, 760, 250	11, 813, 994	2, 946, 256	20	
Visconsin Vyoming	160, 317, 091	132, 811, 632	27, 505, 459	17. 2	31, 276, 989	25, 348, 247	5, 928, 742	19	
Vyoming	11, 709, 374	8, 283, 691	3, 425, 683	29.3	1, 815, 088	1, 201, 318	613, 770	33	
Alaska	20, 743	20, 743			-118	-118			
Tawaii	7, 349, 554	5, 115, 752	2, 233, 802	30.4		867, 305	569, 460	39	
Virgin Islands	4, 015	4,015	2, 200, 002		-,, 100	201,000	000, 100	00	
Central office	4, 944, 808	4, 944, 808			200, 845	200, 845			
Central taxtile account	-9, 231, 805				-7, 473, 983	-7, 473, 983			

Source: Federal funds represent voucher payments reported by the Treasury Department, sponsors' funds based on Works Progress Administration State office reports of sponsors' certifications.

You will observe that the towns, cities, and counties in my State must pay 19.2 percent of the cost of a project, while in New York they were required to put up only 11.6 percent, in Pennsylvania only 10.1 percent, in Massachusetts only 13.2 percent, in Ohio only 12.9 percent, and in Delaware only 13.1 percent.

The pending amendment, offered by Judge Tarver, of my State, merely seeks to correct these inequalities by providing that wages for the same class of work shall not vary in any part of the Nation over 25 percent, which is certainly more than sufficient to take care of any difference in the cost of living. As the following table shows, the present variation is not justified and is wholly unfair to the people of my section of the country.

Average earnings per worker per month on W. P. A: State programs, September, October, November, 1938

	Unsl	cilled	Intern	nediate	skilled		Professional and technical	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
United States:								
	\$0.40	\$0.19	\$0.60	\$0.24	\$1.50	\$0.31	\$1.11	\$0.34
Arizona	. 50	. 36	. 75	. 41	1.00	. 56	1.25	. 62
ArkansasCalifornia	. 28	. 20	. 55	. 25	1. 25	. 33	.70	. 36
Colorado	.72	.33	1.45	.38	1.75	.46	1.67	.51
Connecticut	.50	.40	1.05	.45	1.65	.57	1.30	.63
Delaware	.4134	. 24	.90	28	1.50	.34	1.36	.60
Florida	. 30	.19	.73	. 24	1.75	.32	1.05	.35
Georgia	30	.20	. 43	. 25	1.25	.33	1.50	.36

Rutherford

Average earnings per worker per month on W. P. A. State programs, September, October, November, 1938—Continued

	Unsl	cilled	Intern	nediate	Skilled			ssional chnical
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
nited States-Con.	7.E. T.				S Commence of the Commence of			(VE)
Idaho	\$0.55	\$9, 281/6	\$0.621/2	\$0.32	\$0.781/2	\$0.39	\$0.86	\$0.431
Illinois	1.021/6		1.371/2	. 33	1, 95	. 391/2	1.50	.44
Indiana	. 95	. 40	1.10	. 41	1.50	. 46	1.66	. 50
Iowa		.31	1, 20	. 35	1.50	. 43	1.50	. 47
Kansas		. 27	. 85	. 32	1.37	. 37	.81	. 41
Kentucky	.50	. 25	1. 371/2		1. 75	. 31	1. 171/2	. 34
Louisiana	95	.20	1.00	. 25	1. 38	.32	1. 50	. 35
Maina Maina	.00	.31	.70	. 35	1. 35	.45	1.60	.49
Maine	. 40	.01	. 55		1.50	. 38	1. 10	. 48
Maryland	. 44	. 25	. 55	. 32			1.60	. 53
Massachusetts	. 85	. 35	1.50	. 39	1. 6636	. 48		
Michigan		. 33	1.00	. 371/2		. 451/2		. 50
Minnesota	. 683/4	. 32	1. 15	. 41	1. 50	. 46	1.79	. 55
Mississippi	. 40	. 19	. 90	. 25	1.50	. 311/2	2.50	. 40
Missouri	. 50	. 25	. 68	. 30	. 88	. 34	. 82	. 38
Montana	.751/2	. 451/2	1. 12	. 41	1.771/2		. 96	. 55
Nebraska	. 47	. 30	. 70	. 33	1. 371/2	. 40	1.00	. 46
Nevada		. 481/2	1.50	. 55	2.00	. 67	2.00	. 74
New Hampshire		. 35	. 66	. 43	1.30	. 53	1.00	. 51
New Jersey		. 25	1, 3058	. 35	2, 25	. 39	1.50	. 44
New Mexico	.40	. 29	1.00	. 35	1.50	. 43	. 86	. 68
New York		. 26	1. 25	. 33	2,00	. 391/2	1.41	. 433
North Carolina	.29	.20	. 64	. 25	1.00	. 34	. 91	. 60
North Dakota	. 29	.40	. 55	.45	1. 35	. 55	.77	.61
		. 40	1. 25	. 35	2.00	.43	2.50	. 47
Ohio	. 679	. 31	1. 20		1.50	. 43	1.00	.47
Oklahoma	. 41	. 25	. 73	. 35			1. 25	.51
Oregon	. 50	. 34	. 80	. 38	1.50	. 46		. 01
Pennsylvania	. 65	. 50	1. 241/2		2.00	. 651/2		.71
Rhode Island	. 50	. 40	. 591/2	. 461/2		. 61	. 781/2	
South Carolina	. 271/2	. 19	.48	. 24	1. 25	. 32	. 521/2	
South Dakota	. 40	.37	.42	. 38	1. 371/2		. 58	. 55
Tennessee	.30	. 18	. 43	. 23	1.62	. 31	. 64	. 35
Texas		. 20	. 55	. 26	1.50	. 32	1.22	. 35
Utah	.50	.41	. 75	. 50	1.50	. 63	1,00	.70
Vermont		.32	. 50	. 35	1. 25	. 43	1.10	. 48
Virginia	.40	.19	. 57	. 24	1.50	.31	1.50	. 34
Washington		.34	.99	.38	1.67	. 46	1.44	.44
West Virginia	.45	.40	.58	.47	. 84	.54	.90	.84
Wisconsin		. 331/2	1, 22	371/2	1.66	.391/2	1.51	. 43!
Washing		.42	. 48	.471/2	611/2	.58	. 66	.64
Wyoming.	. 42					. 589	1, 518	.70
New York City	.93	. 461/2	1.57	. 48	2, 21	. 009	1, 010	
District of Co-		00		40	0.00	07	1. 22	.76
lumbia	. 50	. 33	1.15	. 43	2.00	. 67	1. 24	. 10

You notice that the wage scale for unskilled labor starts with a low of 18 cents per hour in Tennessee, 20 cents per hour in Georgia, and runs up to a high of \$1 per hour in Wisconsin and \$1.02 per hour in Illinois. And for professionals it climbs to a high of \$3.03 per hour, or over \$24 per day, in Pennsylvania. I do not understand how any man with a conscience could take the people's tax money, set aside for relief purposes, and pay any man \$24 per day for relief work. It makes me wonder where we are going and what the end will be.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the pending motions.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WARREN). The question is on the preferential motion offered by the gentleman from Missouri to recede and concur in the Senate amendment.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia and Mr. Cochran) there were—ayes 104, noes 100.

Mr. TARVER. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground there is not a quorum present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Georgia makes the point of order that there is no quorum present. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Two hundred and eight Members present, not a quorum. The Clerk will call the roll. The question is on the preferential motion offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cochran].

The question was taken; and there were-yeas 252, nays 140, not voting 40, as follows:

> [Roll No. 9] YEAS-252

Arends Barton Bloom Allen, Ill. Andersen, H. Carl Arnold Bates, Mass. Boehne Boland Anderson, Mo. Andresen, A. H. Austin Beam Ball Bell Bolles Andrey Barnes Barry Bender Bolton Bradley, Mich.

Bradley, Pa. Brewster Brown, Ohio Buck Burdick Byrne, N. Y. Byron Cannon, Mo. Casey, Mass. Celler Chiperfield Church Clason Claypool Clevenger Cluett Cochran Cole, N. Y. Connery Corbett Costello Crosser Crowe Culkin Cullen Cummings D'Alesandro Delaney Dempsey Dickstein Dingell Dirksen Ditter Dondero Doughton Douglas Dowell Duncan Eaton, Calif. Eaton, N. J. Eberharter Elliott Elston Engel Englebright Faddis Fay Fenton Fish Fitzpatrick Flaherty Flannagan Flannery Ford, Leland M.

Ford. Thomas F. Kramer Kunkel Fries Gamble Gartner Larrabee Lea LeCompte Gavagan Gearhart Gehrmann Lesinski Lewis, Colo. Lewis, Ohio Gerlach Gifford Gilchrist Lord Gillie Luce Goldsborough Ludlow McAndrews Graham Grant, Ind. McCormack McDowell Griswold Guyer, Kans. McGranery Gwynne Hall McKeough McLaughlin Halleck McLeod Maas Hancock Harness Magnuson Mapes Marcantonio Harrington Hart Marshall Martin, Colo. Martin, Iowa Martin, Mass. Harter, N. Y. Harter, Ohio Hartley Havenner Hawks Mason Merritt Michener Heinke Hennings Monkiewicz Moser Hess Hinshaw Mott Myers Holmes Hook Norton O'Brien O'Connor O'Day O'Leary Hunter Jacobsen Jarrett Jenkins, Ohio Oliver Jenks, N. H. O'Neal Johns Osmers Johnson, Ill. Johnson, Ind. O'Toole Parsons Jones, Ohio Kean Pfeifer Pierce, N. Y. Keefe Pittenger Keller Kelly Plumley Polk Kennedy, Martin Kennedy, Michael Kennedy, Md. Powers Reed, Ill. Keogh Kinzer Reed, N. Y. Rich Rodgers, Pa. Rogers, Mass. Kirwan Knutson Kocialkowski Routzohn NAYS-140

Ryan Sabath Sacks Sandager Schaefer, III. Schafer, Wis. Schiffler Schuetz Schulte Schwert Scrugham Seccombe Shafer, Mich. Shanley Shannon Simpson Sirovich Smith, Conn. Smith, Ill. Smith, Maine Smith, Ohio Snyder Spence Springer Stearns, N. H. Sumner, Ill. Sutphin Taber Tenerowicz Thill Thomas, N. J. Thorkelson Tibbott Tinkham Tolan Treadway Van Zandt Vorys, Ohio Vreeland Wallgren Welch Wheat White, Idaho White, Ohio Williams, Del Williams, Mo. Wolcott Wolfenden, Pa Wolverton, N. J. Wood Woodruff, Mich. Woodrum, Va. Youngdahl Zimmerman Rankin

# Kerr

Kitchens

Kleberg

Lanham

Lemke McGehee

Mahon

Maloney

Massingale

May Mills, Ark.

Mills, La.

Monroney Mouton

Mundt Murdock, Ariz. Murdock, Utah

Murray

Nelson

Nichols

Norrell

Owen Pace

Patman

Patrick Patton

Pearson

Allen, La. Allen, Pa. Dies Disney Anderson, Calif. Doxev Barden Bates, Ky Durham Dworshak Edmiston Beckworth Bland Boren Brooks Ellis Ferguson Brown, Ga. Fernandez Folger Ford, Miss. Bryson Bulwinkle Fulmer Garrett Burgin Byrns, Tenn. Caldwell Cannon, Fla. Gathings Geyer, Calif. Gibbs Carlson Cartwright Gore Gossett Case, S. Dak. Chandler Grant, Ala. Griffith Chapman Hare Hendricks Clark Coffee, Nebr. Coffee, Wash. Cole, Md. Hill Hoffman Horton Houston Collins Hull Cooley Izac Johnson, Luther A. Peterson, Fla. Johnson, Lyndon Peterson, Ga. Johnson, Okla. Poage Johnson, W. Va. Ramspeck Kee Jarman Cooper Cox Crawford Curtis Darden DeRouen

Alexander

Ashbrook

Buckley, N. Y.

Boykin

NOT VOTING-40 Gross Hobbs

Crowther Curley Jeffries Jensen Jones, Tex. Daly Evans Green Lambertson

Rees, Kans. Richards Robertson Robinson, Utah Robsion, Ky. Rogers, Okla. McMillan, John L. Romjue McMillan, Thos. S.Satterfi Satterfield Secrest Sheppard Smith, Va. Smith, Wash. Smith, W. Va. South Starnes, Ala. Stefan Talle Tarver Taylor, Tenn. Terry Thomas, Tex. Thomason Turner Vincent, Ky. Vinson, Ga. Voorhis, Calif. Wadsworth Warren Weaver West Whelchel Whittington

Leavy

McArdle McLean McReynolds Maciejewski Mansfield

Winter

Martin, III. Miller Mitchell Pierce, Oreg. Rayburn Reece, Tenn. Risk Rockefeller

Seger Somers, N. Y. Steagall Sullivan

Sumners, Tex. Sweeney Taylor, Colo. Wigglesworth

So the motion was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs: General pairs:

General pairs:

Mr. Rayburn with Mr. Seger.
Mr. Steagall with Mr. Lambertson.
Mr. McReynolds with Mr. Crowther.
Mr. Jones of Texas with Mr. Reece of Tennessee.
Mr. Mansfield with Mr. Carter.
Mr. Sullivan with Mr. Jensen.
Mr. Sumners of Texas with Mr. Wigglesworth.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado with Mr. McLean.
Mr. Hobbs with Mr. Risk.
Mr. Somers of New York with Mr. Gross.
Mr. Sweeney with Mr. Rockefeller.
Mr. Daly with Mr. Alexander.
Mr. Evans with Mr. Alexander.
Mr. Evans with Mr. Mitchell.
Mr. Ashbrook with Mr. Buckley of New York.
Mr. Creal with Mr. Curley.
Mr. Gregory with Mr. Leavy.
Mr. Pierce of Oregon with Mr. Martin of Illinois.
Mr. Macejewski with Mr. Boykin.

Mr. Keller changed his vote from "no" to "

Mr. Keller changed his vote from "no" to "aye."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded. A motion to reconsider the vote by which the motion was agreed to was laid on the table.

#### MILITARY POLICY OF UNITED STATES

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, the gentlemen who have special permission to speak today have indicated to me that they would not object to a unanimous-consent request, which I make at this time, to address the House for 4 minutes in a short statement.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, it would appear that controversy is developing in connection with the so-called national-defense program and its consideration, and unless certain questions are cleared up it is going to be difficult for the Congress as a whole to act intelligently on this important problem. Moreover, it will be equally difficult for the people of the country to comprehend just what our situation is. Controversy as a rule is the result of misunderstanding or the lack of understanding.

May I take the liberty of repeating a short statement which I as a member of the minority of the Military Affairs Committee made here on Tuesday to this effect:

I think it safe to say that our chief responsibilities at the mo-I think it safe to say that our chief responsibilities at the moment are, first, to understand, if we can, what our foreign policy is and what it should be. Second, what our fixed policy for defense should be; and finally, to examine the President's proposal, or, rather, the President's proposal as cut down by the War Department, in order to determine whether the program meets the demands of the fixed policy of defense.

I want now to say a word about that portion of the program pertaining to the War Department as it is being currently presented to the various congressional committees. I think it safe to say that it is generally a reasonable program, having to do with a proper defense of what we look upon as the continental United States. I refer to the general arear including Alaska, Hawaii, the west coast, Panama, the Caribbean, and our eastern seaboard. Moreover, it has only to do with what we term our present Regular Army—including the Air Corps-with some slight additions and the National Guard. If speaking professionally this would be referred to as the initial protective force of approximately 400,000 men. To be sure, there may be some question about various items of the program, for example, when, how, and in what quantity certain items of the military program should be acquired, but I believe it to be true, and perhaps for the first time in our history, that today we find the War Department, manned by professional soldiers, asking less of the Congress than was urged by the Executive head of our Government, a civilian.

This brings me to my point—what was the President's original request? Who drafted it? Is there a copy of this draft? What was behind it all? If he asked for 10,000 to 15,000 or

20,000 planes, what was to be done with them? Gentlemen of the House, I think these questions should be answered to remove a lack of understanding of our present situation having to do with our international relations and what our defense policy should be.

There is one man today reputed to know of the President's original proposal. It is the Assistant Secretary of War, Mr. Johnson. Members of the Military Affairs Committee on the minority side have asked that he be heard by the committee. We believe he should be able to answer these questions. He is reputed to be the President's public exponent of the original proposal, and I hope the chairman of the committee will not close the general hearings on this important proposal until Mr. Johnson has had an opportiunty to answer these questions. [Applause.]

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. BULWINKLE. Mr. Speaker, on Monday last I asked unanimous consent to extend my remarks by publishing an address of Judge John J. Parker, of the fourth circuit. I was informed that I would have to get the cost from the Printing Office. That I have done; it amounts to \$180. I ask unanimous consent again to have this published in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record by including a commencement address by my predecessor, Mr. Brunner.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. IGLESIAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks on legislation pertaining to Puerto Rico. The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record by incorporating an address on foreign affairs delivered yesterday by the Honorable Herbert Hoover.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Speaker, with the permission of the Members of the House who have special orders, I ask unanimous consent to speak for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Speaker, in order to keep the record straight, and speaking for myself, I would like to say that, as far as I know, no member of the Committee on Military Affairs opposes the appearance of the Assistant Secretary of War or anybody else who desires to be heard on the proposed military program.

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMASON. I yield.

Mr. ANDREWS. Repeated requests have been made to hear Mr. Johnson, and either he does not desire to come or the President will not let him come.

Mr. THOMASON. I do not know anything about that angle of it, but I am sure the gentleman will agree that there have been open hearings for 2 weeks and an invitation for all persons interested in national defense, either for or against, to appear. The chairman arranges for the appearance of witnesses, and I am not sure that the hearings are yet finally concluded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, I have been requested to announce that the gentleman from Washington, Mr. LEAVY, is absent on account of illness.

#### WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday, February 22, immediately after the disposition of the matters on the Speaker's desk, some Member, selected by the Speaker, be designated to read to the House Washington's Farewell Address.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and include therein an address on the Civil Aeronautics Authority by Col. Edgar S. Gorrell.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. PACE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks, made earlier in the day, and include therein certain charts showing the payment of W. P. A. wages.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. PACE. Mr. Speaker, I make the further request to revise and extend my remarks and include an address by the president of the Cotton Textile Institute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

#### EXPLANATION OF VOTE

Mr. HOBBS. Mr. Speaker, on the vote on the Cochran amendment I was unavoidably detained from the floor, though I was in the Capitol. Had I been present, I would have voted "no."

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks and include an editorial from the Pittsburgh Press entitled "No Comeback With

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

# PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the special order of the House, the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Shanley] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. SHANLEY. Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, I rise to direct the attention of this great House to the celebration that is scheduled for this year on the 12th of June in Cooperstown, N. Y. It is the occasion for the one hundredth anniversary of baseball. I have introduced a bill to commemorate this—not to make it a permanent national holiday but to pay tribute this year—the centennial of our national pastime.

Baseball has created the American ideal of clean, hard play. Baseball is America's game—American in origin, American in spirit, American in its appeal to player and fan. Born 100 years ago, it grew to be the Nation's game, its favorite sport and spectacle.

Baseball demands skill, dash, and pluck, calm nerve in the face of crises. It has perhaps contributed more than any other activity to the development of the American temperament. Through its outlet for the energies and enthusiasm of player and spectator alike and in its teaching of hard play but fair, it has been the Nation's safety valve and its insurance against excesses now prevalent among other nations abroad.

Any Biblical student will remember the exaltation of athletics from the Epistle to the Corinthians:

Know ye not that they who runneth in the race-ground, all run indeed, but one receiveth the prize? So run, that ye may obtain. And everyone who striveth for the mastery restraineth himself from all things, and they, indeed, that they may receive a perishable crown: But we an imperishable. I therefore so run, not as an uncertainty: I so fight, not as one beating the air but I chastise my body, and bring it under subjection.

Every nation has realized to the fullest the training in fundamentals that sport instilled among the ancients. The tales of valor of Spartan athletes are known to every schoolboy. Mighty Homer himself has left us an immortal couplet:

For no fame may a man win better the while he hath his life, Than from what his feet have accomplished or his hands amidst the strife.

Someone has said that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton. It might well be said that the historical military virtues of America's sensible descipline, and leadership, were taught on the athletic fields of America. No troops during the World War ever exhibited so much initiative as our own. We can well be proud of our athletic prowess and the contribution it has made to America.

If divisions in religion in this country have forced toleration as one great student believes and if the very confusion of our common law has taught us that our best safeguard is the independence and integrity of our judges we may well add that our principles of sportsmanship have never betrayed these manly virtues.

Shane Leslie, the Anglo-Irish author, has said that-

Modern sport, thanks to the Celtic blend, keeps the mean between the torture of animals and humanitarianism. The unwritten law of sport was gradually established that the pursued must be allowed a chance to escape. That big game have to be killed in the swamp rather than in the arena. The true sportsman prefers to miss a difficult quarry rather than slay an easy one.

With those great principles of sport he added a definition that a "sportsman is one who takes his chance when he ought and not when he can." He shall not aim at the sitting bird nor strike the fallen boxer. Baseball has these ideals.

American baseball develops good men. It instills in boys and young men the qualities for success in American life. Baseball requires virility, courage, sagacity, energy, and determination. Witness the brilliant array of statesmen, preachers, engineers, physicians, and merchants who have graduated from the ball fields of our town lots, schools, and colleges.

Baseball's hundred years of history provide as dramatic and as American a story as the struggles of the Puritans or the conquest of the West.

The chroniclers report that President Lincoln received notice of his nomination while playing baseball with the neighborhood men and boys.

Afterward there came the Civil War to interrupt peacetime baseball, but the game, a hardy infant, continued in wartime on tented fields and behind the stockades of Army prisons. Both Union and Confederate troops were playing the game. Here it became truly American, for, according to Army tradition, the soldiers of both forces laid aside their arms while a series of games was played between picked teams from the Union and Confederate Armies—yes, sublimely, typically American.

With the demobilization of the Blue and the Gray the soldiers headed homeward, carrying baseball to the farthest corners of America. It caught on everywhere. Baseball teams sprang up in every town and village and each team was loudly and proudly supported by its home folks.

Here in Washington the interest of our Presidents and Vice Presidents is known to everyone.

The saga of American baseball is a thrilling part of our national history, an integral section of our development as a people and a power. Courageous, far-sighted Americans took the game abroad to show the world, and from those visits mutual benefits have been derived.

The National Baseball Centennial Commission, created to honor the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of our national game, has attracted some of the greatest figures in this country. I am privileged to cite the roster of the national commissioners who are lending support to this great national birthday celebration:

Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, who is chairman; Ford Frick, president of the National League; William Harridge, president of the American League; John A. Heydler, former president of the National League; L. G. McEvoy, radio director of the American League; the Honorable W. G. Bramham, president of the National Association of Professional Baseball Leagues; George M. Trautman, chairman of the executive committee of the National Association; Sanford Bates, director of the Boys Clubs of America; Maj. Gen. Thomas Holcomb, Commandant of the United States Marine Corps; Stephen F. Chadwick, national commander of the American Legion; C. O. Brown, executive vice president of the Athletic Institute; Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Naval Operations; Neville Miller, president of the National Association of Broadcasters; Claude J. Peck, Jr., president of the I. C. A. A. A. A.: Alexander Cleland, secretary of the National Baseball Museum; George M. Cohan, author, actor, and playwright; Gen. John J. Pershing; Gen. Malin Craig, Chief of Staff of the United States Army; John W. Studebaker, Commissioner of the United States Office of Education; George H. Davis, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce: J. Taylor Spink, publisher of the Sporting News; Charles J. Doyle, president of the Baseball Writers' Association; Eugene I. Van Antwerp, commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

This honorable commission is now directing the Nationwide sweep of baseball centennial celebrations. Every hamlet, village, town, and city of this Nation will be made conscious of the greatness of our national game. Radio, motion pictures, and the press will all tell the story of baseball's

century of achievement.

On June 12 the greatest stars of today from the 16 teams of the 2 major leagues converge upon little Cooperstown to honor the stars of yesterday. There on this day the National Baseball Museum and Hall of Fame will be dedicated to the everlasting glory of our Nation. A cavalcade of baseball will be presented to again tell the story of America's past century and the part played in these tenscore years by baseball. We here even in these trying days should do our share.

Throughout the entire world today American baseball is the personification of sportsmanship, team play, fair play, and Americanism. Behind the bivouacs of the Civil War, on every peaceful Main Street, hard by the lethal cannon in Flanders Fields, and in huge sun-flooded stadia baseball brought everliving hours of thrills and pleasure and relaxation to countless millions. The printed page and the spoken word over the radio have given the game a following through history unrivaled in sport annals.

For a hundred years it has been America's pastime—and passion. For a solid century it has brought despair to Mudville, joy to Middletown. This year Uncle Sam is giving a gigantic birthday party to baseball. It is everybody's game, everybody's party. Let all America rejoice and thank God for a game that for 100 years has built Americanism. Let this Congress pay official tribute to our national game by naming June 12 as National Baseball Day.

But it is the day we celebrate that concerns us. From that colorful epochal figure, A. G. Spalding, in his immortal classic, America's National Game, I am taking an account of the early annals of the game. I ask unanimous consent to extend and revise my remarks at this point and include this famous version.

I quote from the book:

I have no intention, in this work of reopening the discussion which waxed so warm a short time ago, as to the origin of the game. It would be an act of disloyalty to the commission that was appointed at my suggestion in 1907, with instructions to consider all available evidence and decide the case upon its merits, were I ever again to enter upon the details of the vexed controversy—except in order to prove the righteousness of the verdict then rendered. It is quite enough here to say that the commission referred to, after a long, thorough, painstaking investigation of all obtainable facts, unanimously declared:

First. That baseball had its origin in the United States; Second. That the first scheme for playing it, according to the best evidence obtainable to date, was devised by Abner Doubleday, at Cooperstown, N. Y., in 1839.

The commission rendering this important decision was composed of such able and well-known friends of the game as Mr. A. G. Mills, of New York, an enthusiastic ballplayer

before and during the Civil War and the third president of the National League; Hon. Arthur P. Gorman (since deceased), ex-Senator of the United States from Maryland; Hon. Morgan G. Bulkeley, ex-Governor and later United States Senator from Connecticut and the first president of the National League; Mr. N. E. Young, of Washington, D. C., a veteran ballplayer and the secretary, and afterward the fourth president of the National League; Mr. Alfred J. Reach, of Philadelphia, and Mr. George Wright, of Boston, both well-known businessmen and two of the most famous ballplayers in their day; Mr. James E. Sullivan, of New York, president of the Amateur Athletic Union, accepted the position of secretary of this special commission.

The report of the commission, written by Mr. A. G. Mills, and bearing date December 30, 1907, is signed by all the members named above, except Hon. A. P. Gorman, whose death occurred while his colleagues were engaged in the work of research. The report closes with these words:

As I have stated, my belief has been that our national game of baseball originated with the Knickerbocker Club, organized in New York in 1845, and which club published certain elementary rules in that year; but in the interesting and pertinent testimony for which we are indebted to Mr. A. G. Spalding appears a circumstantial statement by a reputable gentleman, according to which the first known diagram of the diamond, indicating positions for players, was drawn by Abner Doubleday in Cooperstown, N. Y., in 1839. Abner Doubleday subsequently graduated from West Point and entered the Regular Army, where, as captain of artillery, he sighted the first gun fired on the Union side (at Fort Sumter) in the Civil War. Later still, as major general, he was in command of the Union Army at the close of the first day's fight in the Battle of Gettysburg, and he died full of honors at Mendham, N. J., in 1893. It happened that he and I were members of the same veteran military organization—the crack Grand Army Post (Lafayette), and the duty developed upon me as commander of that organization to have charge of his obsequies and to command the veteran military escort which served as guard of honor when his body lay in state January 30, 1893, in the New York City Hall, prior to his interment in Arlington.

In the days when Abner Doubleday attended school in Cooperstown it was a common thing for two dozen or more schoolboys to join in a game of ball. Doubless, as in my later experience, collisions between players in attempting to catch the batted ball were frequent, and injury due to this cause, or to the practice of putting out the runner by hitting him with the ball, often occurred.

I can well understand how the orderly mind of the embryo West Pointer would devise a scheme for limiting the contestants on each side and allotting them to field positions, each with a certain amount of territory; also substituting the existing method of putting out the base runner for the old one of "plugging" him with the ball.

True, it appears from the statement that Doubleday provided for 11 men on a side instead of 9, stationing the 2 extra men between first and second, and second and third bases; but this is a minor detail, and, indeed, I have played, and doubtless other old players have, repeatedly with 11 on a side, placed almost identically in the manner indicated by Doubleday's diagram, although it is true that we so played after the number on each side had been fixed at 9, simply to admit to the game an additional number of those who wished to take part in it.

wished to take part in it.

I am also much interested in the statement made by Mr. Curry, of the pioneer Knickerbocker club, and confirmed by Mr. Tassie, of the famous old Atlantic club of Brooklyn, that a diagram, showing the ball field laid out substantially as it is today, was brought to the field one afternoon by a Mr. Wadsworth. Mr. Curry says "the plan caused a great deal of talk, but, finally, we agreed to try it." While he is not quoted as adding that they did both try and adopt it, it is apparent that such was the fact; as, from that day to this, the scheme of the game described by Mr. Curry has been continued with only slight variations in detail. It should be borne in mind that Mr. Curry was the first president of the old Knickerbocker club, and participated in drafting the first published rules of the game.

It is possible that a connection more or less direct can be traced between the diagram drawn by Doubleday in 1839 and that presented to the Knickerbocker club by Wadsworth in 1845, or thereabouts, and I wrote several days ago for certain data bearing on this point, but as it has not yet come to hand I have decided to delay no longer sending in the kind of paper your letter calls for promising to furnish you the indicated data when I obtain it, whatever it may be.

Yours very truly,

A. G. MILLS.

We, the undersigned members of the special baseball commission, unanimously agree with the decision as expressed and outlined in Mr. A. G. Mills' letter of December 30, 1907.

MORGAN G. BULKELEY, NICHOLAS E. YOUNG, A. J. REACH, GEORGE WRIGHT. Senator Bulkeley, after affixing his signature, appended the

I personally remember as a boy in East Haddam, Conn., before 1846 playing the game of "one and two old cat," and remember with great distinctness the early struggles in Brooklyn, N. Y., between the two rival clubs, the Atlantics and Excelsiors, and later the Stars, with Creighton as pitcher. This was some 10 to 15 years before the national organization. I was present, representing the Hartford club, at the formation of what is now the National League, at the Grand Central Hotel, Broadway, New York City, about 1875 or 1876, and was its first president, with Nick Young, secretary.

Accepting the decision of the commission appointed to consider the subject of the origin of baseball as final, I have nothing to add to their report. However, it is quite in keeping with the purpose of the story of our national game to present here a brief biography of the man who first perfected the system out of which the greatest of all out-of-doors pastimes has had its evolution. The following sketch is from Appleton's Encyclopaedia of American Biography:

Maj. Gen. Abner Doubleday was born in Ballston Spa, N. Y., June 26, 1819. He was a civil engineer in 1836–38, when he was appointed 26, 1819. He was a civil engineer in 1836-38, when he was appointed to the United States Military Academy, and on his graduation, in 1842, was assigned to the Third Artillery. He served in the First Cavalry during the Mexican War, being engaged at Monterrey and at Rinconada Pass during the Battle of Buena Vista. He was promoted to first lieutenant March 3, 1847, to captain March 3, 1855, and served against the Seminoles in 1856-58.

He was in Fort Moultrie from 1860 until the garrison withdrew to Fort Sumter on December 26 of that year, and aimed the first run fired in defense of the latter fort on April 12, 1861. He was

gun fired in defense of the latter fort on April 12, 1861. He was promoted to major in the Seventeenth Infantry on May 14, 1861; from June until August was with General Patterson in the Shenandoah Valley; and then served in the defense of Washington, com-manding forts and batteries on the Potomac. He was made brigadier general of Volunteers on February 3, 1862, and was assigned to the command of all the defenses of Washington on the same date, and commanded a brigade on the Rappahannock and in the northern Virginia campaign from May to September 1862, and including the second Battle of Bull Run, where he succeeded, on August 30, to the command of Ratch's division. In the Battle of Antietam his division held the extreme right and opened the battle, losing heavily but taking six battle flags. On November 29, 1862, he was promoted to major general of Volunteers. He was at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville and succeeded Gen. John F. Reynericksburg and Chancellorsville and succeeded Gen. John F. Reynolds as chief of the First Corps when that officer was appointed to the command of a wing of the army. On July 1, 1863, took command of the Gettysburg field until the arrival of General Howard some hours later. His division fought gallantly in the battle that followed, and on the third day aided in the repulse of Pickett's charge. He was brevetted colonel in the Regular Army on March 11, 1865, and brigadier and major general on March 13 for his services during the war. In December 1866 he was in command at ices during the war. In December 1866 he was in command at Galveston, Tex.; served as assistant commissioner of the freedman's bureau there until August 1, 1867, and after being mustered out of the Volunteer service was made colonel of the Thirty-fifth Infantry, September 15, 1867.

Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, all of us are faced with trying decisions on many legislative fronts. All of us have every available minute occupied, yet I would feel that I had failed in my duty to a sport and an industry that has done much for America did I not offer this humble effort to the celebration. May I say that I could not even do this were it not for the able assistance of Steve Hannigan, of the baseball centennial commission, whose suggestions and material have been both invaluable.

I cannot close without pointing out to my colleagues that there is certainly one man in this House who knows baseball history from the enfilading eighties to these dying thirtiesone who touched shoulders with the immortal monoliths of old Chicago, Anson's Colts, certainly one of the immortal sons of baseball. That man is the dean of our House, the Honorable Adolph J. Sabath. He saw those herculean giants whose deeds grow greater as time expands—the colorful Adrian C. Anson himself, the one and only Mike Kelly, the mighty Williamson, and the others; a team that Billy Sunday said could whip any nine in history-all stars.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker and my colleagues. Let us honor all of them in this celebration, but, above all, let us commemorate the American spirit of baseball, our national game. [Applause.]

### GRAIN FUTURES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the special order of the House, the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. Burdick] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, when I introduced House Resolution 25 I did not do so for any formal show, but to get action on a very vital necessity to a just regulation of grain exchanges in the interests of both producer and consumer.

The substance of what I want to accomplish is contained in the first paragraph of the concluding resolution, reading as follows:

Resolved, That the Speaker of the House, with all convenient Resolved, That the Speaker of the House, with all convenient speed, appoint seven Members of the House as a Select Committee on Futures Trading to investigate and report to the House, within 3 months, its findings and recommendations for further legislation as to futures trading in contract markets, with reference especially, but not exclusively, to short selling and margin requirements, and as to alleged violations of the Commodity Exchange Act, with reference especially, but not exclusively, to wash sales, cross trades, accommodation trades, and fictitious sales.

When we consider that the purchasing power of a dollar, loaded down with interest and taxes, and the price of farm products, the farmers are now receiving the lowest price in the history of the Nation. Between a reduced dollar and erroneous farm program that attempts to make forced scarcity, the farmer is caught and the situation is crushing him. When we have hungry millions, Henry Wallace forces farmers to cut down production to the end that what can be raised can be sold to good advantage to those who are too poor to buy at any price. Such an enigma cannot be explained by Henry Wallace or anyone else. The people I am thinking about are those farmers in my State and other States who are too poor to pay interest, too poor to pay taxes, too poor to pay any debts, and too poor to obtain the necessities of life.

Theories may be all right in their place, but a farmer cannot live on theories.

The Congress passed the Commodities Exchange Act in 1936, and under it, as amended in 1938, Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Attorney General constitute the Commodities Exchange Commission with power to control the various exchanges of the country and to carry out the provisions of the law. which reads:

and sudden or unreasonable fluctuations in the prices thereof frequently occur as a result of such speculation, manipulation, or control, which are detrimental to the producer or the consumer and the persons handling commodities and products and by-products thereof in interstate commerce, and that such fluctua-tions in prices are an obstruction to and a burden upon inter-state commerce in commodities and the products and byproducts thereof and render regulation imperative for the protection of such commerce and the national public interest therein.

This act was not passed by economists—it was sponsored by the producers and their representatives. The main purpose of the act so far as the producers were concerned, was to limit speculative short selling, particularly in the grain and cotton exchanges. The producers thought that the gamblers in the board of trade at Chicago had taken about enough money out of the producers' pockets.

To my surprise and to the surprise of thousands of others, this act, as administered by the Commodity Exchange Commission, has not only failed to stop speculative short selling, but has actually condoned and assisted in its continuation.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield.

Mr. MASON. Does not the gentleman from North Dakota believe that Secretary of Agriculture Wallace and the board of trade in Chicago, with the short sellers that control that board, have depressed farm prices to such an extent that all the money they have asked the Congress for to benefit the farmers of this Nation has practically been wasted; and did we not believe when we passed the Commodity Exchange Act that we had stopped that pernicious action?

Mr. BURDICK. I will try to answer that, because it is a double-barreled question; but in the main I will say the gentleman is correct. As to the result that followed, I think I will come to that in just a short time. It will answer the gentleman's question.

LXXXIV-

In 1937 to 1938, of the total sales of wheat in Chicago only fifteen one-hundredths of 1 percent resulted in the delivery of actual wheat; in the period from 1938 to the present time only eleven one-hundredths of 1 percent of total sales have resulted in the delivery of actual wheat. In other words, 99.89 percent of the sales transactions have been the sales of future contracts in all of which there was absolutely no intention of making delivery.

It must be remembered that there are two markets on the board of trade in Chicago, and in other exchanges, a cash market and a futures market. Another point to remember is that during the last 3 days of each option period, whether it be May or December, there is no futures market.

The real injury to the producer in a futures market arises from the fact that the futures market is always fixed by the world price, or the London price, less transportation of our grain and cotton to London. This fixes a price beyond which our American prices cannot go, and we are today just as we were in the days of the Revolution, dominated by England in the price structure of our staple crops.

If there be anyone in the House who can support the proposition of having England determine what prices we shall receive for our products, I wish he would rise in his place and state his position.

The Agricultural Department knows all about these "futures" transactions, and it cannot plead ignorance. They have an office within a stone's throw of La Salle Street, and a representative of this Department sits in at the board meetings of the board of trade. While he does not vote, he at least has full information about all of the transactions going on there. Does the Secretary of Agriculture not know that 99.89 percent of all sales are "futures"? Does he not know that in permitting these transactions that the price of grain is kept down by a London program?

Furthermore, Dr. Duvel is Chief of the Commodities Exchange Administration, and one H. S. Irwin is in the employ of the Administration. Mr. Irwin wrote an article published in the Illinois Law Review in 1937, claiming, in substance, that the futures market was a good thing for the producers and showed the advantages of this sort of market. This article had the approval of this Chief of this same Commodities Exchange Administration, and after being published was distributed from the headquarters of the Commodities Administration's office here in Washington. If these facts are true, and they are, do you not see the necessity of having an investigation as provided for in my resolution?

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. BURDICK. I yield.

Mr. KNUTSON. How can anyone connected with the Department of Agriculture claim that short selling, where no physical exchange takes place, helps prices?

Mr. BURDICK. It cannot be done.

Mr. KNUTSON. Is not the present low price of grain and cotton due, in a measure, to the short selling, which is clearly a violation of the act?

Mr. BURDICK. It is due in large measure to that.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield.

Mr. REES of Kansas. I thought we passed an act known as the Commodity Exchange Act, under the terms of which short selling was not allowed, and that authority was given to the Secretary of Agriculture to prosecute cases of that kind. Is that correct?

Mr. BURDICK. The Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Attorney General were contituted a commission; that is right.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Does the gentleman contend that we continue to have short selling on the market?

Mr. BURDICK. More than we have ever had.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Did I understand the gentleman to say that the Secretary of Agriculture condones speculative short selling on the board of trade in Chicago?

Mr. BURDICK. Yes.

Mr. CULKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield to the gentleman from New York. Mr. CULKIN. Can the gentleman tell us who financed the article that this public officer wrote?

Mr. BURDICK. I do not know. Mr. CULKIN. Might I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that to his knowledge I made a rather cursory investigation of the conditions he now complains of, and it appeared from my investigation, from expert opinion, that the grain farmers were losing \$300,000,000 a year by reason of the Chicago wheat gamblers.

Mr. BURDICK. I think the amount is much larger than

Mr. CULKIN. And because of the subsequent failure of the Department of Agriculture to enforce the law that this Congress put on the books.

Mr. BURDICK. Let me read what this employee says in the Illinois Law Review:

Actually very few of the contracts are intended to be settled by delivery, and so would be considered as gambling contracts, and hence invalid if they were brought before the courts.

He goes on in this article to say that while those transactions are gambling and did not have the consent of the courts when they were brought before them, that he believes that Congress should pass a law making it lawful to carry on these gambling contracts; and this same Mr. Irwin, before he published this article, had the consent of Dr. Duval.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURDICK. Yes.

Mr. GIFFORD. Did not that article explain fully that the lack of such buying created such a thin market that the result would be worse than if they did not do it?

Mr. BURDICK. I will come to that.

Mr. GIFFORD. Did not that article say that?

Mr. BURDICK. Yes.

Mr. GIFFORD. And is the gentleman going to explain to the House the practice of hedging? Does hedging come under that? Has not anyone buying \$1,000,000 of something the right to hedge to protect himself, although the goods are never actually transferred?

Mr. BURDICK. Let us understand a little something about hedging. When you have 10,000 bushels of wheat yourself that you have bought and paid for, that is not gambling because you can deliver the wheat, but I am talking about the shoemaker who goes in the wheat pit and sells 10,000 bushels of wheat that he never had and never intends

Mr. GIFFORD. The practice of hedging is very interesting to us. Do not do anything here that will disturb that practice if you do not want to disturb business. If you buy 10,000 bushels of wheat and agree to sell at a definite price if it should be offered, you protect yourself even if you sell at a lower price because you can afford to lose, for you can buy back at the low price. Does the gentleman mean to say that the practice of hedging is not a good thing?

Mr. BURDICK. No. I would say that is a gambling transaction that is very detrimental.

Mr. GIFFORD. And the gentleman would stop it?

Mr. BURDICK. Oh, yes; and I will show the gentleman why.

Mr. GIFFORD. Answer what we shall do about futures.

Mr. BURDICK. Unless the gentleman will let me proceed and explain what I have in mind that answers his question I shall have to refuse to yield, although I dislike to be discourteous to my distinguished friend from Cape Cod.

Mr. GIFFORD. I am so sorry. I am simply a pupil at your feet, sir.

Mr. BURDICK. Good, then you will let me answer you. On the delivery days, which are the last 3 days of the period, and, as I have explained to you, there is no futures marketyou cannot buy any futures the last 3 days of the May period or the December period. On those days there is one market only-a cash market. Now, then, if the man who had sold 100,000 bushels of wheat did not have it when delivery was demanded the last 3 days in the cash market and he had to go on the cash market and buy the wheat to make delivery, no particular damage would be done because the artificial demand created by the buying of this wheat to make the delivery would probably equalize the bad effects of having gone in and sold and pounded the price down; but here is what happens when they get in a jam as they did in 1936: The Cargill Elevator Co. was long on corn: that is, they had purchased corn, and the last 3 days of May, the delivery days, they demanded their corn. The fellows who sold all this corn would be gambling on the price if they had been compelled to walk in on the board of trade at Chicago and buy enough corn on the cash market to fill their contracts. The price of corn then, naturally, would go up; and maybe the benefit to the farmer would have been as much as the detriment had been when they sold it.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield. Mr. KNUTSON. All I know about the Cargill case is what has appeared in the newspapers; but, as I understand it, the Cargill people went into the market to buy corn that they had agreed to sell to someone else-to the trade; and so far as they were concerned it was a final operation.

Mr. BURDICK. That is right.

Mr. KNUTSON. But the gamblers who sold them the corn did not have it, had no intention of making delivery when the time came, and, in fact, went to the Secretary of Agriculture and got relief.

Mr. BURDICK. The gentleman is approximately correct. When these men went out and sold short, and did not have any corn, instead of going on a cash market and buying the corn to make delivery, they went before the board of business managers of the board of trade in Chicago, where was sitting a representative of the Department of Agriculture, and this board passed a resolution exempting them from delivery of any corn. They made a settlement there because they said it would disturb business.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota. Mr. KNUTSON. What would have happened if the price of corn had gone down below the price that the Cargill people agreed to pay?

Mr. BURDICK. Then the fellows who had sold it could buy in cheap corn and would have made a lot of money.

Mr. KNUTSON. They would have made delivery then?

Mr. BURDICK. Certainly.

Mr. KNUTSON. As it turned out, the Department of Agriculture stepped in and saved the gamblers up there in the short selling of something that had the effect of depress-

ing the price nearly 20 cents per bushel?

Mr. BURDICK. That is right. I want to say that the Department of Agriculture cannot plead ignorance, because it knows exactly what is going on there with one of its representatives sitting in at these business meetings. I say that the purposes of the law that we passed here in 1936 and amended in 1938, as you and I understood the matter when it was passed, are not being properly administered by the administration now in control, and these gambling transactions which always depress prices are going on now stronger than ever before.

I am not seeking to revolutionize anything. All I am asking, I may say to my friend from Massachusetts, is that a committee be appointed to study these facts and within 3 months report the matter to the House. There cannot be anything wrong with information. As far as I am personally concerned, I will vote for any resolution in this House at any time that will give information to Members of this body.

Mr. HOOK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan. Mr. HOOK. I agree with the gentleman that these gambling practices should be abolished. Does the gentleman mean to say, however, that just because the Department of Agriculture may have a man over in the Chicago Board of Trade that the Department of Agriculture therefore controls the actions of that board?

Mr. BURDICK. No; I did not mean to convey that impression. I do not think the gentleman was here when I read the law. The law that we passed places a duty upon the Commission to see that this is not done. This Commission consists of the Secretary of Agriculture, the Attorney General, and the Secretary of Commerce, and they in turn have farmed that out to a Commodities Exchange Administration. of which Mr. Duvall is the head, who approved this article which says that we ought to legalize gambling up there.

Mr. TALLE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. TALLE. I understand my colleague in the other body, Senator Gillette, proposes that the short sellers shall put up some money in their dealings. I understand at the present time they can deal in grain on short sales at a margin of 3 cents a bushel. Suppose they deal in a thousand bushels, and they can deal in that number of bushels, it involves a margin of \$30. This is more grain than the average producer raises. Has the Secretary of Agriculture proposed to do anything about a situation that permits a man with \$30 to deal in as much grain as a producer raises?

Mr. BURDICK. Evidently the Secretary of Agriculture and this Commission have not done anything about that, because these fictitious sales are larger today than they ever have been in the history of this country.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Knutson]?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CRAWFORD. With reference to the bill introduced by Senator GILLETTE, as I understand the bill, it provides that one dealing in futures must put up a minimum of 25 percent of the value of the lot purchased. Now, that takes us into this field: If you buy corporation securities, you buy with the anticipation of actual, physical delivery of the securities purchased. You are going to pay for those goods when delivered. Therefore it is reasonable to talk about a margin of 25, 40, or 60 percent, we will say, but if we are to permit exchange transactions, either hedging, or buying or selling in any way whatsoever, it seems to me about the quickest way in the world to drive all of these hedging operators out of the market is to say they must put up 25 percent of the purchase price of the lot dealt in, because if that applied on corn, that commodity operator will go to some commodity which is not regulated under the Commodity Exchange Act.

Mr. BURDICK. The purpose of the law that we passed in 1936 and amended in 1938 was to stop the very transactions

the gentleman has in mind.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Why should we deal with the Gillette proposition at all?

Mr. BURDICK. I am not talking about the Gillette proposal. I am talking about the conditions that now exist.

Mr. CRAWFORD. May I ask the gentleman this question in order to clear up in my own mind his presentation? Does the gentleman object to any and every kind of transaction on the commodity exchange?

Mr. BURDICK. I object to every transaction of any kind in the futures market.

Mr. CRAWFORD. All right. Suppose I purchased, we will say, a million dollars worth of raw cotton for future delivery, the finished contract for which has not yet been consummated, and I desire to hedge my purchase of raw cotton. Does the gentleman object to that kind of a transaction?

Mr. BURDICK. No: because you have the exact number of pounds of cotton in your possession or in the possession of the man from whom you purchased.

Mr. CRAWFORD. That clears up my point, then.

Mr. BURDICK. That covers it exactly.

Mr. CRAWFORD. So, when the gentleman refers to gambling transactions, he does not mean to refer to the example I gave above?

Mr. BURDICK. I refer to what every court in the United States that ever had one of these cases before it has decided. I carried one of these cases to the supreme court of my own State, in which the purchases were made by men in town who never raised any wheat. They received credit at the local elevator for these gambling transactions. When they lost, the elevator charged the loss to their accounts. When sued, these defendants set up the gambling transactions as a defense, and the court ruled with them.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. BURDICK. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. KNUTSON. There is all the difference in the world between a short sale where the seller does not contemplate making delivery and a short sale where the seller has bought a commodity he is going to process and protects himself by hedging.

Mr. BURDICK. The real essence of the wrong in futures trading is that the price is determined by the world price, whether or not you have a tariff, and in arriving at the world price the cost of getting our wheat and cotton to London is always deducted. Why can we not have an American market? You had the same thing in the days of the Revolution and rebelled against it, but you do not rebel now.

Mr. LEMKE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield to the gentleman from North Dakota.

Mr. LEMKE. Is it not a fact that if this Congress should pass the Farmers' Non-Partisan League cost-of-production bill such gambling would be stopped almost entirely?

Mr. BURDICK. Yes; and I may state to my colleague that is the reason the boards of trade are meeting here in Washington right now and opposing the gentleman's bill.

Mr. LEMKE. And they are doing so mostly by the invitation of the Secretary of Agriculture, who is fighting this kind of legislation and has been fighting it every since the gentleman and I have been Members of Congress.

Mr. BURDICK. Yes, and they have the public believing the cost of living would go up 80 percent if this bill were passed. Thousands will believe their propaganda.

The old stock argument is that when one sells futures and the time for delivery arrives, he must fulfill the contract and buy back what he has sold. In this buying back it is argued that this has a tendency to raise the price as it creates an artificial demand. But let us see what happens, and let us see what the Department of Agriculture condones in their administration of this act.

Let me cite to you a concrete case. In December 1936 the Cargill Elevator Co. held an extensive long position on corn. In other words, they had purchased futures and when the delivery time arrived Cargill demanded the corn. If those who had sold short were compelled to go to the cash market and buy corn to fulfill this futures contract two things would have happened: First, the price of corn would have gone up, probably as much as it went down on these heavy purchases months before. Second, those who had sold short and had to make good would have lost heavily in their gambling transaction. When the delivery day arrived, lo! and behold, the board of trade at Chicago, with the consent and approval of the Commodities Exchange Administration, issued an order relieving the shorts from the obligation to buy in the cash market, and thus they avoided the losses that were due them under this gambling transaction. They were permitted to settle in cash, not for the full amount of their loss, but at a figure arbitrarily fixed by the board of trade.

The Chicago Board of Trade has always been an enemy of the farmers and it is interesting to note that now since there is favorable reaction here among the Members of Congress to put over a cost-of-production program for the producers, that the first ones on the ground to spread gloom over the proposition are the boards of trade of the country. They have already met here in Washington and condemned the plan. Why would they not? Their day of gambling would be over if any such bill passed. The control of our crop-price system by England would be over, and through the power of publicity which they can command, the public will be so far misled as to what this cost-of-production program means that innocent people will ask for the defeat of the bill.

The worst part of this whole matter, as I see it, is that we clothed the Department of Agriculture, Department of Commerce, and the Attorney General's office with power to regulate these futures markets, and instead of doing that the Chicago Board of Trade is actually running this Government function. At least we can agree on this fact: That today there is more selling of "hot air" in the board of trade in Chicago than at any time in its history, and an employee of the Administration, with the consent of his Chief, writes the articles and publishes them in support of what these gamblers are doing. Does not that look as though the board of trade is actually dictating to this Government agency?

If we have a Government agency that is actually condoning and assisting the largest grain gambling outfit in the United States in forcing down prices and taking it out of the pockets of the American producers, the people of this country want to know it. Every day we delay, when the farmers are selling their products for half of the cost of production, is a day which brings the farmers nearer to absolute ruin.

If I can get no report on this resolution within the 40-day period, I shall file a petition with the Speaker of the House and ask for 218 Members of this House to sign the petition and bring the resolution out for full discussion.

We have never been able to control these grain exchanges, but it seems to me, with distress and want all around us, that it should be obvious to all who represent the people in this, the greatest deliberative body on earth, that the wrongs that we know are wrongs should be righted. Why should we sit here and let a few men prosper with the accumulation of useless wealth while the many who toil must lose their homes and become objects of private or public charity? This Government will never go down through anything our enemies from without can do, but we have much more to fear from our enemies within. The Board of Trade of Chicago has always been and now is not only an enemy of the producers, but an enemy of the Government of the United States. The result of their practices is more ruin-ous to the welfare of this Nation than any damage that could be inflicted by the combined fleets of the world. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a radio address delivered by myself.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

## PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes at this time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, my attention was called to an incident which happened in my district and which is happening in many parts of the country at this time. An agreement was reached between the timber workers of that region and the management in the matter of wages and working conditions, and both parties have signed on the line to uphold that agreement.

On the face of it that may not sound important. But to my mind it is one of the mainstays of our democracy. As far back as June 1925, Mr. Marcus M. Marks, who was then president of the Borough of Manhattan, writing for the Monthly Labor Review, which is published by the Department of Labor, had this to say in regard to the labor situation at that time:

The labor problem should be thought out, not fought out. It is just as futile to fight out an industrial dispute as to fight a duel; neither struggle proves anything of real value; equity and justice are not necessarily achieved by the victory. The true end can best be secured not by brute strength, but by fair balancing of the conflicting claims. The main causes of strikes and lockouts and practical methods for their prevention or settlement may well be made the subject of serious study by men and women who realize what great losses may thus be avoided by proper understanding and treatment.

To my mind Mr. Marks has stated in a few words what is one of the fundamentals of democracy, and if the time ever comes when management and labor cannot sit down around the conference table and talk over their differences and come to some mutual agreement and understanding, then democracy shall have come to an end.

It is commonly argued by some that the labor unions of this country are driving a wedge between the worker and the employer and thus creating class consciousness. On looking further into that assertion, it occurred to me that just the opposite was true and instead of creating a class consciousness or class hatred men are meeting and discussing their problems around the conference table, which brings them closer together and puts them on an equal basis.

The outposts of democracy in the world today are France and England. In those two countries the conference table is still in use. The labor unions of those countries and their democratic methods for obtaining their goals is one of the main obstacles to the advance of dictatorship, be it Nazi, Fascist, or Communist. And to those who would deny that right to labor I only want to point out to you that where labor is not free neither do you have free capital, nor free speech, nor freedom of worship.

It is true that labor, during the past few years, has not always been the model child. But in view of what has happened in this Nation during that time, labor as a whole has carried on admirably. Labor has taken it on the chin during the past 9 years and no one can say otherwise. It is only a wonder to me that greater violence has not taken place than actually happened.

There comes to my mind that possibly the prevention of more violence than has existed can be attributed to an agency making its good offices available to labor and management for the settlement of their industrial disputes. This agency to which I refer is the United States Conciliation Service. Many of you will recall that one of the last acts of President Taft before turning over his office to President Wilson was to sign the act creating the Department of Labor.

Section 8 of that act gave the Secretary of Labor authority to appoint commissioners of conciliation in the interest of industrial peace. That Service has been quietly carrying on the work on the basis of getting labor and management to sit down together and, with the advice and counsel of a commissioner of conciliation, to calmly talk over their problems. The work of that agency which I have had an opportunity of looking into has produced more harmonious labor relations than any other branch of Government.

In addition to promoting these relationships between employer and employee, it has worked with the various State boards of mediation—which included such States as Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New York, Wisconsin. Numerous others are contemplating the creation of such a service patterned along our National Service. Such types of labor legislation cannot receive too much support.

In talking of these matters, I think it opportune that I tell you that during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938, the Conciliation Service was involved in 2,319 labor disputes of various nature. Of that number 1,262 were strikes involving 777,735 workers; 422 threatened strikes involving 271,629 workers; 85 were lockouts involving 33,363 workers; and 550 were controversies involving 378,069 workers.

From that it will be seen that 1,460,795 workers and 2,319 employers were assisted during the year in ironing out their disputes.

In addition to the above, 1,912 other situations were successfully brought to an end which includes arbitration matters, conferences, and complaints of every description.

Included in the foregoing the Conciliation Service was directly responsible for having averted 339 strikes involving 230.565 workers through mediation.

In the fiscal year mentioned above there was an increase of 59.4 percent in cases handled over the previous year. That increase, it is believed, was due to labor having been given the right to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining as provided for in the Wagner Labor Disputes Act.

Of the 2,319 labor disputes disposed of by the Conciliation Service 90 percent were terminated on a basis that was mutually satisfactory to labor and management. Also 95 percent of the 4,231 situations referred to the Conciliation Service, Department of Labor, were disposed of in a manner satisfactory to all parties interested.

The worker today is not the same kind of an individual as he was 25 years ago. With the radio at his service and with the automobile to transport him from place to place, the worker is more enlightened today than he ever was. For that reason he is aware of what is happening in other plants and for that reason is demanding the same standards of living he sees elsewhere. It stands to reason, therefore, that labor disputes will be on the increase, and may we always handle them in a democratic manner. The Conciliation Service, United States Department of Labor, and the various State boards of mediation provide that means.

May I add that the Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor lent a grand hand in settling without bloodshed the great sit-down strikes in the State of Michigan? [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, after the disposition of the business on the Speaker's desk and at the conclusion of the legislative program of the day and any special orders heretofore entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 20 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

# LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. Miller (at the request of Mr. Martin of Massachusetts), for 3 days on account of illness.

To Mr. Gregory, indefinitely, on account of illness in family.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 2 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, February 3, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

### COMMITTEE HEARINGS

# COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 a.m. Friday, February 3, 1939. Business to be considered: Continuation of hearing on H. R. 2531—transportation bill. Mr. George M. Harrison, of the President's committee of six, will be the first witness, and at the conclusion of his statements Mr. R. V. Fletcher, of the American Association of Railroads, will be heard.

# COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives on Friday, February 3, 1939, at 10:30 a. m. for the purpose of continuing the consideration of H. R. 2880, "To authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes," carrying out partially the recommendations of the Hepburn report.

#### COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Public hearings will continue Friday, February 3, 1939, at 10 a.m. on social-security legislation in the Ways and Means Committee room in the New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

# COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries will hold a public hearing in room 219, House Office Building, Washington, D. C., at 10:30 a. m. Tuesday, February 7, 1939, on the bills listed below:

H. R. 785, Draft Convention No. 53, officers' competency (BLAND); H. R. 947 (SEGER), H. R. 950 (KENNEDY), H. R. 1639 (BREWSTER), H. R. 1641 (BATES of Massachusetts), H. R. 1799 (MALONEY), H. R. 1805 (HALL), H. R. 2534 (Culkin), H. R. 2641 (DIMOND), H. R. 3210 (CANNON of Florida), H. R. 3216 (SCHAFER OF WISCONSIN), H. R. 3228 (MCCORMACK), H. J. Res. 118 (SHANLEY).

# EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

381. Under clause 2 of rule XXIV a letter from the Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Authority, transmitting definite recommendations (1) as to whether the Federal Government should participate in the construction, improvement, development, operation, or maintenance of a national system of airports, and (2) if Federal participation is recommended, the extent to which, and the manner in which, the Federal Government shall so participate, was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

# REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII.

Mr. BLOOM: Committee on Foreign Affairs. House Joint Resolution 114. Joint resolution authorizing appropriation for expenses of a representative of the United States and of his assistants, and for one-half of the joint expenses of this Government and the Government of Mexico, in giving effect to the agreement of November 9–12, 1938, between the two Governments providing for the settlement of American claims for damages resulting from expropriations of agrarian properties since August 30, 1927; without amendment (Rept. No. 19). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. BLOOM: Committee on Foreign Affairs. House Joint Resolution 141. Joint resolution to authorize the appropriation of an additional sum of \$1,046,000 for Federal participation in the New York World's Fair, 1939; with amendment (Rept. No. 20). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. BLOOM: Committee on Foreign Affairs. H. R. 3537. A bill to extend the facilities of the United States Public Health Service to active officers of the Foreign Service of the United States; without amendment (Rept. No. 21.) Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. SABATH: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 26. Resolution authorizing the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, appointed under authority of House Resolution 282, Seventy-fifth Congress, to continue its investigation during the Seventy-sixth Congress; with amendment (Rept. No. 22). Referred to the House Calendar.

# CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 1081) granting a pension to Bertha E. Fleming; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1102) granting a pension to Jesse Johnson; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1104) granting a pension to Pharis Johnson; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1112) granting an increase of pension to William O. Scott; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1113) granting an increase of pension to William Hays; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1116) granting an increase of pension to Harlan C. Allen; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1117) granting an increase of pension to William Hargis; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1118) granting an increase of pension to Fred Faulkner; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1136) granting a pension to Fannie Conrad; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1144) granting an increase of pension to John G. Hawkins; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1149) granting an increase of pension to Quessie Burns; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1171) granting a pension to Georgia L. Spelce; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1184) granting an increase of pension to John Middleton; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1210) granting a pension to Lafie A. Stewart; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1312) granting a pension to Ernest Francis White; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1315) granting a pension to Frank E. Rose, alias Frank E. Smith; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1341) granting a pension to Alexander Lane; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1344) granting a pension to Joseph J. Mann; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1356) granting a pension to Mary Hutcheson; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1370) granting a pension to William R. Ross; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1398) granting a pension to Margaret Harrison; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1400) granting a pension to J. H. Mathews; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1401) granting a pension to Jacob A. Tuft; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1403) granting a pension to G. E. Sandbach; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1929) granting a pension to Stella Viola Ruckel; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 3564) granting a pension to Chudleigh Andrews Clifford; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 3548) granting an increase of pension to Cecelia A. Burns; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN:

H. R. 3639. A bill to amend section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, so as to require every foreign-trade agreement concluded pursuant thereto to be submitted to and ratified by the Senate of the United States before the same shall become effective; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 3640. A bill to repeal the authority to enter into certain foreign-trade agreements and to terminate agreements heretofore concluded; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BOYKIN:

H. R. 3641. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to regulate the importation of nursery stock and other plants and plant products; to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to establish and maintain quarantine districts for plant diseases and insects pests; to permit and regulate the movement of fruits, plants, and vegetables therefrom; and for other purposes," approved August 20, 1912 (37 Stat. 315); to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan:

H. R. 3642. A bill providing for an examination and survey of Shelldrake Harbor, Mich.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

H. R. 3643. A bill granting the consent of Congress to the Mackinac Straits Bridge Authority to construct, maintain, and operate a toll bridge, or series of bridges, causeways, and approaches thereto, across the Straits of Mackinac at or near a point between St. Ignace, Mich., and the Lower Peninsula of Michigan; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 3644. A bill to authorize the erection of a United States Veterans' Administration hospital in or near the city of Gladstone, Mich.; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. BURCH:

H. R. 3645. A bill giving clerks in charge at terminal railway post offices credit for substitutes serving under them; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. COCHRAN:

H.R. 3646. A bill to authorize certain officers and employees to administer oaths to expense accounts; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. DELANEY:

H. R. 3647. A bill to appoint a deputy marshal in lieu of each bailiff now in district courts and pay regular annual salaries; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DEROUEN:

H. R. 3648. A bill to authorize the setting apart and preservation of wilderness areas in national parks and national monuments, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. FLANNERY:

H. R. 3649. A bill to establish a system of longevity pay for postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. GUYER of Kansas:

H. R. 3650. A bill to prohibit, within the District of Columbia, the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation, sale, gift, purchase, or possession of any spirituous, vinous, malt, fermented, and all alcoholic liquors whatsoever which may be used as beverages, excepting natural wine for religious services and ethyl alcohol for compounding or manufacturing medicines for internal use and as a disinfectant by physicians, surgeons, and dentists in their professions; prescribing penalties for the violation thereof; and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H. R. 3651. A bill to provide for including periods of service while in the armed forces of the United States during the World War for the purposes of the Railroad Retirement Act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LEA: H. R. 3652. A bill to promote industry and commerce through research in the physical sciences; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. By Mr. MAY:

H. R. 3653 (by request). A bill to provide for the status of warrant officers and of enlisted men of the Regular Army who serve as commissioned officers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3654 (by request). A bill to provide for probationary appointments of officers in the Regular Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McREYNOLDS:

H. R. 3655. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act for the grading and classification of clerks in the Foreign Service of the United States of America, and providing compensation therefor," approved February 23, 1931; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MAPES:

H. R. 3656. A bill to classify certain Federal employees into the United States civil service; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mrs. O'DAY:

H. R. 3657. A bill to confer citizenship on certain aliens serving in any capacity upon any merchant or fishing vessel of the United States; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. SCHIFFLER:

H. R. 3658. A bill to provide a quota for earthenware, crockeryware, china, porcelain, and other vitrified wares imported into the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WALLGREN:

H.R. 3659. A bill to restrict the exportation of certain Douglas fir peeler logs and Port Orford cedar logs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 3660. A bill to provide for the acquisition by the United States of lands not in Federal ownership within the Olympic National Park, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 3661. A bill to protect and preserve the salmon fishery of Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H. R. 3662. A bill to provide for insurance rates against loss by fire and lightning, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H. R. 3663. A bill to extend the Classification Act of 1923, as amended; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H. R. 3664. A bill to provide for the hearing and disposition of employee appeals from discriminatory treatment by superiors in the Federal service; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H. R. 3665. A bill to increase the compensation of employees in the Federal service, and to establish a minimum annual rate of pay of \$1,200; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H. R. 3666. A bill extending classified civil service to clerks or assistants in certain post offices of the third class, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

H.R. 3667. A bill to amend Public Law No. 111, Sixty-sixth Congress, entitled "An act for the retirement of public-school teachers in the District of Columbia"; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H. R. 3668. A bill to provide alternative methods of enforcement of orders, rules, and regulations of the Joint Board and of the Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. BREWSTER:

H. J. Res. 145. Joint resolution to provide for completion of rivers and harbors survey, including test borings for the determination of the advisability of putting in a small experimental plant for the development of tidal power in Passamaquoddy Bay; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. BURDICK:

H. J. Res. 146. Joint Resolution authorizing the issuance of a series of special postage stamps in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the statehood of North Dakota; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads,

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H. J. Res. 147. Joint resolution recognizing August 19 of each year as Aviation Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SHANLEY:

H. J. Res. 148. Joint resolution making June 12, 1939, National Baseball Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BOREN:

H. Res. 79. Resolution to create a special committee to investigate all matters pertaining to the American Indians; to the Committee on Rules.

# PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BARRY:

H. R. 3669 (by request). A bill for the relief of Mario Pezzella; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. COFFEE of Washington:

H. R. 3670. A bill for the relief of Shafer Schwartz; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3671. A bill for the relief of Harry J. Tucker; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. DARROW:

H. R. 3672. A bill granting a pension to Albert P. Morrow; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. EBERHARTER:

H. R. 3673. A bill for the relief of the Allegheny Forging Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 3674. A bill for the relief of the Allegheny Forging Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3675. A bill for the relief of the Allegheny Forging Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GARRETT:

H.R. 3676. A bill for the relief of C. E. Hendrickson and the Stephenville Hospital, Stephenville, Tex.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HALL:

H. R. 3677. A bill for the relief of Charles H. Diesend, alias John Degner; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. HAVENNER:

H. R. 3678. A bill granting a pension to Lulu Hilda Galehouse; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HAWKS:

H.R. 3679. A bill granting a pension to Emma Burgess Wing; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana:

H. R. 3680. A bill granting a pension to Roxie Francis Coffey and Barbara Coffey, minor children of John Coffey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JOHNSON of West Virginia:

H. R. 3681. A bill granting an increase of pension to Cleo T. Warren; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3682. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Gibbs; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Maryland:

H. R. 3683. A bill to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Lester P. Barlow against the United States; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LANDIS:

H. R. 3684. A bill for the relief of Corabell Wuensch, Jackie Lee Wuensch, and Mary Rainbolt; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LESINSKI:

H. R. 3685. A bill for the relief of Julia Rozalia Piatek; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. LEWIS of Ohio:

H. R. 3686 (by request). A bill for the relief of Rocco Tomei; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MILLS of Louisiana:

H.R. 3687. A bill for the relief of Joe B. Taylor; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. O'LEARY:

H.R. 3688. A bill to correct the military record of John P. Birmingham; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PACE:

H. R. 3689. A bill for the relief of the Columbus Iron Works Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SANDAGER:

H. R. 3690. A bill for the relief of Charles B. Malpas; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SATTERFIELD:

H. R. 3691. A bill authorizing the appointment and retirement of Robert W. Moss as a lieutenant (junior grade), Dental Corps, United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. VOORHIS of California:

H.R. 3692. A bill for the relief of William M. Irvine; to the Committee on Claims.

# PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

806. By Mr. ANGELL: Petition of the Council of the City of Portland, Oreg., concerning the taxation by the Federal Government of securities and revenues of local governmental units; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

807. By Mr. BURDICK.: Senate concurrent resolution No. 24, January 3, 1939, of the Twenty-sixth Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

808. Also, senate concurrent resolution No. 12, January 3, 1939, of the Twenty-sixth Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota; to the Committee on Agriculture.

809. By Mr. CORBETT: Petition of a number of voters of the Thirtieth District of Pennsylvania to retain on our statute books the further and corollary act to include civil, as well as international, conflicts in regard to our neutrality act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

810. Also, petition of a number of voters of Emsworth, Allegheny County, Pa., protesting against any change in the present Neutrality Act, especially against the lifting of the embargo on Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

811. By Mr. GWYNNE: Petition of Irvin J. Schmit and others, relative to the general policy of neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

812. Also, petition of J. J. Griffith and others, opposing the May bill (Universal Service); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

813. Also, petition of Peter W. Knipp and others, protesting against the lifting of the embargo to Loyalist Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

814. By Mr. KEAN: Petition of Rev. Richard E. Studer and sundry other citizens, urging the Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and amended May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

815. Also, resolution of the College Women's Club of Essex County, N. J., petitioning the President and Congress to revise the present neutrality law to enable the President to distinguish between victim and aggressor; to allow the President discretion in its application and to allow the President to include embargoes on raw materials for war purposes as well as ammunition; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

816. By Mr. KEOGH: Petition of 200 citizens of Greater New York, concerning the Patman chain-store bill (H. R. 1); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

817. By Mr. LESINSKI: Resolution of the Municipal Employees Association of Dearborn, Mich., protesting against any proposal for retroactive taxation of municipal employees' salaries; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

818. By Mr. LEWIS of Ohio: Petition of citizens of Columbiana County, requesting adherence to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and extended in the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

819. By Mrs. NORTON: Petition of F. K. Strohoefer and 13 other citizens of Bayonne, N. J., urging the Congress of the United States, for as long as we shall adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts: to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

820. Also, petition of 846 Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic citizens of Bayonne, N. J., urging the Congress of the United States, for as long as we shall adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

821. By Mr. O'BRIEN: Petition of George Gassner and other citizens of Rochester, N. Y., urging that we keep the Spanish embargo: to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

822. Also, petition of Frank A. Schenk and other citizens of Rochester, N. Y., urging retention on the statute books of the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

823. Also, petition of Julia Zingsheim and others, of Rochester, N. Y., urging retention on the statute books of the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

824. Also, petition of Leo C. Fleming and other citizens of Rochester, N. Y., urging retention on the statute books of the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

825. Also, petition of Rev. Joseph T. Maloney and other citizens of Rochester, N. Y., urging retention on the statute books of the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include the civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

826. By Mr. PFEIFER: Petition of James F. Walsh and other residents of Greater New York, urging adherence to the present neutrality act; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

827. Also, petition of 300 residents of Brooklyn, N. Y., concerning the Patman anti-chain-store bill (H. R. 1); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

828. By Mr. PLUMLEY: Resolution of the Middlebury Post, No. 27, Department of Vermont, American Legion, favoring a complete revision of our national neutrality policy with a view to keeping our country out of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

829. By Mr. REED of Illinois: Petition of Joseph W. Himpler and 21 interested persons of Downers Grove, Ill., recommending the adherence to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

830. By Mr. WOLCOTT: Petition of Cecilia Schoenherr, of Center Line, and 24 others, of Warren and Utica, Mich., extending the Neutrality Act of August 31, 1935, to include civil as well as international conflicts, and to retain on our statute books the principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

831. Also, petition of William Kelly and eight others, of Emmett and Goodells, Mich., extending the Neutrality Act of August 31, 1935, to include civil as well as international conflicts, and to retain on our statute books the principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

832. Also, petition of Albert Brennan and 10 others, of Avoca, Mich., extending the Neutrality Act of August 31, 1935, to include civil as well as international conflicts, and to retain on our statute books the principle enunciated in the act of March 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

833. Also, petition of Eva M. Cook and 22 others, of St. Clair Shores, Mich., extending the Neutrality Act of August

31, 1935, to include civil as well as international conflicts, and to retain on our statute books the principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

834. Also, petition of Rev. J. Henry Koelzer, pastor, SS. Peter and Paul Parish, North Branch, Mich., and 319 citizens of Lapeeer, Sanilac, and Tuscola Counties, Mich., opposing the lifting of the embargo on exports of armaments to loyalist Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

835. Also, petition of Howard J. Clyne, attorney, and 20 others, of Yale, Mich., extending the Neutrality Act of August 31, 1935, to include civil as well as international conflicts, and to retain on our statute books the principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

836. By Mr. WHITE of Idaho: Petition of the Idaho State Legislature, stating the necessity for the conservation of water for use on irrigated tracts of the northwestern part of the United States through proper storage of water from the runoff seasons; further that the Mississippi is the subject of study for flood control; that a feasible plan for diversion of floodwaters from the Mississippi would be diversion of the Yellowstone Lake through a tunnel to the headwaters of the Snake River, thereby controlling such floodwaters, and not destroying any of the scenic beauty of Yellowstone Park, and providing water needed for irrigation; this memorial urges upon the Federal Government favorable consideration of legislation and appropriations necessary to carry to completion a project that will divert the water of the Yellowstone Lake to the headwaters of the Snake River: to the Committee on Flood Control.

837. Also, petition of the Lewiston Local Veterans of Industry, Lewiston, Idaho, memorializing Congress to exercise its constitutional mandate to coin money and regulate the value thereof, to establish a Government owned and controlled bank, recommending a program of consumption that will relieve actual need, requesting the passage of a land tenure law, and expressing support of loyalist Spain; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

838. By Mr. CORBETT: Petition of a number of voters of the Thirtieth District of Pennsylvania, requesting that Congress retain on the statute books the further and corollary act to include civil as well as international conflicts in regard to the neutrality act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

839. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Sepha Margulis, of the Bronx, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

840. Also, petition of C. A. Hixson, of Fortuna, Calif., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to General Welfare Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

841. Also, petition of the Townsend Club of Fortuna, Calif., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to General Welfare Act (H. R. 2); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

842. Also, petition of Rev. F. Jos. Magri, D. D., and others, of Tidewater, Va., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

843. Also, petition of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles, State of California, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to proposed legislation providing for creation of parks in Kings River Canyon and acquisition of additional lands for Sequoia National Park; to the Committee on the Public Lands,

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1939

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. Orris Gravenor Robinson, of the Calvary Methodist Episcopal Church, of Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

"God of grace and God of glory, on Thy people pour Thy power." On all Thy people, O God, pour Thy power—the rich and the poor, the wise and the unwise, the weak and the

strong, that all may be illumined and quickened to do Thy will.

We are thankful for the vision of the founders of this Nation, for their faith in the power of an omnipotent God. In this day of moral chaos may that vision be lengthened and broadened in these their followers, who have the moral responsibility for the welfare of our loved country.

Grant unto these, Thy servants, the representatives of the people of this Nation, not only insight but the moral courage

to act as it is given them by Thee to act.

We thank Thee that Thy spirit still broods over Thy creation; that Thou dost not forsake the Nation that calls upon Thy name. Help us to remember that, though this Nation faces great and ominous problems, Thou art our God and we are Thy people.

Remember, O God, with comforting love the Representative of this body whose son was so suddenly taken from him this day, and forget not his family in their sorrow.

Hear our prayer, O God, we beseech Thee. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 2762. An act to consolidate and codify the internal-

revenue laws of the United States.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills, a joint resolution, and a concurrent resolution of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested.

S. 13. An act for the relief of John Mulhern;

S. 60. An act for the relief of Dierks Lumber & Coal Co.;

S. 87. An act for the relief of Leslie Truax;

S. 90. An act to provide for the punishment of persons transporting stolen animals in interstate commerce, and for other purposes;

S. 92. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents for certain lands to certain settlers in the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, Nev.;

S. 167. An act to amend clause (4b) of subsection (b) of section 203 of the Motor Carrier Act, 1935;

S. 185. An act to amend section 224 of the Criminal Code so as to penalize the making of false claims for the loss of insured mail matter;

S. 218. An act for the relief of Manuel D. A. Otero, as administrator of the estate of Teresita S. Otero, deceased;

S. 219. An act for the relief of Emma Gomez;

S. 313. An act to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Lester P. Barlow against the United States;

S. 323. An act for the relief of E. C. Beaver, who suffered loss on account of the Lawton, Okla., fire, 1917;

S. 342. An act for the relief of L. L. Stokes;

S. 470. An act for the relief of Alice Minnick;

S. 532. An act for the relief of Mabel Foote Ramsey, widow of William R. Ramsey, Jr., late special agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice;

S. 760. An act for the relief of Mrs. Guy A. McConoha;

S. 766. An act for the relief of the Missoula Brewing Co.; S. J. Res. 38. Joint resolution providing additional funds for the expenses of the special joint congressional committee investigating the Tennessee Valley Authority, and for other purposes; and

S. Con. Res. 1. Concurrent resolution authorizing the holding of ceremonies in the rotunda in connection with the

presentation of a statue of the late Will Rogers.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SMITH of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record in regard to the lumber tariff and our foreign trade, and to include certain letters.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. TARVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record by printing a very short editorial from the Rome News-Tribune, one of the leading papers of my State.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. Voorhis of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks in the Record.

#### COMMITTEE ON ACCOUNTS

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on next Tuesday and Wednesday the Committee on Accounts may be permitted to sit during sessions of the House.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I presume this is agreeable to the ranking Republican member?

Mr. WARREN. I have not had an opportunity to talk with the ranking Republican member, but if it is not agreeable, we, of course, will not sit.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. That is all right.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. THORKELSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 30 minutes on next Monday after disposition of the business on the Speaker's desk and the legislative program of the day.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana?

There was no objection.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA
AND ACTIVITIES

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 26 for immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

### House Resolution 26

Resolved, That the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Propaganda and Activities is authorized to continue the investigation begun under authority of House Resolution 282 of the Seventy-fifth Congress, and for such purposes said committee shall have the same power and authority as that conferred upon it by said House Resolution 282 of the Seventy-fifth Congress and shall report to the House as soon as practicable, but not later than January 3, 1941, the results of its investigations, together with its recommendations for necessary legislation.

With the following committee amendment:

In line 8, strike out "1941" and insert "1940."

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, a point of order. The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HOOK. I make the point of order, Mr. Speaker, at this time against the resolution by virtue of the fact that according to Hinds' Precedents, 4403, when a select committee reports in full on the subject committed, it is thereby dissolved, but it may be revived by a vote.

There is one other way that the committee may be revived and that is if any new material had been referred to the committee previous to the time the committee was dissolved.

This committee was dissolved on January 3, 1939, and this resolution provides for a continuance of the committee. You cannot continue that which does not exist, and therefore the only way that this resolution could be considered would be by a direct vote on a revival of the committee and then an authorization for its continuance.

I therefore submit the point of order.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Georgia desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. COX. The precedents of the House settle the point of order that has been raised. The pending resolution in form is the same as those heretofore employed in continuing committees that had expired by reason of the limitation as to time fixed in resolutions bringing them into being.

The meaning of this resolution is that the same committee heretofore functioning under the original resolution is revived with power in the Speaker, of course, to fill any vacancies that may exist.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COX. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. The gentleman recognizes the fact that no point of order was raised against the resolution that we reported a couple of days ago on the matter of reorganization of the Government.

Mr. COX. The question was brought up and discussed and was met by an amendment that was offered. However, there is a long series of precedents upon identically the same point as the one that has been raised here.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is ready to rule.

The gentleman from Michigan raises the point of order against the resolution on the grounds that the functions and authority conferred upon the select committee by the Seventy-fifth Congress have expired and therefore that the Rules Committee has no authority to report a resolution reviving and continuing the activities of that committee.

The Committee on Rules, of course, is a highly privileged committee. Under the rules of the House it has authority to report on matters of this character. As the Chair understands the resolution, reading the letter and the spirit of it, it provides not only for the continuance of the select committee appointed by virtue of the resolution of the Seventy-fifth Congress, but also for a revival of said committee. In other words, in the opinion of the Chair, the Committee on Rules had the authority, under the rules of the House, to breathe life into this select committee if they saw fit to do so and the resolution was approved by the House.

This is not a new matter. The Chair has not before it immediately the precedents, but in the Seventy-fourth Congress and in the Seventy-fifth Congress similar resolutions were presented. It has been held that the Committee on Rules has the power and jurisdiction to report resolutions similar in character and substance to this. As a matter of fact, the precedent cited by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Hook], section 4403, Hinds' Precedents, sustains the position which the Chair feels impelled to take. The Chair will re-read that:

When a select committee reports in full on the subject committed, it is thereby dissolved; but it may be revived by a vote.

As the Chair understands it, the purpose and object of this resolution is to revive this committee by a vote in the House. Therefore, the Chair overrules the point of order.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, of the time in my control I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Mapes], to be in turn yielded by him as he desires.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COX. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. I want to explain to the House that I have asked the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Cox] to report this resolution. I am so vigorously opposed to the resolution that I cannot in good conscience report it myself. There are a number of other Members who have had no opportunity to be heard on this matter, who strongly desire to be heard, and I ask whether the gentleman who is in charge of the resolution will not agree to at least 1 hour for each side in order that all arguments can be brought before the House?

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I am not in a position to make any agreement that would bind the House, but if any gentleman wishes to propound a unanimous-consent request, that would

be a matter to be considered.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the time for consideration of the resolution be extended by 1 hour, the time to be equally divided between those for and those against the resolution.

The SPEAKER. And that the previous question shall be considered as ordered at the end of the 2 hours?

Mr. SABATH. Correct.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that the time for debate upon the pending resolution may be extended 1 hour, so that there may be 2

hours of debate on the resolution, one-half of which shall be controlled by those in favor of the resolution and the remainder by those in opposition to the resolution, and that at the conclusion of the 2 hours of debate the previous question shall be considered as ordered. Is there objection?

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. I have no objection to the extension of time. I think the control of the time, however, should be as usual, in charge of the majority side by the gentleman from Georgía [Mr. Cox], who has control of the resolution, and the minority member on this side, to dispose of as we see fit.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I have no objection to an equal division of the time as between those for and those against. The SPEAKER. The Chair can only submit the unantmous-consent request in the terms in which it is offered.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object though I shall not do so. If the unanimous consent is granted, will that mean that the resolution is open to amendment?

The SPEAKER. It will not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Georgia yield?

Mr. COX. I yield to the gentleman from Montana.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I wish to propose an amendment to this resolution.

Mr. COX. I regret that I shall not be in the position to yield to the gentleman for that purpose.

Mr. O'CONNOR. If the gentleman would read the amendment, I think that he would agree to it.

Mr. COX. I have read the amendment, and there is much in it that would be considered by the committee if it is revived.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Why does not the gentleman permit me to offer this amendment to the resolution?

Mr. COX. I am sorry, but I cannot yield for that purpose.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. SMITH of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. In view of the fact that this matter has been under consideration for some time and that every Member of the House has made up his mind how he is going to vote, and that speech making would not change a single vote, I feel constrained to object.

The SPEAKER. Objection is heard.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I do not wish anyone to feel that he has been denied the opportunity to express his views on the resolution. May not the gentleman from Illinois submit a request to extend the time for 1 hour? If the time is under my control I shall take pleasure in dividing it equally as between those for and those against.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I make that motion.

The SPEAKER. The Chair cannot entertain such a motion. The Chair will entertain a request for unanimous consent.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I renew my request and agree to the suggestion of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Mapes] in respect to the control of the time.

Mr. SMITH of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I object. Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. KELLER. Do I understand that this resolution as proposed before this House this morning is not subject to amendment?

Mr. COX. Except upon motion of the committee. The committee will offer the amendment disclosed in the report, unless the previous question is voted down.

Mrs. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. COX. I yield with pleasure.

Mrs. NORTON. I would like to get some information about

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, it is understood that this is not coming out of the time allowed the gentleman from Georgia?

The SPEAKER. Yes; the time is running.

Mr. COX. I will yield to the gentlewoman from New Jersey, in any event.

Mrs. NORTON. My understanding is that this resolution cannot be amended. The only way it can be amended is to vote down the previous question. Then it will be subject to amendment. Am I right?

Mr. COX. That is correct, except as to amendments which the committee will offer.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, would it be in order to move that the time be extended?

The SPEAKER. It would not be in order. The Chair cannot entertain a motion to extend the time, under the rules of the House.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire as to the time that has expired?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has consumed 4 minutes. Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I yield 13 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Sabath], to be used by him as he sees fit.

Mr. Speaker, this is a resolution to revive and continue the committee commonly known as the Dies committee, set up to investigate un-American activities. Your Committee on Rules held hearings, extending over 2 or 3 days, hearing every Member of the House who expressed a desire to be heard. A great many appeared and were given full latitude in setting forth their views. The committee came to the conclusion that the work which this investigating committee was set up to do had not been completed, that it was an important work, and that the investigation should be continued.

I do not believe there was a single witness—or, if one, not more than one or two—who opposed the continuation of the investigation. Those protesting the adoption of the resolution put their objections upon the ground that they were dissatisfied with the personnel of the committee as heretofore existing.

Mr. Speaker, I want to say, while I am not here to insist that the committee exercised complete caution in the conduct of its investigation, yet at the same time I am not prepared to concede that the committee is subject to any of the criticism that has been directed against it. I think the committee has been very grossly misrepresented and has been unjustly criticized.

Those objecting have taken the position that the committee has not sat as a purely judicial body, and that they have not observed the strict rules of evidence in receiving testimony. I take it, Mr. Speaker, that the committee is not expected to function as a strictly judicial body, nor is it expected to rigidly observe rules of evidence in the taking of testimony. The chief criticism directed against the committee is that it has permitted people with grievances to appear before the committee and to take advantage of that appearance to direct unfair charges against people throughout the country. I think, Mr. Speaker, that has been done, but I do not consider that the committee is chargeable with the duty of verifying the truthfulness of what is to be said before a witness testifies. The committee, I believe, has endeavored to be fair. Certainly, in the light of the criticism that has been made and the experience had, the committee, if re-created and permitted to continue the investigation, will avoid repetition of any mistakes and will escape the criticism that has heretofore been leveled against it.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Taylor].

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, in view of the limited time that is allowed for debate, and due to the further fact there are many who would like to register their views on this resolution, I have requested very little time to discuss it myself.

It seems to me that the type and character of the opposition to the Dies committee is perhaps the strongest argument and recommendation for its continuation. I realize there are a great many well-intentioned people who have been misled by false and sinister propaganda, who perhaps feel that this committee has abused some of its prerogatives,

but the bulk of the opposition that has been registered against this committee comes from well-known and well-recognized un-American activities throughout this country. From the very outset it has been apparent that an insidious conspiracy was afoot to discredit this committee. In the first instance, they attempted to ridicule it out of existence. Then they resorted to laughter, and finally when they could not win their objective by those methods, they proceeded to smear the committee by abuse, misrepresentation, and billingsgate.

Now, this has not been confined alone to the un-American organizations of this country. Some of the outstanding executive figures of this administration have condescended to resort to tactics in this respect which seem to me beneath the dignity of such figures, attempting to bring this committee into disrepute.

So far as I know, this is the first instance where a special committee of the Congress has been assailed and assaulted by an official of the executive department of the Government. To me this is a very sad and melancholy commentary, and as a rebuke to this reprehensible spectacle this resolution ought to be adopted by a unanimous vote.

Mr. Speaker, this is the third time within the past few days that resolutions have been brought here to extend special committees, and in both of the other instances this House has adopted those resolutions without a dissent. So, Mr. Speaker, why all this hub-bub and commotion and opposition to the Dies committee? Of course, you all know the answer. The answer is that this investigation has "got under the skin" of those subversive influences and their sympathizers who would sabotage the hallowed institutions of our Government and erect on their ruins a system of government of a foreign pattern. After all, Mr. Speaker, the only difference between ultraliberalism and communism is one of degree. If you will visit the offices of the Rules Committee and see the avalanche of telegrams, letters, and post cards that were sent this committee by so-called liberals protesting this resolution, you will have some conception and appreciation of the apprehension which the advocates and sympathizers of these un-American philosophies entertain if this committee is continued. The verity of the old adage that it is always the "hit dog that howls" has been abundantly demonstrated by the bitter fight that has been waged against this resolution. For 3 days socalled liberals of the House used the Rules Committee as a sounding board for their lurid protestations. They clearly showed by their testimony that it was the scalp of MARTIN Dies that they sought, and that nothing short of that would satisfy them.

The methods employed by these radical agents and organizations to discredit the so-called Dies committee has in some instances been both pitiful and ludicrous. For instance, they put out the perfectly amusing story that the committee had charged Shirley Temple with being a Communist. That, of course, was nonsensical to the point of absurdity. Recently, in a further attempt to discredit the committee, they claimed that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Dies] was trying to elect himself President of the United States and wanted to use this \$100,000 or \$150,000 to advance his candidacy. Of course, I do not know just what ambitions the distinguished gentleman from Texas may entertain, but so far as that is concerned, I think MARTIN Dies would make a better President than some I have seen since I came to Washington 20 years ago-and I do not have in mind Herbert Hoover when I say that. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I myself have had some experience on special committees to investigate un-American activities. I had the honor of serving with the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack] on the Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities during the Seventy-third Congress, and I know something of the difficulties and embarrassments which confront committees to investigate these subversive influences. An attempt was made to lambast us and lampoon us, but not to the extent that we witnessed with the Dies committee, because there has been no limit to the abuse and vituperation that has been heaped

upon this committee. In my judgment, it has been wholly unjustified. [Applause.]

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I wish to say that to vote down this resolution can only mean a repudiation of this able and courageous committee. It will be hailed with a great hallelujah by every "red" organization in this country, together with their adherents and sympathizers. So far as I am concerned, I refuse to give them this comfort and consolation. I refuse to believe that this House with its proud and illustrious traditions will consent to "run out" on a committee of its own creation-a committee which it is now proposed to crucify because it showed courage and determination in its efforts to expose radicalism in our midst. [Applause.]

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, may I suggest to the gentleman from Georgia that he ask unanimous consent that those who speak have permission to extend their remarks

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact there is evident a desire on the part of the Members to express themselves, I ask unanimous consent that all Members of the House may have 5 legislative days within which to extend their own remarks in the RECORD on this resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia asks unanimous consent that all Members of the House may have 5 legislative days within which to extend their own remarks in the RECORD on this resolution. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none and it is so ordered. Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gen-

tleman from Illinois [Mr. ALLEN].

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, as has been previously stated, this is a resolution to continue for 1 year the special committee, commonly known as the Dies Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities. You will remember 1 year ago the great majority of the Members of this House were of the opinion that there were too much un-American activities in this country. We were of the opinion that something should be done. Accordingly, a resolution similar to the one before us was presented. In compliance with it Speaker Bankhead named this special committee which was composed of five Democratic Members and two Republican Members. In the selection of this committee Speaker Bankhead was very careful and particular. For chairman he selected an outstanding and lifelong Democrat from Texas, Mr. Dies, a Member who has served with distinction in this body for 8 years, an individual that has the respect of every Member of Congress, by reason of his fearlessness, honesty, and ability. Mr. HEALY, of Massachusetts; Mr. Dempsey, of New Mexico; and Mr. Starnes of Alabama, present Members of this House, were also appointed by the Speaker to this committee. There is one vacancy. All of these Members are outstanding Members. They have served the Democratic Party with distinction for many years. They are not new Members of this body. The Speaker, in selecting them, knew them well. Mr. Bank-HEAD selected them because he knew they were fearless, because he knew them to be honest, because he knew they would use every honest effort to lessen the un-American activities in this country. Speaker Bankhead is no novice in the art of selecting committees. He has performed that duty before, and we all admit that he has always done a very good job. What I have stated about the Democratic Members applies equally to the two Republicans on this committee.

My reason in discussing the membership of this committee is this: For the past 3 days certain Members of Congress have come before the Rules Committee attacking the sincerity and the honesty and integrity of the membership of this special committee. Mr. Marcantonio, of New York; Mr. Voorhis of California; Mr. Keller, of Illinois; and others, have come before the Rules Committee emphasizing that Mr. Dies, Mr. Dempsey, Mr. Starnes of Alabama, and others, did not possess the necessary sense of equality and sound judgment. They declared in no uncertain terms that these members of their own party did not have judicial minds and were intemperate in their actions. They stressed that Mr. Dies and others had been working for the benefit of the Republican Party and to the detriment of the Democratic Party and its various candidates. They harshly criticized every action of this committee. The hearings before the Rules Committee totaled approximately 7 hours. Opponents of this resolution were allotted approximately 6 hours of the 7 hours. Eight Members of Congress were heard against the resolution. Mr. Dies was the only one heard in favor of it. At the conclusion 13 out of the 14 members of the Rules Committee favored the passage of this resolution.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for

a question?

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. I yield.

Mr. KELLER. Does the gentleman mean to say we said that about the committee or about the chairman of the com-

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. I may say to the gentleman from Illinois that implications were made in regard to all of the members of the committee.

Mr. KELLER. I deny the inference. I said that about the chairman, not about the committee.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. All right.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question at that point?

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. I yield.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Does not the gentleman think that what this committee is investigating now, namely, whether there is communism in this country and whether it is spreading, is known to every man and woman throughout the United States without any investigation? Does not the gentleman believe that if this investigation is to be carried on, the causes of communism and its spread should be inquired into as well as the question of whether or not they exist?

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. I think the committee are doing a good job.

I readily admit that this committee has not functioned 100 percent. What committee ever does? I personally did not agree with the La Follette committee when they confiscated private telegrams and correspondence. In my opinion, the few omissions of this committee can be attributed to lack of funds. Well do I remember a year ago, when this committee came before the Accounts Committee, of which I am a member, requesting \$100,000 to properly carry on its work. By reason that it was generally understood the various departments were to come to the aid of the Dies committee, giving clerical help and investigators, the committee was given \$25,000 instead of \$100,000. Then what happened? Mr. Dies wrote respectful letters to the various departments requesting help, but was refused this necessary aid. Even before the committee had any hearings Cabinet members and others high in official life in Washington began an attack of vilification. Every effort was made to ridicule the work of the committee in the eyes of the public. Mr. Dies stood for these malicious attacks for several months and then, like the true he-man that he is, did a little "snipe" shooting himself. In other words, he took to the radio to justify the work of the committee and to defend it against these unjust and unwarranted assaults.

Much was said before the Rules Committee by Mr. Marc-ANTONIO, of New York: Mr. Voorhis of California; Mr. Keller, of Illinois, that the Dies committee worked for the benefit of the Republican candidates and to the detriment of the Democratic candidates for office during the 1938 elections. I interrogated Mr. Dies on that subject and he emphasized that nothing political entered the committee's work. Any contention that these five lifelong Democrats would be working for the Republican candidates for office is totally absurd. In support of its absurdity I would mention this: I hold here an article written by George E. Reedy, special Washington correspondent to the Philadelphia Inquirer. In the February 2, 1939, issue of that paper it states:

Speaker WILLIAM BANKHEAD (Democrat, Alabama) announced that if the investigation was continued the present Members would be

I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, if you believe that Speaker Bankhead would want to reappoint the present committee if he believed it to be working for the benefit of Republican candidates for office and to the detriment of Democratic candidates?

This resolution should unanimously pass in order that those individuals and those organizations whose intentions are to overthrow our American system of government will know, and know well, that we in Washington will use every means to defeat their purposes; that we in Washington stand ready to fight to the last those who wish to assault our American principles and American institutions.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I now control only 13 minutes, and there are about 25 requests for time. Therefore, I will take just a few minutes myself in order to leave a minute here and there for other Members who wish to be heard against the resolution.

For 32 years it has been my contention that Members of this House should have the privilege given them in the Constitution of voting on bills and resolutions, rather than having legislation buried in committees. I have likewise always insisted that Members be given a fair and equal chance to state their position and express themselves on legislation before the House. That conviction has guided me in my consideration of the resolution now before us. Insisting that those in favor of it have the right to be heard, I reserve the right to speak against it.

I maintain that the special committee created by the original resolution, for which I voted in a firm belief that there should be a thorough investigation of un-American activities, has used the prestige of this Congress to become a medium for partisan attacks upon the Democratic administration, members of the Cabinet, organized labor, and many respected and outstanding citizens. The gentleman from Tennessee stated that the special committee had been smeared. If anyone was undeservedly smeared it was the thousands of loyal and patriotic American citizens who were given no slight opportunity to defend themselves before this committee. I have in my possession as chairman of the Committee on Rules thousands of telegrams and letters from preachers, teachers, organized labor leaders, civic leaders, public officials, veteran leaders, and others against whose organizations and themselves the most vicious insinuations have been made by unreliable and discredited investigators and witnesses of the special committee. I say the use of a congressional committee to give credence and publicity to such baseless charges has been unfair to these thousands of Americans and their organizations. Unfortunately, from the very outset this committee has been led astray and has given widespread publicity to charges made by men who have been later discharged by the committee itself because it was learned that these persons were untrustworthy and undeserving of belief.

Mr. Speaker, for reasons unknown to me, the majority of the Rules Committee have seen fit to disregard the storm of protest raised against continuation of the committee and. ignoring the thousands of pleas for a sober, careful, and deliberate consideration of the resolution now before us, they have insisted upon a hasty and, to my mind, ill-considered report and vote by the House. Even my suggestion that the committee's membership be increased to avoid repetition of the charge of one-man dictatorship was rejected by the gentleman from Texas and a majority of the Rules Committee for reasons I cannot ascertain. I think increased membership would be a healthy thing for the committee and help accomplish all the work the chairman says is unfinished. Is it possible that increased membership might upset the program that the committee has already planned in advance of the action of the House in continuing it?

In all my congressional experience of 32 years, I know of no committee so broadly condemned because of its conduct by people in all stages of life and from all parts of the Nation. No one denies the necessity for a complete investigation into un-American activities as was contemplated when the Congress originally created this committee. But thousands of reliable and outstanding people insist that the committee has been solely a medium to smear political and civic leaders whose views, while being far from communistic, differ from

those of the chairman of the committee. I recall a proposal often made by a gentleman in this House in the cloakroom that a demagogue club be formed in Congress and he be the president. I thought this was just humor, but I am seriously wondering now if it was not meant in dead earnest. Certainly thousands of law-abiding citizens and liberal-minded and progressive people who support the President, and even the President himself, have been exposed to the rankest kind of demagoguery by the actions of this committee. And not only that, but in every section of the country Democratic candidates for high office have been falsely and maliciously accused of communistic alinements without a shred of evidence or justification for such baseless charges. Men made these charges while on the pay roll of a committee of Congress and who were later found to be labor spies connected with strikebreaking organizations and groups specializing in the lowest type of character assassination; men whose recklessness with the truth and general unreliability should have been ascertained by the special committee before they were permitted to fill hundreds of pages of the record with their outrageous charges and statements. This was bad enough, but when the special committee permitted itself to be used to allow veiled insinuations against the President to be made, their conduct not only disgusted but was resented by millions of fair-minded citizens of our country.

There is no need to explain why the Republicans favor continuation of the committee. I notice that they are unanimous in their support of this resolution and will undoubtedly vote for it to a man. I cannot wholly blame them for this strictly partisan attitude of utilizing the best opportunity they have had in years for what they hope will continue to cast discredit upon the Democratic Party, its officials, and a Democratic President. But I regret extremely that the Democrats are so short-sighted as to permit themselves to be used for such an unsavory purpose and to have Democratic legislators go to the extent of even refusing a fair chance and opportunity to Members of this House to express their views and submit evidence as to why this instrument of attack on organized labor and the Democratic Party should be stopped now.

Mr. Speaker, I originally supported and voted for the resolution that created this special committee in the belief that I was helping to bring about a real investigation of all the un-American and subversive activities in this country. I was therefore amazed to find out during the course of the hearings before the Committee on Rules that little or none of the original intent of the House had been carried out. Instead I became convinced that this committee had spent its time and money on little less than a "smearing campaign" against all who have tried to promote liberal government and aid in supporting the great humanitarian principles of your President and mine. What about un-American organizations that spread bigotry, class prejudice, and racial hatred throughout this fair land of ours? Were they investigated by the com-Was there any attempt made to find out who finances them and for what purpose? Was Mr. Pelley, of North Carolina, and his Silver Shirts, subpensed and investigated? Was the Republican candidate for Governor of Kansas, Mr. Winrod, investigated? Was Fritz Kuhn brought in and investigated? Were the Black Shirts of Michigan investigated? Oh, no; the committee could not get around to them before their money ran out, and I am wondering why.

It is a strange and distressing coincidence that the enemies of President Roosevelt and the administration will stop at nothing and use any kind of instrument at hand to undermine and try to destroy the confidence of our people in the administration. This is not the first time it has been tried, but it will fail like the others when the people realize who and what is back of these vicious smearing campaigns. How very much like the campaign against our American President now being carried in the Nazi press in Germany, how nearly in the same language are these vicious attacks by the agents of fascism, silver shirtism, nazi-ism, and other "isms" which are given credence and publicity by our ill-advised and misguided special committee. Only today newspapers

report our President being called a "Bolshevist tool." Read the special committee's hearings and the press reports about them and see if that does not sound to you like the ravings now being carried in the Hitler press. The headlines in reactionary newspapers accompanying every hearing of this special committee have echoed in substance the vituperations of the German Nazis directed against our great President. I know the administration would not have uttered one word of criticism of the committee if it had felt its work and real purpose was to investigate and expose un-American activities, instead of attacking, libeling, and attempting to intimidate every liberal, progressive, and humanitarian group and person in sympathy with the objectives of our administration to better the conditions and lives of the masses of our people.

History repeats itself sometimes, and I know the future will justify my position and that of all others in this House who refuse to submit to partisan prejudice and political hysteria. No number of attacks on the President and his administration, no matter how cleverly masqueraded or concealed, will detract from his fine reputation and the noble and humane efforts he is making in behalf of our democratic form of government and especially in behalf of the needy and downtrodden for whose condition the greedy and avaricious special interests are responsible and whose agents howl gleefully at every attempt to smear him or those who support him.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I want to say that neither my conscience nor my sense of decency will permit me to vote for this resolution. I take the privilege under the leave granted me of inserting a few of the thousands of letters and telegrams which I have received in protest to continuing this special committee, at this point in the RECORD. These protests should satisfy any fair-minded Member that I am doing my duty in opposing the passage of this resolution. I hope, even in spite of my fears, that if the special committee is renewed, it will see a new light and sincerely try to do the job it was intended to do. But like the thousands who oppose its continuance, I go only by its past record, and I urge the Democrats of this House as good Democrats, to put an end to this partisan and political comedy by voting with me against the resolution.

The letters follow:

GRAND LODGE BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD TRAINMEN, Cleveland, Ohio, January 9, 1939.

Hon. ADOLPH J. SABATH,

Hon. Adolph J. Saeath,

Chairman, House Rules Committee,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Congressman: I take this opportunity to call to your attention the fact that the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen is unalterably opposed to the granting of any additional money to the disreputable Dies committee. That committee should be discharged at once and the task of investigating un-American activity be delegated to Congressmen and Senators of the caliber of the members of the Senate Civil Liberties Committee.

Without listing a separate bill of complaint against the Dies committee the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen endorses President Roosevelt's indictment of the unfair and un-American tactics employed by that committee throughout the course of its investigation and hearings.

gation and hearings.

with the danger of fascism present and immediate, we cannot afford to be blinded by a smoke screen of unfounded charges and scare headlines emanating from the star chamber of the Dies committee. I for one hope that the House of Representatives will regain the respect of the American citizenry by refusing to countenance further the antics of the Dies committee.

Respectfully yours,

A. F. WHITNEY. President.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., January 9, 1939.

Adolph J. Sabath, House Office Building:

We urge you to oppose resolution for continuance of un-American Dies committee.

INDIANA CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE. FRANCES ZINKIN, Secretary.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., January 6, 1939.

The Honorable ADOLPH SABATH, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C .:

Congressman Dies and his committee have failed to investigate the case of Rev. Gerald B. Winrod, of Kansas, and numerous other pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic groups. While an objective investiga-

tion of Nazi, Fascist, and Communist groups in the United States is a crying need, it would be a tragedy to carry on that investigation as the Dies committee has proceeded.

Rev. L. M. BIRKHEAD, National Director, Friends of Democracy.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY. School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse, N. Y., January 19, 1939.

Representative Apolph J. SABATH,

Chairman of the Rules Committee,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Sin: This is to protest against continuance of the House Commit-Sign: This is to protest against continuance of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, as provided in the resolution introduced by Representative Dies, of Texas. I hope that those thoughtful citizens who enter protests will be regarded by yourself and colleagues as representative of a larger number who feel such opposition but who have not been moved to write or wire by cleverly conducted campaigns of misrepresentation. Up to date it appears that the Dies committee has confused the real issues and perhaps hampered the work of agencies charged with apprehension of spies and other foreigners guilty of real offenses; it has besmirched the names of leading and patriotic citizens for the sake of political capital and generally contributed to mob hysteria rather than to sound democratic government.

Respectfully yours,

Douglas G. Haring.

DOUGLAS G. HARING.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., January 30, 1939.

Hon. ADOLPH J. SABATH, Chairman, House Rules Committee,

Washington, D. C.:
Petition containing over 80 signatures Louisiana citizens requesting that further committee action upon appropriations for Dies committee be delayed forwarded today to chairman, House Rules Committee.

JAMES DAVID MCNETT.

PORTLAND, OREG., January 27, 1939.

Hon. ADOLPH J. SABATH,

Chairman, Rules Committee, Washington, D. C.:

Strongly urge your committee recommend no appropriation for Dies committee, whose alleged investigations have degenerated into New Deal smearing, and threaten future of American democracy.

President, Council for Economic and Social Research.

SOUTH BEND INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCIL, South Bend, Ind., January 31, 1939.

Hon. ADOLPH SABATH,

Chairman, House Rules Committee,

Chairman, House Rules Committee,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: We are enclosing a resolution adopted by the South
Bend Industrial Union Council, representing 25,000 members of organized labor, at our last regular meeting.
Since from the very outset the Dies committee has done nothing
constructive, but, instead, has attacked everything progressive and
constructive, as is outlined in the enclosed resolution, we therefore
urge that the Rules Committee refuse to act favorably on the Dies
committee resolution asking for an additional \$150,000 to continue
their destructive work. their destructive work.

Respectfully yours,

BESS MEBLIN, Executive Secretary.

THE UN-AMERICAN DIES COMMITTEE

Whereas the Dies committee was authorized by the Seventy-fifth Congress to investigate "subversive and un-American activities";

Whereas so scandalous was the mud slinging of the committee

Whereas so scandalous was the mud slinging of the committee that President Roosevelt rebuked it publically on October 25, ironically dubbing it an "un-American committee"; and Whereas from the first days of its hearings, the committee began a Nation-wide "red hunt" with sweeping assaults on members of the Cabinet and liberal New Dealers, provocative charges against the C. I. O., demands for deportation of trade-union leaders, slanders against the private life of the Roosevelt family; and Whereas the American people observed that the new revelations (equal in importance to the discovery that Shirley Temple was a dangerous "red") always seemed to be timed for publication with an eye for maximum effect in the elections in such key States as Michigan, Minnesota, New York, and California; and Whereas New Deal democracy, the modern labor movement launched by the C. I. O., and the popular will of the people are the real targets of the Dies committee and the reactionary strategists behind it; Therefore be it Resolved, That the South Bend Industrial Union Council go on

gists behind it; Therefore be it

Resolved, That the South Bend Industrial Union Council go on record condemning the Dies committee and call on our Congressmen to carry out the following action:

1. No appropriations to the Dies committee.

2. Ask its dissolution by the House of Representatives.

3. Appointment of a committee to study and investigate the finances, procedures and un-American recommendations of Mr. Dres and his associates; and be it finally

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to our Congressmen, to all unions affiliated to the council, to members of the State legislature, and to the press.

BESS MEBLIN. Secretary.

Adolph J. Sabath,

Chairman, Rules Committee,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Oppose continuation of Dies committee un-American activities as un-American in procedure and spirit. Also as waste of public funds badly needed for other purposes.

Rev. S. Marcus Houge,

State Chairman, Civil Liberties Committee.

The House Rules Committee.

Washington, D.C.: Labor's Non-Partisan League feels that the appropriation for the Dies committee should not be extended. The investigation has not only been a farce but has been aimed at the entire labor movement

CALVIN SUTHERLIN. Labor's Non-Partisan League of Connecticut.

NEW YORK, N. Y., January 10, 1939.

ADOLPH J. SABATH.

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:
Wish to record my opposition to continuation of Dies House committee with its lax, unscholarly, and unscientific methods of investigating un-American activities. Believe it has been used for political purposes rather than for real purpose for which it was

FREDERICK L. REDEFER Executive Secretary, Progressive Education Association.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, January 9, 1939.

Hon. ADOLPH J. SABATH,

Chairman, Rules Committee,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:
Record of Dies committee insuring irresponsible witnesses and
refusing hearing to those accused conclusively shows this committee
a menace to democratic procedure and government. Urge discontinuance this un-American committee.

R. E. MATHEWS Secretary, Ohio League for Constitutional Rights.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., January 11, 1939.

ADOLPH J. SABATH, Chairman, House Rules Committee, House of Representatives,

Chairman, House Rules Commutee, House Cywashington, D. C.:

American Federation of Teachers, representing more than 30,000 teachers, affiliated with American Federation of Labor, urges discharge of Dies committee on basis inaccurate statements, poor conduct hearings, failure to fulfill real purpose for which set up. We oppose further appropriations to such committee.

MARY FOLEY GROSSMAN,

National Legislative Representative.

National Legislative Representative.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., January 30, 1939.

ADOLPH J. SABATH,

Chairman of the Rules Committee,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

The conduct of the inquiry of the House Committee on Un-American Activities has so clearly revealed the prejudice of the committee that there is no justification for extending the inquiry. I urge, therefore, an adverse report on the Dies resolution.

ELIZABETH PORTER.

ELIZABETH PORTER.

New York, N. Y., January 25, 1939.

NEW YORK, N. Y., January 25, 1939.

Representative A. J. Sabath,
Chairman of Rules Committee,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

May I add my voice to what must be a rapidly growing protest at continuance of the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities.

Investigate un-Americanism, yes, but not through a committee headed by one whom I consider un-American and containing members have a supervisor of the control of t bers whose Americanism is, to say the least, questionable.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM M. WHEETS.

MANCHESTER, VT.

GRINNELL, IOWA, January 23, 1939.

Chairman, Rules Committee,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:
Do your best to kill resolution appropriating more money for Dies committee. That committee is a national disgrace, accepting emotional statements without investigating their truth.

Mrs. LAETITIAM CONARD.

Mrs. LAETITIAM CONARD.

PAWLING, N. Y., January 21, 1939.

Representative A. J. SABATH,

House Office Building:
Urge adverse action on continuation Dies committee as sensational and unauthentic in method and intent.

M. F. TABER

Winnetka Public Schools, Winnetka, Ill., January 21, 1939.

Winnetka, Ill., January 21, 1939.

Hon. Adolph J. Sabath,

Chairman, Rules Committee, House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.:

Dear Congressman Sabath: I understand that the Dies committee has asked for an appropriation of \$150,000 to continue its absurd investigation. Haven't we enough faith in democracy and in the common sense of the American people not to be afraid of the sputtering of a few thousand Communists and Fascists? It seems to me that there are far too many things that need money to waste our resources on this sort of futile investigation. It makes good headlines for Mr. Dies, but he and the other Congressmen can serve our country better by working on the really serious problems that confront us, and not wasting their time and the taxpayers' money on witch hunts. If there are actual criminal conspiracies, let our very efficient G-men ferret them out under the Department of Justice, instead of dragging citizens before a congressional committee to explain why they have exercised their rights as citizens in a free country in belonging to various organizations or expressing their opinions. opinions.

opinions.

Thomas Jefferson once said: "Here we shall follow truth wherever it may lead, nor fear to tolerate error as long as reason is left free to combat it." That is the essence of democracy and of faith in the democratic process. Dies investigations smack of the Stalin purges and the Hitler persecutions. They are far more un-American than the activities of those whom he "exposes." I trust that you and the members of your committee will have more respect for American democracy than would be implied by an appropriation to "red" baiters and Fascist baiters.

Yours truly,

CARLETON WASHBURNE.

CHICAGO, ILL., January 7, 1939.

CHICAGO, ILL., January 7, 1939.

Congressman A. J. Sabath,

Chairman, Rules Committee, House of Representatives,

House Office Building:

I want to protest against the continuance of the silly performance of the Dies committee, and quote for you from an editorial in New York Times: "The committee has solemnly listened to a great deal of obviously hysterical tosh. Its chairman's conclusions have usually been reached in advance of its evidence and have nearly always been more sweeping than its evidence justified. It has been genuinely guilty of 'red' baiting in the sense of overzeal-ousness to pin a Communist label on every species of liberal thought. It has made silly and vehement charges against several members of the Cabinet. In short, it has sometimes brought itself into deserved ridicule, and in doing so has endangered the very cause to which it supposes itself to be devoted."

John A. Lapp.

JOHN A. LAPP.

EVANSTON, ILL., January 29, 1939.

Representative A. J. Sabath,

Chairman, House Rules Committee,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

As individuals who are native-born Americans and voting citi-

As individuals who are native-born Americans and voting citizens of Illinois anxious to preserve the liberties and rights traditional to the United States, we strongly urge your committee report adversely the Dies resolution for continuing the House Committee on Un-American Activities. This committee has already seriously injured American unity by engendering further discords. Its unjudicial and superficial attitude and irresponsible publicity merit its permanent disbandment not only in the interests of economy but especially of preserving the spirit of democracy, fairness, and freedom of the Nation.

C. C. Arndt, G. E. Axtelle, O. J. Baab, Russell Babcock, Lester Ball, Wade Barclay, C. H. Behre, Jr., David Cameron, A. A. Campbell, G. R. Bayard, R. W. Cossum, James Cotter, J. B. Crane, George Davis, Russell Dick, J. C. Eberhart, T. D. Eliot, Cortland Eyre, William Gellermann, J. T. Goodrich, Kay C. Goodrich, W. E. J. Gratz, Leon Green, H. C. Heffner, Joel D. Hunter, E. S. Lawler, M. H. Leiffer, C. D. MacDougall, E. T. McSwain, George M. Miller, Paul S. Minear, Lester Mondale, J. L. Moss, Ralph M. Phelps, H. F. Rall, Alpheus Smith, Ernest F. Tittle, William Voas, Carleton Washburne, I. G. Whitchurch, Robert Watrous, J. E. Whitesell, R. E. Wolseley, M. J. Herskovits, Whit Brogan, B. H. Morris. kovits, Whit Brogan, B. H. Morris.

> YALE UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW, New Haven, Conn., January 31, 1939.

The Honorable Adolph J. Sabath, Chairman, Committee on Rules, House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIR: I do not often write letters to committee chairmen telling them what I think. Even now I do so with some hesitation.

It has, however, struck me, after long consideration of the question, that the Dies committee did not reflect credit on the House of Representatives. It was quite appropriate to investigate un-American activities, but the methods pursued were not calculated to promote the prestige of the House. There is a strong feeling that Mr. Dies does not have the judicial temperament to conduct such an investigation, although I do not have the pleasure of knowing him personally.

such an investigation, although I do not have the pleasure of knowing him personally.

If the investigation is to be continued, therefore, might it not be preferable in the interests of everybody to elect a chairman who is judicially minded and who has as few preconceptions as possible? The committee led by Mr. Diss apparently arouses so much hostility as to weaken both its standing and its function. I do not know whether this opinion is justified by the facts, but I feel confident that it is widespread. fident that it is widespread. Very respectfully yours,

EDWIN M. BORCHARD.

HARVEY, ILL., January 31, 1939.

Congressman Sabath.

Dear Sir: We wish to inform you that our organization wishes that no further funds be appropriated for the Dies committee.

Labor's Nonpartisan League,

Dear Township Branch.

Thornton Township Branch.

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, Carbondale, Ill., January 31, 1939.

The Honorable ADOLPH J. SABATH,

United States House of Representatives,

United States House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: The investigations of the Dies committee on un-American activities have brought down the indignation of all fairminded citizens. The committee has worked ineptly and illogically; it has failed to seek complete or authoritative evidence; it has accepted much invalid testimony, and has ignored sound refutations of certain of the matter presented. It has furthermore earned by its blatancy a most unsavory notoriety.

I sincerely urge you, as chairman of the Rules Committee, not to recommend continuance of this extravagant enterprise but to appropriate our money rather for the countless worthy claims upon Government funds. The Dies proceedings have already abused public support for far too long a time. Let them now be discontinued, now that the opportunity is offered.

Yours in the name of decency and dignity,

Madeleine M. Smith.

MADELEINE M. SMITH.

THE PATERSON TEACHERS' UNION, LOCAL 482, Paterson, N. J., January 31, 1939.

Paterson, N. J., January 31, 1939.

Congressman Adolph J. Sabath,
Chairman, House Rules Committee,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: This is to inform you that the Paterson Teachers'
Union, Local 482, voted to request an adverse report on the Dies
resolution, which is before your committee at this time. It is
the opinion of our organization that the prejudice, unjudicial conduct and irresponsibility which characterize the investigations of duct, and irresponsibility, which characterize the investigations of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, demand that its inquiry be discontinued.

We therefore urge that the Rules Committee report unfavorably on the resolution to extend the work of the Dies committee.

Very truly yours,

MOLLIE PLUHAR Legislative Committee.

NEW YORK, N. Y., January 30, 1939.

A. J. SABATH,

Chairman, House Rules Committee,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Speaking on behalf large number of persons misrepresented by
Dies committee report, we urge Rules Committee to hold a hearing on continuance that committee's work, believing that prestige of Congress and principle of fair play both demand that any such inquiry be entrusted to more competent and less biased group.

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS,

General Counsel, American Civil Liberties Union.

CANTON, OHIO, January 20, 1939.

Hon. A. J. SABATH,

Hon. A. J. Sabath,

House Office Building:

It is time to stop the burlesque show of Representative Dies
before he indicts Snow White and the seven dwarfs.

RALPH S. COOK.

DURHAM, N. C., January 29, 1939.

Hon. ADOLPH J. SABATH,

Chairman of the Rules Committee, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

(Personal.)

Many liberal southerners urge your committee discontinue funds for Dies committee at least until full report published. This committee, ruled by Republicans, should be abolished.

MALCOLM M. YOUNG.

SIMPSON COLLEGE, Indianola, Iowa, January 30, 1939.

Hon. ADOLPH J. SABATH,

Hon. Adolph J. Sabath,

Chairman of the Rules Committee,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Dear Representative Sabath: I am writing you in regard to the continuation and appropriation for the Dies committee. As an interested citizen, I am very much opposed to the work of that committee in the past. It has seemed to me that their work has not only been of no positive value but that it has actually been detrimental to and out of harmony with the spirit of our American democracy. I would urge you to oppose the continuation of this committee. committee. Very truly yours,

CHARLES N. BURROWS. Head of Department of Sociology.

MILWAUKEE COUNTY CONFERENCE ON PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL LEGISLATION, Milwaukee, Wis., February 1, 1939.

Representative Sabath, Chairman, House Rules Committee,

Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen: The Milwaukee County Conference at its sessions on October 8, 1938, and at its continuation committee meeting, on January 6, 1939, publicly announced the following position on the Dies committee: the Dies committee:

the Dies committee:
"Be it resolved That we condemn the activities of the Dies committee as being directed against the New Deal, labor unions, and liberal movements, and that we urge that a real investigation be instituted of the espionage activities in the United States; and be it furthermore "Resolved, That for the above reasons the Dies committee do not receive any more appropriations"

"Resolved, That for the above reasons the Dies committee do not receive any more appropriations."

The Milwaukee County Conference on Progressive Social Legislation represents 87 organizations, including A. F. L., C. I. O., and railroad unions, language federations, women's groups, peace groups, church, political, racial, and youth groups, representing in all over 100,000 people.

We hope that you will pay respect to the wishes of these people and rule that the Dies committee cannot receive any appropriations for its activities that have aroused the active support of the Nazis and Silver Shirts in the United States.

Very sincerely yours,

Thomas E. Casey.

THOMAS E. CASEY,
Secretary (Legislative Representative),
Order Railway Conductors, No. 46.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., January 9, 1939.

Hon. ADOLPH J. SABATH,

Hon. Abourt J. Sabath,

House Office Building:

Vigorously protest continuation of Dies committee or appropriation of funds for its use. When a congressional investigation becomes propaganda for special groups it forfeits confidence of farminded people. Suggest Congress investigate to determine if Dies committee subsidized by private organizations, and, if so, how

GROTON, MASS., January 20, 1939.

ADOLPH SABATH,

House Office Building:

Hope you will report against the Dies resolution as being opposed to principles of the American Civil Liberties Union.

ENDICOTT PEABODY.

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF., January 23, 1939.

Hon. Adolph J. Sabath,
Chairman, Rules Committee,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.
I most vehemently urge you to present an adverse report on a continuation of the Dies committee. Its tactics and practices are

most repugnant to me. WELDON LARRABEE

852 North Labrea Avenue, Hollywood, Calif.

PRINCETON, N. J., January 20, 1939.

Representative Adolph J. Sabath,

Chairman, Rules Committee,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Withdraw support of Dies committee. Humiliating exhibition of American politics.

M. C. SHIELDS.

# [Press release]

A series of statements condemning the Dies committee as "no more than a publicity racket and a smear campaign, principally against many fine Americans who have progressive or liberal convictions" was issued today by the Council of United States Veterans, Inc., from its eastern district headquarters here at 20 West Forty-third Street.

The statements were made by veterans, among whom two were United States Army generals; one was a recipient of the Con-gressional Medal of Honor, former lieutenant commander of the United States Navy, former post commander of the American Legion and the Disabled American Veterans; another was a past department chaplain of the American Legion and a past State wel-fare committee chairman of the Legion; several others were former commanders of American Legion posts. Those who made the statements are all members of either the executive board or the advisory board of the Council of United States Veterans, Inc. This council recently adopted a resolution severely attacking the Dies committee and urging Congress to deny funds for continuation of the Dies committee activities.

In the course of that resolution the council declared that "the membership of the Council of United States Veterans, Inc., consisting of decorated and other prominent veterans of all walks of life, has observed that the membership (as distinct from the leadership) of the major American veterans' organizations, do not approve the tactics of the Dies committee investigation."

NEW YORK, N. Y., January 20, 1939.

Representative ADOLPH J. SABATH,

House Office Building:

Hope the House will waste no more money on Representative Dirs' partisan and injudicious committee. Attack on Murphy proved him thoroughly unprincipled. Communists and Fascists need investigating by someone more able and sincere. MILDRED RIORDEN BLAKE.

NEW YORK, N. Y., January 20, 1939.

ADOLPH J. SABATH,

ADOLPH J. SABATH,

Chairman of the Rules Committee,

House Office Building:

I wish to protest most vigorously against the continuance of appropriations for the work of the so-called Dies committee. Its activities have been, to my personal knowledge, highly prejudicial to the best interests of American democracy. Have been highly partisan and wholly lacking in constructive value.

DETROIT, February 2, 1939.

Hon. A. J. SABATH,

Chairman, House Rules Committee,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SABATH: I note that your committee is now considering the question of extending the life of the Dies committee. While, of course, there is no objection to the work of such a committee if carried on judiciously and impartially, there is serious objection among fair-minded American oitizens to the extension

of the life of this committee, if it is to continue to be headed by a chairman such as Mr. Marrin Dies.

I assure you that I speak in the name of many good American citizens in this community when I express the hope that your committee will see fit to deny an appropriation to the Dies committee, unless a fair and impartial chairman is selected for it.

Respectfully yours,

HARRY H. PLATT.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., February 3, 1939.

Hon. Adolph J. Sabath, House of Representatives:

Philadelphia Industrial Union Council, representing 75,000 organized workers, protest any further appropriation for the un-American Dies committee.

ROBERT WEINSTEIN, Secretary, Philadelphia Industrial Union Council.

DETROIT, MICH., January 31, 1939.

Representative ADOLPH J. SABATH,

Dear Mr. Sabath: The enclosed clipping from a recent issue of the Detroit News tells something of the standing of the Dies committee in Detroit. I would like to raise a citizen's voice against continuing any further investigations under Mr. Dies. The trail he left in Michigan inspires no confidence.

Sincerely yours

Sincerely yours,

ADELIA DODGE STARRETT.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BLACKNEY].

Mr. BLACKNEY. Mr. Speaker, I am emphatically in favor of House Resolution 26 and the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities and Propaganda in the United States. This is in pursuance of House Resolution 282 of the Seventy-fifth Congress, and the committee was authorized to investigate, first, the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States; second, the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution: and, third, all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

I am particularly interested in this subject because the district of which I have the honor to represent, namely, the Sixth Congressional District of Michigan, during the last 2 years has been subjected to subversive activities on the part of outside radicals who came to Michigan in great numbers at the time of the labor difficulties, particularly in the city of Flint and the city of Lansing, both of which are in my district.

Let me say, first, that the great mass of industrial workers in Flint and Lansing and throughout my district are lawabiding citizens, believers in the Constitution and believers in the fundamental principles of America. The major difficulty during the strikes occurring in Michigan, and particularly inmy district, was due to the propaganda spread by these outside radicals.

I never thought the time would come in my life when the laws of my city and of my State would be ruthlessly set aside, when disorder would prevail, when radicalism would be heard on every hand, and yet that time did come in the strikes of 2 years ago.

Loud-voiced radicals appealed to the masses to assert their authority, to disobey the law, to hold in contempt the courts of our State, and carried their activities so far that the local authorities, particularly in the city of Flint, were unable to cope with the situation and the State authorities did not interfere in this radicalism nor did anything to protect the law-abiding citizens, or to protect life and property.

The testimony of the witnesses from Flint who appeared before the Dies investigating committee, under oath, stated conclusively that the great trouble was the presence and the activities of outside Communists and radicals who were using the local situation as a means of spreading their un-American doctrine. Had it not been that the law-abiding citizens of Flint were in the great majority, believing in the enforcement of the law, believing in the integrity of the courts, then the radicals would have gained greater power than they otherwise did.

We hear a great deal on the floor of Congress in favor of freedom of speech. I know full well the constitutional provision which guarantees to each one freedom of speech. But I wish to call the attention of the House to this thought: That there is a vast difference between the freedom of speech guaranteed by the Constitution, and unbridled license of speech as used by the Communists and radicals who do not believe in American principles.

I think the time has come in America when, instead of shedding useless tears in favor of those who do not believe in American institutions, we should pay some attention to the great mass of honest citizens who do believe in the Constitution and who do believe in the orderly processes of government.

In my judgment, one of the great causes of the spread of subversive doctrines in America has been the loose administration of our immigration laws. I believe in immigration properly regulated, but I do not believe in letting down the bars of immigration so that radicals from foreign countries who believe in every other "ism" but Americanism should be allowed to come to this country and spread their nauseating doctrine of hate.

I have every respect for those from foreign lands who came to the United States with the intent of making this country their home, of becoming attached to American institutions and who learn to love the Constitution of the United States and who are willing to become American citizens and do become law-abiding American citizens. For these people I have the utmost respect, but for those who come from foreign soils, unwilling to become citizens of the United States, unwilling to take the constitutional oath as citizens, but who come here for the sole purpose of undermining the principles of our Government, for these people I have the utmost contempt.

I think the quicker we put teeth in the immigration laws the better for us. I think the quicker we deport aliens illegally here, the better for America. In other words, if aliens come from foreign soil, unwilling to adapt themselves to American principles and to become law-abiding citizens, let them be sent back to the land of their birth. America has no use for such people.

I can honestly state that the Dies investigating committee has done much to alleviate the radical situation in my home city, and the effect of this committee's activities, particularly in my home State, has been greatly beneficial and salutary. I am constantly receiving letters, letters by the hundreds, from patriotic citizens of my district, who stress the thought that the United States should free themselves from those radicals who do not believe in our form of government; that those who are here illegally should be deported; that the immigration laws should be greatly strengthened and then rigidly enforced. If we are to preserve the great heritage of American institutions and love of country, then this must be done, otherwise the great sacrifice made by loyal American soldiers who were willing to give their lives for the preservation of the Constitution and the American form of government was in vain. The great majority of Legionnaires, of Spanish War veterans, and of other soldier organizations are preponderantly in favor of the continued investigation by this committee.

I think this appropriation should be granted and the committee authorized to proceed fearlessly in their investigation, and let the chips fall where they may. There are no politics in this resolution. Every Republican, every Democrat, every man loyal to American institutions should stand back of this committee. I think the committee should be congratulated upon the splendid work that they have done.

I know full well the obstacles that have been placed in the committee's progress from certain sources, but again I state that if we are to preserve America, as you and I have been taught to believe in America, if the America of the future is to protect our boys and girls as we have been protected, then this committee should be authorized to proceed further.

I shall vote for this appropriation gladly, knowing full well that should it carry, as I believe it will, that it will strike a death knell to the ruthless and subversive group whose sole purpose is the destruction of America as you and I know it, and the substitution in its place of a government that will not conform to the great American ideal which has made America the leader of the world.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. Norron].

Mrs. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I believe it is a well-known fact that no Member of this Congress is more opposed to communism, fascism, and nazi-ism than I am. Because this is true I am very anxious to support this resolution. I come from a district that is free of all isms. We are Americans and believe in true democracy, and we have worked hard to preserve that democracy. I want this committee to hold the respect of all people who believe in a democratic form of government. Therefore it should be strengthened by adding two or four new members to the committee. Surely nobody who is sincerely anxious to get the best results from this investigation can say that adding new blood to the committee will work a hardship on anyone. We know that during the hearings it became necessary for some of the best members of the committee to be absent. That condition prevails in every committee. A committee should be large enough, I feel, to take care of absentees. It should be so constituted that in matters of grave importance such as are before this committee it may at all times have not less than five members present to hear witnesses. Since there has been much criticism of the conduct of the committee, which may or may not be true, it is my conviction that in order to remove such criticism there should be new members on each side of the House added to the committee. We should then get behind the committee and do everything in our power to secure an unbiased investigation of the underlying propaganda spread throughout the country. We cannot do this, however, without investigating the evidence presented before such evidence is made public. I cannot believe any Member of the House

would intentionally smear a witness or encourage a witness to smear another because of some personal or political grudge. Nevertheless it is a fact that this has been done, and many innocent people have been sacrificed on the altar of publicity.

One hundred thousand dollars is a large sum of money to be spent on an investigation unless the investigation is conducted according to the rules of evidence as they would be in any court of justice. If the investigation carries with it the confidence of the American people and gets at the roots of all un-American activities, placing the responsibility where it belongs, then \$100,000 would be a cheap price to pay, but we are entitled to the best that can be had for the taxpayers' money. This committee has a great public service to perform. It can suppress un-American activities by getting at the facts; first examining the evidence and witnesses in executive session, and if found to be reliable and the evidence warrants, submit same to the Department of Justice for further investigation. If this course is not followed, or if any member of the committee uses his power to persecute for personal glorification or political advancement, we shall rue the day we voted this power and money to the committee. The Congress should be careful in the use of labels lest some of the labels be attached to innocent people.

Mr. Speaker, feeling as keenly as I do in this matter and intending to vote for the resolution, I sincerely hope the House will support me in voting down the previous question so that we may have an opportunity to amend the resolution by adding at least two additional members to the committee. This is one of the most serious problems in our national life. It should be disposed of in the American way—honestly, sincerely, and justly. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Keller].

#### UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, like most of my colleagues in the Democratic Party, I was too busy in the campaign of last November to pay much attention to the newspaper reports. However, I did hear some repercussions from the Dies committee even during that busy campaign—complaints that the committee was being conducted in such a way as to embarrass Democrats and to assist Republicans. At that time, in fact, it appeared many of the Republicans placed more reliance upon the Dies committee than they did on their own campaign committee.

I had expected possibly the normal change of 25 seats lost by the Democrats—which would have been normal in an off-year election. But when the election was over and 70 seats had been lost I naturally began to inquire the reason for it. Wanting to know the sentiment of my colleagues on this subject, I wrote to each one of the Democratic candidates, both those defeated and those elected, asking them to give me their views of the basic causes for so large a loss on the Democratic side. I was astounded to find the work of the Dies committee as one of the agencies which had contributed largely to this result. I naturally became interested and began investigating, on my own authority, which brought out the fact that most of the membership of the Dies committee itself, with only two exceptions, were also largely busy in their own campaigns for reelection.

I began a careful study of a series of the files of the press covering the entire Dies committee work. These reports pointed out very clearly the character, or lack of it, of the chief investigator for the committee. It developed that before very long the newspapermen themselves made a protest against the retention of Mr. Sullivan as chief investigator, and demanded that the committee in turn investigate its chief investigator. This protest among newspapermen became so strong that after many long weeks of use of Mr. Sullivan the chairman let him out only when the committee funds were exhausted. The character of the committee procedure indicates that Mr. Sullivan was selected and used as the fittest instrument to carry out the purposes of the chairman. I followed this out carefully, investigating thoroughly before I said a word about the entire matter.

I read carefully the report which Mr. Dies submitted to Congress. It is not an honest report. It is not based upon nor supported by the record of the hearings. I therefore went to the hearing records themselves and a careful study of the first volume showed perfectly clearly that there was little, if any, connection between the testimony of the witnesses before that committee and the report which the chairman filed. The reading of this testimony showed clearly that the hearings had been conducted almost entirely by the chairman of that committee, the Honorable MARTIN DIES; that it was a one-man investigation and carried on apparently with one principal objective—that of getting publicity for the chairman. Viewed in that light, it was a huge success. But, viewed in the light of the intention of the Congress in creating that committee, it is the most astounding failure imaginable.

It appeared from the press reports that the chairman of the committee had very early rushed to the radio and broadcast charges that can be classed as nothing less than totally unreliable, so far as facts are concerned. Claims and opinions, with nothing in the hearings to back them up, were rampant, intended to create fear and distrust in the minds of the people and discontent over anything which has been done in their behalf during the past few years. The intent of the Congress in passing the original resolution creating this committee is set out perfectly clearly in the resolution itself which I quote:

Resolved, That the Speaker of the House of Representatives be, and he is hereby, authorized to appoint a special committee to be composed of seven Members for the purpose of conducting an investigation of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

It was indeed to ferret out those subversive activities which in themselves might be informative to the House. Here it might be well to remark that the chairman of the committee in conducting his hearings almost entirely overlooked the intent of the House to receive information which was not already in hand. Instead of following that, the chairman very clearly in the hearings began devoting himself largely to those controversial matters which are entirely well known to the Members of the House, and to use his position as chairman of the committee to attack and injure those departments of Government with which his own ideas were not in sympathy. He attacked the National Labor Relations Commission through the most remarkable chain of unreasoning extant in the Congressional Record. The chief economist of the N. L. R. B., David Saposs, as a newspaper reporter some years ago reported a Communist meeting. The sapient chairman of the Dies committee grabbed that report as the opinion of the reporter and denounced him as a Communist. He concluded that because the Board had employed this former newspaper reporter as its economist that therefore the Board itself must be communistic. Of course, the whole Congress knows the history sequences which resulted in the writing of that law. The Congress knows the discussions which have gone on over its decisions. The decisions of the courts upholding the Board's rulings. There was no possible information which Mr. Dies could have imparted to the Congress except that in discussing the N. L. R. B. he stepped out of his prescribed duties in pursuit of his antagonism to labor. The National Labor Relations Act simply sets up an agency to protect the lawful rights of labor. Those only who hate labor attack the agencies which serve labor. Anyone who wants to know the labor record of Mr. Dies as a Member of Congress will find much worth-while information on that subject in the Appendix of the Congressional Record, page 485, in the extension of remarks of Hon. Joseph B. Shannon, Member of Congress from Missouri.

Broadly speaking, the chairman of the committee made attacks principally on organized labor. If that had been the object of the committee created by the Congress no one would have been surprised at the results, because Mr. Dies' labor record is more spotted than the leopard's skin. From that record there is no difficulty in arriving at the conclusions that his hatred of organized labor, and the rights of labor to organize, especially had from the beginning been his chief antiservice in the House of Representatives. It was not the intention of Congress to delegate to Mr. Dies the authority to attack labor nor the organizations or agencies set up to protect the rights of labor. His accomplishments along this line to the injury of labor, both organized and unorganized. must not therefore be accepted as the attitude of the House of Representatives on that subject. Indeed, the breadth of these attacks, always largely by implication, but sufficiently open to be well understood by anyone who will examine them, is that Mr. Dies attacked the entire New Deal, both in its ideals and its accomplishments. What might have been the source of encouragement along this line I cannot of course say. I think it would perhaps be disclosed if this House were furnished by Chairman Dres with a list of names of persons and organizations who offered him large amounts of money to continue his activi-

If his activities had been deliberately planned to defeat the purpose of the resolution they could not have been more successful.

As to the manner of conducting these hearings, I call your attention to a statement of the first witness before the committee, Mr. John C. Metcalfe. Mr. Metcalfe had been a newspaperman, investigating especially the Nazi German-American Bund in the United States. He had spent some months at this for a well-known Chicago newspaper. He was employed by this committee to continue this investigation. Altogether he spent about a year gathering facts for the use of the committee. The work was well done-done with intelligence and excellent observations. There could hardly have been a better investigator than Metcalfe. His information offered to the committee an opportunity to carry out within a very short time, and at small expense, a thorough-going investigation of the Nazi German-American Bund. He named the leaders; gave their addresses; gave sufficient information to locate exactly each one of the 32 uniformed companies of that organization.

With this information in the hands of the committee, it would have been a very simple matter for the committee to have called in all of the leaders and got from them a firsthand statement of their activities and whatever excuse, if any, they might have had for such an organization on American soil. It would have permitted the subpenaing of their books and records from which the committee might have learned the names of all the members of this Nazi German-American Bund; what arms they had; what drills they indulged in, where, under whose auspices, and by what authority. It would have enabled the committee to learn and report to the Congress where these uniforms came from: who paid for them; the source of the money; the amount of it, and through their books of accounts the several hundred Nazi conspirators in the United States could have been sufficiently tagged and the light of publicity thrown upon them. Where the law has been broken the heavy hand of justice would have been laid upon them with the proof positive of their participation in whatever crimes had been committed. That altogether would have been very informative to the House, and from all that proof whatever laws, not already on the statute books, required to prevent such activities could easily have been formulated and passed. If the committee had gone at this matter in that way, there would have been nothing but praise for it from any real American.

Chairman Dies failed, neglected, or refused to seize the books, accounts, the records, the uniforms, and other equipment of these shock troops of the bund. Whether this fatally indulgent attitude of the chairman had anything to with the attendance of Fritz Kuhn, fuehrer of the Nazi German-American Bund; the secretary of the bund, Mr. James Wheeler Hill; Mr. Gustaf Elmer, the national organizer

of the bund; at a banquet in honor of Hon. MARTIN DIES at the Biltmore Hotel in New York on December 8 is a matter to which the chairman may well address himself.

Perfectly evident, the objective of the very intimate information which Mr. Metcalfe's statement gave, certainly should never have been given out publicly nor ever have appeared in the hearings. It gave immediately the opportunity to the bund to cover its tracks and prevent an effective investigation hereafter. The investigator is not for the purpose of testifying before a committee, but to furnish the committee with such information as will enable the committee itself to gather and profit by the information which the investigators are paid to secure. This is of primary importance, as anyone will see. Yet this same folly of public announcement of what the investigators have learned was given such wide publicity as permitted of the covering up of the activities of any of these subversive elements in the United States.

The information in the hands of Chairman Dies in relation to communism in the United States was quite as extensive as that in relation to the Nazi bund. It was not so well studied nor so well presented as was that by Mr. Metcalfe, but it was abundant for securing full information about the Communist activities in America—the source of the money for carrying it on; the actual objects of communism, and the organizers in the employ of the Communists in America, if Mr. Dies had really cared to know the facts and had wanted to communicate them to the Congress as that body had designed he should do when he was appointed chairman of this committee. But, as in the case of the Nazi bund, he broadcasted the news to the world which the investigators brought in and did nothing to secure specific evidence that could be of any use to the Congress.

The committee met and organized and arranged a proper procedure to be carried out in the absence of those members who were of necessity engaged in a political campaign. This provided that the hearings should all be in executive session until the testimony offered was carefully studied, and only that part of it which is applicable to the intention of the resolution should go into the record at all. Every other investigating committee of the House or Senate have always of necessity carried on their investigations through this method, for two perfectly evident reasons: First, to prevent injury to innocent persons whom irresponsible witnesses might through some ulterior motive be tempted to abuse. This is especially applicable to the present investigation because it involves the individual rights of American citizens. Secondly, secrecy was necessary to prevent guilty parties from being forewarned what the committee is really driving at. Both of these have been thrown to the four winds by the chairman of this committee. He proceeded through investigators of his committee to forewarn the very organizations and individuals which ought to have been brought to book, permitting them to cover up any of their erstwhile tracks. Also, it permitted base motives to smear many of the leading citizens of this country, without notice of any charge, without opportunity of answering. This statement is made broadly because while the hearings were being conducted the chairman many times said that anyone who wanted to be heard could be heard. But there were several hundred American citizens who had no possible way of knowing they had been smeared personally or through organizations with which they might have been working for the benefit of the country until the hearings came out. The claim, therefore, that people had an opportunity to be heard individually falls to the ground completely. I here refer anyone who may be interested in this subject to the remarks of the Honorable A. J. SABATH in the Appendix of the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD, page 405.

As soon as names and organizations of people began to appear through the volumes of the hearings hundreds of protests were sent to Members of Congress—men and women who did not know they had been smeared by being referred to as Communists or "reds," or some other un-American appellation, and therefore did not have an opportunity to face their accusers and defend their good name and reputation. After such miserable treatment as that, it is quite questionable

whether any American who had once been smeared would be willing to submit himself to a hearing before a committee which had permitted him to be smeared clandestinely. Justice should not permit such miscarriages.

As a matter of convenience, after the proper method of procedure in executive session had been agreed upon by all the members of the committee, Hon. John J. Dempsey, a Member of Congress from New Mexico, an able, careful, conservative lawyer, was to look especially after the Southwest, including New Mexico, Arizona, and California. The chief inspector, Eddie Sullivan, was sent out ahead of him to California. After a short time Mr. DEMPSEY met Mr. Sullivan in Los Angeles, and after a very brief conversation was so thoroughly convinced himself that Sullivan had no possible place as an investigator that he dismissed him from his service and wired the chairman to pay absolutely no heed to any report Mr. Sullivan should make. Nevertheless, out of California came one of the most vicious pieces of supposed evidence that is contained in all of the hearings. I refer to the thoroughly infamous Shepherd Knowles, erstwhile secretary of the Associated Farmers, whose vice president, Phillip Bancroft, resigned to run for the United States Senate from California. It was in his special service that Knowles delivered his testimony of some hundreds of pages before the Dies committee. It is necessary to note that the Associated Farmers is not only not a farmers' organization at all but an organization of crooked big business acting under the guise of "Associated Farmers." It is the very antithesis of the New Deal and everything which the New Deal stands for. Later it was learned that the chief conspirator in behalf of this work, Colonel Sanborn, had written all this testimony for Knowles. When certain letters were discovered connecting Knowles up with some of the most infamous acts of espionage and persecution in the history of California, subpenas were issued for him by another Government agency, but he had already "taken to the woods." He was only contacted after he had gone into the desert, grown whiskers, and put on colored glasses to cover his identity and prevent service by another Government agency.

During a very hard political campaign in California this statement of Knowles was broadcast and used for political purposes against the Democrats and for the Republicans. One of the claims that Knowles set forth was that he represented the Legion of California. This was denied by the Legion officers but no note of this was made in the hearings of the Dies committee. It was and still is held out as being a bona fide statement of a disinterested witness, notwithstanding the fact that a few questions by the chairman would have brought out the desolating facts back of it all. That this propaganda changed many votes in California there is no doubt, because there is one thing that the American people very properly resent, and that is interference in their governmental affairs along every line.

Another piece of political activity on the part of the Dies committee was in relation to the election in the State of Minnesota. Mr. Gehen, one of the Republican campaign managers, came to Mr. Dies at Detroit and secured six subpenas. He returned to Minnesota, gathered up six stooges, one at least a mental defective, all ardent Republicans, and brought them to Washington and presented their remarkable testimony, which he had written himself for them on the train from Minnesota to Washington. One of these statements was so well done as a piece of political propaganda that it was published as a campaign document and was broadcast against Governor Benton in the campaign as the work of the Dies committee.

In Michigan the committee hearings were so timed and the testimony so composed as to constitute a vicious attack by every implication possible against one of the cleanest and most effective Governors in the United States, Governor Murphy. Again, if the thing had been thoroughly planned by an astute politician of Republican affiliation, it could not have been more effective against Goveror Murphy than the hearings before the Dies committee and the associated implications from these hearings.

That the same effect was exercised to a large degree in Indiana and Ohio there can be little doubt.

When I had become well convinced of the character of this supposed investigation I delivered an address over the radio making the charges that I am making here, citing the character of the chief investigator and a number of the thieves and perjurers whose testimony was taken and published in the hearings in the name of a committee of this House. The substance of this address is to be found on page 311 of the Appendix of the Congressional Record. It has not been denied and cannot be refuted. It constitutes a part of the most infamously conducted hearings in the history of our country.

Of course, I knew enough to know that I, too, would be smeared when I raised objection to continuance of Mr. Dies in control of another committee. True to type, and in accordance to method, immediately Mr. Dies pointed out that some conclusions which I had made in my radio address were similar to conclusions which some young Communist had The implication, of course, is perfectly plain; the fact that I had not seen, and had never heard of, the pamphlet, of course, cut no figure. But I am not going to be discouraged from telling the truth of a one-man investigation whose ignorance or worse motivated the hearings until the American people are awake to the fact that the first duty of a congressional committee is to protect innocent individuals against injustices. That the greatest abuse which can befall American institutions is to outrage the Bill of Rights, and to deny men the right of notice of accusation against them and the right to be faced by their accusers before they shall be subjected to the ignominy of having their names smeared in a Government publication.

I am herewith submitting three telegrams which passed between the Honorable ARTHUR HEALEY and the Honorable JOHN J. DEMPSEY, members of the committee, jointly to Mr. DIES; the answer of Mr. DIES to Mr. DEMPSEY and Mr. DEMPsey's reply to Mr. Dies:

LAS CRUCES, N. MEX., October 26, 1938.

Hon. MARTIN DIES,

Washington, D. C.:
We the undersigned have communicated with each other by tele-We the undersigned have committed with each other by telephone this afternoon. As members of the committee to investigate un-American activities, we request that you defer further meetings of the committee until we can be present after the election and until after the full committee has had an opportunity to meet and consider procedure for a preliminary examination of the testimony to be offered to the committee. We are greatly disturbed by the charges such as those made yesterday by the President himself that procedure has been adopted which has permitted the committee to be improperly used for election purposes, and we particularly deplore the kind of attack that has been permitted upon an outstanding Government servant like Governor Murphy, of Michigan. In a few States, like your State of Texas, there is only one election struggle—in the primary—and only part of the members are free to be in Washington, like you, during the fall campaign. But others of us, in fairness to our constituency and to all nominees of our party, must be in our district during this time. It is obviously unfair to us as members of the committee under these circumstances, particularly after it is under fire, that it should attempt to continue its hearings when we are unable to be present to participate in the determination of proper procedure and take responsibility for its proceedings. phone this afternoon. As members of the committee to investigate

ARTHUR D. HEALEY. JOHN J. DEMPSEY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 27, 1938.

Hon. JOHN J. DEMPSEY.

Lordsbury, N. Mex.:

Acknowledging receipt of your telegram protesting against continuance of hearings until after election, beg to advise that a majority of committee has authorized me to continue the hearings majority of committee has authorized me to continue the hearings regardless of the approaching election. I know that you are aware of the fact that the expenses and salaries of our investigators and clerks are rapidly exhausting our balance and that it is therefore necessary for us to hear the witnesses as rapidly as possible. But there is a stronger reason than this for the continuance of the hearings. Our committee is an agency of an independent branch of the Government, and any successful attempt to stifle the hearings for political purposes would be most unfortunate. Before I had any idea of what the testimony would develop I announced that hearings would be started and prosecuted as rapidly as nosthat hearings would be started and prosecuted as rapidly as pos-sible. The great majority of witnesses who have appeared before the committee were subpensed by our investigators, and all of our

investigators were recommended by outstanding Democrats. and have always been a loyal Democrat, but there are questions much bigger than mere partisanship, and certainly I believe that the question of preserving the fundamental principles of Americanism transcends in importance political expediency. But even from a party standpoint I am convinced that it is better for Demofrom a party standpoint I am convinced that it is better for Democrats to take the initiative and fearlessly expose subversive activities that threaten the very existence of the Republic even if in doing so a few candidates for office on the Democratic ticket are involved. The committee has been eminently fair since the beginning of its hearings. In fact, I know of no other investigating committee which repeatedly offered the opportunity to any person or organization involved in any charge or attack to appear before the committee and disprove the charge or attack. To my way of thinking, it would be a cowardly thing to postpone hearings until after the election, for to do so would imply that the Democratic Party is unwilling for the people to have the facts when they go to the polls, which I do not think is true so far as the majority of Democrats are concerned; while I have the highest regard for you and would like very much to comply with your request, I you and would like very much to comply with your request, I cannot do so for the reasons above given.

MARTIN DIES, Member of Congress.

LORDSBURG, N. MEX., October 28, 1938.

Hon. Martin Dies, Chairman,
Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.
Retel 27th in answer to the joint telegram signed by the Honorable A. D. Healey and myself. When I was last present at an executive session of the committee in Washington the majority of the committee of the com the committee decided that, as a matter of procedure and in order to protect citizens who were being attacked by irresponsible people, making harsh and detrimental statements which could not be substantiated, the committee would conduct hearings in executive session, giving to the public and the press such information as was proved true and coming within the scope of our jurisdiction. You at that time called attention of certain members of the committee to the fact that partisan politics was being injected into the investigation, something that several members of the committee resented. Much valuable evidence has been obtained and great good could result if the committee will proceed along proper lines. You say it result if the committee will proceed along proper lines. You say it would be cowardly to postpone further hearings until the entire committee can be present and all the members can voice their feeling with reference to procedure. I know of nothing more cowardly than to permit wild and irrational statements which have no basis in fact and have only for their end the assassination of characters in fact and nave only for their end the assassination of characters of men who are outstanding and who both you and I know to be American citizens of the highest type. If this method is to be followed, it can only result in undoing what good the committee has accomplished and finally must result in total repudiation of these investigations. If we are to expect such a continuation I have no other alternative than to ask the Speaker of the House to accept my resignation as a member of the committee and to insist that my name he used no further in connection with the comthat my name be used no further in connection with the com-mittee's activities.

A careful reading of these telegrams will give proof to every essential fact upon which I am basing this statement, that Mr. Dies made it strictly a one-man committee. Read these telegrams carefully. They tell much of the story, are official, and are certainly unbiased. They are the joint accusations of two high-class lawyers, men of ability and experience. These telegrams were all given to the press at the time, but they need to be repeated here.

Of course, I am aware that the continuation of the Dies committee is going to be voted by this House by an overwhelming majority, one of the principal reasons for which is that the entire Republican side pledged themselves in advance to support the resolution to continue this committee. This is not to be wondered at, because the Republican Party did largely profit by the activities of this committee under the direction of Mr. Dies, and it is natural that such methods, if again employed, may continue to their advantage in the hereafter. Or this \$100,000 which in their estimation may be a Republican campaign fund may burn their fingers.

Many Democrats honestly fearing that they themselves might be suspected of undue influence from subversive American activities will join with them. Many others will say, "What's the use; it is going over, anyway; so let it go." That is the source of the backing which this resolution will receive in the final vote on this subject.

Of the 435 Members of the House, not 20 had studied or even read the first 3 volumes of hearings. And nobody had read the fourth volume because it was not yet off the press. The Rules Committee was willing to, and did, report out a resolution for continuing the Dies committee under

such conditions. I asked again and again, "Why hurry? Why the rush? Why not wait until the hearings are all printed and time given for the Members of the House to study those hearings and know what has been done before we were asked for a continuance of this committee?"

When I saw what was likely to be the decision, I put the question frankly to that committee of which Mr. Dies is a member, whether the protagonists of the resolution were afraid to let the House know the facts before voting. There was, of course, no answer to those questions. But the majority of the Rules Committee brought the question onto the floor of the House under a rule which prevented any Member of the House from offering an amendment to the resolution. I, along with others, should have voted for the resolution if it had provided for nine members instead of the same seven which the original resolution had provided. This would have clearly taken away from Mr. Dies the ability to dominate the committee and make it again a one-man investigation, with the spotlight again playing on the countenance of the chairman. But such an amendment was not permitted to be offered.

What we do not need in the United States is the suspicion, fear, resentment, distrust, dissention, jealousy, prejudice, and disorganization of American public opinion which the Dies

procedure has stirred up.

What we do need most is the broadest possible tolerance along all lines. Tolerance of religion; tolerance of race; tolerance of national origin; tolerance of ideals; tolerance of opinions; and, most of all, at the present time we need an all-embracing tolerance of economic proposals. Because here we stand in the presence of six or seven millions of unwillingly idle men and women—idle through no fault of their own, idle because our great democracy has not solved the problem of unemployment. Only through the greatest consideration for one another—the broadest tolerance for the expression of ideas—can we hope to receive and consider the best ideas looking to the solution of this greatest of all problems—that of assuring through government an opportunity for a job for every man and woman who wants to work.

That is a task beyond the individual. It is the problem of the great democratic mass. It must be solved. It will be solved because our American spirit that has taken us out of every difficulty in the last 150 years must be trusted to take

us out of the present difficulty.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish].

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, this House proposes in a few minutes to adopt by an overwhelming vote the resolution before it and to serve notice upon all Communists, Nazis, and Fascists that the Members of the House will not compromise in any way with the spread of communism, nazi-ism, or fascism in the United States. [Applause.]

I am hopeful that when this investigation is again under way it will get more cooperation from the executive departments of the Government than it has received in the past. I desire to quote some words of Alexander Pope in reference to the attitude of the administration, which has hampered and harrassed the Dies investigating committee from the very beginning, in spite of the fact it had a mandate from the House of Representatives that it should aid that investigation and supply investigators, lawyers, and clerical help. The attitude of the New Deal administration is best expressed in these words:

Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer, And without sneering teach the rest to sneer; Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike, Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike.

Mr. McGRANERY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. FISH. I refuse to yield.

The gentleman from Texas [Mr. Dies] and his committee need not be surprised at the virulent attacks and the attempts of the Communists and their friends of the United Front to smear the committee, as that is the usual tactics of the Communist Party and its allies and subsidiaries.

The Communists and other radicals are again up to their old tricks of trying to smear every investigation by Congress into un-American and seditious activities in the United States. Every known device of ridicule, distortion, and falsehood is being unloosed by skillful radical propagandists to undermine and destroy public confidence in the Dies committee. The congressional committee deserves the support of all American citizens, irrespective of party affiliations.

The deplorable fact is that not a single alien Communist has been deported to Soviet Russia since Miss Perkins took office, and I doubt if any will be as long as she holds office.

I hope the Dies committee will continue its investigation of the political link between the Workers' Alliance, a Communist controlled group, and the W. P. A., particularly in New York City. I hold in my hand a telegram from the Workers' Alliance that probably was sent to other Members of the House. It reads:

On behalf of Workers' Alliance of America representing four hundred thousand unemployed and W. P. A. workers, we urge Rules Committee do not extend life or vote funds to Dies committee.

And so forth. This telegram is signed by David Lasser, national president, and Herbert Benjamin, general secretary-treasurer, two of the most notorious Communists in the United States of America. These men claim to be speaking for 400,000 unemployed and W. P. A. workers. I say to the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. Norton] that if we appropriate \$100,000 for the Dies committee and that \$100,000 is spent alone on exposing the Workers' Alliance and showing the wage earners of America that it is a 100-percent Communist-controlled organization, the money will be well spent. [Applause.]

We are talking about appropriating \$2,000,000,000 for national defense. I say we have more to fear from our enemies within than from our enemies from without. [Applause.] Yet there are those who question the advisability of spending \$100,000 to preserve our own American system—our free institutions and representative and constitutional form of

government. [Applause.]

I love the Dies committee for the enemies it has made. I do not want this Congress to wait to take legislative action, however, until the Dies committee reports its findings a year from now. I hope the Congress will take action at this session and enact laws to deport all alien Communist, Nazi, and Fascist agitators and send them back to their native lands, and give their jobs to loyal American citizens now walking the streets looking for employment. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. McGRANERY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to submit a unanimous-consent request.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Illinois yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania to submit a unanimousconsent request?

Mr. SABATH. Yes, Mr. Speaker; I yield for that purpose.

Mr. McGRANERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend for 1 hour the time for debate on this most important question.

Mr. SMITH of Washington. I object, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Montana [Mr. O'Connor].

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, being a lawyer I, of course, cannot say anything in 1 minute, but I want to tell you this, that we have communism in this country and we have plenty of it, and we are going to have more of it if we do not find jobs and food and clothing for the needy people of this country. [Applause.] Let me say also that the House and the Senate did not help the situation any the other day by cutting down the amount Colonel Harrington and the President of the United States wanted in order to take care of the people until next June.

A few days ago I told the House my position against communism and all other isms, excepting Americanism. I need not restate my stand, but let us take stock of the immediate

situation. With millions of men, women, and children living from one day to another by relief money and with our aged people receiving scarcely enough to keep body and soul together, we must not work ourselves into a frenzy if we find Communists and communism in our midst.

We must solve this economic question which challenges the best statesmanship of the country. Ex-President Hoover tried for 3 years to solve the question and President Roosevelt is continuing efforts to find the answer, but hungry and needy families are still with us in the number of millions. We must not permit this country to become a breeding ground or hotbed for communism. In desperation, when men and women are hungry, they will listen intently to any type of propaganda which, they are falsely told, will offer relief. Continued hunger and need cause people to go afield and sometimes to commit crimes.

Other committees have been appointed by this House in the past to investigate un-American activities with no results excepting they found out what we already knew. Let us quit looking across the ocean for trouble and turn our eyes closer to home and find a way to remove the causes of communism by giving men and women work at living wages. We attempted to meet the situation by pump priming; but remember the time will come when we will run out of priming water. I will not vote for an appropriation of money to investigate something already known, but if I could have secured my amendment anent the causes of communism, then we would have a horse of another color. With an enlightenment on the causes, Congress would have been in a better position to pass remedial legislation to meet the needs of our people which will wipe out communism. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield one-half minute to the

gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DUNN].

Mr. DUNN. Mr. Speaker, if \$100,000 was being requested for the purpose of ascertaining the reasons for the unemployment situation, a great deal more good for humanity's sake would be accomplished than to spend that amount of money for the investigation of un-American activities.

If the advocates of communism, socialism, fascism, nazi-ism, or any other kind of "ism"—and God knows there is a multiplicity of them—tried to overthrow or undermine our Government, they would not be successful in their undertaking if we representatives of the people will secure jobs at a living wage for the millions who are unemployed.

Regardless of how much money we would spend for the investigation of un-American activities, we would not accomplish anything worth while as long as one-third of our people are in need of food, shelter, and clothing. Unnecessary human suffering. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I yield one-half minute to the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. Burdick].

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I would gladly vote a million dollars, if necessary, to the Dies committee for a thoroughgoing investigation of un-Americanism in this country. Any such investigation would, of necessity, include a study of the wicked, disloyal, un-American ways of lobbyists attempting to influence the action of the Congress in the interest of the special privilege of powerful business groups.

As I see it, Mr. Speaker, lobbying is not necessarily harmful in itself. It is that lobbying that resorts to corrupt or subversive and unconstitutional means of influencing legislation to which I strenuously object.

In my opinion, the most powerful lobby of all, the most dangerous and subversive of all, is that maintained by the grain and cotton futures traders—gamblers on price changes in our commodity markets. I understand that the lobby-ists of the Chicago Board of Trade alone occupy an entire floor at the Mayflower Hotel. Other futures markets, such as the New York Cotton Exchange, maintain large numbers of lobbyists here at Washington. Their activities are most subversive of good government, and are pernicious in the extreme.

Mr. Speaker, let us get down to cases. There are many Members of the House who believe that there should be some provision of law on the subject of margin requirements in futures markets. There is, as we know, such provision of law as to stock markets, but not as to futures markets. Many of us think that the Commodity Exchange Act should be amended so as to authorize the Commodity Exchange Commission to regulate margin requirements in futures markets.

Yet there is a general feeling here, Mr. Speaker, that the speculators are not going to let the Congress pass any such amendment. If there is any basis in fact for that feeling which prevails among my colleagues, that is a terrible indictment against the lawmaking branch of the Government of the United States, and against those who have caused such a situation to exist. Lobbying of that sort is a treasonable obstruction of and interference with the fundamental functions of our Government.

There are many Members of this House, Mr. Speaker, who are convinced that the self-interest of these commodity gamblers is the one thing, above all, that has interefered with, and still intereferes with, the enactment of effective farm legislation. These commodity gamblers propose, by their dog-in-the-manger attitude, to force farmers into general insolvency by means of low prices, deliberately held by these gamblers "in line with world prices," and to force the entire Nation to suffer distress because of lack of adequate purchasing power on the farms in order that these market racketeers may fatten and flourish on the financial failure of the farmers.

Recently the New Orleans Cotton Exchange published its annual report. President Roosevelt was then at Warm Springs. He gave an interview to the press. In effect he said: "These exchanges deplore the sad plight of agriculture, but not one of them comes forward and offers any constructive program of farm legislation." I have no doubt, Mr. Speaker, that the reason why these grain and cotton futures traders do not suggest any constructive farm legislation is that any such program would automatically abolish their racket. These market parasites thrive on low prices to farmers. They thrive on prices that are unstable and in continual state of fluctuation.

And the Chamber of Commerce of the United States aids this racket. The other day it held a conference of handpicked businessmen and farmers, and then it gave out a statement to the press that it favored direct governmental subsidies to farmers to make up the deficiency arising from low prices of farm products in the market place. The income of the farmers at present, on the basis of world prices, is not more than seven and a half billion dollars a year. It should be, on a reasonably honest basis, not less than \$12,-000,000,000 a year. So the Chamber of Commerce of the United States would have the Government pay to the farmers each year the sum of four and a half billion dollars in cold cash out of the Treasury of the United States-unless they mean merely "token payments"-in order that prices may continue to be and to remain on the low, unstable basis of futures market ticker-tape quotations.

Certain of my colleagues have hesitated over the question whether or not they should introduce a bill to amend the Commodity Exchange Act to authorize the Commission to regulate margin requirements in futures markets. They seem to fear, because of the strong opposition of the lobbyists, that it would be useless to introduce such a bill. It may be that the futures gamblers will be able to kill House Resolution 25, which I introduced early in this session for a House committee investigation of futures trading.

There should be at least a hearing before a congressional committee on futures trading and its effect on agricultural prices. Light is needed on this subject to enable the Congress to enact effective farm legislation. But these board-of-trade lobbyists are now busy on Capitol Hill discouraging the holding of any such hearing. Arguments are being made privately why such a hearing should not be held, why there is no need for new legislation. It seems to me, Mr. Speaker,

that those arguments should be presented at an open hearing, not in whispered confidences. It is an un-American, unconstitutional denial of the rights of our citizens to prevent, or to seek to prevent, the holding of proper congressional hearings. If the Dies committee will investigate the un-American activities of these board of trade lobbyists, I am sure it will render a very important service to the Government and to the people of the United States. [Applause.]

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentle-

man from Ohio [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the investigation by the Dies committee included pernicious activities inimical to our Government, by both American citizens and aliens.

Insofar as subversive activities by aliens is concerned, I see no reason why we should not now protect ourselves from this possibility. Other nations have for years had in operation means for protecting themselves against alien subversive activity. We have long been too lenient in this matter. Certainly Congress need wait on no investigation before proceeding with the legislation required to guarantee this protection.

That the committee found communism promulgated by American citizens, both in high and low places, need surprise no one. This Congress should scarcely need a \$100,000 investigation to apprise them of this fact. Certainly there is no need to leave Washington to observe the present trend toward totalitarian government. The expansion of bureaucracy in our Federal Government and the increasing regimentation of our citizens is well known to the Members of this body. Bureaucracy, fascism, nazi-ism, communism, are one and the same with slight variations. The Dies committee concludes the same.

Therefore, if we would stem the tide of communism in these United States, this Congress must attack it not only from without but also from within. An unbalanced Budget, a mounting Federal debt, financial uncertainty, and overtaxation lead to unemployment and consequent misery to the mass of the people. This is the fertile soil for communism.

This Congress must take back to itself the lawmaking powers which are now so largely in the control of the all-powerful bureaus here in Washington. We must bring about substantial deflation of this Federal bureaucracy. It is our further problem to balance the national Budget and straighten out our tangled finances and money muddle.

Whatever else may be necessary to save our Nation from complete communism, these things must be done—they are fundamental. Once they are done, the basic foundation for

real recovery will be laid.

If bureaucratic or communistic control should be made complete in this country, it will not be altogether because of organized communistic efforts from the outside, but it will also be because Congress has failed in preserving the American system of free enterprise, vouchsafed us by the founding fathers.

The chief value of the work of the Dies committee has been to clarify the issue and to acquaint and arouse the public to the widespread activity of communism in this country. It is my hope that in appropriating this money that the committee will demonstrate to this Congress the need of early action by this body to check the forces within the Government itself which are undermining our American system.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Youngdahl].

Mr. YOUNGDAHL. Mr. Speaker, I desire to urge passage of this resolution because un-American activity is a major issue, not only in my State but in the very district which I represent.

For the past several years un-American forces in this country have boasted that Minnesota was to be the proving ground for their alien philosophies and that other States would follow.

Having in mind the riots, the loss of lives, the destruction of property brought about by their efforts to establish this

proving ground, I am convinced that the menace of un-American activity is the greatest danger to American democracy today.

At this very minute several hundred employees of an industrial plant in my State are idle because that plant has been illegally possessed by sit-downers for the last 4 weeks. Who here would deny that the sit-down strike is un-American?

The rank and file of most labor unions, not only in my State but all over the country could settle their grievances with employers in an hour. Members of those unions are honest, hard-working, home-owning Americans of the highest type.

In scores of cases the American laboring man has seen his union taken over and controlled by alien agitators and foreign trouble makers boring from within in an effort to cause riot and disregard for law and order.

A few days ago I listened to debate on this floor on the question of politics in W. P. A. The W. P. A. Writers' Project in Minneapolis is filled to the brim with alien propagandists, proud of their teaching that democracy must be overthrown, that dictatorship of the masses must prevail, and that God is a heretic.

Those are the kind of people that the Federal Government is paying to write the history of my State and my country.

Time will not permit my reading them, but I hold in my hand signed statements showing the names and affiliations of a score of nationally known Communist leaders who continue to spread their un-American teachings while working for the American Government in Minnesota.

I say to the Members of this House, unless we stop such un-American activity and do it soon I will not long have the freedom to stand here and make such a speech and you will not long have the right to even listen to such a speech.

No further away than last Sunday a Minneapolis newspaper, under an extra-column headline, "State F.-L. Ousts 13 City Delegates in Party Purge," had this to say. I quote:

The Farmer-Labor Party moved to clean house in the party last night, driving 14 alleged Communists from their convention and forbidding the Workers' Alliance and other groups from being part of the Farmer-Labor Association.

A wild 2-day convention came to an end in an atmosphere of bitterness that had Hennepin County the constant butt of attack by Farmer-Laborites from the rest of the State, and had Ramsey County uniting with the rest of the State in an insistent and successful demand for a purge and a new start in party affairs.

Some of my colleagues can testify that party purges are not always successful.

Minnesota for 2 years up to last November 8 had been under the administration of a Communist-infested third party. Last November 8 the people of Minnesota drove them from office because they wanted neither Communists nor Communist cat's-paw in power.

I say to you, Mr. Speaker, that to spend a billion and a half for defense against imaginary invaders who might some day come from Europe, and refuse to spend \$100,000 to ferret out and drag into the daylight those enemies already here and tearing at the very heart of our democracy is sheer stupidity.

Defense against those enemies within our ranks is just as important as defense against enemies thousands of miles away.

Why look at the tree and miss the forest? Why spend a billion and a half building defense against imaginary invaders when we are already being invaded?

No great country has ever fallen because of attack from outside. Great nations fall from attack from within. That attack is already under way in this country.

If democracy is to fail, it will not be because some totalitarian regime from across the seas has landed an army on our shores. It will be when we have permitted these alien plotters to carry their campaign to its ultimate end.

If, as some of my colleagues claim, there is no cause for apprehension in this country, then why do they fear such an investigation? If we have no alien threat to this country, let us find it out. That would be a result to be welcomed, not feared.

If, on the other hand, a continuation of this investigation will bring to light the enemies of true democracy within our ranks, then let us keep chopping and let the chips fall where they may. The American people demand the facts. They demand that Congress control said investigation, in order that it may be free from political interference.

That, Mr. Speaker, is why I urge the passage of this resolution, and if this committee can expose these alien enemies, I will willingly vote for another hundred thousand, or a million, if necessary, to send them back to the dictators they love. America has no place for them. [Applause.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentle-

man from Michigan [Mr. Hook].

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, I fully realize that Attorney General Frank Murphy does not belong to the Black Legion. I presume this is why the Dies committee did not investigate

that un-American activity in my State.

The conscientious Members of this body and the people of the United States interested in the perpetuation of our democratic institutions are interested in legislation to curb un-American activities and are not interested in a long, drawn-out investigation creating Nation-wide unrest and demoralization. I believe I can speak for the average American citizen, and I believe that this investigation should report back to the Congress in this session so that we may enact legislation to actually curb un-American activities and not prepare some political philosophy for the 1940 political campaign. [Applause.]

No one realizes more than I the seriousness of the problems which face our American democracy today. The world is full-has been full for the past decade-of a number of ideologies that seek to supplant our democratic processes with systems which deny to the individual those liberties which traditionally are a part of American life. I know that there has been among a certain misguided section of our population an acceptance of these foreign philosophies. It is important that we should learn to what extent the efforts to propagandize our citizens has proceeded. Secret organizations with subversive aims should be brought to light. We in America who insist that the democratic way of life is not outmoded, who believe that democratic government can be made to function in a complex industrial civilization, must realize that we cannot remain inactive in the face of organized and overt efforts to overthrow that Government.

But I want also to remind you that we cannot afford, the Congress of the United States cannot afford, to authorize any investigation of un-American activities that does not confine itself to that subject. The Congress of the United States should authorize an investigation of the causes and extent of subversive activity in our Nation. We have not had such an investigation to date. We need an investigation that will ferret out facts, not rumor; one that will present to this body recommendations on which intelligent and reasoned legisla-

tion can be based.

Last fall the committee authorized by resolution of the last Congress came to the State of Michigan in the course of its investigation. On the basis of incomplete and inconclusive evidence, this committee permitted its findings to be used in one of the most brazen and un-American political campaigns which I have ever witnessed. I refer to the attempt to smear the character of Governor Murphy, now Attorney General of the United States. We now know the facts as to Governor Murphy's handling of the delicate labor situation which arose in the Michigan automobile industry. Every sane American applauds Governor Murphy for what he did-all perhaps except the committee which ostensibly was appointed to investigate un-American activities.

Let me remind you also that at the very time that the committee was in Michigan making political capital for the Republicans out of a prejudiced hearing of prejudiced witnesses, there was in Michigan a situation that well deserved attention. Almost 2 years ago I brought to the attention of this House certain facts concerning the Black Legion of Michigan. I said at that time—and it was a matter of public knowledge—that the Black Legion has as one of its aims the

overthrow of democracy in the United States. Its methods were those of terrorism and brutality, even murder. Subsequent events have shown the true colors of the Black Legion. A half dozen members of that group have been brought to book and are now serving terms in State prisons of Michigan.

Who supported the Black Legion? What role did it play in the political life of Michigan? What connection did it have with the Wolverine Republican Club, of Detroit? How far has its activities been connected with the prevention of legitimate labor-union activity? What connection did the Black Legion have with corporate wealth? All these are questions as yet but partially answered.

Only a matter of a few weeks ago the reputed major general of the Black Legion, who had fled to Ohio-a Mr. Effingerwas returned on extradition proceedings to Michigan where he is to stand trial under the Syndicalist Act of my State. Perhaps the courts of the State of Michigan will be able to arrive at the true facts regarding the Black Legion. But last fall, when the House committee was in Michigan, was there any investigation of the Black Legion? There was not. There was no attempt to determine the extent to which the legion still survives or to study the sources of its support. No; the committee came to Michigan on a political snipehunting expedition; and, gentlemen, the people of this Nation are still holding the bag.

Mr. Speaker, I contend that the American people want action, not insults. Surely, with the radio, the press, and the movies, there is sufficient opportunity to provide the public with humor and entertainment. We do not need to create a special committee of this House to add to those facilities.

Gentlemen, with the indulgence of this House, I shall read a resolution adopted and approved by the Convention of the Upper Peninsula Association of Legion Posts of Michigan, of which I have been a member since the World War:

Be it resolved by the convention of the Upper Peninsula Associa-tion of Legion Posts, That we commend the Congress of the United States for its desire to investigate the extent of the activities of communism, fascism, and nazi-ism within the borders of the United States; be it further

Resolved, That we urge the appropriation of funds to conduct such an investigation; and be it further

Resolved, That the practice of the Dies committee in permitting the according and publicizing as facts matters which were only heresay and caused unjust reflections on good Americans is hereby condemned; and be it further

Resolved, That this convention commend all public officials of

our Government, both of State and Federal, who have condemned subversive influences and who have recommended legal action to defend our form of government against such influences.

I note that House Resolution No. 26, introduced by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Dies], provides that the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Propaganda and Activities is authorized to continue with the power and authority conferred upon it by the action of the last Congress, and further that this committee would be authorized to continue until January 3, 1941, before reporting the findings to this body or recommending legislation concerning the purpose of its creation.

My reference to the political activities of the committee in the last campaign in Michigan necessarily provokes this question: Was that political sabotage so successful in the mind of the gentleman from Texas that he wanted the power to continue through the 1940 Presidential campaign for the purpose of defeating the liberal movement so necessary to the existence of this democracy?

The conscientious Members of this body and the people of the United States of America interested in the perpetuation of our democratic institutions are interested in legislation to curb un-American activities and not in a long-drawn-out investigation that creates Nation-wide unrest and bewilderment. I believe I speak for the average American citizen when I say give us action and legislation, not dreamy investigations.

Therefore it is my opinion that this committee, if continued, should be increased by the presence of the Attorney General of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of War, and that the committee should report to this Congress not later than June 15 of this year with recommendations for legislation that would definitely curb un-American activities in this Nation.

If we are to believe all the things reported by the committee on January 3, 1939, and if the committee was interested in legislation instead of in its own personal aggrandizement, we should have at this time submitted to this Congress legislation based upon that report. The committee does not see fit to recommend legislation, but requests further authority to carry on for the glorification of the committee. May I present this question for your consideration: Is this Congress going to definitely act to curb un-American activities by legislation, or is it going to allow this investigation to carry on to such a point that any political philosophy that does not meet with the personal approval of the committee will be assassinated as un-American?

I am so thoroughly convinced that we are in present need of drastic legislation to curb un-American activities from the reports of committees already made to this Congress that unless this committee is limited in its report and recommendations for legislation are made before the adjournment of this Congress, I shall be forced to cast my vote against the resolution. If this resolution is properly framed so that we will be definitely assured of legislation based on the principle for which this committee was created, I shall be more than pleased to vote in favor of such a resolution.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] such time as he may desire.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, the purposes of this committee called the Dies committee are laudable and proper. My hatred of Communists is as great as my hatred of Fascists and Nazis. It is hoped that all influence making for converts to those "isms" can be ripped out root and branch. But some of the methods pursued by this committee heretofore make for increased rather than lessened communism, nazi-ism, and fascism.

I shall vote down the previous question so that we may have an opportunity to offer amendments to the resolution.

The personnel of the committee should be increased. Some of its personnel have been most intolerant and have been guilty of practices that have a tendency to create the very radicalism they seek to destroy. I would want the Speaker to appoint as additional members of that committee, men of poise and understanding, of judicial temperament, of fairness in thought and speech.

I shall vote for the final resolution primarily because recently, in a conversation I had with the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Dies], he agreed specifically that he had made errors and that he would not repeat them. I asked him a series of questions in order to bring out his future plans for the conduct of his committee. His answers were satisfac-

Firstly, I asked him: "Are you going to make the same flery and unbalanced speeches over the radio that you have made heretofore?" His answer was "No." I explained that as chairman of the committee he was more like a judge; that it was improper for him to prejudice his witnesses by making intolerant speeches against them. He agreed.

Secondly, I asked him, "Are you going to hire a skillful and adroit lawyer to sift fact from fiction, wheat from chaff, and are you going to follow his advice and counsel? He said "Yes." Heretofore he and his committee members have re-frained from hiring counsel. They probably did not have money to do so. But many a worthy member of the bar would have been glad to donate his services. A committee of this important character cannot successfully function without the aid of good counsel. Again the gentleman from Texas agreed.

Thirdly, I asked him, "Will you continue to allow your committee to be a sounding board for crackpots and professional agitators?" He said he would not.

Lastly, I asked him, "In your reports, are you going to come to strained and violent conclusions based on flimsy and insufficient evidence?" He said he would exercise the greatest care and vigilance before making any pronouncements, and that he would be as cautious as possible.

It must be remembered that the leadership of the House has put its imprimatur of approval on this resolution. It apparently is going to carry overwhelmingly. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] has been cautioned against intemperate remarks against the administration, and I understand further that he has agreed not to attack the administration.

In the light of these questions and answers and the pledges of Mr. Dies, I am constrained to vote for the resolution, after voting against taking the previous question.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HEALEY].

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Speaker, at the time this special committee submitted its report to the House, I issued a statement which I believe is an appropriate and constructive criticism of the procedure followed at times by the Dies committee. It follows:

I have signed the report because I believe that this committee, with the limited resources at its disposal, has shed some light on the scope and extent of the activities of subversive forces and have, in my opinion, definitely established that un-American forces are

in my opinion, definitely established that un-American forces are most actively at work in our midst in an effort to destroy our form of government, and because it is my earnest desire that Congress shall appropriate an adequate sum of money to guarantee a thorough and complete investigation of the machinations and activities of these un-American forces within our borders.

However, I do not mean to be understood as approving the methods employed on some occasions by this committee during the investigation. The objectives of this investigation are of such paramount importance to the welfare of our Nation that every care should be exercised lest its findings be confused, undermined, or impeached because of procedure which may in some cases be or impeached because of procedure which may in some cases be charged as deviating from traditional American principles of fair-

mess and impartiality.

While it is true that an investigating committee cannot be circumscribed by strict adherence to ordinary rules of evidence in accepting testimony, nevertheless, because of the temptation of some overzealous witnesses to take advantage of the committee by offering testimony either of an exaggerated nature or unsubstantiated and uncorroborated by evidence of feet. I believe that such offering testimony either of an exaggerated nature or unsubstantiated and uncorroborated by evidence of fact, I believe that such an investigation should be guided by orderly and judicial principles except where matters of compelling public interest require a departure. I believe that the groundwork should be laid for the reception of testimony by first determining its relevance and foundation in factual evidence.

Because the work of this committee is of such vital importance to the Nation, its investigation should not be permitted to be undermined and weakened in the public mind by permitting use

undermined and weakened in the public mind by permitted to see of the investigation for the airing of mere personal grievances or unfounded charges. Neither should its patriotic services be permitted to suffer from any tinge of partisan or political considerations nor the forum of the investigation be used as a political sounding heart day persons seeking relitively educators.

tions nor the forum of the investigation be used as a political sounding board by persons seeking political advantage.

Believing that Americanism can best be promoted by adhering to the fullest extent possible to the spirit of our Constitution and its safeguards, I early made the request that, before the reception of the testimony of any witness, the committee first conduct executive hearings to determine the factual value of the testimony and distinguish between testimony which would shed light on the objectives of the committee and testimony in the nature of meaningless generalities, mere expressions of opinion without at least some foundation in fact and testimony animated merely by personal grievances. Moreover, where charges of a serious nature are made before the committee against individuals or organizations, traditional American fairness requires that every opportunity be extended to those charged to reply and defend their be extended to those charged to reply and defend their

reputations.

If the Congress decides to continue the life of this committee or authorize any other committee to conduct this 'nquiry—and I feel most strongly that this work should be continued—I believe that sums adequate to supply the most competent type of counsel and condified investigators should be appropriated. and qualified investigators should be appropriated.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of this resolution to continue the inquiry by this committee. And if it is so adopted. I hope that the House will make it plain that it desires the committee to eliminate the unnecessary showmanship, sensationalism, and "appeal to the grandstand" that has done so much to impair the effectiveness of the committee's work and to buckle down to a serious and judicial factual investigation which may provide a sound basis for future action by Congress. [Applause.]

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Mason].

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Keller] has been unjustly accused of plagiarizing, stealing the words and thoughts of a well-known Communist writer and using those words and thoughts as his own in a radio address, and afterward recording them in the Congressional Record of Saturday, January 28. That is a very serious charge to make against a Member of Congress, a very serious charge indeed. For my part I question the validity of the charge. I give the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Keller] the benefit of the doubt. I consider him entirely innocent of the charge placed against him.

From what I know of the gentleman from Illinois, I do not believe he did plagiarize, that he did steal the words and thoughts that he used. I believe they were his own words and thoughts, that they expressed his own sentiments, that he believes what he said in that radio address, and that he should receive full credit for the same, full credit.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MASON. No; I will not.

Now, there can be no denial that the words and thoughts expressed by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Keller] in his radio address and afterward recorded in the Congres-SIONAL RECORD, are of the same pattern, are, in fact, nearly identical with the words and thoughts of the Communist writer, Mr. Adam Lapin. They are so nearly similar in pattern, in style, in content, to the words and thoughts of the Communist writer, that it was only natural that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Keller] should be suspected of plagiarizing. However, it is my well-considered thought that the similarity between the words and thoughts of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. KELLER] and the words and thoughts of the Communist writer, Mr. Lapin, only proves that the minds, the thoughts, the ideas, the sympathies, and the aims of these two men are so much alike that they naturally use the same words and phrases to express themselves. That fact is the significant fact in the whole controversy, as I see it. It is the all-important fact, the fact that should be kept in mind in the future by the Members of this Congress and by the people back home. [Applause and laughter.]

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I yield one-half minute to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gifford].

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, the name of one member of this committee has become a household word. Lest the matter become too serious in debate, I suggest this committee be continued until—as I read recently—every Communist in the country is made familiar with that old maxim, "Never say DIES." [Laughter.]

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 2 minutes. I favor the passage of this resolution to continue the Dies committee. The longer the hearings on the resolution continued before the Committee on Rules the more I was impressed with the work of the Dies committee. Every conceivable obstacle was placed in the way of the committee. It had to carry on single-handedly with limited funds. The executive departments of the Government refused to give it any assistance and in some instances the committee had to meet the studied criticism and active opposition of those occupying high positions in the executive branch of the Government. It was to be expected that every possible obstacle would be placed in the way of the committee by the elements it was created to investigate, but there was no reason to expect that the committee would meet with the opposition of officials of the Government as well.

Under all the circumstances it has done a very commendable job and should be continued in order to complete the work which it has started.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield a half minute to the gentleman from New York. [Mr. Marcantonio].

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, I rise to register my protest against the undemocratic method of procedure by which this resolution is being railroaded through. It is most un-American and unjust.

After having worked for weeks and weeks in preparation of arguments against the continuance of this committee, I find that the opposition is now limited to 13 minutes, to be shared by 15 Members of the House. Just how anyone can adequately present his side of the case in one-half minute is beyond me. I am very much surprised to see that the

Democratic leadership of the House has permitted this procedure. It will not be long before this same leadership will realize that in having allowed this railroading of this resolution through this House, it has created for itself a Frankenstein monster which it will find very embarrassing and destructive. There having been no other alternative left today, I shall avail myself of the privilege allowed to the Members of extending my remarks, and I hereby give my reasons against the continuance of this committee.

At the outset, I state that there is ample need for an investigation of subversive and un-American activities. I am not opposed to any such investigation. In fact, I think it should be carried on by a committee of fact-finding, fairminded, and impartial Members of this House. My opposition to the continuance of this present committee is that on its record this committee does not possess the qualifications which I have hereinabove outlined. Quite the contrary, this committee is disqualified from continuing any such investigation, and has disqualified itself during its hearings held last year.

Close and careful perusal of the record of the hearings held by the Dies committee will demonstrate to any fairminded person that instead of conducting a fair and impartial investigation into subversive and un-American activities, it permitted itself to be used by un-American and subversive groups as a sounding board to smear and besmirch the reputations of progressive leaders throughout the country, the labor movement, and progressive Democrats as well. Witness after witness appeared before this committee who was himself un-American and guilty of subversive activities. These witnesses raised a red smoke screen, and did one of the foulest political jobs in the history of this country. These native Nazi representatives used this committee to carry on their dirty Nazi work, that is, to attempt to discredit men and women throughout the country who are seriously engaged in upholding the democratic traditions of our country which those witnesses seek to destroy. Let us examine the record.

First. The chief investigator of this committee who was employed until September 20, 1938, by the committee was one Edward F. Sullivan, who was permitted to go around the country, in California and in Massachusetts in particular, where he released press statements, smearing honest Americans. He was never repudiated by the committee or by its chairman.

On August 25, 1938, labor's Non-Partisan League, in Washington, D. C., submitted to the Dies Committee an 18-page memorandum in which it pointed out among many other things that Sullivan sponsored a witness who had pleaded guilty and who had been sentenced to prison for stealing jewelry from a Washington woman. This witness's name was Alvin I. Halpern.

The press gave a great deal of publicity to this witness as a result of Mr. Sullivan's work with him. It certainly should have been very significant to the committee that the witness Halpern, on the day of his second appearance before the committee, was sentenced to a term of 1 to 2 years for the crime to which he had pleaded guilty. Not a word came from the Dies committee to the effect that it disavowed and rejected the testimony of this witness. It was also pointed out by Labor's Non-Partisan League in its memorandum that Mr. Edward Sullivan attempted to bribe Mr. Walter Gordon, a member of the National Maritime Union, and to have him testify falsely to the effect that the National Maritime Union was a Jewish-controlled Communist organization.

In the same memorandum it was pointed out that Mr. Sullivan had attempted to persuade the attorney for a union to engage in some double-dealing activities against his employer. The attorney, Mr. Angoff, rejected Mr. Sullivan's proffered information.

It was also pointed out in this memorandum that Sullivan had smeared one Leonard Green, organizer for the United Textile Workers, by stating that Green had forced his mother to live in destitution. The reporter who published this story, realizing that it was based on misinformation, revealed that the misinformation was given out by Edward F. Sullivan. The memorandum also pointed out that Sullivan, as revealed

by the La Follette committee, had been employed by the Railroad Audit and Inspection Bureau, a notorious strike-breaking outfit, with a most notorious record.

The memorandum also pointed out that Mr. Sullivan had engaged in anti-Semitic activities, and in activities in which he sought to arouse feeling against both Catholics and Jews.

The committee was also informed that its chief investigator had associated himself with Mr. James True, and shared Mr. True's office in Washington, in the National Press Building, from which office Mr. Sullivan conducted a so-called "Consolidated News Service." Mr. True operated under many names, such as "American First, Inc.," and "James True and Associates." One of the so-called associates was none other than Mr. Sullivan. Mr. True is noted for his invention for which he obtained a patent of a police truncheon which he called "the kike killer." The memorandum also pointed out that Sullivan had addressed a meeting in Asheville, N. C., together with a Mr. Gerald Winrod, whose activity I shall describe later. In his address, as reported in the press, Mr. Sullivan detailed one of the filthiest racial hatred speeches ever recorded.

The memorandum also pointed out to the committee that Mr. Sullivan and his associates were engaged in the presidential campaign in 1936 in the vilest type of attack on the President of the United States. The attacks were based on religious and racial antagonisms. The same group issued the degenerate propaganda called "The White Knight," supposedly the journal of the Knights of the White Camellia.

Just what did the Dies committee do after it had received these facts? The memorandum was documented and accompanied with affidavits and exhibits. An impartial and fairminded committee seriously seeking facts would have openly repudiated this scoundrel. Instead, we find not a word of condemnation of Sullivan in the report of the committee. Not a word of condemnation of Sullivan in the hearings or in the press from Mr. Dies. In fact, in the exposure of the Asheville conference in the hearings of the committee, volume 3, pages 2385, 2386, Mr. Sullivan's name is omitted from among those present at that conference, even though Mr. Sullivan was one of the two main speakers, and figures prominently in the newspaper accounts of the conference. All that was announced in the press from Mr. Dies with regard to Sullivan was that Mr. Sullivan had been dropped, due to lack of funds. This, I submit, is tender treatment for one who had been permitted by the committee to go around the country destroying reputations in the name of the committee, and who, himself, had been guilty of un-American and subversive activities. This Sullivan incident in and of itself destroys and smashes to smithereens any pretense of fairness and impartiality.

However, the Sullivan incident is not an isolated one. An analysis of the record shows that witnesses with native Nazi connections, and hence un-American and subversive, were permitted to fill pages and pages of the hearings with their foul attacks on many, many outstanding fighters for democracy.

A study of the testimony of these witnesses and a study of the program of the organizations which these witnesses represented, will show that the hearings were used by them to carry out their program, which, in the main, was to discredit the New Deal, discredit the labor movement, discredit progressive causes, and discredit progressive Americans. Foremost among these witnesses from the standpoint of time and numbers of pages consumed was one Walter S. Steele. Who is Walter S. Steele? He is a self-alleged editor of the National Republic magazine. This magazine is definitely anti-New Deal and antilabor in character. In fact, its entire ideology is native Nazi. The magazine is distributed free and unsolicited to school teachers throughout the country, in an obvious attempt to influence their conduct in the classroom. The distribution is paid for by big industrialists at \$1.50 for each so-called annual subscription (source, Senate lobby committee).

Steele claims before the Dies committee that he had never been connected with the Silver Shirts and that he had "absolutely no respect for the Silver Shirts or any such movement" (vol. 1, p. 309, committee hearings). As Steele made this statement under oath he lied and perjured himself. In a series of articles printed from July 30 to August 12, 1937, in the Cleveland Press, Steele is definitely linked with the Silver Shirts in Cleveland through his Cleveland representative and associate editor, Charles A. Kennedy. The reporter who exposed Steele's connection as well as the connection of his associate editor, Charles A. Kennedy, with the Silver Shirt movement, was one William Miller. On Thursday morning when I appeared before the Rules Committee in opposition to the continuance of the Dies committee, I read into the record a telegram which I had received from Mr. Miller that very morning.

I was not satisfied with the evidence from newspaper articles alone. I wanted confirmation from the source, and Mr. Miller, who was the source of these articles, in his telegram pinned Silver Shirt conspiracy on Mr. Steele definitely and conclusively. From the telegram I pointed out to the Committee on Rules that Susan Sterling, who is head of the master council of the Silver Shirts in Cleveland, whose real name is Elsie Theuer, was a very close associate of Charles A. Kennedy and of his coeditor, Walter Steele. Their association in one instance resulted in a conspiracy against the workers in Republic Steel. In fact, Arnold Gingrich, editor of Ken Magazine, definitely linked Miss Sterling with Silver Shirt negotiations with Tom Girdler, in his testimony before the Dies committee, volume 2, page 1226, of the hearings. The telegram which I read from Mr. Miller also established that he had informed, besides releasing this information in the press, Mr. Metcalfe, an investigator for the committee, of all this. He also informed Mr. Metcalfe that in substantiation of what he had printed, there existed a certain Miss Barbara Baker, who had acted as secretary to Susan Sterling. What did the committee do with all of this information that linked its arch witness with the Silver Shirts, an organization which another congressional committee had described as one that was "patterned after the storm troops of Germany"? (p. 11, report of the McCormick committee on un-American and subversive activities). Gingrich, in his testimony (p. 1228 of the hearings, vol. 2), gave the committee both Mr. Miller's name and Miss Baker's name. He also offered to the committee letters from both. The letters were not included in the record. Miss Baker was subpenaed. She wired Mr. Dies a request for fare to Washington. She received no reply.

From the telegram from which I read to the Rules Committee on Thursday, from Mr. Miller, I showed that on Armistice Day, when the gentleman from Texas went to Cleveland, Miss Baker went to see him to find out what she should do about the subpena. He stated that a subcommittee would be in Cleveland soon, and that a certain Mr. Howe would get in touch with her. No one ever got in touch with her. A subcommittee did go to Cleveland, and held secret hearings at the Hotel Hollenden. At no time did the subcommittee send for Miss Baker, or Mr. Miller, nor did it direct its investigation on the subject of Tom Girdler, Republic Steel, Susan Sterling, Walter Steele, Charles A Kennedy, and the Silver Shirt movement in Cleveland. The committee could very well have asked Mr. Steele to have presented his files wherein they would have found many letters from Susan Sterling in which she confided to him what she was doing in helping him in his machinations against real democratic Americans.

What did Chairman Dies himself do? Referring to both of those witnesses, he stated:

Both witnesses were subpensed. Mr. Miller denied knowing anything about it. He does not want to come because he says he does not know the facts (p. 2085, vol. 3, of the hearings).

In view of Miss Baker's statement and the statements of Mr. Miller, which I read from his telegram, before the Rules Committee, a most serious issue of fact and veracity is raised here. Surely, Congress should settle this issue before continuing the Dies committee.

If Miller's contentions and Miss Baker's contentions are correct, then I submit that the committee prevented an exposé of Steele's direct complicity with the Silver Shirts. Let us see just how the Silver Shirts were treated by the Dies committee. I charge that the committee avoided a real investigation of the Silver Shirts. First mention of the Silver Shirts was made at the very beginning of the hearings. This certainly establishes conclusively that the committee had ample time and money to make a thorough investigation of the Silver Shirts. The first day of the hearings, Investigator Metcalfe quoted extensively from a speech of Roy Zachary, field marshal of the Silver Shirts, a speech which is a direct incitement to violence against the Government of the United States and its officials. What did Chairman Dies do? He stated as follows:

We have a great deal of data here on the Silver Shirts, but we will pass it up for the time being and go into it at a later date (vol. 1, p. 47).

The later date never arrived. In fact, the Silver Shirts were mentioned only once in the committee's report, and then only in a passing reference to its type of uniform (committee's report, p. 112).

The Silver Shirts were mentioned several times during the hearings, but only briefly (vol. 2, pp. 1224–1232; vol. 3, pp. 2125, 2237–2245, 2357) without any significant amount of documentation. The manner in which the chairman of the committee turned off the testimony on the Silver Shirts is demonstrated on page 2357, volume 3. Metcalfe was testifying. The chairman asked him for information on the American White Guards, a pro-Nazi organization.

The witness Metcalfe answered with a description of Henry Allen, the director of the organization, and describes him as a liaison man between the Silver Shirts of California and the Gold Shirts in Mexico. Immediately the chairman interrupts him and states: "I think that is enough." Rather than an investigation of the Silver Shirts, I find, as a result of a thorough perusal of the hearings, that no effort whatsoever was made to investigate this notorious, un-American, subversive, anti-Catholic, and anti-Semitic organization. Its leader, William Dudley Pelley, only as recently as January 14 of this year, has boasted that he would not have been investigated. Not only does he boast about his never having been grilled, but he very significantly states that the Dies committee has done good work, in that as he claims the Dies committee has authenticated congressionally what he and the Silver Shirts have been belching for years.

I believe that I have conclusively established in the mind of any reasonable person Steele's connection with the Silver Shirts. I shall now also establish that he lied when he said that he was not connected with any other such movements. Steele is the spokesman, and has so represented himself, of the so-called "American Coalition." The president of the American Coalition is a John B. Trevor, a railroad millionaire heir and a professional immigrant baiter. He is head of the American section of the International Committee to Combat the World Menace of Communism, which is in reality a Nazi international, conducting, internationally, Nazi and anti-Semitic activities out of its Berlin headquarters.

One of the American Coalition's founders was George Sylvester Viereck, a well-known and acknowledged paid Nazi propagandist in the United States, as exposed by the Mc-Cormick investigating committee (p. 6, McCormick committee report). A clue to the sinister, subversive, and un-American character of the coalition is the presence among its affiliates of the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, of which the infamous Harry A. Jung is president. The Mc-Cormick Committee on Un-American Activities reported as follows to the Seventy-fifth Congress: "Harry A. Jung and the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation had published and circulated great masses of literature tending to incite racial and religious intolerance" (p. 12). Jung has been a most prolific distributor of the scurrilous forgery, Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Other samples of his literature are Halt Gentiles and Salute the Jews, Americans Avoid the Dangers of Vicious Dictatorships, an anti-New Deal pamphlet, and, incidentally, reprinted from Mr. Steele's National Republic. Mr. Jung has also been responsible for the pamphlet entitled "The Man Behind the Men Behind the President," which is a slanderous attack on new Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter. Jung's magazine is a sewer of all the vicious propaganda distributed throughout the country against the President of the United States, the New Deal, and the Jewish people.

In the McCormick report we find that Hon. Henry T. Rainey, late and beloved Speaker of the House of Representatives, wrote to Jung as follows:

My files show that you are a sort of detective, worming your way into the homes of the most trusted members of labor organizations and obtaining information with which to combat the efforts of labor organizations to better their conditions, and that you obtain this information for the purpose of assisting "strikebreakers." The data I have shows that you foment strikes in districts where there are no unions and then settle the strike for a price. The information I have with reference to you is that you are the man who does the slimy, stool-pigeon work necessary for the purpose of destroying organized labor wherever it has contractual relations with employers.

Mr. Steele and Mr. Jung are pals.

Steele is also a member of the advisory council of the Paul Reveres, Inc., a pro-Nazi outfit, headed by Col. Edwin Marshall Hadley, who is the author of two anti-Semitic pamphlets issued under the name of Earnest Sincere. The pamphlets are Facing the Facts and Plan and Action.

Right here the committee, in these two pamphlets, could have found plenty of subversive and un-American material. Hadley also wrote under his real name the pamphlet Rape of the Republic, a widely distributed attack on the Roosevelt administration. Steele's magazine expressed its approval of the organization in an article which appeared in the June 1933 issue under the heading "Paul Revere Rides Again." The article, written by Colonel Hadley himself, says: "The National Republic has welcomed this dynamic society into the field of constructive education." All these writings are clearly un-American and subversive.

Steele is in good company. The Paul Reveres was founded by the high priestess of "red" baiters, Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, and includes on its advisory board besides Steele, the rabid antisemite Col. E. N. Sanctuary, head of the pro-Nazi American Christian Defenders and coworker of Harry A. Jung in the writing, publishing, and distributing of antisemitic literature. Sanctuary is, in fact, Jung's eastern representative and an associate of the two most vicious antisemites in America, Robert Edward Edmondson and James True. Edmondson will be remembered as the man who was arrested under charges of criminal libel brought by Mayor LaGuardia and other leading citizens of New York. best known as the most prolific writer of antisemitic literature, according to a University of Chicago study by D. S. Strong, published last year, and in recognition of this fact has been invited several times to speak before the Nazi bund in New York City. Again, in the case of Edmondson, antisemitism and anti new dealism are brought together in the person of Howland Spencer, Edmondson's chief backer.

Spencer is the Hudson River aristocrat who sold his estate to Father Divine last summer rather than be a neighbor of President Roosevelt, and in his own name, as the publisher of the newspaper the Highland Post, is an anti-Semite and Nazi sympathizer of the first order. Another associate of Colonel Sanctuary is the notorious James True, publisher of the Nazi weekly news letter, Industrial Control Reports, who not only preaches violence against Jews, but tried to carry it into practice with the invention of a murderous club which he termed a "kike killer."

These are just a few examples of characters linked with the star witness, Steele, who lied when he said he had no connection with the Silver Shirts, and who lied when he said that he had no connection with any organization like them. Here we find him closely interlinked with the most dangerous, undemocratic, un-American, and subversive groups in the United States. He is the spokesman of these groups, and a coconspirator with the Silver Shirts. Yet Steele was the A No. 1 witness of the Dies committee. The record shows that he certainly took full advantage of the protection and opportunity afforded him by the Dies committee, to carry out

the propaganda program of the Silver Shirts, of the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, of Harry Jung, of Pelley, of Susan Sterling, and of every propaganda racketeer engaged in seeking to undermine and overthrow our fundamental democratic institutions. The fact that Steele was protected, the fact that Steele was permitted to use the committee as a sounding board, consuming 453 pages of the hearings, is sufficient to destroy any confidence that any American may ever have had in it.

I further submit that when last week the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Dies] addressed the American coalition assembled here in Washington, in convention, and in view of the native Nazi character of the affiliated groups, he stripped himself of any vestige of impartiality, which is so necessary in the conduct of an investigation of un-American activities. When the chairman of the committee addresses a group and is the guest of a group which is violently engaged in striking at our Bill of Rights, freedom of religion, such as the affiliates of the American Coalition, is he then qualified to investigate them?

The committee evaded a real investigation of native Nazi, anti-Semitic, and anti-Catholic organizations. I have shown what happened with regard to the Silver Shirts. I have shown the treatment given to Sullivan. I have shown the star role and protection accorded to Steele. Let us now see what the committee did with regard to the Ku Klux Klan and Gerald B. Winrod.

The Ku Klux Klan is by no means dead. To the contrary, it is very, very active in many sections of the country where the American labor movement is seeking to organize workers, particularly in the South. A. F. of L. and C. I. O. organizers who have felt the terror of the Klan can testify as to its virulent existence. Only as recently as December, the Imperial Wizard of the Klan, Hiram Evans, announced that a national convention would be called to unite their forces against the American labor movement. What treatment did the Klan receive before the committee? The gentleman from Texas [Mr. Dies] absolutely refused to go into the Klan. He stated "there is no necessity of going into that."

That has been gone into in days gone by (vol. 3, p. 2376), when witness Metcalfe attempted to offer evidence on this surely subversive and un-American Ku Klux Klan. If what has been gone into in days gone by was to be used as the criterion for exclusion from the scope of the investigation of organizations, then there would have been very, very little work left for the energetic gentleman from Texas.

Let us see how the gentleman from Texas handled Gerald B. Winrod. First, who is Gerald B. Winrod? Gerald B. Winrod is known to his associates as the "Jayhawk Nazi." In his radio programs in Kansas he shocked the entire Nation with his anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic rantings. He shocked the Republicans of Kansas who repudiated him in the Republican primaries when he sought the nomination to the United States Senate. His writings and radio addresses were so low that even the chairman of the Republican National Committee disowned him. His filthiest piece of propaganda was an attack on the Catholic Church in a pamphlet called "The Harlot Woman."

In his magazine, the Defender, of September 1936, he attacks the Roosevelt administration as alien and "red." He assailed the memory of Woodrow Wilson "as Jew-controlled," refers to Ambassador William C. Bullitt as "Jewish Ambassador." A long article on Germany in this issue of the Defender praises Hitler and attacks Catholics and Jews. It defends Hitler as "savior of Germany." And it seeks to justify anti-Catholicism by false charges of immorality and ascribes vile practices to the church and refers to the priests and nuns of the Roman Catholic Church as "filthy priests and nuns." From another one of his magazines, the Revealer, of October 15, 1936, we find a streamer front page headline "Roosevelt's Jewish Ancestry." It presents a chart which it claims "reveals the origin of the sinister spirit which today dominates the White House." To continue a further revelation of this man's writings and rantings against the President, against the Catholic Church, against the Jews, and against everything that is decent, would only fill up five daily RECORDS. But this alone indicates that Winrod was most certainly a fit subject for the investigation by this committee. But what happened? The witness, Metcalfe, on two separate and distinct occasions was shut off by the committee chairman when he sought to offer testimony on Winrod. Metcalfe offered a copy of Winrod's publication as evidence of his anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic activities. DIES announced that the—

Chair received a letter from Dr. Winrod in which he denied that he had preached anti-Semitism, and denied that he is sympathetic with fascism. He says he is absolutely opposed to fascism and nazi-ism, and is opposed to racial and religious hatred, and denies that he has disseminated any literature preaching racial or religious hatred. Now, what I want to know is, Have you got anything of his in which he has done that?

Mr. Metcalfe replied that it could be found in the literature in the chairman's possession, and the chairman said "I cannot tell what all this is about" (vol. 3, p. 2373 of the hearings). Later the chairman said to Metcalfe, "As we do not want to do any injustice, of course, you have other evidence besides the question of his own statements?" (vol. 3, p. 2375 of the hearings).

Later during the same testimony Metcalfe reported on a Nation-wide anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi conference held in Kansas City, and attended by representatives of the Silver Shirts, the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, the German-American Bund, and many others, including Winrod (vol. 3, p. 2387 of the hearings). Metcalfe had been basing his report on his "own information and substantiated by the Department of Justice" (vol. 3, p. 2385 of the hearings) He quoted from a speech by one of the Nazi leaders and said it was substantiated by the Department of Justice (vol. 3, p. 2387 of the hearings). Then he attempted to quote from a speech by Winrod as it was reported by the Department of Justice report. Mr. Dies interrupted him, saying that the Department of Justice had asked that no quotations from the report be given. Mr. Metcalfe then asked: "Do you want the general trend of this?"—indicating paper. Mr. Dies answered: "We will hold this in abeyance. We will respect the wishes of the Department of Justice in this matter" (vol. 3, p. 2387 of the hearings).

It is quite obvious that the chairman of the committee did not overexert himself in investigating Mr. Winrod. Mr. Speaker, and my colleagues, in the light of what I have hereinabove revealed, and in the light that the committee's report devotes only a page and a half to native Nazi groups (p. 1718 of the report) it is obvious that the committee not only failed to make a real investigation of these native Nazis, anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, subversive, and other un-American organizations, but that in some instances its investigator was not given a full and free expression of the result of his investigations of these organizations. I say, yes; by all means let us investigate organizations that conspire to overthrow our democratic form of government, that conspire against our democratic rights, that incite to overthrow the basic doctrine of freedom of religion. There is a real need for such an investigation, and I want it, and I am sure you do. However, let us not become confused. We cannot do this job through the continuance of this committee. This is clearly established on the record of its past performance. I challenge contradiction.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield now to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL].

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I want to say at the very outset that I am most anxious that the task assigned to the Un-American Activities Committee be completed in the most thorough fashion and at the earliest possible date. Accordingly I will support any proposal to clothe a representative committee of this House with authority to act vigorously in the pursuit of the original purpose, granting such committee whatever amount of money is necessary to ferret out subversive movements which threaten our democracy. I feel,

however, that the so-called Dies committee has made some very serious errors which gave the country the impression that Frank Murphy is a Communist, that our Detroit schools are shot through with communism, and that our school teachers are injecting the virus of un-Americanism into the tender beings of our school children. Of course, nothing could be further from the truth, and nothing in the world could be more helpful to communism than to link with it the respected names of some of our best citizens, holding office or in private life. Churchmen of various denominations were placed in this same category by publicity seekers and by men of doubtful character without the opportunity of defending themselves.

The committee is not altogether to blame for this erroneous propaganda broadcast throughout the Nation, but it is to blame for the lack of proper safeguards for its willingness to summon and pay the expenses of people who may have had ulterior motives. The committee is charged with a great responsibility and should therefore issue, after hearing properly qualified witnesses, statements to the press. Other great committees of the House, notably the McCormack committee, performed splendid service without destroying the reputations of innocent and good citizens. The people have a right to expect the protection of their good names and, more than that, a right of defending themselves. It is the looseness of performance that I criticize. It is the method which caused a miscarriage of the intent of the House of Representatives and destroyed reputations which were spotless in their loyalty and patriotism that I protest against. The few brief moments I have to discuss this important matter will not permit me to go into detail. I criticize the House for its parsimony, for penny pinching, for the niggardly appropriation of \$25,000 for an investigation of a billion-dollar propaganda system rooted in alienism and foreign soil. I am willing and anxious to appropriate any amount necessary to do a good job in any investigation that will uncover and drive out any and all "isms" and subversive movements.

I contend that right or wrong the confidence of many of our people, insofar as the Dies committee is concerned, has been destroyed. The committee has lost face, lost effectiveness for the future, and all that I propose is that the House vote down the previous question in order that the resolution might be amended to permit the Speaker to name a new committee to carry on with utmost vigor and perseverance.

All that I want to do is to substitute the adjective "the" for the vowel "a" in line 1 of the resolution. Certainly our great Speaker can be trusted to rename members of the committee and add other reputable and aggressive members, equal in ability and character with those previously named, who can continue the work, profiting by the mistakes heretofore made. I have the highest regard for my friend from Texas, and he knows I am sincere in saying so. We have worked together before, and he will concede that I am as eager as he is to extirpate un-American activities from our national life. I believe he should, in the interest of restoring public confidence, join with others in this House toward the creation of a new and greater committee.

Dynamic and personable, the chairman of the committee made a great mistake when he rushed his investigation to such an extent as to deprive the committee of the services of two of its most valuable and distinguished members. I refer to my colleagues, Mr. Dempsey, from New Mexico, and Mr. Healey, from Massachusetts. Nothing was gained by the haste and much was lost in their being deprived of an opportunity to serve as the House intended.

I hope the committee will itself acquiesce and accept the amendment. It is vital to the Nation in that it will permit immediate and accelerated action without any handicap or suspicion.

We need more than anything else at this time, Mr. Speaker, legislation with teeth in it to curb these subversive activities and to destroy them.

We know of their existence, and rather than investigate let us as rapidly as possible legislate. Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield one-half minute to the gentleman from California [Mr. Voorhis].

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, my own views on this subject can be found in the Appendix of the Record on page 385. I will not have time to give them here.

I have no time to speak, except to say that the type of appeal that has been made on the Republican side of the House for the passage of this resolution is illustrative of the thing that I fear, namely, a concerted attempt to identify every clean, decent American progressive movement in defense of the rights of the common people of this country with communism. If that spirit continues, I say our country is in danger. [Applause.] My reason for saying that is that I believe we have got to have room for honest divergences of opinion on the problems we face without trying to link our opponents with some un-American movement. Unless we keep alive the spirit of tolerance and fair play we are in danger of losing our liberties. Turn loose a vindictive spirit of hate and prejudice and it will be hard to control.

The work of the Dies committee, insofar as it has consisted of revealing facts about communism, nazi-ism, and fascism in this country, is a work in which everyone believes and all favor. Were this committee not continued I should certainly favor the setting up of another committee to carry on that work.

The reason I shall vote against continuing the Dies committee is simply that I cannot put my stamp of approval on what has happened to the reputations of a great many sincere, patriotic people in this country. To call in question a man's patriotism and devotion to the welfare of his country is a most serious thing. Any committee dealing with matters of that kind ought to be as judicious in its conduct, as careful not to allow publicity to be given to unsubstantiated charges as it can possibly be. If it is, then the force of what it has to say will be the greater. But if it is not, then people may be condemned before they have fair opportunity for defense, and the mere accusation, however false, before a congressional committee may carry in an inflamed public mind an appearance of validity which the same accusation made elsewhere could not have.

My vote against continuation of this committee is a vote of protest against its methods. I imagine the resolution will be adopted. If it is, I can only hope that the investigation will be effective in bringing to light facts regarding movements seeking to overthrow our constitutional democracy and substitute any sort of dictatorship for it; and I can only also hope that the mistakes of the past will be avoided.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Martin].

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, if there was ever any doubt whether the un-American investigation by the Dies committee has been resolved into an attack on the President of the United States and his administration, it would have been removed by the language of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish] and other Members on the Republican side of the House. As far as I am concerned, with 160 Republicans to smear Roosevelt and the New Deal—and that is all they have done so far in this session—I do not see the necessity of wasting the taxpayers' money to furnish a Democratic committee to supply the dirt. I do not blame the Republicans. It is talked around the Chamber that the activities of this committee so far has emptied a number of Democratic seats in this Chamber, and they no doubt hope they will empty a lot more in 1940. [Applause.]

The attack is necessarily on the President, and the tail goes along with the hide. If a Communist sympathizer is now at the head of the Department of Justice, the President appointed him. If the Department of Labor is sympathetic to communism, the President is responsible. If the W. P. A. is honeycombed with communism, the President is responsible. If, as charged by the chairman of the committee, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Labor, the Attorney General, and other governmental agencies here in Washington have sought to thwart

and discredit the committee, they all are the President's appointees—he must be cognizant of their actions and he must be in sympathy with them. It is the President who is being hit over the shoulders of these subordinates.

Every speech on this subject made on the Republican side of the aisle is filled with insinuations and sneers against the President, and every thrust at him is loudly applauded on that side of the aisle. They go as far as they dare to say that he is openly countenancing an alliance between the Democratic Party and communism in this country. They want to destroy him and his works. No Democrat can shut his eyes to this, or gainsay it, although many of them talk one way in the cloak room and vote the other way on the floor. They will do it on this resolution.

The course which the Democratic Party began in the last Congress, and which it is continuing in this Congress, is alienating the progressive and labor forces to which it owes its place and power.

There is nothing for us on the other side of the fence. We would not be trusted by the interests which have been so long and so well served by the Republican Party. What I fear is that the course of this committee is having the effect of identifying in the public mind new dealism, liberalism, and labor, with radicalism and communism, and that it will serve to still further demoralize and divide the Democratic membership in Congress and discredit the administration nationally.

It may go beyond this. I have no doubt that every charge of communism against the administration registers in Berlin and Rome, where democracy and communism are already identified. Already the dictators identify the democracies of Europe in the category of Russia, and we are furnishing the same ammunition to be shot at us.

This committee had assigned to it a most important work, and it ought to be reconstituted so that that work could be carried out as intended. Even its friends on the floor admit that it has gone afield, and the fact is that it has gone further afield than they admit. If it keeps on, it will dig more graves for Democrats than for Communists.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. Coffee].

The SPEAKER. There is one-half minute remaining. The gentleman from Washington is recognized.

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I rise to register my decisive objection to the continuation of the Dies committee.

I base my opposition to the renewal of the life of this investigating body upon its manner of procedure as revealed in the printed copy of its hearings. I likewise voice my protest against the omission by the committee to make a thorough and painstaking investigation of Fascist and Nazi organizations in the United States. We have Silver Shirts, German-American bunds, Ku Klux Klan, Christian Party, anti-Semitic organizations flourishing in this broad land, but the committee paid scant attention to their nefarious activities.

The heads of these organizations are known, their addresses readily available, their books and accounts subject to subpena. Why was this not done?

Mr. Speaker, the effect of this committee has been to inculcate in the minds of the gullible an impression that many of the most reputable citizens in our land are Communists, or dupes of communism. One witness testified that Shirley Temple had lent herself to communism. One witness charged the Lt. Gov. Ellis Patterson, of California, was a Communist. The same witness stated that Labor's Non-Partisan League was under the Communist control in California (hearings, p. 2033). On page 2034 of the hearings we find these ex parte charges:

The State of California has \* \* \* as candidates \* \* \* the following: Culbert Olson for Governor, who fraternizes with and accepts the program of the Communist Party. Ellis Patterson for Lieutenant Governor, a member of the Communist Party. Sheridan Downey, for United States Senator, was a running mate of Communist (sic) Upton Sinclair in 1934. \* \* \* To further establish evidence of the candidates listed above \* \* \*---

I categorically charge that the foregoing statements are falsehoods. Among reasons given by Witness Knowles for the conclusion that these men are Communists is that a Communist newspaper spoke in friendly terms about some of them; that one of them was a visitor at a Non-Partisan League meeting; that greetings relative to world peace emanating from one of the men charged were read at a meeting of the American League Against War and Fascism; that the Commonwealth Federation had spoken in kindly fashion of one of them; that the three men had urged that Tom Mooney be pardoned. Ye gods and little fishes! To what a low degree have we sunk when reputable citizens are thus indicted before a congressional agency in their absence by innuendo, gossip, guesses, hearsay, and wishful thinking.

The American Civil Liberties Union is subjected to vitriolic attack before this same committee—hearings, page 2039 and the following. The statement is blandly made that the majority of the board of directors of this organization "are so well known nationally for their Communist activities that any comment thereon would be superfluous." The author of this remarkable statement may insist that comment would be superfluous, but I make so bold as to comment. The general counsel of this organization is one of America's most eminent lawyers, Mr. Arthur Garfield Hays. In a radio broadcast recently Mr. Hays stated:

I realize we should not too harshly condemn men like the honorable Congressman from Texas [Mr. Dres]. Lack of understanding of what Americanism means is largely responsible for their acts. \* \* They know little of philosophy or history; they fail to appreciate what democracy means. It cannot be expected that these men would understand the Bill of Rights, for to them the only permissible views are those which they approve. \* \* \* These men start with a will to believe—a will to believe those witnesses who, because of ignorance, prejudice, malice, personal aggrandizement, desire for publicity \* \* \* come before a committee and are permitted to express opinions which, since they are the opinions of the committee, are accepted by the committee as facts.

The American Civil Liberties Union was repeatedly attacked by witnesses appearing before the committee. In the report of the committee we find these words:

From the evidence before us we are not in a position to definitely state whether or not the American Civil Liberties Union can properly be classed as a Communist organization.

The inference is plain. The impression sought to be created in the credulous mind is obvious, but the purpose of evidence is to enable one to report what he can state, not what he cannot state. This organization repeatedly requested that the Dies committee permit its officers to be heard, but the requests went unanswered. When the committee had concluded its hearings, the privilege was vouchsafed the union. as to other accused organizations, of submitting an affidavit to which nobody paid any attention and to which no reference is made in the committee's report. In investigating the union, however, the committee invited none of its officers to testify. Among members of long standing, or of the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, will be found some of the leading intellectuals and most brilliant thinkers in the United States, citizens of all political persuasions, whose patriotism it is outrageous to question. Among these will be found William Allen White, publisher of the Emporia (Kans.) Gazette, America's foremost newspaper editor; William E. Dodd, Sr., great educator and writer, former Ambassador to Germany; Bishop Edgar Blake, of the Methodist Church; Felix Frankfurter, now Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; Prof. John Dewey, America's greatest living philosopher; Dr. Lloyd Garrison, dean of the Harvard Law School; Col. William J. Donovan, eminent lawyer, one of our most prominent Republicans; Dr. Mary E. Woolley, perhaps the leading feminine teacher in America. It might be added parenthetically that when Felix Frankfurter was nominated by the President as Justice of the United States Supreme Court an attempt was made in the Judiciary Committee of another body to question his fitness for the high judicial post because of his activities in connection with the American Civil Liberties Union. So shatteringly did Mr. Frankfurter refute the aspersions that the committee unanimously reported his nomination favorably; and in another body of this

Congress not a single vote was registered against his confirmation, though he had been active for years as a member of the American Civil Liberties Union.

This organization believes in free speech and assemblage, even for unpopular views. It has defended the rights of Negroes in the South, the Ku Klux Klan in Boston, radicals in California, evolutionists in Tennessee. It has fought for Tom Mooney, for the Scottsboro Negroes. It has defended Henry Ford against an order of the Labor Board which denied him the right to spread antiunion propaganda. It has befriended unpopular religious groups. Recently, United States District Judge Clark handed down a decision in which will be found these significant words:

Plaintiff, American Civil Liberties Union, was established and is maintained for the purpose of taking such measures as it deems lawful and essential for the enforcement of the rights secured by the first amendment and the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution of the United States. \* \* \* The purposes of the plaintiffs above set forth are in the letter and spirit of our Constitution and laws and of the theory of our democratic institutions. \* \* \* There is no competent proof that the plaintiffs or any of them had any other purpose. \* \* \*

Despite the desirability of exposure of un-American activities, it seems perfectly obvious from the record that any committee under Congressman Dies is wholly incapable of giving the American public a fair inquiry or honest conclusions. Any such investigation will be weighted on the side of reaction and against the progressive program overwhelmingly supported by the American public. One cannot resist the suspicion that the demand for 2 years more of these sensation-seeking antics rests upon a desire to affect the 1940 national election. Is Congress to put into the hands of a committee with this ecord the weapons to do on a national scale what it accomplished in part on a local scale in the last elections? Or does the public want what I believe it does, an honest exposure of foreign propaganda aimed at our American form of government?

If that is the case, the job can be done either by the Department of Justice, fully equipped to investigate and ferret out the violators of law and to recommend needed laws, or by a joint committee of House and Senate, which would rise above the suspicion of reactionary partisan ends.

Nor are 2 years needed to expose the enemies of democracy and to recommend legislation against them. Congress can now adopt legislation to end any preparations for violence against our democratic institutions by passing a bill already introduced to prohibit private military training or the use of arms by private organizations. American law is otherwise wholly adequate to protect our liberties. The conspiracy statutes, the law requiring the registration of agencies engaged in foreign propaganda, the immigration and deportation acts, these and others protect our democracy in law.

Recently a committee of 150 lawyers of national repute made an investigation of the activities of the Dies committee and drew up a report thereon consisting of 40 pages. A casual reading of this report will reveal in countless instances the bias of the Dies committee and the undignified manner of its procedure. I commend its reading to all of you.

In the debates preceding the adoption of the original Dies committee resolution (Congressional Record, 3d sess., 75th Cong., May 26, 1938, p. 9961) the gentleman from Texas, in the course of his remarks designed to reveal the need for such a committee, said:

I am not inclined to look under every bed for a Communist, but I can say to this House that there is in my possession a mass of information showing the establishment and operation of some 30 Nazi camps in the United States. \* \* \*

Arguing in favor of the adoption of the resolution, Mr. Dies stated he was conscious of the possible abuse of the immense power granted to a congressional committee and assured his colleagues that his committee would not be guilty of such abuse:

I can conceive that a committee constituted or composed of men whose objectives are to gain publicity or whose object it is to arouse hatred against some race or creed, or to do things of that sort, might do more harm than good.

In the public press, Mr. Dies was quoted on June 19, 1938:
This is not going to be any "shooting in the dark" inquiry. We want the facts only. \* \* \*

I submit that anyone who takes the time to read the hearings of the Dies committee must unavoidably come to the conclusion that the committee has been culpable of actions and conduct that are most reprehensible. I exculpate from responsibility in this connection, however, the gentleman from New Mexico [Mr. Dempsey] and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Healey]. Approximately 90 percent of the hearings reveal the chairman's cross-questioning and exclusive handling of the hearing.

The question is, Has the committee sought and obtained facts rather than opinions and conclusions? Has it ever defined the amazing word "un-American"? Has it not, rather, pictured any citizen of liberal or progressive leanings as being tinctured by the virus of communism? Could any lawyer of experience enthuse over the admission of inadmissible evidence? Are we justified by the past conduct of the committee in continuing its operation?

Is a Congress which reduced the appropriation to provide work for the unemployed in the amount of \$150,000,000 in a position logically to authorize the expenditure of a large sum of money to ascertain whether discontent exists in the United States?

The gentleman from Montana [Mr. O'CONNOR] has properly asked why it would not be sensible to investigate the causes of subversive activity. The wonder to me is that we do not have more Fascists or Communists, when we recall how many millions of our citizens are ill-housed and undernourished and lack a job. The committee is seeking to find out facts which are already well known. In recent years two similar committees have functioned, albeit in a different manner. These were known as the McCormack and Fish committees. The former committee made numerous recommendations of what it deemed to be needed legislation. Congress ignored all these recommendations. Facts concerning subversive activities are readily available if vigorous inquiry is made at the source. The Department of Justice has the means, the facilities, and the experience readily at hand to carry on an extensive investigation into all forms of subversive activities. I join with those who praise the objectives of the Dies committee, but I deplore the poverty, denial of opportunity, poor housing, which breed the unrest which eventuates into Communist or Fascist organizations.

Mr. Speaker, I condemn the failure of the Dies committee to hear both sides of the controversy. I censure the committee for allowing its forum to be used as a sounding board for the dissemination of politics. I condemn the timing of committee testimony in the heat of a political campaign. I deplore the fact that unsupported testimony of a damaging nature was permitted without previous investigation and in open session. I regret that a committee would allow witnesses of dubious antecedents to give publicity to slanderous utterances before a tribunal which the law has surrounded with legal immunity. If these witnesses had made the same statement elsewhere, they could have been held to strict account by the reputable citizens impugned. Publicity emanating from this committee contributed to the defeat of Gov. Frank Murphy, of Michigan, and of Elmer Benson, of Minnesota.

Mr. Speaker, the opponents of the continuation of the Dies committee were allowed only 13 minutes of the entire debate today. This resolution is being railroaded through this House without careful consideration. The effect of the committee's conduct may well be to undermine the great Democratic Party. I predict that no single Republican will vote against this resolution this afternoon. Our Republican friends are gloating with glee over the fact that some Democratic partners will aid them in an effort to defeat the Democrats. Two Cabinet ministers, Ickes and Perkins, were assailed before this committee. Shall we be a party to attack upon the New Deal? I refuse to join the crew which seeks to wreck the New Deal.

Mr. Speaker, when I lose the courage to vote my convictions in this body I will resign. I refuse to cringe my knees before the whip of reaction. I refuse to offer incense upon the altar of intolerance. I quote the language of the President of the United States with reference to the Dies committee. Said Franklin D. Roosevelt:

Most fair-minded Americans hope that the committee will aban-Most fair-minded Americans hope that the committee will abandon the practice of merely providing a forum to those who for political purposes or otherwise seek headlines which they could not otherwise obtain. Mere opinion evidence has been barred in court since the American system of legislative and judicial procedure was started. \* \* I was disturbed \* \* \* because a congressional committee, charged with the responsibility of investigating un-American activities, should have permitted itself to be used in a flagrantly unfair and un-American attempt to influence an election. ence an election.

By special permission I append hereto brief excerpts from magazine and newspaper comments and editorials with reference to the Dies committee. I do so because most of the periodicals quoted are conservative, politically speaking, but the comments are illuminating as illustrative of the fact that not only among all liberal organizations in the United States will be found heated opposition to the continuation of this committee, but likewise from intelligent, fair, and reasonable conservatives.

#### [From the Time Magazine of November 7, 1938]

[From the Time Magazine of November 7, 1938]

Fate and Texas gave Martin Dies an impressive physique, a durable voice, a seat in Congress. Mr. Dies lately has given the United States a congressional investigation. By the standards of past masters at inquisition, his performance has not been brilliant. Ex-Senator (now Associate Justice) Hugo L. Black was at his best with a hostile witness, knowing well how to bait the trap, when to spring it. Senator Robert M. La Follerte also knows the uses of the subtle query. Mr. Dies knows chiefly how to bellow. Last week he had the thrill of seeing his bellowing affect not just the ear of some baffled layman but the tympanums of that knowing politician, the head of the Democratic Party.

To his investigation \* \* \* Mr. Dies had brought principally \* \* \* a willingness (common to congressional ferrets) to hear what he believes, a succession of renegade leftists, exunion officers and members turned talebearer, avowed spies, patrictic citizens bursting with information about the "reds." Mr. Dies has also taken testimony about United States Nazis and Fascists \* \* \*. But in the main he has stayed on the "red" trail.

#### [From The Nation of November 12, 1938]

When the House gets around to inquire into the misuse of its power by the Dies committee, it should not fall to inquire into the circumstances surrounding the service of those subpenas. Before that time arrives, the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee may save the House some trouble by exposing the activities of the Associated Farmers, and the relations between that organization and Fascist and Nazi propagandists. Then, and not before, we may learn about the un-American activities which constitute a real threat to this country's institutions. How illuminating it would be to disthis country's institutions. How illuminating it would be to discover that persons engaged in those activities have been using the Dies committee as a loudspeaker for their propaganda. \* \* \* \*
Dies claimed a right to broadcast an attack on his critics, but insisted that it was un-American to permit one of them to answer

# [From the Nation of November 5, 1938]

From the beginning the committee's performances have been a From the beginning the committee's performances have been a travesty on orderly procedure. Hundreds of thousands of words of "testimony" and "documentary evidence" have been pumped into the record without the slightest pretense of ascertaining whether it was true or false, whether the witnesses were credible or whether they were actuated by ulterior motives—as many of them so palpably were. No effort was made to protect exalted reputations against unsupported calumny. \* \* \* This obscene and degrading hippodrome is being carried on by authority of Congress, and \* \* \* its real aim is to defame and defeat fine public officials such as Governor Murphy and Governor Benson.

## [From the Christian Century of December 7, 1938]

[From the Christian Century of December 7, 1938]

Essentially the same method has been used to make the public believe that their Government itself is honeycombed with communism, and that the end which liberal and forward-looking Government officials have in view is the establishment of a Communist state in America. In doing this the Dies committee has been engaged in its most subversive, its most destructive work. Ostensibly formed to investigate un-American activities, it has itself set out to undermine the confidence of the American people in their own Government. By equating the mildest form of liberalism with communism, the Dies committee has been trying to persuade the American people that such Government officers and other leaders as have been trying to remedy some of the most obvious abuses

which have flourished under our form of democracy have, in reality, which have flourished under our form of democracy have, in reality, been traitorous reds whose real end is the destruction of American society. If such a panic can be induced, if the American people can be duped into believing that every attempt to end or lessen a social evil covers an attempt to establish communism in this country, then Mr. Dies and those who cheer him on can hope for a delivery of the Government into the hands of reaction. delivery of the Government into the hands of reaction. \* \* \* Mr. Dies wants to go on spreading among the American people distrust of their own Government. He is about to ask Congress for almost 10 times as much money as he has already had to continue and extend his attempt to foster panic. No Congressman with the slightest sense of responsibility to America's democratic institutions can be willing to supply the Dies committee with another cent.

#### [From the New Haven Journal-Courier of December 5, 1938] EXTENDING DIES PROBE

Suggestions are beginning to appear at Washington for a neat way out of the difficulties of the Dies committee. The extreme anguish caused leftists by the testimony before the committee indicates that there is something in what the witnesses say. At the same time competent students of congressional procedure say the committee has been less fair, even, than some of the New Deal witch-burning expeditions. The administration naturally can't choke off the committee; an effort to do that would force a further investigation of the curious resistance the committee has met in administration quarters. administration quarters.

administration quarters.

But why can't a compromise be struck which would meet the arguments of the leftists insofar as they go to the fairness of the procedure? Why can't Congress appropriate another sum for another committee to be staffed by persons less suspect of original bias and more solicitous of reputations than the DES group has been? That we want to keep on knowing about Fascist and Communist activities goes without saying. The overwhelming majority of Americans are middle-of-the-roaders, who will insist on that. A new committee or a correction of the procedure of the old might be the way ahead. the way ahead.

#### [From the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch of December 10, 19381 NOT WORTH 200 CENTS

Chairman Dres will seek \$200,000 from Congress with which to continue his erratic inquiries into the state of our civilization, but it is difficult to see why 200 cents should be appropriated

but it is difficult to see why 200 cents should be appropriated for this purpose.

Has there ever been such a forum before for irresponsible witnesses wishing to air irrelevant, and often absurd, charges? Take for example, the statement made before the committee of a young minister that "Jimmy" Roosevelt is undermining true Americanism by not contributing to the church. "Jimmy" says he made such contributions and failed to put them in his income-tax returns, but suppose he contributed nothing. Is that a proper and relevant subject for discussion by a congressional committee which is supposed to be ferreting out the subversive elements in our society?

supposed to be ferreting out the subversive elements in our society?

And then there is the testimony of Latham R. Reed, described as a retired Army colonel. The Dies committee has just listened for a considerable time to his attacks on Secretary Ickes. A central point in the assault is that the Secretary spoke at the annual dinner of the American Civil Liberties Union in New York a year ago, and made an address which Reed regarded as "distinctly radical." His address "wound up with an unwarranted attack on the Supreme Court."

And so what? Secretary Ickes' address was published in the

And so what? Secretary Ickes' address was published in the newspapers of the country on December 9, 1937. It doesn't take a congressional committee, spending the taxpayers' money, to discover its content. And does it really make any difference whether Latham R. Reed thought it was radical?

This same witness delivered himself of some "revelations" cerning Felix Frankfurter, the distinguished law teacher at Harvard. It seems that Mr. Frankfurter is on the board of the Amervard. It seems that Mr. Frankfurter is on the board of the American Civil Liberties Union. Since his name has been on the letter-head of the organization for years, this isn't exactly news. Yet the committee solemnly questioned Reed concerning this fact, and asked if this is the same Mr. Frankfurter who is being prominently mentioned for the Supreme Court.

All of which could have been ascertained without any congressional inquiry, and with a lot less noise and excitement than this haywire Dies investigation is kicking up. Why appropriate any more money for such an irrational investigation?

#### [From the Seattle Daily Times of December 10, 1938] SHOULD HAVE BEEN THROWN OUT

From the start of hearings by the Dies committee the need of legal counsel, of guidance according to rules of common courtesy and common sense, has been painfully apparent. Chairman Martin Dies once practiced law, but whether because of excess zeal or bad judgment he has been sadly remiss at times in the amenities that would be required in any well-conducted courtroom. The committee's eagerness for facts has been matched by its indulgence of fantasy in listening to many witnesses; but for letting one of these babble his belief that James Roosevelt had given nothing of his income to churches or to charity, Chairman Dies and his associates can offer no acceptable excuse. Even if the tale were true, as of

course it isn't, what would be the bearing upon un-American activities and propaganda? An instinct of decency should have prompted some member of the committee to halt such ridiculous and impertinent testimony and throw the witness out.

#### [From the Minneapolis Star of December 13, 1938] SHABBY TACTICS

How the evidence before the Dies committee is slandered to put it in the worst possible light is demonstrated in the effort to smear David J. Saposs, chief economist of the N. L. R. B., who 7 years

David J. Saposs, the socialist movement must tell the people that "\* \* the Socialist movement must tell the people that capitalism cannot be stabilized \* \* \* the workers must be pre-pared to stretch arms across the frontiers in case of war and definitely win power for themselves."

There's dynamite in those words.

But here's the pay-off. Mr. Saposs was reporting a meeting of the Socialist International in Vienna and quoting what its delegates

By quoting part of the report without its context, it is easy to set up Mr. Saposs as a wild-eyed "red," a man expressing radical opinions instead of reporting them. But it does seem a shabby trick for a congressional committee to stoop to.

#### [From the Tampa Morning Tribune of November 26, 1938] "PURVEYORS OF HATE"

Congressman Dies, who does entirely too much talking, has taken it upon himself, for no apparently good reason, to select what he calls an international team of "purveyors of hate." His purpose, he said, is to inform the American people that "what is happening in Europe in spreading hatred is gradually taking place

happening in Europe in spreading hatred is gradually taking place in this country."

He divided his team into two divisions, one, "purveyors of class hatred," headed by Josef Stalin, and the other "purveyors of racial and religious hatred," led by Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini.

In the American division of the "purveyors of class hatred" he placed John L. Lewis, Secretary Ickes, Harry Hopkins, Earl Browder, Clarence Hathaway—who, he said, was editor of the Daily Worker—James Ford, Negro Communist; Paul Sifton, assistant to the Federal Wage and Hour Administrator; and David Saposs, economist of the National Labor Relations Board.

His selection for the American division of the "purveyors of

His selection for the American division of the "purveyors of racial and religious hatred" included Fritz Kuhn, leader of the German-American Bund, and William Pelley, whom he described as

German-American Bund, and William Pelley, whom he described as head of the Silver Shirts.

DES announced that he would make additions to his "team" from time to time, saying that at the close of the year, "we may award a medal with a rattlesnake on it to the one who has performed the greatest service for hatred."

It is the privilege of the Texas Congressman to exercise his fertile brain as he pleases, but it is entirely improper for him, as a Member of Congress and the head of an important body of that Congress supposed to conduct an impartial and unprejudiced governmental investigation, to arbitrarily and opprobriously characterize and accuse any American citizen. This outburst qualifies Dies himself for a conspicuous place among his "purveyors of hate."

## [From the Galveston Daily News of December 1, 1938] REPRESENTATIVE DIES' DEMANDS

Representative Dies' Demands

In a letter to Secretary Hull, Representative Dies demands prosecution of the Communist Party, the German-American Bund, and some 20 other organizations for failure to register as agents of foreign principals. If the courts were as careless about proof as Representative Dies has been in his conduct of the investigation into un-American activities, doubtless these organizations would be indicted and convicted.

All that would be necessary would be for someone to get on the witness stand and express an opinion that the accused organizations were guilty. Since courts must abide by the law and rules of evidence, however, it is unlikely that the State Department will act on Mr. Dies' demand.

If the law required registration of organizations and individuals which foster alien principles a prima facie case could be made out against the Communist Party and the German-American Bund, and perhaps some of the organizations which Representative Dies names as "fronts" for the Communist Party. But the law applies only to those who are acting directly as agents of foreign principals, whereas it is doubtful if anything more definite could be proved against the organizations Representative Dies accuses than that they derive their inspiration from foreign sources. Prosecutions can't be sustained on evidence of inspiration, of course. tion, of course.

Sometimes one is tempted to regret this limitation, but it is evident upon reflection that if the limitation were removed freedom presently would vanish in this country as completely as it has in the lands whose systems our Communists and Nazis are so anxious to have us adopt. Compelling the Communist Party and the German-American Bund to register as agents of Russian and German political organizations, or fining them for failure to register, would not affect their public standing. Any American who doesn't know what they represent is beyond enlightenment.

[From the Utica (N. Y.) Press of November 26, 1938] NOT THE MAN FOR THE JOB

The House of Representatives had a good purpose when it created a committee to investigate un-American activities. There may be many subversive movements under way which hold nothing good for the country. If this is the case, it would be wise for the Government to know the facts. By the same token, if radical propaganda has little influence, people could begin to consider more important matters.

But Representative Martin Dies, of Texas, is not the man to head any such inquiry. He has shown himself to be either gullible or motivated by personal considerations in using the committee as a sounding board for his own ideas. The public is growing a bit tired

of them.

It is a waste of time, for instance, for him to say that Secretaries Ickes and Perkins should resign. He includes Harry Hopkins, of the W. P. A., in his list of administration officials who should retire. Mr. Dres must know that they will not resign merely because he says so, and he cannot force them into retirement. We might just as well say that Hitler should return to private life, but refrain from doing so because of a reluctance to be made to look ridiculous.

#### [From the Waco (Tex.) News-Tribune of November 30, 19381 TEXAS IS BLUSHING

Texas has furnished the man for one of the most spectacular of those publicity parades known as congressional investigations but Texas will get little satisfaction out of the show.

Congressman Marrin Dies has kept up the tradition of these congressional inquiries. He has made his as sensational as any, and he has drained the last drop of publicity out of his opportunity.

Like many others, his inquiry started out with a good purpose. The purpose is still good, but the procedure has discredited itself. The aim to expose subversive activities by any alien group, cr

any group, is sound.

High points so far have been the testimony about Shirley Temple, and Mr. Dies' vociferous plaint that Senator Connally was informed before Dies was about approval of a Government project

in Texas.

Texas legislature has had a lot of experience with these blunder-buss inquiries. Usually, if there is a specific purpose, it gets lost in the divergence of ideas of committee members. But the main trouble is that such a hearing opens up the gates for the gathering of a crowd of nuts, of disgruntled or discredited people, of wild-minded fanatics on some subject, and pours their vapory imaginings

minded fanatics on some subject, and pours their vapory imaginings into the form of sworn testimony, much of it just as responsible as the dreams of a psychopathic ward's battiest inmate.

Mr. Dres isn't to be blamed. But his constituents and the people of Texas may well wonder if he is doing them any service while he labors so diligently and, from this distance, seems to fall so completely, to expose and uproot wrong influences detrimental to democratic government.

is never approached.

Dies himself, in a speech before the Texas Legislature, got off a statement that implies more danger to free America, if anyone with the will was in power to carry it through, than he has exposed. He expounded the need of Government power to curb "criticism of public officials, such as yourselves." He may not hold that view now, and his work in the committee has been to afford a forum for criticism of nearly everything; and Mr. Dies has not hesitated to criticize officials, such as Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Ickes, Mr. Hopkins, and so on.

We'd a little rather Mains or Minnesotz California or Connection

We'd a little rather Maine or Minnesota, California, or Connecticut were furnishing the present committee leadership.

## [From the El Paso (Tex.) Herald-Post of December 9, 1938] "SCREW BALLS"

Chairman Dies, of the House Committee Investigating Un-Ameri-

Chairman Dies, of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities, comes to the defense of some of his witnesses who have been charged with being "screw balls."

We think, however, that Mr. Dies might better spend his time defending himself and his committee. Never before that we can recall has an opportunity to render patriotic service, which is badly needed, been so bungled. For sheer incompetency the Dies committee has set a record that, we hope, for the sake of the Nation, is never approached.

# [From the Buffalo (N. Y.) Times of November 29, 1938] IS SANTA A "RED"?

Unless the Dies committee of the House, appointed to investigate un-American activities, is supplied with additional funds by the incoming Congress, "it will have little definite to report," admits the Buffalo Evening News. Truer words never were written. Few investigating committees ever did less to justify their existence than the Dies committee.

# Y. W. C. A. NOW UNDER SUSPICION

The latest example of the committee's antics is to be found in Cleveland, where Harold C. Mosier, Dies subcommittee chairman, is responsible for the statement that communistic influences have been detected in the Young Women's Christian Association, Cleveland churches, and Ohio schools.

First it was Shirley Temple, then it was Gypsy Rose Lee, and now it's the Y. W. C. A.

We advise Santa Claus to change the color of his costume and

be quick about it.

#### [From the Hutchinson (Kans.) Herald of December 2, 1938] SIDE SHOW

Chairman Dies, of the now infamous Un-American Committee, wants \$200,000 from the taxpayers to continue his show for 2 more

Considering his results on the \$25,000 Congress originally gave considering his results on the \$25,000 Congress originally gave him, Dies should be able to stage a superextravaganza if he gets his wish. The Texan probably would be willing to guarantee to find a Communist in every precinct and to unearth convincing proof George Washington was a lifelong Marxian. Anything should be possible to a statesman who has made a "red" menace out of Shirley Temple.

But for the taxpayers to spend more on this side show is another question. We all have had our laugh; the joke has gone far enough. If Dies is encouraged to pull any more red-flannel spooks from under the bed and out of the closet, the aforesaid spooks might become so numerous they would tote Representative Dies plumb away to never-never land.

#### [From the Minot (N. Dak.) News of December 6, 1938] "RED" HUNTING

Speaking of the Communist probe conducted by the Dies committee, which seems to have started out on a legitimate quest and then got itself snarled up, an observer writes in the Cleveland Plain Dealer:

Plain Dealer:

"We have had a lot of 'red' hunts, but none that backfired more quickly. The principal weakness of all of them is that the inquisitors have no sense of humor."

There is communism in this country, and it would be a useful public service to show its extent and operation. But obviously the American public as a whole doesn't take it very seriously. Most people would probably say that, as regards the two perils at opposite ends of our political spectrum, there is probably more danger of fascism than communism. of fascism than communism.

However that may be, it is obviously better for an inquisitorial body to cover both of these alien systems than to concentrate on one and ignore the other. Also, when conducting hearings on any matter of controversy, to hear both sides.

## [From the Buffalo (N. Y.) Times of December 9, 1938] NEW LOW RECORD

The Dies committee investigating un-American activities apparently is intent upon going from bad to worse.

We quote from the record:
"Congressman Joe Starnes, of Alabama (a member of the com-

"Congressman Joe Starnes, of Alabama (a memoer of the committee). Christopher Marlowe. Isn't Christopher Marlowe a Communist?

"Mrs. Hallie Flanagan (director of W. P. A. Federal Theater projects). I want it put into the record that Christopher Marlowe was a noted playwright in the days of Shakespeare."

In other words, Congressman Starnes apparently was more determined to see red—whether it was there or not—than he was to learn whether real Communists were boring from within the Federal theater.

learn whether real Communists were boring from within the Federal theater.

As to the matter of Jimmy Roosevelt's church contributions, we think that was a new record low for any congressional investigation. Says Raymond Clapper in his Washington column:

"In 20 years of Washington reporting I have seen a vast quantity of smearing done before congressional investigating committees, but none that outdoes this job. And so far as the published accountants indicate, no member of the Dies committee raised one word of protest against this smear, which in addition to everything else that could be said against it, apparently did young Jimmy Roosevelt the additional injustice of being based on an assumption exactly contrary to the real fact."

The main trouble with the Dies committee, we think, is that it never has been able to keep its eyes on the ball.

#### [From the Charlotte (N. C.) News of December 7, 1938] A MINISTER OFFSIDE

A MINISTER OFFSIDE

For tops in bad taste and something more we herewith nominate the Rev. Howard Stone Anderson, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Washington. The gentleman is the same who yesterday lamented that in son Jimmy Roosevelt's income-tax returns he was unable to find any contributions to churches among the infinitesimal charities son Jimmy had listed.

Son Jimmy says that, in fact, he had contributed to churches but simply hadn't put the contributions down. But what if he hadn't? This is supposed to be a free country in which every man is at liberty to follow the dictates of his own conscience—about contributing to churches, as well as belonging to them, among other things. You may believe that it is the moral duty of all men to contribute to churches, but that is only what you believe, and you have no right at all to attempt to force that belief on other men. Nor does the fact that a man happens to be the son of the President of the United States deprive him of the privilege of the President of the United States deprive him of the privilege of giving as he pleases or doesn't please.

Like son Jimmy or dislike him—and he is not one of our favor-ites—he must be conceded equal rights with the lowliest and most obscure of private citizens. One right fundamental to de-cency and fair play is the disposal of his own money in whatever way he chooses and without accounting to ministers or the Dies

[From the Rocky Mountain News, Denver, Colo., December 9, 1938] BUY HIM A BOOK

Congressman Joe Starnes, of Alabama (a member of the Dies committee). Christopher Marlowe? Isn't Christopher Marlowe a

Mrs. Hallie Flanagan (director of W. P. A. Federal Theater projects). I want it put into the record that Christopher Marlowe was a noted playwright of the days of Shakespeare.

Which recalls the one-time Governor of Oklahoma, Jack Walton, who, incensed because a newspaper editorial about him had quoted Robert Browning's poem, The Lost Leader, ordered his henchmen: "Arrest this guy Browning and bring him in. I'll teach him to write poetry about me."

poetry about me."

And the lady of literary pretensions who said she considered Scott's Emulsion the best thing he ever wrote.

Scott's Emulsion the best thing he ever wrote.

Congressman Starnes has unwittingly revealed one of the reasons why the Dies committee has fumbled so many of its opportunities. The W. P. A. theater projects were started on the theory that unemployed actors, like unemployed carpenters, should have a chance to keep on with the kind of work for which they are best fitted. We think it's unquestionably true that the projects have employed a good many people who never did and never can earn their living as professional actors. And many of its plays have seemed to promote some pretty strange and startling doctrines, social, economic, and political.

The Dies investigation might have shed valuable light on the extent to which real Communists have bored from within the Federal theater, using the taxpayers' money to propagandize for un-American principles.

American principles.

But Congressman STARNES evidently determining to see red whether it's there or not, has turned that phase of the inquiry into a farce by asking one question.

#### [From the Decatur (III.) Herald of November 24, 1938] SLANDER

About the most outrageous libel yet perpetrated by the congressional investigating committee headed by reactionary Marrin Dies is that one in which Secretary Harold Ickes is called a Communist because he is alleged to have given support to the American Civil Liberties Haron Civil Liberties Union.

Civil Liberties Union.

The witness brought before the committee could testify only to a suspicion that Mr. Ickes is now or ever has been a member of the Civil Liberties Union. No matter; the unsupported statement of one man, reputation and character unknown, is used by Congressman Dies to put headlines in newspapers the country over linking the Secretary's name with Communist doctrine. The truth is tardy in catching up with insinuations of this sort.

But supposing it should be shown that Mr. Ickes actually was a member, or contributor to the Civil Liberties Union—what then? Would that prove him a Communist, or a person of Communist sympathies?

sympathies?

The answer is that, if it is communistic to support the Civil Libertles Union, then it is communistic to support the Constitution of the United States. That is all the Civil Libertles Union ever has attempted to do. Composed of high-minded lawyers, educators, and other patriots, this organization has assumed that the individual rights guaranteed by the Constitution mean what they say. When Tom Girdler, millionaire president of a steel company, wants to use his right of free speech to denounce the Government, and when a radical labor organizer wants to use the constitutional right of free speech to denounce the Government, the Civil Libertles Union holds that both are entitled to speak without interference. That is Americanism, if Americanism can be defined by any of the official documents on which this country was built.

If Mr. Ickes is not a member of the Civil Libertles Union, it is regrettable, as every real believer in the democratic system of government who can afford it ought to be.

#### [From the Charlotte (N. C.) News of November 23, 1938] SPOTTING TREASON

Spotting Treason

Yesterday appeared before the Dies committee Alice Lee Jemison. Alice Lee is a Yosemite Indian, and she holds a nice job as Washington lobbyist for an organization calling itself the American Indian Federation. And what Alice Lee had to tell was terrific—simply terrific. And sinister—my, my, you have no idea how sinister. Alice Lee had the lowdown on Harold Ickes, Indian Commissioner John Collier—yea, and on Congress itself.

What Alice Lee told Mr. Dies, that great defender of the Republic, was that, to her knowledge, Ickes and Collier have actually expressed a belief in the principles of the American Civil Liberties Union. And Congress—believe it or not, Congress has actually passed some laws recommended by the Civil Liberties Union.

Ourselves, we are simply appalled at the shocking news. This Civil Liberties Union, we knew all along, has some "reds" and a good many more "pinks" on its committee, but we had sort of excused it on the score that it had more liberals. But now we

look it up, and what do you think are its principles? Why, the defense of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States. The defense of the right of free speech and assembly for all comers, precisely as that Bill of Rights provides. Think of all comers, precisely as that Bill of Rights provides. Think of Ickes and Collier actually confessing to belief in such principles. Think of Congress daring to be so un-American as to enact laws in defense of such basic American rights. Alice Lee and Mr. DIES—let us never overlook Mr. DIES—deserve a roar of thanks for having unearthed such nefarious doings in high places.

## [From the Kansas City Journal of November 30, 1938] ANOTHER DUD

Chairman Dies, of the House Committee on Un-American Activicharman Dies, of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, urges the State Department to invoke against certain Communist and Nazi organizations a law requiring the registration of agents of foreign principals. No doubt the registration of those whose activity comes within the meaning of the law is desirable. It would, for one thing, discourage the noisy investigation of their activities by congressional committees whose members are not averse to correctional stump speeches on their own account. Disregarding to occasional stump speeches on their own account. Disregarding that for the moment, it is enlightening to investigate the origin of

that for the moment, it is enlightening to investigate the origin of the law which Mr. Diss would invoke.

It is the one and only result of a similar "sensational" investigation by a congressional committee in 1934. The Fish committee of 8 years ago made an even worse showing. Of its 14 recommencations made to Congress, none was enacted. If the Dies committee lives up to the average, it would, after its tumult and shouting, cause the enactment of one-half of a law. And that fraction, if the average still held, would be of dubious value.

Congressional investigators have a habit of straying afield and becoming embroiled in domestic politics. Mr. Diss is an anti-New Dealer. His committee's principal concern has not been the infiltration of Nazi and Communist doctrines, but in a ridiculous attempt to smear the national administration. National "menaces" take form as they are dreamed by committee chairmen, who also are authors of the resolutions authorizing the investigations.

The Dies committee will adjourn without having made a substantial contribution to the Nation's understanding of threatening menaces from abroad. It leaves only the echo of acrimonious partisanship, providing additional evidence that illegal activity by Hit-

sanship, providing additional evidence that illegal activity by Hit-lerites and Bolsheviks lies properly in the sphere of the Justice

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I yield all the remaining time, with the exception of one-half minute, to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES].

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I understand there are 3 minutes remaining on this side. I am glad to yield that time to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES].

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. MAPES. I yield.

Mr. SABATH. In view of the fact that the gentleman has 3 minutes remaining and he has not yielded any of his time to anyone opposed to the resolution, would he not yield 2 of the 3 remaining minutes to me?

Mr. MAPES. I will say to the gentleman from Illinois that I have endeavored to take care of the time on this side for those who desired to speak on this side, as is the custom, and I have agreed to yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Texas; otherwise I would be able to accommodate the gentleman from Illinois.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. Dies] is recognized. [Applause.]

Mr. DIES. Mr. Speaker and ladies and gentlemen of the House, this campaign of abuse and misrepresentation is no new thing. I hold in my hand a pamphlet which was issued and distributed shortly after this committee began its investigation, in which a number of Members of Congress, the gentleman from Washington [Mr. Coffee], the gentleman from New York [Mr. DICKSTEIN], the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Hook], Miss Frances Perkins, and Harold L. Ickes, and others, attacked this committee. From the beginning there was a well-organized attempt to discredit this committee by misrepresentation and by ridicule. Before the committee ever began its work we invited John L. Lewis to appear before us and give us the benefit of any information or facts that he might have. He did not see fit to accept this invitation. Then, when the Non-Partisan League attacked us, the chairman of the committee wrote to the league and challenged them to appear before the committee and deny under oath, if they could do so, the charges that had been made. We repeatedly extended invitations to those individuals and organizations which were involved in any charge

to appear before the committee and answer the charge. In spite of the invitations, those individuals and organizations did not appear, but resorted to their agreed strategy of ridicule and misrepresentation.

The charge has been made that it was the concerted effort of this committee to smear the New Deal. I challenge any Member of this House to read the report and to read the respectful, polite letters which we wrote to the heads of departments, in pursuance to the request of the House, contained in the resolution; letters in which we were carrying out your mandate when we requested the heads of the departments to supply us with adequate aid; and then I challenge any Member to read the replies, consider the long delays and the attitude of contempt. Could we have intended or could it have been the design of the committee to smear the administration when we were begging the heads of the departments, New Dealers like Cummings and Hopkins, to furnish us with the investigators and the attorneys to do the investigating?

Yet, in spite of these facts, in spite of the record, those Members who appeared before the Rules Committee during the past 3 days saw fit to resort to personal abuse and vilification.

Let me say to the House that while this committee undoubtedly made some mistakes, yet I am reminded of the fact that another body gave another committee \$155,000 and that the departments of this Government supplied that committee with numerous investigators, attorneys, and assistants. In spite of all the aid that the other committee received, they placed on the stand certain well-known Communists to attack American businessmen. [Applause.] I make this statement not to charge that that committee did it intentionally, but to illustrate the fact that a committee furnished with all the aid they needed nevertheless did make mistakes. You did not, however, hear the outcry, such as has come from certain sections and from certain people in this country against our committee. Why?

Let me make this further remark, that no chairman, and no committee can conduct a fair, a fearless, and an honest investigation without arousing and incurring the enmity and the hatred and the bitterness of those whom it investigates.

Mr. Speaker, this committee with inadequate funds, struggling under great handicaps, harassed and molested, and yet doing everything in its power to render a patriotic service to this country-in spite of all this, nevertheless gave to the Nation a unanimous report, a report based upon facts and not upon opinions or hearsay.

Mr. McGRANERY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman

Mr. DIES. No; my time is too limited.

Mr. Speaker, if this investigation is continued this committee is going to recognize such mistakes as were made. and is going to do everything within its power to continue a fearless, an honest, and a sincere investigation of what is a definite danger to the stability and the life of America. [Applause.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. DIES. I yield.

Mr. SABATH. In view of the gentleman's statement, will not the gentleman start an investigation of propaganda such as we see in the morning's paper, "Nazis call F. D. Bolshevist"? We know that is a lie.

Mr. DIES. This committee spent a large part of its funds investigating Nazi and Fascist activities in this country. We sent an investigator all over the United States, and during the last days, when our money was being rapidly exhausted, nevertheless, we investigated numerous so-called Nazi and Fascist organizations. In spite of bona fide and honest efforts to investigate nazi-ism, nevertheless, those who are opposed to an investigation of communism began to disseminate propaganda all over this country that the committee was sympathetic with the Nazis, sympathetic with the Fascists. Why did they do this? What is there about this thing that brings about such a hue and cry? We Democrats do not fear an honest and fearless exposure of communism. Everybody knows the Democratic Party is not in sympathy with communism. The Democrats of this Nation are Americans. [Applause.] And I resent this misrepresentation; I resent it; I resent it.

I did not attack a Cabinet officer until certain Cabinet officers went out of their way to attack an independent agency of this Congress. I love this Congress. My father served in this House for 10 years. [Applause.] And during all the time he was here he defended the integrity, the dignity, and the prerogatives of this House. When, therefore, Cabinet officers-appointive officials of the Government-went out of their way not merely to attack me, for I am merely an humble and insignificant member of a great body-when they attacked this committee they attacked the greatest deliberative body on earth, and I resented such action. [Applause.] I say this in justification.

May I also express my deep gratitude to the members of this committee for their loyalty and their courage. There was a time when our backs were against the wall, when radical writers were trying to besmear us with deliberate lies and misrepresentation. There was a time when powerful forces were turned loose for the deliberate purpose of destroying an investigation that was honestly and sincerely undertaking to do a patriotic service to the people of this country. Let me say further that the real liberals have nothing to fear from an honest investigation, for true liberals are as much opposed to communism as are the conservatives.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield

Mr. DIES. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from New York. Mr. CELLER. I am glad to note that the gentleman says he will rectify some of the errors. Will he retain skillful and adroit counsel and will he follow counsel's advice to sift facts from fiction?

Mr. DIES. The chairman of this committee will do what he did before, everything in his power to render an honest

and patriotic service. [Applause.]

Let me say this to the gentleman and let me say it to other Members of this House, that no one can deny that the intolerant ideologies of Europe have been transplanted to our shores. The quarrels and the feuds of the Old World have been transferred to America. No one can deny that insidious forces are seeking to change the structure of this Government by intrigue and by violence. Yet I hear Members of Congress accuse me of seeking to hurt my administration, or to hurt my party.

I am thinking of one whose memory will ever dwell in my heart and for whom I entertained profound love and devotion. He left me as a priceless heritage a record in this House which was distinguished by courage and patriotism. No man loved the Democratic Party more than he did. And yet at a moment of crisis he did not hesitate to place his country above partisanship. I would be unworthy of him and the heritage of unselfish service which he left me if I did not place the interest of our beloved country above what some misguided partisans conceive to be the interest of the party.

As a matter of fact, this is not a partisan question. Here we are dealing with the life of America, with the fundamentals, with that concerning which all men of all parties, of all races, and of all creeds can unite in a common defense.

Mr. CELLER. The gentleman has not answered the question. Will the gentleman hire a lawyer to help him?

Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIES. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. MAY. If, as a matter of fact, there is anything wrong within the councils of the Government of the United States and the Democratic Party is in charge of the Government, is it not the duty of our party to see that it comes out, and is that not the only purpose of this committee?

Mr. DIES. I would rather the Democrats take the initiative and show courage than to leave it to some other party

Mr. Speaker, can it be said that we have erred in exposing men prominent in this Government who by their own admissions subscribe to communism? Can it be said that we erred in going into certain labor unions and showing by uncontradicted evidence, by the testimony of officials and members of the union itself, that here were Communists who had infiltrated the legitimate labor unions, had seized strategic positions, and were converting those labor unions into instrumentalities of class warfare? Were we being partisan when we gave to the American people facts with respect to those matters? Were we being partisan when we exposed one situation in the city of New York on the Federal Writers project whereby, through their own admission, 103 out of 300 employees being supported by the money of loyal American citizens, were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. Speaker, I submit that America comes before all ques-

tions of partisanship. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.] Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I offer a committee amendment to the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Page 1, line 8, strike out the figures "1941" and insert in lieu thereof "1940."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mrs. Norton, Mr. Marcantonio, and Mr. Dunn) there wereayes 320, noes 27.

So the previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I demand the yeas and nays on the passage of the resolution.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 344, nays 35, answered "present" 2, not voting 51, as follows:

#### [Roll No. 10] YEAS-344

Alexander Claypool Fenton Hoffman Allen, Ill. Allen, La. Allen, Pa. Clevenger Ferguson Holmes Hope Horton Cluett Fernandez Cochran Fish Andersen, H. Carl Anderson, Calif. Anderson, Mo. Andresen, A. H. Coffee, Nebr. Cole, Md. Fitzpatrick Flaherty Houston Hull Cole, N. Y. Flannagan Jacobsen Colmer Jarman Andrews Connery Folger Jarrett Arends Arnold Cooley Cooper Jenkins, Ohio Jenks, N. H. Ford, Leland M. Ford, Miss. Austin Ball Corbett Fulmer Jensen Gamble Johns Johnson, Ill. Costello Barnes Cox Garrett Crawford Crowe Gartner Gathings Johnson, Luther A. Johnson, Lyndon Barry Barton Crowther Culkin Bates, Ky. Bates, Mass. Gavagan Gearhart Johnson, Okla. Johnson, W. Va. Beam Beckworth Cullen Gehrmann Jones, Ohio Cummings Jones, Tex. Blackney Curtis D'Alesandro Gibbs Kean Kee Keefe Kelly Gifford Gilchrist Darden Bloom Boehne Darrow Gillie Goldsborough Kennedy, Martin Kennedy, Michael Kennedy, Md. Bolles Boren Bradley, Mich. Dempsey Gore Gore Gossett Graham DeRouen Dies Keogh Brewster Dingell Grant, Ala. Grant, Ind. Kerr Kilday Brown, Ga. Brown, Ohio Bryson Disney Griffith Kinzer Ditter Doughton Kitchens Kleberg Griswold Gross Buck Guyer, Kans. Buckley, N. Y. Bulwinkle Douglas Knutson Dowell Gwynne Hall Kocialkowski Kramer Burch Burdick Doxev Duncan Durham Halleck Kunkel Lambertson Hancock Burgin Byrns, Tenn. Cannon, Fla. Cannon, Mo. Dworshak Eaton, Calif. Eaton, N. J. Hare Landis Harness Hart Lanham Lea Harter, Ohio Hartley LeCompte Lemke Carlson Eberharter Cartwright Edmiston Case, S. Dak. Elliott Hawks Lesinski Lewis, Colo. Lewis, Ohio Lord Luce Celler Ellis Chandler Chapman Elston Heinke Hendricks Hennings Engel Englebright Chiperfield Church Evans Hess Ludlow Faddis Hinshaw McAndrews McArdle Clason Fav Hobbs

Oliver Rutherford McCormack O'Neal Osmers Ryan Sandager McDowell McGehee Schaefer, Ill. Schafer, Wis. McLaughlin O'Toole McLeod Ower McMillan, John L. Pace Owen Schiffler McMillan, Thos. S.Patman Schuetz Maas Patrick Schwert Mahon Patton Seccombe Maloney Pearson Secrest Shafer, Mich. Mapes Marshall Peterson, Fla. Peterson, Ga. Short Pfeifer Pierce, N. Y. Martin, Iowa Simpson Smith, Conn. Smith, Maine Smith, Ohio Smith Va. Martin, Mass. Mason Pittenger Massingale Plumley May Poage Merritt Smith, Wash. Polk Michener Powers Miller Sparkman Rabaut Mills, Ark. Mills, La. Monkiewicz Monroney Ramspeck Randolph Spence Springer Reece, Tenn. Reed, Ill. Reed, N. Y. Starnes, Ala. Steagall Stearns, N. H. Moser Mott Mouton Rees, Kans. Rich Stefan Sumner, Ill. Sumners, Tex. Sutphin Mundt Richards Murray Robertson Taber Nelson Robsion, Kv. Rockefeller Nichols Talle Rogers, Mass. Rogers, Okla. Norrell Tarver Norton O'Brien Taylor, Colo. Taylor, Tenn. Romjue O'Leary Routzohn Terry

Thill Thomas, N. J. Thomas, Tex. Thomason Thorkelson Tibbott Tinkham Tolan Treadway Turner Van Zandt Vinson, Ga. Vorys, Ohio Vreeland Wadsworth Walter Warren Weaver Welch West Wheat Whelchel White, Idaho White, Ohio Whittington Williams, Mo. Winter Wolcott Wolfenden, Pa Wolverton, N. J. Wood Woodruff, Mich. Woodrum, Va. Youngdahl Zimmerman

Scrugham Shanley Shannon Sirovich Tenerowicz Vincent, Ky. Voorhis, Calif. Wallgren

## NAYS-35

Boland Bradley, Pa. Hill Byron Tzac Keller Casey, Mass. Coffee, Wash. Dunn Ford, Thomas F. Fries Geyer, Calif.

Havenner Mitchell Murdock, Utah Myers O'Connor O'Day Larrabee McGranery Robinson, Utah Sabath McKeough Marcantonio Sacks Martin, Colo. Schulte ANSWERED "PRESENT"-2

Hook Magnuson

#### NOT VOTING-51

Angell Ashbrook Barden Bell Bender Bolton Boykin Buckler, Minn. Byrne, N. Y. Caldwell Carter Collins Creal

Crosser Kirwan Leavy Curley Daly Dickstein McLean McReynolds Dondero Drewry Maciejewski Mansfield Martin, Ill. Green Gregory Murdock, Ariz. Harrington Parsons Pierce, Oreg. Harter, N. Y. Rankin Hunter Jeffries Rayburn Risk Johnson, Ind.

Rodgers, Pa. Satterfield Seger Sheppard Smith, Ill. Smith, W. Va. Snyder Somers, N. Y. Sullivan Sweeney Wigglesworth Williams, Del.

So the resolution was agreed to. The Clerk announced the following pairs: General pairs:

Mr. Rayburn with Mr. Carter. Mr. Mansfield with Mr. Seger. Mr. Byrne of New York with Mr. McLean. Mr. Rankin with Mr. Bolton.

Mr. Byrne of New York with Mr. McLean.
Mr. Rankin with Mr. Bolton.
Mr. Bell with Mr. Dondero.
Mr. Drewry with Mr. Risk.
Mr. Gregory with Mr. Risk.
Mr. Gregory with Mr. Rodgers of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Boykin with Mr. Harter of New York.
Mr. Somers of New York with Mr. Wigglesworth.
Mr. McReynolds with Mr. Johnson of Indiana.
Mr. Collins with Mr. Williams of Delaware.
Mr. Barden with Mr. Bender.
Mr. Dickstein with Mr. Angell.
Mr. Crosser with Mr. Angell.
Mr. Crosser with Mr. Angell.
Mr. Crosser with Mr. Daly.
Mr. Leavy with Mr. Pierce of Oregon.
Mr. Smith of West Virginia with Mr. Kirwan.
Mr. Creal with Mr. Snyder.
Mr. Ashbrook with Mr. Parsons.
Mr. Satterfield with Mr. Hunter.
Mr. Harrington with Mr. Spepard.
Mr. Curley with Mr. Smith of Illinois.
Mr. Martin of Illinois with Mr. Green.
Mr. Murdock of Arizona with Mr. Maciejewski.
Mrs. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, am I recorde

Mrs. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, am I recorded?

The SPEAKER. The gentlewoman from New Jersey is not

Mrs. NORTON. I desire to vote, if I may, Mr. Speaker, I was not in the House when my name was called. I was called out.

The SPEAKER. Under the circumstances stated by the gentlewoman from New Jersey, unless she was in Hall of the House and listening and failed to hear her name called, she does not qualify.

Mrs. NORTON. I was in the Hall of the House but was called out and came back, and my name had been called.

Was the gentlewoman present when her The SPEAKER. name was called?

Mrs. NORTON. No; I was not present.

The SPEAKER. The gentlewoman does not qualify under the rule.

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I was sitting in this chair while the gentlewoman was sitting there, and she did not hear her name called. I was right alongside of her.

Mrs. NORTON. I did not hear my name called, but I was in the House.

The SPEAKER. If the gentlewoman was in the House and failed to hear her name called-

Mrs. NORTON. I was. I was sitting here most of the time, but whether or not I was here when my name was called I am not sure.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will again submit to the gentlewoman from New Jersey the inquiry which is the universal rule for qualifying. Was the gentlewoman in the Hall of the House and listening and failed to hear her name?

Mrs. NORTON. I was in the House. I did not hear my name called. I was in the House part of the time, Mr. Speaker, but I was not in the House all the time.

The SPEAKER. The question is, Was the gentlewoman in the Hall of the House and listening and failed to hear her name? That is the universal qualification.

Mrs. NORTON. Everybody here seems to think that.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, the gentlewoman was sitting right here. She was in the House when her name was called and did not hear it.

Mrs. NORTON. Do I qualify, Mr. Speaker? If I do qualify, I will vote "yea."

The SPEAKER. The gentlewoman qualifies and votes "yea."

Let there be no misunderstanding. The Chair repeatedly inquired of the gentlewoman from New Jersey, and the Chair understood the gentlewoman to say it was her best judgment that she was in the Hall listening and failed to hear her

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I believe every Member would like to see the gentlewoman vote, but a very vital question is involved in respect of the precedents of the House. My understanding is that in order to qualify, a Member must answer affirmatively that the Member was in the Hall and failed to hear his name called; and to say that is true to his best judgment does not meet the test.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia did not fully state the qualifications. The Member must also be listening and fail to hear his name called.

In order that there may be no confusion, and in order to preserve the precedents of the House, the Chair submits to the gentlewoman the inquiry, Does she qualify under the rule just stated?

Mrs. NORTON. I believe I do qualify, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Chair cannot question the statement of the gentlewoman from New Jersey.

Mr. MAPES. A point of order, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MAPES. I do this merely for the purpose of getting a chance to make an observation as to a phrase I believe the Speaker overlooked in his statement. It is not "Was the Member in the House listening?" but "Was the Member in the House listening when his name was called?".

The SPEAKER. The Chair will accept the statement of the gentlewoman from New Jersey.

Mr. MAPES. I have the same feeling as the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Woodrum]. I should be glad to have the gentlewoman from New Jersey vote, but it is a matter of establishing a precedent.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia very correctly stated the rule. The gentlewoman from New Jersey, as the Chair understands, states as a Member that she believes and, as the Chair construes it, that it is her best recollection and judgment that she does qualify.

How does the gentlewoman vote?

Mrs. NORTON. I vote "yea," Mr. Speaker.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded; and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT OF VOTE

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 30 seconds.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I desire to state that my colleague, Mr. Satterfield, is detained at home by illness in his family. If he had been present, he would have voted "yea" on the resolution just passed.

I wish also to say that the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Drewry] was unavoidably detained and would have voted "yea."

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record, and include therein a brief article by Mr. David \*awrence.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

## ANNOUNCEMENT OF VOTE

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues, Messrs. Seger, Rodgers of Pennsylvania, Risk, McLean, Johnson of Indiana, Wigglesworth, Angell, Williams of Delaware, Bender, Carter, Bolton, Dondero, Harter of New York, and Jeffries, were unavoidably absent either through illness or on account of Government business. Had they been present, they would have voted "yea" on the Dies resolution.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 30 seconds.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, my colleague the gentleman from Washington [Mr. Leavy] is unavoidably detained because of illness, thereby depriving him of his right to vote on the Dies resolution.

#### ADJOURMENT OVER

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. White of Idaho asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks in the Record.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein telegrams between myself and a former Governor of West Virginia, the Honorable John J. Cornwell, on my stand on the continuation of the Dies committee. The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHANNON. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Cox] what length of time was given under his request with respect to extension of remarks on the Dies resolution?

Mr. COX. Five legislative days.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein a few telegrams and letters.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. McGRANERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein an editorial from the Springfield Daily News headed "False and Silly, Says Congressman Casey."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday I received unanimous consent to insert in the Record an address by Hon. Sumner Welles, the Under Secretary of State. Today I have received word from the Public Printer that the speech will cover two and a half pages of the Record, or one-half page over the limit. I therefore renew my request to insert the speech in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein a resolution adopted at the national convention of the United Spanish War Veterans.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that in revising the remarks I made on the floor today I may include a few brief editorials relating to the subject matter.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, are these editorials of any considerable length?

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. No.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I had unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record by including a certain article in the Record. I am now advised by the Public Printer that the article will take about four pages, and I therefore renew my unanimous-consent request to include the article in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein a resolution passed by the Legislature of the great State of Wyoming.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wyoming?

There was no objection.

Mr. Murdock of Arizona asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Under the special order of the House heretofore entered, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON] is recognized for 45 minutes.

# FOREIGN TRADE-THE ROAD TO PEACE AND PROSPERITY

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, in his recent Jackson Day speech, the President described some of his Republican critics as "straddlebugs." Just who he had in mind I do not

undertake to say, but when a Republican Member of this House places one foot on a sound fiscal policy and the other on the Pelion of a \$4,000,000,000 old-age pension scheme, he is making a right wide stretch. And when a Republican of this House advocates a restoration of foreign trade and at the same time condemns our reciprocal-trade agreement program, the stretch at the moment may not be so apparent, but the inconsistency is just as deep and significant.

## A NONPARTISAN PROGRAM

For a long time American leaders of political thought, regardless of party affiliation, have frankly admitted that we cannot hope to sell abroad unless we are willing to buy from abroad. That principle was aptly stated just a few days ago by the Republican nominee for Vice President in 1936, Col. Frank Knox, of Chicago, who said:

To sell American farm products abroad, we must buy some of what our foreign customers have to sell. You cannot always sell and never buy in foreign trades.

#### And he added:

To attempt to help the farmer by promising him higher and higher tariffs on his products is naught but a red herring drawn across the trail to divert him from attack on the excessively high tariff rates on domestic manufactures. It is time that the farmer recognizes this for what it is.

The position on this important issue, which is fundamentally an economic and not a political, partisan issue, thus taken by Colonel Knox is supported by public opinion as indicated by recent polls of the Institute of Public Opinion. The proposal to negotiate a trade agreement with Great Britain was, by a Gallup poll conducted in March 1938, supported by 79 percent of the Democrats and 61 percent of the Republicans. The second question, dealing with a reduction in our tariffs in return for reductions in British rates, was favored by 76 percent of the Democrats and 66 percent of the Republicans. A September poll conducted by Who's Who indicated that 86 percent of those who answered favored a trade agreement with the United Kingdom. An institute poll conducted last December, on the eve of the Lima Conference, indicated that 8 out of every 10 voters who had formed an opinion about the work of the Secretary of State favored his efforts to break down tariff barriers to international trade.

Trade reciprocity has been supported by a long line of distinguished Republicans as well as Democrats, dating primarily from the famous Buffalo speech of President McKinley, when he said:

The period of exclusiveness is past. Commercial wars are unprofitable; reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not.

That speech was delivered by the illustrous McKinley shortly after his embarrassing experience of having a Republican Senate refuse to ratify a series of reciprocal-trade agreements which he had tediously and conscientiously negotiated. Yet, with full knowledge of the lobbying power of tariff-protected interests—which reached its highest and most disgusting fruition in 1930 when Grundy was able to have his name linked with Hawley and Smoot as patrons of the bill—there are those today who insist that no trade agreement shall become effective until ratified by the Senate. That suggestion comes from no true friend of the expansion of our foreign trade but rather from those who are either opposed to the program in toto or else opposed to the program as it affects some particular interest.

It may interest some of my Republican colleagues who have not followed Al Smith's injunction to "take a look at the record" to know that McKinley's stand on reciprocity has subsequently been supported by such Republican leaders as former Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson; Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes; the former Ambassador to Chile, Hon. William S. Culbertson, whose book on the subject is the best that has ever been published; former Chairman of the Tariff Commission Robert L. O'Brien; the great statistician, Roger W. Babson; the former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, Harper Sibley; the beloved editor, William Allen White; and the outstanding educator.

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler. Many prominent Republican bankers are to be found—James P. Warburg and Winthrop W. Aldrich, the latter the son of one tariff maker and the brother of another. We find the program supported by such industrial leaders as Alfred P. Sloan, of General Motors; James Ford Bell, of General Mills; Eliott Wadsworth, who, in addition to being interested in New England manufacturing, is president of the Boston Chamber of Commerce.

If time permitted, I could name many more leading Republicans in support of my contention that a partisan, isolationist tariff policy died with what William Allen White aptly described as the "golden era of dollar diplomacy." When as a nation we embarked upon the dangerous and turbulent sea of imperialism, we conceived the fallacious and erroneous idea that we could become rich and a dominant power in world trade by selling to the other nations of the world and refusing to them the right to sell to us.

#### ATTITUDE OF THE PRESS

If I had time, I could quote leading editorials from such papers as the Berkshire Eagle, the Boston Herald, the Springfield Republican, the Hartford Courant, the Kansas City Star, the Washington Post, the Herald Tribune, the Terre Haute Star, the Oregon Journal, the Philadelphia Bulletin, and so forth, the consensus of whose opinion was thus expressed by the Boston Herald on November 18 last, when it said:

The most intelligent of New England Republicans and Democrats have approved of the underlying principles of the Hull program. They have become impatient at subsidies, restrictions, quotas, discriminations, high duties, and other brakes on the free movement of international trade. The fear locally has been that our own industries would not be safeguarded as carefully as the agricultural activities of the Middle West. To date it is a pleasure to say the predictions of disaster have not come true. We have not been penalized. Even our boot and shoe industry, which seemed to be threatened by the Hull agreement with Czechoslovakia, is still doing very nicely.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBERTSON. For a very brief question.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. The gentleman spoke awhile ago of Czechoslovakia and its threat to the shoe trade. Mr. ROBERTSON. That was a quotation from a Boston

paper. I merely said what the Boston paper said.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. May I quote some departmental figures?

Mr. ROBERTSON. In the lady's own time.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. When the German army of occupation went into Czechoslovakia, of course Czechoslovakia did not send so many shoes to this country.

Mr. ROBERTSON. I quoted from the Boston paper, and if the gentlewoman from Massachusetts wishes later to insert some figures, she, of course, has that privilege.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert some figures at this point, if the gentleman is willing.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Oh, not in my speech.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Then immediately after the gentleman's speech.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Cooper). Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusets? There was no objection.

## A BOOST FOR CORN

Mr. ROBERTSON. As to the reference in that editorial to promoting the interests of the Middle West, I desire to remind my colleagues from that area of the fact that in 1938 exports of corn amounted to 147,505,000 bushels—the highest since 1921. And I cannot picture a single Representative of a commercial corn State that will be subject to the compulsory control, under certain conditions, of the 1938 Farm Act who would not prefer an export market that would justify normal production at a fair price to a compulsory reduction program to accomplish that objective.

## FACTS TO BE FACED

The fact that I have not spoken often on the floor of the House during the past 6 years should not be taken as an indication of the fact that I have not felt deeply about the

economic problems that confronted us. But there have been times when I frankly did not know what was best to be done, and there have been other times when my views on economic problems have been so wholly at variance with those entertained by a majority of this House that to have publicly urged my views upon such a majority would have been an act of futility.

Out of the experimental program of the past 6 years, and we must frankly admit that much of it was experimental, certain fundamental facts are gradually emerging which should be realistically faced. One of those facts is that as long as we have a serious unemployment problem, so long will we resort to deficit financing as a means of meeting it. Equally as clear, I think, is the fact that if we continue deficit financing long enough we will wind up in bankruptcy. My primary purpose in imposing today upon your time and patience is to endorse a chart for our ship of state that will steer clear of that rock. I have served long enough with the minority Members of this House who have been here with me since the Seventy-third Congress to fully appreciate their ability, their high-mindedness, and their patriotism, and no one would repudiate more quickly or more indignantly than I any suggestion that the Republican Members of this House would be a party to any program to sink our country-their country as well as mine-for a temporary political advantage.

#### A PLEA TO BUSINESS

And so, in a spirit of "sweet reasonableness," eliminating, I hope, all sectionalism and all thought of the fact that I am a "bred in the bone" Democrat, I will undertake to present to those who are either opposed to the reciprocal-tradeagreement program or skeptical of its benefits my firm belief

that the possibility of currency inflation is a threat to the perpetuity of representative democracy; that the best way to safeguard against currency inflation is the reemployment in private industry of those now on the relief rolls; and that the most practical way to bring about reemployment in private industry is for business men to courageously put idle funds to work in expanding both their domestic and foreign markets, supporting reciprocal-trade agreements as the best medium for expanding export trade.

And I make this plea for trade agreements not only to my colleagues in the House but to all of the businessmen of the Nation, both big and little, who have so frequently said during recent years that the trouble with business is lack of confidence. Currency inflation will ruin them financially, as well as it will ruin us politically, and currency inflation, as I now view the political and economic situation, is the only real fear at the root of the present psychology of timidity. There may be a few business leaders who think that the "golden era of dollar diplomacy" is not dead and buried; a few who may think that if they can bring about the downfall of the Democratic Party in 1940 the Republican Party would promptly wipe from the statute books all of the reforms of the past 6 years. If there be any such, they are engaging in pipe dreams and suffering from a sad delusion. In my opinion, the rank and file of businessmen, whether big or little businessmen, subscribe to Lincoln's theory that "trade knows no politics." Naturally, they want to save themselves from disaster and, of course, in saving themselves they will also save the country.

RELATION OF FOREIGN TRADE TO NATIONAL INCOME

I, therefore, offer for their consideration the following statistical table:

Calendar year	Bank deposits as of June 30 <sup>1</sup>	Currency in circulation as of June 30 <sup>3</sup>	Velocity of bank deposits, corrected for seasonal variation 3 (annual rate of turn-over)		Total non- agricultural employment in United	Combined index of industrial	United States foreign trade, merchandise <sup>6</sup>		National income
			100 leading cities, exclud- ing New York City	New York City	States 4 (monthly average)	production 8 (1923-25=100)	Exports, including reexports	General imports	paid out ?
February March April May June July August September	59, 847, 195, 000 56, 884, 744, 000 45, 390, 269, 000 41, 533, 470, 000 46, 625, 041, 000 51, 586, 123, 600 58, 339, 815, 000 59, 822, 370, 000		23. 3 23. 5 23. 1 23. 2 22. 7 22. 0 22. 3	132.4 63.2 56.8 41.5 38.9 36.7 34.4 33.8 32.0 29.0 24.9 26.2 27.5 26.1 28.8 27.6 25.1 25.1		119 96 81 64 76 79 90 105 110 *84	\$5, 240, 995, 000 3, 843, 181, 000 2, 424, 289, 000 1, 674, 994, 000 2, 182, 874, 000 2, 182, 874, 000 2, 455, 978, 000 3, 349, 167, 000 3, 349, 167, 000 289, 003, 000 277, 302, 000 277, 302, 000 277, 467, 000 282, 722, 000 283, 722, 000 227, 2521, 000 226, 329, 000 227, 377, 000 226, 329, 000 227, 392, 000 227, 392, 000 227, 392, 000 227, 392, 000 227, 392, 000 227, 392, 000 227, 392, 000 227, 392, 000 227, 392, 000 227, 392, 000 230, 797, 000 246, 329, 000 277, 191, 000	\$4, 399, 361, 000 3, 060, 998, 000 2, 090, 635, 000 1, 322, 774, 000 1, 449, 559, 000 2, 047, 485, 006 2, 047, 485, 006 1, 900, 528, 000 170, 689, 000 162, 955, 000 173, 360, 000 145, 827, 000 145, 827, 000 145, 829, 000 165, 520, 000 165, 520, 000 177, 597, 000 177, 597, 000 177, 797, 000	\$78, 556, 000, 000 73, 290, 000, 000 62, 032, 000, 000 44, 024, 000, 000 51, 510, 000, 000 55, 137, 000, 000 62, 586, 000, 000 68, 33C, 000, 000 19 65, 000, 000, 000

11 months' average.
'Preliminary, 11 months' average through November.

"Estimate in press.

It shows the direct and intimate connection between foreign trade and domestic employment of an industrial character. Incidentally, this table likewise is proof of the fact that business does lack confidence. You will note, for instance, that at the peak of our prosperity in 1929 bank deposits in round figures amounted to \$57,910,000,000, currency in circulation amounted to \$4,746,000,000, and the annual rate of turn-over in the New York City banks was In 1938, bank deposits exceeded those of 1929 by approximately a billion and a half dollars, and currency in circulation exceeded that of 1929 by approximately \$2,000,-000,000—the highest in the history of the Nation—yet the annual rate of turn-over in the New York City banks reached the all-time low in November 1938 of 24.7. Money was plentiful; money was cheap, and yet money was idle.

Now, let us examine the figures during the 10-year period from 1929 to 1938 dealing with foreign trade and the national income. In 1929 our exports were \$5,240,995,000, and our imports were \$4,399,361,000, and our national income was at the high of \$78,556,000,000. Now, I frankly ask every

Seventy-fifth Annual Report, Comptroller of the Currency, 1937, p. 766, 1929-37; for 1938 from release by Acting Comptroller of the Currency, of Oct. 26, 1938.

Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, p. 541.

Based on relation of debits to individual accounts to not demand deposits. Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Data as published by Standard Statistics Co. in Standard Trade and Securities, Banking and Finance, vol. 57, No. 6, p. A-18, 1929-37; for 1938 from Current Statistics, January 1939, vol. 91, No. 6, p. 5. Reliable statistics on the velocity of circulation of coin and currency not available.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor. These figures not available in published form.

Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. Data as published by U. S. Department of Commerce in Survey of Current Business, 1938, Supp. p. 7; for 1938, January 1939, p. 19.

U. S. Department of Commerce, Monthly Summary of Foreign Commerce of the United States, November 1934, p. 3, November 1938, p. 3.

U. S. Department of Commerce, Income in the United States 1929-37, November 1938, table 4.

Republican of this House who laid any bricks in the tariff wall of 1930 to look at the figures for foreign trade and national income for 1932, when that isolationist policy had become thoroughly effective, and when we were at the bottom of what most economists frankly admit was largely a man-made depression. Exports had dropped to \$1,611,016,000, imports had dropped to \$1,322,774,000, and the national income had dropped over \$33,000,000,000. And as foreign trade fell off, industrial employment fell off, and, of course, industrial production fell off.

Last October I heard a broadcast from Detroit to the effect that of the 900,000 employable men in Detroit, 300,000 were unemployed. I believe we now have 29,705,220 motor vehicles in use in this country and are exporting about 10 percent of our total production, the production figures for 1937 being 4,808,974, of which 475,914 were exported. Even a greater percentage of production was exported in 1938. Should we lose that foreign market, unemployment in the motor industry will become a permanent as well as a serious problem, unless we are foolish enough to believe that we can have two cars in every garage and no saturation point.

When he was Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Hoover, who was made the unwilling and unhappy victim of the high-tariff policies of the Republican leaders of 1930, contended that our foreign trade furnished employment for not less than 2,000,000 workers. The figures in the table before referred to show that with the loss of our foreign trade employment in industry was reduced by nearly a million men, and many other allied workers lost employment through indirect effects.

#### SOME PERTINENT FIGURES

Now, let us see what happened after our great Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, commenced his program in 1934 to break down the trade barriers that had thus hamstrung our prosperity. Each year since the inauguration of that program there has been an increase in our exports, an increase in our imports, an increase in the number of persons employed, an increase in industrial production—except for the temporary recession of 1938-and an increase in our national income. Commencing with the low of exports in 1932 of \$1,611,016,000, they rose in 1938 to \$3,094,095,000, and our imports rose from \$1,322,774,000 to \$1,960,528,000, according to figures recently released by the Department of Commerce and showing a favorable balance of trade of over a billion dollars. Frankly, I am not as much concerned over the amount of our favorable trade balance as I am over the manner in which it is brought about. Much of our 1938 trade balance was settled by imported gold, and we already have more gold than we know what to do with.

# DOLLAR REVALUATION

I would not be giving you the full picture of what this administration has done to restore foreign trade if I failed to mention the devaluation of the dollar in January 1934. England went off the gold standard in 1931 and the British pound dropped in value until it reached the low of \$3.10. Had the Hoover administration devalued the dollar at the same time that Great Britain went off the gold standard, the curtailment of our export trade would not have been so drastic. When we went off the gold standard the British pound was quoted at about \$3.75, and the currencies of other countries in respect of the dollar were at an even lower ratio.

The future contingency of a marked disparity between our currency and that of Great Britain is covered by article XVIII of the agreement with the United Kingdom, which provides that—

If a wide variation occurs in the rate of exchange between the dollar and the pound sterling which either Government considers so substantial as to prejudice its industries or commerce, it may propose negotiations for the modification of the agreement and, if no agreement can be reached on the proposal, it may terminate the entire agreement on 30 days' notice.

#### EFFECTS OF TRADE AGREEMENTS

Those interested in the subject of tariffs and quotas from an international standpoint would do well to read the chapter on that subject on page 166, et sequitur, of the World Economic Survey for 1937-38 by the Economic Intelligence Serv-

ice of the League of Nations. In that report I quote this pertinent sentence:

During recent years, the most important and most effective movement toward the removal of quotas and the reduction of tariffs has been the development of the American policy of negotiating reciprocal-trade agreements based on the most-favored-nation clause \* \* The countries with which trade agreements were in operation at the end of 1937 accounted for over a third of the total foreign trade of the United States and, with the conclusion of the new negotiations then announced, nearly 60 percent of the United States foreign trade would be with trade-agreement countries. The trade agreements enabled American exports to trade-agreement countries to expand between 1934-35 and 1936-37 more quickly than her exports to other markets; but during the same period, American imports from trade-agreement countries have increased less rapidly

Time will not permit me to refer to the many editorials and news items from the public press dealing with the marked increase of our foreign trade under the trade-agreement program, but I cannot refrain from mentioning the following headline from the Milwaukee Journal of December 31, 1938:

Export trade assures jobs.

#### Subheadline:

Milwaukee foreign orders of \$65,000,000 support 36,000 people.

The article in question concludes with this observation:

Exports to these people mean "three square meals a day, a roof over their heads, and a little joy in life."

A Department of Commerce bulletin of August 13, 1938, states that during the calendar year 1937 the value of American exports to agreement countries was 65.6 percent greater than the average of 1934–35, while exports to all nonagreement countries in the same period increased only 44.2 percent. For the 12-month period of 1938 the increase to agreement countries was 66.2 percent against 47.7 percent for nonagreement countries. This trend is illustrated by the following Department of Commerce table:

## [Millions of dollars]

	Comparison of last 12-month period, ending June 1938, with preagreement period, calendar years 1934 and 1935			
	1934 and 1935 (annual average)	Fiscal year 1937–38	Change	
			Value	Percent
United States exports, including re- exports: Total, all trade-agreement countries Total, all nonagreement countries	756. 8 1, 451. 0	1, 257. 7 2, 143. 4	+500.9 +692.4	+66. 2 +47. 7
Total, all countries	2, 207. 8	3, 401. 1	+1, 192.3	+54.0
United States general imports: Total, all trade-agreement countries Total, all nonagreement countries	774. 4 1, 077. 0	977. 6 1, 383. 7	+203. 2 +306. 7	+26. 2 +28. 5
Total, all countries	1,851.4	2, 361. 3	+509.9	+27.6

The publication, The Agricultural Situation, December 1938, page 9, by the Department of Agriculture, stated:

In spite of the distorting effect on trade data produced by drought, fluctuations in industrial activity, and a number of other factors during the past 4 years, available data on foreign trade in agricultural products indicate that trade agreements have substantially benefited American farmers. Agricultural exports to countries with which trade agreements were in effect by 1937 have risen many times more rapidly than those to other countries.

I submit that such evidence is not only the best proof of the actual results of trade agreements but the only evidence that is really pertinent.

The following table constitutes the official record:

Exports and imports of agricultural products with agreement and nonagreement countries

	Year ending June 30 1937–38	Increase (+) or de- crease (-) 1937-38 over 1935-36	
United States (domestic) exports: Farm products: To the 16 agreement countries To all other countries United States imports (for consumption):	Million dollars 288 600	Million dollars +102 +20	Percent +55 +3
Agricultural commodities:  From the 16 agreement countries  From all other countries	454 701	-14 +27	-3 +4

In the quotation above from the Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations I hope the words "based on the most-favored-nation clause" did not pass unnoticed because that principle in some Republican quarters has been the recent subject of criticism, but evidently without knowledge of the fact that the most-favored-nation principle had a distinct Republican origin. Again I invite the attention of my Republican friends to William S. Culbertson's book, Reciprocity, in which he extols the virtues of the principle and claims for the Republican Party full credit for it. Chief Justice Hughes, when Secretary of State, strongly endorsed the principle, and in a letter to Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, March 13, 1924, said:

As we seek pledges from other foreign countries that they will refrain from practicing discrimination we must be ready to give such pledges, and history has shown that these pledges can be made adequate only in terms of unconditional most-favored-nation treatment. We should seek simplicity and good will as the fundamental conditions of international commerce.

Secretary of Commerce Hoover concurred in the views of Secretary of State Hughes and wrote him on January 3, 1923:

I am inclined to agree with the policy suggested in your letter and would be in favor of confining representations on the part of the United States to a request for most-favored-nation treatment. \* \* \*

Critics of the unconditional most-favored-nation policy apparently fail to understand that we only extend our tradeagreement concessions to other countries in return for valuable concessions. The foreign countries give us similar nondiscriminatory treatment in our trade with them. Furthermore opponents fail to mention that in general the tariff concessions granted in any trade agreement relate to products of which the country in question is the principal or an important source of our total imports of such products, or as under the flexible provisions, the chief competing country. These concessions are generally of secondary interest to third countries. The effects, however, of the extension of the concessions to other countries are taken fully into account in the course of the studies leading up to all concessions.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBERTSON. Yes.

Mr. BUCK. The gentleman was speaking about his statement in the publication The Agricultural Situation.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Yes.

Mr. BUCK. In the Congressional Record, issue of January 23, 1939—in the extension of my own remarks—I inserted two tables quoted from their December 1938 issue, which illustrate the statement which the gentleman made. If the gentleman has not already prepared those figures for his own speech, I wonder if it would not be appropriate to quote them again, because the gentleman's remarks are clearing this situation up very nicely.

Mr. ROBERTSON. I appreciate the interruption as helpful, but I follow what I have just said with this table of exports and imports of agricultural products with agreement

and nonagreement countries.

Mr. BUCK. I think that covers the situation.

Mr. ROBERTSON. That shows that the domestic imports with the 16 agreement countries increased 102 percent. I believe I have the table to which the gentleman refers.

Mr. BUCK. That ought to show that we can certainly develop our foreign export markets through those agreements

without sacrificing our domestic economy.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Undoubtedly so, and the burden of my present theme is that unless we trade—and by trading I mean buying as well as selling—we are in for serious domestic trouble that may eventuate in some form of currency inflation which will be ruinous to everyone.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. ROBERTSON. Gladly, to the distinguished chairman

of my committee.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Will not the increase in the total national income of the farmer since the reciprocal-trade agreements went into effect over the years prior to that conclusively prove the point the gentleman is making?

Mr. ROBERTSON. The opponents of the program might say that the farmers' best market is the domestic market.

That is true, but you have to have an export market to lift the burden of the surplus production off your domestic market. In other words, a 10-percent surplus may mean a 50-percent reduction in the domestic price, and as the chairman of the committee has pointed out, look at the record of how the national income of the farmers has gone up since we have had these trade agreements, and they cannot say that they have not been helped.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. ROBERTSON. Yes.

Mr. BUCK. Let me illustrate with a fact what the gentleman has said. The prune growers of California, Oregon, and Washington, are in a most distressful situation at the present time. The reason is that their crop sales were based on export markets. Germany and Italy were the principal consumers of that commodity. As a result of the foreign situation, the blocking of exchange and various restrictive measures, that export market has been destroyed, and the surplus of prunes forced into our domestic market. That is not the result of any trade-agreement policy, but is entirely the result of the foreign situation, and if we do not recognize the necessity of our foreign market to other crops, the same thing would happen to them, would it not?

Mr. ROBERTSON. Undoubtedly.

Mr. SHANLEY. The gentleman has given some thought to the necessity of tunneling not only under our own tariffs but the tariffs of retaliatory quotas in foreign nations, which has permitted our manufacturers to put branch manufactories in other countries. Does he believe there is any hope that there is some elimination possible under the reciprocal-trade treaties?

Mr. ROBERTSON. The gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Shanley] has made a helpful suggestion. That is not included in my prepared remarks and I am glad to have it. There is no doubt about the fact that when we passed the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act in 1930 we drove industrial plants out of America to foreign countries, where, as the gentleman says, they could tunnel under the tariff and make the finished product of American goods for sale in foreign countries, but with foreign labor and not with American labor.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBERTSON. I yield.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Is it not a fact that while the Smoot-Hawley bill was in course of preparation more than 1,000 economists throughout the country, Democrats and Republicans, without regard to politics, predicted the very thing would ensue that did ensue if that tariff bill were enacted into law?

Mr. ROBERTSON. I have always put the figure at 100 who signed the protest to President Hoover, but I would just as soon put it at 1,000. All the economists there were predicted that.

Mr. DOUGHTON. It was between 1,000 and 1,100, according to my recollection.

Mr. CROWTHER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. ROBERTSON. I yield for a very brief question.

Mr. CROWTHER. Regarding the status of the farmer under present conditions, I understand from the records that the farmers' income in 1938 was \$1,000,000,000 less than in 1937. We have spent \$3,000,000,000 or more on various types of farm relief. Cotton, corn, wheat are today at new low prices.

Mr. ROBERTSON. I agreed to yield for a question and not for a speech.

Mr. CROWTHER. I apologize to the gentleman. He is making a splendid speech. I do not want to inject a sour note into it, especially after it had been so beautifully sweetened by the California prune juice. [Laughter.]

AGREEMENTS WITH CANADA AND UNITED KINGDOM

Mr. ROBERTSON. The recent negotiation of an agreement with the United Kingdom and the renewal of the previous agreement with Canada have been a source of particular criticism, but the critics of these agreements have expressed more fears than facts, and when they gave facts they have never given them all. And to me it is quite significant that

the protected interests in Canada that have been adversely affected by the Canadian agreement are now engaged in presenting the identical arguments to the Canadian Parliament that are being presented to the American Congress, namely, that Canada has made a bad deal for Canadians.

In 1937 we exported to Canada \$509,508,000 worth of merchandise and imported from Canada merchandise to the value of \$398,539,000. The present trade between the United States and Canada outranks the trade between any other two countries in the world, and this is as it should be between two nations of such long and deep friendship. In all but 1 of the past 10 years we have been Canada's best customer and have supplied to Canada about three-fifths of her imports. Since the negotiation of a trade agreement with Canada our exports to Canada have increased at the rate of 42 percent above the preagreement period and well above the increase of our exports to the world as a whole. Our imports from Canada have increased in practically the same ratio. In other words, we have engaged in mutually beneficial trade.

Illustrative of how tariffs on certain goods restrict their movement in international trade is the fact that Canada's imports of American products on which duties were substantially reduced increased in 2 years from \$120,000,000 to \$215 .-000,000, an increase of 80 percent. And the same applied to our importation of Canadian goods, where the increase was 87 percent, as compared with an increase of only 34 percent on dutiable articles not specifically in the agreement and of 35 percent on duty-free goods.

There has been so much misrepresentation regarding the concessions on cattle and dairy products to Canada that I want to summarize exactly what was done in that agreement.

Cattle

The most important concessions to Canada in the livestock field are safeguarded by tariff quotas. The dominant item is live cattle weighing 700 pounds or more per head. Under the 1936 agreement the duty on such cattle was reduced from 3 to 2 cents per pound, subject to a quota of 156,000 head. Although, during 1936 and 1937, on account of the scarcity and high prices of meat animals in the United States, the quota on cattle was filled and some additional animals entered at the statutory rate, the imports in 1938 fell far below the quota. The new agreement provides for a rate of 11/2 cents per pound, and the quota has been increased to 225,000 head. The number entering at the reduced rate during any one quarter of the year, however, is limited to 60,000. This new feature will tend to prevent concentrated pressure of imports on the market. The new quota represents about 11/8 percent of the average annual slaughter of cattle, including calves, in the United States, thus assuring to the domestic industry nearly the whole market.

Another agreement item of importance is calves. In 1936 the duty was cut from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents per pound on a quota of 52,000 head. Actual imports exceeded the quota in 1936 and 1937, the excess paying the full statutory duty. By the new agreement the same rate is continued, but the quota is raised to 100,000 head, a small fraction of domestic slaughter. At the same time the concession has been made more favorable to Canada by raising the weight limit from 175 to 200

pounds per head.

The 1936 agreement made a maximum reduction—to 11/2 cents per pound-on cows imported especially for dairly purposes. A quota of 20,000 head was fixed, but that figure has not been approached by actual imports. Consequently in renewing this concession the quota limitation has been dropped.

Dairy products

For the most part the concessions on dairy products in the new agreement are the same, or approximately the same, as those in the 1936 agreement. That agreement reduced the duty on cream from 56.6 to 35 cents per gallon, subject to a quota of 1,500,000 gallons, equal to about one-fourth of 1 percent of domestic consumption. Less than one-seventh of the quota has actually entered since. The duty has now been further reduced to 28.3 cents per gallon; the quota is unchanged. A new concession is made on whole milk, the rate being reduced from 61/2 to 31/4 cents per gallon on a quantity not to exceed 3,000,000 gallons, which is equal to less than 1 percent of the domestic production even in those regions where Canadian milk might compete. The imports for some years before 1930, when the duty was 21/2 cents per gallon, averaged about 4,500,000 gallons annually.

The 1936 agreement lowered the specific duty on Cheddar cheese in original loaves from 7 to 5 cents per pound and the ad valorem minimum rate from 35 to 25 percent. Imports increased to about 10,000,000 pounds in 1936, and they supplied about 2 percent of the total consumption in this country. The gain in domestic production in the same year, however, was greater in absolute quantity than the increase in imports. In 1937 and 1938 the imports were smaller than in 1936. The further reduction of the duty to 4 cents per pound in the new agreement has been extended to other nonprocessed Cheddar cheese, the trade in which is very small. The ad valorem minimum rate remains at 25 percent.

On January 19 a Member of this House predicted disastrous competition for domestic cream on Canadian imports under the new trade agreement.

In the first place, the reduced duty on cream in the latest Canadian agreement was from 35 to 28.3 cents per gallon, which applies to a maximum of 1,500,000 gallons or something like one-fourth of 1 percent of the domestic consumption. In the first agreement with Canada, when the duty was reduced from 56.6 to 35 cents per gallon, what happened? In 1936, the first full agreement year, 2.9 percent of the quota, or 44,000 gallons, entered; in 1937, 9.1 percent of the quota, or 137,000 gallons, entered; in 1938, 0.3 percent of the quota, or 5,100 gallons, entered.

A good friend and colleague has personally complained to me of the reduction in the duty on Canadian hay.

In the first agreement with Canada the United States reduced the duty on hay from \$5 to \$3 per ton. In the new agreement the rate was reduced to \$2.50 per ton, which is the limit under the Trade Agreements Act. Canada reduced the duty on hay from \$5 to \$1.75 per ton. Due to the drought of 1936 there was a shortage of feedstuffs in the United States until the 1937 crops were harvested, and this accounts for the relatively large increase in imports of hay from Canada in 1937 over 1936. It might be noted, however, that the total imports of hay constitute an insignificant quantity, about two-tenths of 1 percent of the domestic production of tame hay, in 1937. Both imports and exports involve a little border trade along the international boundary. The imported hay, at the lower rates of duty, benefited farmers and dairymen at a time when their local supply was depleted.

For the first 11 months of 1938 we imported from all countries, but principally, of course, from Canada, 15,798 tons of hay, of the total value of \$119,466, which was just about onehalf in tonnage what we imported in 1929 and less than onehalf in value. The American hay farmer was certainly not "sold down the river" in that agreement, as the exports of hav for 1938 were from three to four times as large as the imports.

Our exports to Great Britain, colonies excluded, amounted to \$534,564,000 in 1937, and imports from Great Britain amounted to only \$202,771,000, a balance of trade in our favor of some \$330,000,000.

The agreement is particularly important because the United Kingdom is by far the principal market for American agricultural exports. Even in 1937, when, as a result of the drought of 1936, agricultural exports were much smaller than some years ago, United States exports of farm products to the United Kingdom were valued at \$261,000,000 and constituted about one-third of the exports of agricultural products to all countries of the world.

Important concessions have been secured for American farm products in the United Kingdom market. The most important of these are the abolition of the United Kingdom duties on wheat, lard, canned grapefruit, and certain fruit juices; substantial reductions in the duties on rice, apples, pears, and certain canned fruits; an increase in the quantity

of American hams permitted to enter under the quota system; and binding of duty-free entry of ham and certain other pork products; corn, other than flat white corn; and cotton.

Statistics of trade in the years immediately preceding this agreement cannot indicate fully the importance of the concessions obtained for American exports. In addition to the restrictive effect upon imports of American products of the trade barriers modified by this agreement, the scarcity of grains and meats in the United States in the last few years as a result of drought has been a factor of major importance in the reduction of American exports. The value of imports into the United Kingdom from the United States of all articles, agricultural and nonagricultural, on which concessions are obtained in the agreement-including both concessions which improve the tariff status and those which bind existing treatment against unfavorable change-was about \$300,000,000 in 1936, the latest year for which detailed statistics of imports into the United Kingdom are available. Even under the above-mentioned conditions the value of total imports into the United Kingdom of American farm products on which concessions are obtained amounted in 1936 to more than \$200,000,000.

# Apples

While I do not have time to go into all the individual items in this summary of the agreement with Great Britain, I desire to comment briefly upon the importance of that country as a market for apples. The exports of apples from Virginia, as well as from other States, are very important. Exports of apples average between 10 and 15 percent of the commercial production. That 10 or 15 percent, if thrown back on the domestic market, would be disastrous to domestic prices. It would have far more than a 10- or 15-percent effect on prices. A 10- or 15-percent addition to the supply might even break prices by 50 percent. The percentage of exports of apples from Virginia greatly exceeds the national average, sometimes reaching a fourth of the domestic production of the State.

The United Kingdom has long been the most important foreign outlet for American fresh apples. The United Kingdom ordinarily takes about 40 percent of the United States exports. British takings of American apples were valued at \$18,938,000 in 1929. Until the establishment of empire preference in 1932, in part a retaliation against our tariff policies, the United States had been the principal shipper of fresh apples to the United Kingdom, American apples accounting for about one-half of fresh apple imports from all sources.

American apples have been dutiable at 4s. 6d. per hundredweight since November 1932, while apples of Empire origin have remained duty-free. The British concession on apples reduces the duty by one-third to 3s. per hundredweight during the period August 16 to April 15, inclusive, when the bulk of the shipments from the United States of each marketing year are made to the United Kingdom. The reduced duty is equivalent to about 16 percent ad valorem, compared with over 24 percent for the previous rate. This concession should help the American apple export trade to regain a substantial portion of its share of the British market displaced through the former 4s. 6d. duty.

The agreement with the United Kingdom is not the only country in which important concessions have been obtained for apples and other fruits. As a matter of fact, every country with which we have negotiated trade agreements, with the exception of Nicaragua, have granted concessions of one kind or another on fresh fruit. Sixteen of the countries have granted concessions on fresh apples. These countries took approximately 28 percent of the exports of apples during 1933–34 previous to any trade agreements. During 1936–37, in spite of a short American crop, these countries took 42 percent of the exports of apples. Concessions on dried fruits have been obtained in 16 or 17 of the agreements, some concessions have been obtained on canned fruit in every one of the 19 agreements.

## WAR MATERIALS

Those who attempt to belittle the importance of trade agreements in expanding our foreign trade have spoken in a sinister way of the exports of alleged war materials. My distinguished colleague from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN] on February 10, 1938, showed that the export of alleged war materials in 1929 amounted to \$944,000,000, or \$168,000,000 more than they did in 1937. Of course, I cannot reach any fair basis of understanding with critics of the program who are attempting to classify our exports of agricultural products as war materials. They are, of course, used during the period of war, but likewise are normal peacetime products of commerce. Germany is supposed to be building up war munitions, yet our exports to Germany in the first 11 months of 1938 were about \$13,000,000 less than in 1937. Italy is another nation that from current reports is preparing for possible hostilities. Our exports to Italy for a like period in 1938 were about \$17,000,000 less than in 1937. But the real hue and cry about the exportation of war materials relates to Japan. In a comparable period in 1937 our exports to Japan amounted to \$271,948,000 and in 1938 to \$211,051,000, a decrease of \$60,897,000, although, as I have previously pointed out, our total exports in 1938 were over \$3,000,000,000 and our favorable balance over \$1,000,000,000.

#### A COMPARISON OF METHODS

Another favorite criticism of the trade-agreement program is the alleged star-chamber proceedings. Such a charge does not come with good grace from those who rammed the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill down the throats of the Democratic Members of the House under the most drastic gag rule ever known to that body. Not even a Woodrow Wilson, who in 1912 referred to those who sat down behind closed doors to play providence to certain vested interests, could visualize a Grundy behind closed doors framing the outrageous provisions of the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill.

The American Tariff League, which is a consistent opponent of trade agreements, recently asserted:

While we thoroughly disagree with some of the economic reasoning offered in justification of certain cuts in duty made in other trade agreements, we have no hesitancy in saying we know it to be true that certain types of economic presentation of interested parties have been considered and have contributed materially to the determination as to what should be done in connection with various individual products which have been under consideration.

In the negotiation of a trade agreement, the public is invited or given an opportunity to formally participate on two separate occasions. There is no limitation on the informal presentation of any pertinent material. Every opportunity is given each interested person to be fully heard, and all facts submitted to the State Department are given full and careful consideration before an agreement is negotiated. And all of these facts are likewise laid before every participating department and its advice sought before an agreement is negotiated. Compare that procedure, if you please, with the writing of the infamous Hawley-Smoot tariff bill, when the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee spent 2 months and 10 days behind closed doors deciding what to put in the bill, while the 10 Democratic members of the committee remained completely ignorant of what was going on.

The bill thus prepared was then reported, and under a rule prohibiting any amendment to be offered except a committee amendment, the House was given 4 days for consideration of the bill. Of the 10,681 lines in the Hawley-Smoot bill, only 82 were considered in the House. Of the 727 paragraphs included in the first and second sections of the bill, only 6 of them were read and considered. Of the 183 sections contained in the bill, only a small fraction of one of the sections was read and considered. There were only 4 pages of the 434 pages of the bill given any consideration. Of this procedure, Ragon, of Arkansas, a former member of the Ways and Means Committee, said:

As a fitting climax to this legislative horseplay which characterized the conduct of this bill through its consideration by the House, the Clerk read, as a part of the meager consideration of this bill, paragraph 2 \* \* \*.

A paragraph dealing with the chemical schedule.

As between a tariff bill drafted in this manner and a trade agreement drafted in accordance with the present procedure

of the State Department, only those who seek special privileges in return for special party services could prefer the Hawley-Smoot procedure.

At the outset of these remarks I referred to the importance of returning men to private employment as a safeguard against deficit financing that would ultimately lead to currency inflation. I have presented statistics showing the definite relation between foreign trade and domestic employment. I have presented statistics to show that the program has been beneficial to agriculture as well as to industry. I have endeavored to show that in the negotiation of trade agreements every precaution is taken to safeguard domestic interests. I have pointed out the utter futility of hoping for any break-down of tariff barriers by congressional action. I have cited the figures showing the tremendous increase of our foreign trade under the reciprocal trade agreement program. But I would not be willing to end the discussion of this important subject without a reference to the equally important subject of world peace. Mr. Speaker, I have convinced myself, if I have not convinced any other Member of this honorable body, that a restoration of our foreign trade will help us financially and help to save the form of government we all love. But regardless of any vote I may have cast in this body that indicated that in the approach to some of our social and economic problems I was more conservative than some of my colleagues, I have never placed material values above human values. And to me the deepest and most significant appeal of Mr. Hull's reciprocal-trade policy is its potential contribution to world peace and the saving of human lives. Human nature being what it is, we must frankly admit that those nations that lack certain essential raw products are going to get them if they can; if not by peaceful methods, then by force. And I firmly believe that a resort to the club to get what could and should be acquired by mutually beneficial trade will be the dawning for our modern civilization of a new cave-man age.

The contribution of trade agreements to the promotion of world peace has nowhere been better summarized than in the letter of September 2, 1938, from Secretary of State Cordell Hull to the Honorable John Hamilton, chairman of the Republican National Committee, wherein Mr. Hull said:

the Republican National Committee, wherein Mr. Hull said:

That economic armaments result in a lowering of living standards throughout the entire world; foment internal strife; and offer constant temptation to use force, or threat of force, as a means of obtaining from other nations what could have been procured through the normal processes of trade.

That a people driven to desperation by want and misery is a constant threat of disorder and chaos, both internal and external.

That, to the extent that we can make it easier for ourselves and everyone else to live, we diminish the pressure on any country to seek economic betterment through war.

That the great fundamental approach to the problem of peace is the ordering of the economic life of the civilized world in a manner which will enable the masses of the people to work and to live in reasonable comfort.

That nations cannot produce on a level to sustain their popula-

That nations cannot produce on a level to sustain their populations in comfort and well-being unless there are reasonable opportunities to trade one with another.

That this cannot happen in a world of extreme economic bar-riers and military hostility. For these self-evident reasons the trade-agreements program is

a great cornerstone for the edifice of peace.

And on that stone, Mr. Speaker, I raise my Ebenezer. Every woman who has gone down into the valley of the shadow of death that a new life may be brought into being, who has seen the blue of the skies mirrored in innocent eyes, who has felt chubby fingers entwined about the tendrils of her heart has a right to hope, has a right to demand that her Government will do all in its power to prevent her son from being consumed as cannon fodder.

And if there be any who wish to make of that program a political issue in 1940, I will accept the challenge. [Applause.]

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Thursday next, after the disposition of business on the Speaker's table and other special orders, if any, I may address the House for 45 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Cooper of Tennessee). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the special order of the House heretofore entered the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Hoffman] is entitled to recognition for 20 minutes. [After a pause.] The gentleman does not seem to be present.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. Mansfield (at the request of Mr. DeRouen), indefinitely, on account of illness.

To Mr. Hennings (at the request of Mr. Romjue) for 10 days on account of important business.

### ENROLLED BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 2762. An act to consolidate and codify the internal revenue laws of the United States; and

H. J. Res. 83. Joint resolution making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.

BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, a bill and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles:

H. R. 2762. An act to consolidate and codify the internal revenue laws of the United States; and

H. J. Res. 83. Joint resolution making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.

## ADJOURNMENT

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 56 minutes p. m.) the House, in accordance with its previous order, adjourned until Monday, February 6, 1939, at 12 o'clock

## COMMITTEE HEARINGS

## COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Public hearings will continue Saturday, February 4, 1939, at 10 a. m., on social-security legislation in the Ways and Means Committee room in the New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 a. m. Tuesday, February 7, 1939. Business to be considered: Continuation of hearing on H. R. 2531—transportation bill. Mr. R. V. Fletcher, of the American Association of Railroads, will be the witness.

#### COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives on Tuesday, February 7, 1939, at 10:30 a.m., for the purpose of continuing the consideration of H. R. 2880, "To authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes," carrying out partially the recommendations of the Hepburn report.

## COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in room 446, House Office Building, Wednesday, February 8, 1939, at 10: 30 a.m., for the public consideration of H. J. Res. 90 and H. R. 2200.

# COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries will hold a public hearing in room 219, House Office Building, Washington, D. C., at 10:30 a. m. Tuesday, February 7, 1939, on the bills listed below:

H. R. 785, Draft Convention No. 53, officers' competency (Bland); H. R. 947 (Seger), H. R. 950 (Kennedy), H. R. 1639 (Brewster), H. R. 1641 (Bates of Massachusetts), H. R. 1799 (Maloney), H. R. 1805 (Hall), H. R. 2534 (Culkin), H. R. 2641 (Dimond), H. R. 3210 (Cannon of Florida), H. R. 3216 (Schaffer of Wisconsin), H. R. 3228 (McCormack), H. J. Res. 118 (Shanley).

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries will hold a public hearing in room 219, House Office Building, Washington, D. C., at 10 a. m. Tuesday, February 21, 1939, on the bill (H. R. 3576) to make effective the provisions of the Officers' Competency Certificates Convention, 1936.

It is contemplated that the hearing on Tuesday, February 7, 1939, on H. R. 785 and related bills will deal with the exemption of vessels of less than 200 gross tons from the provisions of the treaty. The hearing on Tuesday, February 21, on H. R. 3576 will deal particularly with legislation necessary to make effective the provisions of the treaty and problems arising in connection with the provisions of the treaty.

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries will hold public hearings in room 219, House Office Building, Washington, D. C., at 10 a. m., on the bills and dates listed below:

Tuesday, March 14, 1939:

H. R. 180, H. R. 202, construction of a Nicaraguan Canal; H. R. 201, additional facilities for Panama Canal; H. R. 2667, construction of a Mexican canal.

Tuesday, March 21, 1939:

H. R. 137, H. R. 980, H. R. 1674, relating to annuities for Panama Canal construction force.

Thursday, March 23, 1939:

H. R. 139, H. R. 141, H. R. 142, H. R. 1819, miscellaneous Panama Canal bills.

# EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows: 382. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting an estimate of appropriation for printing and binding. Bureau of the Budget, in substitution of

ing and binding, Bureau of the Budget, in substitution of the estimate appearing under this head on page 648 of the 1940 Budget (H. Doc. No. 149); to the Committee on Appro-

priations and ordered to be printed.

383. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration Department of the Interior, for the fiscal year 1939, in the amount of \$3,000,000 (H. Doc. No. 148); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

384. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the Treasury Department for the fiscal year 1940 in the amount of \$334,000 (H. Doc. No. 147); to the Committee

on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

385. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to amend section 210 of the Communications Act of 1934, approved June 19, 1934 (48 Stat. 1073; 47 U. S. C. 210), so as to permit communication utilities to contribute free services to the national defense; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

386. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting reports on the sale of equipment acquired during the

World War; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

387. A letter from the director of the national legislative committee of the American Legion, transmitting the final financial statement for the year ending December 31, 1938; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

388. A letter from the Acting Chairman of the Federal Power Commission, transmitting a copy of the eighteenth annual report and a statement showing the names, titles, and compensation of the members and employees of the Federal Power Commission; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

389. A letter from the the Secretary of Labor, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill authorizing the transfer of United States Employment Service records, files, and property in local offices to the States; to the Committee on Labor.

390. A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a recommendation for a change in the legislation authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to delegate to employees of the Department the function of issuing or promulgating certain orders; to the Committee on Agriculture.

391. A letter from the president of the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill and a report in explanation of the bill to amend the Teachers' Salary Act; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

#### CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 1524) for the relief of William Andrew Johnson; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1541) granting an increase of pension to James L. Phillips; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1547) granting an increase of pension to Bailey Carson; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1549) granting an increase of pension to Luchen N. Patterson; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1457) granting a pension to Abijah Wombles; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1469) granting a pension to Robert Berg; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1473) granting a pension to George Thomas Webster; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1474) granting a pension to Lena P. Riddick; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1507) granting a pension to John R. Longwith; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1508) granting a pension to Thomas W. Yarbrough; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1509) granting a pension to Albert E. Wells; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1572) granting a pension to Christine Ledford; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1574) granting a pension to Hiram M. Graves; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1580) granting a pension to Dicie Overbey; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1581) granting a pension to Garfield Hampton; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1582) granting a pension to Carl D. Waters; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1585) granting a pension to Anna Dabney; Committee on Pensions dicharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

LXXXIV-72

A bill (H. R. 1586) granting a pension to Horace V. White; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1592) granting a pension to Spurgeon C. Portwood; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1594) granting a pension to Lizzie Wilshire; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1595) granting a pension to Belle Cannon; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1602) granting a pension to Henry A. Settle; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1605) granting a pension to Andrew J. Cross; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1608) granting a pension to Ben Harrison Martin; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 3154) to provide for the appointment and retirement of Faustin E. Werkus, of the United States Marine Corps, who served as an officer in the Garde d'Haiti; Committee on Military Affairs discharged, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (H. R. 3272) granting an increase in retired pay to George Occhionero, first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps, retired; Committee on Military Affairs discharged, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

## PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BARRY:

H. R. 3693. A bill relating to the importation of distilled spirits for consumption at the New York World's Fair, 1939, and the Golden Gate International Exposition of 1939, and to duties on certain articles to be exhibited at the New York World's Fair, 1939; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DEMPSEY:

H. R. 3694. A bill providing for the payment of employees' compensation to certain employees of the United States who have suffered or may suffer injuries not of a traumatic nature; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 3695. A bill to validate settlement claims established on sections 16 and 36 within the area withdrawn for the Matanuska settlement project in Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. HARTLEY:

H. R. 3696. A bill to exempt from the provisions of draft convention No. 53 of the International Labor Conference Treaty of 1936 all American vessels under 200 tons; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. HORTON:

H. R. 3697. A bill to repeal the authority to enter into certain foreign-trade agreements and to terminate agreements heretofore concluded; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. O'BRIEN:

H. R. 3698. A bill to provide for the examination and survey of Irondequoit Bay, N. Y.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. O'CONNOR:

H. R. 3699. A bill for expenditure of funds for cooperation with the public-school board at Wolf Point, Mont., for completing the construction, extension, equipment, and improvement of a public-school building to be available to Indian children of the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Mont.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. PETERSON of Florida:

H. R. 3700. A bill authorizing the construction and equipment of a marine hospital in the State of Florida; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. SHANLEY:

H. R. 3701. A bill granting annual and sick leave with pay to substitutes in the Postal Service; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. SIROVICH:

H.R. 3702. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service, and for other purposes," approved May 22, 1920, and acts in amendment thereof, approved July 3, 1926, and May 29, 1930, as amended; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. CARTWRIGHT:

H.R. 3763. A bill to provide for conveying to the United States the land, buildings, and improvements comprising the Choctaw and Chickasaw Sanatorium and General Hospital; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. CHANDLER:

H. R. 3704. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved July 1, 1898, and acts amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COFFEE of Washington:

H. R. 3705. A bill to authorize the acquisition, rehabilitation, and operation of the facilities for the public in Mount Rainier National Park, in the State of Washington, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. COLLINS:

H. R. 3706. A bill to amend the Revenue Act of 1936 by extending the time for filing claims for refund of processing taxes to July 1, 1938; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DOUGHTON:

H.R. 3707. A bill relating to information with respect to compensation of corporate officers and employees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LAMBERTSON:

H.R. 3708. A bill for the relief of the city of Leavenworth, Kans.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LANDIS:

H. R. 3709. A bill to relieve industrial, business, and other private interests from the necessity for unnecessarily duplicating information filed with Government agencies; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. THOMAS S. McMILLAN:

H.R. 3710. A bill to authorize an appropriation for construction of certain buildings at Fort Moultrie, Charleston, S. C.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MILLS of Louisiana:

H. R. 3711. A bill to extend Natchez Trace Parkway from Natchez, Miss., to San Antonio, Tex.; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. MOTT:

H. R. 3712. A bill to restrict the exportation of certain Douglas fir peeler logs and Port Orford cedar logs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SIROVICH:

H. J. Res. 149. Joint resolution to create a Bureau of Fine Arts in the Department of the Interior for the promotion of art and literature through the use of copyrighted and copyrightable material and to define the powers and duties of said Bureau, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. BLOOM:

H. J. Res. 150. Joint resolution to amend the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution to provide that the United States extend to foreign governments invitations to participate in the Third International Congress for Microbiology, to be held in the United States during the calendar year 1939"; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FULMER:

H. Res. 80. Resolution to extend the Joint Committee on Forest Problems; to the Committee on Rules.

#### MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to withdraw the nomination of Thomas R. Amlie to a position on the Interstate Commerce Commission (S. Res. No. 8); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of North Dakota, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their Resolution No. 24, with reference to establishing a Division of Cooperatives in the Department of Agriculture; to the Committee on Agriculture.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BOREN:

H.R. 3713. A bill for the relief of Joe Carter; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. COLE of New York:

H.R. 3714. A bill for the relief of Thomas P. Carnell; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CULKIN:

H. R. 3715. A bill granting a pension to Bessie C. Ford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FOLGER:

H. R. 3716. A bill for the relief of Dr. Henry Clay Risner; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. GEHRMANN:

H.R. 3717. A bill for the relief of George P. Parker; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 3718. A bill for the relief of John J. Doherty; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HARTLEY:

H. R. 3719. A bill for the relief of Joseph Anthony Cordick: to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 3720. A bill for the relief of Richard Egward Mansfield; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 3721. A bill for the relief of Joseph Skripecky; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3722. A bill for the relief of John Braikovich; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HORTON:

H. R. 3723. A bill for the relief of Louise Gilbert Scoville Smith; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. IZAC:

H. R. 3724. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Charles F. Carter, parents and guardians of Louise Marie Carter, a minor; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 3725. A bill for the relief of Hallie Coffman; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. KELLY:

H.R. 3726. A bill for the relief of Charles Weisz; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KUNKEL:

H. R. 3727. A bill granting a pension to Mary J. Glace; to the Committee on Pensions.

H. R. 3728. A bill granting a pension to Annie I. Ritz; to the

By Mr. LAMBERTSON:

H. R. 3729. A bill for the relief of William Carl Laude; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. McGEHEE:

H.R. 3730. A bill for the relief of John G. Wynn; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McLAUGHLIN:

H.R. 3731. A bill for the relief of Paul T. Sims; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MARCANTONIO:

H.R. 3732. A bill for the relief of Rosalia Cataudella Di Rosa and son, Georgio Di Rosa; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. MERRITT:

H. R. 3733. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to appoint Arthur A. Klein to the position and rank of second lieutenant in the United States Army and immediately retire him with the rank and pay held by him at the time of his discharge; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MOTT:

H. R. 3734. A bill granting a pension to Lois Alton Hover; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona:

H. R. 3735. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lena Perez; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SHANLEY:

H. R. 3736. A bill for the relief of George Anthony Francis Olshefsky; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H.R. 3737. A bill for the relief of Edith M. Fraser; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 3738. A bill for the relief of Willard Twitchell; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WOOD:

H. R. 3739. A bill granting a pension to Mabel Forrer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3740. A bill granting a pension to Mary E. Hays; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3741. A bill granting a pension to Eliza James; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3742. A bill for the relief of the Welfare Finance Co., of Springfield, Mo.; to the Committee on Claims.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

844. By Mr. CRAWFORD: Petition of Robert Fedwa and other residents of Clinton County, Mich., urging retention of the neutrality act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

845. Also, petition of Father F. A. Kaczmarek and a number of other residents of Saginaw, Mich., asking that the neutrality act be retained and made binding to civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

846. By Mr. GILLIE: Resolution of Henry W. Lawton Camp, No. 35, United Spanish War Veterans, Fort Wayne, Ind., urging the erection of a civic auditorium in Fort Wayne as a memorial to Gen. Anthony Wayne; to the Anthony Wayne Memorial Commission; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

847. Also, resolution of Local No. 901, United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, urging that an auditorium be built as a memorial to Anthony Wayne in Fort Wayne, Ind., and that definite action carrying the project forward be started immediately; to the Anthony Wayne Memorial Commission; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

848. Also, petition of St. Jude Church, at Fort Wayne, and 109 residents of Fort Wayne, urging that we shall adhere to the general policy of neutrality to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

849. Also, petition of Rev. Charles Girardot of St. Joseph rectory and 385 other residents of Fort Wayne, Ind., urging to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the acts of August 31, 1935, and of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

850. Also, petition of Rev. Joseph A. Hessian and 85 residents of Fort Wayne, New Haven, and Monroeville, urging that the general policy of neutrality be maintained under the acts of August 31, 1931, and of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

851. By Mr. HANCOCK: Petition of E. A. Schaff and other residents of Minoa, N. Y., favoring the continuance of the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

852. By Mr. HAVENNER: Petition of the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, memoralizing Congress to favorably consider the extension of subsection (3), section 203 (b), title II of the Federal Housing Act, for a period of 2 years commencing with July 1, 1939, and ending June 30, 1941; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

853. By Mr. KEAN: Petition of Thomas Kincaid, president of the Holy Name Society of Our Lady of Sorrows Church, South Orange, N. J., and 700 other citizens of the Twelfth Congressional District, New Jersey, urging the Congress to

adhere to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and amended May 1, 1937; to the

Committee on Foreign Affairs.

854. By Mr. MICHAEL J. KENNEDY: Petition of the Guild of Catholic Lawyers, New York City, resolving that it record its vehement opposition to any repeal by the Congress of the United States either of the act of August 31, 1935, or the extension thereof by the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

855. By Mr. KEOGH: Petition of 1,150 citizens of Brooklyn, N. Y., concerning the Patman chain-store bill (H. R. 1); to

the Committee on Ways and Means.

856. Also, petition of American women against communism, New York City, concerning the continuance of the Dies investigating committee; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

857. Also, petition of the Archdiocesan Union of Holy Name Societies of New Orleans, concerning the present neutrality act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

858. By Mr. LEWIS of Colorado: Senate joint memorial No. 3 of the Senate of the Thirty-second General Assembly of the State of Colorado, concerning approval of the \$875,000,000 deficiency appropriation requested by Works Progress Administration and the \$1,750,000,000 requested to continue the program without any further curtailment for the next fiscal year; to the Committee on Appropriations.

859. Also, house memorial No. 1 of the House of Representatives of the Thirty-second General Assembly of the State of Colorado, concerning termination of selling of munitions and war materials by citizens of the United States to the country of Japan; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs,

860. By Mr. LAMBERTSON: Petition of A. J. Ostlund and 870 other members of the Kansas Farmers Liberty League and farmers of Washington County, Kans., condemning the Agricultural Act of 1938, together with its amendments, and asking for the repeal of the act; to the Committee on Agriculture.

861. By Mr. MARSHALL: Petition of Rev. E. A. Kickel, of Cleveland, Ohio, relative to retaining the embargo on arms to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

862. By Mr. MERRITT: Resolution of the Richmond Hill Post, No. 212, American Legion, New York, requesting that the War Department rescind its order to the Fort Totten Band in order that the band may participate as usual in Queens County affairs, and that the New York World's Fair authorities be forced to give employment to unemployed musicians; to the Committee on Labor.

863. By Mr. MOTT: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Oregon, making application to the Congress of the United States to call a national convention, pursuant to the provisions of article V of the Constitution of the United States, for the purpose of proposing an amendment to the said Constitution to provide for the establishment and operation of the philosophy and principles of the Townsend national recovery plan, otherwise known and described as the proposed General Welfare Act of 1937 (H. R. 4199); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

864. Also, petition of Genevieve Harrison and 56 other citizens of Marion County, Oreg., urging the passage of legislation which will diminish the advertising of alcoholic beverages by press and radio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

865. By Mr. PFEIFER: Petition of 260 residents of the Third Congressional District, Brooklyn, N. Y., concerning the anti-chain-store bill (H. R. 1); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

866. Also, petition of the Brooklyn Diocesan Union of the Holy Name Society, Brooklyn, N. Y., opposing lifting embargo on Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

867. Also, petition of the Second Assembly District Republican League, Inc., Brooklyn, N. Y., urging continuation of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

868. Also, petition of the American Women Against Communism, New York City, urging continuance of the Dies investigating committee; to the Committee on Appropriations.

869. Also, petition of the Archdiocesan Union of Holy Name Societies of New Orleans, La., favoring the embargo on Spain and adherence to our present neutrality laws; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

870. By Mr. SCHAEFER of Illinois: Petition of Mrs. Arthur J. Fournie, of Belleville, Ill., and other parishoners of St. Peter's Cathedral Parish, Belleville, urging Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, and amended in the act of May 1, 1937, to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

871. Also, petition of the parishoners of St. Mary's parish, Belleville, Ill., urging Congress to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as set forth in the act of August 31, 1935, and amended May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

872. By Mr. SCHIFFLER: Petition of Mrs. J. E. Harper, corresponding secretary, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Chester, W. Va., protesting against the tragic personal and social demoralization caused by the manufacture, distribution, sale, and consumption of alcoholic beverages; the liquor advertising bill boards along public highways; and radio advertising of liquor; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

873. By Mr. STEARNS of New Hampshire: Petition of citizens of Nashua, N. H., urging that for so long as the United States shall adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, it shall retain on its statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

874. By Mr. SUTPHIN: Petition of the Borough Council of the Borough of Manasquan, Monmouth County, N. J., resolving that the adoption by the Congress of the United States of any legislation directly or indirectly asserting that the United States has sovereign title to and ownership of lands under navigable waters or any mineral deposits therein, or authorizing any suits or other proceedings by Federal officers to obtain the possession or use of such lands or mineral deposits without the payment of just compensation, is contrary to law and sound public policy, and should be opposed; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

875. By Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey: Resolution unanimously adopted by the Bergen County (N. J.) Committee of the American Legion at a meeting held January 24, 1939, requesting the continuance of the Dies committee with an appropriation of additional funds for such continuance; to the Committee on Rules.

876. By Mr. VAN ZANDT: Petition of Louise A. Carpeneto and others, of Bellefonte, Pa., urging adherence by the United States to the principles of the Neutrality Act of 1935 and 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

877. By Mr. WELCH: Petition of the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, memorializing Congress to favorably consider the extension of subsection (3), section 203 (b), title II, of the Federal Housing Act, for a period of 2 years commencing with July 1, 1939, and ending June 30, 1941; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

878. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Mexican Electrical Workers, Mexico, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the sale of elements of defense to Spain; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

879. Also, petition of Ramon Bugo, Ponce, P. R., and others, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

880. Also, petition of the city of Cleveland, legislative department, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to providing for the observance of National Inventors' Day and National Advancement Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

881. By Mr. HOUSTON: Petition of certain citizens of Wellington, Kans., and vicinity, urging the introduction of a bill that will limit all railroad employees to not more than 208 hours or equivalent thereof in 1 month, and an immediate Federal investigation of the subject; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce,

882. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the National Research Project, Local No. 9, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the discontinuance of the un-American committee; to the Committee on Rules.

883. Also, petition of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, Local No. 5, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the continuance of the La Follette investigating committee; to the Committee on Pules

884. Also, petition of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics, State Council of New Jersey, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to continuation of the House of Representatives committee investigating un-American activities; to the Committee on Rules.

885. Also, petition of the city of Mobile, Ala., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to legislation taxing income derived from securities issued by States and their political subdivisions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

886. Also, petition of the train-service brotherhoods, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to regulation of mileage of train-service employees; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

# SENATE

# Monday, February 6, 1939

The Chaplain, Rev. Z@Barney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, who hast made in one pure timeless thought all things at once, the last things with the first and the first life with the last: We bow before Thy inscrutable power, beseeching Thee to unfold the glimmering miracles of life's loveliness one by one, each at its destined moment; for Thy ways with us are as manifold as the number of the souls of men. We pray, then, for grace to respond with heart and mind and will to the call of duty in this high and holy service of our country; reveal to us the wisdom taught of love to understand those human needs for which the sacrament of true and lasting sympathy alone is adequate; and, that what we do here day by day may be pleasing unto Thee, grant us the sense of Thy friendship and nearness, a hand in ours, a companion on the weary way, and a light within our heart. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Barkley, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Thursday, February 2, 1939, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Calloway, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and that the House had receded from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate No. 9 to the joint resolution, and concurred therein.

# ENROLLED BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED DURING ADJOURNMENT

The VICE PRESIDENT announced that, under authority of the order of the Senate of the 2d instant, the following enrolled bill and joint resolution, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, were signed by the President pro tempore on February 3, 1939:

H. R. 2762. An act to consolidate and codify the internalrevenue laws of the United States; and

H. J. Res. 83. Joint resolution making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.

#### CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. LEWIS. As I observe the Senate, I assume the want of a quorum, and I suggest its absence, and ask for a roll call.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Ellender	Lee	Russell
Andrews	Frazier	Lewis	Schwartz
Ashurst	George	Lodge	Schwellenbach
Austin	Gerry	Logan	Sheppard
Bailey	Gibson	Lucas	Shipstead
Bankhead	Gillette	Lundeen	Smathers
Barbour	Glass	McCarran	Smith
Barkley	Green	McKellar	Stewart
Bilbo	Guffey	McNary	Taft
Bone	Gurney	Maloney	Thomas, Okla.
Brown	Hale	Mead	Thomas, Utah
Bulow	Harrison	Miller	Tobey
Burke	Hatch	Murray	Townsend
Byrd	Havden	Neely	Truman
Byrnes	Herring	Norris	Tydings
Capper	Hill	Nye	Vandenberg
Caraway	Holman	O'Mahoney	Van Nuys
Clark, Idaho	Holt	Overton	Wheeler
Clark, Mo.	Hughes	Pepper	White
Connally	Johnson, Calif.	Pittman	Wiley
Danaher	Johnson, Colo.	Radcliffe	
Davis	King	Reed	
Downey	La Follette	Reynolds	

Mr. LEWIS. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Minton] is detained from the Senate because of a death in his family.

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. Donahey] is detained by a slight illness.

The Senator from New York [Mr. Wagner] is detained on important public business.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Walsh] is absent in attendance on a meeting of a committee of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, which has under consideration the question of flood control.

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez] is unavoidably detained

Mr. McNARY. I announce that the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Borah] is absent because of illness.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-nine Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

# BOARD OF VISITORS TO NAVAL ACADEMY

The VICE PRESIDENT, under the provisions of the act of August 29, 1916, appointed Mr. Byrd, Mr. Neely, Mr. White, and Mr. Lodge members of the Board of Visitors to the Naval Academy.

#### ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF FIRST CONGRESS— JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS ON MARCH 4, 1939

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under the provisions of House Concurrent Resolution 4, to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the First Congress of the United States under the Constitution, the Chair appoints the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Barkley], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Pittman], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Harrison], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNary], and the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Borah] as members of the joint committee, on the part of the Senate, which is empowered to make suitable arrangements for the exercises of the joint session of the Congress.

## PENALTIES FOR TRANSPORTATION OF NARCOTICS, FIREARMS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for the seizure and forfeiture of vessels, vehicles, and aircraft used to transport narcotic drugs, firearms, and counterfeit coins, obligations, securities, and paraphernalia, and for other purposes, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Finance.

## SALE OF WORLD WAR NAVAL EQUIPMENT

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the sale of equipment acquired

during the World War, which was referred to the Committee | on Naval Affairs.

#### PRESERVATION OF WORKS OF ART IN PURILC RITIDINGS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for the cleaning, conditioning, renovating, and repair of paintings and other works of art of the United States in public buildings, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on the Library.

## REPORT OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of the Administration for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

#### REPORT OF NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the president of the National Academy of Sciences transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the Academy for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on the Library.

#### ALIENS EMPLOYED UNDER GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from Jesse B. Ellis, secretary of the International Joint Commission, in further response to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938 (75th Cong.), and stating that there are no aliens employed by the Commission, the three commissioners, secretaries, and clerks all being native-born Americans, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the American Battle Monuments Commission, responding to Senate Resolution 285, agreed to June 8, 1938 (75th Cong.), and transmitting a list of aliens employed by the Commission, with a statement of the reasons for their employment, together with a supplemental report from the officer in charge of the Commission's European office, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

TERM OF SERVICE OF FORMER SENATOR GEORGE L. BERRY-PETITION The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the petition of George L. Berry, former Senator from Tennessee, praying that the Senate reconsider its action, relative to the term of service of Mr. Berry, taken on the 2d instant in connection with the original petition filed in the cause, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of Colorado, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce:

#### House Joint Memorial 5

Whereas the Civil Aeronautics Authority of the United States has conducted an investigation in southwest Colorado relative to

has conducted an investigation in southwest Colorado relative to the advisability of establishing a Federal airport for the use of the Army and Navy of the United States and for other purposes; and Whereas said Civil Aeronautics Authority, through its supervisory engineer, has recommended that the Congress of the United States be requested to appropriate \$158,000 for the establishment of such airport at or near the city of Cortez, Colo.; and Whereas the establishment of such airport at Cortez, Colo., would be of inestimable value to the State of Colorado: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the house of representatives of the thirty-second general assembly (the senate concurring herein), That the Congress of the United States be strongly urged to include in its appropriations for enlarging the facilities of the air forces of the country an appropriation sufficient to provide for the establishment of a Federal airport at or near Cortez, in the State of Colorado; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this memorial be forwarded to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, and to the Senators and Congressmen representing the State of Colorado in the Congress of the United States.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate the following resolution of the House of Representatives of the State of Oklahoma, which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

#### House Resolution 7

Resolution petitioning the Congress of the United States to make the social-security measure contained in H. R. 7260 of the Seventy-fourth Congress strictly a Federal project and under-taking, independent of and free from State control or State responsibility

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the Seventeenth Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, That—
Whereas the Seventy-fourth Congress of the United States of America, H. R. 7260, Public, No. 271, created what is commonly termed social-security measure for the welfare and benefit of the citizens of the various States; and

Whereas the Federal Government, by said action, attempted to set up State boards to administer said social-security measures, with State boards under Federal supervision and control, and that said joint control, during its operation in this State, has been such as to create great confusion, excessive cost, lack of efficiency, and a dual relationship which has been to the detriment of the old people of this State; and

Whereas, to correct and remedy this situation, it is the opinion

of this house that such a program of social security could best be carried out under the direct and sole supervision and control of the Federal Government and free the State from any necessity of having

Federal Government and free the State from any necessity of having to participate in any way in the program, and that such a change would make said program more stable, efficient, and place it in the hands of the unit of government best able to provide for such a far-reaching program: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Seventeenth Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, That the Congress of the United States be immediately advised of the attitude of this house, that the provision of H. R. 7260, Public, No. 271, of the Seventy-fourth Congress of the United States be made strictly a Federal project; that all funds necessary to administer it be raised by the Federal Government, and the administration of the same be controlled strictly by agencies of the Federal Government, for the reason that same would be more efficient, more practical, and remove the causes of delay and differences which have made the administration of this project in Oklahoma very unpopular; and that the clerk of this house be instructed to mail a certified copy of this resolution to the Speaker of the House and President of the Senate of the United States, Washington, D. C.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate the

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate the following joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Vermont, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Whereas day by day thousands of Chinese women and children are being mercilessly killed and maimed by bombs and machine guns from the air by the Japanese Army of aggression; and Whereas Japan purchases over 50 percent of her war materials and commodities of war from United States manufacturers: Therefore, in the interest of humanity and international peace, it is hereby

Resolved by the senate and house of representatives, That every possible pressure be brought to bear, directly and indirectly, by every governmental agency to prohibit at once the sale and ship-ment of such above-mentioned war materials to Japan, which are being used by her in the ruthless slaughter of thousands of inno-cent Chinese civilians; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent by the secretary of the State of Vermont to the President of the United States, the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, and to each member of the Vermont delegation in Congress.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate the following joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California, which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

Senate joint resolution relative to exemption from taxation of bonds issued by governmental agencies and memorializing the President and Congress of the United States to take immediate steps for the termination of the exemption of such securities from taxation

Whereas the exemption from taxation of bonds issued by the Federal, State, and local governments has progressed to such a point that there are now outstanding tax-exempt securities of this character amounting to the aggregate par value of approximately \$45,000,000,000 in 1937 and has now reached a total of approximately \$72,000,000,000; and

Whereas such securities are owned and held by a very small percentage of the population of the country and there results a great and most unjust disproportion in the bearing of the cost of government as between the owners and holders of various types and classes of property; and

Whereas it is a fundamental principle of government that one group or class should not be favored as are the owners of these tax-exempt securities, and all persons enjoying the order and protection which government affords should share fairly equally and equitably in bearing the cost of government: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly, That the legislature of this State hereby memorialize the President and Congress of the United States to consider and enact such legislation and to propose such amendment or amendments. such legislation and to propose such amendment or amendments to the Constitution of the United States as may be found suitable and appropriate effectively to prevent the further exemption from taxation of any and all bonds and other evidences of indebtedness issued by the Federal, State, and local governments, to the fullest extent that the President and the Congress may have power so to do, and that the Members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives from California are hereby urged and requested to use all honorable means in furtherance of the consideration and enactment of such legislation; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forthwith transmitted to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Members of

the House and Senate from the State of California.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate the following joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California, which was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs:

Senate joint resolution relative to memorializing Congress to amend the California Indian Jurisdictional Act of 1928

Whereas it has come to the attention of this legislature that but half of the tribes and nations of Indians within this State in 1851 and 1852 had signed the 18 treaties forming the basis of the Indian Jurisdictional Act of 1928; and

Whereas nontreaty Indians are at the present time barred from bringing actions in the Court of Claims against the Federal Government on account of the failure of the Government to ratify and keep certain treaties with Indian tribes of California in 1851 and 1852; and

Whereas this legislature is informed and believes that the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs have approved legislation proposed for submission to the Congress of the United States, which legislation contains the nontreaty provisions; and

Whereas new hope and confidence in our fellow men by the In-dians of California and the Nation will be encouraged: Now, there-

Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly, That the Congress of the United States be most respectfully urged to forthwith amend the California Indian Jurisdictional Act of 1928 to provide for nontreaty Indians; and be it further Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives of the State of California In Congress he and are bersely urged to put for their

California in Congress be, and are hereby, urged to put forth their best and united efforts to secure the enactment by Congress of the

proposed amendments; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be respectfully transmitted to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to each of the Senators and Representatives of the State of California in Congress, to the Secretary of the Interior, and to the Commissioner of Indian

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate the following joint resolution of the legislature of the State of California, which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys:

Senate joint resolution relative to memorializing the Congress of the United States to refuse enactment of legislation which would becloud the sovereign rights of the State of California in its submerged lands

Whereas upon the formation of the United States of America, Whereas upon the formation of the United States of America, the States, as independent sovereignties, reserved to themselves all the right, title, and interest in and to the submerged lands and tidelands bordering upon their respective territories and, the right, title, and interest upon their respective territories and, with the expenditure of public funds, have devoted such lands to harbor developments and other State purposes, or through grants or arrangements made with their municipalities and public agencies and with their citizens have devoted said lands to other public and private uses and such sovereign rights of the States

agencies and with their citizens have devoted said lands to other public and private uses, and such sovereign rights of the States have never heretofore been questioned; and

Whereas legislation has been introduced in the Congress of the United States, particularly Senate Joint Resolution No. 24, introduced by the Honorable United States Senator Gerald P. Nye wherein it is asserted that the Federal Government possesses the title to or holds an interest in submerged lands and tidelands bordering upon the various States of the Union, and it is proposed to direct the Attorney General of the United States to institute legal action in the courts to litigate such asserted title or interests; and

Whereas any such litigation will becloud the rights and title of the respective States, prejudice their progress in developing such lands for State and local uses, both public and private, endanger existing investments and impair future financing of local projects on such lands, and the enactment of such legislation is, in the opinion of this legislature, undesirable and contrary to the public interests: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved in the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully

urges and petitions the Congress of the United States to refuse enactment of either Senate Joint Resolution No. 24 or any other bill or resolution which may similarly seek to establish the asserted claim of the Federal Government to any title or interest in serted claim of the Federal Government to any title or interest in such submerged lands or tidelands of the State of California, other than such lands which may have been heretofore expressly granted it by this State or under its authority; and be it further Resolved, That the secretary of the senate be, and he hereby is, directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Vice President, and to the Senators and Representatives of the State of California in the Congress.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate a concurrent resolution of the House of Representatives of the State of Arkansas favoring the enactment of amendatory legislation removing from the neutrality law and the socalled Johnson Act such provisions as may tend to aid belligerent totalitarian nations, so that the United States may be relieved of restrictions in conflict with the interests of world peace, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(See concurrent resolution printed in full when presented today by Mrs. Caraway.)

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate petitions of members of the Kansas Farmers' Liberty League and sundry citizens, all of Washington County, Kans., praying for the repeal of the Agricultural Act of 1938, which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also laid before the Senate a letter from John Green, president of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, Camden, N. J., favoring an adequate appropriation to carry on the work of the National Labor Relations Board and also urging that no change be made in the National Labor Relations Act, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also laid before the Senate telegrams in the nature of petitions from R. J. Thomas, acting president of International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, U. A. W. A. Murray Local No. 2; Emil Mazey, president of Local No. 212, U. A. W. A.; Joseph Cartwright, secretarytreasurer, Local No. 155, U. A. W. A.; and members of Chrysler Local No. 7, U. A. W. A., all of Detroit, Mich.; Frank J. Bender, C. I. O. director of Maryland, and Samuel Caplan, manager of the Joint Board of International Ladies Garment Workers, both of Baltimore, Md.; John Kociscak, secretary, Local No. 25, U. A. W. A., of St. Louis, Mo.; Heywood Broun, president, and Victor Pasche, secretary-treasurer, of the American Newspaper Guild, of New York City; N. A. Zonarich, president, Aluminum Workers of America, of New Kensington, Pa.; Harold J. Pritchett, president, and other officers of the International Wood Workers of America, of Seattle; and E. L. Howard, acting C. I. O. regional director of New Jersey, and other officers of the New Jersey State Industrial Union Council, Newark, N. J.; praying for the appropriation of \$3,230,000 for the National Labor Relations Board, and remonstrating against amendment of the National Labor Relations Act, which were referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram and letters in the nature of petitions from James McEwan, president of Bendix Local Union No. 9, U. A. W. A., of South Bend, Ind.; Labor's Non-Partisan League of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, Pa.; and Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, No. 97, of San Francisco, Calif., praying that adequate funds be allotted to enable the subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor investigating violations of civil liberties, etc., to continue the investigation, which were referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by National Research Project, Local No. 9, United Federal Workers of America, Local No. 30, National Leather Workers' Association, both of Philadelphia, Pa., and Studebaker Local No. 9, International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, of South Bend, Ind., favoring the allocation of adequate funds to enable the subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor investigating violations of civil liberties, etc., to continue the investigation, which were referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted at a rally sponsored by the Workers' Alliance of Fargo, N. Dak., and Moorhead, Minn., favoring the making of unemployment assistance grants to the States through the Social Security Board, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a memorial of members of the missionary societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Macomb (State not given), remonstrating against the Shipment of war supplies and munitions to Japan, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram, dated February 2, 1939, Hominy, Okla., from Joe Shun Kah Mo Lah, chairman, and other Osage Indians, stating, "Please use your influence to defeat passage of Resolution 31, written by someone at Office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 23, 1938. The full-blood Osage Indians do not want this passed. Will send petition in near future," which was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions of several trainservice brotherhoods in the State of Missouri, protesting against the enactment of legislation to regulate the mileage of train-service employees, which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate petitions, numerously signed, of sundry citizens of Puerto Rico, praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages by press and radio, which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, on behalf of my colleague [Mr. Brown] and myself, I present numerous petitions signed by 125,000 citizens of Michigan. The originals are filed at the Secretary's desk. They are petitions in behalf of continuing neutrality, with particular reference to the Spanish embargo. I ask that the text of one of the petitions be printed in the RECORD and that they all be appropriately

The VICE PRESIDENT. The petitions will be received and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and the text of one of the petitions will be printed in the RECORD.

The text of one of the petitions above referred to is as fol-

To the Congress of the United States:

We the undersigned respectfully petition the Congress, for as long as we shall adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts

Mr. CONNALLY presented a memorial of members of the Parent-Teacher Association of Pampa Junior High School, of Pampa, Tex., remonstrating against the enactment of the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 24) relative to the establishment of title of the United States to certain submerged lands containing petroleum deposits, which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

Mr. TYDINGS presented petitions of sundry citizens of the State of Maryland, praying that the United States adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in existing law and extend the law so as to include civil as well as international conflicts, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. TAFT presented petitions, numerously signed, of sundry citizens of the State of Ohio, praying that the United States adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in existing law and extend the law so as to include civil as well as international conflicts, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. MALONEY presented petitions of Santa Maria Circle, No. 27, National Daughters of Isabella, of Waterbury; Judge Frederick J. Whelan and 15 other citizens of Greenwich; and about 100 other citizens, all in the State of Connecticut. praying that the United States adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in existing law and extend the law so as to include civil as well as international conflicts, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

Mr. REED presented a petition signed by 131 citizens of Atchison, Kans., praying for the enactment of the so-called Patman bill, imposing taxes on chain stores, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented memorials of 34 citizens of Cottonwood, 58 citizens of Butler and Osborne Counties, 38 citizens of Downs, and 54 citizens of Medicine Lodge, all in the State of Kansas, remonstrating against the shipment of arms, munitions, and supplies to Japan to be used in their Chinese operations, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

Mr. SHEPPARD presented a letter in the nature of a petition from Alberta Hampton, assistant secretary, Local G-102. Gregg County, Glade Water, Tex., praying for the appropriation of \$875,000,000 for the continuation of W. P. A. projects for the balance of the current fiscal year, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also presented the following resolution of the House of Representatives of the State of Texas, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce:

Whereas the United States has for a long number of years been divided into zones for the purpose of fixing freight rates, with said freight-rate structure under the direct supervision of the Interstate

Commerce Commission; and
Whereas the freight rates under the zoning system are much higher in certain sections of the Nation than in other sections; and
Whereas the people of Texas and the Southwest are paying from 60 to 85 percent more on their freight than are the people in the

60 to 85 percent more on their freight than are the people in the East and central Eastern States; and
Whereas this discrimination is detrimental to the farmer, the laborer, the businessman, and the manufacturer of our section of the Nation and does not give them equal opportunity to benefit in agriculture, commerce, or our economic system in general; and
Whereas if we are to have industrialization and to promote factories in Texas and the Southwest and to give the farmer, the laborer, and the businessman an even break, it is necessary that this discrimination of freight rates be abolished and a fair and

this discrimination of freight rates be abolished and a fair and equitable system inaugurated: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the house of representatives, That we hereby ask the United States Congress to take such steps as might be necessary to obtain from the Interstate Commerce Commission the cooperation and rulings necessary to abolish this discrimination in freight rates and to inaugurate a fair, just, and equitable system; and be it Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Members of the United States Congress from Texas.

Mrs. CARAWAY presented the following concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

# House Joint Memorial 4

Whereas war clouds now hang over Europe, threatening to draw the great powers of the world into another international conflict, and

Whereas our Nation eventually would be drawn into such a war. and

Whereas it is the consensus of the membership of the General Assembly of the State of Arkansas that such conflict can be averted by proper action of the United States of America, and Whereas it is the further belief of the membership of the Arkan-

Whereas it is the further belief of the membership of the Arkansas General Assembly that the Neutrality Act and the Johnson Act, the first prohibiting sale of materials of war to any warring nation and the second prohibiting loans by the United States to any nation now in default in its obligations to the United States of America, while sound in principle at the time of their adoption by the Congress of the United States, are standing today as a bulwark of protection to those belligerent totalitarian nations whose actions in recent months tend to threaten the peace of the entire world: Now, therefore world: Now, therefore

The House of Representatives of the Arkansas General Assembly (the senate concurring) Herewith memorializes the Congress of the United States to adopt and the President to approve such amendatory legislation as will remove those features of the Neutrality Act and the Johnson Act which tend to aid said belligerent totalitarian nations in order that the Government of the United States will be relieved of all restrictions in conflict with the interests of world

The chief clerk of the house shall prepare copies of this memorial and shall send same to the President of the United States, to the presiding officers of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the National Congress, and copies to each Senator and Representative in Congress from Arkansas.

Mr. GEORGE presented the following concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Georgia, which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

Whereas all civilization began with and will end with the plow;

whereas when agriculture prospers, the Nation prospers and plenty and peace fuel the land; and
Whereas when agriculture is impoverished, despair, discontent, and want stalk the country; and
Whereas cotton is still king and our Southern States are de-

pendent upon a market for their cotton crop as the only means by which they can materially prosper; and

Whereas coconut oil, peanuts, cottonseed, and other foreign oils and fats are being imported into this country to directly compete with cottonseed oil to the detriment of our southern farmers;

Whereas the importation of jute into this country is invited, sponsored, and condoned by certain interests who do not have the welfare of the farmers and American agriculture at heart; and

said jute directly competes with cotton in our

domestic markets; and
Whereas when the southern farmer prospers in the economic flow, his prosperity moves to the money markets of the East, and the East in turn receives prosperity from the hands of the south-ern farmers, and the prosperity of the East and South, in turn, causes the other sections of this great country to prosper: Therefore be it

Resolved by the house of representatives (the senate concurring), That the United States Congress be memorialized to prohibit the importation of coconut oil, peanuts, cottonseed, and other for-eign oils and fats into this country, and further, that the importation of jute be curtailed and prohibited; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to each member of the Georgia congressional delegation in the Congress, and that they be urged to launch a movement in the Congress to bring about the prohibitions herein suggested.

Mr. GEORGE also presented the following concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Georgia, which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys:

Whereas title to Black-beard Island, off the coast of Georgia, is now lodged in the Government of the United States of America;

Whereas the said Black-beard Island, comprising approximately 1,500 acres, was acquired by the United States in 1799 for the pur-

pose of using the timber thereon for building wooden ships; and
Whereas it has not been used by the Federal Government for
years for any practical purposes and today is of no value, good, or
service to the United States or any citizen thereof in its present condition; and

Whereas the said Black-beard Island consists mainly of five sand beaches approximately 7 miles in length which would afford the State of Georgia a stretch of the very best beaches on the South Atlantic seaboard; and

Whereas the said Black-beard Island could be developed into a splendid and attractive recreational and vacational spot for the

people of our State by our State government; and
Whereas by acquisition of this land by the State there would
accrue to the State government considerable money each year from
the sale and rentals of property on this island: Therefore be it
Resolved by the house of representatives (the senate concurring).

That the Governor be requested to immediately importune the Government of the United States to cede and deed the said Blackbeard Island back to the State of Georgia; and also that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to each Member of the Senate and House from Georgia in our National Assembly.

## COMMITTEE REPORTS FILED DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under authority of the order of the Senate of the 2d instant, the following reports were filed on February 3, 1939, during adjournment of the Senate:

Mr. ADAMS, from the Committee on Appropriations, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 2868) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and for other purposes, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 33) thereon.

Mr. HUGHES, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 764) for the relief of Charles F. Kegel, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 34) thereon.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. SHEPPARD, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 746) to authorize Maj. Andrew S. Rowan, United States Army, retired, to accept the Order Carlos Manuel de Céspedes tendered him by the Government of Cuba in appreciation of services rendered, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 35) thereon.

Mr. HATCH, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (S. 189) to provide for the confiscation of firearms in possession of persons convicted of felony and disposition thereof, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 36) thereon.

Mr. MILLER, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (S. 197) to amend the Judicial Code in respect to claims against the United States for just compensation, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 37) thereon.

INVESTIGATION OF RAILROADS, HOLDING COMPANIES, AND AFFILIATED COMPANIES (REPT. NO. 25, PT. 2)

Mr. WHEELER, from the Committee on Interstate Commerce, submitted a report, pursuant to Senate Resolution 71, Seventy-fourth Congress, relative to a problem in railroad reorganization; role of life insurance companies; Missouri Pacific system, which was ordered to be printed.

#### BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. WHITE:

S. 1185. A bill for the erection of a memorial to the memory of Maj. Gen. Henry Knox at Thomaston, Maine; to the Committee on the Library

By Mr. MILLER:

S. 1186. A bill for the relief of Herbert M. Snapp; to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, on behalf of the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER], the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. Murray], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Ash-URST], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. George], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN], and myself I introduce a bill dealing with the national defense, and ask that it be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill introduced by the Senator from Arkansas and other Senators will be received and

referred as requested.

By Mr. MILLER, Mr. WHEELER, Mr. MURRAY, Mr. ASHURST, Mr. GEORGE, and Mr. McCarran:

S. 1187. A bill to provide for the common defense by acquiring stocks of strategic and critical raw materials, concentrates, and alloys essential to the needs of industry for the manufacture of supplies for the armed forces and the civilian population in time of a national emergency, and to encourage, as far as possible, the further development of strategic and critical mineral resources within the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ADAMS:

S. 1188. A bill to authorize the setting apart and preservation of wilderness areas in national parks and national monuments, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. PITTMAN:

S. 1189. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act for the grading and classification of clerks in the Foreign Service of the United States of America, and providing compensation therefor," approved February 23, 1931; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. OVERTON. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill fixing the amount of annual payment by the United States toward defraying the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill of the Senator from Louisiana will be received and appropriately referred.

S. 1190. A bill to fix the amount of the annual payment by the United States toward defraying the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

S. 1191. A bill for the relief of Charles D. Cunningham (with accompanying papers); and

S.1192. A bill for the relief of William A. Cunningham (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GIBSON:

S. 1193. A bill to create an executive department of the Government to be known as the Department of Territories and Insular Affairs; to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. McNARY:

S. 1194. A bill relating to the making of reclamation homestead entries by persons who have relinquished similar entries to the Secretary of the Interior; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

S. 1195. A bill authorizing an appropriation of \$50,000 for the purchase of the compilation of place names compiled by the late William G. Steel; to the Committee on the Library.

S. 1196. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Miller; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NEELY:

S. 1197. A bill for the relief of James F. Allen and others; S. 1198. A bill to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Asa S. Hugill;

S. 1199. A bill for the relief of Sherman W. White; and

S. 1200. A bill for the relief of Lydia A. Thompson; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1201. A bill granting a pension to Rosa Belle Abbott;

S. 1202. A bill granting a pension to Edward L. Pinney; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PEPPER:

S. 1203. A bill for the establishment of a system of regional industrial banks so as to furnish additional credit and capital facilities for business purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 1204. A bill to modify the project for improvement of Palm Beach Harbor, Fla.; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 1205. A bill to provide for an additional United States district attorney in the southern district of Florida; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 1206. A bill for the relief of the Gibbs Gas Engine Co. of Florida; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. THOMAS of Utah:

S. 1207. A bill to provide for the transfer of United States Employment Service records, files, and property in local offices to the States; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. BANKHEAD:

S. 1208. A bill to amend section 8 (c) (4) of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act; and

S. 1209. A bill to extend the time for retirement of cotton pool participation trust certificates; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. TOBEY:

S. 1210. A bill relating to the times for making payments of compensation to persons employed on Works Progress Administration projects; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. TRUMAN:

S. 1211. A bill for the relief of Jesse Claud Branson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SCHWELLENBACH:

S. 1212. A bill to ratify and confirm certain interest rates on loans made from the revolving fund authorized by section 6 of the Agricultural Marketing Act, approved June 15, 1929 (46 Stat. 11), and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. McCARRAN:

S. 1213. A bill making an appropriation to provide for the acquisition of certain lands for addition to the Tahoe National Forest in the State of Nevada; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. McCARRAN and Mr. MURRAY:

S. 1214. A bill to provide for a more permanent tenure for persons carrying the mail on star routes; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. CLARK of Missouri:

S. 1215. A bill to amend the Canal Zone Code; to the Committee on Interoceanic Canals.

By Mr. WHEELER:

S. 1216 (by request). A bill to amend the act of May 18, 1928 (45 Stat. 603, ch. 626), authorizing an appropriation for the purpose of making additions to the Absaroka and Gallatin National Forests, and to improve and extend the winter-feed facilities of the elk, antelope, and other game animals of Yellowstone National Park and adjacent land, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

S. 1217. A bill for the relief of Elizabeth Davis; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1218. A bill to amend the Social Security Act by providing grants to the States for assistance to needy incapacitated adults; and

S. 1219. A bill providing for continuing retirement pay under certain conditions of officers and former officers of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps of the United States, other than officers of the Regular Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, who incurred physical disability while in the service of the United States during the World War; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. REYNOLDS:

S. 1220. A bill for the relief of Minnie Greene; and S. 1221. A bill for the relief of Lina Whitson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

S. 1222. A bill authorizing an appropriation for payment to the Osage Tribe of Indians on account of lands sold by the United States; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. WHEELER:

S. 1223. A bill to amend the act of July 3, 1930, entitled "An act for the rehabilitation of the Bitter Root irrigation project, Montana," as amended by the act of August 26, 1935 (49 Stat. 799); to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

By Mr. HAYDEN:

S. 1224. A bill for the relief of Eugene Kramer; to the Committee on Immigration.

S. 1225. A bill for the relief of August R. Lundstrom; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WHEELER:

S. J. Res. 53. Joint resolution providing for an investigation of the feasibility and desirability of fixing railroad rates on the basis of zones; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

PRINTING OF ADDITIONAL HEARINGS FOR TEMPORARY NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

Mr. O'MAHONEY submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 3), which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That in accordance with paragraph 3 of section 2 of the Printing Act approved March 1, 1907, the Temporary National Economic Committee of the Congress be, and is hereby, empowered to procure the printing of 5,000 additional copies of part 1 and each subsequent part of the hearings held before the said committee, who are directed by Public Resolution No. 113, approved June 16, 1938, to make a full and complete study and investigation with respect to the concentration of economic power in, and financial control over, production and distribution of goods and services.

TOLERANCE IN DEMOCRACY—ADDRESS BY SENATOR SCHWELLENBACH

[Mr. Truman asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a radio address on the subject Tolerance in Democracy, delivered by Senator Schwellenbach on February 5, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.] RADIO ADDRESS ON THE W. P. A. BY SENATOR HOLT

IMr. Holy asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a radio address on W. P. A., delivered by him on January 28, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### RECLAMATION-ADDRESS BY JOHN C. PAGE

[Mr. Wheeler asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address on the subject Reclamation Fulfills Its Mission, prepared by John C. Page, Commissioner of Reclamation, and delivered in the Yellowstone National Park on June 23, 1938, by Roy B. Williams, Assistant Commissioner, which appears in the Appendix.1

#### MODERN AIR POWER-ADDRESS BY GEN. FRANK M. ANDREWS

IMr. REYNOLDS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address on the subject of modern air power, delivered by Maj. Gen. Frank M. Andrews before the National Aeronautical Association at St. Louis, Mo., January 16, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.1

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR-ADDRESS BY A. F. W. SIEBEL

IMr. Lewis asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address on the history of the Spanish-American War, delivered by A. F. W. Siebel, on September 17, 1936. at a meeting of the Evanston Camp, Fifty-seventh Department of Illinois, U. S. W. V., which appears in the Appendix.]

## FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

[Mr. Logan asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article relating to the foreign policy of the United States, written by Frederic William Wile and published in the Washington Star of February 3, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### SALE OF WAR MATERIALS TO JAPAN

[Mr. NEELY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette on the subject of the exportation of war materials to Japan, which appears in the Appendix.]

# CONSIDERATION OF BILLS ON THE CALENDAR

The VICE PRESIDENT. Routine morning business having been concluded, the clerk will proceed to call the calendar.

# BILL PASSED OVER

The bill (S. 326) for the payment of awards and appraisals heretofore made in favor of citizens of the United States on claims presented under the General Claims Convention of September 8, 1923, United States and Mexico, was announced as first in order.

Mr. ADAMS. I ask that the bill go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

#### LULU M. PEIPER

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 117) for the relief of Lulu M. Peiper, which had been reported from the Committee on Claims with an amendment at the end of the bill to add a proviso, so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Lulu M. Peiper, of Wallingford, Conn., the sum of \$5,000 in full settlement of all claims against the United States for the death of her son, Raymond E. Monson, late apprentice seaman, United States Navy, who was killed in the performance of his duties at Newport, R. I., on May 14, 1928: Provided, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person yielating contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

# INTERSTATE OPERATION OF MOTOR VEHICLES

The bill (S. 25) prohibiting the operation of motor vehicles in interstate commerce by unlicensed operators was announced as next in order.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I should like to have an explanation of that bill.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, the Senator from Montana [Mr. Wheeler], who reported the bill, is in the Chamber. I suggest to him that an explanation has been requested of Senate bill 25.

Mr. WHEELER. Let the bill go over for the time being. The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

Mr. TRUMAN subsequently said: Mr. President, I was absent from the Chamber a moment ago when Senate bill 25 was reached on the calendar and was passed over at the request of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNary]. I ask unanimous consent to return to the bill in order that I may make an explanation of it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to returning to the bill.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, is that the bill to which I objected a few moments ago?

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is.

Mr. TRUMAN. It is the drivers' license bill.

Mr. McNARY. I asked that the bill go over for want of an explanation; but if the Senator from Missouri desires to explain it, I shall be very glad to listen to his explanation.

Mr. TRUMAN. Mr. President, the bill merely sets out certain requirements which drivers must meet before licenses may be issued to them in their various States; that is, certain requirements with which they must comply before they may cross a State line in driving an automobile from State to State.

There are now 11 States in the Union which have strict requirements for drivers' licenses. There are 22 States in the Union which have requirements that are standard under the requirements of the bill. The bill in no way infringes States' rights. It merely requires that a driver have a State license. federally recognized, which complies with certain requirements.

It has been stated by various statistical reporting agencies that out of 40,000 fatal automobile accidents last year, 2 out of every 3 were cases in which the driver did not know what he was doing at the time the accident happened. If strict drivers' license requirements were now in effect, it is my opinion that more than 33 1/3 percent of the deaths in the United States from automobile accidents would be prevented.

This bill will not go into effect for 4 years, and will give all the States a chance to enact the required legislation. A bill in similar terms passed the Senate last year by unanimous

Mr. McNARY. In view of that explanation, I have no objection to the consideration of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That no person, except those hereinafter expressly exempted, shall operate any motor vehicle in interstate commerce or foreign commerce unless such person has in his immediate possession a valid license, issued under the laws of a State conforming to the requirements set forth in section 2, permitting him to operate such vehicle in the State in which the license was issued: Provided, however, That nothing contained in this act shall be construed to authorize a person to drive or to operate a vehicle engaged in the transportation of persons and property in interstate or foreign commerce in violation of such regulations as the Interstate Commerce Commission may from time to time issue.

SEC. 2. No license shall be held to permit the operation of a motor vehicle in interstate commerce under the first section of this act unless the law of the State in which the license was issued provides—

(a) That no license permitting the operation of a motor vehicle shall be issued except to persons passing an examination which includes a test of the applicant's eyesight (with or without spectacles), his ability to read and understand highway signs regulating, warning, and directing traffic, and an actual demonstration of ability to exercise ordinary and reasonable control in the operation of a motor vehicle. of a motor vehicle.

(b) That such license must be renewed at least once in each 3-year period.(c) That it shall be unlawful for any person to (1) display or

have in his possession any canceled, revoked, suspended, fictitious,

or fraudulently altered license, or (2) to lend his license to any other person or knowingly permit the use thereof by another.

(d) That no such license shall be issued to a person who is not

16 or more years of age.(e) That such license shall contain a full and complete descrip-

tion of the person to whom it was issued.

(f) That such license may be revoked or suspended by the proper authorities.

SEC. 3. Any person operating a motor vehicle in interstate commerce shall display his license upon the demand of any law enforcement officer, but no person shall be convicted for a failure to so display his license if he produces in court a license issued to him and valid at the time of such alleged failure.

SEC. 4. Any person who violates any provision of this act shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than \$300.

SEC. 5. (a) As used in this act—

(1) The term "license" means a license or operator's permit for the operation of motor vehicles.

(2) The term "State" means any of the several States or the District of Columbia.
(3) The term "interstate commerce" means transportation (in-"State" means any of the several States or the

(3) The term "interstate commerce" means transportation (including the propulsion of a motor vehicle under its own power) from a point in one State to a destination in another State or between points in the same State but through another State; and the term "foreign commerce" means transportation (including the propulsion of a motor vehicle under its own power) from a point in the United States to a point in a foreign country, or between points in the United States and through any foreign country. The operation of a motor vehicle, in any State, on which there are registration or license plates issued by another State shall create a presumption that such vehicle is being operated in interstate or foreign commerce, but such presumption shall not be conclusive.

(b) The provisions of this act shall not apply to any person

(b) The provisions of this act shall not apply to any person while operating a motor vehicle in the service of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States.

SEC. 6. This act shall take effect 4 years after the date of its enactment.

#### PASSAMAQUODDY BAY TIDAL POWER PROJECT

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 57) authorizing the Secretary of War to cause a completion of surveys, test borings, and foundation investigations to be made to determine the advisability and cost of putting in a small experimental plant for development of tidal power in the waters in and about Passamaquoddy Bay, the cost thereof to be paid from appropriations heretofore or hereafter made for such examinations, was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of War is authorized and directed to cause a completion of surveys, test borings, and foundation investigations to be made to determine the advisability and cost of putting in a small experimental plant for the development of tidal power in the waters in and about Passamaquoddy Bay, the cost thereof to be paid from appropriations heretofore or here-after made for examinations, surveys, and contingencies of rivers and harbors, and that the Secretary shall report to the Senate as soon as possible the results of said surveys, borings, and investi-gations and his recommendations as to the putting in of such experimental plant.

## APPORTIONMENT OF UNPLANTED COTTON ACREAGE ALLOTMENTS

The bill (S. 660) to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to provide for the reapportionment of cotton acreage allotments not planted by farmers entitled thereto was announced as next in order.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, may we have an explanation of this bill?

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, this is the same amendment which passed the House and Senate last year to unfreeze certain allotments for cotton or wheat, and turn them back and have them reallotted to other farmers.

For instance, a farmer is allotted 100 acres of cotton. He does not want to plant more than 50 acres, and he would like to turn back the other 50 acres so that some other farmer who wants it may be allotted that 50 acres. This bill chiefly affects Oklahoma. Last year, as a result of a similar amendment, 235,000 acres of frozen allotments were unfrozen in Oklahoma, about 100,000 acres in Texas, and about 50,000 acres in Arkansas. The bill affects principally areas where wheat meets cotton, so to speak. There was no objection at all to similar legislation last year, and this bill simply extends the date of the legislation then enacted, making it a part of the act.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, to whom are the defrozen acres released? That is, are they released to the county allotment committee, or back to the State?

Mr. LEE. They are released back to the State. However, last year the Senator from Arkansas offered an amendment. which was accepted, giving preference to the counties; and that, of course, is still the law, and would be under this

Mr. MILLER. That is what I had in mind. In other words, this bill makes no change in the bill which we passed last year?

Mr. LEE. That is correct.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, how many acres are affected by the unfreezing process which the Senator has mentioned?

Mr. LEE. Last year, 235,000 acres were affected in Oklahoma, 100,000 acres in Texas, and 50,000 acres in Arkansas. Mr. McNARY. Does the bill affect only three States?

Mr. LEE. I understand that it affects some of the other States, but to what extent I am not informed. Those were the ones chiefly affected.

Mr. McNARY. While these acres were frozen, did they receive any benefit payments from the Government? Did they receive any benefit payments under the program of 1938?

Mr. LEE. This was the law in 1938. This amendment simply extends the date of that law, and only those receive benefits who have allotments. Our State was entitled to some 300,000 acres of allotments which, without the amendment, we could not get.

Mr. McNARY. But those acres were idle and not used for productive purposes in 1938. Is not that true?

Mr. LEE. They would have been except for the amend-

Mr. McNARY. I understand that fully. What I desire to know is, and directly, whether they received any benefit payments from the Government while the lands were idle.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, the lands were not idle. This bill pertains only to States in which the farmers have an option. My State is on the border. My State can raise cotton and wheat on the same farm. My State is allotted a certain number of acres to plant in cotton. If some farmer entitled, say, to 100 acres of cotton should not see fit to raise cotton and should want to raise wheat, under the old law he could not change, and no one else could have that allocation of land.

So last year, when we found the error, Congress amended the law for 1 year, so that there was no vacant land in my State last year. Unless we now again amend the law and make it permanent legislation, when our farmers receive an allocation of land for cotton, if they do not want to use it, the acreage is frozen; no one else may use it. This bill seeks to make the status of that land such that the State authorities may give my State the benefit of the full acreage allocated to my State. Otherwise, we shall be denied the use of several hundred thousand acres of land that we might plant to cotton.

Mr. McNARY. Will the bill have the effect of contracting the cotton acreage and expanding the wheat acreage?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. No; it will have no effect at

Mr. McNARY. Apparently it will.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. My State has a certain number of acres of cotton land. One farmer does not see fit to raise cotton. Under the present law, no one else may use that acreage; but under the amendment the farmer may release the land if he does not want to use it, and the State authorities may allot it to some other farmer in my State; so the amendment does not increase the total acreage of cotton in my State.

Mr. McNARY. But would not the enactment of the bill have the effect of expanding the wheat acreage?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Not more so than the present law. Of course, the farmer has the option of raising what he pleases. He must receive an allotment of wheat acreage before he may raise wheat.

Mr. McNARY. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. The bill simply makes the law so liberal and so elastic that the State authorities may give my State its full quota of cotton land and its full quota of wheat land, so that my State may have the benefit of all the law allows. Otherwise, we shall not have that benefit.

Mr. McNARY. How many States are affected by the bill? Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. In the main, the border States, the States that can raise both wheat and cotton.

Mr. McNARY. What is the total acreage that it is desired to unfreeze?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. About 235,000 acres in Oklahoma.

Mr. McNARY. But what is the total of the border States? Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I cannot answer as to the other States, but the acreage is not so large. I think my State has the largest amount.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I really did not know this bill was on the calendar until it was called. I did not know it was before the Agricultural Committee of the Senate. I do not want to delay and I never do unnecessarily delay any legislation; but I ask that the bill go over today, so that I may look into it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

Mr. McNARY subsequently said: Mr. President, I should like to say to the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Lee] that when the calendar was called I objected to the present consideration of Senate bill 660. After reading the bill I find that the same principle that obtained in 1938 will obtain in 1939 and hereafter under the law. So I withdraw my objection.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, I ask that the bill be put on

its passage.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That subsection (h) of section 344 of the Be it enacted, etc., That subsection (a) of section 344 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is amended by striking out the words "for the crop year 1938" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "for any crop year"; and by striking out the words "for 1938" where they appear in the first proviso of such subsection.

#### JOHN R. HOLT

The bill (S. 584) for the relief of John R. Holt was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to John R. Holt, major, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army, the sum of \$1,507.26, or so much thereof as shall have been collected from him prior to the passage of this act, in full and final settlement of all claims whatsoever against the United States for a stoppage in his pay on account of the embezzlement of public funds by a civilian employee of the office of the quartermaster, Fort Jay, N. Y., from July 1, 1925, to February 28, 1931, while Major Holt was on duty as property and salvage officer at Fort Jay, N. Y.: Provided, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

NOLA D. COCKE

#### NOLA D. COCKE

The bill (S. 1076) for the relief of the widow of the late William J. Cocke was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be is enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Nola Dilworth Cocke, widow of the late William J. Cocke, of North Carolina, the sum of widow of the late William J. Cocke, of North Carolina, the sum of \$9,116.88, in full settlement of all claims against the Government for losses growing out of contracts with the War Department; one dated July 1, 1918, for the purchase of garbage from Camp Greene, eituated at or near the city of Charlotte, N. C.; and the other dated September 3, 1918, for Camp Wadsworth, situated at or near the city of Spartanburg, S. C.: Provided, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or agents, attorney or attorneys, on account of services rendered in connection with said claim. It shall be unlawful for any agent or agents, attorney or attorneys, to exact, collect, withhold, or receive any sum of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof on account of services rendered in connection with said claim, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding

#### PHERNE MILLER

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 279) for the relief of Pherne Miller, which had been reported from the Committee on Claims with an amendment at the end of the bill to add a proviso so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Pherne Miller, of Washington, D. C., the sum of \$200 in full satisfaction of her claim against the United States for compensation for services performed by her in making drawings for the United States George Washington Bicenmaking drawings for the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission during the year 1931: Provided, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

## MARGARET ROSE UNCAPHER AND OTHERS

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 529) for the relief of Margaret Rose Uncapher, Milton E. Uncapher, Jr., and Andrew G. Uncapher, which had been reported from the Committee on Claims with an amendment, on page 1, line 8, after the figures "\$901.60," to strike out "together with interest thereon at the rate of 6 percent per annum from July 14, 1936, to date of payment," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of appropriation for "Emergency construction of public buildings, act of August 12, 1935," to Margaret Rose Uncapher, Milton E. Uncapher, Jr., and Andrew G. Uncapher, of Vandergrift, Pa., the sum of \$901.60, as payment in full satisfaction of the amount of balance of just compensation claimed to be due them on account of the taking of their lands by the United States through condemnation proceedings for a post-office site at Vandergrift, Pa.: Provided, That he part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 perno part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 peror attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed gullty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

## ALLOWANCE OF CREDITS TO DISBURSING OFFICERS

The bill (S. 885) to authorize and direct the Comptroller General of the United States to allow credit for all outstanding disallowances and suspensions in the accounts of the disbursing officers or agents of the Government for payments made to certain employees appointed by the United States Employees' Compensation Commission, was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That nothwithstanding the provisions of section 203 of the act of June 30, 1932 (47 Stat. 403), as continued in effect during the fiscal years 1934 and 1935 by section 4 (a) of the act of March 3, 1933 (47 Stat. 1513), and section 24 of the act of March 28, 1934 (48 Stat. 522), the Comptroller General of the United States is hereby authorized and directed to allow credit for all otherwise proper payments made to employees appointed by the United States Employees' Compensation Computers with by the United States Employees' Compensation Commission, with-out approval by the President of the United States, to fill vacan-cies resulting from the advancement of employees of lower grades in connection with the filling of a vacancy which the President had authorized to be filled; and no amount so paid shall be charged against or recovered from the employees to whom such payments were made.

# MIKE CHETKOVICH

The bill (S. 1093) for the relief of Mike Chetkovich was announced as next in order.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let the bill go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

OPENING OF SENATE SESSIONS WITH PRAYER

The resolution (S. Res. 8) providing for the opening of each calendar day's session of the Senate with prayer was read, considered, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Chaplain shall open each calendar day's session of the Senate with prayer.

DEFINITION OF TERM "ONE DAY'S NOTICE" IN SENATE RULE

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution (S. Res. 58), which was read, as follows:

Resolved, That rule XL of the Standing Rules of the Senate be, and it is hereby, amended by adding, at the end thereof, the following:

"The one day's notice, required hereunder, in the case of a proposed suspension of a rule or part thereof, shall be deemed to mean a calendar day's notice."

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I intend to ask that this resolution go over, not because I am opposed to the resolution but because the question of the definition of a "day" ought to be clarified throughout the rules of the Senate.

The question of what "1 day" means arises several times in the consideration of the rules of the Senate, notably in connection with the question of the approval of the Journal, notably in connection with the question of recognition on 1 day. While I am entirely in sympathy with the proposal here made, it seems to me it ought to be extended to cover the definition of "day" wherever that term occurs in the rules of the Senate, and I should like to see the resolution broadened so as to cover the definition of the term wherever it occurs in the rules. Therefore, because I think it affects but a part of a more important subject, I ask that the resolution go over.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, there are two or three cases in which it is just as important that this question ought to be determined, for instance, in connection with the rule governing a motion to reconsider, in which the word "day" is used. We have always been interpreting the word "day" to mean legislative day, unless the rule expressly states "calendar day"

There is a resolution, which I offered, and which has been reported favorably by the Committee on Rules, which deals with just one question, a motion to suspend, modify, or amend a rule. The present rule requires that I day's notice in writing shall be given of such a motion. The Senate might be in recess from day to day for a month in which there would be but I legislative day, and the question might be raised as to whether the motion might not have to await the beginning of another legislative day. It is true that presiding officers have always held that in that particular case a calendar day was meant. The pending resolution is offered merely to carry out the rulings of the Senate in regard to that matter by indicating that a calendar day is meant.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?
Mr. PITTMAN. In just a moment. The Senator from Missouri feels that this question ought to be clarified in connection with other matters of the same kind. For instance, in the rule governing notice of motion to reconsider a vote it is provided that such a motion must be made within 2 days of the decision of the question. That might mean 2 legislative days, and therefore might run over a month, so that the amendment of the rules might not be accomplished properly until the main subject had been disposed of. While presiding officers have constantly held that the expression meant a calendar day, by virtue of necessity, that has not been according to a strict interpretation of the rules.

In conferring with the chairman of the Committee on Rules just now I called his attention to that matter, and he agrees with the suggestion; and I had intended to offer a resolution covering the subject today.

The only objection I have to the suggestion of the Senator from Missouri is that I think it would be better to proceed to clarify the ambiguous provisions as we come to them.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, "1 day" appears several different times in the rules of the Senate, and it seems to me there should be a uniform construction of that term. It is constantly a subject of recurring debate, and sometimes there is acrimonious argument as to what the term "1 day" does mean.

I recall that a few years ago, in the consideration of a very important matter, the Senator who now occupies the floor being then in the chair, question was raised as to what the rule actually meant when it provided that a Senator should not address the Senate oftener than twice on the same day on any one question. Contrary rulings have been made by the Chair as to what "day" meant where that expression occurred at other places in the rules of the Senate, but the eminent President pro tempore of the Senate ruled that in the case of a Senator being permitted to address the Senate the term in the rule meant a legislative day.

It seems to me the definition as to these terms should be uniform, and should be made specific, so that the Senate would know what the practice of the Senate is and what the rules are, and what the rights of Senators are in debate on the floor, and that it should not be left for determination until a filibuster may be in progress, or the matter has to be decided in the heat of debate, and with reference to particular issues then pending before the Senate. I believe the Senate should soberly and seriously decide what these definitions should be. and decide what the rules and precedents ought to be. My objection does not go in the least to the particular measure proposed by the Senator from Nevada as to the particular rule covered, because I am thoroughly in favor of his suggestion. but to the fact that there ought to be a general recasting of definitions of terms in the Senate rules, and more particularly with regard to the definition of the particular term here in question, namely, the word "day."

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, let me suggest that while the President pro tempore has been in the Chair he has attempted to conform to the general rulings on subjects. The President pro tempore realizes that there should be a very careful study of the rules. I will say to the Senator from Missouri, however, that in the 26 years I have been here, a great many attempts have been made to amend the rules, and, so far as I recall, none of them has ever succeeded. I thought it probably would be advisable to amend the rules in those particulars as to which we all agree, and then, as we find other rules which ought to be modified, amend them if possible.

Mr. GERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. PITTMAN. I yield.

Mr. GERRY. I merely wanted to ask the Senator why the subject matter of his resolution could not be considered along with the amendment the Senator from Missouri has in mind. It seems to me that if we handle the matter piecemeal, it will not be as well handled, because some of us might be willing to favor this proposed amendment if we could have other amendments made as well.

Mr. PITTMAN. I merely suggest that for 25 years we have been trying to amend the rules, and I do not know that we have ever accomplished anything along that line. Certainly when the Senate agrees unanimously on a certain amendment of the rules, it is better policy to move along that line

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. PITTMAN. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. Is not the so-called "legislative day" a mere fiction, after all? A couple of years ago it was held by the presiding officer—I do not know whether or not it was the President pro tempore—that when the term "day" occurs in the rules, it does not necessarily mean a day, but may mean 6 weeks, or 6 months, depending on how long a legislative day may run.

I am in agreement with the Senator from Missouri. The term "day" ought to mean a day wherever it occurs in the rules. I do not think we ought to say that the term "day" in one place means one thing and that "day" in another

place means something else. The Senator from Nevada is a member of the Committee on Rules, is he not?

Mr. PITTMAN. No; I am not.

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator used to be?

Mr. PITTMAN. No.

Mr. CONNALLY. Was not the Senator chairman at one time?

Mr. PITTMAN. No.

Mr. CONNALLY. It seems to me the Committee on Rules ought to be instructed to consider this matter and bring in a resolution, or whatever may be necessary, designed to make the term "day" mean the same throughout the whole body of the rules. I, myself, do not have any doubt as to what those who first used the term "day" meant. They meant a day. They were thinking about the calendar; they were not thinking about a fiction, an imaginary pretense of a day, when it is not a day.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I am advised, from the history of the discussion of the legislative day, that the legislative day was adopted in legislative bodies, generally speaking, for the purpose of making it possible to reach a final determination on some particular legislation. It was designed to hold a bill before the body until disposed of, and prevent the injection of other matters from time to time. There probably was in consideration also the prevention of a filibuster on

each calendar day.

We have so few rules in this body which give the Senate control over debates that it has seemed to some of us that two speeches on a bill, without limit, without the unanimous consent of the Senate-which can always be gotten if Senators have not finished their speeches—are sufficient to enable a Senator to debate his subject. But that is purely a matter of opinion. I do not know how long the Committee on Rules would discuss the subject, or how long the Senate would discuss it, because there can be unlimited debate in the discussion of whether we will amend the rules. We discovered that several years ago when we tried to have a cloture rule adopted. We never got to a vote on the cloture rule, because we debated it 4 or 5 weeks.

I still think, with the Senator from Missouri and the Senator from Texas, that it would be a very good thing to have certainty in the matter, but I have no hope of getting certainty in regard to some of these things very quickly, and therefore I hope to get certainty on the amendment covered

by the pending resolution, on which we agree.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Let me say, Mr. President, that in all cases in which there has been a construction of the rules as to the term "1 day," it has been held to mean a legislative day. I think the most easily determined of the questions is in connection with the rule in question, having to do with the suspension of the rule, because the usual occasion of the offering of a motion to suspend the rules is in the case of the presentation of amendments to a general appropriation bill embodying legislation, in contravention of the rules of the Senate. I think that is one case in which a certain amount of delay might always be desirable and helpful.

For the reasons stated, Mr. President, I ask that until this question can be considered in its entirety, the resolution now before the Senate go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Objection being heard, the resolution will be passed over.

#### FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 2868) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations with amendments.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will state in order the committee amendments.

The first amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, at the top of page 2, to insert the heading:

## TITLE I-GENERAL APPROPRIATIONS

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 2, after line 2, to insert: SENATE

For payment to Frances S. Copeland, widow of Hon. Royal S. Copeland, late a Senator from the State of New York, \$10,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 2, after line 6, to insert:

For miscellaneous items, exclusive of labor, fiscal year 1938,

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 2, after line 8, to

For miscellaneous items, exclusive of labor, fiscal year 1939, \$150,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 2, after line 10, to

For expenses of inquiries and investigations ordered by the Senate, including compensation to stenographers of committees, at such rate as may be fixed by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, but not exceeding 25 cents per hundred words, fiscal year 1939, \$100,000: Provided, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for per diem and subsistence expenses except in accordance with the provisions of the Subsistence Expense Act of 1926, approved June 3, 1926, as

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3, after line 8, to insert:

#### INDEPENDENT ESTABLISHMENTS

#### MOUNT RUSHMORE NATIONAL MEMORIAL COMMISSION

Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission: For an additional amount for carrying into effect the provisions of the Mount Rushmore Memorial Act of 1938, fiscal year 1939, \$75,000: Pro-vided, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for work on any figure, in addition to the four figures authorized by law, upon which work had not commenced as of June 22, 1936.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3, after line 17, to

#### SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD

Grants to States for unemployment compensation administration, Social Security Board: For an additional amount for grants to States for unemployment compensation administration as author-ized in title III of the Social Security Act, approved August 14, 1935, fiscal year 1939, \$9,000,000.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I should like an explanation of the amendment on page 3, after line 17, relating to the Social Security Board.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, the occasion for the proposed appropriation is the report made by the Budget Director that the Social Security Board, under the provisions of the Social Security Act, is required to carry the administrative expenses of the State unemployment boards; that is, provide all the money with which to pay the expenses of the State boards which distribute the unemployment funds contributed by the Federal Government. That is the existing provision of law. An unexpected number of States have joined with the Government in this matter. Some 18 States have joined. The time has now arrived when the Board is practically out of money. The sum provided in the committee amendment is necessary to enable the Board to meet the costs of the State boards.

It ought to be said in addition that this appropriation does not end the deficiency for the present fiscal year. The original Social Security Act authorized the appropriation of \$49,000,000 for the purpose in question. Forty million dollars has been appropriated. The appropriation in question is \$9,000,000, the remainder of the amount authorized. The Board advises us that the \$9,000,000 will not carry them clear to the end of the fiscal year, but the Appropriations Committee does not have authority to make further recommendations.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment on page 3 after line 17.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Department of Agriculture—Forest Service", on page 4, line 23, after the numerals "1940", to strike out "\$3,000,000" and insert "\$5,000,000", and on page 5, line 2, after the figures "\$300" and the colon, to strike out "Provided jurther, That the amount allocated for expenditure in any State of the amount herein appropriated shall be available when the State to which allocation has been made shall have made or shall make available a like sum from State funds for the purposes contained herein" and insert "Provided further, That of the amount herein appropriated the Federal Government shall not expend in any State an amount in excess of the amount heretofore or hereafter made available by said State, or the political subdivisions thereof, for the purposes contained in this paragraph", so as to read:

New England hurricane damage: For rehabilitation and reestablishment of forest protection improvements, reduction of forest-fire hazards, and prevention of forest fires on State, county, municipal, and private forest lands in the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecti-Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, that were damaged by the hurricane of September 1938, including the employment of persons and means in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, printing and binding, and the purchase, exchange, operation, and maintenance of passenger-carrying vehicles, fiscal year 1939, to remain available until June 30, 1940, \$5,000,000: Provided, That section 3709, Revised Statutes (41 U. S. C. 5), shall not apply in the case of any expenditure hereunder where the aggregate amount involved does not exceed \$300: Provided further, That of the amount herein appropriated the Federal Government shall not expend in any State an amount in excess of the amount heretofore or hereafter made available. in excess of the amount heretofore or hereafter made available by said State, or the political subdivisions thereof, for the pur-poses contained in this paragraph.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 5, line 15, after the word "For", to strike out "the eradication of white fringed beetles, for", and in line 25, after the numerals "1939", to strike out "\$2,000,000" and insert "\$5,417,000", so as to read:

#### BUREAU OF ENTOMOLOGY AND PLANT QUARANTINE

Control of incipient and emergency outbreaks of insect pests and control of incipient and emergency outbreaks of insect pests and plant diseases: For carrying out the purposes and provisions of, and for expenditures authorized under, Public Resolution No. 91, Seventy-fifth Congress, entitled "Joint resolution to amend the joint resolution entitled 'Joint resolution making funds available for the control of incipient or emergency outbreaks of insect pests or plant diseases, including grasshoppers, Mormon crickets, and chinch bugs, approved April 6, 1937," approved May 9, 1938 (52 Stat. 344, 1126), fiscal year 1939, to remain available until December 31, 1939, \$5,417,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President I send to the desk an amendment, which I ask to have stated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated. The CHIEF CLERK. On page 5, after line 25, it is proposed to insert the following:

#### VITICULTURAL MARKETING REGULATIONS

Amend section 508 of an act entitled the "Liquor Tax Administration Act of June 26, 1936," which reads:
"Sec. 508. This title, except sections 502, 505, and 507, shall take effect when a majority of the members of the Federal Alcohol Administration first appointed under the provisions of section 502

qualify and take office", by adding after the figures "505" the figures "506", so as to make and intending thereby to make section 506 of title V of said Liquor Tax Administration Act immediately effective.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, I have presented an amendment following line 25, on page 5. I call it to the attention of the Senator who is in charge of the bill, and I ask that he permit that amendment to be passed upon by the Senate. I recognize the parliamentary situation. I will state the purpose of the proposed amendment. There are certain kinds of liquors, particularly cognac, which are made in the State of California. Cognac made there comes under the designation "California cognac," so that there can be no deceit practiced and there can be no question as to where that liquor is manufactured. The Federal Alcohol Administration investigated the situation thoroughly at one

time, and held that liquor which was manufactured in a particular locality, and was so designated, should not be held to be within the purview of the prohibition of the sale of that sort of liquor. The French, of course, did not like our selling of liquor under the name of "cognac," and therefore it was that in some way-I do not know how-the report of the Federal Alcohol Administration and its ruling were overthrown. The Treasury Department held that the Federal Alcohol Administration had made an incorrect ruling. We want the law, therefore, to provide in so many words what the Federal Alcohol Administration had formerly decreed. and what is right and just and fair so far as these liquors are concerned.

I have offered the amendment, and I ask the Senator whether he will let the Senate pass upon it.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I regret very much that the obligation imposed upon me by the rules of the Appropriations Committee compels me to raise the point of order that the amendment proposes general legislation on an appropriation bill, because in its terms it is an amendment of the alcohol control law. I regret that I have to raise the point of order, I will say to the Senator from California, but that obligation is imposed upon me.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I think the point is well taken, Mr. President; but I threw myself for this time upon the mercy of the Senator from Colorado in the hope that the justice of the case being so appealing he would permit the amendment to go into the bill, as frequently amendments are permitted to be made to other appropriation bills.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The point of order is sustained. The next amendment was, at the top of page 6, to insert:

#### DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Claims for damages: For the payment of claims for damages to any person or damages to or loss of privately owned property caused by employees of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, acting within the scope of their employment, considered, adjusted, and determined by the Attorney General, under the provisions of the act entitled "An act to provide for the adjustment and settlement of certain claims arising out of the activities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation", approved March 20, 1936 (49 Stat. 1184), as fully set forth in Senate Document No. 16, Seventy-sixth Congress, \$215.47

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Department of Labor—Wage and Hour Division," on page 6, line 19, after the word "Division", to insert "to be expended under the direction of the Administrator"; in line 21, before the word "by", to strike out "it" and insert "him"; and on page 7, line 2, after the word "the", to strike out "Secretary of Labor" and insert "Administrator", so as to read:

Administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act, Department of Labor—Salaries and expenses: For an additional amount for all authorized and necessary expenses of the Wage and Hour Division, to be expended under the direction of the Administrator, in perto be expended under the direction of the Administrator, in performing the duties imposed upon him by the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, including personal services and rent in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, contract stenographic reporting services, travel expenses, including not to exceed \$2,500 for expenses of attendance at meetings concerned with the work of the Wage and Hour Division when incurred on the written authority of the Administrator, maintenance, repair, and operation of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles, printing and binding, lawbooks, books of reference, periodicals, manuscripts and special reports, newspapers and press clippings, supplies, office equipment, advertising, postage, telephone and telegraph service, reimbursement to State, Federal, and local agencies and their employees for services rendered, fiscal year 1939, \$850,000. dered, fiscal year 1939, \$850,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 8, after line 7, to insert:

NAVY DEPARTMENT

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Claims for damages by collision with naval vessels: To pay claims for damages adjusted and determined by the Secretary of the Navy under the provisions of the act entitled "An act to amend the act authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to settle claims for damages to private property arising from collisions with naval vessels", approved December 28, 1922, as fully set forth in Senate Document No. 15, Seventy-sixth Congress, \$9,474.92.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 8, after line 17, to insert.

BUREAU OF YARDS AND DOCKS, PUBLIC WORKS

Naval Proving Ground, Dahlgren, Va.: Purchase of land, \$100,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Treasury Department", on page 8, after line 21, to insert:

#### OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Claims for damages, operation of vessels, Coast Guard and Public Health Service: To pay claims for damages adjusted and determined by the Secretary of the Treasury under the provisions of the act entitled "An act to provide for the adjustment and settlement of certain claims for damages resulting from the operation of vessels of the Coast Guard and the Public Health Service, in sums not exceeding \$3,000 in any one case", approved June 15, 1936, as fully set forth in Senate Document No. 19, Seventy-sixth Congress, \$549.58. Congress, \$549.58.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 9, after line 7, to strike out:

#### PROCUREMENT DIVISION, PUBLIC BUILDINGS BRANCH

Bureau of the Census Building, Department of Commerce, Wash-Bureau of the Census Building, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.: For the acquisition of the necessary land and the construction of a building for the Bureau of the Census of the Department of Commerce under the provisions of the Public Buildings Act approved May 25, 1926 (44 Stat. 630), as amended, including the extension of steam and water mains, removal or diversion of such sewers and utilities as may be necessary, and for administrative expenses in connection therewith, \$3,500,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 9, after line 17, to insert.

# WAR DEPARTMENT

#### CIVIL FUNCTIONS

#### OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Claims for damages to and loss of private property: To pay claims Claims for damages to and loss of private property. To pay chains for damages adjusted and determined by the Secretary of War under the provisions of an act entitled "An act making appropriation for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, and for other purposes", approved August 24, 1912, as fully set forth in Senate Document No. 14, Seventy-sixth Congress, \$785.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 10, after line 3, to insert:

### CORPS OF ENGINEERS

Claims for damages, river and harbor work: To pay claims for damages under river and harbor work adjusted and determined by the War Department under the provision of section 9 of the River and Harbor Act, approved June 5, 1920 (U. S. C., title 33, sec. 564), as set forth in Senate Document No. 18, Seventy-sixth Congress, \$1,047.22.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 10, after line 10, to strike

Sec. 2. This act may be cited as the First Deficiency Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1939.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 10, after line 12, to insert:

### TITLE II-JUDGMENTS AND AUTHORIZED CLAIMS PROPERTY DAMAGE CLAIMS

SEC. 201. For the payment of claims for damages to or losses of SEC. 201. For the payment of claims for damages to or losses or privately owned property, adjusted and determined by the following respective departments and independent offices, under the provisions of the act entitled "An act to provide a method for the settlement of claims arising against the Government of the United States in the sums not exceeding \$1,000 in any one case", approved December 28, 1922 (U. S. C., title 31, secs 215–217), as fully set forth in Senate Document No. 9 of the Seventy-sixth Congress, as

Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, \$265.91;
Works Progress Administration, \$11,058.33;
Department of Agriculture, \$6,002.39;
Department of Commerce, \$1,157.84;
Department of the Interior, \$3,043.02;
Department of Labor, \$22.11;
Navy Department, \$1,537.84;
Treasury Department, \$1,537.84;
Treasury Department, \$519.32;
War Department, \$8,269.38;
Post Office Department (payable from postal revenues), \$1,789.15;
In all, \$33,665.29.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 11, after line 13, to insert:

LXXXIV-73

#### JUDGMENTS, UNITED STATES COURTS

Sec. 202. (a) For payment of the final judgments and decrees, including costs of suits, which have been rendered under the provisions of the act of March 3, 1887, entitled "An act to provide for the bringing of suits against the Government of the United States", as amended by the Judicial Code, approved March 3, 1911 (28 U. S. C. 41, 258, 761-765), certified to the Seventy-sixth Congress in Senate Document No. 12, under the following departments and establishments, namely:

Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, \$3,700:

Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, \$3,700; War Department, \$5,080; In all, \$8,780, together with such additional sum as may be necessary to pay interest and costs as specified in such judgments or as provided by law.

or as provided by law.

(b) For the payment of judgments, including costs of suit, rendered against the Government of the United States by a United States district court under the provisions of an act entitled "An act authorizing suits against the United States in admiralty for damages caused by and salvage services rendered to public vessels belonging to the United States, and for other purposes", approved March 3, 1925 (46 U. S. C. 781-789), certified to the Seventy-sixth Congress in Senate Document No. 12, under the following departments: Navy Department, \$8,042.50; War Department, \$897;

War Department, \$687, In all, \$8,939.50.

(c) For payment of judgments, including costs of suits, rendered against the Government of the United States by United States district courts pursuant to authority contained in certain private acts, or other special cases, and certified to the Seventy-sixth Congress in Senate Document No. 12, under the following departments, namely: departments, namely:
Treasury Department, \$102.95;
War Department, \$10,096.17;
In all, \$10,199.12.

(d) None of the judgments contained under this caption shall be paid until the right of appeal shall have expired except such as have become final and conclusive against the United States by failure of

the parties to appeal or otherwise.

(e) Payment of interest wherever provided for judgments contained in this act shall not in any case continue for more than 30 days after the date of approval of the act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 13, after line 9, to insert:

### JUDGMENTS, COURT OF CLAIMS

SEC. 203. (a) For payment of the judgments rendered by the Court of Claims and reported to the Seventy-sixth Congress in Senate Document No. 11, under the following departments and establishments, namely:
Interstate Commerce Commission, \$92.15:

Interstate Commerce Commission, \$92.15;
Department of the Interior, \$2,688.33;
Department of Labor, \$17,948.62;
Navy Department, \$1,570.67;
Post Office Department, \$36,661.27;
War Department, \$72,275.85;
In all, \$131,236.89, together with such additional sum as may be necessary to pay interest as and where specified in such judgments.

(b) None of the judgments contained under this caption shall be paid until the right of appeal shall have expired, except such as have become final and conclusive against the United States by failure of the parties to appeal or otherwise.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 14, after line 2, to insert:

# AUDITED CLAIMS

Sec. 204. For the payment of the following claims, certified to be due by the General Accounting Office under appropriations the balances of which have been carried to the surplus fund under the provisions of section 5 of the act of June 20, 1874 (31 U. S. C. 713), and under appropriations heretofore treated as permanent, being for the carried to the surplus funds and under appropriations heretofore treated as permanent, being for the service of the fiscal year 1936 and prior years, unless otherwise stated, and which have been certified to Congress under section 2 of the act of July 7, 1884 (5 U. S. C. 266), as fully set forth in Senate Document No. 10, Seventy-sixth Congress, there is appropriated as follows:

Legislative: For public printing and binding, Government Printing Office, \$158.40.

Independent offices: For salaries and expenses, Board of Tax Appeals, \$327.81.

For Federal Civil Works Administration, \$1,272.36.

For National Industrial Recovery, Civil Works Administration,

\$115.40.

For employees' compensation fund, Civil Works, \$1.67.

For agricultural credits and rehabilitation, emergency relief,

For farmers' crop production and harvesting loans, Farm Credit Administration, \$652.50.

For loans to farmers in drought- and storm-stricken areas,

emergency relief, \$221.46.

For loans to farmers in storm- and flood-stricken areas, Southeastern States, \$120.83.

For loans and relief in stricken agricultural areas (transfer to Farm Credit Administration), \$926.02.

For salaries and expenses, Federal Communications Commission. \$2.30.

on, \$2.50. For Interstate Commerce Commission, \$9,493.12. For National Industrial Recovery, National Recovery Administration. \$5.75.

For operations under Mineral Act of October 5, 1918, \$128,117.51. For Public Works Administration, allotment to National Resources Board, \$52.02.

For Securities and Exchange Commission, \$2.
For salaries and expenses, Social Security Board, \$66.97.
For Army pensions, \$80.
For Army and Navy pensions, \$160.56.
For investigation of pension cases, Bureau of Pensions, \$1.
For military and naval compensation, Veterans' Bureau, \$60.
For military and naval incurrence Veterans' Bureau, \$7.00.

For military and naval compensation, Veterans' Bureau, \$60. For military and naval insurance, Veterans' Bureau, \$7.29. For medical and hospital services, Veterans' Bureau, \$62.23. For salaries and expenses, Veterans' Administration, \$2,376.77. Department of Agriculture: For salaries and expenses, Library, Department of Agriculture, \$27.05. For salaries and expenses, Weather Bureau, \$53.97. For salaries and expenses, Bureau of Animal Industry, \$267.42. For salaries and expenses, Bureau of Plant Industry, \$3.97. For salaries and expenses, Forest Service, \$348.03. For salaries and expenses, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, \$20.13.

\$30.13.

For salaries and expenses, Bureau of Biological Survey, \$14.44. For salaries and expenses, Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, \$31.02.

For salaries and expenses, Bureau of Entomology, \$13.05. For salaries and expenses, Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine, 52 cents.

tuarantine, 52 cents.
For salaries and expenses, Soil Conservation Service, \$28,245.87.
For elimination of diseased cattle, Department of Agriculture, \$143.

For grasshopper control, \$36.80.

For soil-erosion investigations, \$5.75. For plant reserve stations, Soil Conservation Service, \$27.97.

For payment to officers and employees of the United States in foreign countries due to appreciation of foreign currencies (Agriculture), \$192.70.

For general expenses, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, \$519.95.

\$519.95.
For working fund, Agriculture, Animal Industry (Agricultural Adjustment Administration), \$1,068.30.
For working fund, Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Administration (Federal Emergency Relief, surplus relief, National Industrial Recovery), \$1.35.
For working fund, Agriculture, Biological Survey (Federal Emergency Relief, surplus relief, National Industrial Recovery), \$2.
For Emergency Relief and Public Works, Agriculture, wildlife refuges, \$14.872.58.

refuges, \$14,872.58.

For Emergency Conservation fund (transfer from War to Agriculture, act March 31, 1933), \$41.21.

For Emergency Conservation fund (transfer from War to Agriculture, act June 19, 1934), \$147.11.

For loans and relief in stricken agricultural areas (transfer to

Agriculture), \$6,175.58.

For loans and relief in stricken agricultural areas (transfer to

Agriculture, silviculture), \$16.62.

For National Industrial Recovery, Resettlement Administration, subsistence homesteads (transfer to Agriculture), \$658.93.

subsistence homesteads (transfer to Agriculture), \$658.93.

For exportation and domestic consumption of agricultural commodities, Department of Agriculture, \$15,435.28.

Department of Commerce: For air-navigation facilities, \$891.97.

For general expenses, Lighthouse Service, \$2,149.34.

For payment to officers and employees of the United States in foreign countries due to appreciation of foreign currencies (Commerce), \$39.38.

For salaries and expenses, Social Security Act, Bureau of the Census, \$500.

Census, \$500.

For retired pay, Lighthouse Service, \$364. For aircraft in Commerce, \$15.90. For expenses of the Fourteenth Census, \$114.

For collecting statistics, Bureau of the Census, \$5.
For transportation of families and effects of officers and employees,
Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, \$240.

For contingent expenses, Steamboat Inspection Service, 95 cents. For export industries, Department of Commerce, \$9.78. For salaries and expenses, Bureau of Navigation and Steamboat Inspection, \$11.66.

Department of the Interior: For National Park Service, \$1,560.37. For salaries and expenses, public buildings outside the District of Columbia, National Park Service, \$110.31.

For salaries and commissions of registers, \$141.23.

For salaries and expenses, Division of Grazing Control, Department of the Interior, \$48.70.

ment of the Interior, \$48.70.

For mineral-mining investigations, Bureau of Mines, \$34.64.

For operating rescue cars and stations and investigation of accidents, Bureau of Mines, \$1.50.

For National Industrial Recovery, Interior, oil regulations, \$19.33.

For contingent expenses, Department of the Interior, \$132.62.

For general expenses, General Land Office, \$35.25.

For maintenance, irrigation systems, Flathead Reservation, Mont. (receipt limitation), \$253.69.

For roads, Indian reservations, \$21.59.

For conservation of health among Indians, \$1,332.58.

For purchase and transportation of Indian supplies, \$2,129.68.

For suppressing liquor traffic among Indians, \$4.
For maintenance, San Carlos irrigation project, Gila River Reservation, Ariz. (receipt limitation), \$95.10.
For irrigation, Indian reservations (reimbursable), \$106.20.
For industry among Indians, \$616.92.
For Indian agency buildings, \$268.61.
For pay of Indian police, \$69.97.
For Indian school support, \$1,169.23.
For loans and relief in stricken agricultural areas (transfer from Agriculture to Interior, Indians), \$1,008.19.
For Indian service supply fund, \$1,401.74.
For education of natives of Alaska, \$120.65.
For medical relief of natives of Alaska, \$25.
For emergency conservation fund (transfer from War to Interior, Indians, act March 31, 1933), \$512.16.

Indians, act March 31, 1933), \$512.16.

For emergency conservation fund (transfer from War to Interior, Indians, act June 19, 1934), \$3,330.04.

For support of Indians and administration of Indian property,

For obtaining employment for Indians, \$7.32.

For expenses of organizing Indian corporations, \$29.11.

For general expenses, Indian service, \$12.27.

For fulfilling treaties with Northern Cheyenne and Arapahoes, Montana, \$41.13.

iontana, \$41.13.

For Indian boarding schools, \$334.52.

For expenses, sale of timber (reimbursable), \$275.37.

For agriculture and stock raising among Indians, \$9.85.

For administration of Indian forests, \$51.41.

For fulfilling treaties with Sioux of different tribes, including antee Sioux of Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota, 204.23. Santee \$224.33.

Department of Justice: For supplies for United States courts, \$10.

For contingent expenses, Department of Justice, \$38.50. For detection and prosecution of crimes, \$10.90. For printing and binding, Department of Justice and courts, \$48.65.

For salaries, fees, and expenses of marshals, United States courts, \$697.

For fees of jurors and witnesses, United States courts, \$79.35.

For fees of commissioners, United States courts, \$2,147.20. For support of United States prisoners, \$808.05. For miscellaneous expenses, United States courts, \$13.30.

For pay of balliffs, etc., United States courts, \$35.
For salaries and expenses of clerks, United States courts, \$44.37.
For United States Southwestern Reformatory, maintenance, \$81.11.

For United States Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kans., maintenance. \$29.93.

For United States Penitentiary, Alcatraz Island, Calif., mainte-

nance, \$457.54.
For United States Penitentiary, Atlanta, Ga., maintenance, \$266.98.

For salaries, district court, Panama Canal Zone, \$834.62. For salaries and expenses, Division of Investigation, \$10.01. For salaries and expenses, Division of Investigation, Department

of Justice, \$27.15.
For United States Industrial Reformatory, Chillicothe, Ohio,

maintenance, \$87.81. For salaries and expenses of district attorneys, United States courts, \$2.50.

Department of Labor: For salaries and expenses, Children's Bureau, \$15.64.

For payment to officers and employees of the United States in foreign countries due to appreciation of foreign currencies (Labor),

For salaries and expenses, Immigration and Naturalization Service, \$154.

ice, \$154.

For salaries and expenses, commissioners of conciliation, \$8.18.

For salaries and expenses, Bureau of Labor Statistics, \$1.75.

For investigation of cost of living in the United States, \$7.

Navy Department: For payment to officers and employees of the United States in foreign countries due to appreciation of foreign currencies (Navy), \$1.891.11.

For miscellaneous expenses, Navy, \$315.17.

For pay, miscellaneous, \$1.15.

For transportation, Bureau of Navigation, \$118.57.

For organizing the Naval Reserve, \$370.41.

For engineering, Bureau of Engineering, \$6,456.

For ordnance and ordnance stores, Bureau of Ordnance, \$231.

For ordnance and ordnance stores, Bureau of Ordnance, \$231,-955.25.

55.25.

For pay, subsistence, and transportation, Navy, \$35,041.97.

For pay of the Navy, \$659.06.

For maintenance, Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, \$1,585.85.

For maintenance, Bureau of Yards and Docks, \$1,776.43.

For general expenses, Marine Corps, \$577.76.

For pay, Marine Corps, \$3,197.19.

For judgments, bounty for destruction of enemy's vessels, \$17.77.

For aviation, Navy, \$63,579.91.

For increase of the Navy, emergency construction, \$256,965.47.

Post Office Department: For operating supplies for public buildags, general fund, \$5.98. ings, general fund, \$5.98.

For transportation of equipment and supplies, general fund, \$266.75.

Department of State: For salaries, Foreign Service officers, \$1,011.31. For office and living quarters, Foreign Service, \$22.92. For rescue, relief, and protection of American seamen, \$50.33.

For salaries, Foreign Service clerks, \$315.37. For contingent expenses, Foreign Service, \$82.59. For contingent expenses, foreign missions, \$28.79.

For transportation of Foreign Service officers, \$118.07. For payment to officers and employees of the United States in foreign countries due to appreciation of foreign currencies (State), \$238.83.

For International Boundary Commission, United States and

Mexico, 95 cents.

Treasury Department: For expenses, Emergency Banking, Gold Reserve, and Silver Purchase Acts, 63 cents.

For payment to officers and employees of the United States in foreign countries due to appreciation of foreign currencies (Treas-

foreign countries due to appreciation of foreign currencies (Treasury), \$37.47.

For contingent expenses, Treasury Department, \$6.18.

For stationery, Treasury Department, \$5.86.

For collecting the revenue from customs, \$427.26.

For refunds and drawbacks, customs, \$47.48.

For collecting the internal revenue, \$1,110.85.

For pay of personnel and maintenance of hospitals, Public Health Service, \$457.99.

For salaries and expenses, Bureau of Narcotics, \$3.60.

For Coast Guard, \$78.40.

For contingent expenses, Coast Guard, \$374.92.

For fuel and water, Coast Guard, \$258.95.

For outfits, Coast Guard, \$45.54.

For pay and allowances, Coast Guard, \$270.46.

For rebuilding and repairing stations, etc., Coast Guard, \$1.69.

For salaries and expenses, Bureau of Engraving and Printing,

For salaries and expenses, Bureau of Engraving and Printing, \$2.31.

For suppressing counterfeiting and other crimes, \$57.42. For educational exhibits, Public Health Service, 46 cents. For expenses, Division of Mental Hygiene, Public Health Serv-

ice, \$17.25.

For interstate quarantine service, \$13.40.
For pay, etc., commissioned officers, Public Health Service, \$332.53.
For quarantine service, \$792.94.
For salaries and expenses, mints and assay offices, \$10.73.
For contingent expenses, national currency (reimbursable), \$5.29.

For furniture and repairs of same for public buildings, \$22.60. For general expenses, Procurement Division, \$12.49. For general administrative expenses, Public Works Branch, Pro-

curement Division, \$27.23.

For operating expenses, Treasury buildings, Procurement Division, \$8.29.

For operating force for public buildings, 66 cents.

For operating force for public buildings, Procurement Division,

For mechanical equipment for public buildings, Procurement Division, \$175.50.

For salaries and expenses, Branch of Supply Procurement Divi-

sion, \$3.94.

For repairs and preservation of public buildings, Procurement Division, \$14.18.

For repairs, preservation, and equipment, public buildings, Procurement Division, \$51.74.

For furniture and repairs of same for public buildings, Pro-

curement Division, \$29.25.

For salaries and expenses, Division of Disbursement, \$3.69.

War Department: For general appropriations, Quartermaster Corps, \$11,054.12.

For pay, etc., of the Army, \$8,923.92. For pay of the Army, \$5,447.87.

For arming, equipping, and training the National Guard, 1,300.07.

For Army transportation, \$1,201.14.
For subsistence of the Army, \$994.32.
For travel, military and civil personnel, War Department, \$108.94.
For citizens' military training camps, \$113.95.
For pay, etc., of the Army, War with Spain, \$102.52.
For incidental expenses of the Army, \$15.75.
For National Guard, \$1,284.12.

For increase of compensation, Military Establishment, \$1,380.34. For pay, etc., of the Army (longevity, act January 29, 1927), \$1,205.25.

For mileage of the Army, \$104,32.
For barracks and quarters, \$1,125.84.
For arms, uniforms, equipment, etc., for field service, National Guard, \$33.79.

For extra pay to Regular Army, War with Spain, \$21.60. For payment to officers and employees of the United States in foreign countries due to appreciation of foreign currencies (war), \$155.73

For supplies, services, and transportation, Quartermaster Corps,

\$500.28.
For signal service of the Army, \$7,164.80.
For replacing ordnance and ordnance stores, \$46.55.
For extra pay to volunteers, War with Spain, \$216.40.
For pay, etc., of the Army (estates of deceased soldiers, sec. 4818, Revised Statutes), \$1,141.
For horses, draft and pack animals, \$14.16.
For Medical and Hospital Department, Army, \$47.
For claims of officers and men of the Army for destruction of private property (act March 3, 1885), \$206.72.
For replacing medical supplies, \$117.74.
For Reserve Officers' Training Corps, \$136.18.

For Air Corps, Army, \$406.39. For Organized Reserves, \$166.96. For ordnance service and supplies, Army, \$6,571.13.

For fortifications in insular possessions, \$16. For Air Service, Army, \$58.33. For travel of the Army, \$22.77.

For construction and repair of hospitals, Army, \$580. For contingent expenses, War Department, \$1.22.

For clothing and equipage, \$65.58. For seacoast defenses, \$3.77. For replacing clothing and equipage, \$7.

For cemeterial expenses, War Department, \$9.61. For Emergency Conservation Fund (transfer to War, act March 31, 1933), \$4,495.66.

For Emergency Conservation Fund (transfer to War, act June 19, 1934), \$23,566.39.
For loans and relief in stricken agricultural areas (transfer from Emergency Conservation Work to War, act June 19, 1934), \$273.51.
For Vicksburg National Military Park, Miss., \$1.56.

For Stones River National Military Park, Tenn., \$1.01. District of Columbia: For miscellaneous expenses, Supreme Court, District of Columbia, \$260.

Post Office Department, Postal Service (out of the postal revenues): For city delivery carriers, \$514.49.
For clerks, first- and second-class post offices, \$146.58.
For compensation to postmasters, \$94.80.
For electric- and cable-car service, \$960.72.

For foreign mail transportation, \$121.06. For freight, express, or motor transportation of equipment, and so forth, \$436.23.

For furniture, carpets, and safes for public buildings, \$128.48. For furniture, carpets, and safes for public buildings, Post Office

Por Infinite, carpets, and sales for public buildings, Post Cince Department, \$330.35.

For indemnities, domestic mail, \$310.90.

For miscellaneous items, first- and second-class post offices, \$2.17.

For operating force for public buildings, Post Office Department, \$5.

For operating supplies for public buildings, \$46.81.
For operating supplies for public buildings, Post Office Department, \$173.61.

ment, \$173.61.

For post-office equipment and supplies, \$4.

For railroad transportation and mail messenger service, \$182,155.17.

For Railway Mail Service, miscellaneous expenses, \$14.78.

For rent, light, and fuel, \$2,569.65.

For Rural Delivery Service, \$118.69.

For separating mails, \$34.20.

For Star Route Service, 71 cents.

For transportation of equipment and supplies, \$1,268.25.

For vehicle service, \$1,989.65.

Total, audited claims, section 204, \$1,122,354.01, together with such additional sum due to increases in rates of exchange us may be necessary to pay claims in the foreign currency as specified in certain of sary to pay claims in the foreign currency as specified in certain of the settlements of the General Accounting Office.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 31, after line 15, to insert:

SEC. 205. Judgments against collectors of customs: For the payment of claims allowed by the General Accounting Office covering judgments rendered by the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York against a collector of customs, where certificates of probable cause have been issued as provided for under section 989, Revised Statutes (28 U. S. C. 842), and certified to the Seventy-sixth Congress in Senate Document No. 13, under the Department of Labor, \$7,467.45.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, at the top of page 32, to insert:

SEC. 206. Interest withheld from claimants: For payment of interest on amounts withheld from claimants by the Comptroller General of the United States, act of March 3, 1875, as amended by section 13 of the act of March 3, 1933 (31 U. S. C. 227), as allowed by the General Accounting Office, and certified to the Seventy-sixth Congress in Senate Document No. 17, under the Treasury Department, \$1,327.44.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 32, after line 8, to insert: SEC. 207. This act may be cited as the First Deficiency Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1939.

The amendment was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the engrossment of the amendments and the third reading of the bill.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

### CHARLES F. KEGEL

The bill (S. 764) for the relief of Charles F. Kegel was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury

not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$450 to Charles F. Kegel, of Turner, Mont., in full satisfaction of his claim against the United States for the loss of his truck, such truck having been destroyed on December 5, 1936, by a fire which burned a garage at Turner, Mont., in which it was stored for the purpose of safe-guarding its load, consisting of property used in connection with Resettlement Administration projects: Provided, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwith-standing. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That concludes the consideration of bills on the calendar.

### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE REPORT FILED BY COMMITTEE DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under authority of the order of the Senate of the 2d instant, on February 3, 1939, during adjournment of the Senate,

Mr. WHEELER, from the Committee on Interstate Commerce, reported favorably the nomination of Norman S. Case, of Rhode Island, to be a member of the Federal Communications Commission for a term of 7 years from July 1, 1938 (appointed during last recess of the Senate: reappointment).

#### EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. THOMAS of Utah, from the Committee on Education and Labor, reported favorably the nomination of Jacob Crane, of Illinois, to be Assistant Administrator and Director of Project Planning of the United States Housing Authority.

Mr. O'MAHONEY, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the nomination of James V. Allred, of Texas, to be United States district judge for the southern district of Texas.

Mr. KING, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the nomination of Michael L. Igoe, of Illinois, to be United States district judge for the northern district of Illinois (now serving under a recess appointment).

He also, from the same committee, reported favorably the nomination of William J. Campbell, of Illinois, to be United States attorney for the northern district of Illinois, vice Michael L. Igoe.

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of several postmasters.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The reports will be placed on the Executive Calendar.

If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will proceed to state the nominations on the calendar.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE-WESTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Floyd H. Roberts, of Virginia, to be United States district judge for the western district of Virginia, which had been reported adversely from the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I do not care to discuss this nomination, if no other Senator does. However, I think we ought to have a roll call on the nomination. I therefore ask for the yeas and nays on the question of the confirmation of the nomination of Judge Roberts.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let the Chair state the question. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination of Floyd H. Roberts, of Virginia, to be United States district judge for the western district of Virginia. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered. Those in favor of confirming the nomination will answer "yea," and those opposed will answer "nay."

Mr. McNARY. I suggest the absence of a quorum. The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll. The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Davis	King	Schwartz
Andrews	Ellender	Lee	Schwellenbach
Ashurst	Frazier	Lodge	Sheppard
Austin	George	Logan	Shipstead
Bailey	Gerry	Lucas	Smathers
Bankhead	Gibson	McCarran	Smith
Barbour	Gillette	McKellar	Stewart
Barkley	Glass	McNary	Taft
Bilbo	Green	Maloney	Thomas, Utah
Bone	Gurney	Murray	Tobey
Brown	Hale	Neely	Townsend
Bulow	Harrison	Norris	Truman
Burke	Hatch	Nye	Tydings
Byrd	Hayden	O'Mahoney	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Herring	Overton	Van Nuys
Capper	Hill	Pepper	Wheeler
Caraway	Holman	Pittman	White
Clark, Idaho	Holt	Radcliffe	Wiley
Clark, Mo.	Hughes	Reed -	
Connally	Johnson, Calif.	Reynolds	
Danaher	Johnson, Colo.	Russell	

Mr. BARKLEY. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Minton] is detained from the Senate because of a death in his family.

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. Donahey] is absent because of a slight illness.

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Guffey], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Thomas] are unavoidably detained.

The Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] is absent on important public business.

The Senator from California [Mr. Downey], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Lewis], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Lundeen], the Senator from New York [Mr. Mead], and the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Miller] are detained in Government departments on matters pertaining to their respective States.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Walsh] is absent attending a meeting of the committee of the Massachusetts Legislature which is considering flood-control matters.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-one Senators have an-

swered to their names. A quorum is present.

The Chair thinks it advisable, for the information of the Senate, again to state the question before the Senate. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination of Floyd H. Roberts to be United States district judge for the western district of Virginia. Those in favor of confirmation will vote "yea," and those opposed will vote "nay." The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. McNARY (when Mr. Borah's name was called). The senior Senator from Idaho [Mr. Borah] is absent on account of illness. If he were present, he would vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. McNARY. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Bridges] is necessarily absent. If present, he would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 9, nays 72, as follows:

		YEAS—9	
Ashurst Barkley	Lee Neely	Norris Pepper	Schwartz Smathers
Bilbo	N	AYS—72	
Adams Andrews Austin Balley Bankhead Barbour Bone Brown Bulow Burke Byrd Byrnes Capper Caraway Clark, Idaho	Davis Ellender Frazier George Gerry Gibson Gillette Glass Green Gurney Hale Harrison Hatch Hayden Herring	Hughes Johnson, Calif, Johnson, Colo. King Lodge Logan Lucas McCarran McKellar McNary Maloney Murray Nye O'Mahoney Overton	Reynolds Russell Schwellenbach Sheppard Shipstead Smith Stewart Taft Thomas, Utah Tobey Townsend Truman Tydings Vandenberg Van Nuys
Clark, Mo. Connally Danaher	Hill Holman Holt	Pittman Radcliffe Reed	Wheeler White Wiley
Dananer		VOTING-15	Wiley
Borah Bridges Chavez Donahey	Downey Guffey La Follette Lewis	Lundeen Mead Miller Minton	Thomas, Okla. Wagner Walsh

So the Senate refused to advise and consent to the nomination.

### UNITED STATES MARSHAL

The legislative clerk read the nomination of J. Leslie Ford to be United States marshal for the district of Delaware.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

### POSTMASTERS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the nominations of sundry postmasters.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations of postmasters be confirmed en bloc.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the post-office nominations are confirmed en bloc.

### FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Norman S. Case to be member of the Federal Communications Commission.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

That completes the Executive Calendar.

### ADJOURNMENT TO THURSDAY

Mr. BARKLEY. As in legislative session, I move that the Senate adjourn until 12 o'clock noon on Thursday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Thursday, February 9, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

### CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate February 6, 1939

### FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

Norman S. Case to be a member of the Federal Communications Commission.

# United States Marshal

J. Leslie Ford to be United States marshal for the district of Delaware.

### POSTMASTERS

### ALABAMA

Heber L. Heflin, Danville.

Agnes H. Lambert, Darlington.

Abbie M. Chambers, Faunsdale.

John W. Johnson, Langdale.

Harris L. Gilmer, Marion Junction.

Ollie G. Harris, Morris.

# LOUISIANA

Louis A. Carville, Carville.

# MISSOURI

G. Chadbourne Long, Cadet. Charles H. Johnson, Grain Valley. Mary E. Staples, Houstonia. Dorsey M. Bishop, Ravenwood.

### REJECTION

Executive nomination rejected by the Senate February 6, 1939

### UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

Floyd H. Roberts to be United States district judge for the western district of Virginia.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1939

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Thou who art the uncreated One, our times are in Thy hands. We praise Thee for our Father's world. Do Thou substitute the higher unity as revealed in our Lord and Master for the clanging discord of nations. Loose our coun-

try from all fears and may it see aright. Clothe the Congress with a compelling strength; may we be the sons of the morning, walking and laboring in the light and promise of a new day. Unaffrighted by the skies above, undismayed by the earth beneath, help us to learn more of the deeper, richer meaning of the ministry of our Saviour. For the day and hour, for the moments of victory and for the scenes of defeat, for the pleasures of the happy and for the sorrows of the sad, may we be grateful with a song in the heart. Just now, our Father, our thoughts are wrapped in the shadows. Comfort Thou the stricken parents and may The Tree of Life stretch its perfumed branches above their appealing gaze. Heaven would be so lonesome without such as Millard. In our Redeemer's name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday, February 3, 1939, was read and approved.

#### CONSENT CALENDAR

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, there is only one bill on the Consent Calendar, reported by the Committee on the Judiciary. The gentleman from Texas, Mr. Sumners, is not here. I therefore ask unanimous consent that business in order on the Consent Calendar for today may be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN]?

There was no objection.

SPECIAL JOINT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 38.

The Clerk read the joint resolution, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the limit of expenditures under the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution creating a special joint congressional committee to make an investigation of the Tennessee Valley Authority," approved April 4, 1938, is hereby increased by the sum of \$25,000, such additional sum to be paid one-half from the contingent fund of the Senate and one-half from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the special joint congressional committee created by such joint resolution. The final report of such committee shall be made on or before April 1, 1939, but the chairman of the committee is authorized to continue such clerical help as found necessary for the indexing, proofreading, filing, and distribution of the report.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Thomason]?

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I should like a minute or two to develop a matter with the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Thomason]. I do not propose to object. As we know, this joint resolution deals with an extension of time for the investigation of the T. V. A. The gentleman from Texas will remember that a few days ago he and I had this matter up with the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Wolverton], and it was practically agreed that this matter should be brought up by unanimous consent and that there would be no objection. As far as I am concerned, I have no objection except there is one thing maybe the gentleman can clarify us on. I notice in the newspaper a statement to the effect that Senator Donahey, chairman of the investigating committee, stated there would be no further investigation. The gentleman will remember when we had our last meeting the understanding was when we got this resolution through we would continue the investigation. There is a list of witnesses and we want to hear these witnesses. It will not be at all satisfactory to us if this is not done. It will not be satisfactory if the majority of the committee, and the gentleman knows what I mean when I say "majority," have decided to discontinue further hearings.

Mr. THOMASON. Of course, I do not undertake to speak for the chairman of the committee, the distinguished Senator from Ohio. All I can say at this time is there has been no meeting or determination by the majority members of the committee as to the future program. Of course, I do not undertake to speak for the committee. That is a matter for determination, I presume, when Senator Donahey calls

the entire committee back for consideration of the future program. I have no more idea what the plans will be than the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. The gentleman remembers, I think, full well that was our understanding when we adjourned just about the holiday time. We had not concluded examination of all the witnesses and we had not made a report. We made no effort to make a report, and the understanding was we should have some further hearings, not very many. I know it was not the intention to string the hearings out, but we did have a few witnesses to hear.

Mr. THOMASON. I do not think there was any formal action taken in reference to exactly what would be done. However, I recall no disposition on the part of anybody to foreclose anyone regarding any important or unfinished matter.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. That is what I want to bring out. The gentleman does not know at this time that anything has been done since we adjourned formally just before the holidays?

Mr. THOMASON. I am certain there has not been, at least not to my knowledge.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. With that understanding, I withdraw my reservation of objection; but I want the House to know and understand that was the express intention and that was the understanding. Of course, we will need the money provided in this resolution to pay some of the bills that have been incurred.

Mr. THOMASON. I may say the help has not been paid since the 1st of January. I would like to make it clear, however, I do not speak for the majority members of the committee, neither do I commit myself as to what the future course may be. All I can say is, as far as I know there has been do determination of the matter up to this time.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. I want the membership of the House to know that was the understanding; and if there is any disposition or if any action has been taken to change that understanding, then we have not been informed of it and we should be informed.

Mr. THOMASON. So far as I know, no formal action has been taken on the matter. There was some informal discussion about brief hearings for certain witnesses to close up certain unfinished matters. I do not think there was any definite program even seriously considered, much less determined upon. Senator Davis was present at the meeting I attended, and as I understood it he spoke for Mr. Jenkins of Ohio and Mr. WOLVERTON.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. I do not agree with the gentleman in that respect. I know there was an understanding that we should have the privilege of examining additional witnesses, and I know we left a list of witnesses with the chairman and I know as we approached the holiday season that was the general understanding among those who were there that that was to be the program.

Mr. THOMASON. If any formal action was taken, the minutes of the meeting will disclose it.

At this time I know nothing about the future course. All I can tell the gentleman is what I recall happened at the meeting I attended.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. I wanted the Congress to know that was the understanding. If it does not work out that way, someone will have to answer for it.

Mr. THOMASON. This is a matter for the consideration of the committee.

Mr. WARREN. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I do not approve of bringing up a resolution like this by unanimous consent, and I do not believe the House approves it, but under the circumstances I shall not object for the following reasons:

This is a Senate joint resolution. If an objection or a point of order were made, the resolution would then have to go before the Committee on Rules and then later come before the Committee on Accounts.

On the last day of the last session of Congress the House passed unanimously a resolution giving this committee \$50,000 additional. This resolution was lost in the adjourn-

ment shuffle in the Senate. Now, instead of asking for \$50,000 additional, they have asked for \$25,000, half of which would come from the contingent fund of the House. In view of the action of the House on the last day of the last session, I shall not object.

Mr. THOMASON. May I say in reply to the gentleman from North Carolina that I am in thorough accord with the policy the gentleman announces. However, as stated by him, the House voted \$50,000, but the resolution was lost in the shuffle in the Senate.

I hope I will be pardoned if I say this has been a hard-working, economical committee. The help has not been paid since January 1. This resolution passed the Senate unanimously, and, but for the emergency, I must be frank to say I would not have undertaken to bring the matter up in this way.

Mr. SABATH. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, do I correctly understand that the resolution carrying the \$50,000 which was voted by the House was lost in the adjournment shuffle in the Senate?

Mr. THOMASON. It did not even get to the Senate floor. There was a misunderstanding or oversight in the committee in the Senate and therefore the appropriation was never made and never available.

Mr. MAPES. Reserving the right to object, may I say a letter has come to me, not from anyone in my district or in the State of Michigan, but I presume because the writer anticipated this matter would come before the Committee on Rules, calling attention to the salary being paid to the counsel for this committee and also to the salary of the engineer-investigator. The gentleman from Texas states the committee has been an economical one.

Mr. THOMASON. Yes; and I stand by that statement.

Mr. MAPES. The writer of the letter, as I recall—I do not have the letter with me as I did not know this resolution was coming up for consideration this morning—states rather definitely that the committee has been paying the counsel for the committee \$15,000 and the engineer-investigator \$10,000. Does the gentleman know if that statement is correct?

Mr. THOMASON. I believe that is wrong. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Jenkins] will correct me if I am mistaken. As I recall, this committee was set up about the 1st of July, and an agreement was made to pay the counsel, I believe, approximately \$10,000 for the job. It turned out later that because of some regulation regarding maximum salaries of \$9,000 that was the most we could pay him. I am sure the engineer was paid at about the same rate, but I am not certain about it. Both of these men are able and experienced, and the gentleman from Ohio will confirm my statement I am sure. They have both worked hard and earned more than the amount paid them, whether the gentleman from Ohio agrees with the results or not.

Mr. MAPES. Has the committee kept up its payments to those two men?

Mr. THOMASON. As I understand from the Senator from Ohio, the chairman of the committee, and more especially from the clerk of the committee, no one has been paid anything since the 1st day of January.

Mr. MAPES. Is it intended to pay to these two men out of the additional \$25,000 now proposed more than the \$9,000 or \$10,000 mentioned?

Mr. THOMASON. I am unable to answer the gentleman's inquiry because the committee has had no formal session, I believe, with all members present, and has had no opportunity to discuss that matter. However, the resolution provides only for the payment of the clerk and the necessary help.

Mr. MAPES. I may say to the gentleman that if I had known this resolution was coming up this morning I would have looked into this matter before this, but I was impressed with the statements in this letter by reason of the resolution which was in effect limiting to \$300 per month the pay anyone working for an investigating committee could receive. Does that restriction apply to joint committees?

Mr. THOMASON. I am advised it does not. Our former colleague, now the junior Senator from New York [Mr.

MEAD] and other members of the committee took that question up with the departments. I do not know just how the matter was adjusted but I believe it was determined that the \$3,600 limitation did not apply to counsel and engineers in an investigation of this sort. I believe the gentleman from Ohio will agree that is correct.

Mr. WARREN. If the gentleman will yield, I can inform the gentleman on that situation. We did have a \$300 per month limitation, and I very greatly regret that Congress

repealed that limitation.

Mr. MAPES. The limitation has been repealed?

Mr. WARREN. It has been absolutely repealed. I believe we still ought to have it. With the repeal of that limitation the employees of special committees go under the Classification Act and must qualify under it.

Mr. THOMASON. That is what the departments advised

Mr. MEAD.

Mr. MAPES. Can the gentleman from North Carolina tell the House definitely what the counsel for this joint committee has received?

Mr. WARREN. No; I cannot say at this time. I can only tell you the general expenditures and they are in accordance with the Classification Act.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman

yield?

Mr. THOMASON. I may say that was taken up with the proper authorities and they approved the entire program,

and the committee ratified same.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. My understanding is they took the matter up and they found that this committee was not bound by any law or any regulation and Mr. Biddle, of Philadelphia, was employed as counsel, starting, I think, about the 1st of May or the 10th of May, the employment to run until the end of the year, assuming we would finish the 1st of January. The resolution provided for a flat sum of \$10,000. The engineer, as I recall it, made a showing that he was employed in Los Angeles at a salary of \$25,000 and was going to give the committee 6 months of his time and would expect \$12,000 as his compensation for the time he would give the committee. So I think \$10,000 for the counsel and \$12,000 for the engineer were the amounts expected to be paid.

Mr. THOMASON. I am not sure, but I think that is

substantially correct.

Mr. WARREN. Up to the 1st of January, \$28,293.63 was spent in salaries. These vouchers have been audited by the Committee on Accounts and they are all within the Classification Act.

Mr. THOMASON. That is right.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAPES. If they are within the Classification Act, the Committee could not pay the counsel \$10,000 for his services from the 1st of July until the 1st of January, for example, as indicated by the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. WARREN. Right now I do not recall what is the maximum salary under the Classification Act.

Mr. THOMASON. I think it is \$9,000.

Mr. MAPES. If it is \$9,000 per year, it could not be \$10,000 for 6 months.

Mr. WARREN. It is on an annual basis.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMASON. I yield.

Mr. RANKIN. Let me say to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Mapes] that this has been one of the most economically conducted investigating committees I have ever known, and the amount of money they have spent on an honest investigation, in my opinion, will not amount to 1 percent of the amount the power companies spent on propaganda trying to offset the real information this committee was developing. The American people have saved a great deal by the economy of this committee—not only their economy, but their honest investigation of this situation.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the

gentleman from Texas?

Mr. MAPES. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, let me say that I do not care to discuss the power question

now with the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Rankin]; but, if we concede for the purpose of the argument that this has been an economical committee, these two men have received, according to the statements that have been made here, practically all that the committee has paid out for investigation work.

Mr. RANKIN. These two men have not received as much money as one of the Power Trust lawyers who opposed them.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and in view of the statement of the gentleman from Mississippi just made, I am not going to object, but I serve notice that in the future I shall object to any such unanimous-consent request for the appropriation of any money for any committees.

Mr. THOMASON. I think, Mr. Speaker, I have explained the situation that developed in connection with this matter so that this is an exception to the rule.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I hear much from men on that side of the House who are going to object to the spending of money, but I never hear them object. Why do they not get up here and object to some of these expenditures once in a while?

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the

gentleman from Texas?
There was no objection.

The joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

### COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Military Affairs may be permitted to sit during sessions of the House today and tomorrow.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, is this agreeable to the minority members

of the committee?

Mr. MAY. Yes; it was understood in committee this morning that we would meet at 2 o'clock.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include therein a letter I have written to the Secretary of State.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

### INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATION BILL-1940

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia, from the Committee on Appropriations, reported the bill (H. R. 3743, Rept. No. 23) making appropriations for the Executive Office and sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, and offices, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, and for other purposes, which was read a first and second time, and with the accompanying report, referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I reserve all points of order.

Mr. RICH rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Pennsylvania rise?

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I rise to ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Virginia yield for that purpose?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. No, Mr. Speaker; I cannot yield for that purpose at this time. I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill H. R. 3743, the independent offices appropriation bill, and pending that I ask unanimous consent that general debate continue throughout the day, the time to be equally divided between myself and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Wiggles-worth].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia moves that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 3743. Pending that, he asks unanimous consent that general debate continue throughout the day, the time to be equally divided between himself and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Wigglesworth]. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Virginia that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the independent offices appropriation bill.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the independent offices appropriation bill, with Mr. LANHAM in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the first reading of the bill be dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield 2 minutes to me?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RICH].

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, I have heard much on the floor of the House about some very influential Members cutting down expenses, and that Members were going to object when matters were brought up appropriating funds. But I do not see much objection. "Actions speak louder than words." call the attention of the House to the fact that we are \$2,046,-000,000 in the red-Government statement February 1, since July 1-with 7 months of this fiscal year gone, and at that rate we will be close to \$4,000,000,000 in the red at the end of the fiscal year. A horrible situation. A deplorable condition. A travesty. We are having emergency appropriations that are bigger and better and wider and fatter. All kinds of propositions are going to come to the House for more money. and it is up to the membership of this House to guard the Treasury of the United States, or we will be having inflation, or deflation, or we will have taxes so high that the people of this country will not be able to stand them. If you are going to go ahead and run this Government as you have during the last 4 years, then it is time, I say, that the membership of the House wake up; otherwise it will be too late for America to survive the New Deal. Where are you going to get the money? We are now going to discuss an appropriation bill, and we are going to be told that it will be less than last year; but remember this: They are true to form, bigger and fatter appropriations. When you get the emergencies into the bill, you will have \$250,000,000 more than we thought it was going to carry, and I warn the chairman of this committee and the Members of the House that you should object to some of these items and cut this bill by \$350,000,000. It can and should be

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICH. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I put my friend from Pennsylvania on notice, when he brings in the Interior Department appropriation bill, that I want to hear him make an economy speech on that bill.

Mr. RICH. I would do it if I could, and I am working like everything, and I am going down now to the committee room to go to work; but it is going to be an awfully hard job to get the subcommittee to be economical. I could guarantee my colleague from Virginia, for whom I have the greatest respect, that if I had my way I could cut the bill at least 20 percent and do it easily and justly.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I am going to impose upon the Committee and talk again upon the subject of relief and unemployment expenditures. On the 5th of January the President sent to the Congress a special message upon the subject of relief and unemployment. I recall to your minds a brief paragraph in that message, which I now

I realize that the Congress may wish to prescribe by legislation the manner in which funds appropriated to the Works Progress Administration and other appropriations shall be distributed. However, the problem of distributing work relief funds is a com-However, the problem of distributing work relief runds is a complicated one involving factors not only of population but of economic and unemployment conditions in various sections of the country. The hasty adoption of legislative provisions, to be immediately effective, which radically change the present method of distributing Works Progress Administration funds would greatly complicate the administration of the program in the coming months. I therefore believe that the Congress should make this guestion the subject of study and hearings, with a yiew to deterquestion the subject of study and hearings, with a view to determining a policy to obtain in the fiscal year 1940, but that the appropriation recommended in this message should be made on the same terms as that for the first part of the fiscal year 1939.

Mr. Chairman, let it be thoroughly understood that what I am about to say reflects only my own individual opinions. I have not talked with anyone at the other end of the Avenue nor with anyone at the other end of the Capitol. I have not counselled with any of my colleagues here except the legislative drafting service, because I wanted to bring and drop into the hopper, as I have just done, a bill for your consideration and study, inviting your criticism, your comment, and your calm deliberate legislative judgment. I do emphasize, however, especially to the members of my own party, this phrase in the President's message:

I therefore believe that Congress should make this question the subject of study and hearings, with a view to determining a policy to obtain in the fiscal year 1940.

Therefore, I feel that as a member of the party in power I can bring to you the suggestion that we should initiate thought, discussion, and study of this vital problem. I cannot account for that phrase in the President's message unless it meant that he realized, as practically all American citizens realize, that the subject should be given thought and study; that it is not a perfect system; that it is not a perfect program. So I have dropped into the hopper what will be known as House Joint Resolution 151, suggesting a plan for the handling of relief and unemployment relief during the fiscal year of 1940. The joint resolution (H. J. Res. 151) is as follows:

Resolved, etc.,

SECTION 1. That in order to provide for the relief of unemployment and for direct relief, in the United States and its Territories ment and for direct relief, in the United States and its Territories and possessions, there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, and to remain available until such date, the sum of \$1,120,000,000, together with the balances of allocations heretofore made or hereafter to be made to the Works Progress Administration under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 and the joint resolution of 1939, which remain unobligated on June 30, 1939, to be expended, subject to the provisions hereinafter stated, (a) in furnishing direct relief and unemployment relief; (b) in furnishing direct relief and unemployment relief in cooperation with States, municipalities, and other public bodies; and (c) in making grants to States, municipalities, and other public bodies for direct relief and unemployment relief. ployment relief.

SEC. 2. On and after July 1, 1939, the Works Progress Administration, established by Executive Order No. 7034, dated May 6, 1935, pursuant to the provisions of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, shall be known as the Unemployment Relief Administration; and all laws, Executive orders, and other docu-ments referring to the Works Progress Administration shall be deemed to refer to the Unemployment Relief Administration. Any administrator of the Unemployment Relief Administration hereafter appointed shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

SEC. 3. The Administrator of the Unemployment Relief Admin-SEC. 3. The Administrator of the Unemployment Relief Administration (hereinafter referred to as the Administrator) shall submit to the Congress, prior to May 15, 1939, a statement of the funds which will be required from the foregoing appropriation for projects for the relief of unemployment in each of the States, the District of Columbia, the Territory of Hawaii, the Territory of Alaska, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and the Canal Zone, during each month of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, with a detailed summary of the factors on the basis of which such statement is made, and the Congress shall, not later than June 30, 1939, allocate not to exceed \$1,000,000,000 of the foregoing appropriation for expenditure on unemployment-relief projects in the several States, the District of Columbia, the Territory of Hawali, the Territory of Alaska, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and the Canal Zone during each month of such fiscal year, and the amounts so allocated are authorized to be expended on unemployment-relief projects by the Unemployment Relief Administration, directly or in cooperation with States, municipalities, and other public bodies for such projects: Provided, That the Administrator may increase the amount to be so expended during any month in any State, Territory, district, or possession by not to exceed 10 percent of the aggregate expenditures so allocated for such State, Territory, district, or possession for such month: Provided further, That no grants shall be made to any State, municipality, or other public body, unless the Administrator shall have determined that such State, municipality, or other public body has established a satisfactory plan of unemployment relief and for the administration thereof.

established a satisfactory plan of unemployment relief and for the administration thereof.

On or prior to June 25, 1939, and on or prior to the 25th day of each month thereafter the Administrator shall file with the Congress, if in session, and if not in session with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, a classified summary of unemployment-relief projects and proposed expenditures for unemployment relief, including cash grants, in each of the several States, the District of Columbia, the Territory of Hawaii, the Territory of Alaska, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and the Canal Zone, for the ensuing month, within the respective amounts authorized to be expended pursuant to the provisions of this section.

SEC. 4. The sum of \$120,000,000, together with all other sums appropriated hereby and not allocated for unemployment relief projects pursuant to section 3 hereof, shall be available to the President for expenditure through the Unemployment Relief Administration or such other agency or agencies as the President may designate, for any purpose specified in section 1 of this act: Provided, That within 10 days after any allocation of such funds the President shall file with the Congress, if in session, and if not in session with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, a statement of the amount and purpose of each such allocation and the session with the Cierk of the House of Representatives, a state-ment of the amount and purpose of each such allocation and the reason therefor: *Provided further*, That quarterly during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, the President shall file with the Con-gress, if in session, and if not in session with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, an account of all expenditures of such funds made pursuant to this section during the 3 months preced-ing the filing of such account.

year ending June 30, 1940, the President shall file with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, an account of all expenditures of such funds made pursuant to this section during the 3 months preceding the filing of such account.

Sec. 5. The Administrator shall procure quarterly during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, from the Governor or authorized agency of each State, Territory, and possession, and from the Commissioners or authorized agency of the District of Columbia, and shall file with the Congress, if in session, and from the Commissioners or authorized agency of the District of Columbia, and shall file with the Congress, if in session, and if not in session with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, a report in reasonable detail containing the following information for the preceding 3 months' period: (a) the average number of persons employed on unemployment relief projects and the average compensation paid to each of such persons during each month of such period; (b) the average number of persons receiving direct relief and the average amount of relief funds paid to each of such period; (d) the average number of persons eligible for direct relief and unemployment relief and to direct relief during each month of such period; (d) the average number of persons eligible for direct relief and unemployment relief in the State and in each of its subdivisions during each month of such period, as shown by the rolls with respect thereto; and (e) such other information pertaining to relief and unemployment as the Administrator shall require.

Sec. 6. (a) In order to insure fulfillment of the purpose for which the appropriation herein authorized is made, no person shall receive compensation from the funds to be expended pursuant to section 3 of this act unless his name shall appear on a roll of persons eligible for employment on unemployment relief projects, prepared or approved by the Administrator, such person is employment, is not eligible for any other form of Federal or local assistance in an a

eligible for employment on unemployment relief projects, unless in the determination of the Administrator the termination of private employment was caused by the fault of such person.

(e) Any person to whom an opportunity in private employment has been made available who shall refuse to accept the same shall, unless in the opinion of the Administrator such refusal is justified, lose his relative position on the roll of persons eligible for employment on unemployment relief projects and shall be placed at the end of such roll.

end of such roll.

SEC. 7. The rates of pay for persons employed on unemployment relief projects under section 3 of this act shall be not less than the prevailing rates of pay for work of a similar nature in the same locality as determined by the Administrator: Provided, That if minimum rates of pay for persons employed by private employers in any occupation are established by or pursuant to the authority conferred by any labor standards act enacted at the third session of the Seventy-fifth Congress, not less than the minimum rates of pay so established shall be paid to persons in similar occupations in the same locality employed on unemployment relief projects under section 3 of this act. under section 3 of this act.

under section 3 of this act.

Sec. 8. No project shall be included in any list of unemployment relief projects prepared pursuant to the provisions of section 3 of this act or undertaken by the Administration or by any State, municipality, or other public body with funds to be expended under section 3 of this act which would ordinarily be construed under contract or otherwise than by the forces of the State, municipality, or other public body providing a portion of the cost of such project, except that any project now in the process of construction may be continued without regard to the provisions of this section to the extent deemed necessary by the Administrator.

Sec. 9. No alien shall be given employment or continued in em-

SEC. 9. No alien shall be given employment or continued in employment on any project prosecuted under the appropriation contained in this act: Provided, That no part of the money herein appropriated shall be available to pay any person who does not make affidavit as to United States citizenship, such affidavit to be considered prima facte evidence of such citizenship: Provided further, That preference in employment on such projects shall be given in the following order: (1) Veterans of the World War and the Spanish-American War and veterans of any campaign or expedition in which the United States has been engaged (as determined on the basis of the laws administered by the Veterans' Administration) who are in need and are American citizens: (2) SEC. 9. No alien shall be given employment or continued in em-Administration) who are in need and are American citizens; (2) other American citizens, Indians, and other persons owing allegiance to the United States who are in need.

legiance to the United States who are in need.

SEC. 10. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person employed in any administrative or supervisory capacity by any agency of the Federal Government, whose compensation or any part thereof is paid from funds authorized or appropriated by this act, to use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or affecting the results thereof. While such persons shall retain the right to vote as they please and to express privately their opinions on all political subjects, they shall take no active part in political management or in political campaigns. active part in political management or in political campaigns.

(b) Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be immediately removed from the position or office held by him, and immediately removed from the position or office held by him, and thereafter no part of the funds appropriated by this act shall be used to pay the compensation of such person. Any person who knowingly violates any provision of this section shall be guilty of a felony and, upon conviction, shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or be imprisoned for not more than 1 year, or both. The provisions of this section shall be in addition to, not in substitution for, any other sections of existing law, or of this act.

SEC. 11. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person knowingly to solicit, or knowingly be in any manner concerned in soliciting, or to accept any assessment, subscription, or contribution for the cam-

solicit, or knowingly be in any manner concerned in soliciting, or to accept any assessment, subscription, or contribution for the campaign expenses of any individual or political party from any person on the list of persons eligible for employment or unemployment relief projects or who is on any relief or work relief rolls prepared or approved under this act, or who is receiving relief from the appropriation made available by this act, or to threaten or knowingly be in any manner concerned in threatening any such person with loss of compensation or relief or eligibility to receive relief under this act in the event of the failure of such person to contribute to or support in any manner any individual, association, or political party.

(b) Any person who knowingly violates any provision of this section shall be guilty of a felony and upon conviction shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or be imprisoned for not more than 1 year, oboth. The provisions of this section shall be in addition to, not in substitution for, any other section of existing law or of this act.

in substitution for, any other section of existing law or of this act.

Sec. 12. Of the appropriation made by this act not to exceed

sec. 12. Of the appropriation made by this act not to exceed

sec. 12. Of the appropriation made by this act not to exceed

the uniform of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, in the District of Columbia and elsewhere: Provided, That after December 31, 1939, the number of administrative employees of such Administration in the District of Columbia shall not exceed 1,500 at any one time, and the number of administrative employees of such Administration outside the District of Columbia shall not exceed 5,000 at any one time. shall not exceed 5,000 at any one time.

SEC. 13. To effectuate the policy of this act and in carrying out the purposes of section 4 of this act, the President may (a) authorize expenditures for contract stenographic reporting services; supplies and equipment; purchase and exchange of law books, books of reference, directories, periodicals, newspapers, and press clippings; travel expenses, including the expense of attendance at

meetings when specifically authorized; rental at the seat of government and elsewhere; purchase, operation, and maintenance of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles; printing and binding; and such other expenses as he may determine necessary to the accomplishment of the objectives of section 4 of this act; and (b) accept and utilize such voluntary and uncompensated services, appoint, without regard to the provisions of the civil-service laws, such officers and employees, and utilize such Federal officers and employees, and utilize such Federal officers and employees, as may be necessary, prescribe their authorities, duties, responsibilities, and tenure, and, without regard to the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, fix the compensation of any officers and employees so appointed: Provided, That not more than \$ \_\_\_\_ of the funds to be expended by the President pursuant to section 4 of this act shall be available for expenses incurred in accordance with the authority granted by this

Sec. 14. The Administrator is authorized to prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary in carrying out the purposes

of this act

SEC. 15. The provisions of section 3709 of the Revised Statutes (41 U. S. C. 5) shall not apply to any purchase made or service procured in connection with the foregoing appropriation when the aggregate amount involved is less than \$300.

SEC. 16. Any person who knowingly and with intent to defraud

the United States makes any false statement in connection with any application for any project, employment, or aid under the appropriations in this act, or diverts, or attempts to divert or assists in diverting, for the benefit of any person or persons not assists in diverting, for the benefit of any person or persons not entitled thereto, any portion of such appropriation, or any services or real or personal property acquired thereunder, or who knowingly, by means of any fraud, force, threat, intimidation, or boycott, or discrimination on account of race, religion, political affiliations, or membership in a labor organization, deprives any person of any of the benefits to which he may be entitled under such appropriation, or attempts so to do, or assists in so doing, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and fined not more than \$2,000 or imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both.

SEC. 17. This joint resolution may be cited as the "Unemployment Relief Appropriation Act of 1939."

I think there are two reasons why the matter should be initiated now. In the first place, the Committee on Appropriations, or, if the Congress should wish to set up a special committee, that committee ought to have calm, deliberate, and thoughtful hearings. We have not had that heretofore. We have usually gotten, in the closing days of the session, emergency estimates for relief, and have had to rush into hearings and rush out of them. We have usually confined our hearings to those who appeared for the department and for different groups of citizens seeking to enlarge the amounts of money appropriated. I believe the Congress should hear from other groups of American citizens, from business and professional people, women's organizations, from anyone who has given the matter thoughtful study, and who can make a contribution to the problem in order that we may have the benefit of their judgment and advice. I also believe the committee should have an opportunity of hearing Members of Congress who have studied this matter. Undoubtedly there are many Members of this body who could make contributions to this very interesting and very perplexing problem.

Therefore, I have introduced this resolution with the hope that it will be referred to the Committee on Appropriations and with the hope that the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations will permit us at an early date to open the hearings and proceed along in a calm, leisurely manner to investigate, explore, survey, hear, and consider, and then, of course, to be ready to hear whatever the President and the Bureau of the Budget wish to say to us on the subject when the time comes. Only in such a way will Congress be

able to take real, deliberate legislative action.

The bill that I have introduced contains no very novel or sensational features. Its objective is to furnish relief and assistance to needy worthy American citizens with the least amount of routine and red tape and the very minimum of overhead charges and administrative expenses. I believe that unemployment is a national problem. I believe that certainly in the immediate future the Federal Government is going to have to recognize it. We will have to have a part in the program for this relief, but the objective should never be lost sight of that we should always encourage the American citizen to take care of himself, and our ultimate objective should always be to bring about such economic solidarity and stability that able-bodied employable people will not

have to ask help from the Government, but will be able to take care of themselves. That is the objective of this legislation—to furnish real relief to people who really need relief.

If anyone should be interested in furnishing relief to worthy politicians I cannot offer them much consolation in this bill. If anyone should be interested in trying to create jobs for administrative personnel I cannot offer them much hope in this bill; but I do believe that this bill, administered fairly; and honestly and sincerely and earnestly, will afford the maximum amount of relief at the minimum amount of cost.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I would prefer to proceed if the Committee will permit me. I do not want to take a lot of time. I would like to briefly review what is in the bill, and then if there is time I will submit to questions if anyone wishes to ask me.

I do not include in this proposal anything for the Farm Security Administration or for the National Youth Administration. Those two matters are left for future consideration in such manner as they should come up. I undertake to treat in this bill, which I will now proceed to discuss more or less in a detailed way, purely the question of unemployment relief.

House Joint Resolution 151 appropriates \$1,120,000,000 for the relief of unemployment and for direct relief during the fiscal year 1940, of which \$1,000,000,000 is to be expended through the Works Progress Administration, to be known after June 30, 1939, as the Unemployment Relief Administration, on unemployment relief projects, and \$120,000,000 of which is made available to the President for expenditure at his direction on unemployment relief projects, in direct relief, or in cash grants to local communities for relief purposes. The bill provides that of the billion dollars made available to the Unemployment Relief Administration the amounts to be expended in each State for each month of the fiscal year shall be determined by Congress not later than June 30, 1939.

The Unemployment Relief Administration is given authority to furnish relief by employment on work projects, either alone or in cooperation with States, municipalities, and other local agencies. It also is empowered to make grants to States, municipalities, and other local public bodies for expenditure on work projects for relief of the unemployed. As the bill provides for a marked reduction in the administrative staff of the Unemployment Relief Administration by January 1, 1940, a considerable proportion of the funds appropriated will necessarily have to be expended by way of grants to local communities. The expenditure of funds in this manner is amply safeguarded, however, as the Unemployment Relief Administration must select or approve the work projects to be undertaken, and will determine the eligibility for employment on such projects. As time will be required for local communities to establish adequate machinery for administering work projects, and because of a wide variation in conditions throughout the United States, the provisions of the bill have been made sufficiently flexible to permit the Unemployment Relief Administration to arrange the work-projects program in every community according to the circumstances there existing, with a view to turning over to the community as soon as it demonstrates its ability to handle the problem the entire management and control of its unemployment relief work, subject only to certain necessary Federal supervision and approval of the relief rolls.

The bill establishes certain qualifications for inclusion on the rolls of those eligible for employment on work projects. It prohibits the use of any funds appropriated on construction projects which ordinarily would be constructed by contract. This provision will eliminate from the relief program construction projects for which Federal aid is made available through other agencies of the Government. The bill directs the Administrator of the Unemployment Relief Administration to file with Congress every 3 months a comprehensive report of the unemployment and relief situation in each State.

A synopsis of the bill by sections follows:

Section 1: The bill appropriates \$1,120,000,000, together with unobligated balances, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, to be expended—

(a) in furnishing direct relief and unemployment relief;

(b) in furnishing direct relief and unemployment relief in cooperation with States, municipalities, and other public bodies;

(c) in making grants to States, municipalities, and other public bodies for direct relief and unemployment relief.

Section 3: Prior to May 15, 1939, the U. R. A. is to be known as the Unemployment Relief Administration. Any Administrator of the Unemployment Relief Administration hereafter appointed is to be appointed by the President with the advice

and consent of the Senate.

Section 3: Prior to May 15, 1939, the U. R. A. Administrator must submit to Congress a statement of the funds to be required for projects for the relief of unemployment in the several States, Territories, possessions, and the District of Columbia, during each month of the fiscal year 1940. The statement must be accompanied by a detailed summary of the factors on the basis of which such statement is made. Not later than June 30, 1939, Congress shall allocate not to exceed \$1,000,000,000 of the appropriation made by the act for expenditure on unemployment relief projects in the several States, Territories, possessions, and the District of Columbia during each month of the fiscal year, such expenditure to be made by the Unemployment Relief Administration, directly or in cooperation with States, municipalities, and other public bodies or by making grants to States. municipalities, and other public bodies for such projects. The U. R. A. Administrator is given the right to increase the amount to be expended in any State, Territory, possession, or the District of Columbia, during any month by not to exceed 10 percent. No grants may be made to any State, municipality, or other public body unless the U. R. A. Administrator shall have determined that it has established a satisfactory plan of unemployment relief and for administration of such relief.

On the 25th of each month the U. R. A. Administrator must file with Congress, or with the Clerk of the House, if Congress is not in session, a classified summary of proposed unemployment relief projects and expenditures, including cash grants, for the ensuing month in each State, Territory, possession, and the District of Columbia, within the amounts authorized

to be expended pursuant to the above provisions.

Section 4: One hundred and twenty million dollars, together with all other sums appropriated by the act and not allocated to the States, and so forth, for unemployment relief projects as provided by section 3 is made available to the President to expend through the U. R. A., or any other agency the President may designate, for any purpose specified in section 1. Any allocation of these funds must be reported by the President within 10 days of such allocation, and a report of expenditures under this section must be made to Congress every 3 months.

Section 5: The U. R. A. Administrator is required to file with Congress quarterly a report from the Governor or authorized agency of each State, Territory, possession, and the District of Columbia for the preceding 3-month period containing the following information:

(a) The average number of persons and the average compensation paid on unemployment relief projects during each

month of such period;

(b) The average number of persons receiving direct relief and the average amount of relief funds paid to each person on relief during each month of such period;

(c) The total contribution made by the State and by each of its subdivisions to unemployment relief and to direct relief

during each month of such period;

(d) The average number of persons eligible for direct relief and unemployment relief in the State and in each of its subdivisions during each month of such period, as shown by the relief rolls: and

(e) Such other information pertaining to relief, work relief, and unemployment as the Administrator may require. Section 6: (a) The payment of compensation from funds expended pursuant to section 3 of the act is limited to those whose names appear on unemployment relief rolls prepared or approved by the U. R. A. Administrator.

(b) To be eligible for inclusion on unemployment relief rolls a person must have the following qualifications, in the

determination of the U.R.A. Administrator:

(1) He must be employable.

(2) He must have made a reasonable effort without success to find private employment.

(3) He cannot be eligible for any other form of Federal or local assistance in an amount sufficient to maintain him and those dependent upon him.

(4) He or his dependents will suffer actual want or privation if he is not included in the program of work relief.

(c) No person may be employed on an unemployment relief project for a continuous period of more than 12 months, or for more than 12 months in any 15-month period, after January 1, 1939, and thereafter he loses his relative position on the unemployment relief rolls and is placed at the end of the list.

(d) Persons on unemployment relief rolls who accept private employment may return to such rolls after termination of such employment in the same relative status as they occupied before.

(e) A refusal without cause to accept available private employment will result in the person concerned losing his relative position on the unemployment relief rolls and being placed at the end of the list.

Section 7: The provision of the 1938 act with respect to prevailing rates of pay is embodied in the present bill.

Section 8: No project may hereafter be undertaken with funds to be expended under section 3 of this act which ordinarily would be constructed under contract or otherwise than by the forces of the State, municipality or other public body providing a portion of the cost of such project.

Section 9: The provisions in the bill with respect to preference in employment on work-relief projects and the elimination of aliens from work-relief rolls are identical with those approved in the conference report with respect to House Joint

Resolution 83.

Section 10: It is made a felony for any administrative em-

ployee to engage in political activity.

Section 11: It is made a felony for any person to solicit or accept a contribution for political purposes from anyone on relief rolls prepared or approved under this act or from anyone who is receiving relief under this act. It is also made a felony for one to threaten any such person in order to secure contributions or support.

Section 12: An appropriation for administrative expenses of the Unemployment Relief Administration is provided, and in this connection the U. R. A. is restricted after December 31, 1939, to 1,500 employees in the District of Columbia and 5,000

outside the District of Columbia.

Section 13: The President is authorized to make the expenditures necessary for carrying out the purposes of section 4 of the act.

Section 14: The U. R. A. Administrator is authorized to prescribe the necessary rules and regulations to carry out the purposes of the act.

Section 15: Purchases of supplies involving less than \$300 are exempted from the public-advertisement provision of the Federal statutes.

Section 16: Fraud and unlawful diversion of funds are declared to be misdemeanors punishable by fine and imprisonment.

Section 17: The act is to be known as the Unemployment Relief Appropriation Act of 1939.

I provide in this bill, section 8, that there shall be no heavy construction projects undertaken by the Unemployment Relief Administrator; and I wish to say in this connection that to this extent at least I do not agree with the conclusions contained in the very interesting and very helpful study made by the so-called Byrnes committee. I believe it would not be logical to undertake to combine in one organization

the Public Works Administration and the Works Progress Administration, the National Youth Administration, and the Civilian Conservation Corps. Especially antagonistic are the very purposes and the very approach to the problem of P. W. A. and W. P. A. The Public Works Administration, while it seeks to increase employment, relies upon indirect employment. It does not deal with relief labor. It undertakes to increase employment by stimulating business and through increased commerce, the manufacturing, processing, and transporting of materials undertakes to create permanent jobs for skilled labor-and also, of course, for unskilled labor; whereas the Relief Administration is purely temporary. It seeks to give men a security wage, to tide them over between times of permanent employment. I believe we would not get anywhere by undertaking to saddle on the Public Works Administration the administration of relief. The Public Works Administration, in my judgment, has done a fine job, and I call your attention to page 1240 of the hearings on the independent offices bill in which report it is set out. I shall read briefly from the report:

The greatest effect on the relief of the unemployed by any Public Works Administration program yet launched will reach its peak in the spring and summer months of 1939 when nearly \$1,000,000,000 in material orders will be placed with manufacturers of construction materials. It has been estimated, on the basis of figures established by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, through extensive research, that in producing, fabricating, manufacturing, and transporting these materials more than one and one-fourth billion man-hours of employment will be created. In addition to this enormous amount of indirect or behind the lines employment, there will be provided by the 1938 program, approximately 500,000,000 man-hours of direct (site) employment. This employment, however, will be more evenly distributed over the entire construction period, the peak to be reached in midsummer 1939, when a weekly average of approximately 500,000 men will be employed.

As stated, I carry in this bill the political inhibitions substantially as they are carried in the conference report which we adopted a few days ago.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 additional minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I carry in this bill another provision which I think will be wholesome. In section 6 (c) I provide that those on relief rolls who have been there for 12 consecutive months shall stand aside and the opportunity given to people who have not shared or participated in that program. I make this provision effective January 1, 1940. When it goes into effect there will be, according to information before our committee, three or four hundred thousand W. P. A. workers who have been on this program since its inception 4 or 5 years ago. In addition to that, there are between 750,000 and a million American citizens eligible and ready to be certified for W. P. A. who have never had any part in the program, a great army of people who have scratched the bottom of the flour barrel, who are standing back waiting while another and more favored group are receiving all of the benefits of Government relief.

Let us bear this in mind when we approach this problem of relief. It is a discussion about which we may get very emotional and very melodramatic if we wish to do so. For instance, I saw a statement which came from a distinguished legislator not long ago in which he stated he could not bear to think of cutting the recent emergency appropriation from \$875,000,000 to \$725,000,000 because it would mean that people would be without employment and would

be hungry.

Mr. Chairman, there have been fourteen or fifteen million able-bodied American citizens unemployed all during this program and only about 3,000,000 of them have ever gotten on the W. P. A. rolls. Who has been shedding tears about the other eight or nine million? Where have they been all the time? They have been just as hungry as the rest of them. The 750,000 who are standing on the side lines are just as much American citizens as the man who has been on relief 4 or 5 years. The 750,000 are just as much entitled to consideration from the Government as the rest of those who have been getting all of it. So I say, let us divide the blessings of Government up a little bit and if a

man has had it for 4 or 5 years we will give him 6 months' notice that he is going to have to step aside and let some poor, unfortunate man or woman take his place.

Also I provide in this bill for a drastic reduction in the administrative personnel and overhead of the relief program. Evidence before our committee showed that W. P. A. now has about 2,000 on its Washington staff and 35,000 in the field. I venture to suggest that a lot of the political difficulties that W. P. A. has gotten into have been on account of that army of 35,000 administrative personnel scattered all over the country. I provide in this bill that we may utilize the State agencies and State employees for the administration of this program and that in the field there shall not be at any time in excess of 5,000 administrative employees and that in the home office there shall not be in excess of 1,500 administrative employees. Bear in mind if you take off the rolls or replace 35,000 administrative people in the field, you have made places for 100,000 relief workers at security wages. If you take away from the W. P. A. its heavy construction program you have permitted them to drastically reduce their heavy administrative expenses in running this program, consequently cutting down its administrative costs.

I could go on ad infinitum. As I stated in the beginning, there is nothing novel or sensational about this bill. I have no pride of authorship in it. I present the matter because I believe, with the President, it is a matter that Congress should approach leisurely, deliberately, carefully, and thoughtfully. If I can succeed in stimulating your thinking on the subject, and your active interest in trying to find a solution for the problem, and to cause our committee to begin a careful study and analysis of the situation, then everything I have started out to do will be accomplished and I shall feel that the Congress is for the first time perhaps approaching this perplexing problem in a way that may give promise of pleasing results. [Applause.]

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 20 minutes.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I rise at this time to speak briefly in respect to an item which you will find included in the hearings on this bill, but which is not actually in the bill itself for reasons which will be developed later. I refer to the matter of appropriation for the Federal Communications Commission.

For years on the floor of this House and elsewhere I have joined with other Members of the House on both sides of the aisle in advocating a thoroughgoing investigation of radio broadcasting and its regulation under the Federal Communications Commission. I have done so because it has seemed to me that such an investigation was absolutely essential if we are to have proper regulation of this activity which has come to play such a tremendous part in our national life.

No man, Mr. Chairman, can read the Federal Radio Act or the Federal Communications Act without realizing that Congress sought in those acts certain very definite objectives. Among these objectives was the elimination of monopoly or the evils of monopoly, the elimination of private ownership or the equivalent in radio frequencies, and the elimination of undesirable trafficking in licenses. And yet, Mr. Chairman, during recent years there has been continually increasing evidence indicating that no one of these objectives or other objectives sought by the Congress have been realized.

On the contrary, there has been increasing evidence indicating a virtual monopoly in this field by the three big broadcasting chains—Columbia, Mutual, and National. There has been mounting evidence also of practices growing up with the approval of the Commission such as that whereby radio stations and facilities are transferred from one party to another for an approved consideration far in excess of the replacement value of the assets transferred, a practice carrying with it all the possibilities for the capitalization of Government franchises to the detriment of the people as a whole, with which we have been familiar in other fields in the past.

Mr. Chairman, the hearings before your committee show no decrease in these tendencies during the past fiscal year. On the contrary, they furnish further evidence of monopoly and further evidence of transfers of facilities for considerations in excess of their physical value. If you want an example of increasing monopoly I refer you to the transfer of WNAX, as a result of which during the last campaign an Iowa newspaper already controlling three frequencies was awarded a fourth frequency, with substantially blanket control over the State of Iowa. If you want further evidence of the transfer of facilities for apparently excessive consideration, you will find it in the table filed by the Communications Commission in connection with these hearings.

The record also indicates, Mr. Chairman, an absolute failure by the Communications Commission to formulate major policies, which, in my judgment, are fundamental to the proper regulation of radio broadcasting. We have no national communications policy today. Chairman McNinch has so testified. We have no standards of program service, despite the hundreds of complaints received in each and every year. No policy has been formulated as to the issue or transfer of radio licenses. No policy has been defined in respect to experimental licenses, in respect to the possible payment of license fees, in respect to many other important matters within the field of radio regulation. In fact, Mr. Chairman, I believe it is fair to state that regulation to date has proceeded in large measure in the absence of well-defined policies under frequent charges of favoritism, politics, and worse.

Incidentally, Mr. Chairman, I should like to call the attention of the members of this committee to that portion of the hearings which refers to the recent telephone investigation by the Communications Commission. I assume that every Member of this House desires proper regulation of all means of communication. I assume also that every Member of the House has anticipated a report within the terms of the resolution authorizing the investigation, giving "accurate and comprehensive" information with respect to the field investigated. I submit, however, Mr. Chairman, that the record before your committee raises very definitely the question whether it is not a practical impossibility for the Commission to comply with its mandate to furnish this Congress with information which may fairly be said to be "comprehensive and accurate,"

If you will note the testimony in the hearings you will observe that the methods employed in the investigation were such as to deny to those investigated the right to produce their own witnesses, the right to cross-examine Government witnesses, and, until recently, the right to consideration of some 40 volumes of criticism and comment filed with respect to the testimony included in the record of the investigation. I am frank to state, Mr. Chairman, that in my judgment the testimony before your committee lends real foundation for the charges which have been made that the methods pursued in the investigation were both unworthy of a Federal commission and un-American.

I want now to say a word in regard to the steps which have recently been taken with a view to reorganizing the Federal Communications Commission. I believe this is important because of suggested legislation in this connection.

I have here a copy of Business Week for December 1938. In that publication you will find an article which starts out as follows, "Say 'Uncle' to Corcoran":

The Federal Communications Commission is the latest to feel the weight of Thomas Corcoran's hand. He is not only rewriting the basic law under which the F. C. C. is functioning; he is giving orders to the Commission. "We're getting rid of so-and-so," he telephoned one Commissioner. "You vote with us or else."

Under date of December 7 a front-page article appeared in the Washington Post under the heading "Bill Reported in Making To Scrap F. C. C.; Three-Man Board Believed Aim."

The article reads in part as follows:

Legislation designed to abolish the Federal Communications Commission and to substitute a more centralized administration is being drafted by Thomas G. Corcoran, coauthor of several New Deal acts. \* \* It is believed to have the approval of Chairman Frank McNinch.

When Mr. McNinch was asked about the latter article he denied any knowledge of it, stating that he had not read it, and that, as far as he knew, no legislation had been drafted

by any human being in connection with the Commission. When asked if it was contemplated or was his thought that the Commission should be abolished and a more centralized administration substituted in its place, he declined to answer on the ground that the answer would involve communications between himself and the President.

Let me point out some of the steps that have been taken, with these newspaper statements as a background. The first step taken under the heading of "Reorganization" was the elimination of the general counsel. The general counsel, a man of years of experience, a veteran, was in effect discharged from the Commission, as I understand it, for inefficiency. I am informed that at the present time he is employed by another agency at exactly the salary which he earned with the F. C. C.

In his place the Commission employed two counsel, a general counsel and an assistant, Messrs. Dempsey and Koplovitz, 33 and 29 years of age, respectively, no doubt with ability, but with very limited experience, said to have been strongly recommended for appointment by Corcoran.

The second step was an attempt to persuade the Civil Service Commission to except from civil-service status about 50 of the staff of the F. C. C., including the head of the Information Service and the entire board of examiners.

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. LUDLOW. I wonder if the gentleman can give us any information as to why Mr. Wisner was dismissed from the office of Director of Information. I may say that in my long newspaper career here Mr. Wisner was one of my esteemed colleagues in the press gallery. I had constant contact with his activity at that time and later, when he had charge of the press relations of the F. C. C. I never knew a more conscientious, more industrious, and, in my opinion, more capable official than Mr. Wisner. He was always extremely helpful in his service to the representatives of the press, who hold him in the highest esteem. I was utterly amazed when I learned he had been incontinently fired from his position.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I thank the gentleman for his observation. My understanding is that Mr. Wisner has been in the service for a very long period of time—some 15 years, I think—and that his efficiency rating was excellent. As far as I am concerned, Mr. McNinch failed to give a satisfactory answer to the gentleman's query as to the reason for the removal.

The request for action by the Civil Service Commission was opposed by certain members of the F. C. C. and did not meet with favorable action by that Commission. The position of the Civil Service Commission is indicated by its statement that—

It may state in this connection that it believes it would not be obeying the direction of the President in his Executive order were it to concur in the recommendation of Chairman McNinch in his letter of September 23, to increase the number of nonmerit positions in the Federal Communications Commission.

That step having failed, another step was taken under the leadership of Chairman McNinch. This step consisted in the adoption of an order by the Communications Commission, an order adopted without prior submission to the Civil Service Commission, as required by applicable Executive orders, an order adopted also without apparent consideration of the veterans' preference applying to the discharge, dropping, or reduction in rank or salary of any honorably discharged soldier or sailor, an order which, among other things, proceeded to abolish entirely the office of the head of the Information Service and the entire Board of Examiners. The order was adopted by a 4 to 3 vote in the Commission.

In place of the head of the Information Service, Mr. Wisner, to whom the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Ludlow] has just made reference, and whose salary, incidentally, was \$4,600, the Commission employed a Director and Assistant Director, Mr. Ramsay, at a salary of \$7,200, Mr. Smith, at a salary of \$3,200, and, I think, also one or two additional persons in the clerical force. As I understand Mr. McNinch's testimony, the

functions of the new personnel are substantially those of the office which the order eliminated.

Of the members of the board of examiners, which was abolished by the order, all but two were transferred to the legal division under the jurisdiction of the general counsel. The other two were let go, one of them the chief of the division, Colonel Arnold, being a gentleman with a fine record overseas with the Rainbow Division who for years has had the rating of Special Assistant Attorney General, who at one time was Assistant Director of the Veterans' Administration and who had been for some three and a half years with the Federal Communications Commission.

No hearing was accorded those discharged.

Under the terms of the order a brand new method of hearing is provided for.

Mr. FISH. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I yield, briefly.

Mr. FISH. Will the gentleman explain how the Government controls the issuance of licenses to the radio com-

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. As a matter of policy, each license is subject to review every 6 months. Under the law they may be issued for a period of 3 years.

Mr. FISH. But, actually, are they issued for 6 months?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Actually, as a matter of practice, they are issued for a period of 6 months.

Mr. FISH. Therefore, the Government has complete control of these licenses every 6 months.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. That is correct.

Mr. FISH. Does not that give a great deal of control to the administration with respect to radio licenses?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I think it does, and I am inclined to think from various points of view, including that of administrative expenditure, that it might be advisable to make the period a longer one.

As I was saying, a brand new procedure for hearings has been set up as a result of the order of the Commission on November 9. I think it is a matter of vital importance. If I understand the new procedure correctly, under its terms we no longer have a hearing of the facts before a specially qualified examiner with independent standing by reason of his civil-service status. We have no findings embodied in a public document, as a result of the hearing made by the examiner who heard and saw the witnesses testify. We have no embarrassing examiner's report which the Communications Commission must consider in arriving at its decision in any case.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 additional minutes.

In place of that procedure, we have simply the taking of testimony by any employee of the Commission whom the Commission may designate and the preparation of proposed findings of fact for the Commission by any person whom the Commission may designate.

Listen to the testimony of Mr. McNinch in this connection. On page 1513 of the hearings, in response to an inquiry as to whether or not a member of the staff at a salary of \$2,400 a year was now acting in the capacity of examiner, Mr. McNinch replied that he saw no reason why-

A bright young lawyer, at \$2,400 a year, could not sit and take evidence; for he is not, as you recall, to make any comment or findings on the evidence, or do anything whatever with the evidence as taken except to transmit it bodily to the Commission as taken. He has no other function or duty in connection with it.

Mr. Dirksen. He makes no findings?

Mr. McNinch. None whatever. Mr. Wigglesworth. He does not prepare a report that goes to the Commission?

Mr. McNinch. No, sir

Mr. Wigglesworth. That is prepared by some attorney in the force?

Mr. McNinch. Whoever the Commission may direct

Mr. Wigglesworth. It may be entirely a different person from the one who takes testimony?

Mr. McNinch. It might be.

Wigglesworth. There are no special requirements; anybody

may be designated.
Mr. McNinch. Yes, sir.

Mr. Chairman, as I see it, this new procedure that has been set up by the Commission abolishes anything like the customary quasi judicial hearing that we have been used to under the Interstate Commerce Commission and other similar agencies. As I see it, the dividing line between the quasi judicial function of the examiner and the function of attorney representing the Commission is eliminated. The entire procedure is placed solely within the control of the general counsel, in this instance a man said to have been strongly recommended for the position by Corcoran. I question, Mr. Chairman, under these conditions, if an applicant obtains the type of hearing which as a matter of law he is entitled to.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I yield.

Mr. FISH. Does the gentleman believe it is a wise policy for newspapers to control the radio at the same time?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, that is a large question. I think it is one of the major items that ought to be gone into and carefully considered. I am opposed to undue monopoly in the broadcasting field, in any form. I am not prepared at the moment to say just where the line should be drawn.

Mr. FISH. I asked the question because I believe the gentleman has made a very thorough study of many aspects of

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I think it is a major item that should have been gone into long ago, and that should be gone into now if we have the proper kind of investigation.

Mr. Chairman, the steps taken by the F. C. C., to which I have referred, look very much to me like steps along the course outlined in the newspaper articles to which I have referred. Taken in conjunction with the proposed three-man set-up, they look to me very much like an attempt to wipe out the Commission as we have known it in the past and to substitute a more centralized administration. They look further very much like an attempt to bring this quasi judicial agency under the domination of the executive branch of the Government, in line with the proposal embodied in the original reorganization bill a year ago which excited such condemnation from those primarily affected.

I could speak at length and in detail on this subject, Mr. Chairman, but I shall conclude. The move for a thoroughgoing congressional investigation of radio broadcasting and its regulation gained powerful support in this House last session. The President of the United States has now stated publicly that he is "thoroughly dissatisfied" with conditions at the Commission, and recommends remedial legislation.

Chairman McNinch looks forward to such legislation, and at page 1515 of the hearings makes the following statement:

There will be legislation, Mr. Wigglesworth, in all human probability, which will bring up the whole subject, in which I know you are interested, and it will give everybody an opportunity who is interested in it; because there could be no such legislation, I take it, without an opportunity for a thorough and full investigation and examination of the Commission, its work, its action-

Mr. Chairman, I agree with these sentiments 100 percent. In order to legislate we must, of course, first have a thorough and full investigation. There has been no thoroughgoing investigation in this field for upwards of 12 years.

I have at the moment a resolution providing for such an investigation pending before the Committee on Rules of this House. My good friend and colleague the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Connery] has a similar resolution pending. There may be other similar resolutions before the Rules Committee. I hope, and hope sincerely, Mr. Chairman, that this House will see its way clear to authorize a real investigation in the very near future in order that we may have full information upon which to base new legislation as suggested by the President. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. MARTIN].

# RUSHMORE

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, in the Black Hills of South Dakota there is being executed the most colossal and sublime sculpture ever conceived by the mind and executed by the hand of man. It so dwarfs the sculpture of the world that there is no comparison; there is only contrast. I refer to the group of great American figures being carved out of the granite summit of Mount Rushmore by Gutzon Borglum, the noted sculptor, who executed the living Lincoln head which has graced the rotunda of the Capitol Building for more than 30 years.

I have traveled through every State in the Union and seen all of its wonders, both natural and artificial, but when last September I rounded a point in the Black Hills from which this majestic spectacle can first be seen miles away—the heads and faces of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln—I felt at once that this was the sight of my life.

When at last I stood across the gorge from the base of the mountain and gazed up, the thought came to me that if the present race of men were to become extinct and a new generation came upon these gigantic heads hewed out of the mountain top, they would worship them as gods. It was impossible to keep one's eyes off of those great faces. One looked till his eyes ached, and kept on looking.

It seemed impossible that such human portrayals could be wrought out of rock in such gigantic proportions and invested with the personalities of men. The face of Washington, dominating the group, wears the same serene high dignity, the face of Lincoln carries the same brooding thought that we are familiar with in the most intimate representations of these great men; and for the first time I looked upon a face of Jefferson which gave me what seemed a distinct impression of the real man. I have no doubt the treatment of Theodore Roosevelt now in progress will be as satisfying as these other faces already limned upon the rock.

It is all the more incredible when one learns that from the crown of the head to the point of the chin it is 60 feet; that the nose is 17 feet in length, larger than the entire head of the Sphinx of Egypt; that the eye is 9 feet across and the mouth 18 feet; and that these heads are drawn to the scale of a man 465 feet tall. Sculpture on a scale never before attempted. I call it not colossal or stupendous. Such magnitude in art beggars all superlatives.

It is likewise incredible that these lifelike reliefs have been brought to their present state by hard-rock miners with diamond drills and dynamite. They have yet to be dressed and polished and brought to ultimate perfection by sculptors. But even if they were left as they are now they would stand for all time as living American history, expressed in imperishable character.

It is an awesome but not phantasmal thought that the rising sun of 10,000 years will light up those lofty and majestic countenances; that the storms of 10,000 years will beat in vain upon them; and that long after the star of empire has set and the true likeness of all other men who played a part in its history has been obliterated, these four great faces will still look down upon whatever type of man and government may flourish on the globe at that remote time.

Rooted deeply in the granite structure of the earth from which they have been carved, they are more firmly founded than the pyramids, more enduring than the sphinx. Only a major catastrophe of nature can destroy them.

To the man whose genius has made this priceless gift to the ages it must be a satisfaction beyond the power of words to express. Centuries hence people from all parts of the earth will journey to Rushmore to see a spectacle which dwarfts the sculptural wonders of Egypt and Greece and Rome. It is commensurate to the greatness of America, fixed forever

I would that all Members of Congress might go to Rushmore and stand and look. The case would be complete for the appropriation of every dollar needed to finish this immortal work. God sparing me, I shall pass that way again. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Colorado has expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN].

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT, AS INTERPRETED AND ENFORCED BY NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD, DEPRIVES EMPLOYEES OF THE RIGHT TO BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY THROUGH REPRESENTATIVES OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, this bill carries an appropriation of \$3,189,600 for the Labor Board. The C. I. O. has wired many of us asking that the amount be increased to \$3,230,000.

The National Labor Relations Act is so unfit for the purpose for which it was enacted; it has been so misused by those appointed to administer it, that an amendment of the act leaving in office those who have been charged with its interpretation and enforcement will not insure to the employees the rights given them by the seventh section of the act.

### PERSONNEL ADMINISTERING THE ACT SHOULD BE CHANGED

Inasmuch as an amendment of the act would leave the present personnel in full charge, the act itself should be repealed and an act to diminish the causes of labor disputes, drawn solely with that purpose in mind, should be reenacted and a nev body created for its enforcement, or the judicial powers incorporated in the act turned over to the Federal courts.

While general discussion and general arguments are of value, the citation of a few concrete instances showing the fallacies of the law and the spirit in which it is interpreted may bring home to all of us a realization of the present act's imperfections and the utter failure of those charged with its interpretation and enforcement to either understand or to be willing to carry out the purpose for which it was enacted.

#### A CONCRETE EXAMPLE

Let me call your attention now to one instance—and there are hundreds of them—which will show you just how this act, as interpreted, affects the worker and the employer.

The American Cyanamid Co., a Maine corporation, with its principal place of business and sales offices in New York City, through its ownership of the capital stock of seven companies, is engaged throughout a large part of the United States and in some foreign countries, in the manufacture and sale of chemicals, dyestuffs, and other products.

The company owns and operates directly a plant at Bound Brook, N. J., which is known as the Beetle plant. Another subsidiary of the parent company is the Calco Chemical Co., maintaining plants at Newark and Bound Brook, N. J., the Bound Brook plant being engaged in the manufacture of dyestuffs.

A majority of the employees of the Calco Chemical Co. formed an independent union, which is known as the Calcocraft. None of the employees in the Beetle plant belonged to this union.

The Chemical Workers Local, No. 20923, an A. F. of L. affiliate, had members in both the Beetle and the Calco Chemical Co. plants.

### ARBITRARY SELECTION OF UNIT

Under section 9 (b) of the Wagner Law the Board has authority to decide whether in each case the unit appropriate for the purposes of collective bargaining shall be the employer unit, craft unit, plant unit, or subdivision thereof.

### ARBITRARY DENIAL OF REPRESENTATION

In July of 1937 the Calcocraft, acting under the act, filed a petition with the proper representative of the Board, alleging that it represented 955 production employees out of a total of 1,570 employed by the Calco Chemical Co., and asked that it be certified as the bargaining agent.

### BOARD BEGINS COERCION

On September 2, 1937, acting upon charges filed by Chemical Workers local, the regional director issued a complaint against the Calco Chemical Co. and the American Cyanamid Co., charging the first with sponsoring the Calcocraft union.

### FINDS COMPANIES GUILTY

Hearings were held on this complaint from September 9 to 30 and, on February 18, 1938, the trial examiner filed his intermediate report, finding that the Calco Chemical Co. and the American Cyanamid Co. had engaged in unfair labor practices and recommending that they cease and desist therefrom.

#### MAKES COLLUSIVE AGREEMENT

On March 28, 1938, the two companies, the Chemical Workers Union, and the Board entered into an agreement of settlement with reference to the unfair labor practices charged in the complaint of the Chemical Workers local filed in September of 1937, which provided that an order might be entered by the Board requiring, among other things, that the Calco Chemical Co. withdraw all recognition at its Bound Brook, N. J., plant from the Calcocraft—

As representative of its employees for the purpose of dealing with them concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours of employment, or conditions of work, and to disestablish all relations to said organization.

The agreement further provided that the companies reinstate and pay certain sums to certain employees who were members of the Chemical Workers local.

#### ENTERS COERCIVE ORDER

The Board, on the 28th of April 1938 dismissed in its entirety the complaint against the American Cyanamid Co. and made an order requiring, among other things, that the Calco Chemical Co.

Withdraw all recognition at its Bound Brook, N. J., plant from the Calcocraft as representative of its employees for the purpose of dealing with them concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours of employment or conditions of work, and disestablish all relations to said organization.

The order further required the Calco Chemical Co. to post a notice for a period of at least 30 days in conspicuous places throughout all departments of its plants containing this statement:

The company will and hereby does withdraw all recognition from the Calcocraft as representative of its employees for the purpose of dealing with them concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours of employment, or conditions of work; and the company will and hereby does disestablish all relations with the Calcocraft.

### HOLDS BELATED ELECTION

On the 7th of July 1938 the Board, having designated the Calco Chemical Co. and the American Cyanamid Co. at Bound Brook, N. J., as the appropriate unit, held an election of the employees of both of these companies at Bound Brook, N. J., for the purpose of enabling the employees to select their bargaining representatives.

It should be remembered that the Calcocraft had members only in the Calco Chemical Co., while the Chemical Workers local had members in the Calco Chemical Co. plant and also in the Beetle plant of the American Cyanamid Co.

It should also be noted that the ballot submitted to the employees did not contain the name of the Calcocraft and the question to be decided by the employees was whether or not they desired that the Chemical Workers Local be chosen as the representative for collective bargaining.

The Board by this procedure strengthened the Chemical Workers local and weakened the Calcocraft by adding to the number of qualified voters the workers in the Beetle plant.

On the election board were five representatives of the two companies and five representatives of the Chemical Workers local. No one representing the Calcocraft was permitted to sit on the board.

This election, notwithstanding the adverse conditions under which it was held, resulted in a determination of the production employees of the two plants that they did not desire the Chemical Workers local as their bargaining agent.

### BOARD DISREGARDS ELECTION

Here you will note that the Board by its order required the employer to withdraw from all recognition of the bargaining representatives selected by the employees by a majority vote. Section 7 of the act provides:

Employees shall have the right to self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities, for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection.

You would assume, would you not, that under this section the employees would have the right to be represented by the Calcocraft for all bargaining purposes? You would assume, would you not, that they would not be forced to accept the Chemical Workers local as their bargaining agent after they had rejected that organization by more than a majority vote?

DEPRIVES EMPLOYEES OF RIGHT TO PRESENT GRIEVANCE

In view of the provision in section 9 (a) which reads-

Provided, That any individual employee or a group of employees shall have the right at any time to present grievances to their employer—

Would you not assume that the majority of the production employees in the Calco Chemical Co. would have that right?

Yet the Board denied them that right in its order of April 28, 1938, for it expressly provided that, in its Bound Brook plant, the Calco Chemical Co. withdraw all recognition—

From the Calcocraft as representative of its employees for the purpose of dealing with them concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours of employment, or conditions of work.

From the decision of the Board denying the employees the right given them by the act itself, the employees have no right of appeal to the courts unless the Board has seen fit, as it does not in the vast majority of cases, to make the employees parties to the hearings before the trial examiner or the Board. Employees, by the act and by the interpretation placed upon it by the Board, are deprived as a rule of any right of appeal to the courts.

This is the Board which is today asking that we appropriate \$3,189,600 for the carrying on of its operations—a Board which in this particular case has gone directly contrary to the provisions of the act and has denied to the workers of the Calco Chemical Co. the right to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing.

#### A. F. OF L. GENERAL COUNSEL CONTENDS EMPLOYEES DENIED SELF-ORGANIZATION

Will you listen, please, to this statement?-

One would imagine by the position taken by the board that section 7 was an absolute guaranty to all employees to self-organization. One would imagine that every employee under section 7 has the absolute right to freedom of choice in respect to representatives for the purpose of collective bargaining. Nothing can be further from the truth.

That statement was made before the United States Supreme Court on the 17th day of October 1938 by the Honorable Joseph A. Padway, general counsel for the American Federation of Labor, who was then speaking on behalf of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. It is not my statement; it is his statement.

Getting back now to the plight of the production employees of the Calco Chemical Co., the Board having ordered that the company withdraw all recognition from their union, that the company refuse even to meet them, although that right was given them by subdivision (a) of section 9 of the act, on the 28th of July 1938, they filed in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit a petition to review and set aside the order of the Board.

### BOARD RESCINDS ITS ORDER

On August 12, 1938, the Board notified the Calcocraft that it would apply to the court for permission to vacate and set aside its findings and order of April 28, 1938, for the purpose of taking further proceedings before the Board.

On August 18, 1938, the Board did enter its order vacating and setting aside its findings and order of April 28 and directing that such further proceedings be taken as the Board might be advised were necessary or desirable.

### BOARD TAKES ADVANTAGE OF ITS OWN NEGLECT

The Board stated in this order that it was made pursuant to the authority conferred by paragraph (d) of section 10 of the act, which provides:

Until a transcript of the record in a case shall have been filed in a court, as hereinafter provided, the Board may at any time, upon reasonable notice and in such manner as it shall deem proper, modify or set aside, in whole or in part, any finding or order made or issued by it.

In connection with this reason given by the Board let me call your attention to the fact that from the time of the making of the order on the 28th of April 1938 up to the time

of the filing by the Calcocraft of its petition with the circuit court of appeals on the 28th of July 1938, the Board had taken no proceedings in that court for the enforcement of its order and hence had not filed a transcript of the record as it would be required to do if it took such proceedings.

Subdivision (f) of section 10 provides for an appeal from a final order of the Board by any person who has been aggrieved and requires the aggrieved party to file in the court a transcript of the entire writing of the proceedings "certi-

fied by the Board."

In this particular case, although Robert B. Watts, associate general counsel for the Board, on July 28, 1938, stated in writing that "the record will be certified and filed as promptly as possible and you will be notified of the filing," the Board did not certify the record; but on August 18 it set aside its order, assigning as one reason for its action that a transcript of the record had not been filed; thus taking advantage of its own wrong after it had violated its own promise.

And this is the Board which today is asking that it be given \$3,189,600.

The circuit court of appeals permitted the Board to withdraw and set aside its order of April 28, 1938, and the Board is once more either taking proceedings or considering the

EMPLOYER, HAVING OBEYED THE BOARD'S ORDER TO REINSTATE AND PAY EMPLOYEES FOR LOST TIME, AFTER REINSTATEMENT AND PAYMENT, FINDS THE ORDER VACATED

In the meantime, the employer has reinstated and paid the men it was ordered to reinstate and to pay by an order which the Board itself has now vacated.

Were the men so entitled to be paid the sums which the company did pay them? Was it right and just and equitable that the company be required to pay those men? If it was, why should the order be now set aside?

After ordering that the Calco Chemical Co. withdraw all recognition from the Calcocraft as representative of its employees and refuse to deal with them concerning their grievances, the Board now sets aside that order and retains the case for further proceedings-this more than a year and a half after the Board assumed jurisdiction of this labor

For a year and a half the Labor Board has been interfering in the relationship existing between this employer and its employees, and the employees are still deprived of the right of collective bargaining through representatives of their own

The foregoing is just one of many, many like cases.

Let another case be cited.

On the 31st day of December 1936 the C. I. O. and its communistic allies took over the automobile factories at Flint, Mich. They held possession of those factories until the 11th day of February 1937. The direct loss to the wageearners of General Motors alone has been set at a million dollars a day.

During the whole period of 44 days and from that day down to this date, what has the Labor Board done to lessen the cause of industrial dispute? Has it made a complaint against General Motors?

As early as Tuesday, January 5, 1937, General Motors inserted a full-page ad in the Detroit papers in which, among other things, it stated:

General Motors is pledged to collective bargaining on the basis of absolute and uninfluenced freedom of choice on the part of any worker to join any organization without coercion, restraint, or intimidation.

The Board did not, as it has authority to do under the act, make a complaint; it did not determine the bargaining unit; it did not call an election to select representatives for collective bargaining. It, by its silence, lent active assistance to those who unlawfully occupied those plants.

Defiance of law, violence, riots, anarchy, and bloodshed continued and this Labor Board, which is now asking for upwards of \$3,000,000, took no effective measures to end the dispute, to lessen the causes of dispute.

On January 28, 1937, in another full page ad in the Detroit Free Press, General Motors, after referring to its statement of January 5, among other things, said:

Three weeks have passed. During that time we have earnestly striven to do everything possible to develop negotiations with the group that has attacked us, in the hopes of reaching a satisfactory solution that will protect the interests of all involved and enable you to go back to work. \* \* Over a hundred thousand have signified their desire to return to work. \* \* \* I have told you signified their desire to return to work. \* \* \* I have told you before and you yourself have always known that you are deprived of the right to work by a small minority who have seized certain plants and are holding them as ransom to enforce their demands.

It again announced its willingness to negotiate as soon as its plants were vacated.

When it was apparent that the citizens of Flint would no longer submit to the unlawful acts of the sit-down strikers and that a force was being organized to throw the sit-down strikers out of the plants, without the cracking of a single head or the breaking of a single limb, the sit-down strikers marched out and, on the 11th day of February 1937, a written agreement with General Motors was signed.

What is the situation today? Homer Martin, the leader of the sit-down strikers of 1937 recently said there had been since the signing of that agreement, 1,000 wildcat strikes.

Two years have passed and today General Motors is refusing to bargain collectively with its employees. Why? Not because it does not wish to bargain collectively with representatives of the unions, but because there is no one with whom it can bargain.

Homer Martin claims that he is the man who represents the U. A. W. A. Thomas, of a rival group, says that he and his associates are the ones with whom collective bargaining should be carried on.

General Motors does not know, it cannot know, with whom is can safely bargain and through it all the Labor Board, which 2 years ago could have made a complaint, called an election, designated the bargaining unit and determined the representatives for collective bargaining, sits, so far as solving the real problem is concerned, idly by.

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gen-

tleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I yield. Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Does the gentleman know that the Labor Board is the father of the C. I. O. in this country and is more responsible for labor trouble than any other factor in this country today?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Answering the gentleman from Missouri, I may say that I do not know whether it is the father of that law or of this trouble, but I do know-because the record shows it-that since the Labor Board has been active we have had in 1 year more strikes, more days lost to the wage earners, more days of employment lost in 1 year than we had in 4 years before the act went into effect.

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I yield.

Mr. GEYER of California. I am wondering if there might not be other contributing factors such as greater mechanization of our industries rather than just the existence of the Labor Board. Would the gentleman care to discuss this feature?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I freely admit there are various causes, but the one outstanding cause is the fact that the Labor Board has taken under its wing one labor organization and has been attempting to build up that organization at the expense of all others. It has gone partisan. That is what is the matter with it. It is aiding the C. I. O. in its effort to tax every worker in the United States, or to try to tax every worker in the United States. The Board is putting the C. I. O. in a position to make every man who wants to work pay tribute to it. If you do not believe me, get any of the newspaper boys in a corner and ask them if they can hold their jobs without paying dues to the C. I. O. What will they tell you? Ask them; try it.

It is time we amend the Wagner Act—rather it is time we repealed it, because only by repealing it can we get rid of the present officials. In its place let us enact a law to carry out the purpose of the original Wagner Act, which was to diminish the causes of labor disputes.

Let us rewrite the law so that those charged with interpreting it, with determining whether there has been a violation of its provisions, are separate and distinct from those investigating or prosecuting complaints. Let us not have in one group of men or in one board those who are charged with the functions of a detective or sheriff, a prosecuting attorney, and a judge.

Let us by the act itself give protection, not only to the employer but real protection to the individual employee, as well as to the union organizer and the union.

Let us by all means provide for a fair and impartial interpretation and administration of the law.

If we are to have a Federal agency charged with investigating complaints of unfair labor practice, let us then vest the judicial functions, which the Labor Board as now constituted exercises, either with the Federal courts or a new independent agency, not connected in any way with those who receive, investigate, and prosecute complaints of unfair labor practice.

When we have done these things we will at least be on the road toward a mitigation of the causes of labor disputes. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. CASE].

#### THE MOUNT RUSHMORE MEMORIAL

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Chairman, I want to commend the remarks of the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Martin], who told you of his recent personal visit to the Mount Rushmore Memorial. It is incomparably the greatest memorial we have in America, and will be completed for a fraction of what is spent on other efforts of less grandeur and permanence.

The Mount Rushmore Memorial is converting a granite mountain into the great heads of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt. The sculpturing is being done by Gutzon Borglum, whose Lincoln head and Greenway figure are here in the Capitol.

The work has been in process for about 11 years. It has not been possible under the funds available to work steadily all of that time, but year by year progress has been made. At the outset, the funds were to be raised by private subscription, and about \$100,000 was so raised. In addition, the State of South Dakota has spent over \$1,000,000 in building highways to the memorial. And, I may add, the crowds last summer were so great at the mountain that more roads must be added this year.

When President Coolidge visited the Black Hills in the summer of 1927, he visited Mount Rushmore and saw there the gigantic size of the work and began to understand what it was all about. It was at his suggestion that Federal interest developed in Mount Rushmore. Since then, each President has visited the mountain and has added his support to its completion.

### THE EXTENT OF FEDERAL PARTICIPATION

The first legislative act passed by the Congress providing participation by the Federal Government called for matching what had been provided by private subscription. A few years later it was provided that the full amount of the \$200,000 contribution authorized by the Federal Government should be made available. This was later supplemented by a \$250,000 authorization and a bill passed during the last Congress authorized \$300,000; making a total of \$750,000 authorized for the participation of the Federal Government in the construction of the Mount Rushmore Memorial. The \$250,000 item in the pending appropriation bill is the balance in the last authorization and, based on the promise of the sculptor to the committee, is for the completion of the figures by June 30, 1940.

The work is being carried on under the supervision of the Mount Rushmore Memorial Commission, a body named by the President and headed by the Honorable Key Pittman, Senator from Nevada, as chairman.

The gentleman from Colorado spoke of the size of the memorial. It might be helpful in visualizing for those who have not seen it to realize that the scale of the Mount Rushmore figures are such that if you were to take off the tapered part at the top of the Washington Monument the figures would be on the scale of a man that high, the height of the Washington Monument. The head of George Washington would just fit within the dome of the Capitol Building. It is the most colossal sculpture the world has ever seen; it will outlast anything man has ever built or carved, heretofore.

# A MONUMENT FOR ALL AGES TO COME

It is important to remember the kind of granite out of which the Mount Rushmore Memorial is being carved. The late Dr. O'Harra, former president of the State School of Mines at Rapid City, when the mountain was being examined determined that the rate of erosion in the granite was at the rate of one-fourth of an inch in a hundred thousand years. The sculptor said he thereupon added 18 inches to the length of the nose of George Washington with the thought that it would add millions of years to the life of the monument. In any event, the monument will be there for all conceivable time.

It is situated in the heart of the continent far away from any place where any vandal nation might have any desire or opportunity to bomb or destroy it. Sculpture in the past has been the booty of raiding armies. When the Greeks were at the height of their power, and when the Romans were at the height of their power, they looted the capitals they captured and took away the great sculpture that had been collected. The Rushmore Memorial simply will not be moved. It is part of the mountain itself.

A woman gazing at the Washington head a few summers ago said, "It looks as if it had been there for all time." Of course, it had; but it took genius to reveal it. The sculptor took a rough, scarred mountain crossed with crevices and crossed with the striations of centuries, peeled off the face of it, and there revealed fresh granite, and gave it life. The heads live. They have features such as those on Borglum's Lincoln in the rotunda of the Capitol, and will speak for all time to come of the kind of men who gave character and form to the Republic.

### TO BE COMPLETED IN 1941

On the showing that was made before the subcommittee in the hearings the sculptor proposes to complete the figures by the end of June 1940. The appropriation in this bill is for the completion of the work. These figures start at the head and carry down below the hands until the figures finally blend into the mountain.

Mr. SIROVICH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SIROVICH. May I call the attention of the distinguished gentleman to the fact that in the magnificent work that Gutzon Borglum has been doing and the hundreds of men he has been employing all these years, not one human being has been injured or killed in this work; and while insurance companies in the beginning refused to insure these men, they are today willing to insure them and have insured them.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. That is a very significant observation and should be considered along with the fact they have been working under tremendous handicaps. They went out there to sculpture a mountain not reached by roads or highways. They had only a rough logging trail at the outset over which to carry the powder, tools, and machinery that were necessary.

Gigantic excavation or construction is something that ordinarily entails many accidents and possibly the loss of life, even when you are not trying to preserve a mountain for sculptur-

ing while you blast it. Here men had to be swung down from a mountaintop to work for hours suspended in a harness, while the wind blew upon them unprotected. The men are transported to the work in a bucket by a cable that crosses a great canyon. The mountain is a great mountain that stands in bold relief against the sky, and the men working on the skyline seem like pygmies.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SHOULD SEE THIS MEMORIAL

It is really breath-taking and stirs the hundreds of thousands who see it each year as it stirred the gentleman from Colorado. I hope every Member of Congress may see Mount Rushmore. When the Legislative Committee was considering it a year ago and questions were asked about the details, I said, as others have said, that the answer to every question in reference to Mount Rushmore is to see it. You will come away with a greater love for your country than you ever have had before.

A member of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Johnson], at one time told me he found it difficult to justify this project. I said, "I hope you will go there and see it." I was pleased recently to hear him say that he visited it last summer and it exceeded all his expectations, and that he believed the memorial by all means should be completed.

I may say that one of the reasons for urgency in completing the memorial is that undertakings of this character naturally depend on the personality and the genius of the men behind them. The sculptor of this memorial is now 67 years of age. The finishing touches that are now required call for his personal and immediate supervision. Those of us who have seen this memorial grow realize it is important that it be completed while the sculptor is at the height of his powers and able to give it the finishing touches it deserves.

I urge every one of you who believes in the perpetuation of American ideals to see Mount Rushmore, and do it at your first opportunity. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Lanham, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the independent offices appropriation bill, 1940 (H. R. 3743), had come to no resolution thereon.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend in the RECORD the remarks I made today and include therein a few short statements.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend in the Record the remarks I made today and to include therein some of my remarks before the legislative committee dealing with the subject on which I spoke.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOBBS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include therein a statement prepared by the Domestic Fats and Oils Conference.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record by including therein a copy of a letter I sent to Mr. Altmeyer, Chairman of the Social Security Board, and a copy of his reply.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, I did not know the Committee was going to rise so early. I had asked permission to address the Committee for 10 minutes in connection with a subject about which I believe the House should know something this evening. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 5 minutes at this time.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, in the independent offices appropriation bill, now under consideration, there is a legislative provision that not more than \$10,000 can be paid to a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Board of Tax Appeals, the Maritime Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Authority, or the Tariff Commission. I say this is not economy, and when the provision is reached I propose to make a point of order against it. I believe I can prove the provision is not a limitation within the meaning of the Holman rule, because in the end it will provide for an additional expenditure of the Government rather than a reduction. True, it might be a saving on this appropriation bill, but later on it will cost the taxpayer more.

There are four cases which have been tried by the Court of Claims involving situations where the Congress, by adding a limitation on an appropriation bill or not appropriating sufficient money, had reduced the salary of an official of the Government below the amount provided in the organic law. In each instance the Court of Claims rendered a decision in favor of the plaintiff.

On two occasions the Government appealed to the Supreme Court, and in each case the Supreme Court sustained the Court of Claims. This convinces me, and I believe it should convince the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole such a provision does not involve a saving, because the officials will go to the Court of Claims and demand that they receive the salary the statute provides. Then the Attorney General will have to employ an attorney and probably pay him \$10,000 to fight the case. When finally decided, if precedents count for anything, the decision will be in favor of the officials.

It is my purpose to bring these decisions to the Chamber tomorrow and place them at the disposal of the Chairman. I hope when I put the citations in the Record tomorrow those interested will look up the cases.

The citations are:

Robert M. Danford against United States, Court of Claims Reports, 51, 61, page 286: Court held plaintiff was entitled to recover. As commandant of Military Academy, statute provided he was to receive pay of a lieutenant colonel. For 2 years pay was reduced due to failure of Congress to appropriate sufficient money.

Strong against United States, Court of Claims Reports, 1924–25, page 627: Statute provided that each professor at the Military Academy whose service exceeds 10 years shall have pay and allowance of colonel. Court held pay and allowance fixed by law and while Treasury could not pay until necessary appropriation was made, the liability of the United States to pay exists independently of the appropriation and may be enforced by proceedings in the Court.

United States against Laughton, United States Reports, October term, 1885–86, page 389: Court of Claims held Laughton, Minister to Haiti, was entitled to salary allowed by law. Government appealed to Supreme Court. Court held in part that, according to the settled rules of interpretation, a statute fixing the annual salary of a public officer at a named sum without limitation as to time, should not be deemed abrogated or suspended by subsequent enactments which merely appropriated a less amount.

James against United States, United States Reports, volume 202, October term, 1905: Charles P. James was an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. After his death administratrix brought suit to recover \$6,688.90, holding judge was paid at rate of \$4,000 per annum while statute fixed salary at \$5,000. Judgment favorable to plaintiff.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? Mr. COCHRAN. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. MICHENER. Is it not true that the same provision has been carried in similar appropriation bills ever since the Economy Act of 1933?

Mr. COCHRAN. In part it has been carried in such bills, and I understand that right at the moment the officials affected are preparing to go to the Court of Claims.

Mr. MICHENER. In other words, the officials are receiving the salaries provided in this bill and have been receiving these specified amounts since the Economy Act?

Mr. COCHRAN. In some instances, yes, they are receiving less salary than the statute provides; but with respect to at least two commissions mentioned in this bill, the Maritime Commission and the Civil Aeronautics Authority, you are reducing the salaries for the first time.

Mr. MICHENER. You are reducing their salaries below what these men are getting now?

Mr. COCHRAN. Yes. That, I insist, is a matter for the legislative committees. Let those committees look into the work the officials are performing and report to the House if they feel they are overpaid.

I believe in saving money for the Government, and I think my record shows it; but I say that this provision should not be in the bill. It will cost the taxpayer more in the end. If you want to reduce salaries, submit your proposal to the proper legislative committee, bring in a bill, and let the House yote on it.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COCHRAN. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I believe we can say in general that the committee felt these men who are on comparable commissions should be treated alike. Does not the gentleman believe an amendment is in order under the Holman rule, which proposes to reduce any item of salary?

Mr. COCHRAN. But are they on comparable commissions? In view of the decisions of the Court of Claims and the Supreme Court, I do not believe an amendment is in order that reduces the salary of an official below what the statute provides, if it can be shown by court decisions the cost to the Government will be increased in the end.

Mr. MICHENER. If the gentleman will yield further, I may say I agree with the gentleman that the committee cannot bring in legislation on the bill, and that if the statute fixes a salary the committee cannot on an appropriation bill change the amount fixed by the statute if a point of order is made against the provision. However, the committee may appropriate a smaller amount, and what are you going to do with the committee if it does not, in its appropriation bill, appropriate the amount provided in the statute as the statutory salary?

Mr. COCHRAN. Try and defeat the committee's recommendation. In each of the cases I refer to, the Court of Claims certified to the Appropriations Committee the amount that was due, plus interest, and your Appropriations Committee appropriated that amount and paid the claim.

Mr. MICHENER. I understand that.

Mr. COCHRAN. I realize the committee will argue it is justified in making all salaries the same. We must understand the duties of the officials are not all the same. We have just set up the Maritime Commission and the Civil Aeronautics Authority. In both instances provisions were made to pay the Commissioners and Administrator \$12,000 a year. The time to have reduced that was when the bill was pending. Here you have situations where just recently the

Congress, the last Congress in one instance, passed legislation fixing the salary at a certain sum and now in this Congress, not the Legislative Committee but the Appropriations Committee, says we do not propose to pay them more than \$10,000 per year. You have men on the Commissions who are setting up new organizations. One commission—the Maritime Commission—is handling a billion and a quarter dollars. They are doing a good job, and some of the members of the Commission could get much more with private corporations. The Civil Aeronautics Authority requires technical men also, experts in this line, and there is a great demand for men of their ability in private industry. We have good men and they took the positions expecting to get what the law provided, and you should not now reduce their salaries in this way.

This is false economy, if that is what you are striving at. Why, if this procedure is recognized and upheld, if Congress did not like an official who could not be removed, there would be nothing to prevent the committee from providing that not more than \$1 a year should be paid from the appropriation for that certain official. He would either have to accept the dollar per year or resign.

Outstanding executives, well schooled in the work they are engaged in, will in the end save money in administration, while incompetent officials will do just the opposite. The provision should be stricken from the bill.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to any reduction in the amount to be allowed the National Labor Relations Board and I favor the Budget estimate of \$3,229,600 for that Board. In support of this, Mr. Speaker, I wish to read from telegrams I have received from labor unions in my district:

Request you support administration's demand for appropriation for Labor Board.

This comes from the miners' union at Stockett, Mont. Then from Roundup, Mont., also from a miners' union:

Request your support of administration's demand for appropriation for Labor Board.

This is signed by Local Union 3574, at Roundup, Mont.
This telegram comes from Bearcreek, Mont., in Carbon

Request you support administration demand for appropriation for Labor Board.

This comes from the secretary of the miners' union at Bearcreek.

I have here another one from Great Falls, Mont., signed by the Cascade County Trade and Labor Assembly, the largest local labor organization in Montana:

Urgently request that you use your utmost efforts to provide for appropriation of \$3,230,000 for National Labor Relations Board without riders or qualifications.

Again, from the same organization, a similar request, and then from Great Falls comes another telegram, signed by the United Mine Workers of America, Sandcoulee, Mont.:

We respectfully and urgently request you vote full appropriation to National Labor Relations Board without riders or conditions attached.

Again, from Great Falls, another labor union wires:

Urge you vote for full appropriation to National Labor Relations Board without riders or conditions attached.

Again from Great Falls, from another union, John Clark, Great Falls Mill and Smelter Men's Union, the second largest labor organization in my district:

Urge vote for full appropriation to N. L. R. B., without riders or conditions.

Again a telegram reading:

Vital that appropriations for N. L. R. B. go through in full without riders.

Signed "Montana State Industrial Union Council," which is, perhaps, the third largest labor organization in the Second Congressional District, which I represent.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the requests and pleadings of these people should be given heed in this body, which is the only forum to which they can present their claims, and that this amount requested by the Budget should be appro-

The Budget, if no one else, certainly knows the amount that will be necessary to carry on the work of the Labor Relations Board. It is true the Board has been under some criticism, but it does not make any difference what kind of board you have, you will always find critics; and, in my opinion, this Board has done the best it could under the circumstances, and, in my opinion, the Budget is right when it asks for this much money for them to carry on during the coming year.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes: I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. It should be stated that the committee is recommending, in the item that is recommended here, an increase over last year, both to take care of the increased personnel in the field and an increase here in Washington. The committee made its suggestion of some reduction in the Budget estimate because it felt that it was not necessary to have as large an increase in Washington as originally requested; and on this point I want to read a couple of sentences from the hearings when a Member asked certain questions of Mr. Madden, Chairman of the Board.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Madden, since the Board, under the act, has become a permanent establishment, and has received the approval not only of Congress but now of the Supreme Court, do you anticipate a lessening in the number of cases to come before you?

Mr. Madden. I certainly do, ultimately. There is not any question

about that.

On the basis of the fact that the decision of the Supreme Court was expected to lessen the trend of cases coming before the Board, the committee felt it was generous in giving them some increase; but felt, with the prospect of the number of cases being reduced, it was not necessary to make as large an increase as was asked for originally.

Mr. O'CONNOR. It is my conviction that the business before the Board will increase rather than decrease.

### ORDER OF BUSINESS

The SPEAKER. Under special order of the House heretofore made, the gentleman from Montana [Mr. Thorkelson] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. THORKELSON. Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to use that time today.

# SENATE BILLS REFERRED

Bills and a concurrent resolution of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 13. An act for the relief of John Mulhern; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 60. An act for the relief of Dierks Lumber & Coal Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 87. An act for the relief of Leslie Truax, to the Committee on Claims.

S. 90. An act to provide for the punishment of persons transporting stolen animals in interstate commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 92. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents for certain lands to certain settlers in the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, Nev.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

S. 167. An act to amend clause (4b) of subsection (b) of section 203 of the Motor Carrier Act, 1935; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

S. 185. An act to amend section 224 of the Criminal Code so as to penalize the making of false claims for the loss of insured mail matter; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 218. An act for the relief of Manuel D. A. Otero, as administrator of the estate of Teresita S. Otero, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 219. An act for the relief of Emma Gomez; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 313. An act to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Lester P. Barlow against the United States: to the Committee on War Claims.

S. 323. An act for the relief of E. C. Beaver, who suffered loss on account of the Lawton, Okla., fire, 1917; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 342. An act for the relief of L. L. Stokes; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 470. An act for the relief of Alice Minnick; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 532. An act for the relief of Mabel Foote Ramsey, widow of William R. Ramsey, Jr., late special agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 760. An act for the relief of Mrs. Guy A. McConoha; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 766. An act for the relief of the Missoula Brewing Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. Con. Res. 1. Concurrent resolution authorizing the holding of ceremonies in the rotunda in connection with the presentation of a statue of the late Will Rogers; to the Committee on the Library.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to: accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, February 7, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon.

### COMMITTEE HEARINGS

### COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Public hearings will continue Tuesday, February 7, 1939. at 10 a. m., on social-security legislation in the Ways and Means Committee room in the New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

# COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 a.m. Tuesday, February 7, 1939. Business to be considered: Continuation of hearing on H. R. 2531-transportation bill. Mr. R. V. Fletcher, of the American Association of Railroads, will be the witness.

### COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives on Tuesday, February 7. 1939, at 10:30 a.m., for the purpose of continuing the consideration of H. R. 2880, "To authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes," carrying out partially the recommendations of the Hepburn report.

### COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries will hold a public hearing in room 219, House Office Building, Washington, D. C., at 10:30 a. m. Tuesday, February 7, 1939, on the bills listed below:

H. R. 785, Draft Convention No. 53, officers' competency (BLAND); H. R. 947 (SEGER), H. R. 950 (KENNEDY), H. R. 1639 (Brewster), H. R. 1641 (Bates of Massachusetts), H. R. 1799 (MALONEY), H. R. 1805 (HALL), H. R. 2534 (CULKIN), H. R. 2641 (DIMOND), H. R. 3210 (CANNON of Florida), H. R. 3216 (Schafer of Wisconsin), H. R. 3228 (McCormack), H. J. Res. 118 (SHANLEY).

### COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the committee rooms in the Capitol at 11 a. m., Tuesday, February 7, 1939, to consider the following: House Resolution 78, requesting information of the State Department on Mexican relations, and House Joint Resolution 150, Third International Congress for Microbiology.

#### COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in room 446, House Office Building, Wednesday, February 8, 1939, at 10: 30 a.m., for the public consideration of House Joint Resolution 90 and H. R. 2200.

#### COMMITTEE ON PENSIONS

The Committee on Pensions will hold a hearing at 10 a.m. Wednesday, February 8, 1939, on H. R. 2301, to amend section 2 of the act entitled "An act granting pensions and increases of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the War with Spain, the Philippine Insurrection, or the China Relief Expedition, to certain maimed soldiers, to certain widows, minor children, and helpless children of such soldiers and sailors, and for other purposes," approved May 1, 1926.

### COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries will hold a public hearing in room 219, House Office Building, Washington, D. C., at 10 a. m. Tuesday, February 21, 1939, on the bill (H. R. 3576) to make effective the provisions of the Officers' Competency Certificates Convention, 1936.

It is contemplated that the hearing on Tuesday, February 7, 1939, on H. R. 785 and related bills will deal with the exemption of vessels of less than 200 gross tons from the provisions of the treaty. The hearing on Tuesday, February 21, on H. R. 3576 will deal particularly with legislation necessary to make effective the provisions of the treaty and problems arising in connection with the provisions of the treaty.

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries will hold public hearings in room 219, House Office Building, Washington, D. C., at 10 a. m., on the bills and dates listed below:

Tuesday, March 14, 1939:

H. R. 180, H. R. 202, construction of a Nicaraguan Canal; H. R. 201, additional facilities for Panama Canal; H. R. 2667, construction of a Mexican canal.

Tuesday, March 21, 1939:

H. R. 137, H. R. 980, H. R. 1674, relating to annuities for Panama Canal construction force.

Thursday, March 23, 1939:

H. R. 139, H. R. 141, H. R. 142, H. R. 1819, miscellaneous Panama Canal bills.

# EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

392. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting an alternate arrangement of the estimates of appropriation for the Health Department (excluding hospitals, etc.), District of Columbia (H. Doc. No. 150); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

393. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations for the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, amounting to \$6,723,000 (H. Doc. No. 151); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

394. A letter from the president of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, transmitting the draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to regulate the hours during which streets, alleys, etc., shall be lighted"; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

395. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, transmitting the official report of the National Institute of Arts and Letters for the year 1938; to the Committee on the Library.

396. A letter from the Attorney General of the United States, transmitting recommendation of the enactment of

legislation to empower the Supreme Court to prescribe rules of pleading, practice, and procedure in criminal cases with respect to any or all proceedings prior to and including verdict or plea of guilty; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

397. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize certain officers and enlisted men of the United States Navy and the United States Marine Corps, the Naval Reserve, and the Marine Corps Reserve, to accept such medals, orders, decorations, and presents as have been tendered them by foreign governments; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

# REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII,

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia: Committee on Appropriations. H. R. 3743. A bill making appropriations for the Executive Office and sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, and offices, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 23). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

### CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 1690) granting a pension to Robert C. Humphrey; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1695) granting a pension to Bertha C. Keith; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1706) granting a pension to John D. Pearson; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1724) granting an increase of pension to Emily L. Watkins; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1738) granting a pension to Harold A. Staats; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1746) granting a pension to Samuel D. Russell; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1886) granting a pension to Emma Washburn; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1925) granting an increase of pension to Hanna Sophia Westcott; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1926) granting a pension to Mae E. Fletcher; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1927) granting a pension to Ruby C. Fletcher; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1931) granting a pension to Manning E. Wilson; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 2105) granting a pension to Sherman Lee Rhea; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 2114) granting a pension to Elmer J. Rush; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 2227) granting a pension to Frances H. Cochran; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 2235) granting a pension to Joseph K. Sullivan; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 2236) granting a pension to Walter Connolly; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 2240) granting a pension to James Vergil Wright; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CLASON:

H.R. 3744. A bill for the protection of the bald eagle; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DEMPSEY:

H. R. 3745. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to invite other nations to participate in the commemoration and observance of the four hundredth anniversary of the explorations of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, and authorizing an appropriation for such commemoration and observance; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DIRKSEN:

H. R. 3746. A bill to authorize a preliminary examination of the Illinois River and its tributary (Gimlet Creek) in the State of Illinois for flood control, for run-off and water-flow retardation, and for soil-erosion prevention; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. DOXEY:

H. R. 3747. A bill to provide for improved agricultural land utilization by authorizing rehabilitation of drainage works; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. FISH:

H. R. 3748. A bill to reduce the rate of interest on loans secured from the Government on Government life-insurance policies; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation

By Mr. GATHINGS:

H. R. 3749. A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act in regard to rates for transportation between rate-making or geographical sections of the United States designated for rate-making purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KEE:

H. R. 3750. A bill to amend section 2 (a) of the act entitled "An act to establish a retirement system for employees of carriers subject to the Interstate Commerce Act, and for other purposes," approved August 29, 1935; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KEOGH:

H. R. 3751. A bill to authorize the construction and use of underground pneumatic-tube service; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. LEA:

H. R. 3752. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 (U. S. C., 1934 edition, title 47, sec. 303), and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 3753 (by request). A bill to provide for the construction of certain privately financed self-liquidating highways of superior standard and other public works pertinent thereto, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. WALTER:

H.R. 3754. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act to establish a retirement system for employees of carriers subject to the Interstate Commerce Act, and for other purposes," approved August 29, 1935; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 3755. A bill to transfer, assign, and convey to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania a certain tract of land, containing about 6½ acres, situate in Tinicum Township, Delaware County, Pa.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. BURDICK:

H. R. 3756. A bill to provide for the acquisition by the Federal Government and the public ownership and operation of the iron and steel industry of the United States of America; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CHAPMAN:

H. R. 3757. A bill to amend subsection 9 of section 13 (a) of the act approved June 25, 1938 (52 Stat. 1069), entitled "Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938"; to the Committee on Labor.

H.R. 3758. A bill to amend subsection (10) of section 13 (a) of the act approved June 25, 1938 (52 Stat. 1069), entitled "Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938"; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. DEROUEN:

H. R. 3759. A bill to authorize a National Mississippi River Parkway and matters relating thereto; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. GAVAGAN:

H.R. 3760. A bill to extend the filing date under section 500, Public Law No. 844, Seventy-fourth Congress; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. GILCHRIST:

H.R. 3761. A bill to provide for the construction of a Federal building in Fort Dodge, Iowa; to the Committee on Pub-

lic Buildings and Grounds.

H. R. 3762. A bill making an appropriation for the use of the Secretary of Agriculture in developing a disease and insect resistant or immune breed of onions; and for ascertaining factual bases for fixing just and equitable amounts which should be paid by growers of onions of different sections of the United States as premiums or charges or assessments upon policies or certificates of insurance indemnifying such growers against loss to onion crops by hail; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. THOMAS of Texas:

H.R. 3763. A bill to exempt from the provisions of Draft Convention No. 53, of the International Labor Conference Treaty of 1936, all United States vessels of less than 200 gross registered tonnage; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. SCRUGHAM:

H. R. 3764. A bill to validate and confirm a certain conveyance heretofore made by Central Pacific Railway Co. and its lessee, Southern Pacific Co., to Consolidated Warehouse Co., involving a portion of the rights-of-way acquired by the Central Pacific Railroad Co. of California under the act of Congress approved July 1, 1862 (12 Stat. 489); to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

H. R. 3765. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act authorizing the attorney general of the State of California to bring suit in the Court of Claims on behalf of the Indians of California," approved May 18, 1928 (45 Stat. 602); to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia:

H. J. Res. 151. Joint resolution making appropriations for the relief of unemployment and for direct relief, and authorizing grants to States, municipalities, and other public bodies for such purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. LEMKE:

H. J. Res. 152. Joint resolution providing for an investigation of the feasibility and desirability of fixing railroad rates on the basis of zones; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SIROVICH:

H. J. Res. 153. Joint resolution providing for investigation of conditions pertaining to lascar seamen; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Illinois:

H. J. Res. 154. Joint resolution to authorize a memorial plaque in the Department of Agriculture commemorating the

invention of the steel plow by John Deere in 1837; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DIES:

H. Res. 81. Resolution to authorize the payment of expenses of investigation authorized by House Resolution 26; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. KEE:

H. Res. 82. Resolution to amend rule X so as to provide for the creation of a Committee on Civil Aviation and Aeronautics: to the Committee on Rules.

### MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of South Carolina, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their resolution with reference to relief funds to stricken farmers; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Colorado, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their house joint memorial No. 5, with reference to establishment of an airport at or near the city of Cortez, Colo.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their house resolution No. 7, with reference to social security; to the Committee on Ways and Means,

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their senate joint resolution No. 8, with reference to the California Indian Jurisdictional Act of 1928; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their senate joint resolution No. 1, with reference to taxation on bonds; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Vermont, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their house joint resolution No. 10, with reference to the shipment of war materials; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their house joint resolution No. 4, with reference to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. AUSTIN:

H. R. 3766. A bill to authorize the award of the Purple Heart Decoration to Maj. Charles H. Sprague; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. COFFEE of Washington:

H. R. 3767. A bill for the relief of August Svelund; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. COLMER:

H.R. 3768. A bill for the relief of Louis J. Banderet; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HAVENNER:

H.R. 3769. A bill for the relief of the Keuffel & Esser Co., of New York; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HAWKS:

H. R. 3770. A bill granting a pension to Hallie V. Weeks; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HESS:

H. R. 3771. A bill granting an increase of pension to Robert Goodman; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. IZAC:

H.R. 3772. A bill for the relief of Thomas F. Cooney; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JOHNS:

H. R. 3773. A bill for the relief of Della Thompson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LEWIS of Colorado:

H. R. 3774. A bill for the relief of Albert L. Barnholtz; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3775. A bill for the relief of Ben F. Mitchell; to the Committee on Claims.

H.R. 3776. A bill for the relief of William J. Saunders; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 3777. A bill to provide for the retirement of Lindell D. Straube as a first lieutenant, Dental Corps, United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H.R. 3778. A bill for the relief of Ben Durham; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MAPES:

H. R. 3779. A bill granting an increase of pension to Ruby L. Knapp; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts:

H. R. 3780. A bill for the relief of the Montaup Sand & Gravel Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H. R. 3781. A bill to amend Private Act No. 286, approved June 18, 1934, entitled "An act for the relief of Carleton-Mace Engineering Corporation"; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MILLER:

H. R. 3782. A bill for the relief of Lt. William J. Wholean; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mrs. O'DAY:

H. R. 3783. A bill for the relief of Rene Belbenoit, or Jules Rene Lucien Belbenoit; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. PATRICK:

H. R. 3784. A bill for the relief of the estate of J. D. Warlick; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SCRUGHAM:

H. R. 3785. A bill for the relief of John B. O'Sullivan; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee:

H.R. 3786. A bill granting a pension to Clellia S. Irvin; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. VREELAND:

H.R. 3787 (by request). A bill for the relief of Nathan and Amelia Rice; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3788. A bill for the allowance of the claim of Jedediah Willett, not heretofore paid, for indemnity for spoliations by the French prior to July 31, 1801, as reported by the Court of Claims; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. YOUNGDAHL:

H.R. 3789. A bill for the relief of Robert W. O'Brien; to the Committee on War Claims.

### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

887. By Mr. ANDERSON of California: Resolution of the State Senate of California (S. J. Res. No. 8), relative to memorializing Congress to amend the California Indian jurisdictional Act of 1928; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

888. Also, resolution of the State Senate of California (S. J. Res. No. 12) relative to memorializing Congress to take such steps as may be necessary and to urge the Secretary of the Interior to name the lake to be created by the construction of the Shasta Dam at Kennett, Shasta County, Calif., McColl Lake; to the Committee on the Library.

889. Also, resolution of the State Senate of California (S. J. Res. No. 1) relative to exemption from taxation of bonds issued by governmental agencies and memorializing the Pres-

ident and Congress of the United States to take immediate steps for the termination of the exemption of such securities from taxation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

890. Also, resolution of the State Senate of California (S. J. Res. No. 4) relative to memorializing the Congress of the United States to refuse enactment of legislation which would be cloud the sovereign rights of the State of California in its submerged lands; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

891. Also, resolution of the State Senate of California (S. J. Res. No. 2) relative to the memorialization of the President and the Congress of the United States for the protection, use, and development of the natural resources of the State of California; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

892. By Mr. BOREN: Petition of the Oklahoma Legislature; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

893. By Mr. CRAWFORD: Petition of Henry Cowell and numerous other residents of Michigan, asking Congress to issue paper money made legal tender for payment of debts; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

894. Also, petition of Harley Becker and 17 residents of Alma, Mich., asking early enactment of House bill 2; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

895. Also, petition of Mr. and Mrs. Dwight Collison and 68 other residents of Wheeler, Mich., protesting against raising the Spanish embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

896. By Mr. CROWTHER: Petition of certain citizens of Montgomery County, N. Y., urging retention on the statute books of the principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

897. By Mr. FULMER: Petition submitted by James E. Hunter, Jr., clerk of the house of representatives, Columbia, S. C., relating to the cotton-control program; to the Committee on Agriculture.

898. Also, concurrent resolution submitted by James E. Hunter, Jr., clerk of the house of representatives, of Columbia, S. C., requesting the United States Senators and Members of Congress from South Carolina to initiate and cooperate in supporting legislation to restore cotton to its former economic importance in world commerce; to the Committee on Agriculture

899. By Mr. HAVENNER: Joint resolution of the California State Senate (S. J. Res. No. 1), relative to exemption from taxation of bonds issued by governmental agencies and memorializing the President and Congress of the United States to take immediate steps for the termination of the exemption of such securities from taxation; to the Committee on Ways and

900. By Mr. JOHNS: Petition of H. J. DeWitt and six others, of Green Bay, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign

901. Also, petition of John DeBruin and 92 other residents of Kimberly, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

902. Also, petition of William J. Jackels and 39 other residents of Forest Junction, Dundas, and Kaukauna, Wis., petitioning the Congress of the United States to adhere to the general policy of neutrality as enunciated in the act of August 31, 1935, to retain on our statute books the further and corollary principle enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937, extending the original act to include civil as well as international conflicts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

903. By Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON: Petition of Vincent Chiodo, department commander of the American Legion, Houston, Tex., favoring House bill 2386, amending the Wagner-Peyser Act so as to earmark appropriations for the United States Employment Service; to the Committee on Labor.

904. Also, petition of E. K. Atwood and Ernest L. Raphael, of Ennis, Tex., favoring House bill 298 reducing interest rates on Reconstruction Finance Corporation levee district loans; to the Committee on Agriculture.

905. By Mr. KEOGH: Petition of 350 citizens of Brooklyn and Queens County, concerning the Patman chain-store bill (H. R. 1); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

906. Also, petition of the Forty-second Street Association, Inc., New York City, concerning the \$3,500,000 for the building of a new census building; to the Committee on Appropriations.

907. Also, petition of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, New York City, concerning the appropriation of \$3,230,000 for the National Labor Relations Board; to the Committee on Appropriations.

908. Also, petition of the Council of Employee Organizations in the private nonprofit field, New York City, concerning House bill 101, to amend the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

909. Also, petition of the Labor Non-Partisan League, Washington, D. C., concerning the appropriation recommended for the National Labor Relations Board; to the Committee on Appropriations.

910. Also, petition of the United Shoe Workers of America, concerning the \$3,230,000 appropriation for the National Labor Relations Board; to the Committee on Appropriations.

911. Also, petition of the International Woodworkers of America, concerning the \$3,230,000 for the National Labor Relations Board, without amendment; to the Committee on Appropriations.

912. Also, petition of the Ohio Independent Telephone Association, Columbus, Ohio, concerning the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938; to the Committee on Labor.

913. Also, petition of the Miami Beach Chamber of Commerce, Florida, concerning the Florida ship canal; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

914. Also, petition of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union, Local No. 16, New York City, concerning the neutrality Act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

915. Also, petition of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, concerning congressional regulation of freight rates; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

916. Also, petition of the Brooklyn Diocesan Union of the Holy Name Society, Brooklyn, N. Y., concerning the present neutrality act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

917. Also, petition of the National Paint, Varnish and Lacquer Association, New York City, concerning the extension of title I of the National Housing Act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

918. By Mr. PFEIFER: Petition of the National Paint, Varnish, and Lacquer Association, Inc., Washington, D. C., urging extension of title I of the National Housing Act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

919. Also, telegram of the International Woodworkers of America, Seattle, Wash., favoring full appropriation of \$3,230,000 for the National Labor Relations Board; also opposing any amendments or riders being attached to the appropriation; to the Committee on Appropriations.

920. Also, petition of the Labor's Non-Partisan League, Washington, D. C., urging appropriation for National Labor Relations Board; to the Committee on Appropriations.

921. Also, petition of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, New York City, favoring full appropriation for National Labor Relations Board and opposing any amendments or riders to the bill; to the Committee on Appropriations.

The state of the s

922. Also, petition of the Graymoor Crusaders of Brooklyn, N. Y., urging that the Spanish embargo should not be lifted; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

923. Also, petition of the Council of Employee Organizations in the Private Nonprofit Field, New York City, concerning House bill 101, to expand the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

924. By Mr. SCHIFFLER: Petition of members of the Townsend Club, No. 1, Rivesville, W. Va., urging the passage of the Townsend bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

925. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the National Paint, Varnish, and Lacquer Association, Washington, D. C., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the National Housing Act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

part is maint a smooth no month of is notified eath one in some and information of M in A month of some and their 926. Also, petition of Miguel Countreras, Camaguey, Cuba, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to embargo; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

927. Also, petition of the Suffolk County Colony National Society, New England women, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

928. Also, petition of certain citizens of the State of California, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the General Welfare Act (H. R. 2 and S. 3); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

929. Also, petition of Stanberry Division, No. 17, Brother-hood of Railroad Engineers, Stanberry, Mo., petitioning consireration of their resolution with reference to general welfare; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.